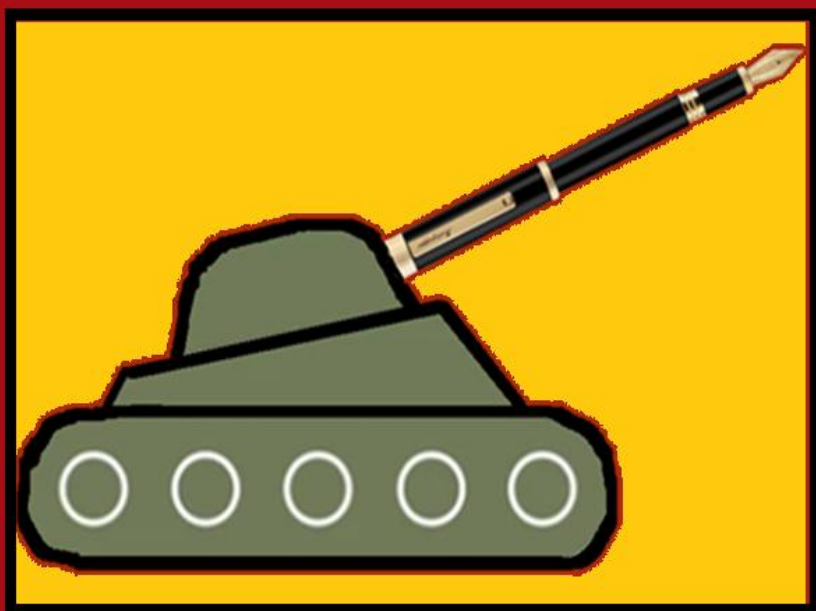


# COLLECTED POSTS

Aiga Forum and Aiga News

2018-2022



YOHANNES ABERRA

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**Aiga Forum and Aiga News**

**2018-2022**

**YOHANNES ABERRA**

**Mekelle 2023**

## **Dedicated to:**

Hindeya Aberra (1943-1978), born during Weyane I and martyred during Wyane II. He joined TPLF early in the year of its foundation. He was killed by Derg cadres in Mekelle. His last words were: “Long live TPLF!”...and so it lived long enough to lead the people of Tigray in another struggle for freedom (2020-22).

## **Preface**

I have contributed 150 articles to Aiga Forum and Aiga News in the years 2018 to 2022. Most of the articles are in the English language and the rest in Amharic and Tigrigna. In view of the fact that thousands of articles are posted on Aiga Forum and Aiga News, in the last four years, my contribution can be considered as miniscule. All the contributions to Aiga Forum and Aiga News need to be compiled and published in the form of volumes of books because I feel archiving in the cyber space may not be as reliable as storage in hard copies. The last four years have been full of events; and the articles have captured the events in their details. Readers in Tigray did not have the chance to read the posts and future generations need to know what has been happening in order to avoid making the same mistakes all over again. It is up to the hundreds of authors to take the initiative into their own hands and individually or in groups compile their contributions to Aiga Forum and Aiga News and make it available to readers. About a third of the articles I posted are not included in the compilation because the contributions have lost relevance since the Tigray War started in November 2020. As to the articles included in the compilation readers have to be aware of the fact that the ideas, reflections, and analyses in the articles may in some cases be inconsistent, contradictory, or even offensive to some individuals and groups. The situation has to be understandable since all the articles were written as immediate reactions to event and rapidly changing circumstances in the last four years. The articles have reflected my feelings or moods of anger, frustration, gratitude, and the personal way I understood the rapidly changing political and social situations in Ethiopia in general and in Tigray in particular. It is different to write a book at the end of a period and to compile collected works written during the period. Even if circumstances change to make the ideas in the articles out of date for the present it is not possible to change their content at a later date because they are already read at the time they were posted. The chronological sequence of the articles is rearranged by thematic clusters; and each thematic cluster is sequenced in the next sub-thematic order.

Yohannes Aberra  
Mekelle 2023

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# CLUSTER 1

## Political Developments in Ethiopia



- Frozen in the past, losing the present as the future approaches
- Rulers in Ethiopia have always been democratic paper-tigers
- Who decides who is wrong in Ethiopia?
- Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel.
- Changing the FDRE Constitution: Whose interest is to be served?
- Merger of EPRDF Member and Associate Parties
- Prophetic words of Sebhat and Meles
- GERD filling Up: Ethiopia must celebrate the late PM Meles
- ጠቃሚና ጎጂ ብሄረተኝነት
- አራምባና ቆቦ:- ፓለቲከኞችና ህዝባዊ አላማ በኢትዮጵያ
- ኧረ በህግ አምላክ!
- ኪነት በኢትዮጵያ: መሪ ናት አገልጋይ፤ ህዝባዊ ናት ልሂቃዊ?

Ethiopians have been doing all the wrong things that could get the Country in serious trouble, threatening its very existence. A few seem to realize and those who do don't seem to care. As if possessed by some evil spirit the madness and self-destruction continues unabated. No one knows when it is going to end in total disintegration or in a miraculous reversal.

## **Frozen in the past, losing the present as the future approaches**

February 11-2019

In our school years it was embarrassing to say: "I am eating my lunch yesterday" in a classroom full of students and an English teacher. These days it seems to be ok to talk about the past as if it is happening now and will continue to happen in the future. We in Ethiopia seem to have been frozen in time like the clock on the Arat Kilo Liberation Monument. We are not behaving like a Nation with a future at our doorsteps. We are even hiding from the present considering it as a replay of the past.

Just do the experiment for yourself. It is enough to sit in front of the redundant TV channels for only one whole day. Here we are! Every "journalist" and every interviewee, suffocated by emotions and tears in their eyes, talk about glories of the past exaggerating them beyond proportions. For them, Ethiopia has stopped moving somewhere in the past and now we all are just lifeless museum pieces. You don't need to take another day because, I assure you, the same thing will happen the next day, the next month, the next year too. The media seems to be in a comma unable to respond to the present in view of the future and the past in view of both the present and the future.

They say: "If you want to understand the future you have to know the past". This is true. The problem is, people are taking the past not as a means to understand the present and the future, but as an end in itself. People are fighting their current fights using history as weapons. We are not debating using state-of-the-art logic, theories, and principles, which could brighten our views of the future, but by transplanting the views and actions of monarchs and other personalities of the past into the current settings. The incongruence will obviously further aggravate the misunderstanding. Why not? This is what happens when you try to distinguish virus from bacteria using an archaic magnifying glass instead of an electronic

microscope. No nostalgic Nation has succeeded in striding into the future without encountering fatal stumbling blocks.

I posted a commentary article on a certain website, 11 years ago, entitled "Look back, but don't live in it". I was obliged to revisit the issue because it has been getting worse. I felt strongly that this has to be halted as soon as possible.

One tragic aspect of the "living in the past" is the deleterious role it plays in distorting the attitudes of the youth. It is said "the youth has its future; but the aged has only its past". There is a dangerous mixing up of generations. The egoistic and myopic old generation is trying to replicate itself in the new generation and halt its progress into the future. Nowadays, it is heart breaking to observe the Ethiopian youth stuck in the historical events and ideologies as narrated, glorified and inculcated in the tabula rasa of the new generation by the stubborn old generation. Enmity between rival regional feudal lords and kings has become "software" driving the behaviors of the youth towards each other. Normally acting nations don't destroy their future by crippling their young generation. Rather they engage in the principle of "altruism" where they devote their energies to produce an innovative, harmonious, forward looking, and patriotic young generation. This is exactly what we should do if we really want to see a prosperous Ethiopia into the future. The young generation has to use the old generation for shaping a bright future rather than the other way round: dragging the young generation and throwing it into the past and leaving Ethiopia's future unattended!!

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**Rulers in Ethiopia have always been democratic paper-tigers**  
November 04-2019

The foundation of democracy for people is the freedom they are entitled to choose how to be ruled. This implies that democracy is



rule by consent. Rulers in the past have violated this principle and were installed in power by descent rather than by consent. Ethiopia was ruled for thousand years by the Solomonic Dynasty which traced its origin not to Ethiopia but to a ruler in a far away land (Israel). Monarch Haile Selassie was a “Lion of Judha” not a Lion of Ethiopia! Claiming to have their ancestry from outside Ethiopia ensured them that they are not as ordinary as the people they rule. The rule by the “blue-blooded” was inculcated in the minds of ordinary people by some religious institutions that command respect among them. They brainwash their followers in such a way that the rule by descent would feel like a rule by consent. There have been hundreds of myths fabricated and intermingled with religious doctrines to convince people that the dynastic monarchs were ordained by God. Charging a King for a criminal offense and plowing the sky were equated as impossible. In national anthems the kings became central themes; in wars of National defense the martyrdoms were often dedicated to the Kings.

The Military took over the seat of government and claimed it did so by the consent of the people, who were brutalized by the ages old Monarchical rule. The Disillusionment of the people with the rule by Kings and “noble bugs” was considered by the coup leaders to be a sufficient proof of the approval of the people to their ascent to power. They considered any opposition to their claim of power as “reactionary” (favoring the defunct Monarchy) and “anti-people” (considering themselves as genuine representatives of the people). The difference between the Monarchy and the Military was that the former was honest enough to say they had God’s not people’s consent to rule; whereas the latter claimed to have had people’s consent where in reality that was absent. Either by ignorance or by insincerity those who snatch power by means of the barrel of the gun, later justifying it by rigged elections, try to assure themselves and the entire world that they are the voices of the people. Any opposition to their “people’s rule” is dealt with severely.

However noble the cause of the people an individual or a political group claims to uphold that does not guarantee the consent of the people to rule. The intentional or unintentional mistake Military rule in Ethiopia committed was almost repeated by the EPRDF. TPLF, the most senior party of the coalition, led the formulation of the narratives forming the foundations of the selection of the kind of social, political and economic system that had to be established in Ethiopia. In a similar way to what the former Military rulers felt after they overthrew the hated Monarchical rule, the EPRDF thought that they were readily accepted by the people as true representatives because they overthrew the hated Military rule. It was syllogism with the right premise but wrong conclusion: *“The people hated military rule, so they wanted somebody to remove it for them; the EPRDF removed Military rule for them; so, they would certainly accept the one who did this for them: the EPRDF”*. That was the reason why the EPRDF assured itself of the consent of the people to rule and went ahead deciding everything in its meeting/congress/conference halls and doing everything in all spheres of life without sufficiently consulting the people of Ethiopia. EPRDF was so confident about the people’s consent to its decisions and actions that any sign of opposition was considered as “Monarchical or Pro-Derg or even terrorist”. They could not believe that much of the opposition is genuine and coming from the people, who they think are “beneficiaries” of EPRDF’s decisions and actions (policies, strategies, programmes, projects).

From another more important angle, the linguistic-federal arrangement, however appropriate as a solution to Ethiopia’s political and social problems it may be, was not based on the consent of the people of Ethiopia. The entire scheme was based on the analysis of social and political contradictions in Ethiopia by 1991. Class-contradictions dominated the Monarchical era. Land–tenure based landlord and tenant relationships drew the social and economic boundaries between individuals and groups. The Land Proclamation in February, 1975 marked the end of class distinction

based on land ownership. Everyone became tenants of the state as land became the property of the state. With the end of the land-based class society and the advent of socialist doctrines that promoted the self determination of nations and nationalities, the latter became a major motivation for political grouping.

During the entire time of Military rule national liberation movements proliferated in Ethiopia shifting the dominance of contradictions from class to nationalism. When the political analysts in the liberation movements determined that the key social and political contradiction was/is nation and nationality-based not class-based, it was taken for granted that it reflected the fundamental contradictions in the Ethiopian societies. During the messy rule of the Military, the liberation movements had ample time and freedom of action to rally the respective societies behind nationalist identities and related organizational structures. Parties that remained stuck in the country-level class-struggle, like EPRP and Meison, became irrelevant in the face of nationalist fervor.

Who were the liberation movements fighting against? Technically, they were fighting against Military rule which did not constitute as single oppressive nation or nationality. Of the liberation movements at least TPLF was a socialist party fighting against the socialist Military government. It was neither an ideological nor a national liberation war. Implicitly, it was a national liberation war of assumption: “Military rule is dominated by the defunct but still alive former national oppressor”. There was some truth in this point of argument. Most of those who felt that they had no reason to establish liberation movements, notably the Amhara, had little choice but to stick to the ideology of one Ethiopia which was consistent with the ideology of Military rule. The EPRP was hoped to attain this very goal without alliance with Military rule. By the way, it was that very Military rule that crushed the political, economic and social prominence of the Amhara ruling elite.

During that fateful year (1991) those forces that sat in a conference to decide on the fate of the people of Ethiopia were the victors in the war against Military rule. At that juncture in history it was assumed, to the highest possible degree of certainty, that the people of Ethiopia do not want to be ruled by a unitary system, which they have associated with oppression and discrimination by a ruling elite which was rendered powerless 17 years ago. Was that political force still potent enough to continue subjugation and discrimination? What was its perceived power base that could enable it to wield sufficient force against so many and so much of nations and nationalities and take them back to the age of subjugation and discrimination? The power-base of the Amhara ruling elite was land. When land became nationalized in 1975 the power base was effectively broken. The Amhara are too poor and powerless to be considered as a potential threat to the rest of Ethiopian nations and nationalities. Many seem to be fighting against a ghost of history. What has remained of the Amhara ruling elite was its pervasive language and culture. By the way, whatever claims the Amhara political elite may have over the rest of Ethiopia does not command significant mass base in the Amhara society now and then. The Amhara people are unjustly branded as oppressive ruling societies to make the case strongly for nationalist movements to convince their respective constituents of the threat of “resurgence of Amhara rule”. The most beaten-track in any non-consent rule is to keep entire people on the edge by narratives of threat from this or that source.

The transitional council in 1991 that decided on the fate of Ethiopia was not a country-wide conference of elected representatives of the people but self appointed ‘representatives’ of the people of Ethiopia. After 30 years we have come back to square one where the wisdom of holding a conference of victors 1991 is being questioned. Unfortunately, those that are raising such issues are being branded as the losers of 1991. It has become very difficult to distinguish who is honest and who is not. The Amhara political elite complain that their nation, accused of being a ruling nationality, was not

represented in the transitional council decisions in 1991. The complaint has no logical ground at all because no other nation and nationality in Ethiopia had true representations in the 1991 conference. I define representation as a result of direct and fair election by the people (nations and nationalities in this case) not of those who claim to represent the people just by virtue of the programmes of their parties. Parties do not automatically become representatives of people simply because the missions in their founding documents reflect the social, economic and political problems of the people and their perceived solutions. The truth is, parties customarily prefer to feel as the hands, eyes and ears of the people.

The Federal Constitution and the resulting Federal system, that was established based on the narratives of the gathering of the dominantly national liberation movements is coming into question not entirely out of hate of the equality of nations and nationalities but out of concern for the nations and nationalities in their respective regional states who have come under another form of elitist rule by ones “own” (regiocracy). A Federal system, regardless of its being based on geography or language should not be a shift of the iron-hand central rule to the regions. Many of the regional ruling parties have become so entrenched in the regional states so much that they have considered their tenure in power as hereditary nearly as much as it was during the Monarchy. They have consolidated too much power than they need to rule as democratic and replaceable governments.

Bad governance, corruption, indiscipline, have become tolerable and waved off as secondary or tertiary problems. Whoever, dares to oppose is branded as the enemy of the people not as the enemy of the parties. Worse still, one could be categorized as a fifth-columnist for external enemies. Artificial threats are created or real threats are exaggerated maintaining a constant vigilance, postponing development and the fight against bad governance and corruption. In this situation it is difficult and in most cases impossible for

opposition parties to change anything for the better. The greatest comfort regional ruling parties enjoy is the proliferation of opposition parties too small and too weak to withstand the might of the ruling parties. They are born with a propensity to devour one another for simple differences rather than merge and be viable political force to effectively challenge the ruling parties in favor of the people's cause.

In the first instance, the opposition parties may be just subsidiaries of the ruling parties to give a semblance of political tolerance in the regions. They help the ruling parties by overcrowding the political space with intangible or similar party programmes with the ruling party and other opposition parties. This may favorably result (for the ruling parties) in apathy and fatigue among the people with the noise pollution created by opposition politics in the media. Secondly, the opposition parties may be too weak, in terms of finance and the number and political skills of their membership, becoming easy prey for the downgrading propaganda of the ruling parties. The people also consider them as power mongers and as nuisances to peace and stability. Others lack direction and a to-do list for the people if they are elected. They are fully engaged in insulting ruling parties and praying for their downfall as soon as possible. They even go to the extent of begging the central government to overthrow the ruling parties in the regions and do the homework for them conveniently. Sometimes when extra-regional threats for all are perceived or fabricated the ruling parties and the opposition parties come into alliance. Recent pacts in Oromia and Amhara are cases in point. The entire rationale of forming opposition parties against regional ruling parties is lost. Who are the opposition parties against if they form alliance with the ruling parties?

Many, if not all, regional ruling party leaders are actually more interested in Federal positions in Addis Ababa. The regions have become waiting rooms for a red carpet flight to Addis Ababa. Hence, they don't want to make long-term and genuine commitments for the people of the regions. Whatever they do is temporary and superficial.

They don't take the complaints of the people, on corruption and bad governance, seriously in order not to disappoint their own corrupt friends in the parties just to please the people. While the crimes they committed are clear to everyone they still remain at the top jobs telling stories, in their designer-suits, luxury cars and mansions, about how much sacrifice was made in the struggle. They unashamedly tell the people that their sons and daughters died to bring them "the prosperity and democracy they are enjoying now". They are clearly telling a sick joke; but they know they can go away with it as they have always done. They know the people are too weak and too helpless to shake the foundations of their rule. They have systematically weakened them by either making them economically dependent on the ruling parties or brainwashed them to the extent of thinking that the ruling parties are irreplaceable. Many are made to feel endlessly grateful to the parties for saving them from brutal central rule, which is felt to be considerably worse.

Still, whether or not Ethiopia should be unitary, federal on geography, federal on language, etc. is the agenda for debate and conflict of the political elite. After 30 years, the people of Ethiopia are still passive spectators or audiences to the chaotic political drama about *what to be* and *what not to be*. Politicians have become disrespectful of people's right to decide on their own economic, social and political future. Many politicians wake up in the morning with a "bright" idea of forming an independent state as a quick solution to the political stalemate in the Federation. Others choose from the menu of development theories as they choose a meal in a restaurant. Some prefer social democracy, which is losing ground even in the European countries where it prevailed for decades. Others are enthusiastic about neoliberalism unaware that it has immersed many developing nations in deep muddy waters. Ruling parties love the idea of development state because it could ensure long years of tenure in political power. Still others brand revolutionary democracy as a tool for tyrannical rule without having any idea about what its basic tenets are. There are more reasonable

others who are not interested in picking from a menu of “Made-in-USA” or “Made-in-Europe” development theories. They prefer customized approaches to development to the peculiarities of Ethiopia.

Politicians who endured several years of hardship to bring about rule by consent lack the stamina and willpower to do the easiest of all jobs: listening to the people. They are not listening to the people because they know what the people may say is uncomfortable to them. Why is political power so jealously guarded even from the people for whom it is meant to serve? Why are people killed and jailed for demanding good governance and ending corruption? Isn't it the reason why current leaders overthrew previous leaders for? Why should the people's demand for genuine democracy be a virtue before the change of government and be a vice after that? This is double standards! The same people who were hailed as revolutionaries will be branded as terrorists while upholding the same principles before and after. For instance, whatever they did the Qerros, the Fannos, and the Ejjetos were praised as revolutionaries before; but now many brand them as terrorists for doing the same thing as they have been doing before.

Why do incumbents adhere to political power whatever the cost to them and to the people? It is a conundrum when political power which is in principle a means to bring about an end (serving the people) becomes an end in itself (serving oneself). Every incumbent believes that it is the best ever for the people without waiting for the people to give their verdicts. Its media monopoly (private and public) and its ability to rally benefit seeking human parasites behind it enable it to jam the voices of the people. The difference between taking the seats of political power in poor countries like Ethiopia and in the rich West is the intention of doing so. In the West politicians would stay in power as long as they are doing their jobs accordingly and effectively. They resign even with the slightest of failures in their jobs. For them political power is not a means to end their personal poverty but an opportunity to prove their worth by serving



the people. They buy a two-way ticket to and back from power. In poor countries like Ethiopia politicians buy a one-way ticket to power and never look back. They break the steps of the ladder every time they go higher in the political hierarchy. Coming down from that height becomes a death sentence for them. They have already enriched and “royalized” themselves to a point of no return to previous life. That is why they fight to the end to retain their positions against the people they came to power on behalf of.

This becomes morally degrading when the incumbency’s ascent to power has cost the lives of tens of thousands of people. The difference between Military rule’s and the EPRDF’s ascent to power is how much sacrifice was paid for the same thing: to come to power. Meskerem 2 1967 E.C. did not see the death of even a single person to bring down the long reigned Monarchy. Bringing down Military rule required more than a hundred thousand casualties. Which of the two should be mindful of sacrifices? The answer is clear; but both behaved in the same way when it comes to retaining incumbency. EPRDF is not feeling like it has borrowed power to pay back the people who paid dearly for it. It acts like as if it has earned it.

How and when is this vicious cycle of deceit and short sighted power mongering going to break? When is the time in which political power will be viewed not as bread with honey but as bread with vinegar? When is altruism going to be the guiding principle of politicians for the good of future generations? Ordinary people and politicians alike are sending their children to the best schools as much as their capacities allow them to do. However, the sick irony is that many are busy destroying the very future of their children for the sake of short-term greed for power. Few are thinking clearly about paying the sacrifices now and preparing a bright future for the generations of Ethiopians to come. They want all the golden eggs from the goose by slaying it now! Let the people decide and Let the people rule! That is the only way Ethiopia can be saved from crumbling and its people get what they deserve. For now, the behavior of politicians in Ethiopia is a non-return visa to hell!

## **Who decides who is wrong in Ethiopia?**

December 16-2019

Exactly 14 years ago I posted a commentary entitled “the wrong sense of wrong” on the then Deki Alula.com. I never thought that the article would provoke so much anger among the EPRDF opposition. Although that has never been my intention I was branded as anti-Menilik; and by extension anti-Ethiopia. A very close friend of mine said “Won’t this article make you misunderstood by the public? People are talking about you!”. By “the public and the people” I know what he was referring to. No one was ready to give me the freedom to have an idea of my own. It was like in the old days when someone who says “enachenefalen” was no doubt an “anarchist” (EPRP member) and one who says “enshenefalen” was branded as “Dergist”. The syllogism that I was subject to went like this: TPLF is “anti-Menilik”; Yohannes is anti-Menilik; therefore Yohannes is a TPLF. I am not; but in case I am, don’t I have the right to criticize Menilik regardless of being a member of the TPLF? Was he a demigod?

The premise is wrong in the first place. TPLF is not anti-Menilik. Like any critic it curses his bad and blesses his good deeds. So do I! I don’t become a member of the TPLF by syllogism; no one does! Party membership has its own procedures. What is happening here is that there are particular genus of individuals and groups who are “by their very nature” always right and others who are always wrong. I am classed in the latter and whatever I wrote did not make any sense. The content of the article was a comparison between Meles Zenawi and Menilik II. One morning in October 2005 I boarded a mini-bus taxi and saw pictures of Menilik II, H.S.I, and Mengistu and their spouses posted above the wind screen of the car. I saw that Meles was missing in that line of leaders. I could not understand why Meles was missing because Haile Selassie and his killer Mengistu were posted side by side. Meles did not kill any of

these. I had to ask myself: Whose right and wrong and whose wrong is right?

In that article I wrote: “Meles helped his friends in the EPLF to liberate Eritrea and Menilik allowed his friends (Italians) to colonize Eritrea. Score: One-to-One. Next, both of their friends advanced and tried to annex the rest of Ethiopia. Menilik repelled them at Adwa and Meles repelled them at Badme. Score: Two-to-Two. Both were wrong first and both were right next. Unfortunately, the sense of right and wrong has become so partisan that Menilik got his man-size statue while Meles got none. Meles was considered to be wrong in both instances and Menilik was blessed for the two instances. The latter’s actions are celebrated by the annually observed day of the Wuchale Treaty (as if article 3 of the treaty was a great act of patriotism) and the day of the Battle of Adwa.

After 14 years nothing has changed in this regard. Still people are denied the basic civil right to differ. Supporting the TPLF has been considered as always wrong and a betrayal of Ethiopia condemned by all kinds of dirty adjectives under the sun. It is quite clear that some are more equal than others when it comes to the possession of Ethiopia. Even if you see some unmistakable constructive contributions by the TPLF you are expected to say “No! what I see is a phantom, a visual illusion created by the TPLF to deceive Ethiopians”. You are expected, by a pressure to conform, to condemn the TPLF for deception. That is how people save their souls from being social outcasts. The wordings and phrasings of the condemnations sometimes become so vulgar, and often poetic. The diction exhausts the thesaurus of its strongest and nastiest terminology in the list. It is a formidable propaganda edifice that is in place!

The “paragon group” determines who is right and who is wrong. Its evaluation method of what is right and what is wrong is not based on the statement made or the action taken; but on who is saying it and who is doing it. In addition and more importantly, whether the words

spoken and the actions taken are favorable or unfavorable to the “paragon group”. This is how truth and untruth is determined. The members of the TPLF splinter group in 2000 were welcomed by the opposition for leaving the TPLF whatever their reason for doing so was. Although the opposition wouldn’t like it when such splits happen to their own parties. They righted the wrong for its convenience to their goal of weakening the TPLF. Later on they wronged the right when the members of the TPLF splinter group gained their composure soon enough and were not easily manipulated against their comrades.

The defection of Seye Abraha from the TPLF was righted and the defection of Lemma Megerssa from the PP is wronged. Even Siamese twins do not think alike. Lemma Megerssa is not a child whose difference should create so much alarm. The problem is the “agents of change” consider themselves as divinely ordained to be the ultimate bearers of the truth. It would be belittling Lemma’s intellect to consider his defection as an act misled by the devil. “When Lemma comes to his senses and realizes that he was wrong he will come back home”. This was the tone of the you-tube video analysis of Lemma’s defection. The loss of Lemma was not taken so much seriously just for losing Lemma per se. So much commotion was the fear that it will boost TPLF’s morale; the last thing they want to see. Many are wondering why the Lemma they know, who was the standard bearer of Ethiopianism, and the key leader of the “change” from back stage which ousted the TPLF, is acting so “weirdly”. Lemma’s defection is wrong because what he opposed-the merger of EPRDF and the *Medemer* political economy-are considered to be absolute truths. So, those in the PP and adopted *Medemer* consider those non-converts and rebels as harboring evil spirit of hatred of Ethiopia.

Jawar Mohammed is always wrong even when sometimes what he says makes sense. First, assigning guards for Jawar was considered right for the “change group”, although it is clear to any reasonable mind that the action was wrong. It is funny for a journalist to have

body guards. He must be on the Guinness Book of Records for that. Soon enough, when Jawar started to move out of servitude and continued to ride his own horse, his protection was summoned awkwardly in the middle of the night. What was considered by the “change group” to be right-assigning guards to a journalist-suddenly became wrong and it was decided that the “fault” should not see the light of the day. When Jawar took a desperate action feeling that he was exposed to grave danger, the consequences of which became disastrous, Jawar was wronged for acting as a human being in a state of fear of death. Those that had to be wrong were those who attempted the inflammable action at that dead night hour. It was the wrong they righted that went rightly wrong.

Jawar led a violent anti-TPLF youth movement, which was a criminal act by all world measures. The self-anointed arbiters of truth elevated Jawar to the rank of savior of Ethiopia, like Saint George, from the “TPLF dragon”. The criterion for righting the lawlessness employed by the group, with Jawar as the chief priest, was ridding the “greater evil” (TPLF) at whatever cost. Jawar was no servant of any one as it was wrongly perceived before. Like every one of them he has his power ambitions. The Jawar who was absolute right before is now an absolute wrong judged by the self-anointed arbiters of truth. The truth is, Jawar remained the same as he ever was. It was the perception of how useful he was for the pretenders to the Ethiopian throne that has changed. When he started openly challenging the leadership none of those who adored him could believe that he was doing this on his own. They preferred to believe that it was the TPLF who “twisted” Jawar to “misbehave”. When the two match in their standpoints about the current government it was branded as an “unholy alliance” against truth (their “divine” truth). Jawar was the arch enemy of TPLF. He still could be. However, why Jawar’s ideas came to gradually match with that of the TPLF’s is not as a tactical alliance but as a sudden realization of on whose side truth lies.

Creating a demographic block of two regional states, with the evil goal of dominating the rest of Ethiopians in the quest for the Ethiopian throne dubbed “Oromara”, was a criminal act by all global standards of the acceptable behavior of statehood. It is parties that normally form alliances or coalitions to get a majority in parliament. This wrong was righted, and still is post-mortem, as no one has the power to question its legitimacy. The block constituted more than 60% of the active politicians in Ethiopia and almost 90% of the expert propagandists. Oromara was a mixture of oil and water although many ordinary fans thought it was a compound serving as a potion to cure all Ethiopia’s political ills. It was felt very strongly that if Ethiopia is to collapse due to the “irresponsible actions” of TPLF and its allies it will remain standing as “Ethioromara” retaining a majority of its population. Here, what is considered as important is not the diversity of the rest of the 80 nations and nationalities, however small each one of them are, but the sheer numerical majority that adds up from the joining of Amhara and Oromia regions enough to rule Ethiopia jointly forever!

The first huge crack in the Oromara edifice started to appear soon after the oil in the mixture settled at the top forcing the water to remain as sub-stratum. The water boiled to make way through the oil but succeeded only to heat the oil not remove it. To the relief of the rest of the trivialized Ethiopian nations and nationalities Oromara almost became history except in the minds of a few diehards who couldn’t bear the thought that the collapse has pleased the TPLF. In fact it pleased the rest of Ethiopians as well. They were considered as inconsequential in the face of the “super-Ethiopian” Oromara.

When the Prime Minister declared that the terrorist was the government itself, not the prisoners, he was referring to the “TPLF-led” government. Then the government was “wrong” and the prisoners were “right”. When TPLF was gone out of the picture the same thing that had been happening to the “TPLF-led” government is happening to the “new” government which branded its predecessor as terrorist. While jailing hundreds of people the new

government, that is doing the same thing, does not consider itself as a terrorist! Jailing is right now; but jailing was wrong previously.

In Ethiopia many groups and individuals demonize nationalism as dangerous to Ethiopia's survival. Of course, not all kinds of nationalism are benign; some are destructive and must be shunned. My point here is not to justify nationalism or otherwise. I am focused on those who curse nationalism of others as "anti-Ethiopian" while they bless their own ultra nationalism as "pro-Ethiopian". One cannot help to be confused what the parameters to distinguish "anti-Ethiopian nationalism" and "pro-Ethiopian nationalism".

Today I found myself watching a video related to the Stockholm Nobel Award entitled "The journalist and spy Girmay Berhe". I was stunned when I saw the photo of Girmay Berhe, who was a popular student when we were in the Yohannes IV comprehensive secondary school in Meqele in the 1960s. The last contact I had with him was three years ago on face-book. Girmay Berhe was loved for his funny jokes and friendly character. We teased him for spending most of his time with girls because he was in the commerce stream which was then the favorite of female students. The video was posted on Mereja TV and was narrated by somebody who claimed to have done "research" on Girmay and found out that he was the brother of Eyasu Berhe (the late vocalist in the TPLF music band). He blamed him for being different from his brother who according to the narrator was "anti-TPLF". When you lie you lie like this! He denied Girmay the right to demonstrate against the award of Nobel Prize to the PM. I am not saying he is right or wrong for doing that but I feel very strongly that it is his inalienable right as a human being to do so. The narrator was accusing Girmay Berhe for opposing "his PM" in front of the Swedish public as an act of treason. If opposing the PM in public outside Ethiopia by an Ethiopian journalist is a criminal act, why was it not considered to be so when the journalist Abebe Gelaw roared at PM Meles Zenawi in a public in the USA? As a journalist Girmay Berhe may have had to be neutral; but how is it possible for Girmay to be neutral when no journalist in Ethiopia is neutral?

Journalists who are not neutral are expecting other journalists to be neutral. Their wrong is always right because independent evaluations are suffocated by persistent, debilitating, and overwhelming make-believe media campaigns.

One thing that “change agents” are trying to conceal is that there was a mass jailing and torture during Military Rule. Well, many of the “victors in the change”, who enjoyed VIP reception at the airport were former Derg officials. The former PM posed for a photo with the former dictator in Zimbabwe probably congratulating him that he has helped remove his enemies from Arat Kilo. They have no intention of naming their comrades in arms against TPLF as criminals after so much of smiles and embracing. They are trying hard by every available means at their disposal to brainwash the youth that the first and the last torture in the history of Ethiopia was done by the TPLF security apparatus. The TV channels, especially ESAT, are busy with replacing nightmarish memories of the Derg legacy by sweet ones. No one with a sober mind can support torture of any kind by any group. Torture is evil by all standards; but what is more evil is to conceal torture done by some and reveal torture done by others.

Everyone that opposed the Derg was tortured in the Central Prison: EPRP, EPLF, ELF, TPLF, OLF, etc. Even war disabled from “JegnochAmba” were packed in one cell in Central Prison. They murdered very old men like Dj. Asegahegn Araya, who could have died a natural death a few weeks later. They killed OLF’s Gezahegn and Muhiyu after jailing them for more than eight years. Gezahegn was hoping to be released. I was asking that brave and friendly Muhiyu if he also hopes to be released. He knew the Derg much better than Gezahegn did. His murder damaged my morale for a very long time. I still remember him with grief. Key members of the OLF leadership like Hussien, Abiyu Geleta, Eshdetu Letu, Shero (Nigus), Zegeye Asfaw, Ebsa Gutema, Ababiya AbaJobir, Fekadu, Hailu and others (some of these were ministers during the Transitional Government) were packed only in one cell, No.1, for over eight



years without any due process. They tortured and Killed Tadesse G/Egziabher and were nearly on the verge of jailing Col. Fesseha Desta.

The Central Prison of 1984-91 teemed with Tigrayan prisoners who were accused as TPLF members without any proof. They were torturing them to sign confession; many did out of extreme pain from torture. The torturers hung the prisoners' sole up, beat them on the soles, and go for beer in the nearby Semien Hotel and return to beating while drunk. We were always ready with water, floor cleaning mop, and massage cream to massage the tortured feet of prisoners quick enough to prepare them for the next cycle of torture. The cells were like hospital emergency rooms for the wounded in battle. When the tortured arrive at their cells either limping or crawling they were picked from the door by a group of fellow prisoners in order to massage their feet as quickly as possible. Any delay could cause permanent crippling of the prisoners. None of the prisoners went to court. The chief justice occasionally visited the prisoners to see the "handling of prisoners". That day we were all treated like dear brothers and sisters! In fact the chief justice knows what was happening behind the high walls of the Central Prison, hidden behind buildings lining Dj. Belay Zeleke Street.

TPLF security people were torturing. Is that wrong? Yes it is! Derg security were torturing. Is that wrong? In principle yes; but according to the strange evaluators, who set the standards for right and wrong, Derg's torture was right!! Why? Because it was done on "the enemies of Ethiopia". The video narrator accused Girmay Berhe for acquiring documentation that proves he was jailed and tortured in Central Prison by Derg security. According to the narrator the document was given to him by the TPLF security apparatus. What is this accusation for? Girmay Berhe was not lying that he was jailed and tortured in Central Prison. Doesn't he have the right to get documentation about his imprisonment? I was there in that notorious Central Prison for four years. I know who was there and who wasn't. I saw with my bare eyes what was being done to

prisoners and what was not. In the Central Prison no one could know when you are going to be killed or released. Every day and every hour you live with fear of death that can happen any hour of the day or night. More agonizing than the prison life and the torture is the fear of death for as long as you stay. Why is this being hidden from the public? Is it again that bizarre evaluation that whatever Derg did should remain obscure because it was the work of “Ethiopian nationalists” and every bit of TPLF’s actions be exposed as wrong not for the action per se but for the universal hatred directed at whatever is Tigrayan.

Even the separation of Tigray from Ethiopia has had its share of the right-wrong evaluation. When a professor living in the USA drew a map of Ethiopia, circled Tigray, and called for a struggle to separate Tigray from Ethiopia there was defeating silence, except for my reaction: “If you come to Ethiopia” I threatened the professor, “I will sue you for treason”. The silence seemed to me like consent. So, when a professor posts such treason on Ethiopian Review he did go away with it and it was “right”; when some disenchanted politicians in Tigray mention the possibility of separation of Tigray from Ethiopia hell breaks loose! It becomes the mother of all wrongs!

Recently Professor Mesfin Woldemariam said in an interview: “God will bring back the betrayers (Eritrea) to Ethiopia”. We are all tired of going over and over again about the story of Eritrean colonization, war of independence from Ethiopia, and the final separation. Did Eritreans betray Ethiopia and become colonized willingly? Who is branding who as a betrayer? There does not seem to be any foreseeable end to the throwing of the same bomb back at the thrower again and again and again and again. The wild race to blame first and to curse first only brings about more distrust and wider divergence. When some monarchs amputated it was human legs and hands (too bad!); when others did the same thing it was onions and tomatoes (great!). When some leaders fight foreign invaders they were fighting for their own religious goals (wrong); when others do the same they were motivated by patriotism (right). When some

leaders protect the economic sovereignty of Ethiopia from gross external intervention they are branded as dictators (wrong), when others open doors widely for external dictation they are considered as democrats (right). When OPDO and ANDM forged an alliance to beat TPLF it was blessed as a historic right move for Ethiopia; when TPLF did the same thing to counter the alliance it was turned into a political crisis brewed by TPLF to break up Ethiopia. Albert Einstein once said: “Lean the rules of the game and play better than everybody else”. This is what TPLF is doing, playing by the rules of the game. For the last two years TPLF has been a learner of the rules not the teacher. Like a student who excels its teacher it has always surprised everyone in the classroom for outwitting those who started it. The teacher who is not ready to admit curses the smart student as a naughty boy! We have got lost in Ethiopia, and probably got lost for ever, with the way wrong and right are assigned to the same words and actions. Vice or virtue be

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**'Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel.'** Samuel Johnson (1775)  
July 17-2021

Samuel Johnson is a great British scholar of the 18th Century, who is a familiar figure in Ethiopia for his book "Raselas: The Prince of Abyssinia". The book was translated into Amharic by Sirak Hiruy. Although it was only at a certain political party level, unlike the government level in Ethiopia, what we are experiencing in Ethiopia most currently was also observed by Samuel Johnson in Britain two hundred fifty years ago. It was a dishonest case of using patriotism to advance self or group interest. In Ethiopia political leaders at the Federal and in the Amhara, State are crying fowl on the people of Tigray State (founding member of the Federation!) and its popularly elected party (TPLF) for an alleged attempt to destroy Ethiopia. Just like that! The accusers are using and abusing the patriotic fervor in the hearts of Ethiopians by feeding them with false information,

about the war of self-defense in Tigray, through the multitudes of media outlets which have succeeded to jam almost all voices of truth about what has really been going on. Samuel Johnson was not against genuine patriotism. The real idea and practice of Ethiopian patriotism has its origins in Tigray. Tigray has defended Ethiopia from several foreign invasions while the rest of political leaders were busy stabbing it from the back. It is the century long deafening talk of falsely accusing Tigray of "using all opportunities to destroy Ethiopia" that has obscured the truth. The unsuspecting or carefree or hate- blinded Ethiopians have been swallowing the toxic propaganda against Tigray without chewing it. So, Samuel Johnson was referring not to the "real and generous love" of one's own country but the "pretended patriotism which so many in all ages and countries have made a cloak for self-interest".

This week the accusation on Tigray as working to destroy Ethiopia has reached its peak. What did Tigray do to deserve this politically and morally degrading reference? Christ was crucified for teaching virtue. Those who nailed Him to the Cross were not mentioning any of the good things He said and did. They were stirring the emotions of the public referring to Him as a "false messiah, enemy of Rome, etc.). The truth about what Christ said and did is now recognized by a third of humanity. What Tigray is experiencing in the hands of the false patriots, who have become more Catholic than the Pope (Tigray) not mentioning the fact that it was Tigray which fought and won the largest number of battles and external aggressors who came to rule Ethiopia. The political scoundrels (rogue, dishonest or unscrupulous people) had been partners of TPLF (ruling party of Tigray) in the EPRDF coalition that stayed at the helm in Ethiopia. They have fully participated in everything that TPLF was doing good and bad. With regards to real patriotism TPLF(Tigray) has built the defence force, the security apparatus, the economy and the diplomacy to a world standard. If all this unprecedented contribution to Ethiopia is considered as unpatriotic what is patriotic? Gifting Eritrea to Italy as Tigray cried helplessly? Conspiring with Mahdists

to kill the Tigrayan Yohannes IV? Inviting foreign countries (Eritrea, UAE, and Somalia) to raze Tigray to the ground?

Arat-Kilo and Bahir Dar are very busy accusing Tigray for working to destroy Ethiopia (Amhara). The real origin of the accusation is not that Tigray has bad intentions on Ethiopia, but because it has the best intentions for Ethiopia. Let me elaborate this apparent contradiction. Ethiopia is the home of over 80 Ethno-linguistic groups, large and small, with their own languages, cultures, and histories. There was no political unit named Ethiopia before the 20th Century. The name Ethiopia was simply a reference to the land south of Egypt or the Sahara to mean the land of "burnt faces" in Greek. The Ethiopia that evolved in the last decade of the 19th Century was referred to as Abyssinia. This name persisted even into the years of the "Italo-Abyssinian" war of the 1930s. This is how Ethiopia evolved. First there were a Middle Eastern Axumite empire-state in the north, Amhara kingdoms and dukedoms in the Central and Northwestern Highlands, and the rest in the south, west, southwest, east, northeast, and southeast were autonomous kingdoms or some other things like that. Christian Axum joined the fellow Christian central Amhara kingdoms in the beginning of the second millennium AD as it was alienated from its Middle Eastern historical and cultural milieu due to the expansion of Islam in the Red Sea. Axum, which later on took the name Tigray formed an uneasy union with the Amhara kingdoms and evolved into Abyssinia. Until this time the two geopolitical entities have no shared history. Their cultures configured by their shared religion and their languages probably evolved and diverged from Geez are what are common to the two Abyssinian political entities. For eight hundred years, until the close of the 19th Century, present day Ethiopia constituted of internally fragmented Abyssinia; Oromo-Gada societies over a huge area covering the south, west, southeast, south-central, and north-central east, Sidama and multitudes of other tiny, small, and large kingdoms in the south-southwest; and the independent Adal and AUSA Sultanates in the east and northeast. It was Abyssinian kings based in Shoa, located closest

to the hitherto self-administering political units, that incorporated all of them, by a combination of carrot and stick methods, into the Ethiopian empire its leaders were fond of calling it. This is the 100 years mixture (not a compound) that forms present day Ethiopia. Those who incorporated what we prefer to call nations and nationalities of the east, west and south, were honest enough to refer to Ethiopia as an Empire and its government for instance as "Imperial Ethiopian Ministry of Defence, Health, Education, etc". Readers can pick any copy of Statistical Abstract issued in the 1960s to see this on the cover page.

Ethiopia is not a melting pot; it is a mixed bag! A melting pot is a heterogeneous society becoming more homogeneous, melting together into a common culture. A mixed bag is a miscellaneous collection or assortment. I am not denying that shared values have evolved through time; but the difference, which has to be seriously attended to, is still more overwhelming. The highly centralized unitary system of rule in Ethiopia, which prevailed for the entire century until the advent of the EPRDF in 1991, preferred to consider Ethiopia as a homogenous society without any need for the devolution of political power. This is nothing but a gross denial of reality on the ground. Proponents of the unitary system are largely drawn from the Amhara political elite, as it was the most convenient system for them for those many years in the past. Their ranks also swell every passing day by the unfounded fear inculcated in the minds of innocent members of other nations and nationalities, that it is the unitary system that can guarantee the unity of Ethiopia against the "divisive" federal system. This is the root of the accusation against Tigray. The allegations of maladministration, human rights violation, corruption, treason, etc during the 27 years of TPLF-led EPRDF rule thrown at Tigray, are just smoke screen to rally support against the bastion of Federalism. While Tigray is defending itself as well as the Federalism that Ethiopia badly needs to survive in one-piece, unitary forces are seeking the support of no other than the

beneficiaries of the Federal System to cutoff the head of the "Federalist-dragon" in the name of Ethiopian patriotism!

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**Changing the FDRE Constitution: Whose interest is to be served?**

July 22-2019

The Constitution of the most powerful and the most surefooted democracy in the world was written by a handful of self-appointed individuals adoringly known as “The Founding Fathers”. The US Constitution had addressed the most fundamental of human and civil rights; but it also left several holes open that were taken care of for the last 200 years as amendments and annulments. In spite of such near perfect legislative atmosphere one witnesses glaring violations of rights of minorities and people of color. Gun violence and the death of innocent civilians and some cases of police brutality are surprisingly common.

The point of argument that the more people participate in writing the constitution the better it becomes does not hold water. Writing a constitution is not for any layman/woman; it is a sphere for the knowledgeable. Whoever wrote a constitution the question that has to be asked is whether or not it is the best possible solution to social, political, economic problems or not!? A constitution does not become invalid because some group of people, however significant in number they are, did not participate in drafting it. Most of the content of constitutions is based on jurisprudence and the fundamental principles of the rights and duties of any citizen in any country.

In Ethiopia the bulk of the content of the current FDRE constitution constitutes the universal principles of rights and duties of citizens. So dumping the Constitution as worthless is meaningless. No doubt there are articles that pertain to the administrative setup of the Country which are debatable. Everyone is entitled to their opinions

on the articles; but claiming that one's own opinion is more valid than those of others is typically tyrannical. The spatial administrative component of the FDRE Constitution is based on the conviction that in Ethiopia the primary contradiction is ethnic not class. In the last half a century Ethiopia has seen more conflicts based on Ethnic rather than class differences. There were a few peasant rebellions here and there that were opposed to the Monarchical government. However, they were not meant to end the Monarchy but to get taxes reduced and bad local administrators removed.

With the advance of education and the emergence of educated elite from among the people with distinct identities, but buried by violence and assimilation, political consciousness and awareness about identities and the right to defend them came out into the open.

That was for good! This is a historical process that cannot be reversed. Trying to belittle it as 'tribal' and using other derogatory remarks does not help; it only hurts feelings and narrows down the chance for peaceful solutions to the "problem". Mocking the federated states as self-aggrandizing coins and unitary Ethiopia as the powerful one hundred birr bill (Aster Bedane) is sheer ignorance of the politics of Ethiopia. Worse than the artist was the cheering crowd noisily applauding this insensitive none-sense. It is noble to accept realities and live harmoniously with them. This is much like living with the reality of the death of a loved one. Crying and cursing for years doesn't help one's own health. It simply pushes further away into irrationality and desperate actions.

As far as human and civil right are concerned who is harmed by an ethnic group having its primary education in its local language; appear in court and defend in its own local language; have administrators at all levels who know and respect the cultural values; utilize local resources for local and regional development in its own unique way; and develop and promote its own cultural treasures or heritages? Why should all people regardless of their significant differences be molded into a single earthenware? Who benefits from this? The answer is those who benefit from this are not democratic



minded individuals or groups. Those who benefit from the change of the Constitution are those who live their sweet dreams of the past ages where diversity of people was put together as a chorus group. In a chorus group you don't hear the voice of a single member separately. The peculiarity of each singer is swallowed by the uniformity imposed by the rigorous training to eliminate nature's beautiful uniqueness.

The problem with the Constitution may be in how it is put into practice. It is a solution to the main contradiction in the Country; but it is far from being perfect. You don't throw your car away every time there is something wrong with it. You simply have to repair it. As long as there are vested interests among political and economic groups there will always be something wrong. The best approach is not to use the most abusive words in the dictionary but to come together and engage in a constructive debate. Throwing missiles of ugly words at each other's camp will result in mutual destruction. Who in a sane mind could hope that the Oromo's, Tigray's, Afars, Somalis, Sidamas, would go for the reversal of the right of self rule enshrined in the Constitution? If you ask me what I wish to see inside me; I wish all Ethiopians were single people on their own free will! I would wish the same if all human beings be one! What kind of a dreamer would I be divorced from reality?

A frequently raised *raison d'être* for the rejection of the Constitution, considering it as unrepresentative of Amhara interest, divisive and dangerous to Ethiopia, is that the Amhara were not represented in the drafting. In addition, the Constitution is alleged to have taken away some chunks of territory from the Amhara. Unfortunately for the history of Ethiopia in a thousand years the oppressors of several ethnic groups of Ethiopia were ruling elite largely drawn from the Amhara people. Was this done with a yes vote from the Amahra people? Not at all; but the ruling Amhara based elite were using the ordinary Amahra farmers in their campaigns of subjugation and plunder of the so many Ethnic groups in Ethiopia. In the minds of the ordinary people in the subjugated societies there were no way

that they could distinguish between the Amhara-based ruling elite and the poor ordinary Amahara people whose lives were no different from them. Neither the Amhara based ruling elite nor did leaders of the ethnic liberations tell ordinary people on both sides the reality.

It was meaningless for the Amhara people to form nationalist (ethnic) political groups while it was the political elite from their own ranks that were being fought against as oppressors. Any rebellion by the ordinary Amahara people against the Amhara-based ruling elite would only take the form of class struggle not national liberation. That is why most participants of the transitional council in 1991 were national (ethnic) liberation movements. The Amhara were not represented for this obvious reason and also because it did not exist as a political unit. Amhara was created as a political geographic entity, from four former separate dukedoms, based on the Constitution. It is hard to understand why the Amhara political elite is fighting against a Constitution that was the reason for its creation. How could the Amhara remain as a single regional state if the very foundation (constitution) is destroyed? This is a conundrum! It is amusing to hear that Tigray, which is not the result of the Constitution, because it is a centuries old administrative entity although with shrinking and expanding limits, has become the advocate of the Constitution while the Amahara is totally against it. It is unfair to accuse the Constitution for 'gifting' Wolqait and Raya to Tigray based on linguistic federalism while the Amhara region was created on the same basis. Honesty is the best policy. If everything we struggle for is for the interest of the people we have to stop listening to our own noise but attentively listen to the peoples' voice from all over Ethiopia!

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## **Merger of EPRDF Member and Associate Parties**

October 27-2019

The hot taxonomy in the current Ethiopian politics is standing for and against the merger of the Front of the four independent parties (EPRDF) and other five associated with them. The enthusiasts of merger are apparently led by the PM and those against merger are allegedly led by TPLF. Every time someone expresses doubt about the merger of the EPRDF he/she is readily thrown into TPLF's "anti-merger box". Even Obo Jawar Mohammed, one of the most independent thinkers, is already thrown into that box when he expressed his opposition to the merger basing himself on a scientific analysis (ethiotube).

In Ethiopia, nowadays, no one is allowed to make sense on its own without being branded as an echo of one political side or the other. It has become most convenient for half-baked politicians in Ethiopia, who have filled the political atmosphere, to blame the TPLF for every falling leaf instead of engaging in mature and impartial political analysis. They don't want to toil in such political analysis because they know what their fans would love to hear from them: "four legged is good; two legged is bad". For many "distant hill looked green" when Federal political power was in "the hands of the TPLF". Every opposition politician, including the current leaders, must have felt that managing Ethiopia's social, economic and political affairs is just like a piece of cake. That was why they carelessly or without second thoughts, overthrow TPLF letting hell loose by indiscriminately releasing prisoners and allowing all opposition groups and individuals to flood into the Country. They thought they were doing something that the "undemocratic" TPLF was unable to do! Even when they saw that they have inadvertently pulled out the "Gini from the bottle" which was kept systematically sealed by the TPLF, they never want to admit it.

Is the solution to the chaos ending the Federal arrangement and the rule by coalition accusing it of causing the potential fragmentation of Ethiopia? Are single Country level parties the solution? The merger of the EPRDF member parties and their five associates has become a hot political agenda in Ethiopia. Many honestly feel that the merger of the Front including its other regional associates will help in pacifying Ethiopia. Desperate as the people of Ethiopia have become due to the persistent and rising violence all over Ethiopia, turning every stone to end the dangerously escalating violence is understandable. The problem is the politicians in Ethiopia are not coming together to talk about it and seek lasting solutions acceptable to everyone. They are busy confusing the people just for the sake of clearing their way to political power. I never heard of politicians being so unpatriotic.

If a single National party was the solution to the political-economic and social ills of Ethiopia why were parties like the TPLF, OLF, ONLF, SLF, ALF, etc. formed based on the principles of self-determination for nations and nationalities? If the unique political, economic, and social problems of Tigray, for instance, could be solved through a single party for all Ethiopia, why did EPRP fail so utterly and was reduced to an Amhara only party, unable to rally the rest of the nations and nationalities in Ethiopia behind it? This is analogous to forest management. It is customarily referred to as forest management but in reality it is tree management. You cannot have a healthy forest without healthy trees. The health of every tree is insured by focusing on the botanical uniqueness of every tree species. There is nothing like problem solving for a forest in general. If we are convinced that the prime point of departure of politics in Ethiopia is the self determination of nations and nationalities, politics has to start from below not from above. Like trees in a forest the problems of every individual nation and nationality must be addressed from their respective contexts rather than a broad umbrella approach which does not go deep enough.

Country level economic plans, led by a monolithic National party, will be based on feasibility studies which may neglect some resource poor distant regional states as unprofitable. A National party would go for a National GDP growth concentrating investment where returns can be maximized. Budget allocation will not be based on justice to improve the livelihoods of the nations and nationalities which contribute less to the National tax base. Every member of a monolithic National party is sworn in to respect and implement decisions of the party regardless of their importance to his/her home regional state. By the way, if elected a monolithic National party may have the mandate to modify or change the regional state boundaries by re-regionalizing based on the economic development planning dictates of the party. It is possible that the existing regionalization could give way to regionalization based on criteria other than the patterns of settlement of nations and nationalities. There is no way that the national regional economies can survive and thrive in the context of a central National development plans. Regional economies, with their own uniqueness, cannot be run without an appropriate regional political leadership and historically and culturally relevant institutions.

Hoping that Tigrayan members of the monolithic National party will individually work for the development of their home national regional state would be futile. Tigray has already experienced that even within the context of the EPRDF let alone the EPRDF turned into a monolithic National party. When several TPLF leaders were assigned to Federal positions they were totally immersed in shaping the National economy of Ethiopia paying little attention to their home Region. Members of the TPLF, who fought for self determination of the Tigray Nation for 17 odd years, were lost in Addis Ababa. Individual members of the monolithic National party, be them Tigrayans, Oromos, or Sidamas by origin, will have to strictly follow party discipline. They cannot form groups of Tigrayans or Oromos within the party with the aim of working for their home regions. They would be accused of creating grouping or

factions within the monolithic National party. The national regional states, if they are allowed to continue to exist, will be required to elect candidates which are hand-picked by the monolithic National party leadership.

Like during the Monarchy and the Military rule the people of Tigray will be ruled from a distance, by the whims and wills of the nationally elected monolithic National party. Derg's Workers Party of Ethiopia was "elected" as a monolithic National party and it was assigning Tigrayans who would accomplish its mission, like Mulugeta Hagos, or appointing Legesse Asfaw for direct control. By this, I don't mean administrators from wherever outside the Region cannot become benevolent personally; but administrators that cannot be elected by a regional council cannot be effectively controlled.

What I have discussed above is what could happen after the merger of the EPRDF. My next point, which is more important and debatable, is the process of the formation of the monolithic National party by merging EPRDF member parties and their associates. The English translation for the Amharic word "*Wuhdet*" is "merger". Merger in turn means "blending" and "combining". The two have different meanings which make "*Wuhdet*" ambiguous. If "*Wuhdet*" is intended to mean blending then it will be the parties as parties that blend. Here is the dictionary meaning of blending: 1. Mix ingredients so that the two do not readily separate e.g. butter and sugar; 2. Mix with other people or things without being conspicuous; 3. Mix fact and fiction; 4. Shade from one color to another without obvious boundaries; 5. Mix traditional styles and modern materials; and 6. Joining words to form a new word e.g. "telex," from "teleprinter" and "exchange". Very clear in the meaning of the word blending is mixing without eliminating the constituents of the mixture. Since the official statements made by those who uphold "*Wuhdet*" refer to the "*Wuhdet*" as the "*Wuhdet*" of the four front and five associated parties. The "*Wuhdet*" is going to be the blending of the parties.

Well! The question is: Is it technically possible to retain the identity of the parties in a new “blend” party? Would it be the same as cappuccino (a blend of milk and coffee topped with chocolate and cinnamon powders)? Although it is hard to separate the four constituents of the cappuccino their existence in the cappuccino is clearly visible. Is this possible in the new party? I mean TPLF, ODP, ADP, SPDM, and the others will not have clear boundaries but they exist as political entities? The truth behind the façade of claim to retain the Federal status quo (the self determination of nations and nationalities) in the context of the new National party is a PR campaign to persuade the parties to consent.

Since blending of the Front and associated parties of the EPRDF is impracticable in a single National party the only realistic merger can be combining. The dictionary meaning of “combining” is forming a single entity from one or more things. In chemistry a mixture is not the same as a compound. The constituents of the former retain much of their attributes. Whereas those of the latter are completely lost into the new entity. You don’t have hydrogen and oxygen distinguishable in water. You can see it only in the formula (H<sub>2</sub>O). To get hydrogen and oxygen back costly and high-tech hydrolysis must be performed. The only way merger (combining) can be done for the EPRDF and associates is by merging the list of individual members of the parties. This can happen only after the parties are dissolved and disappeared. The members of the defunct parties will join the new party as individuals listed by alphabetical order, shedding the party programmes of their former parties, and swearing to be loyal to the programme of the new National party. The new National party will have its own anthem. It may be penalizing to sing “ዛይንድደቦ ጎቦ፣ዛይንሰገሮ ናብ...” in the new National party.

The timing of the merger is the most critical issue. If it happens before the elections, all those regional governing councils and the Federal government itself will be illegitimate with all the grave implications emanating from it. The Country and the regions will either be ruled by a dictatorship, military or civilian, or be failed

states teeming with warlords. Why would such a terrible thing happen? It starts from the elected parties to the regional and Federal governments in 2015. If the parties are dissolved to make way for the new National party their mandate to be governments in the regions and the Federal legislature and executive will also cease with the dissolution of the elected parties. As far as the Supreme Law of the Land is concerned nothing can replace them without election. The new party is yet to be elected in June. It has no mandate to continue the governments elected in 2015 in the absence the elected parties.

To me the best approach is to sincerely allow reconciliations within the EPRDF; include the associate parties in the Front; introduce radical reforms about governance and corruption in all parties; focus on bringing about harmony and mutual respect among the peoples of Ethiopia; be alert about external interference in the affairs of Ethiopia; depend on Ethiopians in Ethiopia for political support rather than succumbing to external pressure for dirty cash. Solutions to problems in Ethiopia should not be worse than the problems. It is unwise to jump from a frying pan into the fire.

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<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Prophetic words of Sebhat and Meles</b> February 11-2021</p>
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Sebhat Nega has been critical of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church as a religious hand of right-wing Amhara nationalism. He was cursed and insulted using all abusive words in the dictionary. He was demonized to the extent that when he was chained as if he is in a physical position to punch the security guards on the face and melt into the crowd, no one had the decency to disapprove the mishandling of an infirm old man. Sebhat Nega was not a heretic; simply put, he was foretelling how the Church is going to encourage, support, and bless the gross violations of all of the Ten



Commandments in Tigray, ironically the original home of Orthodox Christianity for Ethiopia. What do I mean by all the Ten Commandments are violated? The first four are directly and directly related to the worship of God: No other gods, no idols, no naming the Lord in vain, and observe Sabbath. The remaining six pertain to how we as human beings need to frame our relations in social life.

In the war in Tigray that I dub "Black November" Six of the Ten Commandments are violated: Don't kill, Don't steal, Don't commit adultery, Don't lie, Don't covet, and Honor parents. The Ten Commandments cannot be half empty or half full. It can only be either full or empty. If half of it is violated the rest half cannot be honored. Someone who kills, steals, lies, covets, disrespects mothers and fathers, and commits adultery cannot be a genuine believer of God. Following the violation of the Six Commandment the Four Commandments are automatically violated. The Fourth Commandment (Sabbath) is being violated because all the Six violations are also done on Sabbath (Sunday in this case). In a court of law, a criminal is not only the one who commits the crime but also includes anyone who collaborated by approving, encouraging, and blessing the perpetrator. Ethiopian Orthodox Church is the criminal by collaboration. I am not sparing Protestant and Catholic Churches and Muslim leaders in Ethiopia. They have done no less harm. I am focused on the Orthodox Church because Tigray is over 95 % Orthodox Christian. The history of Christianity has shown that Church leaders kill or let be killed if their members become "heretics". Tigray is the most ardent adherent of Orthodox Christianity. If someone is to be punished for heresy it must be the Synod and the politically radicalized extremist gang called Mahbere "kidusan".

Meles had also his words about the flag immortalized by the current invasion of Tigray. Meles as a young leader of Ethiopia, in 1991, had his wisdom on the Imperial flag of Ethiopia. He did not curse it; he only told the truth. He said, "The flag is a piece of cloth; it is what it represents that makes it a flag". The storm of accusation that

followed did not mind reading or hear the second part of the statement. No human being can deny that flag is made of textile material that can be purchased. No state on this planet got its flag from the heavens. After the design pieces are stitched together people attach a particular value to it. These could be democratic values, imperial ambitions, ethnic uniqueness, historical origin, and vision for the future, etc.

The plain three strips (green, yellow, and red) have been used for more than half a century. Although what the colors represent has nothing wrong with it the way the flag is used raises serious questions. If one uses a white flag representing peace to lead a savage war, is this flag to be respected or hated? The answer is clear; the victims hate it although normally people love white color. Mind you, it is not the white cloth, but the war mongering mission it represents that is a critical criterion for evaluating its merit. The way the three-strip had been used, in the Abyssinian annexation of non-Abyssinians and what it represented in Tigray and Eritrea during the armed struggle, fills victims with dread, hate and bitterness at the first sight of the flag. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church had adopted that flag as its own during the Monarchy when the supreme head of the Church was the King. This implies Church doctrines and Monarchical politics were one and the same. After the demise of the Monarch, when Church and State became officially separated, the Church continued to use the flag although it had no legal right to do so. During the Derg, the flag also belonged to Muslims, Protestants and Catholics as citizens. Ethiopian Orthodox Church had no right to monopolize it. Beyond this, a religious institution will be in a strange position to use a flag which is used in politics and diplomacy. It is not the job of a Church to involve in politics. There is another side to this. Unfortunately, the flag led repressive armies into battle against liberation fighters, atrocities committed while the flag is hoisted on tanks and tagged on the chests of atrocious troops. No one can deny the horror that is felt in the minds of victims. With this bad perception on the flag borne by the original victims and their

descendants the Church must have avoided its implied collaboration. The Church was expected to be for all; but it happened that it has children and stepchildren. That may be the reason why it did not care to change its flag. Is a flag necessary for a religious institution? Christianity has the same mission in all states in the world. A flag is needed only if there is a difference, like in national interest and territorial integrity in politics. Religion has no boundaries.

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church has found it almost impossible to detach itself from the former Amhara-centered polity. This is disappointing to its followers who suffered from oppression with its blessing. The continued use of the three-strip flag by the Orthodox Church brought it to an awkward position when Amhara nationalists used it for their supremacist agenda. The flag had ceased to serve as an Ethiopian flag three decades ago. A new Federal flag with some emblem to represent diversity, was officially adopted. The Church is embroiled dangerously in the fight between Amhara-based unitary statehood and Federalism. In the war in Tigray, Sebhat and Meles are connected. The Orthodox Church gave its blessing to the atrocities against its own followers because it is swallowed whole by Amhara nationalism. The three-strip flag was hoisted by the invading troops on their trucks as a reminder of the Derg-regime, even worse. The three colours are beautiful; but what is done under them in Tigray makes them the ugliest colours of all!

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**GERD filling Up: Ethiopia must celebrate the late  
PM Meles Zenawi  
July 23-2020**

The somber mood induced by the Corona pandemic and the tragic violence of the past week has been brightened by the news of the start of the filling up of the GERD. Every time some significant milestone is reached that could elevate Ethiopia our attention is

normally focused on who were the initiators and leaders whose dedication was instrumental for the great achievement.

We celebrate Tewodros II not because he was an angel but whatever bad things he did, he united Ethiopia and sacrificed his life for Ethiopia's honor. Yohannes IV had also his own share of vice but we celebrate the great role he played in National defense. Menilik II is also blamed by many for atrocities but he gave us the large Nation that we are proud of. Haileselassie I was a modernizer and the father of Africa. We don't need to curse him for the serfdom that he allowed to prevail and abandoning Ethiopia during Italian occupation. Mengistu was a blood thirsty tyrant but he ended serfdom and defended Ethiopia against Somalian invasion.

Next in the line is Meles Zenawi. He is cursed for "giving out" Eritrea, and bad governance in the EPRDF. It is unfair to allow double standards creep into our judgments when it comes to the role played by Meles Zenawi to break the "Nile spell" over Ethiopia by boldly starting the construction of the GERD. Even Afework Gebreyesus was being celebrated as the first to write a novel in Amharic by a certain FM radio broadcast last week. The FM was at the same time telling the public that Afework was a Banda serving Italians against Ethiopian patriots. He also foul-mouthed the north. As a person whose maternal grandfather was killed by Italians I could bear grudges on Afework. However, I feel that his contribution to literature should not be obliterated by his betrayal of Ethiopia in bad times.

Meles Zenawi invented GERD like Thomas Edison who created the light bulb. The bulb created by Thomas Edison is inferior to the high tech light bulbs of today, but creating is harder than improving. Many past leaders of Ethiopia may have dreamt of a GERD as many scientists before. Thomas have dreamt to replace candle light. Fate was on the side of Meles to realize that dream of generations as it was for Thomas Edison. How do we celebrate Meles Zenawi? I have

to inseparable proposals: 1. to name the GERD reservoir as "Lake Meles"; 2. Include his name in the history curriculum.

If we fail to celebrate heroes that have toiled and boiled for Ethiopia we will never have heroes in the future. If our criterion for judging heroism has conflicting indicators we will never have heroes in common. A Country with shared heroes is a Country that would endure. If a hero for one is a villain for the other this is a recipe for disintegration.

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**ጠቃሚና ጎጂ ብሄረተኝነት**  
**January 4-2019**

"ብሄር" የሚሉት ፅንሰሃሳብ ልክ እንደዚህም "በአካል" ሲያዩት እንጂ በቃላት ሲገለፁ በቀላሉ የሚገባ አይደለም። የዚህ ፅሁፍ አላማ የብሄርን ትርጉም ለመተንተን አይደለም፤ መገለጫውን እንጂ። የብሄር መገለጫው ብሄረተኝነት ነው፤ አለበለዚያ በቤተመዛግብት ያለ ስታቲስቲክስ ብቻ ነው የሚሆነው። ብሄረተኝነት ብሄሮቹ ራሳቸውን እንዴት እንደሚያዩና ከሌሎች ብሄሮች ጋር ባላቸው መስተጋብር ይገለጻል። ብሄረተኝነት ጠቃሚም ጎጂም ገፅታዎች አሉት።

የብሄረተኝነት በጎ ጎን "ከባለቤቱ ያወቀ... ነው" ከሚለው ይጀምራል። "የት ላይ እንደሚያምነ የማውቀው እኔ ስለሆንኩኝ መፍትሄውንም የምፈልግልህ እኔ ነኝ" ከሚልህ ሰው ርቀህ የራስህን ህመም ራስህ አዳምጠህ ወደ ፀበል ይሁን ወደ ሃኪም መሄድን የመወሰን መብት ስትጎናፀፍ ነው። የዚህ በጎ ብሄረተኝነት "የራስን እድል በራስ መወሰን" በሚለው ሃይለቃልም ይገለጻል። መልካም አስተዳደርን፣ ትክክለኛ የፍትህ ስርአትን ለማስፈን፣ የትምህርትን ተገቢነት ለማረጋገጥ በራስ ቋንቋ መጠቀምና በራስ ባህላዊ ማእቀፍ ውስጥ ለማስገባት ጥረት የሚያደርግ ብሄረተኝነት ጠቃሚ ብሄረተኝነት ነው። ይህ አይነት ብሄረተኝነት ለሌሎች የጎጎነት ፋና ከማብራቱ በስተቀር የሌሎችን ብሄሮች መብት የሚነካ አይደለም። ጣልቃ አትግቡብኝ እንጂ ጣልቃ ልግባባችሁ አይልም፤ እኩል ነን እንጂ እበልጣችኋለሁ አይልም፤ የኔ ታሪክ፣ ባህልና ቋንቋ ከሌላው የላቀ ነው አይልም፤ አገር በማስተዳደር ከሁሉም የበለጠ ጥበብና ልምድ አለኝ አይልም።

ህወሓት የብሄሮች ራስን በራስ የማስተዳደር መብት ህገመንግስት ውስጥ እንዲገባ በማስደረጋና የብሄር የራስ አስተዳደር ክልሎች በመፈጠራቸው "የኢትዮጵያን ህዝብ ክፉ ትምህርት አስተማረችው" እየተባለች ለሦስት አስርት አመታት ተተችታለች። በተግባር ያየነው ግን ማንም ህዝብ የማይፈልገውን ነገር በግድ ተምሮ እንዳልተገበረ ነው። ለአቅመ መለየት ያልደረሰ ህፃን ላይ ብቻ ነው ክፉ ሆነ በጎ አስተሳሰብ ጭንቅላቱ ውስጥ መጎስጎስ የሚቻለው።

አንድ መሆን ጥሩ ነው። ሆኖም ግን የህዝብ ራስን የማስተዳደር መብት በእኔ አውቅልሃለሁ የሚሻር ከሆነ ህዝቡ የህወሓትን አስተማሪነት የሚጠብቅ አይመስለኝም። ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ የሰፈነው ብሄረተኝነት በህወሓት የተፈፀመ የግዴታ ስልጠና ውጤት ቢሆን ኖሮ እንደ ከባድ ስቆቃ ተቆጥሮ አቃቤ ህግ ወፍራም ፋይል ይከፍትበት ነበር። የህወሓት መሪዎች ስልጣን ሲለቁ የኢትዮጵያ ህዝቦች ብሄራዊ ክልሎችን ንደው ጠቅላይ ግዛቶችን ይመልሱ ነበር። ብሄረተኝነት በኢትዮጵያ የሰፈነው በህወሓት ተፅእኖ ሳይሆን ህዝቡ የሚጠቅመውንና የሚጎዳውን ለይቶ የማወቅ አቅም ስላለው ነው። ድህረ ህወሓት ብሄራዊ ክልሎች የበለጠ ተጠናከሩ እንጂ የህወሃት ቅሪቶች እንደሆኑ አይነት ሆነው አልኮሰሱም። እንዲያውም ብሄረ ሲዳማ ከነበረው ከፍ ያለ የራስን እድል በራስ የመወሰን መብት እየጠየቀ ነው። በመሠረቱ ብሄረተኝነትን ለኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ያስተማረችው ህወሓት አይደለችም። ብሄራዊ ጭቆና ያስመረራቸው የአሮሞ ብሄረተኞች፣ ገና ህወሓት ሳትታሰብ፣ በሜጫ ተለማ ተደራጅተው እንደታገሉ በታሪክ ተመዝግቧል። እንደ ወንጀለኛ ተቆጥረው አሁን በሚንቆለጹ ጄኔራል ታደሰ ብሩ የዚህ ትግል ቁንጮ ነበር። ብሄረተኝነትን ለአሮሞ ህዝብ ማስተማር የሚችል ሊቅ የለም፤ የደረሰባቸው አስከፊ ጭቆና የወለደው ነው። ህወሓት የሠራቸው ዋናና በጎ ተግባር ከመጠን በላይ ገሮ አገሪቱን ሊጎዳ ደርሶ የነበረውን ትጥቅ ያነገተ ብሄረተኝነት ማሳሳልን ነበር።

ጎጂና ሊወገዝ ብቻ ሳይሆን አምርረው ሊታገሉት የሚገባ ብሄረተኝነት አለ። ይህ አይነት ብሄረተኝነት ቢያንስ ሁለት ገፅታዎች አሉት። አንደኛው "ሃርድ ብሄረተኝነት" ሊባል የሚችለው ሲሆን ጦረኛ የሆነ ብሄረተኝነት ነው። ሆኖም የራስን መብት ለማስከበር ብረት አንስቶ መታገልን አያካትትም፤ የሌሎችን መብት ለመጨፍለቅና የተወሰነ ብሄር ገናናነትን ለማስፈን የሚደረግ ግፍ እንጂ። በሰይጣናዊ ብሄረተኝነት አለም እስካሁን ተወዳዳሪ ያልተገኘለትን የናዚ ጀርመን ብሄረተኝነት ነው። ጀርመን ከሰው ፍጡር ሁሉ የላቁ እንደሆኑና አይሁዶች ግን ከሰው በታች እንደሆኑ ሰበኩ። ይህ በዚህ አላበቃም፤ እያሰሩ፣ በጋዝ እያፈኑ፣ በጥይት እየደበደቡ ከምድረገፅ ለማጥፋጥ ሞከሩ። እንግሊዞች ከሰው ፍጡር በታች ያሏቸውን የአውስትራሊያ ባላባት ህዝቦች (አቦርጂንስ) ከምድረገፅ ለማጥፋት ትንሽ ነበር የቀራቸው። ስፓኛውያን በአሜሪካ ህንዶች ላይ የፈፀሙት ደግሞ ከሁሉም የከፋ ነበር። አንድ ብሄር ከሁሉም ልቁ የሰለጠነኩ ነኝ፣ መልከኛ ነኝ ባይ ከሆነ እንደ "አንሰሳ" የሚቆጥራቸውን ሌሎችን ማጥፋት፣ ካካባቢው ማባረርና፣ በባርነት መግዛትን ይመርጣል። በበርማ በሮሃንጃ ሙስሊሞች ላይ የተፈፀመው ግፍም በቡዲዝም ሃይማኖት የተደገፈ የማይናማር ጭፍን ብሄረተኝነት ያጋጋለው ጥላቻ ነበር። በሩዋንዳም ሁቱዎች ቱትሲዎችን ከበረሮ ጋር እያመሳሰሉና ከሌላ አገር ተሰደው የመጡ ባላዶች ናቸው እያሉ ነበር በቆንጨራ የፈጁቸው። በሃገራችን ታሪክ አልፎ አልፎ ከታዩት ወደዚህ አይነት ብሄረተኝነት ሊመዘኑ የሚችሉ ውስን ክስተቶች በስተቀር ከላይ በምሳሌነት የጠቀስኳቸው ስፋት የነበራቸው አይነት ብሄር ተርኮ ግጅት አልተፈፀመም። በርግጥ እስካሁን ድረስ የብሄሮችን ግንኙነት ብልሹ እንዲሆን ያደረጉ ግዛት በማስፋፋት ሂደት ላይ፣ ግዛት በመቀራመት ላይ፣ በንግስና ውድድር ላይ፣ መሪቱን አትሻሙ በሚል የኔ ነው ባይነት ላይ፣ አያቶቻችሁ ወይንም ወገኖቻችሁ ለፈፀሙት ግፍ እናንተው ክፈሉ በሚል ትውልድ ተሻጋሪ እዳ ላይ፣ እንዲሁ የበላይ ሆኖ የመገኘት ትግል ላይ የተለያዩ ብሄር አባላት በአጥቂና በተጠቂ ወገን ሆነው ኖረዋል፤ ተፈናቅለዋል፤ ተገድለዋል።

ሁለተኛው የብሄረኝነት አይነት "ሶፍት ብሄረተኝነት" ብለን መጥራት የምንችለው ነው። ይህ አይነት ብሄረተኝነት ብረት ሳያነሳ ፍላጎቱን ለመፈፀም የሚፈልግ ነው። ጦር ከፈታው ወሬ የፈታው" የሚለው ተረት ሌላው ህዝብ ጥይት ሳይመታው፣ በምብ ሳይፈነዳበት፣ የመሸነፍ ስሜት እንዲያድርበት የማይረግ ዘዴ የበለጠና ዘላቂ ውጤት የሚያመጣ መሆኑን ያመለክታል። የማያቋርጥና በስልት የተቀነባበረ የውሸት ዜና፣ የሌላውን ብሄር ስብእና የሚያከሰስና እውነታነት ያለው የሚመስል ፕሮፓጋንዳ፣ በየስራ መስኩ የሌላ ብሄር ልሂቃን ስራ እንዳያገኙ፣ ቢያገኙም በአድማና በሽር ታዋቂነትና እድገት እንዳያገኙ በማድረግ ሞራላቸውን ማላሸቅና ሊጠቃ የተፈለገው ብሄር የረባ ውክልና እንዳይኖረው አድርጎ ማዳከም፣ ሚዲያውንና የባህል ተቋማትን በማራባትና በመቆጣጠር የአንድ ብሄር ቋንቋና ባህል የበላይነትን አግንኖ የሌሎችን ብሄሮች ቋንቋና ባህል እኩል አገራዊ ተወዳጅነት ወይም የሚገባው እኩል ተሰማኝነት እንዳይኖረው አድርጎ ማጣበብ ከብዙ ጥቁቶቹ ናቸው።

ሰፊና ጥልቀት ያለው ትርጉም እያለው እንደ ተራ ቀልድ ሆኖ የሚነገር አንድ አባባል አለ፡- "ኢህአዲግ በ1983 የባህል ሚኒስቴርን አልተቆጣጠረም" የሚል። ይህ ማለት መስሪያቤቱ ውስጥ የደርግ ሚኒስትር ቢሮው ውስጥ እንደተቀመጠ ቀረ ማለት አይደለም። ብዙዎች ይህን አባባል የሚጠቀሙበት ኢህአዲግ የተቃዋሚዎቹን በፖለቲካ አቅሙ ሊያዳከማቸው ቢሞክርም በስነፅሁፍ፣ በድራማ፣ በሌሎች በህዝብ ዘንድ ተደማጭነት ያላቸው የባህል ዘርፎች አማካይነት እየተፈታተኑት መሆኑን ለማመልከት ነው። እኔ የምረዳውና ሌላውም ይጋራኛል ብዩ የማምነው ግን ይህ አባባል ኢህአዲግ የብሄሮች እኩልነትን በዘላቂነት የሚያረጋግጥበት ዋናውን ቁልፍ አላገኘውም ለማለት ነው እላለሁ።

ኢህአዲግ በፖለቲካዊ አስተዳደር ዘርፍ የብሄሮችን እኩልነት ያረጋግጥልኛል ብሎ ያሰበውን ብዙ ተግባር አከናውኗል። ለምሳሌ ከህገመንግስቱ ቀጥሎ ፓሊሲዎች፣ አዋጆች፣ መመሪያዎች፣ የህዝብ ተወካይ ምርጫዎች፣ ተዋፅኦአዊ ሹመቶች፣ ብሄራዊ ክልሎች፣ ወዘተ። እነዚህ መንግስትን ማእከል ያደረገ ፖለቲካዊ እርምጃዎች የብሄሮች እኩል አገራዊ ተሳትፎና ውክልና፣ እንዲሁም የውስጥ የራስ አስተዳደርን በማመቻቸት ፍትህና ትምህርት ባካባቢ ቋንቋ መሆኑ ለብሄረሰቦች እኩልነት የማይናቅ አስተዋፅኦ አድርገዋል። ቢሆንም ዘላቂ እኩልነት ያለው ከመንግስት ቢሮዎችና ምክር ቤቶች ውስጥ ሳይሆን በህዝብ ጭንቅላት ውስጥ ነው። የቢሮ ውስጥ አሰራር የሚቀየረው በ"ቃለ ኦጦ" ደብዳቤ ነው። የህዝብ አስተሳሰብ/አመለካከት ግን የሚቀየረው ማህተም ባረፈበት ወረቀት አይደለም። የህዝብ አስተሳሰብ የሚቀየረው የባህል ለውጥ ሲኖር ነው። የባህል ለውጥ የሚመጣው ደግሞ በባህላዊ ተቋማት ነው።

በህንድ አገር ህግ በአገሪቱ ውስጥ የሚገኙት ህዝቦች ሁሉ እኩል ናቸው፣ የተወሰነን ህዝብ ዝቅ አድርጎ በማየት መብት መከልከል ሆነ ማዋረድ በህግ የተከለከለ ነው። ይህ ህግ ነውና ያስከሰሳል ያስፈርዳል። ሆኖም ግን የሂንዱ ምርጥ ዘር ነን ባዮች "ዳሊት" የሚባሉትን ህንዳውያን እንደውሻ እያዩ ሲያራክሷቸው መመልከት ህግ ለእኩልነት ምንም ዋስትና እንደማይሆን ያረጋግጣል። የአሜሪካ ጥቁር ህዝብ መብቱ በህግ የተጠበቀ ይሁን እንጂ፣ ጥቁር ፕሬዚዳንት ይመረጥ እንጂ፣ የኮንግረስ ግማሹ ጥቁርም ቢሆን አንድ ጥቁር አሽከርካሪ ምንም ሳያጠፋ በነጭ ትራፊክ ፓሊስ ከመያዝ አያድነውም። ለነጭ ፓሊስ ጥቁርና ወንጀል አንድ

ናቸው። በአሜሪካ ሰክሮ ማሽከርከርና ጥቁር ሆኖ ማሽከርከር እኩል ወንጀል ናቸው እየተባለ ይቀለዳል። ፓሊሶችን ለምንድነው ህጉን የማያከብሩትና ጥቁሮቹን እንደእኩል የማያደግባቸው? ዋናው የባህል ለውጥ ስለሆነ፣ ግን ይህን የሚያስተካክል ሳይሆን የሚያባብስ የባህል ዘመቻ በመኖሩ።

የብሄሮችን እኩልነት ዘላቂ ለማድረግ ኢህአዴግ ከተጠቀመባቸው የባህል ተቋማት አንዱ በየአመቱ የሚከበረው የብሄር ብሄረሰቦች ቀን ነው። ከሁሉም ብሄር ብሄረሰቦች የተውጣጡ በየአመቱ ዙር በተመረጡ ከተሞች የባህል ትርኢቶች ሲያሳዩ በቀጥታ የቴሌቪዥን ስርጭት ይታያሉ። ምን ያህል ህዝብ ይከታተላል? ምን ያህል ውጤታማ ነው? በምን ያህል በኢትዮጵያ ህዝቦች ላይ የብሄሮች እኩልነት ስሜት አሳድሯል የሚል የተፅዕኖ ጥናት ተካሂዶ የሚያውቅ አይመስለኝም፤ ከአንድ ሳምንት ደመቃ ባለፈ።

ሌላው በየክልሉ የቴሌቪዥን ጣብያዎች ማቋቋም ነው። ይህ ብዙ ጥቅም አለው፤ በተለይ ለአካባቢ ልማትና ባህል ማዳበር። ወላይታው ከአማራው ጋር እኩል ነኝ ብሎ ማሰቡ አይደለም ወሳኝ የሚሆነው። እኩልነት የሚለው ፅንሰሃሳብ ስለ አንድ ሳይሆን ከአንድ በላይ የሆኑትን የማወዳደር ጉዳይ ነው። አንዱ ራሱ ለራሱ እኩል ነኝ ብሎ ቢያምን ጥቅም የለውም፤ ሌላው እኩል መሆኑን እስካላመነለት ድረስ። ወላይታው ከአማራው ጋር እኩል ነኝ ብሎ ሲያስብ አማራውም ወላይታው ከኔ እኩል ነው ብሎ አምኖ ከተቀበለ እኩልነቱ ዘላቂነት አለው። የክልል ቴሌቪዥን ጣብያዎችን የሚከታተለው የክልሉ ህዝብና ከክልሉ ውጭ ያሉ የክልሉ ተወላጆች ናቸው። ይህ የሆነው ከደቡብ፣ ጋምቤላና ቤኒሻንጉል (?) በስተቀር ሌሎቹ በየቋንቋቸው ስለሚያስተላልፉ ነው። የክልል ተወላጆች የራሳቸው ታሪክ፣ ባህል፣ ልማት፣ ተፈጥሮ ሃብት በስፋት ቀኑን መሉ መመልከት የእኩልነት ስሜትና እርካታ እንደሚሰጣቸው እሙን ነው። ይህ ግን በራሳቸው ተወስኖ የሚቀር ነው። ሌሎች ህዝቦች እየላላቸውና እየሰሙላቸው የእኩልነት ስሜታቸውን የሚጋሩበት እድል ቢኖር የተሟላና ዘላቂ ይሆናል በአንድ አገር ውስጥ የምትኖር እስከሆንክ ድረስ።

የክልል ቴሌቪዥን ጣብያዎች በመላው ኢትዮጵያ ብዙም ተመልካች የማያገኙበት ሌላው ምክንያት በርካታ የተደራጁና ተመልካች የሚሰቡ ፕሮግራሞች የሚያቀርቡ የአማርኛ ቴሌቪዥን ጣብያዎች ስርጭት በመጀመራቸው ነው። እነዚህ በመላ ኢትዮጵያ ብዙ ተመልካች ያላቸው ጣብያዎች በአማርኛ ቋንቋ ማቅረባቸው የክልል ቴሌቪዥኖች ያለባቸውን የቋንቋ ተደራሽነት ችግር በከፊል የሚቀርፍ ቢመስልም የብሄሮችን እኩልነትን ለማስፈን በሚረዳ መልኩ የተራጁ አይደሉም። እንዲያውም በተቃራኒው የአንድ ብሄር የባህል የበላይነት በሁሉም ብሄሮች ህዝብ ዘንድ ለማስረፅ ዘመቻውን የተያያዙት ይመስላሉ።

አማርኛ የኢትዮጵያ የሥራ ቋንቋ ከሆነበት ጊዜ ጀምሮ አማርኛንና የአማራ ብሄር ባህልን ማለያየት አልተቻለም። ያልተቻለው መለየት ስለሚያዳግት ሳይሆን የአማራ ብሄር ተወላጆች ከልሂቅ እስከ ደቂቅ ይህ እንዳይሆን በከባድ እየታገሉ በመሆናቸው ነው። የመንግስት ሆነ የግል ሚዲያዎችን በመቆጣጠር፣ በማራባትና፣ በማጨናነቅ በከፍተኛ እውቀት፣ ክህሎትና፣ የፈጠራ ችሎታ ተመልካቹንና አድማጩን በማማለል የአማራን ባህል የበላይነት በህዝብ ዘንድ፣ በተለይ በወጣቱ ትውልድ ዘንድ፣ በማስረፅ የብሄሮች የእኩልነት ስሜት በኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ዘንድ እንደ አገር አፍራሽነትና አስፈላጊ ያልሆነ ልዩነት ፈጠራ ተደርጎ እንዲተረጎም ምክንያት እየሆነ ነው።



በርካታ ቋንቋዎች በሚነገርበት አገር የአንዱ ብሄር ቋንቋ በታሪክ አጋጣሚ የሃገር የሥራ ቋንቋ ቢሆን ቋንቋው የተገኘበት ባህልም አብሮ የሃገር ባህል ይሆናል ሌሎችን ባህሎች አክሰም የሚል ግዴታ ሊኖር አይችልም። ኢንግሊዝኛ ብዙ የአለም አገሮች በሥራ ቋንቋነት ቢጠቀሙበትም የራሳቸውን ጠብቀው እንጂ የእንግሊዘውያን ባህል ተቀብለው አይደሉም። ይህ ከቋንቋ ጋር ባህልንም አብሮ የመቀበል ግዴታ ሳይኖር ሲቀር በተለያየ የባህል ወረራ ስልቶች ለመተግበር የሚደረጉ ዘመቻዎች ይኖራሉ። ለምሳሌ እንግሊዘኛ "ብሪቲሽ ካውንስል" የሚል ተቋም መስርተው የእንግሊዝን ባህል በኢንግሊዝኛ ቋንቋ ጠቅልለው ለማጉረስ ይሞክራሉ።

የቋንቋና የባህል ቁርኝት ማስፈፀሚያ ዋናው ዘዴ የሆነው ሚዲያውን መቆጣጠር ነው። በኢትዮጵያ በአማርኛ የሚሠራጩ ሚዲያዎች ውስጥ በብዛት የሚቀጠሩት የአማራ ትውልድ ያላቸው ናቸው። ምክንያቱም ጥርት ያለ አማርኛ የሚናገሩት እነሱ በመሆናቸው። አልፎ አልፎ ካልሆነ በስተቀር ከሌላ ብሄር የተገኘ ሰው ለሚደቀው የሚመጥን የአማርኛ ቋንቋ ችሎታ አይኖረውም። ችግሩ ለምን አገራዊ የስራ ቋንቋ የሚጠቀሙ አገራዊ ሚዲያዎች ለምን አማርኛን በብዛት ቀጠሩ አይደሉም። ችግሩ አገራዊ ሚዲያዎችን በአማርኛ ቋንቋ እየተጠቀሙ ለአገራዊው የብሄሮች እንኩልነት ማንፀባረቂያነት ከመጠቀም ይልቅ የአንድ ብሄር ባህል የሚገንባቸው መድረኮች እየሆኑ መምጣታቸው ነው። የሌሎች ብሄሮች ባህልና አኗኗር የሚቀርበው አልፎ አልፎ በሚዘጋጁ መደበኛ ባልሆኑ ፕሮግራሞች ነው። በተረፈ ግን ማስታወቅያውም፣ ድራማውም፣ ዘፈኑም፣ ሌሎች መዝናኛዎችም፣ የህፃናት ፕሮግራምም፣ የሚቀርቡት በአማራ ባህላዊ እሴቶች ተቀምጧል ነው። የሌሎች የሚቀርብ ሲሆንም "ሌሎችም አሉ" የሚል ስሜት ባዘለ መንፈስ የሚቀርብ ይመስላል። የአማርኛ ኢቲቪና የአማራ ክልል ቴሌቪዥን የዘፈን አመራረጥ ልዩነታቸው የት ላይ እንዳለ የሚያውቅ ሰው ካለ ቢነግረኝ። ልዩነታቸው ባህርዳርና አዲስ አበባ መሆናቸው ብቻ ነው። ለተመሳሳይ ሥራ ወጪ ከማብዛት አንዳቸውን መዘጋት አይመረጥም ትላላችሁ?

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**አራምባና ቆቡ-ፓለቲከኞችና ሀዝባዊ አላማ በኢትዮጵያ**  
March 3-2019

በንጉሱ ዘመን ነበር ከአድዋ ከመጡ አንድ ሰው ጋር ገዳም ሰፈር አካባቢ በአጋጣሚ የተገናኘው። ከአድዋ አዲስ አበባ ድረስ ያመጣቸውን ጉዳይ ምን እንደሆነ ስጠይቃቸው ለመሬት ክርክር ይግባኝ ብዬ መጥቼ ነው አሉኝ። ስንት ጊዜ እንደቆዩ ስጠይቃቸው 18 ዓመት እንደሆናቸው ነገሩኝ። መሬቱ በምን ሁኔታ ላይ እንዳለ ይከታተላሉ ወይ ብዬ ስጠይቃቸው የመለሱልኝ መልስ አፈን ያስያዘኝ ነበር፤ እንዲህ አሉኝ፡- "ሄጄም አላውቅ፣ ጠይቁም አላውቅ!" እግዚአብሄር ያሳያችሁ ከአድዋ 1000 ኪ.ሜ. ያህል ተጉዘው የመጡበት ዋናውን ጉዳይ ረስተው ዋና ጉዳያቸው መሬታቸውን ለማግኘት የተጠቀሙበት ሙግቱ ብቻ ሆኖ ቀረ።

የፓለቲካ መሪዎች ዋና ግብ ምንድነው ብለን ብንጠይቅ የምናገኘው መልስ ግልፅና የማያከራክር ነው። ወደዱትም ጠሎትም የፓለቲካ መሪዎች ዋና ግብ የህዝቡን አካላዊና ኢኮኖሚያዊ ደህንነትን ማረጋገጥ ነው። አሁንም በፊትም እየተስተዋለ ያለው ግን ይህ አይደለም። ፓለቲካው ለህዝብ ኑሮ እድገት መሆኑ ቀርቶ የፓለቲካ ሽኩቻው ዋናው ግብ የፓለቲካ ሽኩቻው ራሱ የሆነ ይመስላል። ይህ እውነታ መሬት እንዲረግጥ በማድረግ የሚረዱኝ የአራት ታላላቅ አሜሪካውያን ጥቅሶችን ከዚህ ቀጥሎ አስፍራለሁ፡-

1. "ፓለቲካ ፅዱ ሆኖ እንዲቆይ የሚያደርገው አላማ ቢኖር ለአገርና ለህዝብ የሚበጅ ጥሩ ነገር የመስራት አላማ ብቻ ነው።" (ሄነሪ ፎርድ- ታላቁ የፎርድ መኪናዎች አምራች ኩባንያ ባለቤት)
2. "ፓለቲካ የመጨረሻ ግብ ሳይሆን ወደ ህዝባዊ ግብ የሚደረስበት መሳርያ ነው። ሲሆን የሚስተዋለው ግን ፓለቲካ ግልፅነትና ሃቀኝነት ያለበት የህዝብ አገልግሎት ሳይሆን በሸርና በራስ ወዳድነት የተሞላ ሂደት ነው።" (ካልቪን ኩሊጅ-- የአሜሪካ ፕሬዚዳንት የነበሩ)
3. "አንድ የፓለቲካ ፓርቲ መሠረቱን በሃቅና በሞራል ላይ ካልገነባ የፓለቲካ ፓርቲ ሳይሆን ስልጣን ለመያዝ የተዋቀረ ሴራ ነው።" (ድዋይት አይዘንሃወር-- የአሜሪካ ፕሬዚዳንትና በሁለተኛው የአለም ጦርነት የሀብረቱ ጦር ዋና አዛዥ የነበሩ)
4. "ፓለቲካኞች ከመመረጣቸው በፊት ሁሉም ነገር ለህዝብ ይላሉ፤ ተሳክቶላቸው ከተመረጡ በኋላ ግን ሁሉም ነገር ለራሳችን ይላሉ። ለመነሳት ህዝቡን ይጠቀማሉ ልክ ፈረስን እንደሚያደርጉት። ከፈረስ ኮርቻ ላይ ዘለው ከመውጣታቸው በፊት ፈረሱ ጆሮ ላይ የቆልምጫ ቃላት ሹክ እያሉ አንገቱን ይዳብሱታል። ኮርቻው ላይ ወጥተው ከተደላደሉ በኋላ ግን የሚከተለው አለንጋና እርግጫ ነው።" (ክርስትያን ኔስቴል ቦቪ--አሜሪካዊ ደራሲ)

የፓለቲካ አመራር ለውጥ ማለት በመሰረቱ ህዝባዊውን አላማ (ኢኮኖሚያዊና ማህበራዊ ልማትና ደህንነት) ከበፊቱ አመራር በበለጠ ሁኔታ ማሳካት ማለት ነው። አሁን በኢትዮጵያ እየታየ ያለው ግን መሻሻል ሳይሆን መባባስ ነው። "አዲሶቹ" መሪዎች ድሎቻቸውን ሲቆጥሩ የህዝቡ ደህንነት በከፋ ሁኔታ አደጋ ላይ ወድቋል፤ የህዝቡ ኑሮ የቁልቁለት መንገድ ጀምሯል፤ ስራ አጥነት ብሶታል፤ በተለያዩ ክልሎች ህዝብና ህዝብ ለልማት ትብብር ሳይሆን ሳንጃ ለሳንጃ ለመሞሻለቅ አስፍሰዷል፤ ህዝብ ታይቶ በማይታወቅ ሁኔታ ከቀየው እየተፈናቀለ ዋናው የኢኮኖሚ ዋልታ ግብርና እየተስተጓጎለ ነው፤ ህዝብ በመንፈስ እየተራራቀ ነው፤ ኢትዮጵያዊነት ሲፈልጉ የሚያነሱት ሳይፈልጉ እንደአሮጌ ቁና የሚወረውሩት ማንነት ሆኗል፤ ፓለቲካኞች በርስበርስ ውድድርና ፉክክር ላይ ተጠምደው የአገሪቱን የቁልቁለት ጉዞ ለማስተዋልና የፓለቲካ ጥቅማቸውን ወይንም ስልጣናቸውንም ቢሆን መስዋእት አድርገው ይህን ጉዞ የመቀልበስ ስሜት ብዙም አይነበባቸውም። ብዙ ወጪ አውጥታ አዲስ አበባ ብትሞሽ ለድሃው አዲስ አበባ እራት ሆና በሳህን አትቀርብም። መጠለያ ለተቸገረው ህዝቧ ጣርያና ግድግዳ ብትሆንለት ግን ባይበላም በጅብ ከመበላት ከሃሩርና ቁር ይድናል። በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ፓለቲካ እያገለገለ ያለው ፓለቲካውን ራሱን እንጂ ዋና አላማው የሆነው ህዝቡን ሊሆን አልቻለም።

ይህ ሁሉ እየሆነ እያለ ፓለቲከኞች ተጨንቀው የሚያወሩት ስለምርጫ ነው። ይህ ምርጫ፣ ያውም ተስማምተው በሰላም የሚያከናውኑት ከሆነ ነው፣ የሚካሄደው ከአንድ አመት በኋላ ነው። በየቀኑ አስጨናቂና አሳዛኝ የሆነ አዳዲስ ክስተት በሚከሰትበት አገር አንድ አመት ማለት ምን ማለት እንደሆነ ግሁድ ነው፤ የበለጠ ድህነት፣ የበለጠ ግጭት፣ የበለጠ መፈናቀልና በቀላሉ የማይቀለበስ የህዝብ መቃቃርና መራራቅ። "እኔ የምሞተው ዛሬ ማታ ላሜ የምትወልደው ለፍልሰታ" የሚለው የአበው ተረት እውን እየሆነ ነው። ህዝብ የኢኮኖሚ፣ የማህበራዊና የደህንነት ችግሩ እንዲፈታለት የሚፈልገው ዛሬ እንጂ ነገ አይደለም። የህዝቡ መሠረታዊ ችግር ክልል መሆን አለመሆን አይደለም፤ ህዝብ በልቶ ለማደር ወረዳነት፣ ዞንነት፣ ክልልነት አይወስነውም። አዲስ አበባ የአማራ ትሁን፣ የትግሬ ትሁን የኦሮሞ ትሁን ለፓለቲከኞች ሹካና ማንኪያ ከመሆን አልፎ በህዝቡ የኖሮ እድገት ላይ የሚያመጣው ልዩነት የለም። ለተራው የኦሮሞ ህዝብም ቢሆን አዲስ አበባ በአሮሚያ ርስተ መዝገብ ላይ ስሟ ቢጻፍ ከኦሮሞ ላይ ጠብ የሚል ነገር አይኖርም። የወልቃይት፣ የመተከል፣ የራያ ህዝብ ከአማራ ጋር ሲቀላቀል ገነት ከትግራይ ጋር ሲሆን ሲኦል ፣ እንዲሁም በግልባጩ፣ የሚሆንበት ምክንያት የለም። የትም ቢሆን "ያው በገሌ" እንዳለችው ድመት ነው። ኑሮው የሚመስለው ማሳውን እንጂ መቐለን ወይም ጎንደርን አይሆንም።

ለመደምደም ያህል፣ የሃላፊነት ስሜት የሚሰማቸው ኢትዮጵያዊ ፓለቲከኞች ካሉ ህዝቡን መርዳት ያለባቸው አሁን ነው። ዋናው አላማቸው ህዝብ ከሆነ ሽኩቻውና ፍጥጫው ባስቸኳይ ማቆም አለባቸው። ችግሮች ከምርጫ በፊት በበቂ ሁኔታ በጋራ ምክክር ሳይፈቱ፣ በእንዲህ አይነት ፍጥጫ፣ ወደ ምርጫ መግባት የባሰ አደገኛ የሚሆን ይመስለኛል። የምርጫ ውጤት በፀጋ የመቀበልና ያለመቀበል ጉዳይ የሚወሰነው ከምርጫው ቀደም ብሎ መተማመን ሲፈጠር እንጂ ልዩነቱና ፍጥጫው እንዳለ ሆኖ ወይም ተባብሶ ወደ ምርጫ ከደረሰን እሳት ላይ ጋዝ ማርከፍከፍ እንደሚሆን እሙን ነው። አፍሪቃ ውስጥ ተጣልተው የቆዩ የፓለቲካ ፓርቲዎች እንዲሁ እንደተጣሉ ወደ ምርጫ ሲገቡ ከምርጫ በኋላ አውራ መንገድ ላይ የምናየው ጎማ ሲቃጠል እንጂ ተፎካካሪዎቹ "እንኳን ደስ አላችሁ፣ ወሳኙ የአገር ጉዳይ ነውና እንረዳችኋለን" ሲባባሉ አይደለም። አምላክ ልብ ይስጠን!! ለዚች አጭር ህይወታችን አገር ቀድማን እንድትሞት አንፍቀድ። ኢትዮጵያ የዚህ ትውልድ ብቻ ንብረት አይደለችም። ያለፈውም ያሁኑም የወደፊቱም ትውልድ ንብረት ናት። ማንም ቢሆን በአገሪቱ ህልውና ላይ የመወሰን ስልጣን የለውም። ሚናችን ደቀደምቶቹ ካስረከቡን ኢትዮጵያ አጉድለንና አሰናክለን ሳይሆን አገሪቱን አሻሽለንና አጎልብተን ለወደፊት ትውልድ የማቀበል ብቻ ነው። የያንዳንዱ የዱላ ቅብብሎሽ አትሌት ስራ በተቻለው መጠን በመርጥ ለሚቀጥለው አትሌት ማቀበል እንጂ ዱላውን ይዞ ቁጭ የማለትና ውድድሩን የማሰናከል መብት የለውም።

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# ኧረ በህግ አምላክ!

January 16-2020

ሁል ጊዜ የሚቸግርና መስዋእትነት የሚያስከፍል ነገር ቢኖር ወደ ፊት መሄድ ነው። የኋሊት ለመሄድም ንፋስም ያግዛል፤ ከየኋሊት መድረሻ በፍጥነት ያደርሳል። ህግ ማክበር ወደፊት መሄድ ነውና ከባድ ነው፤ ህግ ማፍረስ ግን ቀላል ነው ፍላጎት እንጂ አውቀትና ችሎታን አይጠይቅም። እድገትና ልማት ከህግ ማክበር ጋር የተቆራኙ ናቸው፤ በህገወጥነት ያደገ/የለማ አገር የለም። ህግ ማክበር የስልጣኔ ምልክት ነው። ለዚህም ነው የሰው ልጅ ስልጣኔ ሲጀምር ከህግ ጋር ተጣምሮ ብቅ ያለው። የመጀመሪያዎቹ የሱመርና የባቢሎን ስልጣኔዎች ሃሞራቢ የሚባል የዛ ዘመን ንጉስ ህግን በፅሁፍ አማካይነት ለህዝብ አሳውቆ ያስተዳድር ነበር። አይን ያጠፋ አይኑን፤ አግር የቆረጠ እግሩን፤ ነፍስ ያጠፋ ነፍሱን የሚል ህግ ነበር። የግድ ነው! የህዝብ መብት ተጠብቆ በሰላም ለማስተዳደር ከተፈለገ ህጎችን ማውጣት ብቻ ሳይሆን የሚከበሩ፤ የሚተገበሩ፤ ጥርስ ያላቸው ህጎች መሆን አለባቸው። አለበለዚያ የህግ አንቀፅ በቀለም ወረቀት ላይ ተለቅልቆ ቢቀመጥ ለብል ምሳና እራት ይሆናል እንጂ ለማንም አይጠቅምም። ለዚህም መንግስታት ግንባር ቀደም ሃላፊነት አለባቸው። ራሱ ያወጣውን ህግ የማይጠብቅ መንግስት ማንም ሌላ እንዲያከብርለት መጠበቅ የለበትም፤ “ባለቤቱ ቀላለው አሞሌ ባለ እዳ አይቀበለውም” ይባላልና።

ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ህግ የማፍረስ ባህል ስር የሰደደ ነው። በመንግስት ይሁን በግለሰብ ደረጃ ህግ አፍራሽን የማይፀየፍ ማህበረሰብ የወደፊት እድሉ የተበላሸ እንደሚሆን ጥርጥር የለውም። በአንድ ወቅት ጎንደር ውስጥ ጭልጋ ከሚባል አካባቢ ተነስቼ ወደ ጎንደር ከተማ ስጓዝ ከአርማጭሆ የመጡ ሁለት ተሳፋሪዎች ከጎኔ ነበሩ። ድምፃቸውን ከፍ አድርገው እያወሩ ስለነበር የሚሉትን ሁሉ እየሰማሁ ነበር። አንድ የተናገሩት ነገር ግን እጅግ አስገረመኝ። “እከሌኮ ሌባ ነው ጀግና ነው” አለ አንዱ። ሁለተኛው ደግሞ እያዳነቅ “አዎ፤ ነው እንጂ፤ እንዴት ያለ ጎበዝ!”። ይህንን ዝም ብዬ ማለፍ አልቻልኩም፤ ስለዚህ ጥያቄ አቀርብኩላቸው፡- “ሌባ እንዴት ጀግና ይባላል?” እነሱ ግን በኔ ጥያቄ ተገርመው አያሾፉ “ጀግና ነውንጂ፤ ተታኩሶ አይደል የሚሰርቀው” ብለውኝ አረፉ። በርግጥ ቀደም ብዬ አዛው ጎንደር ዳባት ከሚባል ከተማ ውስጥ የደርግ አባልና አስተዳዳሪ የነበረው አምሳ አለቃ ገብረህይወት ዳባት ከተማ ገበያ ላይ ቋሚ የመስቀያ እንጨቶች አዘጋጅቶ ዘወትር ቅዳሜ “በረት ገልባጭ” ተብለው ታስረው የመጡለትን የአርማችሁ የከብት ሌቦች (ማለት “ጀግኖች”) በስቅላት ይቀጣ ነበር። ይህን ሲያደርግ የነበረው ዝርፊያው ለፖሊሶች ካቅም በላይ ስለሆነባቸው ስቅላቱ የማስደንገጥ እርምጃ ነበር አሉ። ይህ ሌብነትና ስቅላቱ አላባራ ሲል በጉዳዩ የአገር ሽማግሌዎች ገቡበትና አምሳ አለቃውን እንዲህ ብለው አነጋገሩት፡- “የአገሩ ባህል ነውና ሰዎች የተኩስ ችሎታ የጀግንነት ማስመስከሪያ ውድድር አድርገው ስለሚወስዱት አድሜ ልክህን ብትሰቅል አታስቆመውም”። አስተዳዳሪውም ይህን ሲሰማ መስቀሉን አቋረጠና “አገር ሰላም ሆነ”።

በአሁኑ ዘመን አርማጭሆ አዲስ አበባም በሌሎቹም የኢትዮጵያ ከተሞችም ተዳርሷል። ማለቴ በረት መገልበጡ ሳይሆን ሌላ ሌላ ህግ ማፍረሱ። የሚኒ ባስ ሹፌሮችና ረዳቶች ትራፊክ ከፊታቸው ካልቆመ ወይንም ያየናል ብለው ከሚያስቡበት ርቀርቀ ላይ ካላዩት የትራፊክ ህግ ማክበር ዘበት ነው። አሉ የተባሉት የትራፊክ ህጎች ሁሉንም ይጥሳሉ። አንድ ጊዜ ሜክሲኮ ላይ ሚኒ ባስ ጋቢና ውስጥ ተቀምጬ እያለሁ ሹፌሩ ረዳቱን “የት ነው ያለው? አይተኸቀል?” “እያለ ይጠይቀዋል። እኔም “ህግ አስከባሪ ከሌለ ህግ አታከብሩም ማለት ነው?” ብዬ ሹፌሩን ብጠይቀው በቅንነት እንዲህ ብሎ መለሰልኝ “ሁሉም እኮ ነው ይህን የሚያደርገው፤ ብቻችን ህግ ብናከብር ሰባራ ሳንቲም ይዘን ቤታችን አንገባም።። አውነቱን ነው! ከፍተኛ የሃብት ወይንም የስልጣን ወይንም የትምህርት ደረጃ ያላቸው ወፍራም ወፍራም መኪና የሚይዙ አሽከርካሪዎች ዜብራ ላይ፤ የአግረኛ መሄጃ ላይ፤ በሱቅ ወይንም የህዝብ አገልግሎት የሚሰጥበት መስሪያ ቤት በር ላይ ግጥም አርገው ዘግተው ሲያቆሙና አግረኛው ለአደጋ ተጋልጦ ወደ አስፋልት ገብቶ ሲራመድ እያዩ ዘውድ የደፉ ነገሰታት መስለው ሰውንም ከመጤፍ አይቆጥሩም። ምናልባት የትራፊክ ደምብ ያወጡ ሰዎቹም ከመሃላቸው ይኖራሉ፤ ትራፊክ ፖሊሶችንም ስራችሁን አልሰራችሁም እያሉ የሚቀጡም ቢሆን ከነዚህ አውቆ አጥፊዎች መካከል አይጠፉም።

ህግን የማፍረስ ጎጂ ባህል ካሉት ማሳያዎች አንዱ የአማርኛ የሰው ሰሞች ናቸው። ሰውን ከመጡዳት ከመግደል ከመደብደብ ጋር የተገናዘቡ የሰው ሰሞች አሉ፡- ለምሳሌ አናጋው፤ አስታጥቃቸው፤ ድፋባቸው፤ ደምሰው፤ በለው፤ መርእድ፤ አራደ፤ ሽብር። በዘፈኑስ ቢሆን ህግ አፍራሽነት እንደ የመልካምነት መገምገሚያ ሆኖ ኖረ አይደል። ይርጋ ዱባለ ዋጋ የሌላት ሴት ናት ብሎ የናቃትን እንዲህ ብሎ “ያዋርዳታል”፡- “ገዳይ ገዳይ ያልሸው አባትሽ አይገድል፤ አርሶ ያብላሽ እንጂ ሆድሽ እንዳይጎድል”። አባትዋ ሰላማዊ አራሽ ገበሬ መሆኑ እንደ ድክመት ተቆጥሮ ገዳይ አባት ካላት ብቻ ተፈላጊ ጥሩ ሴት ትሆናለች። ባል የፈለጉ ሴቶች ሁሉ አባቶቻቸው ገዳይ እንዲሆኑላቸው መመኘት አለባቸው ማለት ነው። ይህ ለሃገር ድንበር ማስከበር ቅስቀሳ ለማድረግ የተዘፈነ አይደለም። ለሱም ቢሆን ተገቢ አይደለም። አገር ጠረኛ ብቻ አያኖራትም፤ በዋናነት ገበሬም ጭምር እንጂ። ሙሰና ከሁሉ የከፋው ህግ ማፍረስ መሆኑ አያጠያይቅም። ሆኖም ግን በባህላዊ አባባሎች ሲሞገስ ከመኖሩ የተነሳ እርምጃ ከመውሰድ ይልቅ “ሙሰናን የሚጠይቁ ትውልድ መገንባት” በሚል ማለፍ በየትኛው አመቺ ባህል አልፎ ሙሰናን እንደሚጠይቁ ለኔ ግራ ይገባኛል። ህብረተሰቡ “ሲሾም ያልበላ ሲሻር ይቆጩዋል” በሚል ተረትና ምሳሌ “ሳትባላ ከስልጣን ትወርድና ወዮልህ” እያለ የሚያስጠነቅቅ ህብረተሰብ ተይዞ ሙሰናን በምን ዘዴ መዋጋት ይቻላል?

በፖለቲካውም የህግ ጥሰቶች እጅግ በርካታ ናቸው፡- ሰላማዊ ተቃዋሚን ማሰርና ያለ ፍርድ ሂደት በእስር ማቆየት ወይንም እርምጃ መውሰድ፤ የሃገር ሉአላዊነትና ጥቅምን የሚነኩ ወንጀሎች ውስጥ በማናብብኝነት መሳተፍ፤ ለዚህም ተግባር መንግስታዊ መዋቅሩን አገልግሎት ላይ ማዋል፤ የህግ አስፈጻሚ መዋቅሮችን ነፃነት ሽሮ ታዘዥና የግለሰቦች ወይንም የቡድን አገልጋይ ማድረግ፤ የመሪነት ስልጣንን ተጠቅሞ ምርጫን ማጭበርበር፤ ነፃ መሆን ያለባቸውን እንደ ፖሊስ፡ መከላከያና ደህንነት ያሉ የሃገር አለኝታዎችን የግለሰቦች አገልጋዮች ማድረግ ፤ ወዘተ። በህብረተሰቡ ዘንድ ያለው ትልቅ ችግር የግንዛቤ ችግር ነው። ቤት

ሰርሳሪንና ሃገርን ለጥቅም አሳልፎ የሚሰጠውን ሁለቱንም እንደ ሌብነት እኩል አያይም። ርቦት አንድ ዳቦ ሰርቆ የበረረውን በመቶ የሚቆጠሩ ሰዎች ስራቸውን ትተው “ሌባ! ሌባ!” አየሉ ድንጋይና ቆመጥ ይዘው ሲያሳድዱት የሃገር ህልውናን በገንዘብ የለወጠው ይሁዳውን ግን ወንጀሉን ሊያቀሉለት ወይም ሊሰርዙለት ሲታገሉ ይታያል። ህብረተሰቡ ለህግ ያለው ቀናኢነት ተስፋ የማይሰጥ መሆኑን ከገመገምኩ በኋላ ይህ ፅሁፍ ለመፃፍ ወዳነሳሳኝ ጉዳይ ልግባ።

ሰሞኑን በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ያሉ የዜና አውታሮች የሚያቀርቡት ሪፖርት ግራ እያጋግኝ ነው። ብትናገረው ሰከንድ ባልሞላ ጊዜ “ስልጣኑን የተቀማ፤ ጥቅም የቀረበት። ትባላለህ። ኧረ እኔስ የተደራጀ ፖለቲካ ውስጥ መሳተፍ ካቆምኩ አራት አስርት አመታት ሆኖኛል፤ በላቤ የማድር እንጂ ያገኘሁትም ያጣሁትም ጥቅም የለም። በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ የፍትህን መስመር ተከትሎ ነፃ ሆኖ መፃፍ የተለመደ አይደለም፤ ነጭ ካልሆንክ ጥቁር ነህ፤ ጥቁር ካልሆንክ ደግሞ ነጭ ነህ! ግራጫ የሚባል የፖለቲካ ቀለም ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ አይታወቅም። ጠቅላይን ከተቸህ “ዲጂታል ወያኔ” የሚል ሰሌዳ ይለጠፍብሃል። መቸም “ህልም ተፈርቶ ሳይተኛ አይታደርም” በተለይ የአንድ አገር የህልውና መሰረት የሆነው ህግን የማክበርና የማስከበር ጉዳይ ላይ ይሉኝታና ግድለሽነት ሊኖር አይችልም። አዲሱ የብልፅግና ፓርቲ ለስራ ሃላፊዎች ስልጠና እየሰጠ ነው ተብሎ እንደተራ ዜና ሲነገር ስለማ በሆዴ ውስጥ ጮክ ብየ “ኧረ በህግ አምላክ” አልኩኝ። ህጉ ምንም የሚያደናግር ነገር የለውም፤ አለም አቀፍም ነው። አንድ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲ ለመንግስት አመራር በህጋዊ ምርጫ ሳይመረጥ በመንግስታዊ መዋቅሩ ውስጥ ላሉ ሰራተኞች ሆነ ሃላፊዎች ለምርጫ ቀርቦ ህዝብ ያልመረጠው የፓርቲ ፍልስፍናና ፕሮግራም መሰረት ያደረገ ስልጠና ሊሰጥ አይችልም። ሲጀመር ሰራተኞቹን ሆነ ሃላፊዎቹን እንኳን ስልጠና መስጠት ከስራ ቦታቸው ለሰከንድም ቢሆን እንዲነሱ የማዘዝ ስልጣን የለውም፤ በአረፍት ጊዜ በራሳቸው ፈቃድ ካልሆነ። ይህ በደጋፊ ብዛትና በአጅ በገባ ስልጣን የተሸፈነ ህገወጥነት ነው። ይህ ድርጊት ህገወጥ አይደለም የሚባል ከሆነ መጪው ምርጫ መካሄድ የለበትም ማለት ነው፤ ምክንያቱም የሚቀጥለው መንግስት የማን ፓርቲ እንደሆነ ታወቋል ማለት ነው። ለምን ህዝብ በምርጫ ጊዜውን ያባክናል። መቸም ስልጠና እየተሰጠ ያለው እስከ ምርጫ ላለው ስድስት ወር አይደለም። ከሆነ ቅሬታየን አነሳለሁ። የፓርቲ ፍልስፍና ላይ ማሰልጠን ግን የስድስት ወር የስራ አመራር ስልጠና ሊሆን አይችልም የዘለቁታ እንጂ። ብልፅግና ፓርቲ ህግ በማክበር ለሌላው ሁሉ አርአያ መሆን ካለበት የህዝብ ውሳኔ በምርጫ ካርድ እስኪታወቅ ድረስ ህዝብን አክብሮ መጠበቅና ፕሮግራሙን ግዴታ ባልሆኑ በህዝባዊ ስብሰባዎችና በሚድያ እያስተዋወቀ መቆየት ነው።

ስለ ስሜትና የፖለቲካ ጨዋታ ማውራት እንተወውና ስለደረቅ ህግ እንነጋገር ከተባለ ይህ መንግስት በምርጫ አሸንፎ (እንበለው ችግር የለም) የመንግስት ስልጣን የያዘው (ፓርላማ፤ ሚኒስትሮች ምክርቤት፤ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር) ኢህአዴግ በሚባል የፖለቲካ ግንባር ነው። ይህ በህጋዊ ሰነዶች ላይ የተመዘገበ፤ አለም የሚያውቀው፤ ፓርላማ አባላትም፤ ሚኒስትሮችም፤ ራሱ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩም የማይከዱት ነው። መቸም እንደ ሰንገ “አላየሁም፤ አልሰማሁም” ብለን ራሳችንን አሸዋ ውስጥ ቀብረን ካልሆነ በስተቀር ያለው መንግስት የኢህአዴግ መንግስት ነው። በዚህ ላይ ጉንጭ አልፏ ክርክር መከራከር ጊዜ ማባከን ነው። እዚህ ላይ ህፃንም ቢሆን በቀላሉ ሊገባው የሚችለው ሎጂክ፤ ተመርጦ ፓርላማ፤ ሚኒስትሮች ምክርቤት፤ ጠቅላይ

ሚኒስትር የሆነው ኢህአዲግ በይፋና በህግ ከፈረሰ ወዲያውኑ ፓርላማ፤ ሚኒስትሮች ምክርቤት፤ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር በህግ ይከሰማሉ።

በ1991 ዓ.ም. ህንድ ስትራቴጂ የነበረችው ቢጄፒ በሚባል የሂንዱ ብሄረተኛ ፓርቲ የበዛበት ጥምር መንግስት ነው። ከጥምር መንግስቱ ውስጥ 20 መቀመጫዎች የነበረው የታሚል ናዱ ፓርቲ ከጥምር መንግስቱ ድንገት ለመውጣት ሲወስን ያመንግስት ሊቀጥል እንደማይችል ግልፅ ሆነ። ቫጅፓዬ የተባለው ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር (የቢጄፒ መሪ) እስከቀጣዩ ምርጫ ያለ ማጀራቲ ወንበር መቀጠል ይፈቀድለት አይፈቀድለት እንደሆነ በፓርላማ የመተማመኛ ድምፅ ተሰጠና አልተሳላከለትም። ስለዚህም የቫጅፓዬ መንግስት በዚህ ምክንያት ፈረሰና ባስቸኳይ ሌላ አጠቃላይ ምርጫ ተካሄደ። ይህ ታሪክ አንብቤው ሳይሆን ዴልሂ ዩኒቨርሲቲ እያለሁ ራሴ የተከታተልኩት ነው። ይህ የሆነው በአለም ታላቋ ዴሞክራሲ በምትባለው አገር ነው። እኛስ? አሁን እንደምንሆነው እየሆንን ነው እነሱ ከደረሱበት ደረጃ የምንደርሰው? የቫጅፓዬ መንግስት የፈረሰው እንዲያውም ፓርቲው ስለፈረሰ ሳይሆን የፓርላማ ወንበር ስለጎደለበት ነው። ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ያለው ዴሞክራሲ ግን ያስመረጠ ፓርቲ አፍርሶ እንዳሉ መቆየትና ስልጣን ላይ ሆኖ ሌላ ፓርቲ መስርቶ ለቀጣይ ውድድር መዘጋጀት የሚባል አሰደናቂ ድርጊት ይፈፀማል። በህንድ የአገሪቱን ስልጣን አያያዝና አለቃቀቅ የሚቆጣጠረው ፕሬዚደንቱ ነው። ፕሬዚደንቱ ለማንም ፖለቲካ ያልወገነ መሆኑ ታይቶ ነው የሚመረጠው። ኢንድራ ጋንዲ ወይንም ቫጅፓዬ ያስቀመጡት ፕሬዚደንት የለም። ቫጅፓዬ የፓርላማ የመተማመኛ ድምፅ ሲያጣ ባለ አደራ መንግስት ሆኖ እንዲቆይና ሌላ ምርጫ እንዲካሄድ ያዘዘው ፕሬዚደንቱ ነው።

ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥም ከብርት ፕሬዚደንቷ ይህን ስርአት አሲዘው የአገርን የወደፊት የዴሞክራሲ ተስፋ ከመጨለሙ በፊት እንዲታደጉት ይጠበቃል። እንደ ብርሌ የሃገር ዴሞክራሲ “አንዴ ከነቃ አይሆንም እቃ” ነው። ከእርሶ የበለጠ የምእራቡን አለም የዴሞክራሲ አካሄድ የሚያውቅ አለ ብዬ አላስብም። ከነሱ ጋር እንደኖሩት እንደነሱ ይሁኑ። ኋላ ቀር ሆነን እንደኖርነው የበለጠ ኋላቀር እንድንሆን አይፍቀዱ። ቅኝ አገዛዝን መመከት በአለም ደረጃ ሊያስከብር ይችላል። ይህ ግን በቂ አይደለም። ህግ እየፈረሰና ዴሞክራሲ እየተጓደለ በአለም አደባባይ ቀና ብሎ በኩራት መራመድ አይቻልም። አርበኝነት ዴሞክራሲንና የህግ የበላይነት አይተካም፤ የየቅል ናቸው። ያለው መንግስት ምርጫ አስኪካሄድ ድረስ ባለ አደራ መንግስት ብለው መሰየም የሚችሉትና ያለብዎትም እርሶ ነዎት፤ በርግጥ የተመረጠበትን ፓርቲ ያፈረሰ ስለሆነ የማይገባው ቢሆንም። በአዋጅ የሃላፊነት ገደብ ተሰጥቶት ትልልቅና ዘላቂ የውስጥና የውጭ አገራዊ ጉዳዮች ላይ ውሳኔ እንዳይሰጥ፤ አስቸኳይ ከሆኑም ህዝብ አውቆት ይሁንታ እንዲሰጥበት መደረግ አለበት። የባለአደራ መንግስትነቱን ለራሱ ምርጫ ጥቅም ላይ እንዳያውለው ቁጥጥር ማድረግ የርስዎ ፈንታ ነው። እንደ ፕሬዚደንት የእርሶ ዋና ጉዳይ የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ እንጂ ፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች አይደሉም። የሃገሪቱ አቃቤ ህግም እንዲህ አይነት ጉዳይ በነፃነትና ያለ ወገናዊነት መርምሮ የህግ ትንተና በመስጠት ለድርጊት ካልተሰማራ እንኳንና ሃገርን ራሱንም መጠበቅ አይችልም። “አቃቤ” ማለት ጠባቂ ማለት ነው። ካልሆነ ሌላ ስም ይሰጠው! እኔ ፍቅሬ ከኢህአዲግ ሳይሆን ከህግ ነው። ኢህአዲግ ሆነ ብልፅግና ህግ ካፈረሱ ይቅር ሊባሉ አይችሉም። ህግ የቀበጠ የቤት ልጅና የተቀጠቀጠ የእንጀራ ልጅ

የለውም። ፓርቲ ራሱን መቶ ጊዜ ቢገነባና ቢንድ ማንም አይከለክለውም፤ ይህ ድርጊት ህግን ጠልፎ የሚጥል ከሆነ ግን ኡ!ኡ!ኡ! ብለን “በህግ አምላክ“ አንበል።

ለሃገር ህልውና፤ ለግላችንም ህይወትና ኑሮ አለኝታችን ግለሰብ ወይንም ቡድን ሳይሆን ህግ ነው። ህግ እንደ ጌታችን አልፋ ወአሜጋ ነው። አምላክ የጀመረው ህግን በማስከበር ነው። እጠበቅ እንዳትበሉ አለ፤ ህግ አፍራሾች የአምላክን ህግ ሲጥሱ ለዘመናት የዘለቀ አይቀጡ ቅጣት ቀጣቸው። ማንኛውም ኢትዮጵያዊ የሚፈልገው የተሻለ ነገር ነው። ይህ የማንኛውም ህዝብ ጤነኛ ስሜት ነው። ህዝብ ኢህአዲግን “ህግ አፈረሰክ“ ብሎ ቢጣላው ሌላ የባሰ ህግ አፍራሽ አፈልጋለሁ ማለቱ እንዳልነበር ለማንም ግልፅ ነው። ህግ አፍራሽነትን የሚሸከም ደልዳላ ጀርባ ስላለን ህግ አፍራሾችን ለመታደግ አስር አይነት ማምለጫ አይደርደር። ህዝብ ሲፈናቀል፤ ሲገደል፤ ሲበደል ለምን ዝም አላችሁ ሲባል “ኢህአዲግ/ህወሓትስ ከዛ በፊት ዝም ብሎ ሲያይ ነበር አይደል“ ይባላል፤ “ለምን ሙስና ትሰራላችሁ“ ሲባል “ኢህአዲግ/ህወሓትስ ሙስና ሲሰራ ነበር አይደል“ ይባላል፤ “ለምን ታስራላችሁ ትገድላላችሁ“ ሲባል “አሁን እኛ ላይ ደርሶ ነው ትችት የሚቀርበው፤ ኢህአዲግ ወይንም ህወሓትስ ይህን ሲሰሩ አልነበር“ ይባላልና እርምጃ አይወሰድም። እንዲሁ ብለው ግራ ግራውን በመመለስ ህዝብ ጥያቄ ማቅረብና መተቸትን ተሰላችቶና ተሰፋ ቆርጦ እንዲተወው ያደርጉታል፤ ከዛ ይመቻቸውና ጌቶች ሆነው ይኖራሉ። በጀርጅ አርዌል የማነር እርሻ እንሰሳቱ አምፀው ጨቋኙን ገበሬ ካባረሩት በኋላ የእንሰሳቱ አብዮታዊ መሪዎች ራሳቸው ከተባረረው ገበሬ የባሱ እስከመሆን ደርሰው እያለም ነጋ ጠባ የአፍ መክፈቻ ሆኖ የቆየው “አራት እግር ጥሩ፤ ሁለት እግር መጥፎ“ የሚለው መፈክር ነበር። አልጋ ላይ መተኛት ከልክል ነው የሰው ድርጊት ስለሆነ ብለው ህግ አወጡ። የእንሰሳቱ አብዮት መሪዎች አልጋ ላይ ሲተኙ ያዩት እንሰሳት ለምን ብለው ቢጠይቁ “የተባባልነው እኮ አንሰሳ ካለው አልጋ ላይ እንጂ ባዶ አልጋ ላይ አይደለም“ እያሉ ያጨናብሯቸው ነበር። አውጣኝ ጌታዩ ከዚህ አይነት ህግን ወደጎን አስቀምጦ መሸገገግዎታል።\*\*\*\*\*

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**ኪነት በኢትዮጵያ፡ መሪ ናት አገልጋይ፤ ህዝባዊ ናት ልሂቃዊ?**  
May 26-2019

የሰው ልጆች ከተፈጥሮ ጋር ያላቸውን ቁርኝት፤ እንዲሁም እርስ በርስ ያላቸውን ግንኙነት የሚገልፁት በዘፈን በድራማ በስነፅሁፍና በስእል አማካይነት ነው። ኪነት አሁን ያሉትንና በፊት የነበሩትን ግንኙነቶች መገለጫ ብቻ ሳትሆን ለወደፊትም ምን አይነት ግንኙነቶች ሊኖሩ እንደሚገባ የመምከር ሚናም ትጫወታለች። ስለዚህም ኪነት ያለውንና የነበረውን በማሳወቅ በማሞገስና በመተቸት እያዘናናች የማስተማር አገልግሎት ታበረክታለች። የኪነት ባለሙያ ማለት ከህብረተሰቡ ኋላ ኋላ የሚከተል ሳይሆን ነገሮች ቀድመው የሚከሰቱለት አርቆ ማየት የሚያስችል ከስልጠናና ከተፈጥሮ በተገኘ ጥበብ የተካነ ስለሆነ ህበረተሰቡን ወደ ቀና ንዳና የመምራት ሃላፊነትም ተሸክሟል። በርግጥ ኪነት እንደየወከለችው ወይንም እንደተገኘችበት ማህበረ-ኢኮኖሚያዊ መደብ የተለያዩት ልትሆን ትችላለች። ተራው ህዝብና ልሂቃን የሚጋሯ ችው ኪነታዊ እሴቶች እንዳሉ ሁሉ የየራሳቸው የሆነ የኪነት አለም



የሚፈጥሩበት ሁኔታም አለ። ኪነት ያለሚደያ እጅ-እግር የላትም። ሚዲያውን የሚቆጣጠረው ደግሞ የኢኮኖሚ ልሂቁ ስለሆነ፤ የኢኮኖሚ ልሂቁም ማየትና መስማት የሚፈልገው ስለራሱ ህይወት ብቻ ስለሆነ ሰፊው ህዝብ የሚይዘውን ህይወት የሚያንፀባርቁ የኪነት ውጤቶችን እያየ ሲያድንቅና ሲመኝ ይኖራል።

ወደ ሃገራችን የኪነት እውነታ ስንመጣ ኪነት በኢትዮጵያ የተለያዩ መልኮች ጥቅም ላይ ሲውል ኖሯል። የጥንቱ መገለጫዎች የቤተእምነት ስእሎች ነገስታት ነክ ስነፅሁፎችና የአዝማሪ መግሳና ነቀፋ ነበሩ። እነዚህ ሁሉ አሁንም ያሉ ቢሆንም ድራማ ተጨምሮባቸውና በቴክኖሎጂ ተራቀው የየራሳቸው አለማት ሆነዋል። ዘመናዊነት የተላበሰ ኪነት የጀመረበት በንጉሱ ዘመን ፍቅርና ሃይማኖታዊ፤ ንጉሳዊና መስፍናዊ የሆኑ፤ እንዲሁም የሃገር ፍቅርን የሚያንፀባርቁ ዘፈኖች ስእሎችና ድራማዎች የነበሩት ያህል ማህበራዊ ህይወትን፤ ችግርና ደስታን፤ ሃብትና ድህነትን፤ ፍትህንና ነፃነትን በቀጥታም በተዘዋዋሪም የሚገልፁም ነበሩ። ስአልያንና፤ በግል ከሚሰሩት ባመዛኙ አንጋሽ አወዳሽ ከሆኑት አዝማሪዎች በስተቀር አብዛኛዎቹ የኪነት ባለሙያዎች የመንግስት ተቀጣሪ ደሞዝተኞች ነበሩ። ከአድማጭ ሽልማት በስተቀር ሌላ የገቢ ምንጭ ያልነበራቸው እነዛ የዛ ዘመን ከያንያን ሊተኩ የማይችሉ ድንቅ ኪነት ውጤቶችን አስረክበው አልፈዋል። በንጉሳዊ ስርአት የነበረው የፖለቲካ የንግግር ማአቀብ ሳይበግራቸው ከያንያን ሲደር ሷቸውና ሲዘፍኗቸው የነበሩት ድራማዎችና ዜማዎች ይዘታቸው ወደታች ወርደው የተራውን ህዝብ ኑሮ ብሎቱንና ምኞቱን የሚያንፀባርቁ ነበሩ። የዚህ ዘመን ኪነት የህዝብ ንብረት እንጂ ሽቀጥ ያልሆነበት ጊዜ ነበር። እነ በሃይሉ አሸቴ ስለጉቦ፡ ስለ ሴተኛ አዳሪነት ችግር በስሜት ተውጠው የሚዘፍኑበት ጊዜ ነበር።

የወታደራዊው ሰላሊስት አስተዳደር ዘመን ለኪነት ከርሰ መቃብር የተቆፈረበት ጊዜ ነበር። አድሃሪ ተብሎ የወደቀው የንጉሱ ስርአት አለምልሞት የቆየውን ህዝባዊ ኪነት በደርግ ዘመን ከጦር መሳሪያ ያላነሰ የህዝብ ማስፈራሪያ ሆነ። የወጣቶችን በአደባባይና በየስርቻው መጨፍጨፍን አንደታላቅ ሃገራዊ ድል አድርጎ የሚስል ሆነ። ሙሉ በሙሉ በደርግ እጅ የወደቀው ኪነት ሁለት ተቃራኒ አገላለጾች ነበሩት፡- "ኪነት ለአብዮት"ና "ህዝባዊ ኪነት"። ህዝባዊ ላልነበረው አብዮት አማራጭ ቅፅል መጠቀሙ ቅራኔ ነበር። የአስተዳደር መዋቅር ይመስል በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ኪነት ቡድን ያልነበረው የከተማና የገጠር ቀበሌ የነበረ አይመስለኝም፤ ከቀበሌ እስከ ከፍተኛ ወይንም ወረዳ ሁሉ መዋቅር ነበረው። ኪነት አበበ ሲባል አርቲስት ደበበ አሸቱ "ኪነት እንደ አሸንፈላ" ያለውን ያስታውሰኛል። በትግል ወቅት የነበረውም ኪነት ባመዛኙ ስራዊቱን የሚያበረታታ ነበር። ለአስራ ሰባት አመታት የኢትዮጵያ ኪነት በበርሃም በከተማም በፖለቲካና በጦር ዘመቻ ውስጥ ተነክራ የህዝቡን ኑሮ፡ ብሎቱን ምኞቱን የምታንፀባርቅበት እድሉም፤ እቅድም፤ ድፍረቱም አልነበራትም። የህዝብ መጎሳቆል ከአብዮትና ከትግል የበለጠ ሆኖ እንዳይታይ ጥረት ሲደረግ ነበር። ህዝቡ አብዮቱ ወይንም ትግሉ እስኪሳካ ድረስ ችግሩን ዋጥ አድርጓት እንዲቆይ በሚደረገው የፕሮፓጋንዳ ዘመቻ ኪነት ለአብዮትም ኪነት ለትግልም ሲሳተፉ ነበር። ለምሳሌ አንድ በትግል ወቅት የተዘፈነ የትግርኛ ዘፈን አለ። እንዲህ ይላል፡- "ድርቅ ያልፋል፤ ትግልንና መሪ ድርጅትን በድርቅ ሰብብ መርሳት ተገቢ አይደለም"። ይህ ስሜት አልባ የሆነ ዘፈን በቅርብ ቀን በቴሌቪዥን ቀርቦ አይቆየለሁ። ድርቅ እንኳን ትግልን ፈጣሪን ሊያስረሳ ይችላል። የትግሉ መሪ መለስ ዜናዊ በድርቅ ጊዜ የተናገረውና የዚህ ዘፈን ይዘት ተቃራኒ ነው። መለስ "ህዝቤ ድርቅ ባስተለው ረሃብ እያለቀ ነው፤ ለማን ነው የምታገለው" ሲል፡ ዘፈኑ ደግሞ ድርቅን

ችለህ ታገል ብሎ ይመክራል። ኪነት እንዲህ ዉሉ እንደጠፋባት ደርግ ወድቆ ኢህአዲግ የሚመራው መንግስት ተመሰረተ።

ይህ አዲስ ዘመን ኪነት ከከፍተኛ ቁጥጥር ወደ ስርአት አልባ የገበያ ውድድር ከጫፍ ወደ ጫፍ የዘለለችበት ዘመን ነው። ላለፉት ሁለት አስርት አመታት ድራማና ሙዚቃ እንደ ማንኛውም ሸቀጥ በገበያ ጥናት የሚመረት ይመስላል። አንድ አይነት ደረጃ ያለው ሳሙና ወይንም ውሃ የሚያመርቱ ፋብሪካዎች ለማስታወቂያ በሚመረጡ ሴቶች የፈገግታ ድምቀት ምርታቸውን እንደሚያወዳድሩ ሁሉ በተለይ በየጊዜው የሚለቀቁት የአማርኛና የትግርኛ ዘፈኖች ተመሳሳይነት ለማለባበስ የሚሞከረው በሌላ ስፖርታዊ የስክሰታ ቋንጥና እንደህግ የተደነገገ ይመስል ከሁሉም ዘፈን ክሊፖች የማይጠፉት ሴቶች ውበት ነው። አሁን አሁን የዘፈን ክሊፖች ውስጥ የሚታየው ነገር ከስፊው ህዝብ እውነታ የራቀ፤ ጥቂት ባለፀገች የሚቀማጠሉበትን ሕይወት የሚያንፀባርቅ እየሆነ ነው። በክሊፖቹ ባመዘኙ የቅንጦት ህይወት ያሳዩና አልፎ አልፎ ከላያቸው ላይ ልብሳቸው የረገፈ የተሳቆሉ ሰዎች እስከስታ ሲወረዱ ብልጭ እያደረጉ ማሳየት የተለመደ ሆኗል። የዚህ መልእክቱ አብዝሃዎቹን አናሳ አስመስሎ ከማቅረብና ባለፀጋ ደምበኞቻቸውን ከማሳቅ የዘለለ ጥቅም የለውም። ዘፈኖችና ክሊፖቻቸው ጥብብን ተላብሰው፤ የህዝቡን እውነተኛ ህይወት አሳይተውና ወደጋራ መልካም እሴት መርተው የሚሻያግሩ ሳይሆኑ ሁሉንም ለማስድሰት ሲጥሩ የዘፈኖችን ለዛ የሚያጠፉ ናቸው። አገሩ ሳይነሳለት የቀረ እንዳያኮርፍ አየተባለ ዘፈኑ ለዛው እስኪያጣ ድረስ የአውራጃና የወረዳ ስም ዝርዝር "ይነበባል"። አገራችን ከፍተኛ በሆነ ማህበራዊ፣ ኢኮኖሚያዊና፣ ፖለቲካዊ ችግር ውስጥ ተነክራ እያለ የኢትዮጵያ ኪነት የየክልል የበላይነትን በማንፀባረቅ የፖለቲካን ልዩነት በማስፋት ላይ ከመጠመድ ሌላ ያለ ፍቅር ዘፈን ሌላ ግጥም የሚገጥምላት አጥታ የተቸገረች ትመስላለች። ኪነት በአሁኑ ጊዜ ለኢትዮጵያ እውነታ ባእድ ሆናለች።

በትግርኛ ዘፈኖች ላይ ያለው የክሊፕ ስራ ግን ቅጥ ያጣ ይመስላል። የአንድ ብሄር ባህላዊ ዘፈንና አጃቢ ምስሉ ማንፀባረቅ ያለበት የአብዛኛውን የብሄሩን ህዝብ አኗኗርን ነው። በተለየ አሳሳች መነፅር እያየነው ወይንም በተለየ ካሜራ እያነሳነው ካልሆነ በስተቀር በትግርኛ ዘፈኖች ክሊፖች ላይ የሚታዩት ሴቶችና ወንዶች ከሰማየ ሰማይት የወረዱ መላእክት እንጂ ሁላችንም የምናውቃቸው እናቶቻችንና እህቶቻችን የሚወክሉ አይደሉም። መቸም አምላሰት ሙጩ የፋሽን ትርኢት የምታሳይበት ልብስ ለብሳ አባ አለም ለምኔ (ሰብለ) ሆና ብትሰራ ኖሮ ታሪኩን ለሚያውቅ ሰው አስቂኝ ይሆን ነበር። የዘፈን ክሊፕ ማለት ገፀባህርይ ውክላ ነው እንጂ የሌላ ነገር ለገበያ ተብሎ አይፈጠርም። በርግጥ የትግርኛ ዘፈን ድርሰትና ቅንብር ባመዘኙ ቅጥ ያጣ ወጪ በሚወጣበት የሰርግ ድግስ የሚመራ ይመስላል። ይህ ቅጥ ያጣ አርቲፊሻልነት በትግርይ የባህል አለባበስ፤ ፀጉር አሰራር መኳካልና የወርቁ ጌጥ ከብደት ታሪክ ያልተለመደ ነው። እያስከተለ ያለው ማህበራዊ ችግርም ቀላል አይደለም። የዚህ አለቅጥ መሸሞንምን ወጪው ከፍተኛ ስለሆነ በቪዲዮ ይህን ያየ እማውራዎች የትዳር ጓደኞቻቸውን ኪስ ማንድንዳቸው አልቀረም። ለልጆቻቸው ሰርግ ስጦታ ሰባት ፎቅ ከሚሰፋት ስዎች ጋር መወዳደር ጉዳት አለው። ሓብታሙም ይኑር ድሃውም ከድህነት ይውጣ። ኪነት ግን የሁሉንም ኑሮ ታንፀባርቅ፣ እንጂ ባህልን እንደሸቀጥ አትቸርቸረው።

## CLUSTER 2

### Tigray People's Liberation Front



- TPLF-Tigray People Dichotomy and Unity...
- Widening the Bright Side: TPLF Should be...
- Counter-factual: What if TPLF leadership had refused...
- Congratulations TPLF for the soft-bravery!
- Delight and Burden for TPLF
- የስድቡ ግንባር፣ ህወሓት የወጡላት ከደርዘን በላይ መጥፎ ስሞች
- ህወሓት ምን ስላለች ነው ይህ ሁሉ የጭቃ ናዳ?
- ንህወሓት ብምድኻምን ብምጥፋሉን ህዝቢ ትግራይ ዝረኽቦ ረብሐ እንታይ እዩ?

February 18-2023 Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) celebrated its 48<sup>th</sup> year of founding. Like any political party, which has gone through so much, TPLF has had its ups and downs, failures and successes, and virtues and vices. After 17 years of armed struggle it led Ethiopia for 27 years. It has now become a scapegoat for almost everything that goes wrong in Ethiopia. It is a normal part of political life to blame parties for their failures; but the world has never seen the severity of the way TPLF is being treated by Ethiopia and Eritrea.

## **TPLF-Tigray People Dichotomy and Unity: Technicality versus Practicality**

December 23-2018

It does not require the brain of a genius to understand that a party is not equal to people. This is so simple a logic that using this simple “technicality” as a big finding in the midst of complex Machiavellian politics can only be considered as naive. The question is why are the people of Tigray, except for a few opposition party leaders, not opposed to the assertion that TPLF and Tigray People are one and the same? Is it because the millions are too rock-headed to comprehend that “people are eternal while parties are transitory”? The answer lies not in the literacy level but in the difference between the technicality of the opposition and the practicality of the millions of Tigrayans.

When the enemy becomes so Machiavellian in the sense that truth is twisted in favor of “the end justifies the means”: When as ever before the other side thinks that the TPLF fish can be caught by destroying or demoralizing or starving or intimidating the sea of people it is swimming in; when the nationalism of Tigrayans is considered to be toxic while that of others is blessed as divine; when Tigrayans in all walks of life, including those in government institutions, are shunned as alien, informal courts being in session everywhere passing sentences on ordinary Tigrayans as criminals; when a former leader of the EPRDF poses for a photo with Colonel Mengistu who is sentenced to death in absentia for the mass murder of tens of thousands of Ethiopian youth; when red-carpet reception is made for former Derg-criminals while the government and supporters are engaged in a witch hunt to arrest Getachew Assefa, who despite his faults has made Ethiopia an island of peace when the fire of terrorism raged all around us; when the noise of territorial claim is loudest on the Amhara-Tigray side while little is heard about Selale, Wello-Afar, and Metekel; While the stench of double

standards fills the Ethiopian air, while deceit, falsehood, fabrication, and rudeness have become a norm how could the people of Tigray be engaged in the philosophy of rational thinking and reject TPLF as unfriendly?

This does not at all mean that TPLF has been good enough for the people it has been leading. There has been a clear betrayal of trust of the martyrs wishes that the people of Tigray will have plenty of alternatives democratic leadership, TPLF leaders who were alive by the end of the struggle will spend their life time delivering the people of Tigray from ages-old poverty, and TPLF members and their associates will never engage in any activity that may tarnish the good image of Tigray. Ironically, when tens of thousands of Tigrayans perished to bring about participatory democracy to their land and to Ethiopia as well, opposition parties in other regions were working with relative ease while no one was allowed to utter a word against TPLF let alone establish an opposition party without facing severe consequences. TPLF seemed to care much more about its image in other regions and in Addis Ababa rather than in Tigray. It is true that TPLF considers the people of Tigray as a fortress to jump back into when the going gets tougher. This is the most despicable thing one can do on its own people who paid so much.

The point I am trying to make here is that the campaign to separate TPLF from the people is not intended to save the people of Tigray from an oppressor. It is a political strategy to defeat the TPLF by alienating it from its mass base. So the objective is not for the good of the people of Tigray but to end once and for all any threat to the power in the center from northern Ethiopia. This is unmistakable for the people of Tigray because it has happened so many times in the history of Ethiopia by a combination of carrot and stick methods. Unfortunately, the people of Tigray have never been helped to trust the center. Ordinary Ethiopians and politicians alike have always been carelessly busy eroding the trust of the people of Tigray. After persistently inculcating negative feelings in the minds of Tigrayans by people from all the “other” side, how on earth are the people of

Tigray expected to surrender the only leadership it possesses however bad it is? History has documented the tragedy in Tigray after the death of its beleaguered King. Etege Taitu said “Sadly, Tigrayans are slaughtering each other”. I hope this is not what the “other” side wants to see repeated.

Any people need leadership. They prefer tyrants to no leadership at all. When the “other” side, with all its history of wrongdoing is engaged in rallying support from inside and outside the country, even angels will never risk to remain without strong leadership. Now it is not a question of whether TPLF is good or bad. That is not an urgent matter for the people of Tigray. With the right leadership and the right institutions there will be time for judgment. I am not saying any member of TPLF who is suspected of crime should not be arrested and tried. This is not a subject for political analysis. This is about jurisprudence, which has nothing to do with people. An individual steals or kills with his/her pair of hands, not with the hands of the people. Therefore, the crime is the responsibility of the individual. However, when the arms of jurisprudence are twisted to serve personal or group vendetta the science of law turns into dirty politics. Sadly, the game will be played accordingly on the threatened side too. For every action there is an equal and opposite reaction.

What surprises me most is that the TPLF-People dichotomy is more vigorously tooted by the Tigrayan opposition, notably by Ato Abraha Desta, Dr. Aregawi Berhe, Generals Tsadkan and Abebe, than the “other” side. These are heavy weight scholars and I cannot imagine that they are not getting the point. Abraha is saying “the worst enemy of the people of Tigray is TPLF”. Well and good if it really is! For scholars like him such conclusions are never reached without sufficient evidence. In the developed world no one jumps into such crazy conclusions without a poll. If the conclusion is based on the feelings reflected in the Arena meetings it is an unrepresentative sample; because Arena membership is not the whole people of Tigray. Dr. Aregawi Berhe displayed no decency

when rudely insulting his own former comrades in arms as robbers, power mongers, and drunkards. Even our illiterate forefathers respect one another before killing each other. He could have continued the struggle regardless of difficulties instead of sneaking out into prosperous Europe and a PhD while his intelligent university friends were spending their precious youth in the mountains. I don't think the TPLF he built is different after he was gone from what it was when he was leading it. "People living in glass houses should not be the first to throw stones". I don't think Dr. Aregawi can disentangle himself from what was happening in the early years of the TPLF when he was the supreme leader. When you point your index finger at someone three of your own fingers are pointing at you. This holds true for Generals Tsadkan and Abebe, and Ato Seye Abraha and Ato Gebru Asrat.

When ten years after EPRDF victory TPLF spilt into two halves the issue was not about the lack of good governance or poverty eradication in Tigray. It was about Eritrea. All of you supported the liberation of Eritrea; you worked for it and many under your commands died for it. Later on, with your power base shifted to the center you were busy tracing your fully Tigrayan or Fully Ethiopian ancestry to help you put the blame for favoritism towards Eritrea by the "half-cast" Meles Zenawi (RIP). Now Isaias Afewerki is squarely here all that "half-cast" hodge-podge has become meaningless. So, it fair play to see the blame on TPLF coming from those never involved. It can only be interpreted as power mongering. Absolutely sure about Arena's ascent to power in the next election without having any hint about for whom the people of Tigray are going to cast most of the ballots, Ato Abraha Desta was talking in an interview about the amnesty he was going to give to the TPLF leadership.

Everyone seems to be talking to themselves rather than to the people. The worst thing politicians can entertain in their heads is considering the people as a herd of livestock to be driven by a single loud cry. Learn to respect the people if you are to be respected. If the people

of Tigray have become too poor to challenge authority because of their dependence on authority hand-outs politicians have to curse themselves rather than ran to the people just for ballots to get them to Addis Ababa. The opposition seems to lack a compass, is scattered and ambitious for power in the center. None of them are talking about what path to sustainable development they have in their purses for Tigray. They are busy blaming and cursing one another. The problem of Tigray is the problem of sustainable development. Arm-chair philosophizing in TV studios barely mentions poverty and how to deal with it.

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**Widening the Bright Side: TPLF Should be Deeply Reformed Never Eliminated**

April 14-2019

This is a critical transition period for Tigray from a thankless "National-service" to a rewarding "Self-service". In order to achieve this it would be ill-advised to "change the horse in the middle of the stream". TPLF has enumerable faults. Many of them were avoidable and should have been avoided; some were necessary evil; the rest were logical outcomes of experimentation in the absence of established methodologies and best practices to implement policies and legislation in this Country which in many cases seems to become unmanageable even to God himself. After all, those in the Party are human beings sharing all strengths and weaknesses like the rest of us.

If we carefully assess the political landscape in Ethiopia vis-a-vis Tigray, without succumbing to emotions, our findings will invariably be that Tigray has to stand on its two feet and minimize its dependence on others. As history repeats itself almost cyclically pertaining to the relationship between Tigray and Ethiopian central governments it is the right time to break the vicious circle. In the next 10 to 15 years Tigray cannot afford a radical change of a ruling



party. Many may violently oppose what I am proposing; but I am only playing pragmatism not the unhelpful theories of "democracy". The most practical thing to do is to walk in "old shoes" in a rough terrain. I don't need to tell people how painful and bruising it is to walk on a stony path in a new pair of shoes. For now we have to be down to earth practical not purely scientific. However incomplete, a one handed, a one legged, a one eyed TPLF could have been a blessing in the dark post-Yohannes IV period in Tigray. Is this time different from that? No, it's not; but this time there is no need to panic. There is no leadership gap. TPLF has succeeded to patiently and skillfully save the people from another darkness after a century. We are all grateful to them. I recommend a benevolent dictatorship in Tigray, led by TPLF, to get us through and out to a socioeconomic development "Canaan".

If we can avoid hypocrisy and tell the truth blatantly four to five parties for five million people is too much. This is not doctor per person or hospital bed per person. Maximizing parties per person is a curse whereas maximizing hospital beds per person is a blessing. It is very easy, but valueless to hatch hundreds of political parties overnight. However, the people need only one thing: developing in peace! If the hundreds of parties have the same objective of bringing about development for the people why is it necessary to have one hundred parties for a single objective? My learned guess is there will be 100 aspirants to the presidency; that's all!

Tigray is in a historic stage of emerging from the ashes into a viable economic and political entity. This is a time of disciplined and regimented action not a time for a political luxury of western style elections in Tigray. Political opposition parties in Tigray include such groups as those who have spent decades away from the people of Tigray in Europe and Eritrea. Others were among the people of Tigray, but squabbling on trivialities instead of the much larger picture and common agenda of development. The parties in "exile" have a lot of catching up to do in Tigray much more than touring Tigray and counting people who depend on relief food. It is a lack of

wisdom to say the least to praise the "Kerro" and "Fanno" hooligans in public for the home- coming while the same groups posed existential threat to Tigray. It is ironical that a party claiming to advocate for the people of Tigray is brought home by declared enemies of Tigray. Everyone knows how the first Weyane failed. The central government used some members of Tigray regional nobility to help it crush the rebellion. No repeat of the 19th and 20th century's foolishness in the 21st century.

The best political strategy in this economic and political transition for Tigray is:

1. To form a political alliance between TPLF and the opposition parties, responsibly led by TPLF as a senior party, based on shared strategies for solving the basic social, economic and political issues in Tigray. American parties compete in elections on minor differences. All parties have minimum points of agreement pertaining to the territorial integrity, military doctrine, foreign policy, and the supremacy of the American nation. Likewise, the four or five parties should sit and draw a well-researched and agreed upon roadmap for Tigray. The parties should be friendlier to each other. After all, what matters most is the interest of the people of Tigray. Their individual or group interest is irrelevant. It is meaningless for the people of Tigray if Tigrayan politicians be prime ministers, ministers or commanding generals in Addis Ababa. It was never useful before, never useful now and never useful in the future. All the talents, time, money, and energies of Tigrayans should be spent in Tigray. The People of Tigray have excused the Tigrayan politicians and scholars for neglecting them and focusing elsewhere. They will never excuse any repetition of such self-serving actions! The people of Tigray are not mere tunnels to pass through to the parliament building and Federal offices in Addis Ababa.

2. I know that a policy research institute is established in Tigray. This is an excellent start. It was long overdue. The institute has to be expanded staffed with disciplinary and interdisciplinary researchers

whose findings would advise Regional development planning. Added to this should be a Regional System of Monitoring and Evaluation of development programs staffed by monitoring and evaluation professionals trained in one of the universities in Tigray.

3. TPLF must remain an independent party whether the EPRDF survives or not. It would be a historical mistake for the TPLF to melt into the proposed single National party. This will create a dangerous leadership crisis in Tigray. Any National party in Ethiopia is acceptable given the unity of Ethiopia which is at stake. However, for over a century Tigray is repeatedly beaten until it feels like the step-daughter of Ethiopia. It has been treated as alien. The people of Tigray are isolated and unsafe in a Country they call their homeland (Ethiopia). Their trust for Ethiopian politicians has been eroded beyond repair by persistent provocations. Many do not care to hide their evil wishes of Tigray eliminated from the map of Ethiopia. In such a context it would be sheer suicide to end regionally relevant political leadership in favor of a National party.

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**Counter-factual: What if TPLF leadership had refused to be removed? January 7-2019**

At first, I was unable to believe that such big powerhouses as the battle hardened General Samora Yenus, Security Chief of international stature Getachew Assefa and the former student leader and veteran politician Abbay Tsehaye would so easily slip out of their high offices and live as ordinary people in Mekelle City. Why was I surprised? Because this was atypical! No where have we heard or read of such mass exit, without hustle and bustle, of top ranking officials in a country without a strong tradition of democratic rule.

I did not see how other TPLF-based officials took their removal; but the removal of the first general in Ethiopia was televised, and everyone was able to read the body language of the Country's top gun. He was full of grace and confidence when his juniors were busy

decorating and "praising" him for removal. It was not unexpected that everyone else interpreted the TPLF top official's silent exit as cowardice. Many people are taking the liberty to conclude that the TPLF leadership is hiding in Mekelle shivering to its bones out of fear. The blind devotees of the current mania seem to have become so encouraged by this move of TPLF leaders that they think the group can be very easily eliminated by one or two contingents of Federal Police. This is the "factual", which means, what really happened though unexpected.

Think of the counter factual: What if TPLF top brass had refused to leave office quietly? Would a gun-battle have mowed them all down and the machos would have danced over their corpses? This is just a pipe dream. These people are so experienced with gun fights to the extent that they can see a bullet flying! Any attempt to subdue them by force could have plunged this Nation into a tsunami. Who is to be harmed as a result? Obviously millions of ordinary people of Ethiopia! Worse is the future of the Country would be at stake. Instead of hailing war cries for a battle that was never fought and won against the TPLF leadership it could have been wisdom of the highest level to be grateful to them for not plunging Ethiopia into a civil war by refusing to leave office. The feeling that they are few in number and can be "overpowered" doesn't make any sense. When it comes to battling it out it is the skilled hand that will get the upper hand!

The TPLF officials fought for 17 odd years to liberate the people of Ethiopia from brutal dictatorship. Their values would not allow them to contradict themselves by causing another, may be worse, suffering to the peoples of Ethiopia for whom they brought equality of nations and nationalities and economic progress hitherto inexperienced. They never wanted to ruin what they built and protected for the last three decades by selfishly engaging in a violent power struggle. This will shine in the pages of the history of Ethiopia as a glaring testimony of a sense of citizen responsibility. If they are

not thanked for the patriotism now, they will be so in the near future when the dust settles down and sanity prevails over the land.

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**Congratulations TPLF for the soft-bravery!**

November 29-2019

I have clearly stated in one of my previous Aiga-Forum articles that TPLF is the name of the MISSION to deliver the people of Tigray from centuries of subjugation and lead them to a bright future as a peaceful and advanced Nation either as an autonomous part of Ethiopia or as an independent state, whichever becomes more feasible. TPLF membership and leadership is transitory; but TPLF (Tigray People’s Liberation Front) as a mission to bring about liberty for the people of Tigray is permanent. The mission also significantly includes the liberation of other people in Ethiopia from oppression. It is not like any political party which may have a particular goal to attain. TPLF is about entire people; and therefore, it is in the mathematical terminology a domain not a set. It is possible for some of the membership and leadership in the TPLF to be unfit to accomplish the mission due to corruption, bad governance, lack of administrative and managerial skills, and even lack of willingness to face the required hardships. Missionaries can fail, but mission must not. Hence, TPLF membership and leadership is obliged to refresh! The mission belongs to the people of Tigray not to the politicians. The leadership is only a tool-kit assigned to carry the mission forward.

The year 2019 has shown the whole world that the mission will never fail more than the 1991 victory did. The hard bravery and the resulting victory of 1991 was about steel and fire. The soft bravery and the resulting victory of 2019 was about the “war of the brains”. Comparatively speaking the hard component of TPLF’s struggle was much easier. It only required stony-hearts, planning, execution, readiness for sacrifice. Sometimes it required creativity at a time of

surprise attacks. The soft component of the TPLF struggle, which started soon after the 1991 victory in the hardware arena, has been more lethal than the hard one. The soft campaign against TPLF does not have visible trenches; the front line is in all compass directions; the source of attack has been from within the TPLF, the EPRDF and from elsewhere. Fighting in an “invisible” battle front requires more determination and skill.

Initially, in 1991, most of TPLF membership and leadership felt that not only the battle but the war was also over. This was the greatest mistake TPLF membership and leadership committed in its entire existence. The victory of 1991 simply marked the shift from the hard front to the more complicated soft front. It was a historic blunder on the part of the TPLF to think that the largest army in Africa and its leadership, and the hundreds of thousands strong WPE has dissipated into thin air after the hardware victory of 1991. TPLF took control of the hardware component of the government of Ethiopia: the military, the security, and the economy. These could only help in controlling the Country, but not its people. TPLF membership and leadership put all their eggs in a single basket: the EPRDF. There was a lack of wisdom to realize that there were holes in the basket wide enough to let the eggs to pass through and shatter on the ground. TPLF membership and leadership either had put all their trust on their EPRDF allies as genuine friends, not as enemies buying time, or they believed that they could coerce them into submission, or both. Whichever, it was wrong given the historical experiences of Tigray in its association with rulers or politicians in the rest of Ethiopia (esp. the center). Many of the TPLF members and leaders and the media in their service were busy with storytelling about the 17 years of struggle and the sacrifices paid as if the war has ended, the mission completed, and everyone is back home in Addis Ababa and elsewhere.

In 1991 and afterwards, except for some groups who resorted to very weak armed struggle, the rest of the massive opposition was engaged in weakening the TPLF by persistent but invisible soft-weapons

rather than take the “TPLF bull by its horns”. In the early years of TPLF/EPRDF rule some joked that TPLF did not control the Ministry of Culture (the audio, the video, the media). This is to indicate that TPLF has undermined the psychological war that can more effectively weaken its strong military and administrative position than any armed confrontation or violent demonstration. Most of TPLF members and leaders, along with their reluctant allies were honestly busy with the Ethiopian economy; while others were blindfolded by the riches they were amassing and were unaware of the direction from which the enemy was coming. In fact, the enemy was also drinking whisky on the same table posing as a trustworthy friend. The anti-TPLF front was manned by highly talented propagandists and scholars who could deliver a lion from a cow’s womb. The most formidable soft-power was being forged in the diaspora which constituted hundreds of thousands of disgruntled individuals and/or groups. They were well organized and strongly linked with the domestic opposition enabled by the democratic rights in the countries of their immigration. What made the soft-struggle bad is that it was not focused on the better democratization of Ethiopia, which is noble, but on the belief that Ethiopia is occupied by a “foreign force”. The entire call was not a call for democracy, but a call for patriotism. That is why the anti-TPLF front was not a single ideological force. The struggle against TPLF unified even bitter enemies because “freeing the homeland from invaders!” was given priority.

TPLF was inadvertently boosting the energy of its external enemies by behaving in a manner suitable for them (rampant rent-seeking and maladministration) to convince the people to stand against the TPLF. It was very easy to convince the people of Ethiopia that TPLF is doing what it is doing because it hates Ethiopia and want to destroy it. Few of the TPLF membership and leadership realized that some of their actions could be misperceived as anti-Ethiopian. It was of course a matter of brand. Derg did much more bad things than the TPLF may have done. However, Derg was excused as a “good

Ethiopian” regardless. TPLF is already branded as anti-Ethiopian outsider from the outset. Nothing has changed in this regard since 1991 and before it. Every tiny bit of TPLF’s mistakes add up to that branding.

TPLF has also been working against its own existence by reinforcing the organizational stamina of its treacherous allies. While they were paying lip service to TPLF the latter trusted them much more than they did their own comrades in the TPLF leadership. Every time there is an in fight within the ranks of the TPLF leadership the other allied parties of TPLF have been serving as shelter and support for the purged or for the purgers. It was clear that TPLF has been showing its internal weakness in broad public providing a psychological boost to the opposition and its ambitious allies. TPLF who was providing shelter before, as a strong and experienced organization, was turned into a shelter seeker. This brightened the hope of the anti-TPLF front that it can remove the TPLF more easily. It is true, some TPLF members and leaders did not have the personal confidence enough to refute and challenge the accusations leveled against them on issues of corruption and maladministration. The self-inflicted vulnerability did not allow them to boldly defend themselves in public. Many mock them for quietly sneaking out to Mekele when not a so strong force faced them.

The year 2018-19 was the end of an era and the beginning of a new one. It is on this that I congratulate the TPLF. The era that ended was an era of digression for the TPLF from its mission which is enshrined in its founding document. The priority of the TPLF was/is liberating the people of Tigray from poverty and social and political oppression. Only a part of TPLF’s mission was devoted to support the rest of Ethiopia to liberate itself. Everything went wrong when TPLF wanted to be more Ethiopian than Ethiopians and put its primary mission behind its back. Psychologically detached from its own mass base in Tigray the most talented members of the TPLF leadership were head and feet immersed, without any second thoughts, in trying to boost the economy of Ethiopia. The entire



edifice of what they were building in Ethiopia came down roaring after 27 years of hard work put into it. There was nothing like this in any part of the world where so much effort was cruelly dubbed as “dark ages” and those who toiled as “daylight-hyenas”. This is not surprising; it was expected and inevitable! It was only the TPLF that hid its head in the sand like the ostrich without caring to hear to what people were taking about it.

The new era that has ushered now is long overdue because it must have started in 1991. This is the determination to realize Mission No. 1 of the TPLF: primary focus on the people of Tigray! For this mission to be realized a strong TPLF that emerges from the ruins of the EPRDF is mandatory. This is what is happening now! In its 45 years of history TPLF has not shown as much bravery as it did now. As an organization that has the historic responsibility to accomplish the mission the existence and strength of the TPLF has no alternative. What was happening in the last two years, where every finger was pointed at the TPLF and the people of Tigray; all political machinations in the text books were put into action by the anti-TPLF front, which now included the former EPRDF allies; the entire media hounds were let loose to character assassinate TPLF leaders; and lastly the fake EPRDF merger was designed as the last bullet to kill the TPLF. Like Noah, TPLF survived the great flood and even got a political upper hand over its tormentors. TPLF effectively protected its people and even became a symbol of peace and stability in the Ethiopia in turmoil. What was planned for Tigray is happening in the rest of Ethiopia. This is known as the “boomerang effect”. The boomerang is a hunting weapon of the Australian Aborigines. It is not straight; it is curved. When they throw it to hunt birds it comes back whirling to the thrower if it misses its target. It could hit the thrower if it is not aware of its return. The hunter may think that it has hit the bird.

TPLF does not normally allow personality cult. I appreciate it for that; but I have to be excused for now to express my great admirations for Dr. Debretsion G/Michael and Ato Getachew Reda

for embodying the spirit of resistance of the people of Tigray at this very critical juncture in the history of Tigray. I know very well that it is the great force of the rest of the leadership behind them that has been crucial for their success in this historic victory in the soft-war. No one imagined that Tigray/TPLF will remain standing tall in the midst of the storm that engulfed them. TPLF leadership is poised to set an example for others who are alienated and harassed in their own home countries. TPLF is now among its own people, much stronger and less vulnerable. It has lost the Federal positions but not its hair like Samson. No regrets; TPLF was not created for Ethiopia. It is now in its proper place with all freedom to serve the people who genuinely call it their own. Ethiopia is now “free” from its alleged destroyer: TPLF. We shall see whether it is going to fare better! If Ethiopia feels relieved by ejecting Tigrayans from its various body parts, so would Tigrayans. Love is paired; never single!

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## **Delight and Burden for TPLF**

September 12-2020

It was quite expected that TPLF would win the election. In spite of the fact that TPLF had acted disastrously by assigning its best to the Federal and its mediocre and less to Tigray, leaving the Region vulnerable, the noble people of Tigray swallowed their anger and disappointment and gave it a second chance to transform itself into a "TPLF proper". There is also another more glaring reason for the people of Tigray to give TPLF such a huge landslide. Much more than the days of the great famine of 1984-85, TPLF has with utmost determination and bravery protected the people of Tigray from the irrational threats coming from all compass directions. The votes were partly "votes of thanks" for TPLF.

By a landslide TPLF is loaded with a huge responsibility of leading the future. Thanks to Abiy, TPLF's great minds that were serving thanklessly in Federal positions have come to Tigray where they can

apply their talents in the most appropriate context. They have the historic responsibility of restoring and more the great civilization that prevailed in the now sadly impoverished land. Make no mistakes! No nation is feared by the sophistication of its war arsenal; it is its economic power and social cohesion that blesses it with respect both from enemies and friends. It must be clear to everyone the relapse of what I dub as "the Derg-mood" in Tigray was caused by the deceptive sense of security felt after the military victory of 1991. History has shown with hundreds of examples that a military victory that lacks economic reinforcement is bound to fail resulting in a more brutal revenge from the vanquished.

The young but energetic parties that were elected with smaller number of votes should not lament their "failure". I say they have succeeded in becoming part of the historic election. We all must agree that the transition is a difficult one, which requires experience. For now, that strength lies in TPLF. The future is much longer than the past. Through time, exposure to problem solving within the context of the Regional Government the parties will mature enough to get more votes, even landslides in the future.

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**የስድብ ግንባር፣ ህወሓት የወጡላት ከደርግን በላይ መጥፎ ስሞች**  
July 23-2021

በጨዋው መንደር ስም ማጥፋትን፣ ስድብን የሚያነውሩ ብዙ አይነት አባባሎች አሉ። ለአብነት ያህል "ከአፍ የሚወጣ እንጂ ወደ አፍ የሚገባው አያረከስም" ይባላል። ይህ ስለምግብ ወይም ስለመጠጥ የተነገረ አይደለም። ከአፍ የሚመለስ ምግብ አስቀያሚ ቢሆንም ወደ አፍ የሚገባው ምግብና መጠጥ ሁሉ የጤና ችግር አያስከትልም ማለት አይደለም። ይህ አባባል ከአፋችን ስለሚወጣው ከትውከት የበለጠ የሚያስጠላው ክፉ ቃልን የሚመለከት ነው። መማሪያ ክፍል ውስጥ በገባ ቁጥር ተማሪዎችን በስድብ የሚያዋኩ አንድ አስተማሪ ይህን ድርጊቱን ያየ ጓደኛው "በስድብ ነው ለካ አፍህን የፈታኸው" ብሎ ይተርበው ነበር። ይህ እውነተኛ ታሪክ ነው። ገና አፍ ሲፈቱ ስድብ የሚያስተምሩ ወላጆች እንዳሉ ሁላችንም የምናውቀው ነው። ልጅ ሲሰደብ በአድናቆት መሳቅና "እሴይ ልጄ አፍህን ፈታህልኝ" ብሎ ፈጣሪን ማመስገን የተለመደ ነው። ታዲያ በዚህ ሰልጥኖ ያደገ ልጅ የኋላ ኋላ የሃገር መሪ ይሁን በረንዳ አዳሪ ዘወትር ከአፋ የሚወጣው ስድብ ነው። ከድሮ ጀምሮ አንድ የኢትዮጵያ አካባቢ

በተሳዳቢነት የሚታወቅ አለ። አሁን ስድብ ከፀያፍነት ተላቆ ደረጃው ከፍ በማለቱ የመሪዎች የፓለቲካ ልሳን እስከመሆን ደርሷል! ሌላ ስድብን የሚመለከት አባባል ጨዋን ከባለጌ የሚለየው ቀጭን ድንበር ነው። ከፉ ቃል ወደ ጨዋውም ወደ ባለጌውም አፍ ሊመጣ ይችላል። ልዩነቱ ባለጌው ይተፋዋል፣ ጨዋው ይውጠዋል። "ምራቁን የዋጠ" የሚባለው ስሜቱን በስድብ የማይገልፅ ማለት ነው። ለዛ ነው እንጂ አሁን እድሜ ለአውሮፓ እግር ኳስ ተጫዋቾች ሰው ሁሉ ከመዋጥ ይልቅ በየቦታው ምራቅ መትፋት የተለመደ ሆኗል።

ስድብን እንደ እንድ "የስነአእምሮዊ ጦርነት" ግንባር አድርገው የሚጠቀሙ አሉ። ይህም የጠላትን ቅስም በመስበር የውግያ ሞራሉን ለማኮሰስ የሚደረግ ጥረት ነው። ይህ ግን ሁል ጊዜ ውጤታማ አይሆንም። "ስድብ ጨርቅ አይቀድም" ብሎ ለሚያስብና በራሱ ባህርያት ጥንካሬ ሙሉ እምነት ያሳደረ ወገን ከጠላቱ በኩል የሚሰነዘርበትን የስድብ ውርጅብን የተሳዳቢው የድክመትና የመሸነፍ ምልክት አድርጎ ስለሚወስደው (እውነትም ነው) የበለጠ ይጠናከራል እንጂ አይታዘምም። ህወሓት ከፌዴራል የስልጣን እርከን ተገልላ በመሰል የትግል ጓደኞቿ ከተተካቸ ወዲህ ባሉት ጥቂት አመታት ዳቦ ሳይቆረስ ሲወጣላት የከረመው ስም በብዛቱ የአለምን ሬኮርድ የሰበረ ለመሆኑ ምንም ጥርጥር የለኝም። ህወሓት ከሌሎች የኢትዮጵያ መሪዎች እጅግ የላቀ እንጂ ያነሰ የአገር ግንባታ ስራ አልሰራችም። ደርዘን ሙገሳ እንጂ ደርዘን ስድብ የሚወረወርባት አይደለችም፣ ያውም አብረዋት በኖሩና በሰሩ ሰዎች። እኔን ግርም የሚሰኝ ደርግ እኮ ይህ ሁሉ የዲያብሎስ ስራ ሰርቶ አንዲት የስድብ ስም ብቻ ነው የተሰጠው። "ፋሺስት" ። አብዛኛው ህዝብ ግን "ደርግ" በሚል ስም ብቻ ነው የሚያነሳው። ናዚስ ቢሆን? ስድስት ሚልዮን አይሁዶችን ፈጅቶ፣ አምሳ ሚልዮን ህዝብ ያለቀበትን ጦርነት ለኩሶ ያለው ስም ያው "ናዚ" ብቻ ነው። ናዚ ማለት ስድብም አይደለም፣ ከፈፀመው ድርጊት ጋር ተያይዞ ነው እንጂ። ናዚም ሆነ ፋሺስት የገዢ ፓርቲዎች ስያሜዎች ናቸው፣ እንደ ብልፅግና፣ እንደ ኢዜማ፣ እንደ አብን፣ እንደ ህግደፍ፣ እንደ ሞረሽ፣ እንደ ባልደራስ።

ህወሓት ልትጠራበት የመረጠችው ከአርባ አመት በላይ የኖረው ስያሜዋ "ህወሓት" (ህዝባዊ ወያኔ ሓርነት ትግራይ) ነው። ህወሓት ለብልፅግና ከተፎካካሪነት ዘሎ እንደ ጠላት የምትቆጠር ናት። ይሁን ቸግር የለውም፣ ያሳደግሁት ውሻ እኔን ነከሰኝ መሆኑ ይዘገንናል እንጂ። በሰላማዊ ፉክክር ይሁን በጠላትነት ፓለቲካ የራሱ የሆኑ የስነምግባር ደንቦች አሉት። በፓለቲካ ትኩረት የሚሰጠውና ጥቃት የሚሰነዘረው በተቃራኒው አመለካከት እንጂ አመለካከቱን በያዘው ግለሰብ ወይንም ቡድን ሰብእና ላይ አይደለም። ባይደንና ትራምፕ የ"እረኛ" ስድብ ቢወራው ይህ ፓለቲካ ሳይሆን ጭቃ መሆን ነው። ህወሓት በወታደራዊ ስነስርዓት የተገነባች፣ ከቆሻሻ ቃላት ይልቅ ተግባርን የምታስቀድም ናት። አደባባይ ወጥተው መስመር የያዘ ንግግር ከማድረግ በስተቀር የህወሓት መሪዎች ስድብን ፈብርከው እያከታተሉ እንደ ዘፈን አይለቁም። ስድብ የፈራ ዱላ ነው። የአዲስ አበባ ዱርዮዎች ሲጣሉና ግን መደባደብ ካስፈራቸው የሚወራውናት ስድብ ለሰሚው ይሰቀጥጣል። ለነሱ የሚመስላቸው ግን ሃይለኛ ስድብ መርጠው ቢወረውሩ የተጣሉትን ሰው አገጭ እንደሚወልቅላቸው ነው። በርግጥ በህወሓት ላይ የሚወረወሩት የስድብ ስያሜዎች ሚሳይል ሆነው ህወሓትን አያደሙም። ይህ ማለት ግን የሚያደርሱት ምንም ጉዳት የለም ማለት አይደለም። ደርግ ቁጥር ሁለት (ደርግ 2) በሚል የሚታወቀውና እንደ ኮሺድ "ዴልታ ቫርያት" ከደርግ ቁጥር አንድ በመቶ እጅ የባሰው

የኢትዮጵያ የፓለቲካ ስብሰብ ህወሓትን በህዝብ ዘንድ ከበሬታ እንድታጣና በዛውም አስታከው የትግራይ ህዝብ እንደ አገር አጥፊ ደመኛ እንዲቆጠር በማድረግ በፓለቲካ ግንባር የፊት በር ያጡትን ድል በሸፍጥና በማካካት በጓሮ በር ለማግኘት ይታገላሉ። የህዝቡ አዘሮ ማየት አለመቻልና በነሱ ላይ ያሳደረው ጭፍን እምነት የአሳት ማራገቢያ የሆነው የስድብ ውርጅብኝ ህወሓትንና የትግራይ ህዝብን ዋጋ እያስከፈለው ነው። የስድቡን ትርጉም በቅጡ ሳይረዱ እንደገደል ማሟቶ የሚያተጋቡ የቀለም ቀንዶችም እልፍ ናቸው። የትግራይ ህዝብ በዚህ የስድብ ጋጋታ አልተንበረከከም። "ውሾቹ ይጮሃሉ፣ ግመሎቹ ይጓዛሉ" ነው። ትግራይ የሃይማኖቶች መዲና ናትና "ከአፍ የወጣ ያረከሳል" የሚለው የመፅሃፍ ቃል ታኩብራላች፣ "ጁንታ" እያለ የሚሳደብ ቁስ ሆነ ጳፃስ የላትም። እንደተባለው ምእመናንን ከጥፋት ለማዳን ጠላት ታንክ ላይ የሚወጣ ይኖራል። ጊዮርጊስ ፃድቅ የሆነው ብሩታዊትን ከዘንዶ ስላዳነ አይደል? ለመንግስት ሰማያት የሚያበቃው ሰማእትነት እኮ "ሁሩ ወ ግደሉ፣ ወድፈሩ" እያሉ ባርኮ መላክ አይደለም። "ሁሩ ወ አስተምሩ" ሲሉ ነበር የኛው ቅን የኔታ ልጆች እያለን የነገሩን።

የህወሓት ስድቦች የሚጀምሩት "ወያኔ" በሚለው ነው። የኢትዮጵያ ፓለቲከኞች (ደርግ 2) ምን ያህል ጠልቆ የመመርመርና የመረዳት ችግር እንዳለባቸው የሚያሳዩው "ወያኔ" የሚለው ቃል ህወሓትን የሚያሳምማት፣ የሚያደማትና የሚያቆስላት ይመስላቸው ነበር። በተቃራኒው "ስድቡ" ህወሓትን የሚያኮራና የሚያስደስት ነበር። ተሳታፊዎች ህወሓት ከሚለው ስያሜ ውስጥ "ወያኔ" የሚል ቃል መኖሩን ዘንግተዋል! የባነት "ለውጡ" ከመጣ በኋላ ነው። ለከህደት እግዜር የጁን ይሰጠውና ለህወሓት ጫን ያለ አዲስ ስም ወጣላት። ወያኔ እያለ የሰደበ መስሎት ሲያምግስ የቆየው ምሁር ሆነ መደዴ አዲሱ ስም ተመቸውና እንደኬክ በላው እንደ ማስቲካ አኘከው። ይህን ስያሜ ባደባባይ ያወጀው ህወሓት አቅብጣ፣ አቆላምጣ፣ ምርጥ ምርጡን እያጎረሰች ያሳደገችው የጡት ልጅ ነው። ለኔማ ምን አደረገችልኝ? ችላ ብላኝ አይደል የኖረችው። አዲሱ ስድብ "የቀን ጅብ" የሚል ነው። የአውነቱ ጅብ ራሱ በዚህ አንዱን ነጥሎ ስም የመለጠፍ ነገር ሳይደንቀው አይቀርም፣ ብቻውን ሳይሆን መንጋ ሆኖ እንደሚያድን ስለሚያውቅ። እንግዲህ "ህወሓት እኛ ምንም ሳንነካ እየተቆለጨለጭን ብቻዋን ሆና ካዘና ገልብጣለች" ነው መሰል ውንጀላው። ወይ ጉድ፣ ሳይቀድሙኝ ልቅደም የሆነች አለም! በመሰረቱ በአርአያ ስላሴ የተፈጠረ ሰው ጅብ አይባልም። በተለይ የሃይማኖት ሰው ነኝ ከሚል ሰው አፍ ከቶ ሊወጣ አይገባውም። ኋላ ቀሩ ፊዩዳላዊ ስርአት ብዙ ሰዎች እንዲመለስ ይፈልጋሉ። ንጉስና ራስ ብለው ገበሬውን ደፍተው ሊቀምጡሉ። ይህ ስርአት ግን የአገር በቀል ኢንዱስትሪ መሰረት ሊሆኑ ይችላሉ የነበሩትን "ባለጆች" ቡዳ ናቸው፣ ሰው ይበላሉ፣ ሌሊት ወደ ጅብነት ይቀየራሉ እያሉ ሲያገሏቸው ነበር። በነገራችን ላይ የቀን ጅብ ዘራፊነትን ከወከለ የሌሊት ጅብ ጨዋነትን ይወክላል ማለት ነው? የት አገር ነው ጅብ በቀን ከጉድጓዱ ወጥቶ በጠራራ ፀሃይ በረት የሚገለብጠው? የጅብ ነገር ቀደም ብሎም ተነስቶ ነበር። አንድ በአህአዴግ ጊዜ እንዲሳደብ የተፈቀደለት ተናጋሪ "ወያኔ እንደ ጅብ ሌላ አገር ሄዶ ቁርበት አንጥፋልኝ አለ" ብሎ የአህአዴግ አመራሮችንም አስቋቋቀል። ምን ያድርጉ? ከህሊናው ጋር የተጣላ ሰው ሲበዘ!

ቀጥሎ የመጣውንና ህወሓት ላይ ብቻ ሳይሆን ትግራዊ በተባለ ላይ ሁሉ የተለጠፈውን ስድብ እንመርምር። ይህ እጅግ አደገኛ የሆነ ፍረጃ "ፀጉረ ልውጥ" የሚል ነው። ፀጉረ ልውጥ ማለት የማህበረ ሰቡ የፀጉር ቀለም ጥቁር ከሆነ ባለ ቡኒ ቀለም ፀጉር ሰው በአካባቢው ሲገኝ ማለት አይደለም። ፀጉረ ልውጥ ባዲያ ለማለት ነው። አርባ ምንጭ ታምራለች ይባላልና ሄጄ እዛ ሰንበት ብዩ ልምጣ ብሎ የሄደ የትግራይ ተወላጅ ፀጉረ ልውጥ ሊባል ነው! ፀጉረ ልውጥ ከሆነ ደግሞ ተይዞ "ለምን መጣህ ምን ትሰራለህ እዚህ?" ሊባል ነው። ይኸውላችሁ እንግዲህ ኢትዮጵያዊነት፣ እዩት እንግዲህ የዜግነት መብት! ከ 80 ብሄር ብሄረሰብ ይህ የባዳነት ሰሌዳ የተለጠፈበት የትግራይ ትውልድ ያለበት ነው። ትግራይ ደግሞ የፌዴራል ኢትዮጵያ መስራች አባል ክልል ናት። አርባ ምንጭ ላይ በዛ ሰአት የተገኘ የኡጋንዳ ዜጋ ግን "ምን ታደርጋለህ?" ብሎ የሚጠይቀው የለም፤ እያሳሳቁ እንግሊዝኛ መለማመጃ ያደርጉታል እንጂ። ማንም ሰው አይጠየቅ አይደለም። ወንጀል ከሰራ ይጠየቃል፣ ግድ ነው። ይህን ደግሞ የሚመለከተው 80ውን ብሄር ብሄረሰብ ነው። ህገወጥ ሆኖ የሚፈጠር ብሄር የለም፣ ለትግራይ እንዲሆን የተደረገው ግን ይኸው ነው። ፀጉረ ልውጥ በማለት ትግራዊዎን በህወሓት አስታከው ዜግነቱን በአደባባይ የገሰሱት መሪዎች "ትግራይ ልገንጠል እያለች ነው" እያሉ በኢትዮጵያና በአለም ህዝብ ፊት ይወተውታሉ። ታዝባችሁ ከሆነ አንዳንድ ካሬ ቤቶች ተቀምጠህ ስትዝናና ወልሉን መጥረግ ይጀምራሉ። መልእክቱ ይገባህና ተነስተህ ልትሄድ ስትል ለምን ትሄዳለህ ብለው ይሟገቱሃል። መሄድህን ጠልተው ሳይሆን ሃላፊነቱን አንተ ላይ ለመከመርና ከወቀሳ ነፃ ለመሆን ነው።

የትግርኛ ስምን ወደ አማርኛ ቀይሮ ስድብ ማድረግም ነበረ። ወደ ዋናው ጉዳይ ከመዝለቁ በፊት አንድ የትርጉም ግድፈት የመሰለኝን ላብራራ። TPLF ማለትና ህወሓት ማለት አንድ አይነት ፍቺ ያለው አይደለም። ህወሓት የሚለውን ወደ ሌላ ቋንቋ መተርጎም አይቻልም ነበር። ለምን ቢባል የተፀውኦ ስም ስለማይተረጎም። አሁን ከበደ የሚለውን ስም "He became heavy" ብለን ልንተረጎመው ነው?

የወል ስም የሆነው ላም cow ብሎ መተርጎም ተገቢ ነው። ህወሓት በእንግሊዝኛም ይሁን በአማርኛ መባል ያለበት ህወሓት ነው። እንዲያውም ህወሓት የሚባል በአለም ላይ ሌላ የፓለቲካ ድርጅት የለም። ከበደስ ከሺ በላይ ይኖራል። ያም ሆኖ አይተረጎምም። ህወሓትን የሸወደው ብአዴን የህወሓትን ስም ከትግርኛው ሳይሆን ከእንግሊዝኛው ትርጉም ተርጉም በሊቀመንበሩ አማካይነት ባደባባይ ስድብ ሆኖ ቀረበ። ህወሓት እያሉ (የጉሮሮ ድምፅ እንኳ ሳይሳሳቱ) ለ40 አመታት ሲያቆላምጧት የቆዩት ጓዶቿ ቀን የጣላት ሲመስላቸው ህወሓት ማለቱን እርግጥ አድርገው ትተው በአማርኛ ትርጉም መጥራት ጀመሩ ። "ትህነግ" የሚለው ቃል ከእንግሊዝኛው TPLF ቀጥታ በመተርጎም "ወያኔ" የሚለውን ክቡር ቃል በመተው "ትግራይ ህዝብ ነፃነት ግንባር" ማለቱን መረጡ። ማሬ ስኳሬ ሲባባሉ የነበሩ ባልና ሚስት ሲጣሉ አቶ ወ/ሮ አክሌ እንደሚባሉት መሆኑ ነው። ህወሓት ግን የብአዴንን ስም ወደ ትግርኛ ተርጉማ የከፈትን አልሰደበችም። በመሰረቱ ትህነግ ማለት እኮ ስድብ አልነበረም፣ አቶና ወ/ሮ ስድብ እንዳልሆነ ሁሉ። የብአዴን ሰዎች በየመድረኩ ሲጠቀሙበት የነበረው ግን

ህወሓትን ያንጨረጠው ስለመሰላቸው ነው። ይህ "ጅራፍ ራሱ መቶ ራሱ ይጮሃል" እንደሚባለው ነው።

ነገር እየተካረረ ሲሄድ "ህወሓት ሰይጣን ናት" የሚል ደግሞ ሌላ ስድብ መናፈስ ጀመረ። አምላኬ ሆይ! አለም የሚያውቀው ሰይጣን በአይን እንደማይታይና በእጅ እንደማይዳሰስ ነው። ይህ የህፃናት ጨቀታ ነው። የፓለቲካ አመለካከት ልዩነት ያለና የሚኖር ነው። አምላክ በልእልናውና በጥበቡ ሰውና ሰይጣንን ለያይቶ እንዳይገናኙ መንፈስ ቅዱስን በመሃላቸው አኑሯል። ለዚህ ነውም ሰይጣን የዞረን ሲመስለን የመንፈስ ቅዱስን ስም ጠርተን የምናማትብው። ህወሓት ለዚች አገርና ህዝብ ማንም ሊሰራው ያልቻለ በጎ አስተዋፅኦ አድርጋለች። ሰይጣን እያሉ ለከት የሌለው ስድብ መሳደብ፣ ያውም በመሪዎች ደረጃ፣ የራስን ክብር በእጅጉ ዝቅ ያደርጋል። ኢትዮጵያ በተሳዳቢነትና በውሽታምነት በአለም ዙሪያ መታወቂያም የሚጠቅማት አይመስለኝም። በድህነት መጥፎ ስም ላይ ይህ ሲጨመርበት ይገነፍላል። የህወሓት "ሰይጣንነት" ሲነሳ አንድ ስማቸውን የማልጠቅሰው የፓለቲካ ልሂቅ (ህዝባዊ ትግል ላይ ስላሉ) ከህወሓት ጋር መነታረክ ይወዱ ነበር። የፓለቲካ ትችታቸው ሁሉ በአራዳ አይነት ለከፋ የተበረዘ ነው። "አንድ ቀን ሰይጣንና ህወሓት (ወያኔ ነው የሚሏት ጠበቅ አድርገው) ቤት ሊከራዩ ሄዱ" አሉ ሺ ህዝብ በተገኘበት ስብሰባ። ቀጠሉ፡- "ወያኔ ከፍ ያለ የኪራይ መጠን ስትሰጥ ሰይጣኑ አሳንሶ ሰጠ። የቤቱ ባለቤት ለሰይጣኑ እንዲከራይ ሲወስንለት ተቃውሞ ላቀረበችው ወያኔ የሰጣት መልስ እንዲህ ነበር፡- 'ቤቱን ስፈልገው ሰይጣንን በድግምት አባርረዋለሁ፣ አንቺን ማለት ወያኔን በምን ላስወጣሽ እችላለሁ?' ተባለ! ተባለንዴ? ያሰኛል። አያችሁ? ይችን ኢትዮጵያ ላይ ሰላምና እድገት አስፍና ለአንድ ትውልድ ያስተዳደረችው ህወሓት ከሰይጣንም በላይ እኮ ነው ተደርጋ የተሳለችው። እንዲህ እያደረገች፣ እጅ እየነከሰች፣ አጥፊዎቿን እየቀደሰች እያወደሰች ኢትዮጵያ በምን ተአምር ነው ከመሬት ተነስታ ከፍ የምትለው? ከፈለገች አጥፊዎቿ በሚተርኩላት ትዝናና። እንዲህ ይሏታል "ኢትዮጵያ ከጨለማ ወጥታ ከፍታ ላይ ነች"! ድንቄም ከፍታ! ኸረ ከመሬት በታች እንዳትወርድ ነው መጠንቀቅ።

በደርግ 25 በህወሓት መካከል የተፈጠረው ቁርሻ ተጋግሎ የውስጥና የውጭ ሃይሎች ጥምረት ታይቶ ተሰምቶ በማይታወቅ የደቦ ወረራ ሰስተኛውን የአለም ጦርነት በትግራይ ምድር ተጀመረ። ከወረራው ቀደም ብሎ በትግራይ ህዝብ ድምፅ የተመረጠችው ህወሓት ለሶስት አመታት ከመላ ኢትዮጵያ የተሻለ ሰላም የሰፈነበት ክልል እየመራች ባለችበት ሁኔታ ዱብ እዳ የሆነ የስድብ ጭቃ ተመረገባት። "ጁንታ" የሚል ስም ለህወሓት በአድራጊ ፈጣሪው ታውጆባታል ሲሰማ ወደ መዝገብ ቃላት የሮጠ የለም። ከጅብነት በየትኛው አዝጋሚ ለውጥ ወደ ጁንታነት እንደተቀየረች የቻርለስ ዳርዊንን መፅሃፍ የገለጠ የለም። ምሁሩ መንገደኛው ምኑ ምናምንቴው ሁሉ ለምላሱ ምቹት ሰጠው። ትርጉሙ ከህወሓት ጋር ይግጠም አይግጠም ችግር የለም፣ ዋናው ነገር ህወሓትን መስደብ ነው። "እስቲ ንካው ንካው፣ ግጥሙ ቢገጥም ባይገጥም አንተ ምን ቸገረህ" አለች ሂሩት በቀለ። ዋናው አላማ መንካት ነው! ትከሻ! ስድቡ ቀጠለ። ህወሓት የወራሪው አመጣጥ ህዝብ ላይ ያነጣጠረ መሆኑን፣ የብርሃኑና የኢሳት ባህሩን የማድረቅ አላማ ያዘለ መሆኑን ስትረዳ ከተሞችን ሊቃ ወጣች። ለትግራይ ህዝብና ህዝብ

ለመረጣት ውድብ ደህነት ሲባል ኢንዱያስትሪ ፈቃድ ተሰጥቷቸው ትግራይን የተቆጣጠሩት ወራሪዎች ህወሓትን አዲስ ስም አወጡላት፡- "የተበተነ ዱቄት"! ወይ ትግራይ፣ ምን አይነት ድብተርና ብትማሪ ነው አንድ ጊዜ የዱር አውሬ ትሆኝና ቆይተሽ ደግሞ የአህል ዱቄት ሆነሽ ነፋስ ላይ ትንሳፊፊያለሽ? ህወሓት "ሽረሪት"ም ተብላለች። ሽረሪት ሆና ግን መጨፍለቅና ድርዎ እየተጠረገ እንደሆነ ተነገረ። ሲታይ ለካ የሚጠረግ ድር የተባለው የትግራይ ህዝብ ማለት ኖሯል። እኛስ የህወሓት ተራ አባላት ለማለት መስሎን ነበር።

በዚህ ሁሉ የወረራ ወቅት የሰማነው ሰላማዊ ህዝብ በወራሪዎቹ እየተጨፈጨፈ መሆኑ ነበር፤ በመቶዎች የሚቆጠሩ ሴቶች በደቡ እየተደፈሩ፤ የህብረተሰብ ንብረት፣ መገልገያና የኢኮኖሚ አውታር ሲዘረፍና ሲቃጠል እንደነበር ነው። ይህ የሽብርቶች ሁሉ እናት ነው። ታዲያ ይህንን ግፍ የሚፈፅመው ወራሪ ህዝብን ከጥፋት ለመታደግ የሚታገለውን ህወሓትን "አሸባሪ" ብሎ ሰየመው። ይህ ስድብ በፓርላማ ፀድቆ መውጣቱ ከስድቦቹ ሁሉ የተለየና ታሪካዊ ያደርገዋል። ህወሓት እኮ የተቃዋሚዎች የአሁን ተሳዳቢዎች ጫና ተቋቁማ ነበር ለ27 አመታት የአልሻባብንና የአልቃይዳን ሽብርተኝነትን የተፋለመችው። ምናልባት የሽብርተኝነት ትርጉም ሰሞኑን ተቀይሮ እንደሆነ ብዬ መዘገበ ቃላትን በድረ መረብ ላይ ተመለከትኩ። ከአክሲዮን ድንጋጌን ያገኘሁት ትርጉም ይህንን ይመስላል፡ - "ሽብርተኛ ማለት ለስልጣን ብሎ በሰላማዊ ህዝብ ላይ ሃይል የሚጠቀምና የሚያስፈራራ ነው" ። የአውነት ማተብ ካለን ለማተባችን እንነጋገርና ትግራይ ውስጥ ይህን እየፈፀመ ያለው ህወሓት ነው ወራሪው ሃይል? የአማራ ሚሊሻ፣ የህግደፍ አራዊት፣ የኢትዮጵያ ጦር ሃይል ሽብርተኛ ካልሆነ አልቃይዳ ምን በደለ ታዲያ ሽብርተኛ ተብሎ የሚጠራው? ከህወሓት ወደ ህዝባዊ ትግል የተቀየረው ትግራይን ከጥፋት የማዳን ዘመቻ ውስጥ ለውስጥ ሃይል ሲያጠራቅም ቆይቶ ድንገት እንደ እሳተ ገሞራ ስለፈነዳና በተዘናኑት ወራሪዎች ላይ ድንገተኛ የሆነ ምስቅልቅል ስለፈጠረባቸው ይህን ራስን የመከላከል ጦርነት በኢትዮጵያ ህልውና ላይ እንደተቃጣ አደጋ አድርገው ለኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ እያቀረቡለት ነው። ሁሉም ነገር ዘጋግተው ህዝቡ በረሃብ እንዲያልቅ ፈርደውበት ከሸሹ በኋላ "ለምን ራስህን ከአልቄት ለመዳን ትፍጨረጨራለህ፣ ለምን ፀጥ ብለህ አታልቅምና ሰላም አትሰጠንም" የሚመስል አይነት ቁጥ እየተቆጠሩ አለምን እያስገረሙ ነው። የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ግን አሁንም አልገባውም ወይንም አውቆ አድፍጧል። ህወሓት ብትጠፋም የትግራይ ህዝብች ሌላ የባሰች ህወሓት ስለሚፈጥር ዋናው መጥፋት ያለበት ፈልፋዩ ነው የሚል በይፋ የማይነገር ግን በአይን የሚገባ እርኩስ አስተሳሰብ አለ። ከዚህም የተነሳ ነባር ግን የታደሱ ስድቦች እየተሻሻሉና አይነት ነው፡- "የናት ጡት ነካሽ፣ አገር አፍራሽ፣ ከሃዲ" ። ሽረ ግራ ገባን! ዋናዎ የኢትዮጵያ ጠባቂ ሆና የረረችው ትግራይን የባህር ዳርቻዎችን ለቅኝ ገዢዎች አሳልፈው የሰጡ ሁሉ ዞረው ተሳዳቢ የሆኑበት አባዜ ምንድነው? ትግራይ አገር አፍራሽ የተባላችው ለጠቅላይ ገዢዎች እሾህ አሜኬላ የሆነባቸውን ፌደራሊዝምን ስላሰፈነች ነው። ምን ችግር አለ ትግራይን እኮ ፌደራሽን አልፈጠራትም። ጥንታዊ የሆነ የታወቀ ወሰን አላት። ይብላኝ ፌደራሽን ከፈረሰ ትናንሽ ክፍላተ ሃገር ወይንም ጠቅላይ ግዛቶች ሆነው ለሚበታተኑት አማራ ክልልና አሮሚያ። ወጥ ለራስህ ስትል ጣፍጥ። በህወሓት ሃይልና ጥረት ክልል የሆኑ ሁሉ ነገ ጧት እንኳንና ውላታህን በልተህ ወደ ትግራይ ሊዋጋ የምትልከው ልዩ ሃይል ቀርቶ የራስህ የከተማ ትራፊክ ፓሊስም መቅጠር አትችልም።



"የፍጻሜው ጦርነት ነው..." የሚል ሃረግ በኢንተርናሲዮናል መዝሙር ውስጥ አለ። የመጨረሻውና የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ የማመዛዘን አቅሙ የሚፈተንበት ጊዜ መጥቷል። ለህወሓት-ትግራይ ኦዲስ ስም ወጥቶላታል። የአሁኑ ወሳኝና አደገኛ ነው። ይህም የሚሆነው ህዝብ ልክ ነው ብሎ ከተቀበለው ነው። ህወሓት-ትግራይ "ካንሰርና፣ አረም" ተብላለች። አንዱ አይበቃም ነበር? "ንዴት እብደት" ነው የሚባለው እውነት ነው። የሚወረውረው ትልቅ ድንጋይ የትም ቢያርፍ ግድ የማይሰጠው እብድ ብቻ ነው። ህወሓት-ትግራይ የኢትዮጵያ ካንሰር ሆኑ ማለት እንደማንኛውን ካንሰር ተጋሩ መጥፋት አለባቸው ማለት ነው። አረምም አዝርአት እንዳይጠፋ ተነቃቅሎ መጥፋት አለበት ነው። ይህ የዘር ማጥፋት አዋጅ ነው! ብዙዎቹ እየተጨነቁ ያሉትና አገር እጃቸው ላይ እንደጨው እየሚማች ዝም ብለው የሚያዩት ህወሓት አራት ኪሎ ከተመለሰች የአለም ፍጻሜ ነው ብለው እንዲያስቡ በተለያዩ ስልት ስለተቀረቀሱ ነው። አሁንም ስሙን የማልጠቅሰው ከፍተኛ የህዝብ አስተዳደር አባል የነበረ ሰው ባለፈው አመት አንድ ድረ ገፅ ላይ ባሳተመው ፅሁፍ እንዲህ ያለ አስደንጋጭ አረፍተ ነገር አስፍሯል፡- "ህወሓት አራት ኪሎ ከምትመለስ ኢትዮጵያ ብትፈርስ ይሻላል"። እግዚአብሔር ያሳያችሁ! እኒህ ሰው በቅንነት ስሜታቸውን በግልፅ መናገራቸው እንጂ ይህ ሁሉ ህወሓትን በአገር አፍራሽነት የሚኮንነው ወፈ ሰማይ ስልጣኑን በተጋሩ ከምቀማ ይቺ አገር መቀመቅ ትውረድ ነው። ትዝብቱ ፈጠ ይቀራል እንጂ ህወሓት የአራት ኪሎን ስልጣን በይጋ መረቅ ፈትፍተው ቢሰጧት ብትሞት አትቀበልም፤ ከትግራይ ህዝብ ጋር መቆራረጥ ካልፈለገች በስተቀር። የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ በፕሮፓጋንዳ እየተደናበረ መኖር የለበትም። ምንም እንኳን ከዚህ ሁሉ ግፍ በኋላ ከኢትዮጵያ ጋር አብሮ መቆየት ከአባትህ ገዳይ ጋር አንድ አልጋ እንደመጋራት የሚቆጠር ቢሆንም ትግራይ ከኢትዮጵያ ጋር ከቆየች የትግራይ ህዝብ የሚፈልገው ከእንግዲህ ትግራይን በዘፈቀደ የሚወርና የሚያስወርር ሃይል በአራት ኪሎ ብቻ ሳይሆን በየትኛውም ክልል እንዳይኖር ማረጋገጥ ብቻ ነው። ትግራይ የምትፈልገው ራሷን ማስተዳደር ነው። የራስ አስተዳደር ደረጃው ምን እንደሚሆን ህዝብ የሚወስነው ነው። ትግራይ ከእንግዲህ አብራ ቆየች አልቆየች ስለ ራሷ ልማትና የህዝብ ደህንነት ካልሆነ ስለ ኢትዮጵያ የምትጨነቅበት አንጀት የላትም፤ በእብራት ተበጣጥሶ አለቀኮ አንጀቱ!!

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**ህወሓት ምን ስላለች ነው ይህ ሁሉ የጭቃ ናዳ**  
July 14-2019

ለህወሓት መግለጫ መልስ የሰጠው አዴፓ ብቻ አይደለም፤ የሰማይ ወፍ ሁሉ ነው። መልሶቹ ሁሉም አንድ አይነት ናቸው፤ ይህም ህወሓት ካቀረበችው ጥንቃቄ የተደረገበት መግለጫ ጋር የሚገናኙ አለመሆናቸው። አባ ዘማርያም እንዴት ዋሉ ተብለው ሲጠየቁ ተልባ እየዘራሁ ነኝ ብለው የመለሱበት የትግርኛ ቀልድ አዘል ተረትና ምሳሌ ለዚህ የሚመች ነው። አባ ዘማርያም የግዜ ሰላምታውን በቅጡ ሳይዳምጡ በውስጣቸው የሚያመለክተው የህወሓትን የተፀውኦ ስም በአማርኛ ተርጉሞ መጥራቱ ነው። ከኔ የበለጠ እነሱ እንደሚያውቁት በአማርኛ ሰቀሰው ደንብ የወል ስም ወይንም ቅፅል ስም እንጂ የተፀውኦ ስም አይተረጎምም። ህወሓት ትህነግ ስለተባለ

ተፈንክቶ ደሙ ይፈሳል ብለው አስበው ከሆነ ብስለት የጎደለው ተግባር ነው። ባልና ሚስት ሲጣሉ እንደሚያደርጉት ማሬ ማሬ መባባል ቀርቶ አቶና ወይዘሮ እያሉ በስም እንደሚጠራሩት ያህል መውረድ የለበትም። ምንም ብትኳረፍ ፖለቲካ የራሱ የሆነ የቋንቋን ኤቲክስ አለው። አዲስ አበባ ፍንፍኔ ስትባል በዝምታ ራስ ምታቱ የሚነሳበት ጠባብ ፖለቲከኛ ሁሉ የህወሓት ስምን ተርጉሞ እንደ ስድብ ሲጠቀምበት ከግንድ ጋር የሚያላጋ ልጅ ያለውንና የሌለውን እየመረጠ ይመስላል።

ህወሓት ከከፊተኛ የፌዴራል የስልጣን እርከን ተገልላ አመራሮቹ ወደ ትውልድ አገራቸው ከገቡበት ጊዜ ጀምሮ ህወሓትና የትግራይ ህዝብ በመሃል አገር ከፖለቲካ መሪዎች ጀምሮ የማንም መንገደኛ የሰድብ መለማመጃ ሆነው ከረሙ። በየሶሻል ሚዲያው፣ በየቡና ጥሪው፣ በየቦርጫው፣ በየስፖርት ወድድር ሜዳው፣ በየቡና ቤቱ፣ በየመማርያ ክፍሉ ተችተው። ተሳድበው፣ ተራግመው፣ በማይሰለቹ፣ ተወ ለሃገር አይበጁም ቢባሉ ንቀታቸው ጣርያ አልፎ የሚሄድ፣ ያለ ህወሓትና የትግራይ ህዝብ ሌላ ጠላት ኑራቸው የማያውቁ የሚመስሉ፣ ስንት የአገር ልማትና የድህነት ቅነሳ የተወዘፈ ስራ እያለ ውድ ጊዜያቸውን በዚህ ፋይዳ ቢስ ተግባር የሚያሳልፉ ሰዎችን እያየንና እየሰማን ይኸው በትንሹ አንድ አመት አለፈ።

ሓይል ለምግብ ማብሰያ ሳይቀር በሚያጥርበት አገር የኤልክትሪክ ሃይል እየተለቀቀላቸው በአስር ሃያ የተሌቪዥንና ሬድዮ ጅናሎች ስላለፈው ጨለማ ስርአት፣ ስለህወሓት መጥፎነት፣ ስለአሁኑ ለውጥ ስማያዊነት ሲተረክ ይውላል። እንደ አኒሚል ፋርም ፖለቲካዊ ተረት ህወሓትና የነካቸው ሁሉ መጥፎ፣ ሌላው ሁሉ ጥሩ የሚለው አዝማች ህፃናት ሳይቀሩ እንዲያቀነቅኑት ተደረገ። በታሪኩ ተጠቁ፣ ከዛ ሲያልፍ ነፃ አውጪ እንጂ አጥቂ ሆኖ የማያውቀው የትግራይ ህዝብ ይህ ሁሉ የማያባራ ውርጅብኝ እየሰማ በትእግስት ማሳለፉ ታላቅነቱንና ለዚች አገር ያለበትን የሃላፊነት ስሜት ማሳየቱ ነበር። ይህ ግን በጨዋ ደንብ እንደ ጀግንነት የቆጠረለት የለም። መቀሌ ላይ የመሸጉት፣ በትግራይ ህዝብ ጉያ የተሸነጡት እየተባለ እንኳንና ሊተኩስ መሳሪያ በእጁ ነክቶ የማያውቀው ሁሉ ከብረት ጋር ተጣብቀው የኖሩትን ሰዎች በፈሪነት ሲፈርጁ ይሰማሉ። የትግራይ ህዝብ የህወሓት አመራሮችን የተቀበለው ልጆቹ ስለሆኑ ነው። የገዛ ልጆቹን፣ ያውም አብረው የመሃል አገር መንግስት ጥቃትን የተከላከሉ ባለ ወላታዎች የት እንዲጥላቸው ነው የሚጠበቀው ለማንስ ብሎ አብረው ሲያበኩና ሲጋግሩ የከረሙ ሁሉ ራሳቸውን ወደ ዳኛነት ቀይረው ወንጀለኞችን አቅርቡልኝ አለዘያ... እያሉ ህዝብን ቢያስፈራሩ ከጅምሩስ በህወሓት ላይ ዳኛ አድርጎ የሰየማቸው ማነው የትግራይ ህዝብ ህግ አክባሪ ነውና ዳኞችን የመረጣቸው የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ነው ብሎ እርግጠኛ ሲሆን ልጆቹ ቢሆኑም ለህግ ያስረክባል። መጀመሪያውን የትግራይ ህዝብ ህወሓት እንደሰው ስህተቶች ብትሰራም በአብዛኛው ግን በጎ ስራ ስርታለት ብሎ ያምናል። ጀግንነትና የዋህነት የተቀላቀለባቸው ራስ ስያም መንገሻ በማእከላይ መንግስት ላይ በምክንያታዊነት ያመፀውን የገዛ ልጆቻቸው አባ ይላቅ ካሳን የፈጥኝ አስረው ወደ አራት ኪሎ ከላኩት በኋላ የሆነውን የታሪክ ሊቃውንት ይጨርሱት።

የህወሓት አመራሮች የሰሯቸው ጥፋቶች ቢኖሩም ፖለቲከኛ ስለሆኑ ነው። ባለፈው፣ በአሁኑ ለወደፊትም ብፁእና ፃድቅ የሆነ ፖለቲከኛ የለም። ጥሩ ነው ማለቴ ሳይሆን በነሱ ብቻ ተደርጎ የሚቀር ይመስል ፖለቲከኛ ሁሉ ባይመፃይቅ ጥሩ ነው ብዬ ነው። ሕወሓት ሲወገዝ የከረመበት በአስተዳደር ላይ የሃይል አጠቃቀም ሳስበው ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ ፓርላማ ቀርቦው ትእግስታችን አልቋል የሃይል እርምጃ እንዋስዳለን ይላሉ ብዬ በህልሜም አስቤው አላውቅም ነበር። የለውጥ ፖለቲካው የተጀመረው አለበታው በቅድስና ነበር። ወልደው ሳያበቁ በስው ልጅ አይሳቁ የሚባለው ተረት መግቢያው በዚህ በር ነው። የህወሓት አመራሮች የተፈጠሩት ከሰይጣናት አይደለም፤ የትግራይ ወላጅ ልጆቹን በሃይማኖት አንጾ ያሳድጋል። ሰው ፖለቲካ ውስጥ መግባትና

ቤተመቅደስ መግባት አንድ አይነት አለመሆኑን በአንክር መገንዘብ አለበት። ቤተመቅደስ ስትገባ የምታገኘው ሰው ከአምላክ ጋር ለመገናኘት ፈልጎ የሚመጣን ነው። ስለዚህም በሌላ ምእመን ላይ ዱላ የሚነሳበት ምክንያት የለም። በሃይማኖት አንድ አምላክ ለቤልዮኖች ይበቃል። በፖለቲካ ግን አንድ ወንበር እንኳንና ለቤልዮን ለሁለት ሰውም አትሆንም። ለዚህ ነው በፖለቲካ ውስጥ ያለ ሰው ሳይቀደም ለመቅደም ዝግጁ የሚሆነው። ለዚህ ነው የሚወስደው የሃይል እርምጃ ገደብ የማይኖረው። መባል ያለበት ለምን አሰርክ፡ ለምን ደበደብክ፡ ለምን ገደልክ ሳይሆን ለምን ፖለቲካ ውስጥ ገባህ ነው። የፖለቲካ ስልጣን እንደ ከበሮ ሲየዩት ያምር ሲይዙት ይደናገር ነው። ስለዚህ ፖለቲከኛ ሁሉ መጠኑ ይለያይ እንጂ ሃይል የመጠቀሙ አዝማሚያ ባህርያዊ ነው።

ባለፉት ሁለት አመታት ተዘውትሮ የሚነገረው ትርክት አራት አባል ድርጅቶች ያሉት ኢህአዲግ ኢትዮጵያን ለ27 አመታት ሲያስተዳድር እንደ ስላሶች አንድም አራትም ሆኖ ኢትዮጵያን የገዛቸው ህወሓት ናት የሚለው ምስጢረ ስላሴ (አራቴ) ነው። አህዴድና ብአዴን ህወሓትን እስከመገርስስ የደረሱት ጫካ ገብተው ባካሄዱት የትጥቅ ትግል ነውን የማይካደው ሃቅ ህወሓት አይኗ እያየና ጀርዋ እየሰማ፡ ምናልባትም ድጋፍ እየቸረች ስላጎለመሰቻቸው ነው። ህወሓት ጨቁና ይዛቸው ቢሆን ኖሮ ከማን አይታ ውጪ ሆነው ነው ይህን ያህል ከንዳቸውን ያፈረጠሙት የህወሓት እህት ድርጅቶች የሚባሉት 27 አመት ሙሉ ሲወሰን በነበረው ውሳኔ ሁሉ እጃቸውን እያወጡ ድምፅ ሳይሰጡበት በህወሓት ድምፅ ብልጫ ብቻ ሲወሰን ነበረን የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ይህን ያህል የመርሳት ችግር ያለበት አይመስለኝም። ከፍርድ ለማምለጥ ጴጥሮስ ለቅዱስ ሃዋርያነት ያበቃውን ክርስቶስን አላውቀውም ብሎ ብቻውን እንዲሰቀል ያስፈረደበት አይነት ተግባር ሲፈፀም ይታያል። ጴጥሮስ የማይቀር ትንቢት ሆኖበት እንጂ ወይ አይደለም። በአለም ትልቁ መቅደስ የሰራለት ጴጥሮስ ነው። የኢትዮጵያ የኢህአዲግ ጴጥሮሶች ግን ከጣሉም በኋላ ማቆም አልቻሉም።

አዴፓ በመግለጫው ህወሓትን በሴራ ፖለቲከኛነት ፈርጃል። ይህ አስገራሚ አባባል ነው። እንቅፅልሽ የሆነ የሴራ ፖለቲካ እያያን ያለነውስ አሁን ነው። ህወሓት በደጋፊዎቿ ዘንድ የምትተቸበት ደረቅ መርኸኝነት፤ ጀብደኝነትና ማን አለብኝነት ነው። የሴራ ፖለቲካ የሚሰራው እኮ ካቅም በላይ የሆነ ነገር አለ ተብሎ ሲታመን ነው። ራስዋን ከገመገመች በኋላ አሁን ጀምራው ካልሆነ በስተቀር ህወሓትን ለዚህ ያበቃት ስልት የራቃት ድርጅት በመሆንዋ ነው። እህት ድርጅቶቿ በግምገማ አደባባይ ወጥተው ሳይጨፋጨፉ ገመናቸውን ሸፈን አድርገው ለረዥም ጊዜ አላማ ሲዘጋጁ ህወሃታት ናት አገር ጉድ እስኪል ድረስ ስትበጣበጥና ራስዋን ስታዳክም የቆየችው። ይህ ራስን የማጥፋት አባዜ የሴራ ፖለቲካ ከሆነ ትርጉሙ ተገልብጣል ማለት ነው።

በመሰረቱ በአስር ካባ ለማለባስ ቢሞከርም የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ የታገለው የስርአት ለውጥ ለማምጣት ነው እንጂ የተበላሸውን ጥርስ በጅል አነቃቀል ሸርፎ ቀሪውን የተነካካ ሽራሬ በጀሶ እየጠጋገነ ለማቆየት አይደለም። ተሸርፎ የቀረ ጥርስ ሰላም እንደማይሰጥ የደረሰበት ሁሉ ያውቀዋል። መሰረታዊ ለውጥ ባልተነካካ አዲስ ልብስ እንጂ ከቅዳጅ የተረፈውን በመደረት አይገኝም። የህዝብ ስሜት የሚያዳምጡ ከሆነ የኢህአዲግ እህት ድርጅቶች ያላቸው አማራጭ ተስማምተው፤ ስህተታቸውን አርመው፤ መጎነታተልን አስወግደው፤ አንድ ላይ አገርን ማስተዳደር አለዚያ ሁሉም ጥርጣ ብለው ወርደው አገሪቱ በጠንካራ አዲስ ትውልድ እንድትመራ ማድረግ ነው።

ማንም ሰው ሲሞት ያሳዝናል ያስለቅሳል። በፖለቲካ ሽኩቻ የሚመጣ ሞት ግን ከማሳዘን አልፎ ግራ ያጋባል ያስፈራልም። በሰኔ ወር የተፈጠረው አሳዘኝ ድርጊት ያስከተለው ሞት ሁሉም አስቆጬ ነው፤ የሞቱት ሁሉም ወገኖቻችን ናቸውና። የአዴፓ የውስጥ ትግል መስሎ በታየው

የባህርዳር አልቂት ጋር ምን ግንኙነት እንዳለው በቅጡ ያልታወቀው የሁለቱ የጦር ልምድ ያካበቱ የትግራይ ተወላጅ ጆኔራሎች መረሸን አስደንጋጭና ግራ የሚያጋባ ሆል። የትግራይ ህዝብ የዛሬውን አያድርገውና የቁልምጫ ስም ሳይወጣለት ሁሉም ኢትዮጵያዊ ጨካኝ አምባገነን ሲለው የነበረውን ደርግን ለማስወገድ በአስር ሺዎች ልጆቹን በየሜዳውና ተራራው ቀብሮ ሌሎች አስር ሺዎችን በአካል ጉዳተኛነት የእድሜ ልክ እንክብካቤ እየሰጠ የሚገኝ ቆዳው በመከራ የሳሳ ህዝብ ነው። ኢትዮጵያዊ ያልሆነ ባእድ ህዝብ እስኪመስል ድረስ ሲደርስበት የቆየው በደል ተሽክሞ እናት አገሩን ጥሎ የት ሊሄድ እንደሚችል ግራ ገብቶት ባለበት ወቅት የብራ ሙብረቅ የሆነ የውድ ልጆቹን የግፍ ግድያ ሰማ፡ አለቀሰ፡ ቀበረ። ይህ ለትግራይ ህዝብ ከወሰን ያለፈ ነገር ነው። የትእግስት ገደቡ የት እንደሆነ መጠየቅ የሚጀምርበት አጋጣሚ ሆኖበታል። የትግራይ ህዝብ አሁን ፈልቶ ይገናኛል ተብሎ ሲጠበቅ ያሳየው ጨዋነት በታሪክ የሚመዘገብ ነው። ለዚህ ስልታዊ የሆነ የገሮች አያያዝ አመራር ስትሰጥ የቆየችው ህወሓት ናት።

እኔ ላለፉት ብዙ አመታት ህወሓትን ስተች ነበር። አቶ ልደቱ ትናንት እንዳስቀመጠው የሚተች ወዳጅ እንጂ ጠላት አይደለም። ጠላትማ እያቆላመጠ አይንን ጨፍኖ ገደል አፋፍ የሚያደርሰው ነው። በዚህ ሁሉ ትችቱ ግን ህወሓት እንድትጠፋ ተመኝቼ አላውቅም። ለምን ቢባል ህወሓት ባትኖር የትግራይ ህዝብ ምንም አይሆንም የሚለው ቀልድ በሳቅ ስለማልቀበለው ነው። ሌላ የበቃ የክልል አመራርነት መጨበጥ የሚችል ሃይል በሌለበት ህወሓትን ማሳደድ የትግራይን ህዝብ ማፍቀር ነው ብዬ አልተረገመውም። የትግራይ ህዝብን የሚወድ ሃይል ያለመሪ ቀርቶ እንዲበተን የሚመኝ አይሆንም። ከአፄ ዮሃንስ ህልፈት በኋላ የተፈጠረው የአመራር ክፍተት ዘውዱን በመሃል አገር ለማደላደል ጥቅም ላይ ዋለ እንጂ ለትግራይ ህዝብ በሚጠቅም መልኩ ማስተካከል የሞከረ አልነበረም። የህዝብ ሃላፊነት የማይሰማቸው የትግራይ መኳንንትና መሳፍንት በማይረባ የወረዳ ግዛት መቀማማት ህዝቡን ሲያፋጁት ማእከላዊው መንግስት አንዴ በዝምታ፤ አንዴ በማስታረቅ፤ አንዴ በማጣላት፤ አንዴ ከሌላ የበላይ ገዢ በመላክ ክልሉን መቅኖ አሳጥተው ለዘላቂ ድህነትና ስደት እንደዳረጉት አይዘነጋም። የአሁኑ በህወሓት አመራር ላይ የሚደረገው ዘመቻ የድሮው እባብ ነው ወይስ የአሁን ልጥ የሚለውን ጥያቄ ለመመለስ ከመታገል መጠንቀቂያ ይመረጣል። እኛም መክረናል ጉድጓድ ጭረናል ያሉት አይጦች የሚመጣው የድመት መንጋ የሙሽራ ስብስብ ይሆን ጥርስ ያሽለ በላተኛ መለየት ስለቃታቸው ነው። ካላቸው ልምድ ውስጣቸው የነገራቸውን ሰርተው ተጠናቅቀዋል።

የትግራይ ህዝብና ህወሓት በቀላሉ የማይተኩ ውድ ልጆቻቸውን ከቀበሩ በኋላ ይህ እንቆቅልሽ ባጭር ጊዜ ካልተፈታ እንደማይደጋገም እርግጠኛ መሆን አልቻሉም። የተለያዩ ስእሎችን በመገጣጠም በአይምሯቸው ውስጥ የሚመላለሰውን መላምት በመግለጫ መልክ አወጡ። ይህ መደብ በመግለጫ ብቻ መታለፍ ተመስገን የሚያሰኝ ነው፤ ብዙ ሰው አድርጎበት ከነበረው የመበቃቀል ስጋት አኳያ። ህወሓት በዚህ መግለጫ ያሰፈረቻቸው ቁም ነገሮች ውሱንና ጥንቃቄን የተላበሱ ናቸው። ጥቂት ትምክህተኞች አገሪቱን እየበጠበጡ መሆኑ፤ የአማራ ህዝብ ትምክህተኛ ተብሎ እንደማይፈረጅ፤ አዴፓ አክራሪ ፀረ ትግራይ ቡድኖችን መቆጣጠር እንዳቃታት ወይንም ባታሰማራቸውም እንደማትከለከላቸው፤ ባህርዳር ላይ ፈንድቶ አዲስ አበባ ላይ ነፍስ ያጠፋው ድራማ ባስቸኳይ እንዲጣራ፡ ካልሆነ ከንዲህ አይነት ድርጅት ጋር አብሮ መስራት እንቸገራለን ብሎ የተረጋጋ መግለጫ ማውጣት ተመጣጣኝ ያልሆነ ቁጣ ያስከተለበት ምክንያቱ ምንድነው በሃዘን ላይ እያለን እንደማፀናናት መግለጫ ላካችሁብን ብሎ ማለትስ ሃዘን ያጋጠመው አዴፓ ብቻ ነው ወይ የሚለው ጥያቄ አያስከትልም የለቅሶ ዳስ አፍርሶ የገዳይን ማንነት ማጣራት ሀጋዊ ብቻ ሳይሆን

ባህላዊም ነው። ያ ጆግና በረከኛ ስመኘውን የበላ ጅብ ሳይጮህ ሲቀር ሌላ ጅብ መጥቶ የአገር ህልውና አላኝታዎችን ቀጠፈ! እና ይቀጥል

ህወሓት የአማራን ህዝብ ለማጥፋት የምትፈልግበት ምንም ምክንያት የላትም። ህወሓት ውስጥ ከመስራቾች ሳይቀር የአማራ ዝርያ ያላቸው መኖራቸው አባባሉን አስቀኝ ያደርገዋል። ዘር ባይኖርስ አማራና የትግራይ ህዝብ የሚለየው ነገር ቢኖር ቋንቋው ላይ አበባ የሚለው ቃል ዕምባባ መሆኑ ነው። ምንም የጋራ ነገር ባይኖረውስ የትግራይ ህዝብ ሆነ ከሱ የተገኙት ልጆቹ አንዳንድ ዲያብሎሳዊ አስተሳሰብ ያላቸው ሰዎች ማመን እንደሚፈልጉት ፀረ ሰው አይደሉም። ለፖለቲካ ህልውና ብሎ የአማራን ህዝብ አስፈራርቶ ማነሳሳት እውነቱ ኢስኪጋለጥ ድረስ ብቻ ሊገፋ ይችላል። በአጅንዳ መሰረት መልስ እንደመስጠት የ1968 ማኒፌስቶ ለማጠቀስ መሮጥ የመጠቃቃት አይነት ግብረ መልስ ከበሰሉ ሰዎች የሚጠበቅ አይደለም። ማኒፌስቶው ይሁን ሌላ ሰነድ የአማራን ስም አንስቶ ከሆነ የሚጠቅሰው የአማራ ገዢ መደብ እያለ እንጂ ህዝብ እንደ ህዝብ ማንንም ሌላ ህዝብ እንደ ህዝብ ገዝቶ የማይውቅ መሆኑን ጠንቅቀው ያውቁ የነበሩት የዩኒቨርሲቲ ተማሪ ታጋዮች በህልማቸውም እያስቡትም። ትምክህተኞች በተባለ ቁጥር ያንተ ስድብ ነው እያሉ አማራ ህዝብ ላይ መለጠፍ ተንኮል ነው። ትምክህተኛነት የህዝብ አመለካከት ሳይሆን የጥቂት አክራሪ ብሄርተኞች ርእዮተ አለም ነው። ትምክህተኞች ህዝቡን ከሁሉም የበላይ ነህ። ገዢ መሆን ያለብህ አንተ ነህ። ከ86ቱ ብሄሮች ልቃህ በአምላክ ለአስታዳሪ የተቀባው አንተ ነህ እያሉ በስሙ ስልጣን ላይ ለመቆናጠጥ ህዝቡን የጥይት እራት የሚያደርጉ ሰዎች አሉ። ትምክህተኞች የአማራ ህዝብ የመረሩ ጠላቶች ስለሆኑ የትግራይ ህዝብ እያለ ያለው ተጋግዘን እናሸንፋቸው ነው። የነገር መርፌ ቢጣመም የእውነት ቅቤን አይወጋም። በኢሳትና ሌሎች ሚዲያዎች ምሁራን እየተባሉ የረቡት አስተያየት ሰጪዎች ያለምንም ልዩነት አዴፓ ጆግና ወጣው፤ ህወሓትን ነገራት እስኪበቃት፤ እያሉ የማንገድ ላይ የነረምሶች ድብድብ አስመስለውታል። ብአዴን የህወሓት ሎሌ ከነበረበት አዴፓ ነፃ የሆነ አማራን የሚወክል ድርጅት ሆኖ ራሱን አፅድልና ምን ቢያደርግ ምን ሙሉ ድጋፍ እንስጠው ብለው የወሰኑ የሚመስሉት ጋዜጠኞችና ፖለቲከኞች ቆንጆ የሆነ የቁልምጫ ስም ለማውጣት የተችገሩ ይመስላሉ።

ህወሓትን ማብጠልጠል የነጠላ ሰረዝ ያህል በተዘወተረበት ወቅት ሌላ በተደራቢ የተገነዘብነው ነገር ቢኖር የሰከነና ሚዛናዊ የሆነ የፖለቲካ አም ባለቤት የሆኑት አቶ ልደቱ አያሌው በአሃዱ ቴሌቪዥን ቀርበው መላ ባጡ ፖለቲከኞች የተዘለፉበትን ወደ ትግራይ ያደረጉት ጉዞ በስሜን ተውጠው ትክክለኛነቱን ለማሳመን ሲታገሉና ወቃሾቻቸውን መልስው በጠጣር ቃላት ሲወቅሱ አይቼ የወደፊት ኢትዮጵያ እጣ ፈንታ ለማየት የምችልበት አይኔ የተጋረደ ሆኖ ተሰማኝ። እድሜ ልክ ከማይቀየሩ። ሊቀየሩ ከማይፈልጉና እየባሰባቸው ከሚሄዱ የጥፋት ፖለቲከኞች ጋር ሆኖ መስራት የሚቻለው ኢትዮጵያን መገንባት ሳይሆን የባቢሎን ግንብን አብሮ ማፍረስ ብቻ ነው። የትግራይ ህዝብ በእብሪት ከሚወዳት አገሩ እየተገፋ መሆኑ ማየት የተሳነውም ቢሆን አይስተውም። በባህሪ ነጋሲ ላይ የተፈፀመው ግዴለሽነት በትግራይ ላይ እየተደገመ ነው። ወዳጆቻችን ሆነዋል ብሎ የኢሳት ጋዜጠኛ ተስፋ በጣለባቸው የኤራትሪያና የሱዳን መንግስታት ትግራይን ከበው ስለያዘዱት ማምለጫ የላትም እያለ ሲሳለቅ የኢትዮጵያ ፖለቲካ የመቀለል ህፃናት ጨዋታ ወደ መሆን መውረዱን ያሳያል። እንኳንና የትግራይ ህዝብ ያለ ረዳት ለዘመናት የተጋረጡበትን ውስብስብ ችግሮች አሸንፎ የወጣ ቀርቶ ማንም ህዝብም ቢሆን መውጫ ሊያሳጡት ሲሞክሩ ወደ ጢስነት እንደሚቀየር የታወቀ ነው። ይልቅስ ለኢትዮጵያ አንድነት ዘላቂነት የሚያስብ ሁሉ የትግራይን ህዝብ ይቅርታ በመጠየቅ ተከባብሮና ተፈቃቅሮ ለመኖር ጥረት ቢያደርግ መጪው ጊዜ ብሩህ ይሆናል ብዬ አስባለሁ።\*\*\*\*\*

**ንግዳት ብምድቕምን ብምጥፋእን ህዝቢ ትግራይ ዝረኸበ ረብሓ እንታይ እዩ?**

July 30-2020

ተጋሩ ስለዝተብሃልናም መንነትና ሓደ ስለዝኾነ ኣረኣኢያናን ናይ ፓለቲካዊ መስመርናን ሓንቲ ክትኸውን ኣለዎ ዝብል ኣራዲድኣ ክህሉ ኣይኽእልን። ከምዚ ዘሓሰብን ብዙይ ዝኣምንን ውልቀሰብ ይኹን ውድብ እንተሃልዩ ናይ ግድን ምትዕርራይ ከድልዮ እዩ። ማንታታት እኳ ብሓሳብ ዝፋላለዩስ! ናይ ኣራኣኢያ ፍልልይ ናይ ፓለቲካ ዕሩይነት መግለጻይ እዩ። እዙይ ክብል ከለኹ ግን ከም ደቂ ዛግራ ፋሕ ጭንግራሕ ዝበለ ክኸውን ይኽእልዩ ማለት ኣይኮነን። ይዕቦ ይንኣስ፣ ዝበፅሖ ናይ ማሕበረ-ኢኮኖሚ ደረጃ ይልዓል ይትሓት ብዘየገድስ ሓደ ህዝቢ ከግህዶ ዝቃለሰሉ ሓደ ሕልሚ ክህልዎ ናይ ግድን እዩ። እዙ ሕልሚ ወይከኣ ራእይ ንበሎ ባህ ዝበሎ ከም ባህ ዝበሎ ናብ ዝደለዩ ኣንፈት ዝጎቶ እንተይኮነስ ኹሉ ዝተቐበሎን ንመስዋእትነት ዝተዳለወሉን፣ ኹሉ ዝውንኖን መርሃ-ህይወት እዩ። እዙ ራእይ ሹዳሽተ ሚልዮን ህዝብ ሎሚ፣ ካብኡ ንላዕሊውን ፅባሕ ዝውንኖን ዝዕቅቦን እዩ። ወልቀሰባትን ውድባትን ክህልወን ዝኽእል ኣፈላላይ እንተሃለወ ነዙ ናይ-ሓባር ራእይ ኣብምግሃድ ዘሎ ናይ ስትራተጂን ታክቲክን ፍልልይ ጥራይ እዩ ክኸውን ዝኽእል።

እዙ ዘይገሃስ ናይ ትግራይ ህዝቢ ራእይ ኣብምግሃድ ክህሉ ዝኽእል ሓደን ዋናን ፀገም ብውልቀሰብ ይኹን ብወድብ ደረጃ እታ ራኢ ብዘይካይ ዘግህዳ የለን፣ ካልእ ኹሉ ግጉይን መዕነዊን እዩ እትብል ካብ ዓይነ መርፊእ ዝፀበበት ኣረኣኢያ እዩ። ካውዙይ ብምብጋስውን ራእይ ዘግህዱን ዘየግህዱን፣ ራእይ ዘዕንዉን ዘዕርዩን ጉጅለታት በቲ ብዘይካይ ህዝቢ ብሓንቲ ለይቲ ዓዊሩ ይሓድር ኢሉ ዝኣምን ውልቀሰብ ይኹን ጉጅለ ዳኛን ፈራድን ኮይኑ እቲ ኻልእ ተወጃልን ተፈራዳይን ናይ ምኻን እጫ ይወድቆ። ቐዲሙ ኣነ ኣየ ሸም መውፅኢ ዝበለ እዉ እማንካ ተባሂሉ ይድረፈሉ። ሓይሊስ ሓቂ ትኸውን ኣላ ማለት እዩ።

ብቃልሲ ህወሓት ዝተረኸበ ቅሳነት ክንድትዝግቦኦ ክርድኦ ዝኽእል ሰብ ቅድሚ ዓወት ኣብ ትግራይ ዝነበር ዝነበረ ሰብ እዩ። መዓልቲ ይሓልፍም እቲ ሓፍ ዘይብል እምነ ፀገም ይፈኩስ፣ ወለዶ ይርስዕ፣ ዘይምግዳሽ እናግብለሎ ይኸይድ። እቲ ሓዊ ረገፁ ብዮቱ ቀቢሩ ብሂወት ናብ ዓወት ዝበፀሐውን ረሲዑ! እቶም ዶክተራት፣ ፕሮፌሰራት፣ መሃንዲሳት ኮይኖም ወርቅን ጨርቅን ኮይኖም ክነበሩ ዝኸሉ ዝነበሩ መናእሰይ ሓዊን ሓመድን በሊዑዎም። ሞት ኣይተርፍንም ኣየጣዕሰን። ግን ኣብ ነታጉ እናደቀሱ ዘሕለፉዎም ሰባት ሃፍቲ ኣጥርዮም ኩሉ ነገር ረሲዖም ክዋራዘዩ ምርኣይ ናይ ተዓዛባይ መዓንጣ ዘሕርር እዩ። ንመጻኢ ወለዶውን ሕማቕ ተርእዮ እዩ። ክሕደት እናረኣየ ንሓዋሩ ንመስዋእትነት ዝዳሎ ይህሉ ተባሂሉ ይሕሰብዶ?

ኣብዚኦ ኩላትና እንፍፅፀ ጌጋ ኣላ። ነቐፊታ ክነቐርብ እንተለና ልመድ ዝገበርናዮ ህወሓት እንበልና ብድፋን ምፅሓፍን ምዝራብን እዩ። እዙይ ጌጋ እዩ። ኩላትና ክንእረመሉን ክንጠዓሰሉን ዝግባኣና እዩ። ህወሓት በኣማኢት ሽሕ ዝቁፀሩ ሰውኣትን ብሂወት ዘለውን ኣባላት ኣለውዮ። ኩሎም ጎሓሉን ቀተልትን፣ ህዝብ ዝብድሉን ክኹኑ ኣይኽእሉን። ኣሸሓት ስዋ ሰትዩምን ቐጫ በሊዶም ዝሓድሩ ቅኑዕት ደቂ ህዝቢ ኣባላት ህወሓት ኣለው። ምስ ስገም ተሓዊሱ ከምዝተረኸበ ስርናይ ጥሕኒ ክኹኑ ኣይግባእን። ኣብዙ ቐሎዕ ሓቂ እዙይ ብምድራኽ ንግዳት እንምነዮ ትምኒት ኣሰራ ትጥፋእ ክኸውን የብሎን። ኣፍኩስ ኣቢልና እንተርኢናዮ ኣረገገት ሰኣኒ ሊስትሮ ጌርካ ምኻድ ድዩ ዝሓይሽ ወይስ ሓዳሽ ብኸባር ዋጋ ዝኢኻኻ እግርኻ ምጭዳድ? ሕወሓት እኮ ማእለያ ዘይብሉ ተሞክሮታት ኣለዋ። ኢትዮጵያ ዝእክል ብልሓቱ ዘይፍለጥ ዓዲኮ ንሓደ ወልዶ ዝእክል ጊዜ ተራኢዩ ብዘይፈልጥ ክእለት ኣማሓዲራ እዩ። በዓለም ለኽ ደረጃ ዝነበራ ተቀባልነትን ዝምድናን እኮ

ንትግራይ ዓቢ ንብረት እዩ። ህወሓትን ናይ ትግራይ ህዝብን ሓደ እዮም ዝበሃል እም ንግደ። ህወሓት ናይ ትግራይ ህዝቢ ኣብ ቅድሚኡ ንዘሎ ስግግር ወሳኛይ እጃም ኣለዎ እዩ። ህወሓት ኣሰርኪ ትጥፋእ እንተይሉዎውን ክብላ ዝኸእል ህዝብ ትግራይ እምበር ማንም ካልእ ውልቀሰብ ወይካኣ ጉጅለ ክኸውን ኣይክእልን። ኣብ ህወሓት ዝነበረ ስር ቅን ሕማቕ ምሕደራን ብውድብ ደረጃ ክውሰድ የብሉን። ስርቅን ኣብ ልዕሊ ህዝቢ ዝበፀሐ በደልን ብጉባኤ ወይካኣ ብማእከላይ ኮሚቴ ተሓንጊፁ ስውሰን ኣይኮነን። መቸም ኣብሓሙሽተ ዓመት ጥላን እክለ ወዲእክለ ክልተ ሰለስተ ቢልዮን ቅርሺ ከግፋፍኡ ተወሲኑ ዝብል ውድብ ኣብ ዓለም የለን ኣይነበረንውን። ስርቅ ውልቀሰብ ብወገኑ ዝፍፅም እዩ። ናይ ውድብ ጥፍኣት ክኸውን ዝኸእል ንጉሒላታት ሽፋን ምሃብ እዩ። እዙይ ዝገብሩውን ቁሩባት ዓቅምን ተሳትፎን ዘለዎም ኣባላት ኣማራርሓ እዮም። ተጎጂሎም ነቶም ቅኑዓት ይዕብልልዎም ወይካኣ ካብ ውድብ ይሰጉዎም። ህወሓት፣ ብኣዴን፣ ኣህዴድ፣ ደህዴን ብውድብ ደረጃ ስረቕቲ ኣይነበራን። ውልቀሰብ ንሓሉ ግን ኣብኩለን ተዘሪኦም ይርከቡ ነይሮም። ብውድብ ደረጃ ጉሒላ ተባሂላ ዝተደፍኡት ግን ህወሓት ንበይና እያ። እዙይ ዘይግባእ ክህደት እዩ። እቶም ናይ ሰለስተ ውድብ ንሓሉ ግን ተሓቢኦም ተሪፎም ንህወሓት ይፀርፉዎ ኣለው። "ኣቸለንተ ዓለም ትሸዓተ" በለ ሓሽከር ጥልዖን። እዙይ ክንብል እንተለና ግን ኣብ ውሽጢ ህወሓት ዘለው ንሓሉ ስቕ ኢልና ንርእዮም ማለት ኣይኮነን። ስቕ ተተባሂሎም ግን ንሓላፍ ትግራይ ስራቕ እምበር መራሒ ኣይተጥርን። እንታይ ሪኡ ክመሃር? ንንሓላ ንእሰሮም፣ ንውረሶም ኣይኮነይ ብንል ዘለና፣ ካብ ህዝባዊ ምሕደራ ይልገሱ ይተኣለዩ ኢና ንብል። ህወሓት ኣብዚኣ ሓፍ ዘይትብል ድክመት ኣላታ። ዝገበረቶ ብዙህ ዝነኣድ ስራሕቲ ኣሎ። ዓርሰ ምምሕዳር፣ ሰላም፣ ሓሪን በረኻነትን ንምቅላስ ጋህፃፃት ንበታት ትግራይ ሓምለዋይ ምግባር። እቲ ናይ ኢትዮጵያ ኣበርክቶ ይፅናሕዎ እዙኹሉ ኣብ ትግራይ ምስ ንበታት ዝተገበረ ቻልሲ ዘርስሕ ናይ ስርቂ ታሪክ ህወሓት ክተውግዶ ይግባእ።

ኣብ ላዕሊ ከምዝገለፀኩም ህወሓት ብተጋሩ ዓይኑ ክትረኣይ ዘለዎ ተሓጻቢ ከምትፀሪ እምበር ከምትድርብ ክዳን ኣይኮነን። ማንም ትግራዊ ኣጀንዳ ጌሩ ክሕዝ ዝግባእ ድልየትን ጥቕምን ህዝቢ ትግራይ እምበር ናይ ካልእ ክኸውን የብሉን። ንህወሓት ምድኻምን ምጥፋእን ናይ ህዝቢ ትግራይ ድልየት ኣይኮነን። ህወሓት እንተጠፊኦ ህዝቢ ይጉዳእ እንተዘይኮይኑ ኣይርባሕን። ክርባሕ ዝደልዮውን የለን። ኣቶም ብካልእ ሓይሊ ይዕሰቡ ኣለው እትበሃሉ ዘለኹም ተጋሩ እማን እንተኾይኑ፣ ልቢ ግበሩ። ካብ ናይ ገንዘብ ፀገም ናይሕልና ፀገም ይኸፍእ! ህወሓት ምስኣጥፋእኹምሎም ናባኹም ዘይሮም ከምዘጥፍኡኹም ኣይትጠራጠሩ። ደርጊ ኣንፃር ህወሓት ዝነበሩ ኣማኢት ተጋሩ ካድረታትን ኣማሓደርትን ዝበልዎም ደርጊ ባዕሉ እዩ እምበር ህወሓት ኣይኮነትን።

ኣብዚኣ ቁሩብ ደቓይቕ ንውሰድም ንራዳዳእ። ኣብ ትግራይ ዝተተገበረ ቀይሕ ራዕዲ ዝፈፀሙ ዳኖት ከይኮኑ ምስቲ ዝሰንከልዎን ዝቐተሉዎን ሓቢሮም ማይ እናሰተዩ ዝገባዩ ደቂ ትግራይ እዮም ነይሮም። ውላድ ቀቲሎም ኣደ ኸበሮ ሒዝኺ ዕልል በሊ ዝብሉ ዝነበሩ እንስሳ ዘገዳም እኮ ካብ ካልእ ዝመፁና ኣይነበሩን። ሓለቓ ሚኢቲ ደስታ ታደሰ ንመንእሰይ ትግራይ ሓራዲ ጎሚዱ ሸደነዎ ደርጊ ባዕሉ ቐትሉ እይ ንማይ እይ ንሰማይ ኣትሪፉዎ። ማእከላዊ ተኣሲሩ "ዋይ እን ደቂ ዓይይ ጎዲኤዮም" ኢሉ ይጠዓስ ከምዝነበረ ሰማዕና። "እንታይም ይዓብስ ደንንካ ምብካየ ቐደም ነበረምበር ፈሰስ ምንካየ" እናተብሃለ ይድረፍ ነበረ ቐደም ብዙሕ ለባም ኣብዝነበረሉ ዘበን። ደስታ ብኢድ ጎይቶቱ ምስጠፍኡውን እዚ ስጉምቲ ዝምልከቶም ዘይመሰሎም ላህማማት ኣብ ልዕሊ ህወሓት ዝገብርዎ ወፍሪ ብወታሃደራዊ መዳይ ቐፂሎም ክሳብ እታ መዓልቶም። ዘንዶ ኣዞ እናበሉ፣ ምስ ውሸጥኻ ዝፈልጥ ምስወዲ ሩባኻን ብድሕሪቱ ሙሉእ ዘይጉዳል ሓገዝ ምስዘለዎን ውግእ

ከቢድ እዩም፣ ንሠውሓት ፎቆዶ በረኻ ትግራይ ብውሽጢ ከም ሓቢ ሰንሰን አበልዋ። ደርግ ምስ ደቅዓዶም ደምንት ዝአተዉ ተጋሩ ካድረታትን ዞባን ወረዳን አማሓደርቲ ሜዳልያ ከንድዝሸልሞምስ ግፍጥ አቢሉ ማእከላዊ ዳጉኑዎም። ዝደንፀዎም ካድረታት ንመንግስቱ አቤት እንተበሉኳ ካብ በትሪ ኣይደሉኑን። ዘይፈልጡዎ ናይ ህወሓት ስርዒት ኣቃልፀ ተባሂሎም ዝተዘበጡን ዝተቀተሉን ኣለው። በትሪ በዚሉዎም ናይ ሓሶት ስርዒት ንዝሰርሓሎም ኣባል ሕውሓት እሱር መቐሹሽ ይህቡዎ ከምዝነበሩ መሰሓቕ ዝኾነ ታሪኽ ብዓይንና ኣብ ማእከላዊ ተዓዚብና። እዞም ካድረታት ኮሎኔል ፍሰሃ ደስታ ህወሓት ኣባል እዩ ኢልኩም ፈርመልና እናበሉ ይዘብጥዎም ከምዝነበሩ ብኢሎም በሉ ወረ እንተይኮነስ ባዕልና እንፈጥ ታሪኽ እዩ። ንመንግስቱ ከንድፍሰሃ ዝሸቀለሉ ይህሉዶ ይኸውን? ቅድም ኢል ከምዘብራህክዎ ዝኾነ ይኹን ሰብ ወድሰብ ናይ ውልቁ ኣረኣእያ ክኸበረሉ ናይ ግድን እዩ። እዚ ክንበል ከለና ግን እቲ ናይ ውልቁ ኣረኣእያ ንኻልእ ሰብ ዝጎድእ ክኸውን ይፍቀድ ማለትና ኣይኮነን። ውልቃዊ ኣረኣእያ ብዘስዕቦ ፀገም ካልእ ሰብ ክልከም የብሉን።

ድርጅታ ቀዳማይ ሚኒስትር ኢትዮጵያ ምስ ዶር ደብረፅዮን ተረዳዲኡ ህዝቢ ትግራይ ኣብ ጎረ ደብረፅዮን ደው ክብል ለበዋ ምስ ኣቕረበ ፈንቅል ወድፈንቅል ግልብጥ እሎም ኣብ ልዕሊ እቲ ቐዳማይ ሚኒስትር ኣንፀርፀርት ገይሮም! እዚኣ ኢና ንብል ዘለና! ናይ ፓለቲካ ተግባኦ ብቐድሚት ድያ ብድሕሪት እትመፅእ ምፍላይ ዘይኸእል ለዋህ ፓለቲካኛ ካብዚኣን ካብቲኣን እንተይኮነ ከንተ መንቱ ይተርፍ። ኣሜሪካውያን "ቐፃሊ ረብሓ እምበር ቐፃሊ ምሕዝና የለን" ይብሉ። ዶር ኣብይ እኮ ህወሓት "ኣይፈልጠካን፣ ኣይድግፈካን፣ ምሳኻ ኣይሰርሕን፣ ዘይሕጋዊ ኢኻ" ስለዝበለቶ እምበር ኣብ ኢትዮጵያ ዘለዋ ሚኢቲ ፓርቲታት ተኣኪቦን ከንዲ ህወሓት ዘኣክል ረብሓ ኣይረኸበለንን። ቐደሙውን ተኣኪቦም ብሃይሃይታ ስለዘገይዎ እዩ እምበር ንሠውሓት ከርሕቐ ኣይነበሮን። ብቐፃልውን ካብዙይ ዝለዓለ ምርድዳእ ክህሉ ተስፋ ንገብር። ሓቢርካ ዓዲ ምድሓን ቐዳምነት ዝወሃቦ እዩ። ካለእ ማሊእ ሓላፋይ እዩ። "እት ስገም ስገም ሓላፋይ እዩ ፀገም" ።

ብቐኑዕ ንህዝቢ ትግራይ ዝቐምኩም ግንክ ህወሓት ዘይኮነ ሸም እትህበኩም ዘላ ተጋሩ ብትዕግስቲ ኣሕልፍዎ። እዋኑ ምስ ህወሓት ንፋጠጠሉ ኣይኮነን። "ኸበባዩ ኸበባ፣ ከም ሸምበቆ ርበባ"። ሓቂ ምሓዝ ግርም፣ እታ ሓቂ እትብሰረላ መዓልቲ ግን ብጥንቃቐ ዝተመረፀት ክትኸውን ይግባእ። ስለስተ ሓቂ ብሰሰስተ ኣንፈት ተኣጉዳዶ ነንባዕልና ክንሳጎድ? ንቀበሎ! ተጋሩ ሕማቕ ዘይበሊ ባህርይ ኣለና። ኣብዝዓለብናላ ቦታ ኣብዝኸድናላ ዓዲ ናይዘይምርድዳእን ናይ ምብኣስን ረሳሕ ባህሊ ኣለና። መጥፍኢትናውን ንሳ እዩ። ቅድሚ ሰብ ስልጣኔ ጀሚርናዶ ዳኣ ድሕሪ ሰብ ምተረፍና?

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# CLUSTER 3

## Tigray: Ethiopian or Non-Ethiopian?



- Which is the real enemy of Tigray
- Tigray being forced to sail into uncharted waters
- De Facto State of Tigray: Hasn't it always been so?
- Hail Tigray Regional Council: A giant step towards...
- A new era dawns in Tigray!
- Dr. Debretsion is the President Tigray deserves
- የትግራይ ህዝብ፤ "እንዳያማህ ጥራው እንዳይበላ ግፋው"
- "የመጀመሪያዎቹ ቦታኞች ላለመሆን ነው እየጣርን ያለነው" ...
- እውን ትግራይ "አንድ ሳር ቢመዘዝ..." ናትን?

Tigray is the northern most state in Ethiopia. It is the most historically and culturally significant state in the federation because it is the home of the 3000 years of history Ethiopia derives its pride from. Unfortunately Ethiopians have never learnt to love and respect this ancient land and its people. Tigray has suffered from several invasions and brutalities by the central authority through the ages. In the last two years the irrational hate reached its peak and allied forces from Ethiopia and Eritrea devastated it. Tigray is now at a crossroad where it will have to decide whether to live in the vicious cycle or break it forever.

**Which is the real enemy of Tigray: Individual Leaders or  
the Established System in Ethiopia?**

January 25-2021

I would like to thank TMH's Stalin Gebreselassie for proposing a debate on what is indicated in the title of this article. I don't know how different it is this time; whether Tigray will forgive and forget as it repeatedly did in the past. Of course, given the global mobilization of Tegararu against the widespread mass killings, destruction, looting of property, and beastly rapes of women and young girls at unprecedented scale; the elevated feeling of sadness, anger, and disillusionment among Tegararu provoked by the senseless and callous acts of impunity in almost every town and village of Tigray, any such thing as forgiving and forgetting is less likely to happen. However, this is only a conjecture based on the prevailing expression of disappointment, among Tegararu scholars and lay people alike, that does not seem to fade away anytime soon. Unless we dive into the core of why such man-made disasters are taking place in Tigray, with an ever-increasing magnitude on the "Richter scale", time may more likely heal the wound however gangrenous it may have been.

At the core of such disasters lies the question whether it is the individual leader's bad attitude, or a widely inculcated public attitude backed and nurtured by an established system? Tigray has experienced at least four invasions and destruction from the central governments located at Arat Kilo. This is much more than the share of any community of people can endure. The leaders of the four invasions are Menilik, Haileselassie, Mengistu, and Abiy. Are all these consecutive leaders of Ethiopia psychopaths who are led by their own hate on particular people which does not have any foundation in the Ethiopian polity? If the answer is "Yes", as it has always been in the past, there is a great likelihood that, once Abiy is gone, we will forgive and forget. We celebrate the end of his rule and

curse Abiy for a few years as we have done on Mengistu, Haileselassie, and Menilik. We sit back, stretch our legs, and continue to live our "normal" lives. Even TPLF, which led the people of Tigray against the Derg, must have believed that it is all over! Once Mengistu is gone there will never be any more trouble against Tigray. True, there was no trouble against Tigray for 30 years, but because TPLF was in the command center at Arat Kilo!! The invasion of Tigray happened, in less than two years after TPLF left Arat Kilo, not by a returned Mengistu but by Abiy who was cheered by Ethiopians for every word he uttered and every action he took as long as it was anti-Tigray. TPLF was busy building an economy, a military, security, and foreign relations that is now used against it. By not working as much in Tigray TPLF was not aware of the fact that it was tilting the power balance in favour of the enemy which did not sleep for 30 years waiting for an opportunity! This is what a lack of foresight and systemic thinking means.

Menilik plundered and misruled Tigray. People in Tigray wished him dead unaware that he was simply a representative of a system that is determined to end the historical, cultural, and political supremacy of Tigray in Ethiopia and replace it by an Amhara-Ethiopian one forever. When Menilik died Tigray loosened its belt because it felt that the source of all evil on Tigray was this one individual called Menilik. Tigray got it all wrong because the deep rooted and widespread anti-Tigray polity got another more potent leader in Haileselassie. Tigray was surprised at the post-Weyane invasion by the same political force under a different but more vicious leader. Still ignorant of the systemic underlying intentions Tigray cursed Haileselassie until his death and beyond but surprised again by the long and more brutal aggression by Mengistu on Tigray. If Abiy is gone sooner or later, and Tigray, as it has become addicted to forgives and forgets the most devastating invasion in its history, it has to be prepared for another leader of Ethiopia that would realize its doom once and for all! Fellows, it is human nature to forget something even the like of what is now happening in Tigray. It is

more comfortable and less costly for the surviving people of Tigray to conform to new but unfamiliar realities. This is ill advised because every time past brutalities are forgotten the people will be weaker and less prepared for the inevitable next aggression. With every conformity to loss the evil system which drives the invasions will have the chance to economically, politically, and socially degrade Tigray in order to effectively subjugate it perpetually. Let us face our problems as a system countering an unfavorable system instead of considering it as the will and whim of an individual leader. It has become worrisome to hear the name of Abiy thousand times a day. Watch out so that things will not happen again and again. Abiy is not the enemy, he is just a leader the established anti-Tigray polity found to attain its long endured and never changing goal of destroying Tigray. Are we going to celebrate if Abiy is gone and live happily ever after while that anti-Tigray system in Ethiopia goes into hiding as it did before and spring up with any first opportunity to finish off Tigray for good?

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**Tigray being forced to sail into uncharted waters**  
December 21-2019

The predicament of the people of the ancient land looks like it is endless. No one seems to be interested to reduce the burden on the People. Most are carelessly bent to add fuel to the fire as if they will be free from the consequences. By pushing Tigray onto the brink they are sure that it will be only Tigray that goes off the cliff to their relief: “አንድ ሳር ቢ መ ዘዝ ቤት አያፈርስክም”. Yes, one straw may be pulled out from a thatched roof without effect; but one straw may also break the camel’s back. Many politicians and “journalists”, who naively prefer to think matters as ABCD not as BDAC, are handling the Tigray vs. central government polemics in a dangerously myopic and simplistic way.

Many are deriving great pleasure from the thought of “shrinking power” of the TPLF and its ultimate “doom”. They take comfort in the phantom they have created in their minds of a separate TPLF and the people of Tigray. They know much “better” than the people of Tigray themselves that the people of Tigray hate the TPLF. They take their own favorite assumptions as realities and analyze the politics of Tigray based on that shaky ground. They attribute the cohesion between the people of Tigray and the TPLF to the coercion and imposition by the TPLF. This is the worst of all insults on the people of Tigray because if the people are joined with the TPLF because they are forced to do so by the intimidation of the TPLF then we must be talking about other people called Tigray in other countries. The assumption that the TPLF is coercing the people to support it is like painting a doomsday scenario where parents are pulled around by their children. TPLF couldn't have survived let alone thrive and be victorious without the full support of the people of Tigray. The people of Tigray are superior to the TPLF. They know what they are doing perfectly well. Sometimes TPLF could turn out to be a troublesome child for them. That is all! No sufficiently wide holes of weaknesses are available that could be used as entry points to destroy. Why did the people of Tigray support TPLF with their lives and limbs? Because the series of central governments in Ethiopia have been always negative to the people of Tigray. This dignified people couldn't bear the persistent humiliations that were (still coming) from the center. They preferred death to dishonor. They got the TPLF to lead them into that honorable death! Isn't this a blood-bonded cohesion? Could it be shattered by words however harsh and degrading they are?

What is happening now reminds me of some brief but unforgettable event at Arat Kilo liberty square in 1965 E.C. It clearly indicates how perennial and deeply rooted the hate against Tigrans has been. It was a weekend and six friends from Tigray, all attending freshman programme at HSIU, were having fun with areke and tella in the shanty town of 'Basha Welde Chilot'. A few minutes past mid-night

(there was no curfew then) we were crossing the Arat Kilo Square on our way back to campus. With a few glasses of tella and areke our tongues were loose and we were freely chattering in Tigrigna as we walked along. Suddenly, policemen guarding the Ministry of Education building shouted an order directed at us to come to where they were standing. We obeyed although there was no legal reason for them to summon us to their post. We committed no crime. We were university students having fun during our leisure time. To our utter dismay they told us to wait for a police car to take us to prison. Scared as young students away from home we waited for almost half an hour for the police car to come. When the waiting became too long we became a burden for the members of the police night patrol and they chased us away. No car was coming; the police were simply harassing us to quench their own thirst for hate victims. It was a sleepless night for all of us. None of us knew what exactly our crime was except for the guess we all had in our minds: speaking Tigrigna! Three of the six friends have martyred in the struggle for emancipation (RIP: Ze-Selassie Samuel, Gebre Kiros Teka, and Ahadu Uqbu). This is where irrational hate drives you to. All of the three were brilliant students with a potential to be professors and leaders.

It is in algebra that you start from an assumption (let  $x$  be 5; but  $x$  can be anything else!) then you follow the steps and reach a “solution set”. The assumption of the “political mathematicians” is that the people of Tigray are held by TPLF coercion to support it. Thus, the solution set is to liberate them from the TPLF. How is that to be done? By defeating the TPLF? How is that to be done? Is it by blocking roads and other kinds of transportation? Is it by cancelling projects? Is it by discouraging investment? Is it by preventing visitors, etc? It is sheer sarcasm that such actions will kill TPLF and benefit the people of Tigray! This is a contradiction. While TPLF leaders are accused of amassing wealth while in power and are assumed to possess more than enough to live on; it is surprisingly believed that economic sanctions will selectively harm the TPLF.

These actions directly harm the people of Tigray. Those who are taking such actions know exactly where the impacts will fall. They know the Ethiopian public is cheering them regardless. This is what they want very badly: votes at any inhuman cost! For the people of Tigray hunger is not a novel experience. Mengistu Hailemariam has unashamedly said this in public: “There is no hunger in Ethiopia; it is in Tigray””; as if Tigray is not a part of Ethiopia. It was the “hungry” people who overthrew him and made him chew his tongue. Hunger has never affected the people of Tigray when it comes to defending their dignity and decision making power on their own affairs. Hunger never prevented them from fighting against several foreign invaders to save Ethiopia from colonial rule.

Tigray is being shoved into uncharted waters by the arithmeticocracy that has been guiding political thinking in Ethiopia for the last three decades. This is the tyranny of the demographic majority. Everybody knows the answer to the following question: What was the most frequently mentioned figure in Ethiopian politics for the last thirty years? The answer is: “Six-percent”. When the opposition to the TPLF criminalized it as a minority rule of six-percent, they were “unknowingly” referring to the people of Tigray! TPLF is not six-percent. Six-percent of what? Of all politicians in Ethiopia? Of all parties in Ethiopia? It is the people of Tigray who are six-percent out of the total population of Ethiopia. They are knowingly or unknowingly referring to a “rule by the people of Tigray”. This is an acknowledgement of what they otherwise don’t want to admit out of fear of uniting TPLF and the people. Anyways, the reference to the six-percent has involuntarily exposed who their real target is. They are targeting the TPLF because they think it is the Achilles heel of Tigray.

Some unwise Tigrayan politicians and ordinary people are participating in this intricately woven scheme by trying to please the opponents by picking on trivialities that they think could help them to weaken the TPLF and pave the way for political power in Tigray (appointment from the Center!). This is repeating the ugly history of

Tigray in which the noble men were doing all kinds of tricks on each other to please the Arat Kilo Palace. No one was pleased; but everyone was mocking them for their power-blinded mentalities and suicidal actions. It is only livestock that spoil their barn. Widening differences and fanning conflicts within Tigray, by Tigrayan renegades, is nothing different from what the cattle do to their barn! This is what the nobility in Tigray did for nearly 50 years after Yohannes IV. It is sheer ignorance of Ethiopian politics vis-a-vis Tigray to try to repeat it. The imprudent opposition in Tigray is trying to destroy the fabric that holds the people of Tigray together. They are fanning differences by Awraja as if this is a new thing and is going to solve the current shared problem that the entire people of Tigray are facing. Such statements as “TPLF is dominated by Adwans and have been the main beneficiaries; Enderta, Tembien, Shire, Raya, are being harmed and oppressed by them, etc.” This is not the right time for such silly temper tantrum. Whatever happened and is happening is the misdeed of the elites not of the people of Adwa! The latter have suffered as much as any Tigrayan from poverty and maladministration. Coming together and discussing the future is the solution not destroying the fabric that binds Tigray and exposing it to harm.

What Ras Seyoum succeeded to do by befriending the killers of his father, by handing in his own son to central authority in Addis Ababa, and surrendering his guest Atse Eyasu Michael, was to aggravate the bad situation in Tigray. No one in Arat Kilo felt grateful for the “favour” the Tigray nobility were trying to do for it at the cost of the security of the Region. No help came from Arat Kilo to pacify the internecine war in Tigray because it was a blessing in a bad guise for them to weaken the pretenders to the throne from the North. History seems to be repeating itself, this time again with the help of some disgruntled “modern nobles”. History punishes these kinds of people. Not a single statue or building or road or bridge is built to commemorate Ras Seyoum, Dj. Gebreselassie, Ras Sebhat, and others who selfishly plunged the people of Tigray into



fratricide. The current division by awraja is the creation of those members of the nobility. Those who are using it now are no different from them! The history of Tigray will judge them brutally. There is no doubt that Tigray will outlive them.

Let me come back to the six-percent (TPLF/Tigray), which was removed from power for not fitting into the “democratic principle of majority rule”. From birth to adulthood democracy was not about demography as the prefix may suggest. Democracy is not about demographic majority but about electoral majority. The latter is about ideas not about ethnicity. A majority in democracy does not mean the group (racial, religious, ethnic) constituting 50+ of the total population is entitled to rule the rest in perpetuity. This is what is known as “arithmetocracy”: tyranny of the demographic majority, in contrast to, democracy a rule of the majority of the electorate. In democracy party candidates campaign for election by describing to potential voters how superior their (their parties’) political philosophy and development policy are. They don’t tell the voters that “they are fellow Oromo or fellow Tigray or fellow Amhara”. There is nothing superior or inferior in ethnic identity or in religious affiliation or in skin color, to convince voters to vote for a candidate or for a party. In this situation no one can get electoral majority vote only for being a fellow ethnic. The candidate is to be a PM or MP or minister not a tribal chief or a pope.

If TPLF’s revolutionary democracy is accepted by the majority, crossing ethnic divides, it gets majority vote and becomes majority rule (democracy). If TPLF’s revolutionary democracy is acceptable to the majority, but TPLF does not get majority vote, the only reason could be the election is based on demographic percentage not by ideology. So, TPLF was not removed from power because of its revolutionary democracy and constitution based on ethnic federalism, which were also adopted by the other EPRDF coalition parties and all of the EPRDF affiliated parties, but because of its ethnic demographic base was only six-percent. So it would take, for revolutionary democracy to be applied, a party based in a

demographic majority ethnic group. It is who owns the political philosophy that matters not what the ideology is regardless of who owns it. That is why the “majority” parties (Oromo and Amhara based) are not worried about clearly telling us what their leading ideologies, guiding their development policies, are. They know they can be elected, regardless, to the arithmetocracy by their sheer percentage out of the total population of Ethiopia.

As the TPLF continues to defend its revolutionary democracy and constitution based on ethnic federalism it is considered as a tiny nuisance to be muted by any means. To counter the vocal TPLF and the people of Tigray from regaining the electoral majority the demographic majority is working hard on four fronts: one is to forge an ethnic alliance to attain a super majority (Oromara) to trivialize Tigray. The second is to isolate TPLF and Tigray from the other regions (Afar, Somali, Benishangul, the South, and Gambela) who are the key beneficiaries of revolutionary democracy and constitution based on ethnic federalism. Once this is accomplished TPLF/Tigray will be left as a pariah regional state. The third is to shrink the geographic extent of Tigray and reduce its political and economic viability by instigating separatist rebellion in its peripheral zones (west and south). The fourth and most complicated is the unholy alliance with the dictatorial PFDJ leadership to complete the psychological encirclement of Tigray. In fact, the latter is only temporary. There is always an expiry date for dictatorial rule. Eritreans are saying enough is enough. It is not my job to advise the current leadership of Ethiopia to refrain from friendship with a dictatorial regime that is deeply hated by Eritreans. This may adversely affect future relations with democratic Eritrea.

Initially the Oromara block was created by parties (OPDO and ANDM) not by the will of the people of the two nations. The aim was to remove the TPLF. Economic and social cooperation between regional states is possible and even encouraged; but it is illegal to form political blocks of two or more regional states in a federation. It is only independent states not federal states that have the

legitimacy to do this. With the election only half a year close the Amhara and Oromo alliance is taking a different shape. I am not against; in fact I am in favor of, the Oromos and the Amharas talking to one another. It is their historic belligerence that has been shaking Ethiopia for a century or more. It will be a blessing for the entire people of Ethiopia if they can resolve their differences by peaceful means instead of fatally irritating one another through palace renovations, statues, and militant songs and poems. Unfortunately, this is not the basic reason for the alliance they are trying to forge through the joint meetings of their scholars. In the words of Merara Gudina “it is about the 62 percent that has the responsibility to shape the future of Ethiopia”. This is alarming to say the least! Arithmetocracy is in the making six months before the election date; an election we hoped will be the election of ideas. First of all there is no recent enough census that can confirm Merara Gudina’s percentage. The last census was 14 years ago. No one knows what has been happening in the meantime as far as population dynamics is concerned except for the half-truth statistical projections. So, 62 percent is inappropriately coming from a political scientist not from a demographer.

Figures don’t matter here. What matters is what the scholars and politicians native to the two regions (Amhara and Oromia) are trying to accomplish. Although their ethnic based parties have little in common as an ideology to present to the electorate both are hoping to get votes from all of their ethnic constituencies and jointly reach a majority for parliament. This is also the case in the new progress party where membership has ethnic quotas. The party if elected will always remain an Oromo and Amhara majority in decision making. The Oromara coalition for a perpetual majority can remain in place into eternity unless by divine intervention the demography of Ethiopia changes drastically. The 60 percent may get even more votes from the remaining 40 percent because there is no way that the rest can coalesce into a single block. Even if they coalesce 40 percent will always render them as minority vote of no consequence. What

Merara Gudina was saying was unfair. Ethiopia is not the concern of only Oromos and Amharas. This is tantamount to saying the rest are irrelevant and may be even disruptive. There is no justifiable reason under the sun for Oromo and Amhara alone to discuss on Ethiopia's future. This is sheer arrogance based on numerical might. Scholars are expected to be more reasonable than politicians; but this is hopelessly not the case.

All the political roads are leading to the isolation of Tigray and weakening it. Journalists, particularly those of ESAT feel the freedom to violate all the ethical standards of journalism and have become a more poisonous version of the central government's communication office. No one is there to check the group of ESAT "panelists" who say the same thing in different Amharic synonyms. Every nonsense the central government does on Tigray is a heroic act for them and expect the people of Tigray to consider it as if it is their fault. I am waiting for the time when ESAT opportunists will behave like their ethically superior journalist counterparts in the USA. They are polluting the journalistic atmosphere in the USA by at one time violating the impartiality of journalism and shouting at Meles Zenawi, at another time, justifying the actions of the central government which is putting a noose around the neck of Tigray (a regional state treated like a foreign state). This has been repeated several times, by every government in Addis Ababa, for the entire century. Poor Ethiopia-loving Tigray is still hoping in the unmistakable absence of hope that Ethiopia will turn a loving face towards it.

The Chinese delegation was accused of harboring evil intentions related to its trip to Tigray. It was accused of supporting and even collaborating with corruption of the TPLF. This is a serious allegation against a world power which has good intentions to help developing countries to catch up in the cruel global economic order. While praising China for the launching of the satellite (a smoke screen) it is being cursed for supporting the TPLF/Tigray. The Chinese are acting rationally in terms of the criteria for investment.

Tigray is peaceful enough for FDI. They cannot risk investing in other parts of Ethiopia which is committing suicide when it comes to investment suitability. ESAT “journalists” tried to justify the unjustifiable and highly provocative action of preventing the flight of the Chinese delegation to Tigray by relating it to who has the prerogative to engage in diplomatic relations with other countries. There seems to be serious amnesia or impunity about this issue. The Amhara regional state government invited the leader of Eritrea to visit the region violating all diplomatic protocol of relations with foreign countries. Considering the Ethiopian-Eritrean border as “artificial border” and Esayas Afeworki as a brother and a friend does not make the relations with Eritrea as a domestic inter-Kilil relationship. In fact, Eritrean president (not a delegation of junior officials like the Chinese) visited the regional state. The aim of visit/invitation was less about investment but more about something more sinister against fellow Ethiopians (Tigray). Now when Tigray invited a foreign delegation just for investment it is accused of violating the Federal arrangement where external relations are the responsibility and duty of the central government alone. Tigray is accused of “lawlessness” in diplomacy! Oh God! I came face to face with the incarnated adage: “might is right”.

Tigray has almost irreversibly lost hope in Ethiopia. For the first time in its history Tigray is sailing into uncharted waters, at least psychologically away from Ethiopia. It is time for the passengers and the captain to avoid panic, forge steel unity, and exercise maximum causation. Innovativeness to handle such a novel experience is mandatory. This time, no Tigrayan can afford to be carefree with regard to the state of affairs in the land of our ancestors. What is happening is not a business as usual scenario. It is the dawn of a totally new era. No one knows which way Tigray is going to go in the final analysis; but everyone must be prepared for any eventualities and inconvenient surprises. With God’s grace, and the characteristic patience and bravery of the people, Tigray will reach a safe port at the end of the day. Its unsympathetic tormentors will

be shamed. It has always been like that! It will also happen now! Prof. Mesfin Woldemariam said “God will not abandon Ethiopia”. We all share that; but I also expect him to share this: “God will not abandon Tigray” too, and will deliver it unharmed from the belly of the shark like prophet Yonas.

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**De Facto State of Tigray: Hasn't it always been so?**

November 17-2019

The talk of town this week is the “declaration” of Tigray as a de facto state. Some are calling it illegal. Yes, it is not legal; that is what de facto means. De facto state is not declared; it just happens and is real. The question is, why should it be more surprising now than it was before? Isn't Tigray made to be a de facto state for over a century? Isn't the long overdue worry, being expressed now, based on the inconvenient fact that this time, Tigray could be more politically and economically viable than it has ever been, paving the way for a de jure state formation? The bottom line is, no one in Tigray would want to see the formation of a separate statehood independent from Ethiopia as long as Ethiopia remains motherly enough. However, that has never been the case. Ethiopia has always been like an unsympathetic stepmother. What has been troubling politicians and ordinary people in Tigray alike is that being Ethiopian for a Tigrayan is something which is claimed but not accepted full heartedly by the rest. However much they serve Ethiopia they are not appreciated. It would be much easier for a foreigner to do a tiny bit (take the rest) and be glorified beyond proportions. This is putting a lot of pressure on the psyche of Tigrayans about how much more they must pay to earn genuine Ethiopianess and why this has become costlier for them than for the rest of Ethiopians.

It is unfortunate and also evades reason why the Ethiopianess of Tigrayans is taken too lightly and disapprovingly. It is easy for

anyone, young or old who claims “genuine” Ethiopianess, to tell Tigrayans to move out to their “home”. From where? Obviously from Ethiopia. When around the 2005 elections a young boy shouted at the peak of his voice “*Tigre wede Mekele*”, the million-strong crowd just cheered! Ethiopians chasing out non-Ethiopians to their de facto home country’s capital: Mekele. It reminded me of the 1974 Ethiopia when we chanted in the streets of Addis Ababa “Yankees go home!” Yes, Yankees have a home! Ethiopia is not their home. How about Tigrayans? Where are they required to go home to unless it is implied that Tigray is another country (a northern neighbor of Ethiopia) whose citizens immigrated to Ethiopia. Although it is well known that the alienation hurts the feelings of Tigrayans so deeply, no one bothers to apologize or exercise restraint! Tigrayans are de facto non-Ethiopians. So, a defacto state of Tigray is not something the people of Tigray would like to declare but it is forced upon them with impunity.

Tigray is a de jure part of Ethiopia because the constitution includes it; and also because Tigray is included in the ‘physical map’ of Ethiopia the UN endorsed. However, Tigray is absent from the ‘mental map’ of Ethiopia which is more real and more potent than the physical map. A de facto state is born when that state is absent from the mental map of the larger country. Gebrehiwot Baykedagn blamed Minilik II for not considering the people of Tigray as his own people. The latter made little effort to pacify the Region. He was rather aggravating the conflicts by pitting one against the other. The long reigned Monarch that followed found it easier to violently crush grievances in Tigray, just like dealing with a foreign enemy, rather than talk to them as compatriots who bled for Ethiopia with little help from the Center. The Military continued the tradition more brutally. How is a Tigrayan child born and brought up in this context of hate and marginalization expected to feel genuinely Ethiopian?

The last thing Ethiopians need to be obsessed about is the preoccupation with the history of monarchs and noble men. The future is sitting idle waiting for Ethiopians to wake up from their

deep sleep with history and work for the following generations to come. Yet, whenever there is a need for the monarchs, noble men, and other heroes to be praised for whatever good thing they did for Ethiopia the queer selection of kings/leaders for glorification evades explanation. The selection almost invariably leaves Tigrayan heroes out. This is done more likely by design rather than by accident. In a chronological line of portraits of leaders of Ethiopia Yohannes IV is always missing. The only possible message is either Ethiopia had no leader for two decades or Yohannes IV was the leader of Tigray not of Ethiopia. In fact, Debebe Eshetu said this during the Kinijit years. I remember to have responded to such an unwarranted statement made by this popular man as follows (see: dekiyalula.com, 2005): “*I feel Minilik is my King; but if Yohannes is reduced to being the king of Tigray, then I will have to say Menilik is only the king of Shewa*”. I asked Debebe Eshetu: “*Have we shared the kings by region rather than having them in common?*” The truth is, there was an Emperor who appointed kings to various sub-kingdoms (benevolently allowing self-rule), saved Ethiopia from Egyptian rule, paid with his life to defend northwestern Ethiopia from Mahdist invasion, and consolidated the unity of Ethiopia inherited from Tewodros II. This was much more than any leader in Ethiopia contributed to safeguard Ethiopia. If Yohannes IV is not at least mentioned as one in the series of leaders of Ethiopia the only possible explanation is he was an outsider (Tigray) who colonized Ethiopia for so many years.

A de facto state is the result not of the will of people but a logical outcome of alienation: an apparent consensus about Tigrayans as outsiders. If there is anyone to blame for any eventual separation of Tigray from Ethiopia it is no doubt the rest of Ethiopia. How could alliance with a foreign country (Eritrea) be sought against Tigray unless otherwise Tigray is considered as a more unfriendly neighboring country than Eritrea is? How is friendliness defined? EPLF led by Isaias Afewerki separated Eritrea from Ethiopia and turned Ethiopia into the most populous landlocked country in the world. Meles Zenawi, a leader of Tigrayan origin, brought Ethiopia



into the world attention not as a hungry but as economically vibrant country. What is the parameter for removing the name and images of Meles from wherever they were and replacing them by Isaias's, a crafty politicians who always has his tricks deep in his pocket while smiling broadly in public and fooling people and their unsuspecting leaders.

It is only whenever the issue of separation of Tigray from Ethiopia is raised that Tigray suddenly becomes a dear Ethiopian region. Those who are busy with pushing Tigray away also know that with Tigray gone the rest of Ethiopia cannot remain in one piece. That is why they are "rudely" awakened by an unfavorable reaction from Tigray to their torment. Being Ethiopian for Tigray is not a gift to be given or denied by anyone. There is no one else more Ethiopian than Tigrayans are. Although it may sound indecent Tigrayans are the founders of Ethiopia. I don't think it is too late to put things right. It is as simple as this: Those suffering from 'Tigrophobia' and are using Tigray as a comma for every ugly phrase they make must be treated for this dangerous ailment. Numerous political analysts have become stuck in scapegoating craze on Tigray rather than broadening their skills of analysis to explore their own untidy mentalities.

In the last three days ETV was very busy belittling the late prime minister by repeatedly airing what he said about the exclusion of the parties operating in the dominantly pastoralist regions. There is nothing wrong with what he said; but for ETV this was only a part of the huge campaign to obliterate the image of Meles Zenawi from the minds of Ethiopians. Another victim: a leader of Tigrayan origin! It could have been much easier and personally more rewarding for Meles Zenawi to fully introduce liberalism in Ethiopia and please the West. Those who befriended Italy benefited those who didn't lost bitterly. This is the ugliest part of the history of Ethiopia in black and white. Didn't the cruel and corrupt Mobutu, Pinoche, and other stay in power as long as they wanted by fully accepting the dictates from the USA? Challenging neoliberalism in the 90s, when the political-

economic ideology was at its peak led by the most powerful state and the most powerful financial organizations in the world, was politically suicidal for any aspiring African leader. Meles Zenawi chose a different path in spite of the possible dangers from the West he was fully aware of. He succeeded in making Ethiopia a friend of the USA, not its puppet! This is what loving Ethiopia means. Patriotism is not only saving Ethiopia from direct external rule but also from a more debilitating indirect rule. Meles Zenawi's efforts were always viewed with suspicion. Why? What is wrong with saving Ethiopia from Egyptian invasion in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and saving Ethiopia from neo-colonialism? The wrong is that both were done by the "wrong" people! What Meles Zenawi fought against is the smiling imperialism of the present which has tactically replaced the growling imperialism of the past. Fortunately the West loves heroes. Susana Rice came to Ethiopia to pay her condolences, on behalf of the USA, for the death of Meles Zenawi. USA knows that there is no LDC leader who challenged the full fledged adoption of liberalism other than Meles Zenawi. They know he was doing it not with stubbornness but with sound analysis which they found hard to refute. In her speech at the Meskel Square Susana Rice admitted that USA had differences with Meles, but she could never hide her admirations for him for doing things in his own brilliant way.

Revolutionary democracy based on the agrarian societies of Ethiopia was what was agreed upon by all EPRDF member parties. The four parties were all based in predominantly agrarian societies which form the majority of rural residents in Ethiopia. All the four parties defended their programme for the last three decades. Unless programmes/ideologies are changed those political parties based in other societies and other programmes cannot technically be included in a front founded on a single agreed programme. This is not discrimination. There has been no one else than Meles Zenawi who paid more attention to the life of pastoralists in Ethiopia as opposed to the utter neglect these people have been experiencing in the past. Genuine leaders of the pastoralist societies know this fact very well

and they appreciate it from the bottom of their hearts. Inculcating, in a Goebbels style repetition, the feeling of hate for the TPLF/Tigray in the minds of pastoralists does not help those who are doing it. It only serves a short-term purpose which may have a boomerang effect in the long term. Promoting the unification of the EPRDF should not make use of issues that could pit one people against another.

TPLF has a right to refuse to be part of the unification if it sees no logical ground for it. There is no need for a barrage of criticism for a party that preferred to go its own way. Those in the TPLF are human beings like any other. They have feelings that could be hurt. A year ago TPLF, its leaders and its hundreds of thousands of members were considered as good for nothing; a party loaded with bandits who took Ethiopia through dark ages; anyone who tried to defend them was criminalized; every body else turned into becoming TV and radio interviewee with the only expertise at their disposal of condemning TPLF in an obscene language. Now in a surprising U-turn what TPLF says, declares, opposes, or supports became critically important and decisive. Mind you, TPLF members are expected to happily rejoin their “dear old friends/comrades” in the other member parties of the EPRDF. After the unceremonious and uncaring removal of the TPLF leadership from Federal positions, followed by a persistent campaign of degrading insults and defamation, there has neither been any sign of regret nor any attempt to apologize.

There is no like father-son relationship in political life. A father became angry with his son for the right or wrong reason and chased him out of the family home. The father told everyone in the neighborhood how bad his son is. The father furiously said: “He will never come back to this house”. Contrary to what the father thought the son starts to adjust to life outside his home and feels more comfortable. The infighting in the family home became worse than it was before. Some family members started to feel that it is better for the son to move back home for the sake of relative peace in the

family. The father invited his son back home without publicly apologizing for the defamation he carelessly committed on his son in the neighborhood. Isn't it reasonable and dignified if the son refuses to return home? Actually, this is for the family home where the father may not have to apologize and the son may have to tolerate his father's actions. Whatever the fathers wrongdoings on his son he still will have to be tolerated, as per societal moral values. However, in politics dumping an ally as unimportant and even as a burden, and next realizing that that ally is a key missing link, is sheer immaturity in handling sensitive politics?

A young man, who led a mass rally as part of the campaign to save the ETOC from harassment, was heard saying "the people of Tigray failed us by not joining in mass rallies against the tormentors of the ETOC. The young man did not realize that entire people cannot be pushed away first and then pulled in next at will and whim. Tigrayans are the original ETOC members. They cannot be in second position to defend the Church; but when such grievances and rallies are mixed with anti-Tigrayan sauce Tigrayans cannot eat from the same plate. For the last thirty years Tigrayans have been deeply disappointed by the campaign against popes of Tigrayan origin as if it is a religious offence to be a "pope while Tigrayan". This is an expression I took from how black people in USA express their predicament as blacks. They say, it is both a criminal act in the USA to "drive while drunk" and to "drive while black". Tigrayans are not sitting idle when their Church is in trouble. They are defending it in their own ways with out panic and hurting innocent others in a possible stampede that could follow.

All Tigrayans like to see Ethiopia in peace and prosperity. As people who make most of their living away from home having a separate state of their own is only the last option and the last resort to survive as people. They should not be carelessly pushed into that option. The hate of Tigray is evolving into the inadvertent destruction of Ethiopia. The separation of Tigray is not going to be a clean break. Nothing would ever be the same afterwards. It will never be like

“lived happily ever after!”. Those who seem not to be bothered by the separation of Tigray, considering it as a big historic relief, are failing to realize that they cannot plan their lives for the next day let alone for a year after the separation. It is not the fact that Tigray is economically the least important for Ethiopia and its separation would not harm Ethiopia significantly. What matters most is that Tigray is arguably the pulling end of the social fabric in Ethiopia. The entire social fabric could turn to be a pile of thread once that end is pulled out. Tigray will survive somehow and even thrive because it will do it consciously. Readers should not consider this as an unwarranted expression of Tigrayan superiority. To understand what I am saying fully one has to avoid being blinded by emotions and think with patience and objectivity.

There is nothing wrong with holding elections in Tigray. The Region/state has the peace required to conduct the election as dictated by the constitution which is still functioning. TPLF cannot be blamed for observing rules enshrined in the constitution which is still valid. It is illegal to take actions that are not allowed in the constitution with future changes of the constitution in mind. It should not take being a Tigrayan to be wrong for something which is right. Changes in laws have effective dates. If a law is to be changed tomorrow, somebody could be sentenced to death based on that law today (which is going to be changed tomorrow)! Let's say the constitution is to be changed next year after the elections. The change may allow elections to be postponed at the discretion of political leaders who are not sufficiently prepared or perceive the mood of the country as inconvenient for holding elections. No problem with this law if the law is accepted by majority of Ethiopians and approved by a representative parliament. The next election, and all of those after it, could be postponed a hundred times if the prime minister or other parties wish it to be so. The current election, scheduled for June, is based on the current laws not on the laws that might be changed next year. A court cannot sentence a person based on a law scheduled for next year to be approved by

parliament. It is sheer impunity if this is done. There could be violence after the elections based on claims and counter claims of victory. That may be milder than postponing elections and trying to maintain peace in Ethiopia without an unelected government. No election means no parliament next year. It is well known that the parliament is not as effective as it should be; but its symbolic presence is important to keep people united. Lamenting and cursing Tigray for settling in for a de facto state does not help in solving the problem. A more lasting solution is to deal with the cause rather than fight the symptom.

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**Hail Tigray Regional Council: A giant step towards  
pluralism in the ancient land**

August 09-2020

*“The spirit of the knowledge of society is the spirit of pluralism- a readiness to accept the other, indeed to learn from him, to see the difference as an opportunity rather than a threat.”Aga Khan*

Countless good things have come to the rest of Ethiopia from the North in the past several centuries: Christianity, Islam, African alphabet, defense of territorial integrity, liberation from dictatorship, and now the great gift of pluralism. The long overdue decision by the Tigray Regional Council ushers a new era of democratic representation of diversity of ideas which are considered as assets rather than liabilities. Ethiopian Reporter wrote on its today's issue: “This decision by the Regional Council was a realization of what was promised by the EPRDF and never materialized after the takeover by PM Abiy”. It is good to hear that the surviving piece of the soul of the EPRDF has done it!

What is putting us Ethiopians into the mess we have plunged ourselves into is each one of us claiming monopoly to the throne. We have become like the famous “Game of thrones” where violent claims to the “Iron Throne” resulted in the demise of the pretenders as well as

the destruction of the “Iron Throne” itself which turned into a mass of molten metal. Cooperation saves; the absence of it kills. Tigray is reputed for being the only Region in Ethiopia where peace and tranquility prevails. Tigray 30 years ago was the least peaceful place of all regions of Ethiopia. This is quite an achievement. Tigray knows the difference very well! The rest of Ethiopia should love that there is at least 50,000square kilometers of land of peace in Ethiopia where Ethiopian can move to in case (God forbid) something like Syria happens in the rest of the Country. It is unwise for Ethiopians to destroy their shelter in bad times (I am not joking!). After all, it is where Ethiopia started and that is where the hope for Ethiopian can be. Tigray may be a semi-desert; but the Bible and the Koran, which are guides of half of humanity, also happened in deserts. It is sheer ignorance to equate abundance of biotical and hydrological resources to advancement in polity.

The decision of the Regional Council is commendable as courageous and selfless because it is normally and understandably uncomfortable for any political party to entertain fierce debates that may sometimes involve fist fights. Most parties prefer to shut off the diversity of ideas and rule by decree. The beginning of the end of the long endured 100 percent has been declared from the most unlikely place in Ethiopia; a Region that is accused of harboring “devil incarnates”. If there are any remaining good intentions the decision by the Regional Council is likely to be envied by all Regional Councils of Ethiopia, including the Central government itself. We would like to hear endorsements and words of praise from all walks of political life in Ethiopia for the decision of the Regional Council unless this initiative is also another thumbs down like GERD and other achievements of the died-young EPRDF as Tigrayan and thus, unacceptable. His Excellency, the president of the Somali Region may advisably emulate the Tigray Regional Government’s courage to introduce pluralism in the midst of great adversity threatening its existence. The President should not be wasting so much time in choosing words to insult TPLF on the average once a day.

This is a test for all other regional governments who have considered their respective regional administrations as hereditary fiefdoms. The decision by the Regional Government of Tigray is a hope for Ethiopia as it ensures representation for the multitudes of parties who have been alienated from parliamentary seats because of the majoritarian principle of winning elections. The votes for them however small are going to count and there will be no reason to conflict. The only choice is to appeal to the people to give them ballot cards. The fear of earning ballot cards and resorting to violence as a result to overthrow incumbents is disrespect for the power of the people to choose their leaders. The experimentation of the decision of the Tigray Regional Council is going to happen in the August elections. Ethiopians, support the election in Tigray as a beacon of hope rather than put it off forever. Tigray will remain truly Ethiopian if it is duly handled and its great initiatives appreciated. It is better to catch butterflies with honey rather than with vinegar.

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**A new era dawns in Tigray!**  
September 08-2020

The deafening noise, the irritating chatter, the incoherent hate induced mumbo jambo of an "illegal election" in Tigray has suddenly been silenced by no other than over two million people with only a ballot card in the right hands. The success of the election may just be the first step in the march towards mature democracy. However, any first bold step towards a noble end is counted as half of the job done.

We celebrate the election not because it is perfect but because it is the granite foundation for the building of a democratic culture in the future. As we celebrate the determination and discipline of the people with a vision of a bright future we regret that those parties which did not participate in the elections have lost the challenges and pleasures from the maiden election which will be remembered and observed for many years to come.



This is a people's election. It is a huge insult for the millions of voters, who know what freedom means not from theory but from practice, to refer to them as passive actors in the TPLF "drama of democratization" in Tigray. TPLF has only yielded to the people's demand for more democracy in Tigray. It was not TPLF that ordered the people to vote against their will; but it was the people who ordered TPLF to hold a more participatory election. If there is anyone to be "accused" for the election it is only the people of Tigray. Parties can go wrong, but entire people never!

As we celebrate the leadership, which did not flinch as it has become a tradition against those who want to impose their will on the people, we have to keep in mind that the future is tougher than the past and the present. The election is a means not an end. Difficult days are ahead of us. Patience, perseverance, knowledge and skill to be innovative are needed for a straight walk on the tortuous path into the future. The elected parties must celebrate with a heavy burden on their shoulders about how they can deliver the people from ages old poverty and marginalization. The sustainable development of Tigray has a number of complex environmental, economic, social and geopolitical challenges. It is crucial to handle such issues with wisdom and farsightedness. The elected leaders must avoid hasty reactions to provocations, which are intended to demoralize and paralyze.

We don't know what would happen if the Federal Government outlaws the newly elected government in Tigray. The most preferred scenario is that the Federal Government gives priority to National harmony rather than to egos and the unhelpful feelings of defeat. By electing the people Tigray did not defeat the Federal Government or the rest of Ethiopia. They simply have chosen their leaders, nothing more nothing less. Taking the election in Tigray into breathless heights and inflating it to near explosion is incompatible to what has just happened. If the push goes into a shove Tigray has to walk like the camel...

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## **Dr. Debretsion is the President Tigray deserves**

September 26-2020

For the first time in the history of the ancient land in northern Ethiopia leadership is earned rather than taken. Dr. Debretsion's name will go to the history books as the first President of Tigray who first proved to the people in practice that he can lead them through hard times and was as a result given the chance to continue doing so. There have been several leaders in the world who sat on thrones by the force of arms, by treachery, by the power of money, and by hereditary claims. Many take power by promises which in most cases are not fulfilled. There have also been leaders who have earned it by the good things they did for their people prior to their coming to the helm. George Washington led Americans to freedom; but just returned home. Americans knew that he was the one to be their leader as they saw that he was acting like any ordinary American, despite so much of bravery and military skills.

I am not writing this to make a king of Dr. Debretsion. This article is far from being a cult building campaign. A long time ago I have convinced myself to be in a strong position to give the devil its due and the angel the blame it deserves. Political affiliations, football-fan like emotional support, revenge motivated alliance, and narrow parochialist sentiments all put aside, I have been critically following Dr. Debretsions interim leadership of Tigray. By the time he is elected to the presidency, I have already reached the conclusion that he is the one and not any other! It is hard for me to put all my observations in adjectives describing him as a person and as a leader; but there are a few things that glare more brightly than others.

The challenges Dr. Debretsion faced were so novel that there were no tested methodologies available for solving them. Like Vasco Da-Gama he was leading the navigation of uncharted and stormy waters of politics in Ethiopia, which have become unpredictable from the outset. It is here that leaders emerge and rise or perish. In this context

leadership requires patience, innovativeness, devotion, sense of sacrifice, balance, goal orientation, and genuine love for the people. The latter is more important than the rest. Even at local level community leaders dim or shine depending on how much respect they get from the people. Not by how much people fear them! The love and trust the people of Tigray have got for Dr. Debretsion is unmistakable. There is no sign at all that Dr. Debretsion is feared by people. Even the enemies of TPLF seldom mention his name in their harsh criticism on TPLF. He has succeeded to be a consensus figure, a fact admitted even by his opponent Dr. Abiy Ahmed. It is rare worldwide not to put as central the leader of a ruling party or the head of the government in the struggle against it.

TPLF is badly characterized by factionalism induced by economic, social, spatial, and political drivers. These have been having expressions in the intricate networks woven by corruption and nepotism. Dr. Debretsion has been leading a party and a government by skillful rope balance. There are ultra-radicals who are eager to return external threats in kind and disturb systematic handling of explosive issues; there are groups who try to solve problems by becoming problems themselves; there are also others who see only political and economic gains in whatever political activities they are engaged in, and hence, compromise the basic interest of people as people.

Dr. Debretsion is the leader of the people of Tigray from the understood to the unknown. It is hard to imagine how much adventure is involved in the tortuous and problem infested path leading to it. It is impossible to ensure success; neither does it hinder marching boldly towards it. The personality of Debretsion is an opportunity; but Tigray cannot afford to be single handed. If the latter fails to produce many many other Debretsions+ it would be a huge challenge for sustainability if not for survival. Tigray failed to be able to replace Yohannes IV as if he was a living bronze statue. This lesson must be learnt and learnt well! Selfless leaders produce other leaders better than them. The future requires better leaders

because the future holds greater challenges as society rises to higher levels. Selfish leaders intentionally or unintentionally produce lesser leaders than them rendering the future darker than it is today. The concept of "golden ages" describes nations led by selfish leaders who want to be remembered in history as the greatest of all. Although I am not a mind reader or a prophet, my observation have given me the confidence that Dr. Debrezion can deliver and lead the people to the "promised land" (the land of milk and honey): the land of industries; sustainable cities; green fields, mountains and valleys; and people with high standards of living who threw poverty into history.

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**የትግራይ ህዝብ “እንዳያግህ ጥራው እንዳይበላ ግፋው”**  
December -25-2019

ከጥንት ጀምሮ እስካሁን፤ እግዚአብሔር ከፈቀደ ለወደፊትም ቢሆን የትግራይ ህዝብ ኢትዮጵያዊነት የሚያጠይቅ አይደለም። ግን ጊዜው በከፋ ሁኔታ ተለውጧል፤ ሰይጣናዊ አየር ነፍሷል፤ የአላዋቁች አውቃለሁ ባይነት ነግሷል። ኢትዮጵያዊነትን እየሰፈሩ የሚያድሉና እየቋጠሩ የሚከለክሉ ጉዳዮች ተፈጥረዋል። ስለኢትዮጵያዊነት በሩጫ ቀድመው የሚጮሁ፤ ኢትዮጵያ ማንነትን እንደግል ገንዘባቸው ካዘና ውስጥ ያስቀመጡ የሃገር ፍቅር ነጋዴዎች እንደ አሸንፎ ፈልተዋል። የነሱ ጥቅም በተነካ ቁጥር “ነኪውን” የኢትዮጵያዊነት ክብርን ይገፉታል። የግልና የቡድን ቁም በቀል መወጫ ሆኗል፤ “ፀረ-ኢትዮጵያ” የሚል ሰሌዳም ይለጥፉበታል። የትም አገር የፖለቲካ አመለካከት ልዩነት መኖሩ ጤናማ ህብረተሰብ እንዳለ አመለካከት ነው። የአመለካከት ልዩነት ለማንም ህብረተሰብ ባህሪያዊ ነውና ልዩነት ካልተንፀባረቀ ችግር አለ ማለት ነው። ዝምታ ሰላምን አያመለክትም፤ ምናልባት አምባገነንነትን እንጂ።

“ምርጫ በወቅቱ ይካሄድ” ሲባል “ ፀረ ኢትዮጵያ!”፤ “ህገምንግስቱ ይከበር ስርአቱን ተከትሎ እስኪቀየር ድረስ” ሲባል “ፀረ ኢትዮጵያ!”፤ “ሊቆይ ስለሚችል የፖለቲካ ውህደት ሳይሆን ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ስለሰፈነውና አጣዳፊ ስለሆነው አለመረጋጋት እንነገር” ሲባል “ፀረ ኢትዮጵያ!” ይባላል። የሚገርመውና የሚደንቀው ነገር ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ስለሰፈነውና አጣዳፊ ስለሆነው አለመረጋጋት እንነገር ብላ በግንባር ቀደምትነት የምትወተውተው ፓርቲ ህወሓት ብቻ ናት። በየትኛውም የኢትዮጵያ ክልል ሆነ ወረዳ ውስጥ ኮሽ ባለ ቁጥር በመብረቅ ፍጥነት በሌኳሽነት ሰሚ የሚነሳው ደግሞ ህወሓት ናት። መንፈስ ይመስል በመላ ኢትዮጵያ በየሰፈሩ እየገባች ታተራምሳለች እየተባለች በነጋ በጠባ የምትከሰሰው ህወሓት ከማንኛውም ጉዳይ የበለጠ ቅድሚያ ተሰጥቶት ስለሃገራችን ሰላም እንነገር ስትል አይሆንም

የሚል መልስ የሚሰጣት ህወሓትና ትግራይ በኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ አያገባችሁም ነው? ወይስ ህወሓትን በአተራማሽነት የመከሰሱ የፖለቲካ ታክቲክ እንዳይከሸፍ ነው? መቸም ኢትዮጵያን ለማፍረስ አቅዳ አገሪቱን እርስ በርስ እያዋጋች ነው የምትባለው ህወሓት ከሆነች አለመረጋጋቱን ተነጋግረን መፍትሄ እናበጅለት አትልም። የመፍትሄ አካል መሆን የማይፈልግ የችግሩ አካል እንደሆነ እሙን ነው።

ትርምሱን “ለማንኛውም የፖለቲካ ሽግግር ባህርያዊ ነው” እያሉ ለስልጣን ማደላደያ ጊዜ በመግዛት ላይ ያሉት ባለስልጣኖች አለመረጋጋቱንና የህወሓት ውንጀላን እንደ የጢስ-በምብ እየተጠቀሙበት ነው። እዚህ ላይ ለህሊና ፍርድ እናቅርበው፡- እውነተኛ ኢትዮጵያዊ የሆነው የትኛው ነው? አገሪቱ ውስጥ ስለሰፈነው አለመረጋጋት እንነጋገር የሚለው ነው ወይስ ሕወሓትን እየወነጀለ ህዝቡን አስተሳስሮት የኖረው ማህበራዊ ድርና ማግ ተበጣጥሶ እስኪያልቅ ድረስ “ሽግግር ነው” እያለ የሚጠብቀው ነው? ሁሉም የውይይትና የድርድር በሮች በ“ፀረ ኢትዮጵያ!” መዝገቦች ተቀርቅረዋል። ቀርቃሪዎቹ “አዎ እናንተ ናችሁ ልክ” ብሎ የምርኮ ቃል ለሚናገር ካልሆነ በሮቹን አይከፍቱም። ሕዝብ ፊት ቀርበው እስኪለኩ ድረስ ሃሳቦች ሁሉ እኩል ናቸው። አገራችን የቤት ልጅና የእንጀራ ልጅ የሚባል አታውቅም፤ የቤት ልጅ ነኝ ባዩ መጨማለቅና የእንጀራ ልጅ ነህ ታባዩ ልመናን አታስተናግድም።

የበኩር ልጅ የሆነው የትግራይ ህዝብ በኢትዮጵያ ተስፋ አይቆርጥም። በርግጥ የትግራይ ህዝብ የገጠመው ፈተና በአይነቱ የተለየ ነው። ስለኢትዮጵያ አሰቦና ተጨንቆ ከችግሯ እንዳይታደጋት ኢትዮጵያን ከስልጣን ጥማቸው በታች እንጂ ከጥቅማቸው በላይ አድርገው ማየት የተሳናቸው ግለሰቦችና ቡድኖች በሚፈጥሩት ኢኮኖሚያዊ፣ ፖለቲካዊና፣ ማህበራዊ ጫና የራስዋን ህልውና በመጠበቅ ላይ ብቻ እንድትጠመድ አድርገዋታል። በረቀቀ ስልትና በተከታታይነት እየተፈፀመ ያለው ይህ ከኢትዮጵያ ጉዳዮች ህዝቡንና ህወሓትን የማግለል ድርጊት ብዙ ቅን ኢትዮጵያ ወዳድ የትግራይ ተወላጆችን እያሳዘነ ሙሉ በሙሉ ተስፋ ወደ መቁረጥ እየነዳቸው ነው።

ሕወሓትንና የትግራይ ህዝብን የሚመለከት ጉዳይ ሲተነትኑ የሚያሸፉና ኮሜዲ በሚመስል መልኩ የሚያቀርቡ ሰዎች እጅግ ተበራክተዋል። ለሰሚው አንጀት ያሳርራል፤ ያሸፍታል! ይህም “የትም አትደርሱም” ያሰብላል። የትግራይ ህዝብ ህወሓት የኔናት የሚል መብቱም ሊጠበቅለት አልቻለም፤ አርሞው “አዴጋ የኔ ናት”፣ “አማራው” “አዴጋ የኔ ናት” እንዲል እየተጠበቀና እየተቀሰቀሰ ባለበት ሁኔታ። የትግራይ ህዝብ የሚበጀውንና የማይበጀውን የማያውቅ የጨቅሎች ስብስብ አድርገውታል። የጨቅሎች ስብስብ ካልሆነም ህወሓትን ካቀፈ የ“ፀረ-ኢትዮጵያዊነት” ካባ ያከናወኑታል። ሁሉም በጃቸው ሁሉም በደጃቸው ሆኗል። ይህ በሃገሩ ጉዳይ ገብቶ የመፍትሄው አካል እንዳይሆን፤ አገርን የሚያበጣብጥ ፖለቲካና ሃገርን ጥገኛ የሚደርጉ ዲፕሎማሲያዊ ድርጊቶች እንዲወገዱ የሚያቀርበው ሃሳብ ዋጋ በማሳጣት፤ ራሱን አልምቶ እኩልነቱን እንዲያረጋግጥ የሚደርገውን ጥረት በማሰናከል መቆሚያ መቀመጫ እንዲጠበው በማድረግ በኢትዮጵያዊነት ማንነቱ ላይ ግራ እንዲጋባ እያደረጉት ነው። ይህን ያህል ይገፉትና ውስጡ አምቦ እንጠላለሁ የሚል የተስፋ መቁረጥ ድምፅ ሲያሰማ በድንጋጤ የትግራይ ህዝብ ፅኑ ኢትዮጵያዊነት የሚመሰክርና፤ ለትግራይ ህዝብ ለራሱ ሳይቀር የሚነግር፤ አርበኛ ይበረክታል፡- “የትግራይ ህዝብ የኢትዮጵያ ምሳሪ

ነው!፤ “የትግራይ ህዝብ የኢትዮጵያ ወርቅ ነው!”፤ “የትግራይ ህዝብ የኢትዮጵያ መነሻ ነው!”፤ የሚሉ በማር የተሸፈኑ ውስጠ መርዝ ቃላት በባለስልጣንም በተራውም ሰው አፍ ይኸንደንዳሉ። መቐለ ውስጥ አንድ የሰፈር ተረት አለ፡- “አንቲዐና”ካስ ሽንጉርቲ ይብላኻ” (ትርጉም፡- እነሱ ራሳቸው ፈንክተውህ እነሱ ራሳቸው ነጭ ሽንጉርት አምጡለት ይላሉ፤ ለማለት ነው)። ሲጀመር እኮ ሰውየውን ባይፈነክቱት ደሙን እያፈሰሰ ፖሊስ አይጠራባቸውም ነበር፤ ፖሊስ ሲመጣ ፈንካቾች ሳይሆኑ አካሚዎች መስለው መታየት ፈለጉ!

ያለ ይሉኝታ፤ ያለ ሃፍረት፡ በማናለብኝነት፤ በሀገወጥነት፤ የኢትዮጵያዊነት የዜግነት ክብሩን ሲገቡ ኖረው፤ ህዝቡ ያመረረ ጊዜ “ምርጥ ኢትዮጵያዊኮ ነህ” ብሎ ማለት ከማላገጥ ብዙም የራቀ አይደለም። “እንዳያማህ ጥራው እንዳይበላ ግፋው” የሚባለው ይህ ነው። አንድ ህዝብ ሆኖ በግማሽ ጭንቅላቱ ኢትዮጵያን ለማፍረስ ቀን ተሌት የሚታክት፤ በሌላው ግማሽ ጭንቅላቱ ደግሞ ለኢትዮጵያ አንዴ ወርቅ አንዴ ምሶሶ መሆን የቻለ ህዝብ ምድር ላይ ያለ ፍጥረት ነው ወይስ ከሌላ ጥላይት መጥቶ ትግራይ ላይ የሰፈረ? አንድ ህዝብ በአንድ ጊዜ ሁለቱም (የአገር አፍራሽና የአገር ምሶሶ) ሊሆን አይችልም። የትግራይ ህዝብ አገር አፍራሽ ሲባል “በኔ እጅ አትፈርስም፤ ሲያፈርሷት ግን ተቀምጬ አላይም” ብሎ መገንጠልን ሲሻ “አይ አይሆንም፤ የትም አትሄድም አንተኮ የኢትዮጵያ ምሶሶ ነህ” ይባላል። ምሶሶስ ይሁን እሺ፤ በገዛ እጃቸው ምሶሶውን ቅንቅን ካስበሉት ሁሉም ተያይዞ መፍረሱ መቻ ይቀራል።

እነዚህ በትግራይ ህዝብ ላይ የተነሱና ቀሪው የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብን በትግራይ ህዝብ ላይ ለማነሳሳት እየታገሉ ያሉት ግለሰቦች ሆኑ ቡድኖች፤ ፖለቲካን በተገቢው እውቀትና ክህሎት ማራመድ ያልቻሉ የስሜት ፈረስ ጋላቢዎች፤ የትግራይ ህዝብ ስሜት ሲቀየር የሚደነግጡት ቢያንስ በሁለት ምክንያት ነው፡- አንደኛው/ የሚያራምዱት ፖለቲካ በግብታዊነትና በስሜታዊነት የሚነዳ በመሆኑ፤ የአጭር ጊዜ የጎን ጉዳቱን ሆነ የረዥም ጊዜ አደገኛ ውጤቱን የሚያሰላ አይደለም። ከዚህም የተነሳ በራሳቸው ላይ ተመልሶ ችግር የሚፈጥር መሆኑን የሚረዱት ኢላማ የሆነው ህዝብ የማይመቻቸው አይነት ግብረ መልስ መስጠት ሲጀምር ብቻ ነው። ሁለተኛ/ የትግራይ ህዝብ በነሱ ለከት ያጣና ዘመን የማይሸረው ንቀት፤ ዘለፋና ማግለል ተመር እገነጠላለሁ ሲል “ጥርግ በል፤ ግልግል ነው!” ብለው እጃቸውን ማወናጨፍ እንደማይሞከሩ የታወቀ ነው። የስድቡ ቃላት ሁሉ ጠፍቷቸው የኢትዮጵያዊነትን የፍቅር ዜማ ለትግራይ ህዝብ የሚያዘሙት አጥንተ-ስጋችን የሆነው የትግራይ ህዝብ ተለይቶን እንዳይሄድ በሚል ስጋት ሳይሆን የትግራይ መገንጠል በቀሪው ኢትዮጵያ ላይ የሚፈጥረው አደገኛ ተፅእኖ ሙሉ ተስፋ በሚደረግበት በአሮግራ ህብረት ብቻ ሊፈታ እንደማይችል ውስጣቸው ስለሚረዱ ነው።

የትግራይ ህዝብ መገንጠል እያለቀሰ የሚወስደው የመጨረሻ እርምጃ ነው። ከዛ በፊት በብዙ ግንባሮች ከመሰል ወገኖቹ ጋር በማበር የኢትዮጵያዊነት ክብሩን ለማስጠበቅ ይታገላል። የትግራይ ህዝብ የኢትዮጵያዊነት ክብሩን መልሶ የሚጎናፀፈው አንዳንዶቹ እንደሚመቻቸው እያምታቱ እንደሚተረጉሙት ህወሓትን ወደ ፌደራል ስልጣን በመመለስ አይደለም። ይህ ችግሩን አይፈታም። የትግራይ ህዝብ የኢትዮጵያዊነት ክብሩን መገሰስ የጀመረው እኮ ህወሓት ፌደራል ስልጣን ላይ እያለች ነው። ነገሩ መሰረታዊና የተወሳሰበ ነው፤ የብዙ ዘመናት

የማናለብኝነት ድምር ውጤት ነው። የህዝብ በጎ መንፈስና ክልብ የመነጨ ይቅር መባባል እንጂ በፖለቲከኞች ድርድር የሚፈታ አይደለም። ፖለቲከኞቹ በትግራይ ህዝብ ላይ ያለው የጥላቻና ማግለል ስሜት ዘላቂ ህዝባዊ መሰረት እንዲኖረው በተለያዩ መንገድ እየሰሩ ነው። ካርል ማርክስ “በሰፊው ህዝብ ዘንድ የሰረጸ አስተሳሰብ የማይበገር ቁስ አካላዊ ሃይል ይሆናል” ብሎታል። ይህ ለራሳቸውም የማይበጃቸው የጥላቻ አስተሳሰብ መልሶ ራሳቸውን እንዳይበላቸው መጠንቀቅ ያስፈልጋቸዋል። በሌላ ህዝብ ላይ ጥላቻን የሚሰብኩ ለራሳቸው ህዝብ ጥሩ አስተዳዳሪዎች ይሆናሉ ተብሎ አይታሰብም። ህዝብ ጥቃት በዝቅብት ባመረረ ቁጥር ይቅርታ የሚመስል የልእሊ ኢትዮጵያዊነት ሙገሳ ማላበስ የውሸት ጊዜያዊ ማረጋገጫ እንደሆነ ማንም አይስተውም።

“ቂምን በሆድ ይዞ መታረቅ፤ ይቅርታ እያሉ መራቀቅ፤ አጉል ነው ከንቱ መበሻሽቅ” ነፍስሄር ጥላሁን ገሰሰ

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**"እኛ የመጀመሪያዎቹ ቢታችን ላለመሆን ነው እየጣርን ያለነው" አምባሳደር ወንድሙ አሳምነው**  
**August 27-2020**

አምባሳደር ወንድሙ የተጠቀመበት አገላለፅ ትግራይ ውስጥ ያለውን ስሜት በግልፅ የሚያንጸባርቅ ነው። ህወሓት ሙስናና የአስተዳደር በደል ፈፀሟል በሚል የሰራቸውን ሰማንያ ከመቶ በጎ ተግባር ወደጎን በማሸቀንጠር ከያቅጣጫው የሚወረወርባት የነገር ዱላ አብሮ እየተመታ ያለው የትግራይ ህዝብ ነው። የህወሓትን አመራር ነጥሎ መምታት አይቻልም። ይህንን ሃቅ ወርቀሪዎቹ አሳምረው ያውቁታል። ይፋ የማይደረገው ውስጣዊ ኢላማቸው ህወሓትን የወለደውና ያቀፈው ህዝብ መሆኑ ለህዝቡ የተሰወረ አይደለም። ስድስት ፐርሰንት እየገዛን ነው ሲባል የኖረው ትግሬ ገዛን ለማለት እንጂ ህወሃት ገዛችን ለማለት አይደለም። ስድስት ፐርሰንት የህዝቡ የስነህዝብ ድርሻ እንጂ የህወሃት አይደለም። ህወሓት ስትታይ የኖረችው እንደ ህዝብ ተወካይ እንጂ እንደ ማንኛውም ፓርቲ አልነበረም። ከስልጣን ከተገለለች ወዲህ ግን ህወሓትና የትግራይ ህዝብ አንድ አይደሉም እየተባለ ነው። ህወሓትን ከስልጣን ለማግለል የስድስት ፐርሰንት ህዝብ ወኪል ናት ተባለ፤ ከተገለለች በኋላ ደግሞ ነጥሎ ለመምታትና የትግራይ ህዝብ በቂ መከታ የሌለው አድርጎ እንደድሮ በወኪል ለመግዛት ህወሓት የህዝቡ ተወካይ አይደለችም ተባለች። የኢትዮጵያ ፓለቲካ ራሱን የሚቃረን ሲሆንም "ልክ ነው" ይባላል። ከትግራይ ሲመጣ ልኩ ስህተት፤ ከመሃል ሲመጣ ስህተቱ ልክ ይሆናል። ሃቅ አንጻራዊ ቢሆንም በትግራይና በመሃል ባለው ግንኙነት ግን ቅጥ ያጣ ይመስላል።

ከየትም አቅጣጫ የሚወረወሩት ቃላትና የሚፈፀሙት የህግ ከለላ ያላቸው የሚመስሉ ህገወጥ ድርጊቶች ትግራይ ላይ ሲዘንቡና የጊዜ ገደብ ሳይኖራቸው ሲቀጥሉ ለተቀባዩ ወገን ትልቅ ፈተና ነው። እየተፈፀመ ያለውን "ሂድ አትበለው እንዲሄድ አድርገው" የሚለው ተረት በትክክል ይገልፀዋል። በአንድ በኩል ትግራይ ከኢትዮጵያ ልትገነጠል ነው የሚል ወሬ ሲሰማ

አንዱ "ዘራፍ፡ እስቲ ይሞከር!" ይላል፤ ሌላው ደግሞ "ትግራይ እኮ የኢትዮጵያ መነሻ ናት እንዴት ይሆናል?" ብሎ ይሟገታል። ይህ በካርት ይሁን በዱላ ትግራይ ከኢትዮጵያ ጋር እንድትቆይ ፍላጎትና ቁርጠኝነት ያለ ያስመስለዋል። በተቃራኒው ደግሞ "ትሂድ፣ ግልግል ነው፣ ምን ይቀርብናል፣ የረባ አስተዋፅኦ ሳያደርጉ በጀታቸውን መሸፈን ነው የሚቀረፈን፣ ኢትዮጵያ ሰላም ታገኛለች" የሚሉት ደግሞ ቁጥር ስፍር የላቸውም። አንዳዶቹም "ትሂድ ግን ወልቃይትንና ራያን ይዛ ግን አትሄድም" የሚል የትግራይን ህዝብን ባእድ የሚያደርጉ ቃላት ይናገራሉ ይፀፋሉ። ኤሪትሪያ ወደባቸውን ትታ የምትገነጠል ቢሆን ኖሮ በእልልታ ትሸኝ እንደነበር የሁሉም ሰው ሆኖ ያውቃል። ወደባቸው በማይፈለጉበት ዘመንም ኢጣሊያ በነፃ ተረከባት የለ። ሰሜኑን በሚመለከት ታሪክ ራሱን እየደገመ ነው።

ትግራይ ምን እንደምትወስን ተጨንቃለች። ትግራይ በግዴላሽነት ወደ ግንጠላ እየተገፋች ነው። እንደ አንዲት የኢትዮጵያ አካል የሆነች ክልል ሆና መታየት ካቆመች በጣም ቆይታለች። የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ህወሓት ለኢትዮጵያ ደህንነት፣ ሰላም፣ እድገትና አለም አቀፍ ዝና ያበረከተቻቸው ታላላቅ ስትጦታዎች ከህዝብ አዕምሮ ጨርሰው እንዲጠፉና በመጥፎ ድርጊት ብቻ እንድትታወስ ከፍተኛ ዘመቻ እየተካሄደ ስኬት እያስመዘገበ ነው። የ27 አመት ጨለማ ተብሎ "ትልቅ ነበርን፣ ትልቅ እንሆናለን" እየተባለ ነው። ከህወሓት በፊት (በፊደላዊዝምና ወታደራዊ አምባ ገንነት ዘመን) ትልቅ ነበርን በህወሓት ዘመን ትንሽ ሆንን፣ ህወሓት ከጠፋችና የትግራይ ህዝብ ከተዳከመ ወይንም ከተገነጠለ ግን እንደድሮው በድሮዎቹ እየተመራን ትልቅ እንሆናለን ነው ትርጉሙ። ከትግራይ ይልቅ ከሲዳማ አንድ አመት ቀደም ብላ የኢትዮጵያ ሰሜናዊ "ክልል" የሆነችው ኤሪትሪያ ናት። በቲዮሪ ሳይሆን በተግባር ኤሪትሪያና ትግራይ ቦታ ተቀያይረዋል። የማይመለስ በሚመስል ሁኔታ ትግራይ ከኢትዮጵያውያን ማህበራዊ ስነ አዕምሮ እንድትሰረዝ ከፍተኛ የሆነ የባህል፣ የሚድያ፣ የፓለቲካ፣ የትምህርት ዘመቻ እየተካሄደ ነው። በርካታ ህዝብና የትግራይ ተወላጅ ያልሆኑ ከያንያን የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ልብ ከትግራይ ይልቅ ወደ ኤሪትሪያ እንዲያዘነብል ስልታዊ የሆነ ስራ እየሰሩ እንደሆነ ልብ ብሎ ለተከታተለው በጣም ገሃድ ነው። ህዝብ አንድ ሆኖ ተሳስሮ የሚኖረው በፓለቲካ ገመድ ሳይሆን በማህበራዊ ገመድ ነው። ይህን የኢትዮጵያን ህዝብ ከትግራይ ጋር የሚያስተሳስረው ማህበራዊ ገመድ በየመኖሪያ ሰፊ፣ በየስራ መስኩ፣ በየትምህርት ተቋሙ ውስጥ እንዲበጣጠስ በቡድን ይሁን በግለሰብ ደረጃ ከፍተኛ ጥረት እንዳለ እሙን ነው። ምንም ፓለቲካ የማያውቁ ሴቶች ቡና እየጠጡ "ትግሬዎች ናቸው እኮ የሚበጡብጡን" እያሉ እየተቀባበሉ ሲያወሩ እንደመስማት የሚያስፈራ ነገር ምን አለ? ምግብ ቤትና መዝናኛ ቤት ውስጥ ስልክ ላይ ጠሪውን በትግርኛ የሚያናገር ሰው ከሌላ ጥላኔት የመጣ ባእድ ወይንም በምብ ኪሱ ውስጥ እንደያዘ ሹብርተኛ የሰዎች አይን ሊበላው እስኪደርስ ድረስ የሚያፈጥበት ከሆነ እንዴት ነው ዜጋ ነኝ ብሎ በራስ መተማመን የሚኖረው? የትግራይ ተወላጅ ከትግራይ ክልል ውጪ ሲኖር ማንነቱን ደብቆ የሚኖር ከሆነና አንድ ቀን ሲታወቅ ሰው ሁሉ ቀበሮ የገባበት የበግ መንጋ አይነት ባህሪ የሚያሳይ ከሆነ የትግራይ ህዝብ እንደ ባእድ ብቻ ሳይሆን እንደ ጠላትም እየታየ ነው ማለት ነው። ብዙ የመሃል አገር ሰዎች ይህን ሲነግሯቸው ሹብር እንደምታወራ አድርገው ነገሩን ማቃለል ይቀናቸዋል። ሚስማሩ የሚፈጥረው ህመም የሚያውቀው ጫማ ለባሹ ነው እንጂ ሚስማሩ ራሱ አይደለም።



ትግራይ እንድትገነጠል የሚገፋፉት ሁሉ ለመገንጠል ሃላፊነት መውሰድ አይፈልጉም። የኤሪትሪያ መጨረሻ ላይ መገንጠል ሃላፊነት የሚወስደው ነገር ከተበላሽ በኋላ መልክ ለማስያዝና ህዝቡን ለመታደግ የመጣው ሻዕቢያ አይደለም። በጊዜ ሂደት ለኤሪትሪያ ጨርሶ መገንጠል ቀዳሚ ምክንያት የሆነው የመሃል አገር ግፊት ነበር። የመረረ ሲኔድ ግን በራሱ ፍላጎት ሄዶ ይባላል አድላዊ በሆኑት የታሪክ መዛግብት። ሻዕቢያን የወለደው ማእከላዊ መንግስትና ተባባሪዎቹ ነበሩ። ሻዕቢያ ሆነ ጆብሃ የማእከላዊ መንግስት በኤሪትሪያ ላይ የነበረው የተሳሳተ ፓሊሲ ውጤቶች ናቸው። ቢያንስ ሁለት ታላላቅ የፓሊሲ ጥፋቶች ታይተዋል። በትግራይም የትግራይ ነፃነት ፓርቲ የሁለት አመት የማእከላዊ መንግስትና የቀድሞ ተቃዋሚ ፓርቲዎች ግዴላሽ ንግግሮችና ድርጊቶች የፈጠሩት የተስፋ መቁረጥ ውጤት ነው። የድመትን ባህሪ አሳምረው የሚያውቁት አይጠኙ ናቸው "እኛም መክረናል ጉድጓድ ጭረናል" ያሉት። የሚፈልጓቸው ለፍቅር ሳይሆን ለጣፋጭ ምሳኔ እንደሆነ ስለተገነዘቡ። እኔ በበኩሌ የትግራይ ነፃነት ፓርቲ መመስረትን አክርሬ ስቃይም ቆይቻለሁ። በመሃል አመራርና ደጋፊዎቹ የሚነገሩት ቃላትና የሚፈፀሙ ድርጊት ግን እንዲህ አይነት ፓርቲ መመስረቱን ለመቃወም የሚያበቃ የሞራል ልእልናን ይነፍገኛል።

አምባሳደር ወንድሙ በጥሩ ቃላት የገለፀው ጉዳይ ከዚህ ጋር የተያያዘ ነው። የኢትዮጵያ ፓለቲከኞች ውስጣቸው ትግራይ እንድትገነጠል ይፈልጋሉ። ለዚህም የሚገፋፉ አቀጣጣይ ቃላት ይናገራሉ ግብረመልስ የሚጋብዙ ድርጊቶች ይፈፀማሉ። ለትግራይ መገንጠል ግን ሃላፊነት መውሰድ አይፈልጉም። ትግራይም እንድትገነጠል ግፊት ቢደረግባትም ከገደብ ያለፈ ትእግስት ላይ ትገኛለች። ማእከላዊ መንግስት የትግራይን ምርጫ ውጤት ካልተቀበለ ነገሩ ወዴት እንደሚያመራ በግልፅ እየታወቀ "ህገ ወጥ ነው፣ እርምጃ እንወስዳለን" የሚለው ዛቻ "ወደ ግንጠላ ቢያመራም አስየው ነው" የማለት ያህል ይመስላል። ብዙዎች የትግራይ ትእግስት መገንጠልን መፍራት አድርገው ቢተረጉሙትም ምክንያቱ እሱ አይደለም። ትግራይ ተገዳ ከተገነጠለች መቸም አዲስ እንደተወለደ ጥጃ ተንገዳግዳም ቢሆን መቆሚያ አይቀርም። የትግራይ ስጋት የትግራይ መገንጠልን ተከትሎ በማይቀረው የ"ዶሚኖ መነካካት" ኢትዮጵያ ትፈርሳለች የሚል ነው። አምባሳደር እንዳለው ለዚህ አስከሬ ሂደት መጀመር ትግራይ ቀዳሚ መሆን አትፈልግም። የኢትዮጵያ መስራች ናትና ጭንቀቱ ቀላል አይደለም። ይህን የተገነዘበላት ግን ያለ አይመስልም። የኢትዮጵያ ፓለቲከኞች እንደበሬው እያዩ ያሉት ህወሓትን የማጥፋት ሳሩን እንጂ የአገር መበተን ገደሉን አይደለም።\*\*\*\*\*

**እውን ትግራይ "አንድ ሳር ቢመዘዝ..." ናትን?**  
 Octobre 02-2020

በአሁኑ ጊዜ ብዛት ባላቸው ግን ከአንድ ስቴንስል የተራባ የሚመስል ፅሁፍ የሚያነቡ የሚመስሉት ሚድያዎችና የድረ ገፅ ፎረምዎች 'ኢትዮጵያ ሲቀነስ ትግራይ'

(Eth-Tig=United Eth)

በሚል የሞኝ ፎርሙላ ላይ የተመሰረተ ትንተና ማቅረብ ከጀመሩ ብዙ ጊዜ ሆናቸው። ይህ አስተሳሰብ ከጥላቻ የተነሳ ብቻ ሳይሆን ለተለማማጅም፣ ለሰነፍም፣ በማያውቀው ጉዳይ

በስሜት ለገባውም፣ ከፍርሃት የተነሳ አድፍጦ የቆየና አሁን መስዋእትነት የሌለው ቀላልና ትርፍ የሚገኝበት የፓለቲካ ሜዳ ያገኘ የመሰለው ፓለቲከኛ ነኝ ባይ ሁሉ እንደመዋኛ ገንዳ በደስታ እየዘለለ የገባበት ነው። እንደዚህ አይነት ሰዎችና ሚድያዎች በአጃቸው ይዘው የሚዝናኑበት አስተሳሰብ አሻንጉሊት ሳይሆን የአውነት አገር የሚያጠፋ ፈንጂ መሆኑን ለመገንዘብ የሚያበቃቸው የአእምሮ ብስለት ያላቸው አይመስልም።

አፄ ዮሃንስ ግብፅን ሁለት ጊዜ አሸንፈው የመለሱበት ድርጊት ከኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ በላይ ለሚጥፋት የሚታገሉ የታሪክ ምሁራንና ፓለቲከኞች ሊረዱ ያልፈለጉት ዋናው ቁምነገር ግብፅ ሁለት ጊዜ ሰራዊት አሰልፋ የመጣቸው መቀሌን ለመያዝ ሳይሆን ከትግራይ ከ700 ኪሎሜትር በላይ የሚርቀውን አባይን ለመቆጣጠር ነበር። ራስ አሉላ የኢጣሊያን ጦር ወሬ ነጋሪ ያሳጡበት አስታዋሽ ያጣው የዶጎሊ ድልም መቀሌን ሳይሆን የያኔዋን አዲስ አበባን ለመቆጣጠር ዋና አላማ በነበረው ሃይል ላይ የተገኘ ነበር። አፄ ዮሃንስ ከሚህዲስቶች ጋር ሲዋጉ ህይወታቸውን ያጡት ከመቀሌው ቤተ መንግስታቸው ጥግ የነበሩት አብያተ ክርስቲያናት ስለተቃጠሉና ቀሳውስቱ ስለታረዱ ሳይሆን በወቅቱ ከመቀሌ ለይተው ባላደዋት ጎንደር ከተማ ውስጥ ግፍ በመፈፀሙ ተበሳጭተው ስለነበር ነው። የአሁኑ ትውልድ ስህተት ስህተቷን ሲለቅም ስማቸውን እንኳን በበጎ ማንሳት ይቀፈዋል። በውቅቱ የጎንደር ህዝብ "የጎንደር ሃይማኖት ቆማ ስታለቅስ፣ አንገቱን ሰጠላት ዳግማይ ዮሃንስ" ብሎ አልቅሶላቸዋል። እንደሌሎቹ ጎንደር ራሱን ያውጣ ብለው ችላ ቢሉ ኖሮ ጣልያን የባህሩን ዳርቻ አይቆጣጠርም ነበር። ተጠቃሚዎቹ በውለታቢስነት መስዋእትነታቸውን ዋጋ ለማሳጣት "የተሰዉት ለሃይማኖታቸው ብለው ነው" እያሉ የአሁኑንና ቀጣዩን ትውልድ መስመር ያስታሉ። መሰረተ ቢስ ጥላቻቸውን ትክክል ለማስመሰል አለም ያወቀውን ታሪክ ሲደፍቁ ይታያሉ።

ማንም የትግራይ ተወላጅ ምንም ቢወዳቸው አፄ ዮሃንስ በክህደት ተበሳጭተውም ቢሆን በጎጃም ላይ የፈፀሙትን ስህተት "እሰይ እንኳን አደረጉት!" የሚል የለም። አፄው ራሳቸው የተቆጩበት ድርጊት እንደነበር ይነገራል። የትኛው ሌላ ንጉስ ነው በህዝብ ላይ በፈፀሙ የተቆጩ? ነገስታትን የማምገስ ፍላጎት ኖሮኝ አይደለም ይህን የምለው። ንግስና አድሃሪና ጨቋኝ ስለሆነ ነው በ1966 ህዝባዊ አብዮት የተገረሰሰው። ይህን የሚያናግረኝ የነገስታት መልካምነትና ጀግንነት መመዘኛ የሆነው ለሃገራቸውና ለህዝባቸው የዋሉት ውለታ ሳይሆን አፈኛ ልሂቅ ከበዛበት ብሄር መወለዳቸውና አለመወለዳቸው ነው። ጎጃም ውስጥ የበደል ነገር ከተነሳና ሚዛኑ አንድ ቢሆን ኖሮ አፈወርቅ ገብረየሱስ የአካባቢው ጀግና አፄ ዮሃንስ ግን ጠላት ሆነው መታየት አልነበረባቸውም። በአገሬ የማልደራደር ጀግና ነኝ እያለ እድሜ ልክ በላይ ዘለቀን በሚያወድስበት ልሳኑና ብእሩ የበላይ ደመኛ የነበረውንና አገሩን ለፋሺስት አሳልፎ የሰጠው ባንዳ አፈወርቅ ገብረየሱስን የሚያሞግስበትና አፄ ዮሃንስን ከነዘር ማንዘራቸው የሚያወግዝበት እንቆቅልሽ ፍቺው "አገር ስጠኝ" የማይባልበት ግልፅ ነው። የአፄው ወንጀል የሰሜን መሆናቸው ብቻ እንጂ ግፍ ያልሰራ ንጉስ እስቲ በሙብራት ይፈለግ! መለስ ዜናዊ ግድብ በቆራጥነት ቢያስጀምር እውቅና ላለመስጠት "ቀዳማዊ ሃይለ ስላሴ አስበውት ነበር እኮ" ይባላል። ሊዋጋ ያሰበ ተዋግቶ ካሸነፈው በልጦ የሚነሳ ከሆነ እንድንሞገስና ስማችን ሊታሪክ እንዲበቃ አሜሪካን ተዋግተን ለማሸነፍ ብናስብ ይሻለናል።

ያሁሉ እውቅና መንፈግ፣ እንደ ወንጀለኛና እንደ ባዳ ማየት ከሰሜን የመጣ ሁሉ ሌላ ሰርቶት የማይውቅና እድሉን ቢያገኝም የማይሰራው መጥፎ ድርጊት ስለፈፀመ አይደለም። የሰሜን ህዝብ በኢትዮጵያ ላይ ከሰራቸው መጥፎ ድርጊቶች ይልቅ መልካም ድርጊቶቹ መቶ እጥፍ ይበልጣሉ። በእጅ የተጋረደ አይን ከፊቱ የተደቀነውን ሃቅ ማየትና ማስተዋል አይቻልም። የጋረደው እጅም መነሻውና መድረሻው የማይታወቅ ጥላቻ ነው። እኔ ይህን የምፅፈው በእድሜያዬ በደረሰብኝ አስከፊ በዘር ጥላቻ ላይ የተመሰረቱ ቁጥራቸው የበዛ ተከታታይ በደሎች ላይ ተመስርቼና ይህም ስላነቃኝ ባደረግሁት በቂ የሆነ ሚዛናዊ ክትትል ነው። አንድ የደረሰኩበት ድምዳሜ አለ። የሰሜን ህዝብ እንዲህ "ካካ የነካ እንጨት" የተደረገው አገራዊ ስልጣን እንዳይዝ ወይንም እንዳይጋራ ነው። ለዚህ የማሳካሻ መመዘኛዎች ተቀምጠዋል። 1ኛ/ቁጥሩ አናሳ መሆኑ; 2ኛ/ ለአገራዊ ፋይናንስ ፈሰስ የሚያደርገው አነስተኛ መሆኑ ግን የሚሰጠው በጀት ብዙ በመሆኑ እንደ አክሳሪ ስለሚቆጠር; 3ኛ/ የተፈጥሮ ሃብቱ ውስን መሆኑና የረባ አገራዊ ፋይዳ የለውም በሚል; 4ኛ/ ህወሓት የፈፀመቻቸው ስህተቶች ብቻዎን እንደሰራቻቸው አድርጎ ከልክ በላይ አግንኖ በማሳየት ከትግራይ የመጣ አስተዳደር ሁሉ አገር አጥፊ ስለሆነ የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ለወደፊቱ ከዛ ለመጣ አመራር ምንም እድል እንዳይሰጥ በከባድና የማይቆርጥ የፕሮፓጋንዳ ዘመቻ የህዝቡን አመለካከት እስከ ወድያኛው ማበላሸት፣ 5ኛ/ ከትግራይ ህዝብ ይልቅ የኤሪትሪያ ህዝብ ለኢትዮጵያ ጥሩ እንደሆነ ተደርጎ ስውር በሆነ ስልት የሚካሄደው ሞራል የሚነካ ጨዋታ የትግራይ ተወላጆችን ከኤሪትሪያ አሳንሶ እንዲያይ እያደረገው መሆኑ የሚያሳዝን ነው። እንድገባ በማይፈቀድልኝ ጉዳይ መግባት ብቸል የሚታዩኝ ነገር ቢኖር ኤሪትሪያውያን ኢትዮጵያን ከተጋሩ የበለጠ ይወዷታል ብዬ ማሰብ አልቻልኩም። ምን መልሶ የሚያስወድድ ነገር ስትሰራላቸው ኖረችና? አይናቸው በትክክል የሚያይ ቢሆን እነሱን ለመገንጠል የገፋፋቸው ጥላቻና በደል በትግራይ ላይ እየተደገመ በመሆኑ ይህን ከታሪክ የማይማርና ጥፋቶቹን እንደ በጎ ምግባር የሚደጋግመው የኢትዮጵያ ፓለቲካን ከማበረታታትና ከማገዝ ይልቅ "አደብ ግዛ; አገሪቱን የሚያጠፋ ተግባር አትፈፅም" ብለው ይመክሩ ነበር።

የቁጥር ወይንም የፕርሰንት ጉዳይ ሲነሳ ቁጥር በየትኛውም አውድ ላይ ብቸኛ ወሳኝነት እንደሌለው ሁሉም በሆዱ ይዞ ግን አውጥቶ ለመናገር ጣረሞትና ጥቃት ይሆንበታል። ስለዚህም 70 ከመቶ የሆነው አማራና ኦሮሞ አንድ ከሆነ ትግሬው ዝሆን ጀርባ ላይ እንደተቀመጠች ገለባ ሆኖ ይታሰባል። ይቺ ገለባ ተሸራታ መሬት ብትወድቅ እንኳ ዝሆኑ ምንም የሚታወቀው ነገር የለም ነው ምስጢሩ። "ትግራይ ብትገነጠል የሚመጣ ችግር ቢኖር ወደብ ማጣት ሳይሆን፣ የእርሻ ውጤት እጥረት መፈጠር ሳይሆን ከመቶ አስር ሚልዮን ስድስት ሚልዮን ሲቀነስ፡ መቶ አራት ሚልዮን መቅረት ብቻ ነው" ። ትግራይን እንደቁጥር ብቻ ማየቱ የሚያስከትለው አስተሳሰብ ይህን ይመስላል። በመቶ አስር ሚልዮን ሳሮች የተከደነ ትልቅ ጎጆ ቤት ስድስት ሚልዮን ሳር ቢመዘዝ ቤቱ አይፈርስም ማለት ለሚቀላቸው አዎ ቀላል ነው። ስድስት ሚልዮን ሳር ሲመዘዝ ወዲያው ቤት ባያፈርስም በሚፈጠረው ክፍተት የሚገባው ዝናብ ቤቱን ከጥቅም ውጭ እንደሚያደርገው ግን ለማሰብ አቅም የሚያንሳቸው ጥቂት አይደሉም። ትግራይ ባለው ከፍተኛ "አንፈልጋችሁም" አይነት ግፊት ከተገነጠለች ትግራይ ላይ ምን እንደሚፈጠር አላውቅም፣ የበደል አምላክ ይታደጋታል ብዬ ግን አምናለሁ። በኢትዮጵያ ላይ ስለሚፈጠረው ነገር ግን ያኔውኑ ካላዩት ማንም በትክክል መተንበይ

አይችልም፤ አይናቸው ከሸፈኑ ተስፈኞች ወይንም ህልመኞች በስተቀር ከዛ በኋላ ኢትዮጵያ ሰላማዊና ታላቅ አገር ሆና ትኖራለች የሚል እምነት ያለው ሰው አለ ብዬ አልገምትም። ካለም ጤነኛ ሰው አይመስለኝም። ስለዚህ መፍትሄው ሁሉም እንዳመጣለት አይናገር። ስለ ፓርቲ እያስመሰሉ ህዝብን ማቀረድ፣ መወንጀል ይቁም። ትግራይን እንደ አንድ ሳር መቁጠር አንድ ሊባል ይገባል። በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ስምምነት (consensus) ፈጣሪ ብቸኛ ነገር ህወሓትን፣ በዛው አሸልኮ የትግራይ ህዝብን፣ የኢትዮጵያ አንደኛ ጠላት ማድረግ ነው። ይህ ደካማ በሆነ ክር የታሰረው ጥምረት ክፍ ሲበጠስ (ትግራይ ተገፍትራ ራሷን ከቻለችና ከኢትዮጵያ ፓለቲካ ከወጣች) ምን እንደሚፈጠር እኔ ብነግራችሁ ይሻላል ወይስ ራሳችሁ በነፃ አእምሮ ብታንሰላስሉት? በቀላሉ

ሊፈታ የሚችል ችግርን በግዴልሽነትና በማልናለብኝነት ሲወሳሰብ ይታያል። ብዙዎቹ የሚመጣው ችግር ህወሓትን ብቻ ነጥሎ እንደሚጎዳና ሌላው ምንም እንደማይሆን አድርገው ማሰብን መርጠዋል። ህወሓት እንዴት “በዝግታ እየሞተች” እንደሆነ ትንፋሽ እስኪያጥራቸው ድረስ በፊደል ይናገራሉ። ህወሓት በጥፋት መጠን ተገቢ ህጋዊ ቅጣት ማግኘቷን የሚቃወም ሰው ሊኖር አይችልም፤ የምትቀጣው የትግራይ ስለሆነች ከሆነ ግን የሚቀበለው ሰው የለም። አሁን ግልፅ ነው። ጥያቄው በሚገባ ተመልሷል። የትግራይ ህዝብ ህወሓትን መርጧል? መልሱ አዎ ነው። አሁን ስለህወሓት የምናወራው ወሬ ህዝብ ስለመረጣት ድርጅት እንጂ “ስለሽብርተኛ፣ ስለ ሌባ፣ ስለ ወንበዴ” ድርጅት አይደለም። ህዝብ እንደህዝብ መከበር አለበት። ህወሓትን የመረጠው 2.7 ሚልዮን ህዝብ ሮቦት ሳይሆን ህዝብ ነው። ህዝቡ በፍላጎቱ መምረጡን አለመቀበል ይቻላል፤ አልመረጥክምና እንደገና ምረጥ ማለት ግን ምን የሚሉት የፓለቲካ ፈሊጥ ነው? እንደገና ምረጥ ከተባለስ መጥቶ ለመምረጥ የሚሰለፈው ማነው? ትግራይ ለሌላ ምርጫ ያስቀመጠችው ተጠባባቂ የሆነ ሌላ 2.7 ሚልዮን ህዝብ የላትም። በእልክና አጉል ፉክክር የሚከተለው ጦስ ሁሉም የሚሞቀው ሳይሆን ሁሉንም የሚያቃጥል እሳት ያመጣል።

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# CLUSTER 4

## Imperial Ambitions of Amhara Extremists



- The Wild Claims of the Amhara
- Wolqait: How Achamyaleh Tamiru killed Geography
- The Map of Ethiopia for the Amhara Land Grabbing Elite
- The "Welqait Question": Is it about Democracy...?
- First hated the minority, and next hated the majority...
- Collect Your Own Mess: Oromara partner complaining...
- በተከፈተው በር ገብተን ስለ ጎንደር ፓለቲካ ትንሽ እናውራ
- ምክር ለአማራ ልሂቃን:- ሃቁን ዋጡና ለራሳችሁም ለሌላውም ሰላም ስጡ
- አጋምና ቁልቋል:- አማራና ትግራይ የሚጋሩት ነገር የለም

Amhara is a native Amharic speaking society that inhabits the central and northwestern highlands of Ethiopia for several centuries. Since the decline of the Axumite Kingdom and the downfall of the Zagwe dynasty the aristocracy based in the Amhara society ruled Abyssinia and the later Ethiopia with an iron hand. The Amhara based aristocracy conquered and incorporated the formerly autonomous kingdoms and sultanates around the turn of the twentieth century. For the first time in history the power of the Amhara based aristocracy was replaced by a federal arrangement which gave some degree of self-rule to the formerly subjugated societies. Although this is fair enough even for the ordinary people of the Amhara society the elite never took the demise of the Imperial Era with grace. Now restorationists have messed the political atmosphere in Ethiopia threatening the very existence of Ethiopia.

## The Wild Claims of the Amhara

January 05-2021

There is a joke told by Deki Adwa, which goes like this:

"ሶሎዳይን ገጣት ተትኸውን፣ አብታ ርእሲአ ብግሬደር አግፍሕ አቢልካ ጉድጓድ ትኸዕ ት፣ ካብኡ ብሄሊኮፕተር ጌርካ ነታ ዓባይ ጉድጓድ ብጠሰሚ ቅፅፅ አቢልካ ትመልአ፣ ካብኡ ንደሓርማ እንታይ አሎ ብኤከስካቫተር እናጎሐፍካ ምኹላስ።"

The translation can be like this: "If Mount Soloda were porridge I would use a doozer to dig a huge depression at the top, pour butter from a helicopter into the depression and eat it with excavator as a spoon". Wishes are pleasant, dreams are elating; but could damage the mind and send the one who takes comfort in them crazy. That is what is happening to the Amhara illiterates and scholars alike. They are drugged into hallucination by their own fabrications of a glorious history which did not exist in the real world of Ethiopia. What really existed was six centuries of internecine wars, invasion and incorporation of formerly independent nations and nationalities involving brutalities and forced assimilation.

The Amhara elites are very busy claiming anything that is best in Ethiopia as their own. They are writing multitudes of books; holding countless conferences; engaged in endless interviews in the hundreds of the same-feather media they have created; and posting in tens of thousands on the social media suffocating viewers, listeners and readers with identical messages about their being: "more Ethiopian than other Ethiopians; more orthodox Christian than even the originals; aborigines of Ethiopia who settled in the key places of Ethiopia before other Ethiopians, whom they consider as late comers; paid more sacrifice for the defense of Ethiopia than the rest of Ethiopians; and many many more". All the claim of superiority, with immodest and sickeningly poetic words of praise, is accompanied by showers of insults and degrading words forcing one to ask: "Is Amharic a language of insult?"

It is only in the Amhara "ደግምት/dgemt" that words turn into a material form. Simply because the Amhara said they created Axum and Tigrayans were "daily labourers who came from Yemen to slave for the Amhara in Axum" does not give them the possession of Axum. This was the typical Amhara daydream that was posted by Fano Amara Washington DC last year. By the way, USA is too kind to host such good for nothings in the midst of honest, bright and hardworking Americans. The desperate search, by the megalomaniac Amhara elite for a "proof" of their phantom superiority, has got them into a territory which the world knows, but they don't. The whole world knows to who Axum belongs. Tigray is not going to hire an attorney to go to court with distorted mentalities. The claim of Raya, Wolkait, Metekel, Selale, etc as Amhara is also another expression of Amhara's inflated self-image. Remember! Amhara as a state is the child of the Constitution. Like a devilish child it wants to kill its parent. This is where the mental illness is diagnosed. They are so possessed by their own demons of superiority and intoxicated by the claim of land not their own they are dying like flies in Tigray, Metekel and Al Fashqa.

The most glaring of the Amhara claim of possession is the Finfine vs Berera contention with the Oromos. It seems that Amhara history has its deep regrets. It should have named the Capital as "Berera", in 1890s, instead of "Addis Ababa"! Am I joking? Yes, I am! No one knew that "Berera" existed as an Amhara settlement prior to the year Empress Taitu enjoyed the hot spring in Finfine and named the place as "Addis Ababa". Probably, she avoided the original name (Finfine) of the place the Capital was founded because it was an Afaan Oromoo name she could not correctly pronounce or hated to use it as a name of the Capital of the Amhara Empire. The hint that "Berera" was located in the present Eka Sub City is a ruin of a small building. No one of the claimants have told us that the "Berera ruins spoke Amharic". The Oromos were egalitarian societies and did not build palaces for their chiefs; but the Oromiffa place names all over are unmistakable. It is unusual for all place names that existed

originally (Amharic place names if there were) to be eliminated without trace after the Oromos settled on them. In Tigray, settlement by Tigrigna speakers for thousand years did not change some of the non-Tigrigna (Geez or Agew) place names. During the great Oromo migration most of areas settled by the Oromos were vacant plain lands that were earlier avoided by the Amhara for safety and health reasons. The Amhara normally preferred to be perched in the mountain tops, which then were safer, healthier, and more fertile. Typical in this respect is the juxta positioning of Mountain Amhara and Lowland Plain Oromos in the Kemise area.

We had all agreed with the name "Addis Ababa", as the home of all Ethiopians, and used it for over a century. It never occurred to us that this name was not casual but loaded with an underlying political message. This underlying political message, i.e., the Amhara claim of possession of the City, started to expose itself in recent years. When on the eve of the 2005 election Amhara affiliated parties chanted "Tigrayans go home", it was a rude awakening about whose City Addis Ababa is claimed to be. How was it possible fellow Amhara residents of the Ethiopian Capital City dare to chant "go home to Mekelle and your property confiscated by the Kebelle"? If all the non-Amhara in the Capital are living with the kind permission of the Amhara residents, then it would feel like living in Bahir Dar! When the questions get tougher and fiercer the Amhara claim of possession of the Capital is camouflaged in the "possession by all Ethiopians". The largest outcrop that exposes the Amhara claim over the Capital is the movement that surprisingly turned into political party: "Balderas". This party, led by Eskendir Nega, is not inclusive. It is dominated by Amhara proponents of the claim of possession of the Capital.

If any nation or nationality is to be allowed to claim possession of the City, it cannot be the Amhara. In principle and in convention the Capital belongs to all residents on equal basis, but if any of them are to be awarded the possession it can only be the Oromos who have close to a legitimate claim. However, many Oromos live in Bahir Dar the



City cannot belong to the Oromos. The same thing would be true for Hawassa; and Mekelle. Addis Ababa is an urban settlement, similar to Adama, Assela, and Gore, which was the outcome of the Abyssinian expansion in the last Century. Nazreth was changed to Adama and Asebe Teferi to Chiro and Debrezeit to Bishoftu. Addis Ababa was not officially changed to Finfine but the Oromos call it by that name. They have every right to do so!

The Amhara claim of possession has gone to the extent of opposing demographic changes in favour of Oromos in Addis Ababa. This is a wild expression of the Amhara claim. The Amhara are not the Arbiters in the City. As much as every Amhara, Tigrawai, and Sidaama has the right to live in Addis Ababa, every Oromo from any part of Oromia has the right to be permanent resident in the Capital. Some Amhara are critical of the several Oromo public buildings planned to be built in Addis Ababa. Urbanization does not work that way but if justice is to be done 40% of Addis Ababa must be Oromos. The fact that they form the entire hinterland of Finfine they deserve even more. Of course, it is unacceptable for the Oromos as it is for the Amhara to marginalize the rest of the nations and nationalities living in the City. This is a question of justice, not a choice of masters. The false sense of victory of the Amhara over Tigrayans is letting loose Amhara rudeness over Tigrayans in the Capital. They are counting the high-rise buildings belonging to Tigrayans. If the Amhara, who are expected to behave properly, like any one of the migrants to the City, try to be more Addis Ababans than the Tigrayans and try to harm them the Oromos have the historical obligation to protect Tigrayans in Addis Ababa. Tigrayans are living in Finfine not in Addis Ababa.

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## **Wolqait: How Achamyaleh Tamiru killed Geography.**

January 31-2021

Undisciplined armed hordes, commanded by the Amhara right wing nationalists, have violated every article in the Constitution and occupied Western and Southern Tigray, with tacit permission from the Central Government which was expected to protect the Constitution. The Amhara politicians have a strange claim to Wolqait, Tsegede, Kafta Humera, Tselemti and Raya, which are inhabited by a majority Tigrigna speaking population. The claimants would sometimes try to make a bewildering "sense" by saying: "Even if the people speak Tigrigna they are Amhara"! Well! Well! If you are engaged in an argument with someone who evades logic you have to distance yourself from it because the gun starts at the point where logic ends.

This is what the Amhara did in November 2020. When they knew that their points of argument are not going to hold water in the House of Federation they used a golden opportunity they themselves woven around TPLF and sent a human wave to invade the claimed territories. They have gone to the extent of establishing Amhara administration in the occupied Tigrayan lands as if newly appointed zone and wereda administrators can hold their offices permanently without any trouble. This is again another expression of Amhara arrogance without any legal or logical backing. The claim of territories in Tigray by the Amhara is out of synchrony. The 14 provinces, the Amhara would love to see back on the map of Ethiopia, belong to the Monarchy in which Amhara Region was four separate provinces. In those years the criterion for administrative regionalization was river valley not human beings. This was chosen because crossing river valleys was the most difficult part of the job of regional administrators. River valleys were also unsafe because rebels hide in them. If there are Tegaruu on two sides of a major river valley they will have different administrators. So, during the

Monarchy what mattered was administrative convenience not public convenience and social cohesion. The same holds true for other people elsewhere in Ethiopia as well. Separating Wolqait from Shire by Tekeze was a case in point. For Wolqait to be returned to Gondar the current Constitution must be abolished and the Monarchy restored. The four former regions that constitute Amhara will be separated from each other, and Amhara region will cease to exist.

It is funny that this is not what the Amhara want. They want the old map to be restored but Amhara to remain as it is! Oromia will break into seven former regions, Somali into three, Benishangul into two, Tigray into three, etc. This is wishful thinking because the Constitution is not going to change. Everyone protects the constitution except the Amhara. Any new constitutional change that ends the Ethno-linguistic regionalization is a declaration of war on the hard-won self-determination. Oromia will split into seven provinces only on the graves of the Oromos. The Amhara will not dare to do this on the Oromos. That will be the end of them. The Amhara are demanding change of the constitution mainly to target Tigray Region to surrender Wolkait. This kind of constitutional change must be a kinder garden game.

The claim of Wolqait, Tsegede, Kafta Humera, and Tselemti by the Amhara is one expression of the terra-manic culture that never fades. This is not what is surprising. Grabbing land from others and claiming it as one's own is located deep in the Amhara cultural values. What is worth a post here is the historical "evidence" used by the angry and gun-toting claimants of Wolkait for the Amhara. People can easily be misled by evidence particularly when they come from "fellow scholars". It is understandable that ordinary people trust scholars. Some abuse the trust by feeding their viewers or audience or readers intentionally fabricated falsehoods. This is what happened to Achamyelah Tamiru, the self-proclaimed authority on Wolqait issues. He has written a 430-page book in Amharic on Wolqait. It is Ok to write any book on anywhere. Unfortunately, the book is intended to provide historical justification

for the claim by murdering geography. I am sure it was not intentional because as a gentleman he can guess that there are thousands of people who know the geography of the region under consideration. There is no doubt that he was so obsessed with the claim that he did not realize what conventional knowledge he was stepping on and crushing. I am not polite to him because he is not polite to Tigray. His ethnic slurs are irritating; not expected even from a man in the streets. It is ok to have a point of argument. That is healthy; but when irrational hate accompanies the points of argument, they become sour and not worth respect. He is a bigot!

At the center of Achameleh Tamiru's justification is the "confession" of Tegarú kings and other noblemen of Tigray origin. Like bad police investigator he is confident that self-confession is the best evidence. Achameleh's confessions are not derived from torturing the suspects. He quotes the messages and public speeches of Tigarú kings and noblemen from the 17th to the 19th Centuries. I am not going to question the veracity of the quotes. It doesn't matter whether they are convenient fabrications put on the lips of the quoted or the words are truly theirs. The issue I am discussing here is not about whether they have really uttered the words. The subject here is the wrong geography that is connected with the words used to justify the claim.

There are four wrong geographies that are unprofessionally linked to the words of proof. The following is taken from the interview Achameleh had with Emiwedew tube November 19, 2020 (note the date. He is trying to provide a "scholarly" justification for the invasion of Western Tigray by the Amhara militia! By the way there was no need for an invasion if the claim is based on truth. Since it was not, I repeat "the gun starts as logic ends").

1. King Yostos was the King of Abyssinia of Tigray origin in the 18th Century. One day, while he was attending church ceremony in GAINI there were people who were singing in Amharic and Tigrigna. The king later expressed his impression about the

ceremony as follows: "Those who crossed the Tekeze sung in Tigrigna while those who came from this side of the Tekeze sung in Amharic". This was interpreted by Achamyeleh to mean "Tigre has crossed the Tekeze into Amhara territory. Therefore, Tekeze is the boundary between Tigray and Amhara".

Look at the geographic fatality here. Gaint is in South Gondar Zone close to N.Wello. Gaint shares boundary with Wag-Lasta not with Tigray. Tekeze in its upper most course separates Gaint and Wag-Lasta not Tigray. Tigray is separated from Wag- Lasta by Tselere (Tirarari) River, tributary of Tekeze arising from the Raya Highlands. So Tekeze is meaningless for Tigray as a boundary with Gaint.

2. Ras Woldeslassie, the overlord of Tigray in the later 18th Century sent a letter to Gugsu in Debre Tabor (South Gondar, close to Gaint, see No. 1 above) from his capital in Cheleqot (Close to Mekelle). He warned him " not to cross the Tekeze and advance on Tigray. Achamyeleh interpreted this to mean crossing Tekeze from Debre Tabor gets you to Tigray from Amhara! Again, as described in No.1. If you cross Tekeze from Debre Tabor you reach Wag not Tigray. From Wag you cross Tselere to reach Cheleqot in Tigray. By the way. Wag and Lasta have never been claimed by Tigray. They were powerful Zagwe dukedoms on their own. This is another geographic death in the hands of Achamyeleh.

3. King of Kings Yohannes IV defeated Wagshum Gobeze (prematurely crowned king immediately after death of Tewodros) in the Battle of Adwa is quoted to have told Gobeze's war prisoners: "Cross the Tekeze and go to your home (Amhara). Achamyeleh interpreted this to mean crossing Tekeze from Tigray gets you to Amhara homeland. Given his knowledge of a country he ruled for two decades I don't think Yohannes IV has confused Tekeze and Tselere. Wag-Seqota was the capital of Wag shum Gobeze. His men normally go back to Seqota. You cross Tselere not Tekeze to reach

Wag-Seqota.Upper Tekeze lies between Debretabor-Gaint and Wag-Lasta. No Tigray here!

4. Achameleh read a poem which ridicules Tegarū for their alleged warning to King Tewodros. They were allegedly warning Tewodros to face some divine disaster if he "crosses Tekeze to enter Tigray". Achameleh interpreted this to mean that Tegarū in Adwa admitted that crossing the Tekeze for Tewodros gets him into Tigray Territory. If Tewodros was to cross Tekeze it must be from Gondar town or from Debre Tabor. If from Debre Tabor the same holds true as in No.2. If from Gondar town, it is hard to cross the Semien Mountains for an army marching on foot to Adwa. So using the Wag-Seqota route is more convenient. So, Tewodros must cross Tekeze to Wag-Seqota not to Tigray. That the latter is what Achameleh is referring to is proved by the poem he read written by Tewodros' fans: "Tewodros is not going to cross not Tekeze alone but also Weri River to come to you at Adwa". Weri River is crossed only if one comes from the direction of Wag.Seqota crossing Telere.

Achameleh has been using the wrong location of Tekeze to make his point from the testimony of Tegarū Kings and noblemen. He was abusing their words in a wrong context. The contested territory of Wolqait is found northwest of Ras Dashen. Tekeze comes between Shire and wolqait after Tekeze makes a turn from south-north direction to a western direction. That is where the "contested" territory is. The location Achameleh spent so much time and energy to research is very far away from the "disputed border". I pray for Achameleh to get other Tegarū kings to help him substantiate the claim in the right location. Achameleh was searching under the streetlights what he lost in a dark corner.

One for the road!

Achameleh has also provided one highly unlikely evidence to substantiate the Amhara claim on Wolqait. Here is the story:

Ras Sehul Michael was a king maker in Gondar during the Zemene mesafint (this is work of a high IQ man not to be mocked by Achamyeleh). "When James Bruce was about to leave to Britain Ras Sehul gave him a present. That present was a map of Tigray. The map of Tigray was made during the reign of Zera Yacob (15th century). The map of Tigray does not include Wolqait"! This was a proof for Achamyeleh that a 15th Century map of Tigray did not include Wolqait.

First of all Ras Sehul received James Bruce in his court formally, but he was not his friend to exchange gifts with.

Secondly, Ras Sehul was a de facto king of Abyssinia. Why would he give only the map of Tigray as a present to a foreigner?

Thirdly, I cannot imagine that there were cartographers during the reign of King Zera Yacob compiling regional maps.

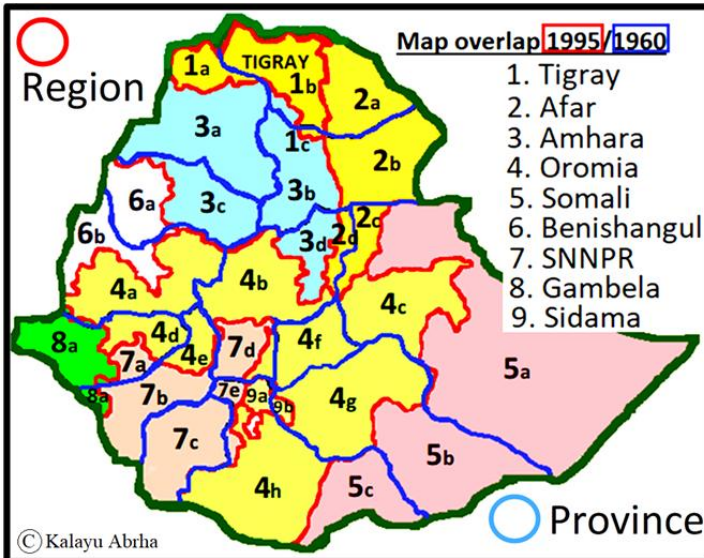
We have not been busy writing on the Amhara claim over Wolqait with the sincere belief that it is upto legislative bodies at Federal level to handle. That is why charlatans got the opportunity to proliferate. The volume of their noise increasingly high, with the silence of the voices of truth, they were elevated to the rank of political-geographic analyst extraordinaire.

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**The Map of Ethiopia for the Amhara Land Grabbing Elite**  
November 26-2022

Th map in the next page is an overlap of two administrative maps of Ethiopia which belong to two starkly different constitutions. The blue are Provinces of the Imperial Era by 1960; whereas the red are the Federal states since 1995. The two are mutually exclusive although they are overlapped by the power of cartography. Is it possible to have two constitutions enforced at the same time? There is no historical evidence for this, neither is there any logic in it.

Unfortunately, it is the strange attempt to validate this overlapped-map as a map of Ethiopia that is messing up Ethiopia for the last two years. The vestiges of the Imperial Era are trying to climb two ladders because they are sure they have two legs! One ladder is the Imperial Era map of Ethiopia and the other is the Federal Map of Ethiopia.



FDRE Regions	Former provinces divided into
Tigray	1a Gondar, 1b Tigray, 1c Wello
Afar	2a Tigray, 2b Wello, 2c Hararghe, 2d Shoa
Amhara	3a Gondar, 3b Wello, 3c Gojjam, 3d Shoa
Oromia	4a Wellega, 4b Shoa, 4c Hararghe, 4d Illubabor, 4e Keffa, 4f Arsi, 4g Bale, 4h Sidamo
Somali	5a Hararghe, 5b Bale, 5c Sidamo
Benishangul	6a Gojjam, 6b Wellega
SNNP	7a Illubabor, 7b Keffa, 7c Gamo Goffa, 7d Shoa, 7e Sidamo
Gambela	8a Illubabor, 8b Keffa
Sidaama	9a Sidamo, 9b Bale



They think they are the smartest of all in the sense that they clutch the Federal arrangement which created the Amhara region to their advantage and are at the same time stretching out their violent hands to snatch the administrative arrangement of the Imperial Era! They want four separate former Imperial provinces (Wello, Shoa, Gondar and Gojjam) to remain united as Amhara Region as crafted by the Federal Constitution. At the same time they claim that Welkait in Tigray belongs to the Imperial province of Gondar as a zone and Raya belongs to the Imperial province of Wello of the federal Amhara Region. Alas! Logic and consistency are on fire.

It is scientifically possible to have a bipolar personality as the Amhara land grabbing political and economic elites have become; however, it is impossible for the administrative geography of states to be bipolar. It is this crazy attempt to realize the impossible bipolarity of states that has plunged the land grabbing elite into a state of suicidal delusion and are unable to snap out of it. Because of military and political defeat of their ambitions they have gone to the extent of violating their own creed as supreme protectors of the sovereignty of Ethiopia. Their greed for land went totally out of control so much that they invited a foreign army to do the job of realizing the bizarre claims for them.

The most laughable part of the whole story is that they are messing up Ethiopia for the sake of saving Ethiopia! The Amhara land grabbing elite are freaking out, as the world watches them with bewilderment, when the peace deal between Tigray and Ethiopia based itself on the current Federal Constitution. The decision automatically de-legitimizes the anachronistic claims for Western Tigray and Southern Tigray. They have become so disorderly and unmanageable that they are harming the Ethiopia they pretend to love and muddying the very three strip flag they hoist for every event.

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## **The “Welqait Question”: Is it about Democracy, about Patriotism, or about Business?**

November 30-2022

### **Part I “The “Welqait Question”**

On April 15, 2022 a certain Wassy Tesfa referred to Welqait as “the red line that cannot be crossed in Ethiopia” in her post on Borkena.com. As a childcare expert she is understandably oblivious to the charged political explosive that was sitting squarely on her palm. She is not alone; no one is as absolutely certain as the naïve Amhara elite are that they are the most enlightened and hold the undisputed truth about the matter. This is the reason why regional presidents of the Amhara Region and lay people alike abundantly use such threatening hyperboles. Amidst the noise and spontaneous violence of Welqait as a rallying cry all those involved have utterly failed to realize that the “Welqait Question” is neither logically articulated nor is it supported by political maturity of its proponents. Emotions are triggered like a nuclear chain reaction and no one seems to be able to stop them.

A casual look at the list of those who claim to be vanguards of the “Welqait Question” reveals that most are trigger happy former bandits, less educated but disgruntled army and police officers, countless activists and the media on federal and/or regional payrolls, filthy rich businessmen who are salivating for the fertile lands of Western Tigray, political charlatans who may have some aborted political science degrees or some other remotely related academic backgrounds, and the enablers of madness in the pariah state of Eritrea. There is little communication, except for intoxicating propaganda, between the movers and the moved. Thousands of brainwashed ordinary citizens are sent to their deaths without the slightest idea about the truth why they found themselves in this unfortunate situation.

As the “Welqait Question” has been elevated almost to the level of a national agenda it is not clear whether the question is about democracy, about Ethiopian patriotism, or about business. Different people, even in many cases the same people, may give different reasons for why “Welqait Question” has become “the master key to the very existence of Ethiopia”. Admission criterion to write on the sensitive Welqait issue seems to be absent. Well-experienced physician, assistant professor of clinical medicine, and a technology executive in industry got the courage to write analytical articles on Welqait a subject matter even the geopolitical angels fear to tread. Wosenyelew Tedla and Moges Kelklie did not hesitate even for a second to state that: *“Welqait has always been one of the most strategic geopolitical hotspots in Ethiopia; more recently, it has become the defining point for the Amhara people, whose identity was erased from the area, and with it, Ethiopia’s territorial integrity.”* I really envy the bold-faced two. When I write commentary or analysis on such highly debatable issues I am stressed beyond limits fearing that I may be dwarfed by academic giants in the field.

In an Amharic language post on August 9, 2022, on **TOPZENA1** the British citizen of Ethiopian origin-Andargachew Tsegie- is quoted to have said the following: “Ethiopia will disintegrate if Welqait is retaken by Woyane” (translation). There are several fallacies in this carelessly thrown out statement from an arch opportunist and a mad genocide preacher. This statement irresponsibly equates the “Welqait Question” with the very existence of Ethiopia. This would mean since Ethiopia is glued together by Welqait, when the latter is missing then the former would turn into a heap of rubble. The unbridled statement of the close confidant of the Prime Minister draws analogy of Welqait as cement and Ethiopia as a building. In the last four years hundreds of people, in all walks of life, have become so loose-tongued that they have gone out of control without any one in their ranks to put sense into their heads. They are at a liberty to turn mole hills into mountains. I can assure you not many of the people from the one

hundred million strong demography of Ethiopia know about what and where Welqait is, let alone consider it as a mortar holding Ethiopia together.

Another fallacy is about how Welqait would go missing. Ethiopia would lack the glue to hold it together if Welqait is missing does not mean the latter flies out into outer space. By missing they mean recaptured by Woyane. If Woyane retakes Welqait it is assumed that it leaves Ethiopia for good. If for the sake of convenience of the argument we consider Welqait as a mortar that holds Ethiopia together, the statement is tantamount to saying that Tigray is not a part of Ethiopia. However, the meaning is not as straight forward as it is implied here. For the sake of political correctness, although they like it inside their hearts, they don't say bluntly that Tigray is a not a part of Ethiopia. They run a bizarre hypothesis that if Tigray gets Welqait back it will declare independence from Ethiopia; and the domino effect would disintegrate Ethiopia. Since people hate to see Ethiopia disintegrate following an independence of Tigray they make sure that millions of patriotic citizens will follow them in their bloody war to keep Welqait in their possession. Thousands will die hoping that they are saving Ethiopia, but in vain, only to help the Amhara business elite and their foreign partners to invest heavily in Welqait. Their sacrifices will be forgotten and left to the broken families to bear the heavy burden of making a living without the bread winners.

To make believe their hypothesis that Tigray will declare independence as soon as it retakes Welqait they engage in massive propaganda campaign to prove to the people of Ethiopia that Tigray really plans to be independent. They put independence on the lips of Tigray and lie to the people that so and so said this and that. The most boring accusation leveled against Tigray about its "declared intention" to be independent from Ethiopia is the founding programme of the TPLF. The programme did not last a year after second thoughts; and contrary to the allegations TPLF united Ethiopia for thirty prosperous and peaceful years. There are

hundreds who declare independence on “behalf” of Tigray where Tigray never uttered a single word about a plan to declare independence. The lady mayor of Addis Ababa seemed to care little about her public statement in front of a huge gathering when she recommended article 39 for Tigray. She was suggesting “a peaceful alternative” to war and the disintegration of Ethiopia to the Tigray leaders! It was dumbfounding that few reacted disapprovingly to her irresponsible but intentionally designed statement.

Sonja John, who was teaching at Gondar and Bahir Dar Universities had plunged herself into Welqait politics and published an “academic” article in the Journal of Asian and African Studies last year. I don’t blame her; she was understandably making a living in the lions’ den of the academic enablers of the quest for land for the Amhara economic elite. Her article entitled-“The Potential of Democratization in Ethiopia-The Welqait Question as a Litmus Test”- was another evidence how much the deceptive centrality thesis of Welqait has spread among non-Ethiopian supporters of the business wolves in political sheep-skin. For Sonja John, The Welqait Question is a litmus test for the success of democratization in Ethiopia. It is not only the survival of Ethiopia that depends on Welqait remaining in the hands of Amhara elite but also the fate of democracy in Ethiopia. The article targeted Abiy Ahmed expecting him to award Welqait to the Amhara if his democratization effort for Ethiopia is to be considered a success story. Sonja John was clearly acting as an emissary for the “Welqait Amhara Identity Committee” to the Prime Minister. She got a point; unfortunately expatriates are better heard in Ethiopia. The Committee was playing its lobby card well. It hired a white foreigner to enchant Abiy Ahmed and the duplicates around him. Little wonder, strongly backed and generously financed as it is by the Amhara business elite it can jump easily into any hard politics.

Putting aside the far-fetched “centrality” of Welqait for the success of democratization in Ethiopia the democratization of Welqait can be spotlighted. Sonja John reports that the identity question of the

indigenous Welqait Amhara was raised and suppressed since 1991. This is the question of democracy inside Welqait. When in April 2018 Abiy Ahmed met with members of the “Welqait Amhara Identity Question Committee” he promised that the case would be solved within the federal system and in accordance with the constitution. The demand for democracy for ethnic minorities within the larger ethnic majority is a question of justice. The context within which he suggested the issue needs to be resolved is also appropriate. As it is discussed thoroughly with evidence in Part II of this article Welqait before the war was/is overwhelmingly Tigrayan. Adjacent as it is to the Amharic speaking Gondar the existence of native Amharic speaking minority is not for debate. They are found in separate spatial clusters and/or mixed within the Tigrayan mainstream.

As it happens in the Oromia Region and in other regional states, ethnic minorities may be disadvantaged in terms of the medium of instruction and even in matters pertaining to elections. Protecting the rights of ethnic minorities in Tigray is the responsibility of the Regional Government. The experiences in the protection of minorities like Erob and Kunama can come in handy for application in Western Tigray and in Southern Tigray as well. Unfortunately, the goal of the “Welqait Question” is more sinister than it appears posing as a struggle for internal democracy in Tigray. Rather than peacefully and legally resolving the matter with the Tigray Regional Government as per the provisions of the Constitution the “Welqait Question” is blown beyond proportions and has become a rallying cry for the anti- Tigray campaign at home and in the diaspora. Civilian and armed groups in the Amhara Region and in the rest of Ethiopia have become hands-in-gloves with the “Welqait Amhara Identity Committee” and are fanning an oversized agenda in close collaboration with a foreign armed force: Eritrea.

The “Welqait Question” has been undemocratic from the outset. The leaders of the movement were jailed and inconvenienced because the Tigray Regional Government knew exactly what their real intentions

concealed in the call for democracy in Welqait were. They wanted to remove Welqait from Tigray Region and join it with Northern Gondar Zone. Think of a minority Amhara forcing the Majority Tigrayans to come under the Amhara Regional administration or leave Welqait. This is too much to take as a “call for democratic rights” for the Ethnic minority. When Tigray was invaded the real face of the “Welqait Question” was unveiled and the “call for democracy” for Welqait Amhara turned into unbelievable monstrosity over a million Tigrayans in Western Tigray. Human Rights Watch in its 2022 report entitled “We Will Erase You from This Land” published the results of its investigation into the crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing in Ethiopia’s Western Tigray Zone:

*“Since November 2020 where civilian authorities, and Amhara regional security forces, with the acquiescence and possible participation of Ethiopian federal forces, committed numerous grave abuses as part of a widespread and systematic attack against the Tigrayan civilian population that amount to crimes against humanity as well as war crimes. These crimes include murder, enforced disappearances, torture, deportation or forcible transfer, rape, sexual slavery and other sexual violence, persecution, unlawful imprisonment, possible extermination, and other inhumane acts”.*

The “Welqait Question” is not a unifying issue for the Amhara. Upon closer scrutiny one can easily uncover underlying the “Welqait Question” is a “Gondar Question”. The starting point can be the fact that the “Raya Question” is demoted to second or third rate. Although Tigray is accused of annexing Raya (Southern Tigray) and Welqait (Western Tigray) the former is paid little attention to. It seems to have been left to the Welloyes to fret about. While Welqait is over inflated as a “life and death issue” for Amhara, few strongly advocate the “Raya Question” as an Amhara Question. The neglect is aggravated by the grudges the Gonderes bear on the Welloyes for “allowing” the Woyane across Wello in the second half of 2021 on

its way to Addis Ababa. Welloyes were downgraded as “not Amhara enough”. The Oromo-mix of the Welloyes has always been a reason for the Gonderes who pride themselves with ethnic “purity” to belittle the Welloyes as suffering from “identity crisis”. It was probably for this reason that the Wello group of the Fanno irregulars were single handed in their incursions into Raya.

Except for the collaboration expected of them as Amhara Shewans to support the rest of the Amhara zones, they are least interested to lay down their lives in distant lands of Raya and Welqait, which are of little potential value to them. Shewa Amhara is historically and geopolitically south and east oriented. Its outlet to the sea has been the Addis Ababa-Djibouti line. Besides its orientation towards central Ethiopia for its domestic and external trade Gojjam has its own axe to grind in neighboring Metekel (Benishangul Gumz Region); Welqait is in a too far away land to long for. When the “Welqait Question” was launched it was a matter for the Gonderes. According to Sonja John, “*On 23 August 2015...conducted an inaugural conference in Gondar with approximately 450 Welqait Amhara in attendance.*” In light of such a parochial beginning and who has been running the show for so long the “Welqait Question” is a jaggy chunk to swallow as an “Amhara Question”.

What do the Gonderes want in Welqait? The bottom line is that the business interest that is driving political action has multiple facets. Corresponding with the “Gondar Question” in Welqait is the “Eritrea Question”. The ports that are used by land locked Ethiopia are too far for Gondar. Next to Tigray, Gondar is the most distant corner of Ethiopia for access the Djibouti Port. So what is driving Gonderes into the crazy scheme is geopolitical consideration. The closest option for the growing wealth of Gondere business investing in Gondar is the Eritrean port of Massawa. Using Port Sudan for Gondar external trade would mean travelling across hostile territory. Unfortunately for the Gonderes Tigray lies between Gondar and Eritrea blocking free access for Gondar to Massawa port. Historically, Gonderes used the Gondar-Shire-Adwa-Asmara



highway for imports and exports. The route across Setit and Gash Barka did not need crossing Tigray to access Massawa. However, the hot semi-arid lowlands were not preferred by Gondar. That was the Imperial Era in which Gondar was more privileged in the eyes of the center than Tigray was. Tigray in no way could levy taxes on goods to and fro Gondar.

The Federal system and its corollary and the self-rule in the Tigray Regional State demotivated Gondar. In fact, Eritrea became independent cancelling the need to cross Tigray to access the port of Massawa. The incorporation of Welqait, Tsegede and Humera into the Tigray Region completely sealed direct access from Gondar to Eritrea. Between Eritrea which wants to access the bountiful market of northwestern Ethiopia for the products from Eritrea and the export of agricultural commodities to Eritrea from Gondar became a huge multi-billion business hard to resist. So the idea

of retaking Welqait and Humera by Gondar and sharing it with Eritrean and probably UAE businesses was conceived. What remained was “belling the cat”: disabling Tigray. When the going got tough for the allied forces to completely weaken and render Tigray subservient their actions became more desperate and deteriorated into committing massive genocide.

To cut a long story short now peace deal has been signed between the Ethiopian Federal Government and Tigray to the dissatisfaction of the Gondar and Eritreans who are now exposed as the prime motivators of the two year Tigray war. We now know who the real culprit has been. The “struggle for civil rights of the Amhara minority in Western Tigray” was just a sham. Something is suspicious here. Why did it take so long until 2015 to raise a “civil right issue” in Welqait? Does it mean the human rights issue in Western Tigray surfaced sixteen years after the new administrative map of Ethiopia was introduced? These rogue elements have a lot of explaining to do for the widespread human right abuses and crimes against humanity in Western Tigray against Tegarar civilians

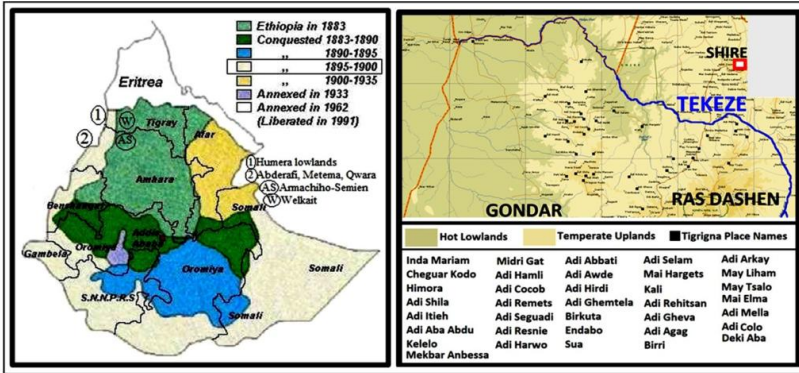
## **Part II The “Political geography of Welqait”**

One historical fact in Ethiopia worth noting in connection with the issue at hand is the settling and resettling traditions of the Amhara society. Agrarian as the Amhara society essentially are they have avoided hot and arid lowlands infested by malaria and banditry. More adventurous and daring are Tigrayans who are recognized by many as characteristically mobile and adaptive. The Oromos have outsmarted the Amhara during the centuries of what is known as “Oromo Migration” deep into the Amhara heartlands. The then pastoralist Oromos roamed the hot but green lowlands as much as they did in the mountainous and high plateau regions. Anyone traveling to Wello along the Addis Ababa-Dessie highway will notice in the Kemise area the contrast between the Oromo settled fertile lowlands of Cheffa and the degraded highlands to the west inhabited by the Amhara agrarian societies. It is only since recently that the Abbay Gorge along the Addis Ababa-Markos highway that people have started to settle for lack of options in the congested farmlands of Gojjam.

In a reverse settler colonization, the Amhara, were pushed out of their degrading farmlands in Gondar, Wello, and Shewa and moved southwards and eastwards into the Oromoland and Sidamaland. They preferred to travel long distance to familiar highland environments in Oromia and in the South rather than to the abundant land in the adjacent lowlands. In the absence of motorized modes of transport the Amhara used convenient routes and avoided significant natural barriers. Before the advent of modern health care the vacant and extensive lowlands in Western Tigray and Southern Tigray were not inviting for the Amhara who are accustomed to the cool climate dega and weyna dega habitats. The Amhara could never have populated the Western lowlands before the long settled agrarian population of Adiabo-Shire very close by. Tekeze River is largely a seasonal stream the dry season base-flow of which is so low that it allows crossings by thousands of settlers into the Welqait and Humera areas. Tigray had more powerful war lords in the past that

would not allow mass resettlement in the territories they jealously guard as their own. See Fig. 1.

Fig. 1 Directions of Expansion through the ages in Ethiopia (Left) (*Reddit*) and Tigrigna place names in **Welqait** (Right) (*Microsoft Encarta 2009*) NB: Enhanced-Recompiled by Author. Zoom for better view.



It is less probable that the Amhara would travel difficult and very dangerous routes northwards to resettle the Welqait and Humera areas while the adjacent western lowlands of Metema, Abderafi and Kwara remained largely uninhabited. Natural barriers are almost absent en route to these lowlands as compared to the formidable elevations of the Semien Mountain system and the dangerous lowlands of the Armachiho forming impregnable barriers for human migration from Gondar to Welqait. Hence, the belief that Gondere Amhara population was already settled in

the Welqait and Humera areas before the Tigrayans did is just a myth created for the convenience of claim.

Some less informed analysts put all their trust on Tekeze River as a barrier for Tigrayans settlers to be stopped from moving into Western Tigray; they have no guts to realize their own barriers in the majesty of the Semien Mountains and the enigmatic Armachiho which have prevented them from flooding into Western Tigray although situations in their home areas made their exodus long

overdue. Welqait was a familiar territory for the Axumites who may have used the route to the African interior to fetch ivory and other wildlife products for the world market of the time.

Fig 1 (Left) shows that the extensive Khafta Humera Lowlands (1) were settled only between 1895 and 1900 by the highlanders inhabiting the adjacent areas in the east. So were the lowlands west of the Amhara Region: Abderafi, Metema, and Kwara.

(2) In the five years of conquest and settlement it is geographic logic that the settlers who reached Khafta Humera Lowlands (1) must have been from the adjacent Tigrayan highlands in Welqait and Adiabo. Amhara highlanders from the Gondar Highlands would naturally flock to Abderafi, Metema, and Kwara, not to the Khafta Humera Lowlands as far as rational behavior in migration is concerned. The Welqait highlands have for centuries been densely populated by Tigrigna speakers. This is witnessed by the pervasive Tigrigna place names in Welqait. World experience in place names is that they endure for centuries regardless of demographic and even cultural changes that may occur.

Oromo place names abound in Addis Ababa even after population of the City has become multi-ethnic. America and Australia may have exterminated the Native Indians and the Aborigines respectively. However, the entire USA is strewn with American Indian place-names. (See Fig. 1 Right). In Welqait the “first-nation” are Tigrigna speaking people; but unlike Native Americans and Australians Tegar in Welqait were not removed from their land or exterminated by the late arriving minority of Amhara settlers. Hence, when Welqait attained the status of a significant administrative unit, to appear on national census reports, the 1994 National census of Ethiopia reports that the proportion of Tigrigna speaking population in Welqait is 96.58%. Other weredas of Western Tigray also have a majority of Tigrigna speakers: Tselemti (89.12%), Khafta Humera (86.26%), and Tsegede (76.06). After the

“Welqait is majority Amharic speaking” propaganda failed because it cannot be sustained for long enough in the face of overwhelming demographic evidence in Welqait, two other cards were picked up although they were contradictory. The first card goes like this: “Yes, Welqait is Tigrigna speaking, but the Tigrigna spoken there is Eritrean not Tigrayan”. This card hits two birds with a single stone.

The first stone helps to dissociate Welqait from Tigray, and hence, the Gondar- friendly Eritrea not Tigray will have the right to jointly claim Welqait. The second stone is Eritreans are pleased by the compliment and would be on the side of the Amhara in their claim for possession of Welqait. The argument here seems to suggest that historically Tigrigna speakers from the Eritrean “Kebesa” migrated en masse to Welqait and established Eritrean “Kebesa” colony in Welqait. This a baffling point of argument to say the least. Imagine an exodus of Eritreans from Hamassen flocking hundreds of kilometers across the densely populated Tigrayan lands of Adwa, Axum and Shire-Adiabo. I would not expect them to have been air-lifted instead early in the last century or earlier.

If we assume that by some geographic miracle Eritreans have really found themselves filling entire Welqait the Tigrigna spoken there must be a deformed Tigrigna-Italian Creole. Otherwise, if the word “Hiji” is detected in Welqait Tigrigna so it would be in Adiabo. If Tigrayans in Welqait are not all Eritreans, Tigrigna in Welqait can only be similar to that of Shire-Adiabo. It is the law of the geography of languages that people living in adjacent areas speak similar dialect of a language. Tigrigna dialect in Adwa can never be the same as that of Raya. Raya and Enderta speak a similar Tigrigna dialect because of geographical adjacency. It is sometimes difficult for a Tigrayan from Shire to feel at ease in a conversation with the distant Raya-Rayuma.

The second card, the bold but ignorant “Welqait Amhara” propagandists draw, is this: “Welqait is Tigrigna speaking Welqait, not Tigrigna speaking Tigray”. This is like saying “Gode is a

Somaligna speaking Gode, not a Somaligna speaking Somali”. One more: “Welega is Oromifa speaking Welega, not Oromifa speaking Oromo”. The second card, in fact, is taken too far to call for a referendum for Welqait as an autonomous entity having little to do with Tigray. The pathetic Amhara expansionists never take defeat with grace; they leave no stone unturned to win.

As the claims for Welqait for the Amhara through the agency of “Ethiopianism” have become so noisy and boring, justifications for the unjustifiable claim have flooded the World Wide Web. Transformation has become possible from being a surgeon or an architect to a geopolitical analyst when it comes to the Welqait issue. The Amhara elite have their expertise on Welqait issue in the management degree of Achamyeleh Tamiru. On one occasion I found him in a wilderness of geographic analysis of the Welkiat issue and tried my best to rescue him (See Aiga Forum post: <http://www.aigaforum.com/article2021/how-achamyeleh-killed-geography.htm>).

Sanjo John was very kind to Achamyeleh by recognizing his effort in 2016 “...to collect geographical and anthropological evidence from European scholars studying Abyssinia in the 19th and early 20th centuries characterizing Amhara and Tigray as historically separate kingdoms, differing in language, dress and customs, and separated by the Tekeze River.” I agree to the historical fact that the Amhara and Tigray were separate kingdoms; it is also true that they have two separate languages of the same Semitic language family. Nevertheless, I have no idea where he got the difference in dress and customs between the Amhara and Tigray. This is another of his irrelevant, this time ridiculous justification for the claim of Welqait for the Amhara.

The illiterate are also mobilized for the “Welqait for Amhara” campaign, who are put under enormous pressure to say something suitable for the media to help it toot the claim with “reliable evidence”. In the September of this year, a Gash Tesema, an old man

in Welqait was interviewed to pass his knowledge about the issue to the young generation. To prove that Welqait is not part of Tigray, I believe, he has used a better geography than Achamyeleh did before. The English translation of the logic he was trying to make is as follows: *“Let alone humans even the mountains of Welqait form a single chain with the Semien Mountains of the Amhara.”* Allow me to add to the old man’s wisdom with other similar examples: The Wendo-Genet hills in Sidama are contiguous with the Bale Mountains making them parts of Oromia; Hakim Gara in Harari Urban Region is the eastern most extension of the Hararghe Highlands. Hence, Harar City belongs to Oromia. I don’t blame the old man for the fallacy; he was trying to please the media people who are more ignorant than he is.

The medical doctor and technologist, Wesenyelew Tedla and Moges Kelkelie, who subscribed into the uncharted waters of geopolitical analysis have done a lot of mess with official statistics to prove that Welqait is Amhara. First let me tip readers

about how and when population censuses and sample surveys were conducted by the authority entrusted: the Central Statistical Agency (CSA) of Ethiopia. Population sample surveys and estimates of selected urban and rural areas and at some levels of administrative units have been taken for the last more than half a century. Sample surveys are helpful for research and for particular administrative purposes. However, they are too weak to be of any use for geopolitical analysis. The best population count in terms of coverage and reliability are the national censuses. The first ever national census in Ethiopia was conducted in 1984 in the context of the former provincial administrative map of Ethiopia. Since Welqait and Raya were awarded to Begemeber (Gondar) and Wello provinces respectively, in the late forties, as a punishment for Tigray, the map shows Welqait and Raya not included in the map of Tigray. In this census the population count and the ethnic composition of Welqait was counted within Gondar province as the northern part of Wegera

Awraja. This wereda stretched from as far west as Humera to Dabat close to Gondar City.

Fig. 2 Map showing which awraja got the bounty robbed from Tigray



Note that the entire stretch of Western Tigray was put under the awraja administration of Wegera. Is Wegera the closest to Welqait? No! Semien awraja was the one that is geographically closer and shares border with Welqait. However, as you can see in Fig.2 far off Wegera got the bounty because the nobility or warlords in Semien awraja were historical arch rivals of the rulers of Gonder from Begemeder. Their enmity lasted until recently and seems to be still active. Taking land from their enemies and awarding it to their favorite nobles was a severe form of penalty during the period. Its most brutal application was in Tigray where it happened on two major occasions: Awarding Tigray north of Mereb to Italy; and Welqait and Raya to Gondar and Wello respectively.

The proof that Wesenyelew Tedla and Moges Kelkelie have no idea about what happens in the CSA is the following statement they made: “It should be noted that TPLF made no effort to publish the regional census of 1984 and buried it with its fourteen-volume census and only issued the national summary in 1991.” The 1984 census was published by region-wise volumes by the Derg. TPLF is not expected to republish the national census report of 1984. Do Wesenyelew Tedla and Moges Kelkelie know where TPLF was in



1984? While CSA was conducting and publishing the 1984 Census TPLF and the people of Tigray were fighting a devastating drought-induced famine which killed tens of thousands. Publishing the National summary in 1991 is appropriate since that was not done before. National summary is mandatory for all censuses published in regional volumes. TPLF did not bury the volumes of the 1984 census. They can be found in the shelves of CSA and AAU libraries. Outrageous accusation does not help as methodology for analysis. After all, the value of the 1984 census report is limited in view of the fact that the administrative geographic setup has drastically changed since 1991 making the 1984 census results not comparable with the later. The best TPLF accomplished is a national census conducted 1994 on the basis of the new regionalization. Taking shelter in the irrelevant 1984 national census report in order to avoid the truth in the later censuses (particularly that of 1994) is the unjustifiable manipulation of statistics to prove ones unprovable point of Argument.

To prove that the Tigrayan population in Welqait is a minority Wesenyelew Tedla and Moges Kelkelie used the 1984 census report for the entire Gondar province. No doubt the Amhara forms the majority of 84 percent and Tigrayans account for only 6 percent. To refute the misplaced computation of ethnic composition for Welqait I use the example of student composition at some grade level. Grade ten is the entire unit of a school. Let us assume that the total number of students in grade ten is 300 and of this 50 are female students. At grade ten level (similar to entire Gondar province) the share of female students (Tigrayan population in Gondar province) of the total is 16.7 percent. No doubt the male (Amhara) are the majority constituting 83 percent. If we take one of the sections, say 10A, and the total number of students in the class is 90 and the number of female (Welqait) is 50; percentage female is computed as 55 percent. What Wesenyelew Tedla and Moges Kelkelie utterly missed is that percentage of Tigrayans must be computed not for the entire Gondar Region but for the specific wereda of Welqait.

Fig. 4 Inconsistency of boundary markers in Imperial Ethiopia. Notice the southern border of Tigray at Alawuha (Left) (Posted by Mengistu Haile Mariam 2016 Facebook) in which unlike Tekeze in the west was crossed and the Map on the Right shows boundary north of Alawuha River (Map posted in Africa Heritage Blog in 2016). Zoom the images for better viewing. NB: Enhanced and Recompiled by Author

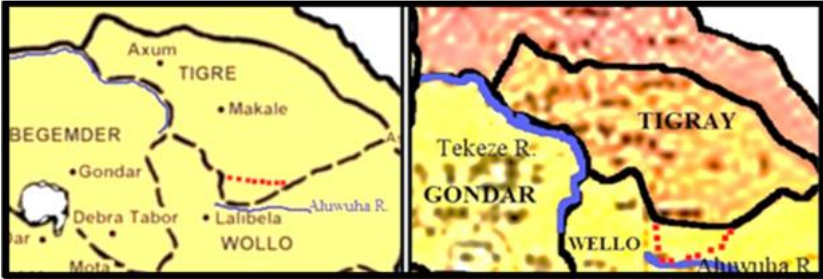
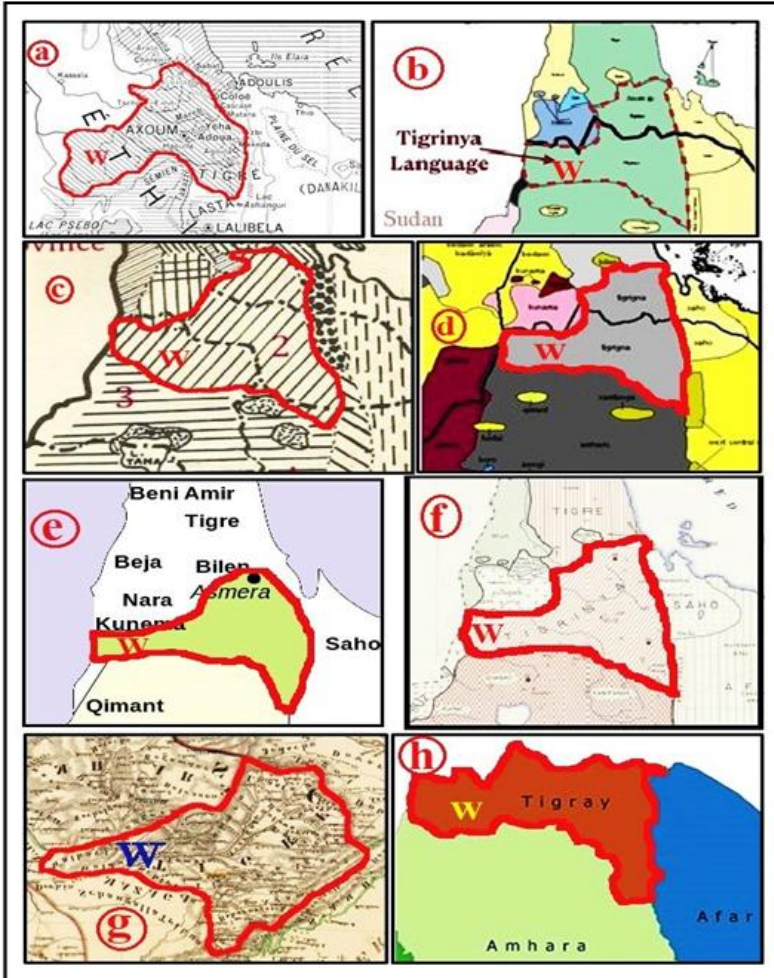


Fig. 5 Arsi slashed by Shewa: How could there be any science in this? NB: Enhanced and Recompiled by Author



The 1994 national census is not disputed; it is rather the 2007 national census that faced challenge from the Amhara who complained that their numbers have been slashed by two or more million. There is no truth in the allegation. It arises from the fear of the Amhara elite to the inconvenient demographic truth. The political history of national oppression in Ethiopia is tragic but amusing. There have been hundreds of thousands of Amhara born from Oromo or Sidama parents!\*\*\*\*\*

Fig. 6 Maps of Tigrigna speaking areas



a. Jean Doresse 1956 (Tghat), b. Martin W. Lewis, c. Derg' map of nationalities 1978, d. muturzikin.com, e. Ethiopialanguages.svg (US Government), f. Map of 1976 (Jan Nyssen), g. Handtke's map 1849 (Tghat), h. Tigray federal map (logical outcome of a, b, c, d, e, f, g). \*Enhanced-Recompiled by Author. Zoom for better view. **WWW-Welqait**

While we base ourselves on humans the chivalric “Welqait Campaigners” put the fate of nations in the hands of wild nature. Geologists have rightly named our age as “Anthropocene”. It means Homo-Sapiens-Sapiens has ruled the Earth so much that the dominant scape in the Planet is the culture-scape not the land-scape. Climate no more determines where we live; nor do rivers and mountain chains effectively divide us. Adherents of the unitary system hold that boundaries between internal administrative divisions would be effective and justified if they can follow river valleys. It was in the early stages of human evolution that human beings were under the command of nature. In this age of ours the command chain has turned upside down; nature takes orders from humans. The “naturalist” politicians are not a bunch of ignorant dudes. Most of them are learned, even over-learned. They are putting logic on its head to serve them in their malevolent political motives. They have little love for the old provincial map of Ethiopia, which looks like a drainage map devoid of a human face. The provinces were divided by the major rivers of Ethiopia. Their nostalgia for rivers as political boundaries serves them to curse anthropological boundaries as disuniting. This is the anti-federalist refrain in Ethiopia.

As their interest is not using rivers as boundaries per se they have not been consistent at least in Tigray. When Welqait was snatched from Tigray and awarded to Gondar in the late 1940s, by the Tigro-phobic rulers at Arat-Kilo, the Tekeze River was used as a boundary with what remained of Tigray. The criterion was not repeated in the land-robbery of Raya from Tigray by the then central government! The southern limit of Tigray was Alawuha River. This time they crossed Alawuha River and amputated Tigray along a line between Korem and Maichew. There is neither a river nor any dissimilar natural feature between the two Tigrayan towns. The decision was based on the perception of how far north the fertile lands of Raya extend to. During the Ethiopian Imperial Era the centrally located Shewa province was not just a province. It was the nucleus of the Empire

the boundaries of which can change to allow the firm grip on the other provinces. Hence, the “natural formula” of boundary line determination was violated for convenience of implementing political and economic motives. Shewa province was purposely made to share borders with six of the then 14 provinces of Ethiopia: Wello, Gojjam, Wellega, Keffa, Arsi, and Hararghe. Sidamo (Sidaama) has always been one of the greatest nations in Ethiopia. As if its geographical contact brings about firmer control the rulers in Shewa desired sharing border with Sidamo. They incorporated a third of Arsi province in the west to the Shewa province. Besides the greater control that can be exercised on Sidamo by the central rule in Shewa the famous Lakes Region was added to Shewa. Such changes in administrative boundaries have a lot of tax revenue implications for the favorite regional lords against those disfavored by the Crown. (See Fig.4).

The advent of Federalism in Ethiopia ushered a new era for the management of administrative geography which is in-line with the new paradigm for the determination of internal boundaries of states. Societies group and concentrate geographically based on several economic and social similarities. The most common and the most effective bond between and within societies is a shared native language. Languages embody shared history and culture which is the best criterion for ethnic self-identification. Carmen Fought, in *Language and Ethnicity*, agrees that: “*Language plays a crucial role in the construction and maintenance of ethnic identity. Ethnicity has a more striking relationship to language than other social factors such as gender, age, or social class*”. Sammy Wu adds that “*...proficiency in the ethnic language can impact ethnic belonging via personal identification, co- ethnic acceptance, and cultural connection*”. William Safran takes language much higher than its role in boundary delineation: “*Language plays a pivotal importance in the interplay between language and ethnicity, which should not be underestimated as a component for political stability*”. Linguistic federalism in Ethiopia has been a stabilizing

factor besides its acceptability as an instrument for self-rule in the nations and nationalities of Ethiopia. The solution for the Welqait political geographic issue is to return Welqait to the Tigrigna speaking fold in Tigray. This is the only way geographical justice can be done in Western and Southern Tigray. See Fig. 6.

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**First hated the minority, and next hated the majority: what is it they love?**

March 05-2019

The most written and the most spoken about figure in the recent history of Ethiopia had been "6%". This was the calculated percentage of the share of the people of Tigray out of the total population of Ethiopia. No matter the government be an angel or devil it was considered to be a criminal act on its own to be 6% and be a government in Ethiopia. The issue of corruption in the TPLF is more of an agenda in the last eight months than it was before. Even when some of the economic accomplishments of the TPLF are mentioned many preferred to say "that is not the issue; whatever they do they are still the minority". This implied that even if you shower diamonds on the streets for everyone to pick up and get rich no one will be grateful because it is coming from a 6%. Ethiopia has a long history of minority rules. All the monarchs, that are blessed and praised by the same people who curse the 6%, have originated from relatively small communities. Very clearly there are double standards. It is ok everyone can live with that and the 6% is now out.

Politicians from the majorities felt that their numbers not their deeds give them the birth-right to be at the helm of political power in Ethiopia. The key criterion that delegitimized the TPLF is expected to be consistently applied. However, the talk of the "crime" of being 6% has almost totally disappeared from the media. TPLF is no more being blamed as a minority rule. It is being condemned for

maladministration. If the criterion has changed from percentage to management after TPLF is removed on the basis of the former criterion, then the application of this new criterion should be consistent. TPLF goes so must ADP, ODP, and SPDM. The latest criterion- good governance, which in good faith should have been the key criterion for evaluating parties in power, must also be applied to the other parties equally notorious for bad governance.

The criteria confusion notwithstanding, if we stick to the opportunistic criterion of the might of percentages which was used to oust TPLF, we expect the majority to rule. In the Ethiopia's context, which seems to be tacitly agreed, by majority I mean (we all mean) not leaders elected by the majority of voters although they may have originated from minority ethnic group, but those originating from the majority ethnic group not necessarily elected by the majority of voters. In this case it is unquestionable that the throne goes to the Oromos. The TPLF was condemned and ousted not because it did not have a majority vote but because it did not come from a majority ethnic group. If eligibility to the throne is based not on the number of votes but in the numbers at origin, then Oromos come to the top of the list of eligibility.

I had no doubts left in my mind that everyone, especially, those politicians and activists that were drumming loudly for the end of minority rule of the TPLF will happily endorse majority rule of the Oromos. Any trace of doubt I entertained about their love for majority rule was eliminated when the Amhara youth and political parties were glued to the Oromo youth and parties. I thought it was the hate for the minority rule and the love for a majority rule that forged the seemingly formidable "Oromara block".

To my utter surprise, I saw cracks in the Oromara edifice a few days after the Oromo-based Chief Executive appointed Oromos to the key government posts. The grievances have been growing lauder and lauder to the extent that those who helped him to power and idolized

him have turned against him in a much greater fury than the ousted TPLF did or is doing.

When 6% was in power, 40% was considered to be eligible. When 40% came to power it was not acceptable! What is acceptable then? I think it was not about percentages from the outset; it must be about being "born to rule".

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**Collect Your Own Mess: Oromara partner complaining to the people it sidelined as inconsequential minority**  
April 19-2021

I wrote this article reluctantly because from the Tigray invasion onwards I don't have a tiny bit of tender heart left in my ribcage to enable me to write a word for the Amhara elite and their blindfolded followers. The brave Tigraway award winning artist said it all: "I have no power left inside me...". Who in a sane mind would pay attention and raise its voice for killers-cum-complainers? I was obliged to write this brief commentary because the killers and their supporters in Tigray are jamming the voices of people of Tigray to the international community by creating louder noise about the killings of Amhara and purposely diverting the attention of the former. This does not at all mean that I don't sympathize with the innocent Amhara killed. I also grieve for the innocent Oromos that are killed by the same Amhara militia which is butchering Tigray. The carnage between the Amhara and the Oromos is the logical outcome of the incompatible hidden agendas both had on each other in the jelly Oromara block. When the hidden intentions came into the open and the fallacy of what created the Oromara Block was unraveled both were on each other's throat. The split became worse for the two peoples and for Ethiopians at large than the joint monopoly of power they vowed to install.

The big trouble that extra-Oromara Ethiopians are being forced into is that one of the two partners is expecting them to clear the mess it



created with impunity. When TPLF cleared from the political field the Amhara and Oromo elites, regardless of their political and religious creeds, rushed to replace the 6% by 60% and make it "more democratic" using a mathematical percentage function. Even those who nagged TPLF to the extreme to create an "ideal democracy" exposed their hidden intentions: the bare truth about why they were fighting the TPLF: the bare truth that they were much less democratic and less patriotic than the TPLF. After computing the proportions between the two (60%) and the remaining 78 (40%) they trampled on all tenets of democracy and the rights of minorities in co-ruling Ethiopia and went ahead with the formation of the tyrannical Oromara block and continued to negotiate about how they can jointly go ahead with Ethiopia under their monopoly. Probably intimidated by the sheer size of the Oromara block and its noisily vocal supporters or the characteristic opportunism of the minority or the shameless expectation from the "usual liberator" to do the talking for them the latter were hushed about what was transpiring as if it would harm only the TPLF. Since they also imprudently collaborated with the anti-TPLF block the "usual liberator" was busy licking the wounds they jointly inflicted on it.

The Oromara block crumbled the moment OPDO snatched the key through its party chief and formed a government which apparently awarded the lion's share of the appointments to Oromo nationalists. It was overnight that the mercilessly worded reaction to what the Amhara side of the duo dubbed "queism" (ተረጎጎነት):: In desperation about the failure of the dream of restoring the Empire state of Ethiopia in the hands of their Oromo partners the Amhara turned violent as usual. Their militia and Special Forces, blinded by hegemonic dreams, lashed against what they believed was an easier target: Tigray. The Amhara dreaded direct clash with their Oromo partners. Every time Oromos do something bad against the Amhara they almost invariably point their finger in the wrong direction: TPLF. Not so wrong though, because Tigray is the bastion of federalism the Amhara consider as the biggest obstacle to their

imperial dreams. They had hopes and they still hope that the Oromos will be nostalgic to the Gobenite servitude in the building of Menilik's empire. Gobenizm among the Oromos is long dead. We now have self-serving Oromos who are ready to defend the gains of federalism. The Amhara have now resorted to futile violent claims of territory from Oromia, Tigray, Benishangul, Harari, and Afar. This is nothing less than suicidal for the Amhara because they are fighting "one against all". The worst part of this is the Amhara have no idea about what is going to happen to them as their cranium is filled with the sound of war songs and nostalgia of the medieval period of Abyssinia.

As Amhara civilians are killed, considered as the custodians of the Imperial ideology, the noise of the Amhara elite rises beyond limits. The solution which the latter refuse to adopt is to abandon the idea of Ethiopian Empire concealed in Unitary Ethiopia. The death of the Amhara outside the Amhara Region can be stopped not by shouting and cursing endlessly but by abandoning all claims of territory from other regions. The Amhara elite must also apologize to all victims of Amhara brutalities past and present rather than harm the feelings of victims by glorifying the killers. The Amhara have to clear their own mess before they blame others for their misfortune. You don't cry for a businessman who risked getting profit but loses. I am not sure there could be a timely reversal because the Amhara are still firing bullets to kill in the names of "Menilik, Taitu, Andargachew, etc. There is little room for optimism that the Amhara will ever be sober. What interests independent Tigray is to have peaceful neighbours to do business with. Stubbornness of the Amhara will render Ethiopia a fragmented or a failed state. The most to lose from this are the Amhara. They are drowning with their finger pointed at others!

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**በተከፈተው በር ገቡተን ስለ ጎንደር ፓለቲካ ትገሽ እናውራ**

July 19-2021

አቶ አገኘሁ ተሻገር የተባሉት የአማራ ክልል ፕሬዚዳንት በከፍተኛ የሽብር ስሜት ተውጠው ነገሩን ባያፈሩጡት ፍር "የጁንታ አቀንቃኝ" እያለ ወፈ ሰማይ የሆነው ጭፍን የጥፋት አቀንቃኝ ሁሉ የምንናገረውን እውነታ መቸ ያዳምጣል? "ትግራይ ሊያጠፋህ ነው" እያሉ የአማራ ክልልን ህዝብ ከሚያምሱት ጥቂት ቀንደኛ ጎንደራዎች ሁለቱ በ21ኛው የመረጃ ክፍለ ዘመን ምስጢር አድርገው ያወሩትን ጉድ ሰምተናል። ይህ የመጋለጥ አጋጣሚ የእግዚአብሔር ስራ እንጂ የሰው ሊሆን አይችልም። አገሪቱ በነማን እየተመሰቃቀለች እንደሆነ የሚያሳይ ታሪካዊ መረጃ ነው። የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብም ቆም ብሎ ነገሮችን እንዲያስተውልና አይኑን ተጨፍፍ ወደ ገደል እንዳያመራ ይረዳው ይሆናል። እዛ ማዶ ሆኖ ዶላር በህዝብ ስም በልመና ሊያፍስና ሊያሳፍስ፣ ወዲህ ማዶ ሆኖ ደግሞ "የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ በኛ አጅ ነው" እያለ የሰልጣን ወንበሩን ሊያደላድልና ከቻለም ሽቅብ ለመውጣት ላለው የግል አላማ የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ መተላለቅ አለበትን?። አሁን እውነቱ ፍንትው ብሎ እየታየ ነው። የጎንደር፣ በተለይ የቤንሸምድር፣ ፓለቲከኞች በምእራብ ትግራይ ውስጥ ያላቸውን የማንነት ሳይሆን የኢኮኖሚ ፍላጎት እውን ለማድረግ ምንም የማይመለከተውን የጎጃምን፣ የአዊን፣ የሸሞንና፣ የወሎን ህዝብ በአማራ ስም፣ አሁን ደግሞ በኢትዮጵያ ስም፣ እያሳበዱት ቆይተዋል አሁንም በባሰ ሁኔታ ቀጥሏል።

ሰሊጥ እያፈሱ መከበር የፈለጉት የጎንደር ሃብታሞች የሚነዱት ፓለቲካ በአማራ ህዝብ ዘንድ ከትግራይ ወረራ ራስን የማዳን ዘመቻ እንዲመስል ሆኖ ስለተቀመረ ህዝቡ እስካሁን ድረስ አይኑን ትግራይ ላይ ተከሎ ምርት እንዳያመርት፣ ሰርቶ እንዳይበላ፣ ኑሮውን እንዳያሻሽል፣ ጠመንጃ እምላኪ እንዲሆንና ሃሳቡ ሁሉ ትግራይን መውጋትና ማጥፋት ብቻ እንዲሆን አድርገው ማደንዘገፍ ወግተውታል። የማንነት ጥያቄ ቢሆንም የምእራብ ትግራይ ህዝብ ትግራዊ አይደለም እንዴ? ይህ እኮ ሳይንሳዊ ምርምር አያስፈልገውም። የህዝብ ቆጠራን ውጤትና ለዘመናት የኖረውን የመንደሮች ስያሜ ከስታቲስቲክስ ጽ/ቤት ማግኘት በቂ ነው። ማይ ፀምሪ ብሎ፣ ዓዲ ረመፅ ብሎ፣ ዓዲ ጎሹ ብሎ የአማራ መሬት ምን አይነት ድርቅና ነው? ሲሻቸው "በረራ" ነበረችት ፍንፍኔ ይሉና አማራ ያደርጓታል። ዓዲ ረመፅም አማራ ይሏታል! እንደዛ ከሆነ ጎዴም አማራ ናታ! "ጤፍ ካለው ይልቅ አፍ ያለው ያግባሽ" ተብሎ የለ? አማርኛው የነሱ ነውና ሲፈልጉ ይሰብሩበታል፣ ሲፈልጉ ይጠልፉበታል፣ ሲፈልጉ ያጭበረብሩበታል፣ ሲፈልጉ ያደንዘዙበታል። ህገ መንግስቱን ወደ ጎን ትተን እነሱ በሚሉት መከራከሪያ እንኳ ብንሄድ ምእራብ ትግራይና ደቡብ ትግራይ በጎንደርና በወሎ አጅ የቆዩት ለ35 አመታት ብቻ ነው። ይህ ማለት ከ1948 እስከ 1983 መሆኑ ነው። ትግራይን በኢኮኖሚ ለማዳከምና የጎንደርና ወሎ ገዢዎች ከፍተኛ የግብር ገቢ እንዲያገኙ ለማድረግ በተደረገ የአፄ ሃይለስላሴ ሴራ ነው ተላልፈው የተሰጡት። የምእራብ ትግራይ ወራሪዎች ሠራቱ የነሱ አለመሆኑ አሳምረው ያውቃሉ። ለዚህም ነው ትግራይ ለህዝቡ የሰራቸውን የመሰረተ ልማቱን ያጠፋትና የዘረፋት። የራስ ቤት ይወድማል፣ ይዘረፋል? የሚፈልጉት የሁመራን የሰሊጥ መሬትና ከኤሪትሪያ ወደብ (ምፅዋ) ጋር የሚያገናኛቸውን ኮሪዶር መቆጣጠር ነው። የምእራብ

ትግራይ ህዝብ አማራ ነው ቢሉም ስለ ልማቱ ጉዳያቸው አይደለም። በጃቸው ላለው ቀሪው የአማራ ህዝብ ምን አደረጉለት? "የኢትዮጵያ ፈጣሪ፣ መከታ፣ አለኝታ አንተ ብቻ ነህ ሌላው አገር አፍራሽ ነው" እያሉ ከኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ጋር ሲያነካክሱት ከመኖራቸው በስተቀር።

ጎጃምና ወሎ አንዋጋም ማለቱን እንደፈሪ የራሳቸውን የበጌምድር ታጣቂን የሚያኮራ ጀግና አድርገው የፈረጁት የጋይንት (በጌምድር) ተወላጅ የሆነውን የታማኝን ልብ ለማሞቅ መሆኑ ግልፅ ነው። ታማኝ በየነ ከበጌምድር አፍንጫው አልፎ ራቅ አድርጎ የሚያይበት አይን እንደሌለው የታወቀ ነው። ተክሌ የሻው የሚባለውም የደርግ ካድሬ የነበረ ሌላው የጋይንት ቱሪናፋ ነው። ከጎንደር ውጪ የመጣውን ሁሉ "መጤ" የሚል ከመርፌ ቀዳዳ የጠበበ ሰው ነው። ጎንደር አንድ እንዳልሆነ ታሪኩ የትላንት ነው። ስሜንና በጌምድር ለየቅል ነበር። ከዛ አልፎም የበጌምድር ሰዎች ስሜነኞችን የመናቅና ማንኳስሰ ባህል ነበራቸው። ስሜን ማለት ስሜን አውራጃንና ወገራ አውራጃን ያጠቃለለ ሲሆን አሁን ምእራብ ትግራይ የሆኑት ወረዳዎች በስራቸው ነበሩ። ስሜንና በጌምድር ጠቅላይ ግዛት በመባል ቢታወቅም አገዛዙን በሞኖፓል ይዘው የኖሩት የበጌምድር (ደብረ ታቦር፣ ጋይንት፣ ሊቦ አውራጃዎች) ልሂቃን ነበሩ። አሁንም ያው ነው። በምእራብ ሰፊ ግዛት የያዘው ቀሪው አውራጃ የቅማንቶች አገር የሆነው ጭልጋ ነበር። ይህ በሁለቱም የተገለለ ግን የመተማን መሬት ለማረስ ቆርጠው የሚሄዱበት ነው። የበጌምድር ሰዎች ጎንደር ከተማ ላይ የነበራቸው የአገዛዝ የበላይነት አልበቃቸው ሲል ከጠቅላይ ግዛቱ ስም ስሜን የሚለውን ፍቀው በጌምድር ጠቅላይ ግዛት ብቻ እንዲባል አደረጉት። ደርግ ሲመጣ ለጊዜው የልብ ልብ ያገኙት ስሜነኞች የክፍለ ሃገሩን ስም በሞኖ ከተማዋ ጎንደር እንዲሰየም አስደረጉ። ይህ ግን የበጌምድሮችን የበላይነት አላስቀረላቸውም። ሻለቃ መላኩ ተፈራ የክፍለ ሃገሩ አስተዳዳሪ ከሆነ በኋላ የክፍለ ሃገሩን አስተዳደር የሃይማኖቱን ሳይቀር በደብረታቦር ሰው አጨናነቀው። ነፃ እርምጃና ቀይ ሹብር የተካሄደውም በጎንደር ከተማና በስሜነኛ ወጣቶች ላይ እንጂ ደብረታቦር ሆነ ጋይንት ከወላፊኑ ርቀው ልጆቻቸውን ለወግ መእርግ አብቅተዋል። ጎንደር ክፍለ ሃገሩን ብቻ ሳይሆን በጌምድር በደርግ ጊዜ የቤተክርስቲያንና ማእከላይ አስተዳደር ተቆጣጥረው ነበር። ለዚህም ነው በአሁን ጳውሎስና በአሁን ማትያስ ላይ በግንባር ቀደምትነት የፀረ ትግራይ ጦር የመዘዙት። ቆየት ብሎም የፀረ ትግራዩ ዘመቻ ወልቃይት የሚል ሌላ አዲስ ግንባር የከፈተው። ሁለቱም ግንባር የጎንደር ስሪት ነው። "ሻለቃ መላኩ ባይሳድደን ኖሮ አሜሪካ ገብተን ከበርቴ አንሆንም ነበር" በማለት ባለውለታነታቸውን እየገለፁ መላኩ በፊጃቸው ወጣቶች ስማእትነት ላይ የሚያላግጡት ዳያስፓራውን ያጥለቀለቁት የጎንደር ዳያስፓራ አባላት ናቸው። የአማራ ጀግንነት ሲነሳ የሚዘፈነው የጎንደር ዳንኪራ ብቻ ነው። በተረጋጋ እእምድ ነገሮችን ያስተዋለ ሰው የሚገነዘበው በአማራ ስም በትግራይ ላይ የተነሳው ጎንደሪ መሆኑን ነው። የሚያስደምመው ነገር ግን በትግራይ ላይ የዘር ማጥፋት አጥብቆ ሲሰብክ የከረመው በትግራዩ አፄ ዮሃንስ በደል ደርሶብኛል የሚለው የጎጃም ህዝብ ሳይሆን አፄ ዮሃንስ ከድርቡሽ ጥፋት የታደጉት የጎንደር ውለታቢስ ነው። ታማኝ በየነ የቆመው ለፍትህ ከሆነ ቀልድ ነው። መላኩ ተፈራ የጎንደርን ወጣት ሲጨፈጭፍ ገዳዩን በዛ ስል ምላሱ መድረክ ላይ ወጥቶ ሲያምጋግስ የነበረ ነው። አሁን የጎንደርን ህዝብ ከትግራይ ጥቃት ለመከላከል የሚል ዶላር የሚሰጡት ጎንደሪዎች ያልተነኩ ያልተነካኩትና ከሞት ያመለጡት ልጆችና የልጅ ልጆች ናቸው። በመላኩ የተጨፈጨፉትም መሬት ውስጥ እንጂ ዳላስና ዋሺንግተን አይገኙም። ወላጆቻቸውም

የድህነት ኑሮ ይመራሉ እንጂ አመት እየጠበቁ "በቪዚት" አይዘናኑም። እንግዲህ ልብ በል የአማራና መላ የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ማን ወደ ጥፋት እንደሚነዳህ ጠንቅቀህ ተገንዝብ። የጎንደርንና የሰሜንን ህዝብ ከመላኩ ፍጅት በተራ መንደርተኝነት፣ ያልታደገው ታማኝ በየ ጎንደርን ህዝብ ከትግራይ "አደጋ" እጠብቃለሁ ቢል ተቀባይነት የሚኖረው የመላኩ ጥይት ቅቤ፣ የትግራይ ጥይት ግን እሳት ሆኖ ከተገኘ ብቻ ነው። ሃቁ ግን የትግራይ ጥይት በህዝብ ላይ ቅቤ ሲሆን የመላኩ ጥይት ግን እውነተኛ እሳት ነው።

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**ምክር ለአማራ ልሂቃን፡- ሃቁን የጠና ለራሳችሁም ለሌላውም ሰላም ሰጡ**  
August 16-2021

የገዢና ተገዢ ግንኙነት በመልካም ስሜት ላይ የተመሰረተ ሳይሆን በገዢዎች በኩል በተገዢዎች ላይ በሚጣለው አስገዳጅነት ነው። በሬ ሰው ቢሆን በዝምታ ቀንበር አንገቱ ላይ አይሸከምም። ፈጣሪያችን በሬ ሰውን እንዲያገለግል አድርጎ ፈጥሮታልና በዝምታ ይገዛል። በሰዎች ዘንድ ግን አምላክ ለባርነት፣ ለበታችነት፣ ለድህነት፣ ለበደል፣ ለውርደት ብሎ የፈጠረው የለም። በአርአያ ስላሴ ሰውን ፈጥሮና እኩል አድርጎ ነው ወደ ምድር የላከው። ሲልከው ራቁቱን ሲመልሰውም ራቁቱን ነው። ገዢ የሚሆነው ወርቅ ለብሶ አይወለድ፣ ወርቅ እንደለበሰም አይሄድ። ስለዚህ ላይና ታች፣ ገዢና ተገዢ መሆን የአምላክ ፈቃድ ሳይሆን ሰው ህገ አምላክን ሽሮ የሚፈፀመው ሃጥያት ነው። ምድራችን እንድታምርና አምላክም ደስ እንዲለው መልክአ ምድሩን፣ የዱር አራዊቱን፣ እፀዋቱን፣ ከሁሉም በላይ ደግሞ የሰው ዘርን አይነቱ የተለያየ እንዲሆን አድርጎታል። በተለይም የሰው ልጅን የተለያየ ቋንቋ፣ የተለያየ ቀለም፣ የተለያየ ባህል፣ የተለያየ የአስተዳደር ወግና ስርአት እንዲኖረው ሲፈቅድ የየራሱን ባህርያት አቅቦ በእኩልነት እንዲኖር እንጂ አንዱ ተነስቶ "የኔ ቋንቋና ባህል የበላይ ነው፣ ሁሉም የራሳቸውን ትተውና የኔን ወግና ስርአት ተቀብለው ተገዢ ይሁኑ" የሚል ካለ የዘላለም እሳት ውስጥ እንደሚገባ ለፍጡራን ማስጠንቀቂያ ሰጥቶ ነው።

በጊዜ ሂደት ግን ሰርቶም ሆነ ቀምቶ ሃብት ያፈራና ጉልበት ያካበተ ሁሉ በሌላው ላይ የበላይ ልሁን እያለ፣ ይህን ሰሜቱንና ድርጊቱንም ከትውልድ ወደ ትውልድ እያስተላለፈ፣ በጥቅም ተጋሪና ህገ አምላክን የሻሩ የሃይማኖት መሪዎች ድጋፍና ቡራኬ እየተጠናከረ የሌላውን ህዝብ ቋንቋ፣ ባህልና የአስተዳደር ስርአት ጨፍልቆ በባርነት ይገዛል። ይህ የበደል ስርአት በመላ አለም በየዘመናቱ ተንሰራፍቶ የኖረ ቢሆንም የሰው ልጅ እውቀቱ እየሰፋ፣ ጥበቡ እየመጠቀ በሄደ ቁጥር ያ ዘጅምሩም ቢሆን የፈጣሪ ፈቃድ የነበረውን እኩልነት እየተገነዘበ፣ አለማችንን ከጭቆናና ባርነት ለማላቀቅ ትግል እየተደረገ፣ ከጥቂት የአለም ክፍሎች በስተቀር ሃቀኛ እኩልነት ከሞላ ጎደል ሰፍኗል። አንዱ በሌላው ላይ የያዘውን የበላይነቱን ተፈጥሯዊ እንደሆነ አድርጎ በማሰብ ለእኩልነት የሚደረገውን ትግል በአምላክ ፈቃድ ላይ የተነሳ ሰይፍ አድርጎ የሚቆጥር ማህበረሰብ ካለባቸው ጥቂት የአለም አገሮች ኢትዮጵያ አንዷ ናት። ይቺ የአፍሪካ የነፃነት ተምሳሌት እየተባለች ስትሞካሽ የኖረችው አገር "ውስጡን ለቁስ" ሆና አንዱ ህዝብ ከሌላው ህዝብ ያነሰ ተደርጎ በመቆጠሩ ጭቆናና ግፍ የሰፈነባት የባርነት አምባ ሆና መኖሯን የሚገነዘብ የሌላው አለም ህዝብ ብዛት ያለው አይደለም። ከዛ በፊት የነበረው አቢሲኒያ ውስጥ

የትግራይና የአማራ፣ የአማራና አማራ ፉክክርና ድርድር ወደ ጎን እንተወውና ከ19ኛው ክፍለዘመን መገባደጃ ጀምሮ በሚኒሊክ የአማራ ተስፋፊነት ፓሊሲ መሰረት በሃይልም፣ በማስፈራራትም የራሳቸው የተከበረ ቋንቋ፣ ወግ-ባህል፣ የአስተዳደር ዘይቤና፣ የእምነት ስርአት ያላቸው በደቡብ፣ በምእራብና በምስራቅ የኖሩትን ከመቶ ያላነሱ ህዝቦች ኢትዮጵያ ከተሰኘችና አማርኛን የበላይ ቋንቋ፣ የአማራ ባህልና ሃይማኖትን የአምላክ ዋናው ምርጫ ባደረገ የጭቆናና የተፈጥሮ ሃብት በዝባዥ በሆነ የአስተዳደር ስርአት ስር ወደቁ። በጊዜ ሂደት ይህ ህዝቦችን ወደ አንድ ቅርጫት የመሰብሰብ አካሄድ "ኢትዮጵያዊነት በአማራነት" የሚል በስውርም በይፋም በሚተገበር ፓሊሲ በጉልበትም፣ በማታለልም፣ በማዋረድም፣ ህዝቦቹ የራሳቸውን ተፀይፈው ወይንም አፍረውበት የአማራ ባህልንና የኑሮ ዘይቤን ተክተው እንዲኖሩ ተደርገዋል። የነበረው የአእምሮ እጥበት ምን ያህል ጠንካራ እንደነበር ከሚያመለክቱት አልፎ መገለጫዎች አንዱ ምሳሌ ሲሆን የሚችለው በቀዳማዊ ሃይለ ስላሴ ዩኒቨርሲቲ የገባ ኦሮሞ ሆነ ወላይታ፣ ሌሎችም፣ ቋንቋቸውን መጠቀም

ይፈሩ ወይንም ያፍሩ እንደነበረ ለትውልዶች የሚተላለፍ ታሪክ ነው። የተጫነው የበታችነት ስሜትና የአማርኛ የበላይነት ክትባት በገበሬው ዘንድ ብቻ ሳይሆን በተማረውም ዘንድ እንደነበር የሚያረጋግጥ ጥቁር ታሪክ ነው። በአማራና አማርኛ የበላይነት ስሜት ያበዱ አንድ የዩኒቨርሲቲው የአማርኛ መምህር በተማሪዎች ስም ግሬድ ይሰጡ ነበር እየተባለ እንደቀለፈ ይውራል። ፈይሳና ሓጎስ ኤፍ ሲያገኙ፣ እነ አንዳርጋቸው ኤ ሲሰጣቸው ነበር አሉ። እውነት ሊሆን ይችላል! ለዚህም ይሆናል ዩኒቨርሲቲው የአማራ ትምክህተኛ ምሁራን መናሃርያ የሆነው።

በሌሎች ህዝቦች ላይ ሰፍኖ የኖረው የአንድ ቋንቋና ባህል የበላይነት የራሱ የሆነ ባለ ሰስት ቀለም ልሙጥ ባንዴራ ብቻ ሳይሆን የራሱ የሆነ አምላክም እንዳለው በሰፊው ይነገራል። ይህ አምላክ ግን የአማራ አምላክ ሳይሆን የሚባለው "የኢትዮጵያ አምላክ" ነው። አማራ ከመቶ ያላነሱውን ሌላውን ህዝብ ቀላቅሎ አማራ እንዲሆን ካደረገ በኋላ ስም ያወጣለት ኢትዮጵያ ብሎ ነው። በውስጥ ታዋቂ ኢትዮጵያ ማለት አማራ ማለት ነው። ይህን ሚስጥር የሚያውቅ አማራ የሆነችውን ኢትዮጵያን አልቀበልም ሲል "የኢትዮጵያ ጠላት" ተብሎ ይፈረጃል። ሃቁ ግን ወዲህ ነው። እየተጠላ ያለው "ኢትዮጵያነት በአማራነት" እንጂ "ኢትዮጵያዊነት በእኩልነት" አይደለም። በእኩልነት ከሆነማ አለም አንዲት አገር ብትሆን ማን ይጠላል? ከመለያየት እኩ ሀብረት ይበልጣል! ሀብረቱ በአንዱ የበላይነት ከሆነ ግን እንኳን በአገር ደረጃ በወረዳም ደረጃ ተቀባይነት የለውም።

የአማራ የአስተዳደር የበላይነት ብቻ ሳይሆን ድጋፍ ሰጪ የሆነው የቋንቋ፣ የባህልና የሃይማኖት የበላይነትም ጭምር ያካተተ ነበር ሲባል አማራ የተባለ ሁሉ ገዢና ከበርቴ፣ ግፍ ሰሪ፣ ቀማኛና ገዳይ ነበረ ማለት አይደለም። በሸዋ እስከ ጎንደር ድረስ የበሬ ግንባር የምታክለውን መሬቱን እያረሰ በችጋር የኖረው የአማራ ህዝብ ቤቱ ይቁጠረው። ይህ ድህነቱንም ለትውልድ አውርሶታል። ድህነት የወረሰው የአማራ ትውልድም በሚያሳዝን ሁኔታ በድሮ ስርአት ናፋቂዎች እየተገፉ በከንቱ የጥይትና በምብ እራት እየሆነ ነው። በሚኒሊክ ዘመን የተወረሩትና በኃይለስላሴ ዘመን የጭቆናው ቀንበር የከበደባቸው ህዝቦች በዳያቸውና ገዳያቸው አማርኛ የሚናገሩና የእነሱ ቋንቋ እየተናገሩ የሚተባበር፣ እንዲሁም ባንዴራ እያውለበለቡ መስቀልና

ፀናፅል ይዘው የመጡባቸው አማሮች ባህላቸውን ማጥፋት፣ ስማቸውን መቀየር፣ አስፀደፊ ስድብ መሳደብ ብቻ ሳይሆን መራታቸውን ቀምተው በገዛ ቀያቸው ባይተዋር ስለደረጋቸው ይህ ጨቋኝና በዝባዥ ስርአት የአማራ ስርአት ተሰኝቷል። ይህ ብዙዎቹ የአማራ ልሂቃን ሆዳቸው ሃቁን እያወቀ በአደባባይ ግን ይከዱታል። "የአማራ የበላይነት የሚባል አልነበረም" ይላሉ። እንግዲህ ምን ማድረግ ይቻላል?

"አውቆ የተኛ ቢረግጡት አይነቃም" ነው። ይህ ስርአት የትግራይ ህዝብ ባካሄደው ረዥምና መራራ ትግል ተውግዶ የእኩልነት ስርአት ለሶስት አስር አመታት ሰፍኖ ነበር። ደርግ ፊደላዊዝምን እንደ ኢኮኖሚያዊ ስርአት ቢያስወግድም የኖረውን የፓለቲካና ማህበራዊ ስርአቱን በአሃዳዊ አስተዳደር ጠብቆ አቆይቶታል። በሰላማዊ ስም የራስ ገዝ እያለ የብሄሮችን የራስአስተዳደር ጥያቄና የብሄር ትግሎችን ለማምከን ተጠቅሞበታል። በ1977 የኢትዮጵያ ካርታ ላይ ትግራይን ቆራርጦ ጉንዳን እንዳሳከላት እናያለን። ስለዚህ የብሄር ጭቆና በህግ የተወገደውና ፍፁም ባይሆንም የራስ- አስተዳደር መሰረት የተጣለው በኢህአዲግ መር የሽግግር መንግስት ነው። በደርግ ዘመን መንግስታዊ ስርአቱን ተቆጣጥረው የዘለቁት የአማራ ልሂቃን ከሽግግሩ መንግስት ጋር በመተባበር በበጎ መንፈስ እኩልነትን የሚያሰፍን ህገመንግስት ለመቅረፅ ፈቃደኞች አልነበሩም። የብሄር ብሄረሰቦች እኩልነትና የራስአስተዳደር ዋስትና የሚሰጠውና መቶ አመት የዘለቀው አሃዳዊ የአንድ ብሄር የጭቆና ስርአት ታሪክ የሚያደርገውን ህገ መንግስት በአማራ ህልውና ላይ እንደመጣ ጠላት አድርገው ቆጠሩት። አንድ ህዝብ "የበላይ ካልሆንኩኝ" ህልውና የይጠፋል ብሎ እንዴት ያሰባል? ከመቶ ብሄር ብሄረሰብ ተለይቶ አማራ ከጠፋ ኢትዮጵያ ትጠፋለች ማለትን ነውር አይደለም እንዴ? ይህ ማለት በግልባጭ ሲታይ "ቀሪው 99 ብሄር ብሄረሰብ ቢጨፈለቅም አማራ እስካለ ድረስ ኢትዮጵያ ምንም አትሆንም" ነው። "ቀሪው ብሄር ብሄረሰብ ለኢትዮጵያ ቁጥር ማብዛና ለአማራ ጌጥ መሆኑ እንጂ ለኢትዮጵያ ህልውና ከጥቅሙ ጉዳይ ይበልጣል" እየተባለ መሆኑ ነው በውስጠ ወይራ። በነገራችን ላይ የአማራ ልሂቃን ስለ ዴሞክራሲና እኩልነት ማውራት አይወዱም። በየሚድያውና የድርጅት መግለጫው የሚተረከው ስለ ፊደላዊዝምና የአማራ ነገስታት ስለ ፈፀሟቸው ትልቅም ትንሽም ድርጊቶች እንባ ቀረሽ ናፍቆት እንጂ ኢትዮጵያ ህዝባቿን እንደየ ባህላቸውና ስሜታቸው አቅፋ በእኩልነትና ዴሞክራሲ ለወደፊት እንድትገሰግስ የሚመኙ አይደሉም። የአማራ ልሂቃን አንገት የዘረው ወደኋላት። የአሜሪካ ሆሊውድ የነገስታትን ታሪክ ፊልም እየሰራ ብር ያፍስበታል እንጂ የፓለቲካ መመሪያው አድርጎ ነጩ ቤተ መንግስት ውስጥ አላስገባውም።

ባለፉት ሶስት አመታት የፌዴራሊዝም ቁንጮ ሆኖ አገሪቱን በሚረጋጋት ወደ እድገት ጎዳና የወሰዳትን የኢህአዲግ መንግስት በወከባ አስወግደው ካበቁ በኋላ ህገ መንግስቱን አፍርሰው ያ የተቀበረውን አሃዳዊነት ቢያሰፍኑ ሲታገሉ የኛ ናት የሚሏት ኢትዮጵያን በአልክ ሊያፈራርሷት ነው። "እኛ በበላይነት የምንመራትና አንድ ወጥ የሆነች ኢትዮጵያ ካልሆነች በፌዴራሊዝም አንጻራዊ ሰላም የሰፈነባት ኢትዮጵያ ድራሻ ትጥፋ" ብለዋል። ይህን ግን በተዘዋዋሪ እንጂ ቀጥታ የሚናገሩት አይደለም። ለፌዴራሊዝም የቆሙትን ሃይሎች በአገር አፍራሽነት በመወንጀልና ተንኮሎ ያልዘረለት ኢትዮጵያዊ በአገር ፍቅር ቅስቀሳ በማነሳሳት ነው። በትግራይና በአሮሚያ ኢትዮጵያን ለማዳን በሚል ውሸት ተገፍቶ ሄዶ የሚሞተው ንፁህ

ዜጋ በኢትዮጵያ ስም የተገነገነው ሴራ ሳይገባው ህይወቱ እያለፈ ነው። የትግራይ፣ የአሮሚያ፣ የአገው፣ የቅማንት፣ የአፋር፣ የቤኒሻንጉል፣ የጋምቤላ ታጋዮች አንዳቸውም ኢትዮጵያን የማፍረስ አላማ የላቸውም። የማን ጩኸት ጎልቶ ይሰማል ከተባለ ግልፅ ነው። መንግስትን የያዘው ሃይል ጩኸት ነው። ኢትዮጵያን የሚመለከት ሃቅ ያለው ግን ለእኩልነት በሚታገሉት እጅ ነው። ይህ የራሱን ስልጣን ለማዳን የሚደረግን ትግል የአገርን ቀለም ቀብቶ በአገር ስሜት ህዝብን ማሳበድ የተለመደ የቀቢፀ ተስፋ እርምጃ ነው። በናዚ የተመራችው ጀርመን የአውሮፓ አገሮችን ወራ ህዝቡን ስታሰቃይና ስትፈጅ ቆይታ 50 ሚሊዮን የአለም ህዝብ በጦርነት እሳት እንዲያልቅ አደረገች። የመረረው አለም የጀርመንን ጦር እያሳደደ ወደ በርሊን ገሰገሰ። በዚህ ጊዜ የናዚ ጀርመን የፕሮፓጋንዳ አለቃ ጆሴፍ ጎቤልስ የተናገረው ንግግር ለታሪክ በቅቷል። እንዲህም አለ። "ጠላት የጀርመንን ምድር እንዳደረግጥ እስከ መጨረሻ ትንፋሻችን እንዳይቃለን፣ ወጣቶችና አዛውንትም ሳትቀሩ ተነሱና አባት አገራችሁን አድኑ" ። የጀርመን ህዝብ ከተሞቹ ድምጥማጣቸው እስኪጠፋ ድረስ ተዋጋ። ናዚን አሸንፎ የገባው አሜሪካ ጀርመንን አጠፋት? ምን ያጠፋታል አለማት እንጂ ዶላርን እየመዘዘ! ህወሓት-ኢህአዲግ ደርግን አሸንፎ ስትገሰግስ መንግስቱ ሃይለማሪያም ኢትዮጵያውያንን "አገራችሁን የኢትዮጵያ ጠላት ከሆነው ወያኔ ታደጓት" እያለ ስንቱን ምስኪን ህዝብ ለሞትና ለአካል ጉዳት ዳርጎት ሃራሬ ቤተ መንግስት የመሰለ ቤት ገዝቶ እየኖረ ነው። እነ ሂትለርስ ምንም ክፉዎች ቢሆኑ ቃላቸውን ጠብቀው ራሳቸውን ነው ያጠፉት። የህዝባቸውን መሉ ድጋፍ አግኝተው ፍትሃዊውን የእኩልነት ስርአት ለመመለስ እየተሞጉ ያሉትን የትግራይና የአሮሚያ ሃይሎችን "ኢትዮጵያን ለማፍረስ" ነው የሚገሰግሱት በሚል ውንጀላ የህዝቡን ሆድ እያባቡት ነው። አገሪቱን የጦርነት ኢኮኖሚ ስላሰፈጉባት ህዝብ ኑሮው ቁልቁል እየወረደ ነው። ጃል መሮና ደብረፅዮን አዲስ አበባ ገብተው አገሪቱን በግሬደር የሚያፈርሷት አይነት የሚመስል ሽብር እየተነዛ ነው። በማን? በአማራ ልሂቃን! ለምን? የድሮው አገዛዝ ካልተመለሰ ህዝቡ እርስ በርሱ ይፋጅና አገሪቱ ትጥፋ ነው። ይህን አስተሳሰባቸውን ማን ላይ ነው የሚለጥፉት? በህወሓት ላይ! ለህዝብ እየተነገረ ያለው ተንኮል ያዘለ ቅስቀሳ፡-"ህወሓት የበፊቱ ስልጣኔን መልሼ ካልጨበጥኩ ኢትዮጵያ ትፍረስ ብላ ነው የተነሳችው" ነው እየተባለ ያለው። የኢትዮጵያ የትምክህት ፓለቲከኞችና በውሸት ትርክትና በውሸት ዜና የደነዘዘው የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ትግራይ ውስጥ የተፈፀመው አለምን ጉድ ያስኘግፍ "አላየሁም አልሰማሁም" ብሏል። "የትግራይ ሰራዊት እየገሰገሰ ያለው ስልጣን መልሶ ለመያዝ ነው" ተብሎ ተተርጉሞበታል። መሪዎቻቸው ትግራይን እንዲህ አድርገው ሲያወድሟት ድምፃቸው የጠፋው ወይም ደስታቸውን የገለፁት ኢትዮጵያውያንን ለማስተዳደር የትግራይ ሰራዊት የሚገሰግስበት ምክንያት የለውም። እየገሰገሰ ያለው ያጎሳቆሉትና የፈጁትን ለመቅጣት ብቻ ነው። የትግራይ መሪዎች ህዝባቸውን ከማጥፋት ወደ ኋላ ያላለውን ህዝብ ከሚያስተዳድር ራሳቸውን ቢያጠፉ ይመርጣሉ።

የአማራ ልሂቃን ከዘመኑ ጋር ቢራመዱና ሃቁን ተቀብለው በድሮ በሬ ለማረስ ባይሞክሩ ይመከራል። ከምር ኢትዮጵያን የሚወዱ ከሆነ ፍላጎቷን ማክበር ነው። ኢትዮጵያ መኖር የምትችለው የአማራ ሆና ሌላውን ደፍጥጣ ሳይሆን



በእኩልነት ብቻ ነው። አማራ ክልል ብቻ የሚውለበለብ ልሙጥ ባንዴራ ይዞ "ኢትዮጵያ!" እያሉ ማቅራራት ለማንም አይበጅም። ሁሉም ቤት እሳት አለና፣ ብሄር ብሄረሰቦች መብታቸውን በሚገባ አውቀዋልና፣ ካለው የእኩልነት አንድነት ወደ ድሮው የጭቆና አንድነት ለመመለስ ከቶ አያስቡምና የአማራ ልሂቃን ከእውነታው ጋር ታርቃቸው፣ ጭፍን የመሃይም ህልመኛነታቸው የጋራ ጉዳት እንዳያስከትል በፍጥነት መስተካከል ያስፈልጋቸዋል። የምትሰሩት የሞተውን ስርአት በጩኸትና በግርግር በኢትዮጵያ ህልውና ስም ለመመለስ ነው። ቅስቀሳችሁም ስልት የጎደለው ነው። "ኢትዮጵያ አማራ ናት፣ አማራም ኢትዮጵያ" እያሉ አደባባይ ላይ በማስተጋባት ሌሎች ህዝቦችን ኢትዮጵያዊ ማድረግ አትችሉም። የንብ ቀፎን በመርገጥ ንቦቹን እያስቆጡ በሰላም ማር መቁረጥ አይቻልም። ከሁሉም በፊት ኢትዮጵያ የናገሩት ብቻ አለመሆንምን ማመን ያስፈልጋል። የኛ ናት በምትሏት ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ በባርነት መኖር የሚፈልግ ህዝብ የለም። ከአደገኛው ቅዠታዊ ህልማችሁ ገቁ! የኦርቶዶክስ ቤተክርስቲያንም ለቀቅ አድርጓት፣ የትምክህት ፓለቲካ ማራመጃ አታድርጓት። እንደ ዳንኤል ከብረት ያሉ "አስር አስር በምብ በየከተማው ጥለው ትግራይን ለማጥፋት" የሚመኙት ዲያቆኖቻችሁም መአርጋቸውን ግፈፉ። "ኢትዮጵያ የማይታይ ጦር አላት" እያሉ እግዚአብሔርን የነሱ ታጣቂ በማድረግ እምነት የሚያረክሱት የሃይማኖት መሪዎች አስወግዱ። ሃቅን ተቀብሎ በእኩልነት አብሮ መኖር የተቀደሰ አስተሳሰብ ነው። ይህን ሃቅ ሽሮ የአምላክን ሃይል ተጠቅሞ የአማራ የበላይነት የሰፈነባት ኢትዮጵያን ለመፍጠር መታገል የሃጥያቶች ሁሉ እናት ነው። እኩልነት በተሻረ ቁጥር የሚመጣባቸውን የነፃነት ትግል "የኢትዮጵያ አምላክ ይመልሰዋል" እያሉ መመገድቅ አምላክ የፈጠረውና የሚጠብቀው የአማራይቱን ኢትዮጵያን ብቻ ነው እንደማለት ነው። የሚገርመው ነገር ግን አምላክን ቀድመው ያወቁት ትግራዮች መሆናቸውን መዘንጋታቸው ነው። ሆኖም ግን የአክሱም ስልጣኔ የአማራ ነው፣ ላሊበላም የአማራ ነው ስለሚሉ እግዚአብሔርን በሞኖፓል ይዘውታል። "የኢትዮጵያ አምላክ" ስለሚባለው አጉል ብልጠት ሳስብ አንድ ደቡብ ኮርያዊ ወዳጄ የነገረኝን አስታወሰኝ። አንድ ቀን "ሃይማኖትህ ምንድነው?" ብየ ስጠይቀው "ካቶሊክ ነበርኩ፣ ግን ተውኩት" ብሎ መለሰልኝ። "ለምን?" ብለው እንዲህ ብሎ ምክንያቱን አብራራልኝ፡- "የማመልከው የእስራኤል አምላክ መሆኑ እየተነገረኝ ነበር፣ የማነበው ቅዱስ ታሪክም የእስራኤላውያን ብቻ ነው፣ የኮርያ አምላክ እስኪፈጠር ድረስ ወጥቼ ልቆይ ብየ ነው"። ይህ ሃይማኖትን መጋፋት ይመስላል ግን ሃቅ ነው። አምላክን ለአንድ ህዝብ ብቻ በንብረትነት መመደብ የዲያብሎስ ተግባር ነው። የአማራ ልሂቃንና የሃይማኖት መሪዎች ለፓለቲካ ፍጆታቸውና ለግል ጥቅማቸው ሲሉ የአማራን ህዝብ በሃጥያት መንገድ እየመሩት ነው። አምላክ የሁሉም ነው! አምላክ የምድር ብቻ ሳይሆን የዩኒቨርሰም ጌታ ነው! "ለሃጥአን የወረደ መአት ለፃድቃን ይተርፋል" ተብሏልና ከዚህ ራሱን ማግለል ያስፈልጋል። ሰሞኑን ታዋቂው የትግራይ ሚድያ ሃውስ ጋዜጠኛ ስታሊን ገብረስላሴ አድማጮችን የጠየቀው ጥያቄ እንዲህ ይላል፡- "የኢትዮጵያ አምላክ ስሙ ማን ይባላል? እድሜ ይስጥህ ስታሊን ይህን ነገር እንዴት እንደምገልፀው ግራ እየገባኝ ነበር። የኢትዮጵያ አምላክ ለብቻዋ ሊኖራት ስለማይችል ይህ አምላክ የተባለው ሰው ይሆን ይሆናል። ስሙ ማን ይሆን? እንገምት አስቲ፡- ሚኒሊክ? ታማኝ? አገኘሁ? ዳንኤል? "ዶር" ቴዲ አፍሮ? መሳይ?\*\*\*\*\*"

**ኢጋምና ቁልፍል:- አማራና ትግራይ የሚጋሩት ነገር የለም**

**April 30-2021**

ተኗል በኗል፣ ትንሻ አክሷል በረሮ ሆኗል በሚሉ ፓለቲካዊና ወታደራዊ ሳይንስ ባልነካቸው ተራ የመንገደኛ ቃላት ትልልቅ ነን የሚሉ ግን በቅጥፈታቸው ግርምት በሚያጭሩ ሰዎች ሲብጠለጠል የከረመው የህወሓት አመራርና የትግራይ መከላከያ ሰራዊት ሰዎቹ የሚናገሩት ሁሉ ከእውነት የራቀ መሆኑን በተግባር ማሳየት ሲጀምር ጉድ የሚያሰኙና ይሉኝታቸውን ቁርጥም አድርገው የበሉ ነገሮች መከሰት ጀምረዋል። ትግራይና መሪዎቿ ከምድረገፅ የተደመሰሱ መስሏቸው መለኪያ ሲያጋጩ፣ ዊስኪ ሲራጩ፣ ስለሚቀጥለው ኢላማቸው እቅድ ሲነድፉ፣ ከደስታቸው ብዛት የተነሳ ልሳናቸው ተዘግቶ ዝም ያሉ፣ መስቀልን እንደ ሽጉጥ እያወዘወዙ ቀረርቶን በቅዳሴ ሲያሰሙ የነበሩት አሁን አይናቸውን በጨው ሙልጭ አድርገው አጥበው "ወንድማቸው" ለሆነው ለትግራይ ህዝብ እንደሚሳሰሉት በነዛ በትግራይ ላይ ምፅአት ሲያውጁ በነበሩት ሚድያዎች ለሰሚው እስኪታከት ድረስ እየተረኩ ነው። በትግራይ ውስጥ የአማራንና የኤሪትሪያ ትግራይን የማጥፋት ህልም በሚፈፅሙና በሚያስፈፅሙ የአራዊት መንጋ ስድስት ወራትና አሁንም ቀጣይ የሆነው አረመኔያዊ ድርጊት ለመዘርዘር አንድ አምድ ይቅርና በመቶ ወፍራም ቅፃች ተተርኮ የሚያበቃም አይደለም። ትግራይ ውስጥም ሆነ ከትግራይ ውጪ የትም የአለም ክፍል የሚኖረው ትግራዊ የሚብሰለሰለው በደረሰበት ዳር ድንበር የሌለው ሰቆቃ ብቻ አይደለም። ከአካላዊ ጥቃቱ በላይ በእጅጉ የሚያመውና የአእምሮ ቁስል የሆነበት ከእንደዚህ አይነት የዲያብሎስ ዘሮች ጋር ለነዚህ ሁሉ ምእት አመታት አንዴት አብሮ ሊኖር እንደቻለ ነው። የትግራይ ህዝብ ዝምታው የመነጨው እንደ በሬ ከአራጁ ጋር በሃይማኖት ተቃቅፎ ሙሉ እምነት አሳድሮ የኖረባቸው ዘመናት የራሱ አስከፊ ዝንጋታዎች መሆናቸውን አምኖ ስለተቀበለ ነው። በትግራይ ላይ የተተገበረው ሰይጣናዊ አላማ ሲቀለበስና፣ አማራው የእጁ ሆኖ በቤኒሻንጉል፣ በቅማንት፣ በኦሮሞ በያለበት መገደልና መዋከብ ሲበዛበት ትግራይ ውስጥ ስድስት ወር ሙሉ እስካሁንም ድረስ ሲሰራ የከረመው እንደ ሆሊውድ ተከታታይ ፊልም ቆጥሮ የትግራይን ህዝብ በኦሮሞ ላይ ሊያነሳሳ የሚድያ ዘመቻውን ተያይዞታል። አይኑን ጨፍኖ ትግራይን ሲያጠፋ የነበረ ይመስል አይኑ "ሲበራለት" የተፈፀመው ግፍ ወለል ብሎ ታየውና የውሸት ሙሾ ያወርዳል። አማራ አይኑ "የበራው" በማናለብኝነት ራሱ ትግራይ ላይ በፈፀመው ድርጊት ለብቻው መቅረቱ ስላየ ነው።

የትግራይ ህዝብ ከኦሮሞዎች ጋር ያሉት አንዳንድ ብዙም መሰረታዊ ያልሆኑ ልዩነቶች እንደተጠበቁ ሆነው አንድ የሚያደርገው አንድ ግዙፍ ነገር አለ። ይህም የራስን እድል በራስ መወሰን የሚለው መርህ ነው። ከአስተሳሰብ አንድነት የበለጠ ምን ቁም ነገር አለ? የትግራይ ህዝብ ከአማራ ጋር አለ የሚባለው የሃይማኖት፣ የታሪክና የባህል ጋርዮሽ የአስተሳሰብ አንድነትን አላመጣም። ከትግራይ ጋር ከሚያመሳሰለው ይልቅ የሚያለየው ነገር የሚበዛው የኦሮሞ ህዝብ ይህ ልዩነት የአስተሳሰብ አንድነት እንዳይኖረው አላደረገም። አማራ አሃዳዊነትን፣ ትግራይ ፌዴራላዊነትን ሲያራምዱ ደም የተቃቡ አስተሳሰቦች መሆናቸው ስውር አይደለም። በዚህ ሁኔታ ላይ የአማራና የትግራይ "ወንድማማችነት" ጉንጭ አልፏ ክርክር ነው። የህወሓትና የትግራይ ብልፅግናን አባላት ተጋሩ ስለሆኑ ወንድማማች ናቸው እያሉ

መፈለሰፍ እንደማይቻለው ሁሉ አሃዳዊያን አማሮች በራስ እድል በራስ መወሰን መርህ መሰረት ምርጫ ያካሄደችውን ትግራይን ለመደምሰስ የፈፀሙት ድርጊት ወንድማማችነት የሚሆንበት ምክንያት የለም። የትግራይ ወረራ ከተጀመረ ጀምሮ ምንም ልዩነት የሚባል ነገር የሌላቸው የአማራ ልሂቃን የሚያቀርቡትን ግፋዊ የሆነ ትንተና ቆሽታችን እያረረ ስናዳምጥ ቆይተናል። ከመብዛቱና ጭንቅላትንን ከማሳመሙ የተነሳም ተጋሩ መከታተል ያቆሙባቸው ሚዲያዎች በርካታ ናቸው። እነሱን ከማዳመጥ ማእከላዊ ምርመራ ውስጥ ገብቶ ወፌላላ መቀጥቀጥ በምን ጣእሙ። በተቃራኒው በርካታ የኦሮሞ ልሂቃን በቴሌቪዥን መስኮት እየቀረቡ ተቃውሞ የገልፀበት ሁኔታና ለተጨማሪው ተጋሩ ያደረጉት የመንፈስ ድጋፍ ከቶ ሊረሳ አይችልም። በትግራይ ውስጥ የአማራና የኤሪትራያን እንጂ አሮሞዎች ፈፀሙ የተባሉበት የግፍ ዜና አልሰማንም። የተማረከው አሮሞ ኮሎኔል በትግራይ ህዝብ ላይ እየተፈፀመ ስላለው ግፍ እንባ እየተናነቀው የተናገረውም የአሮሞዎችን አስተሳሰብ የሚወክል ነው። ጃዋር በብልፅግና እስር እየተሰቃየም ያገኘውን አጋጣሚ ተጠቅሞ ወረራውን አውግዟል። የሲዳማ አርነት ንቅናቄ ወረራውን በማውገዝ ተደጋጋሚ መግለጫዎች ማውጣቱ ትልቅ አለኝታነት ነው። ይህ ለትግራይ ወሳኝ ጊዜ ነው። ወዳጆቻችን ጠላቶቻችን የለሹበት! የመከራ ጊዜ ጓደኛ ነው እውነተኛ ጓደኛ። ተጋሩ አሮሞዎች በአሃዳዊነት ላይ ያነሱትን ዱላ የሚቃወሙበት ምንም ምክንያት የላቸውም። ይልቁንም ደግጬ ትግሉን ማጋጋል እንጂ። አማራ ይሁን ሌላ አሃዳዊነትን የንግብ መንገድ ላይ የሚገተር ከሆነ ለሚደርስበት ችግር ዋናው ተጠያቂ ራሱ ብቻ ነው። የብልጠት ጩኸት የትም አያደርስም።

አማራ ጨፍልቆ ሲገዛው ኖሮ አሁንም የአማራ አገዛዝ ሱስ አለበት ብሎ የሚያስበው ከትግራይ ውጪ ያለው የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ "ትግራይ እንኳን አጠፋህልን እንጂ ሌላ ሺህ አመት ብትገዛን ደስታችን ነው" ብለው ለዙፋን ያበቁኛል የሚል የአማራ ምሁር እስከ መሃይም ድረስ የሚጋራው የቁም ቅዠት አለ። የዚህ ቅዠት ክንብንቡ ኢትዮጵያዊነት ነው። አሁን በዚህ ከማይታለለው የትግራይ ህዝብ ውጪ ያለው ኢትዮጵያዊ ሁሉ የአማራ እንቅስቃሴ የራሱን አገዛዝ ለመመለስ ሳይሆን ኢትዮጵያን ለማዳን እንደሆነ ያስባል። እውነታው ግን በአማራ ከተሞች በተካሄዱት ሰልፎች ላይ ገሃድ ወጥቷል። "ሆድ ያባውን ብቅል ያወጣዋል" እንደሚባለው የአማራ ሰልፈኞች "አማራ ኢትዮጵያ ነው፣ ኢትዮጵያ አማራ ነው፣ እዎ አማራ ነፍጠኛ ነው" እያሉ ሲጮሁ ውለዋል ሰንብተዋል። ልብ በሉ አማራ ነፍጠኛ አልነበረም አሁንም አይደለም ብሎ ማስተባበል ያለ ነገር ነው። ነፍጠኝነት ቀጥታ ትርጉሙ ጠመንጃ ያሻኝነት ቢሆንም በህዝብ ላይ ከፍተኛ በደል ላደረሰ ጨቋኝና በዝባሻ ስርአት የተሰጠ ስምጫ ነው። የተሰየመውም አሁን ሳይሆን ድሮ ድሮ ነው! አዎ አማራ ድሮ ነፍጠኛ ነበር አሁን ግን አይደለም ማለትም የተሻለ ነው። አማራ አሁንም ነፍጠኛ ነው እየተባለ የኢትዮጵያን ህዝብ ፍቅር አገኛለሁ ብሎ ማሰብ ምን አይነት አባዜ ነው? አማራና ኢትዮጵያ የአንድ ሳንቲም ሁለት ገፅታዎች መሆናቸውን ባደባባይ እየተናገሩ 79 ብሄር ብሄረሰቦች ህልውናቸው ሁለተኛ ደረጃ እንደሆነ የሚያስመስል ቋንቋ መናገር እንዴት ሆኖ ነው የአማራን ግድያ የሚያስቆመው? አማራው ትግራይ ላይ በማረሻ እየወጋ ራሱ በመርፌ ሲነካ ከትግራይ በላይ የሚጮህበት ምን አይነት የማደናገር ስራ ነው? ይህንን የሚያይና የሚያስተውል ሰውስ አማራን እንደ ጅራፍ ቆጥሮ አዘኔታ ይኖረዋል? ከሩቅ የሚሰማው ጀርባው እየተለተለ ያለው አራሽ በሬ ሳይሆን

የተልታዩ የጅራፍ ጩኸት ነው። አማራ ሆይ ሌላ ምንም ነገር ቢጠፋ ይሉኝታ የሚባል ነገር እኮ አለ! ሽመልስ አብዲሳ የብልፅግና ካድሬ ሆኖ በትግራይ ላይ የዘመቻው አላማ አስፈጻሚ በመሆኑ ይቅር የሚባል አይደለም። የኦሮሞ ህዝብ ትክክለኛ ስሜትም ወክሏል ብዬ አላምንም። የኦሮሞ ህዝብ ኢትዮጵያ ብቻየን ልግዛ ብሎ የኦሮሞ ነፍጠኛነትን ለማስፈን ይታገላል ብዬ አላስብም። ነፍጠኛነትን እየታገለ ራሱ ነፍጠኛ ይሆናል ብዬ ለማሰብ ዝግጁ አይደለሁም። እኔ የሚሰበው የኦሮሞ ህዝብ የራስን እድል በራስ የመወሰን መሆኑን አንግባ፣ የራሱን ድርሻ እስከብሮ የሌሎችን ድርሻ አክብሮ ይኖራል ብዬ ነው። ከዚህ ውጪ ያለው ውሃ መውቀጥ ነው። ይህን ሁሉ ትንተና የዘረጋሁት አማራ አጀንዳ ለማስቀየስና አለመረጋጋት ፈጥሮ በትግራይ ላይ የሚፈፀመውን የዘር ማፅዳትና የግዛት ማጠናከር ዘመቻ ስር ሳይሰድ እንዳይከሸፍበት በመፍራት ኦሮሞ አማራን ሊያጠፋ ነው የሚለው ሽብር በመፍጠር የአማራን ህዝብ ሙሉ በሙሉ በማነሳሳት የአገዛዝ ህልሙን ለማስፈፀም ነው። ሽመልስ አብዲሳ አብዮት አደባባይ ላይ የተናገረው ነፍጠኛን ሰበርነው እንጂ አማራን ሰበርነው አይደለም። "ነፍጠኛታ" ስላለ አማራ ተብሎ ሊተረጎም አይገባም። ስለ ህዝብ መናገርና ስለ ስርአት መናገር የተለያዩ ናቸው። ናዚ ማለት ጀርመን ማለት አይደለም። ናዚን ሰበርነው ሲባል ጀርመኖች ሁሉ እንደ ስድብ ከቆጠሩት ህዝቡ ሁሉ ወንጀለኛ ነው ማለት ነው። ስለዚህ ናዚ ሁሉ መሰበር አለበት። የናዚና የነፍጠኛነት ግፎቶ ዘመናት ስላለፉ ብቻ የሚረሱ አይደለም። በአማራ ክልል በተደረገው ሰልፍ አማራ ነፍጠኛ ነው ከተባለ ህዝቡ የስርአቱ አካል ሆኖ ግፍ ፈፅሟል ብሎ እንደሚመን ይቆጠራል። ይህ ደግሞ የሚያኮራ ድርጊት አይደለም የሚያሸማቅቅና ይቅርታ የሚያስጠይቅ እንጂ።

ወደ ዋናው ጉዳይ ልመለስና ቁጥር ስፍር ያልነበራቸው የትግራይ ተወላጆች ሲያስቡ የኖሩት ከአማራ ጋር ያለው የሃይማኖት፣ የባህልና፣ የስርወ ቋንቋ ትስስር በራሱ ዘላቂ የወንድማማችነትና የእህትማማችነት ስሜት ያመጣል የሚል ነው። ይህንን እምነት መሰረት በማድረግም ከኦሮሞ፣ ከሲዳማ፣ ከሃረሪና ከአፋር ይልቅ ለትግራይ ህዝብ የክፉ ቀን ደራሽ የሚሆነው አማራ ነው የሚል ትርክት የሙጢኝ ብለው ይዘውት ኖረዋል። እርግጥ ነው፣ የሰው ልጅ ወዳጄ ነው በሚለው አእምሮ ውስጥ በድብቅ ስለሚብላላው ተንኮል ለማወቅ የአምላክን ድጋፍ ይፈልጋል። የትግራይ ህዝብ አማራን በሚመለከት ያሳደረው የእምነትና የመዘናጋት ስሜት፣ አማራ ስሜቱን የመደበቅ ካለው ጥልቅ ክህሎት ጋር ሲገናዘብ፣ እንደጅልነት የሚያስቆጥር አይደለም። በሚገባ እንደ ጅልነት መቆጠር የሚኖርበት አሁን በአማራ አእምሮ ውስጥ ተደብቆ አጋጣሚ ሲጠብቅ የኖረው ትግራይን የማጥፋት ፍላጎት ወደ ተግባር ተተርጉሞ በታየበት አጋጣሚ ነው። በአማራና በትግራይ "ዝምድና" ላይ ሁለቱም ያላቸው አመለካከት ለየቅል ብቻ ሳይሆን ግጭት ያለበትም ነው።

1. አማራው ከትግራይ ጋር ያለው የታሪክ፣ የባህል፣ የሃይማኖትና የስርወ ቋንቋ ጋርየሽ በአማራ የበላይነት የሚመራ አድርጎ ይወስዳል። ይህንን ለማስረገጥ የሚቀርቡ አንዳንድ አስገራሚ ትርክቶች አሉ። "የአክሱም ስልጣን የአማራ ስልጣን ነው ይልና ተጋሩ ከየመን የመጡ አገልጋዮች ነበሩ" ይላል። ይህ ማለት የኢትዮጵያ 3000 አመት የአማራ መር ስልጣን እድሜ መሆኑ ነው። አማራው ከአክሱምና አካባቢው በተኛው አውሎ ንፋስ ተጠራርጎ እንደወጣ ምስጢሩን የሚናገር የለም። ዳይናሶሮች ተወርዋሪ ኮከብ ወርዶ አጠፋቸው ይባላል። አማራን ከአክሱም/ ትግራይ ያስወጣው አስትሮይድ ታሪክ ግን እስካሁን አልተሰማም።

2. የኦርቶዶክስ ሃይማኖት ማእከል አክሱም በመሆንዋና በትግራይ እጅ ውስጥ መሆኗ የሚጎመዘዘው አማራ ማእከሏን ወደ አማራ ክልል ለማዛወር ያልተሰራ ድርጊትና ያልተፈጠረ ተረት የለም። አቡነ ሰላማን በአቡነ ተክለሃይማኖት፣ አክሱም ፅዮንን በደብረሊባናና በጣና ገዳማት ለመተካት ያልተደረገ ጥረት የለም።

3. የግእዝ ፊደላትና ያራዳዊው ዜማ መነሻው የትግራይ አክሱም ሳይሆን ዋሽራ እንዲሆንም ያላሰለሰ ትግል ተደርጓል።

4. ለግእዝ እጅግ የቀረበውን የትግርኛን ቋንቋ "የተበላሸ አማርኛ" ነው በሚል አማስኖ ድራሹን በማጥፋት በአማርኛ እንዲተካ ብዙ ተለፍቷል።

ከመጀመሪያው ብጀምር፣ 3000 አመት የሚባለው እንኳንና የሌላው የኢትዮጵያ ክፍል አማራውም ቢሆን የሚጋራው አይደለም። በርግጥ ሁሉም እንደየ ታሪኩ የየራሱ 3000ም ከዛ በላይም እድሜ ይኖረዋል። በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ለቱሪስት ፍጆታ የሚቆጠረው 3000 አመት አማራውን አይመለከትም። ከዳካማት ስልጣኔ ጀምሮ እስከ አክሱም ዘመን ፍፃሜ ድረስ የነበረ 2000 አመት የትግራይ እንጂ አማራን የሚጨምር አይደለም። ይህ ዘመን አክሱም በመካከለኛው ምስራቅና በቀይ ባህር ጂኦፖለቲካል ማእቀፍ ውስጥ ከህንድ፣ ከአረብ፣ ከርም፣ ከኑብያና ከግብፅ ጋር የነበረውን ንግድ ስትመራ የኖረችበት ነው። አክሱም ወደ ደቡብ ከነበረው አካባቢ ጋር የነበራት ግንኙነት እንደ የዝሆን ጥርስ ያሉ በአለም አቀፉ ንግድ ተፈላጊነት የነበራቸው እቃዎች በማግኘቱ ላይ ብቻ የተወሰነ ነበር። የአክሱም ስልጣኔ ወራሽ የሆነችው ትግራይ ከመካከለኛው ምስራቅ ባህላዊና ታሪካዊ ማእቀፍ ወጥታ ከአማራ ጋር የተገጣጠመችው ታሪክ በፈጠረውና ውሎ አድሮ ለትግራይ የፍጻኔ ኑሮ እንድትመራ ያደረጋት አጋጣሚ ነበር። ይህም ከአክሱም ክርስትና ሃይማኖት መቀበል ጋር የተያያዘ ነው። በእስልምና ሃይማኖት በቀይ ባህር ዙሪያ መስፋፋት ምክንያት ከኖረችበት ቀጠና ክርስትናን ይዞ የተገለለችው አክሱም የነበራት ብቸኛ አማራጭ ወደ ደቡብ በኩል ከነበረውና ክርስትናን ከአክሱም ተቀብሎ ሲያስፋፋ ከነበረው የአማራና አገው ህዝብ ጋር መገጣጠም ነበር። የእስልምናው አለም አክሱምን በወረራ ወደ እስልምና ያልቀየረው ነብዩ መሃመድ ለተከታዮቻቸው "አክሱምን ሳትነካችሁ እንዳትነኳት" ብለው ስለነበረ ነው። ይህ ባይሆን ኖሮ የአሁኒቱ ትግራይ የመካከለኛው ምስራቅ አካል እንደሆነች ትቀር ነበር። ሳይቆጫት ይቀራል ትላላችሁ? ትግራይና አማራ አቢሲንያ ተብለው ከተገጣጠሙ የአንድ ሺህ አመት ቆይታ አድርገዋል። ቆይታው ግን ለአንድ ቀንም ቢሆን ስምምነትና መፈቃቀር ያለበት አልነበረም። አማራው ሊለውጠው የማይችል ግን በእጅጉ የሚቀናበትን የአክሱም/ትግራይ የ3000 አመት የቆይታ ዘመን፣ የኦርቶዶክስ ሃይማኖት ማእከልነት፣ የዜማና የፊደላት ምንጭነት፣ የጥንታዊ ቅርሶች ባለቤትነትን ትግራይን በማጥፋት ወይንም በማዳከም ይህ ሁሉ ታሪክ የራሱ እንደሆነ ለአለምና ለመላ ኢትዮጵያውያን ማሳወቅ ይመኛል። ምኞቱ አደገኛ የአለም በሽታ ሆኖበትም፣ ናዚዎች ስድስት ሚልዮን አይሁዶችን በአምስት አመት ፈጁ ሲባል በአምስት ወር ስድስት ሚልዮን ተጋሩን ለማጥፋት ተነሳ። ግራም ነፈሰ ቀኝ አማራና ትግራይ የጋራ የሆነ ነገር የላቸውም። አንድ ሃይማኖትና አንድ ባህል አላቸው ስለተባሉ ብቻ አንድ አይሆኑም፣ ዝምድና ቋንቋ ነው እንደሚባለው።

አጥፊና ጠፊ አንድ ላይ ሆነው እንጀራ አይቆርሱም። "እስራኤልና ጀርመን እኮ ተቀራርበው እየኖሩ ነው። አማራና ትግራይም እንዲህ ሊሆኑ ይችላሉ" የሚሉ ተስፋኞች አሉ። ሁለቱም ታሪኩ የተለያየ ነው። "የልብን ሰርቶ ይቅር በሉኝ፣ ምንስ አጠፋሁ ምን በደልኩኝ፣... ቂምን በሆዱ ይዞ መታረቅ፣ ይቅርታ አርጉ እያሉ መራቀቅ፣ አጉል ነው ከንቱ መባሻሽቅ።" አንዳንድ ደፋሮች የሚሉትን ጉድ ልንገራችሁ። "በርግጥ የትግራይ ህዝብ እገነጠላለሁ ቢል ተቃውመን የምንናገርበት አፍ የለንም፣ የትግራይን ህዝብ ስናስበው ግን ተስፋ አለን" ። ምን እያሉ እንደሆነ የገባው ሰው አለ? የትግራይ ህዝብ ጅል ነው፣ ቢገድሉትም ከሰማይ ቤት ሆኖ ይቅር ይላል ነው። ከዱላ በላይ አንጀት የሚያቃጥለው የደካማ ንቀት ነው። ሌላው ኢትዮጵያ አየር ላይ እንደዳመና በመንሳፊፍ ላይ ያለው አጉል አመለካከት በህወሓት ላይ የተወሰደውን እርምጃ እያወደሱ ስለተጎዳው የትግራይ ህዝብ የአዞ እንባ ማንባት ነው። "ያሳዝናል፣ የጦርነት ውጤቱ ይኸው ነው፣ ህወሓት ኑ ግጦሙኝ እያለች ህዝቡን አስፈጅቻለች፣ ነካክታ ነካክታ የኤሪትርያንና የአማራን ጦር ወደ ትግራይ እንዲዘምት አደረገችው፣ የሰሜን እዝንም መታ የትግራይን ህዝብ ለጥይት ዳረገችው፣ ወዘተ።" በዚህ አባባል የትግራይ ህዝብ ያለቀው በበራሪ ጥይት ነው፣ በመቶ ሺዎች የተሰደደው በራሪ ጥይት እንዳይመታው ፈርቶ ነው፣ በሺዎች የሚቆጠሩ ሴቶች የተደፈሩት ኢላማውን በሳተ ጥይት ወይንም በምብ ነው፣ መላ የትግራይ ሃብትና ንብረት ወደ አስመራ፣ ጎንደርና ባህር ዳር የተጓዳዘው ጦርነት ላይ በተማረከ ትራክ ላይ ተጭኖ ስለተገኘ ነው? እነዚህ ሰዎች ማጭበርበር የሚችሉት በአይን በብረቱ እያየ ያለውን ህዝብ ሳይሆን ራሳቸውን ብቻ ነው።

ህወሓት መጥፋቷን እየደገፉ ስለትግራይ ህዝብ ጉዳት አሁን ደርሶ ማለቃቀስ የማያገባቸው ነገር ውስጥ መግባት ነው። ሲጀመር ለህወሓት ካላዘኑ ለትግራይ ህዝብ ሊያዝኑ አይችሉም። ወደዱም ጠሉም ህወሓት በትግራይ ህዝብ ተመርጣ የትግራይን ህዝባዊ መንግስት የመሰረተችና ህዝቧን ከተደገሰለት እልቂት ለማዳን በፅኑ እየተዋደቀች ያለች ድርጅት ናት። በዚህ ሁኔታ ህወሓትና ትግራይ ህዝብ ላይ የተለያየ አመለካከት ማሳደር ከአጉል ፈሊጥነት የራቀ አይደለም። የትግራይ ህዝብ ማን እንደሚመራው የሚወስነው በሌሎች ጭንቅላት አይደለም። ህወሓትን የሚጠሉ ሁሉ የትግራይም ህዝብ ህወሓትን እንዲጠላላቸው ይመኛሉ። ካልወደደላቸውም እንደተሳሳተ ይቆጥሩታል። የትግራይ ብልፅግና አንዳንድ ደፋሮችም ህዝቡን ሊመክሩት ይሞክራሉ። ከህወሓት ይልቅ እነሱን አለመቀበሉ እንደ ጉድ ይቆጥሩታል። የአማራ ልሂቃንና የትግራይ ብልፅግና አንድ የሚያደርጋቸው ነገር ቢኖር የትግራይን ህዝብ የማያውቁት መሆናቸው ነው። አምርጭ እንደሚጠላቸው ለማሳየት ብዙ ምልክቶች ቢሰጣቸውም አልገባቸው ብሏል። በቃላት መግባባት ካልተቻለ ተግባር ግልፅ ያደርገዋልና የዛ ጊዜ ሰው ይበለን። ለአማራውም ለከሃዲውም የህይወት ዘመን ትምህርት የሚያገኝበት ይሆናል።

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# CLUSTER 5

## Gathering Clouds of War



- The difficulties of peace are better than the agonies of war
- The Gavel or the Gun?
- Ethiopia is in a rigidity-induced suicidal mood
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No doubt, what was happening in Ethiopia and Eritrea, since some deal was signed between Abiy and Isaias, was sheer madness. Ethiopians and Eritreans at home and in the diaspora, religious leaders of all denominations, senior and junior academics and professionals in all walks of life, and ordinary citizens were not thinking straight. No music was sweeter to their ears than the sound of war against Tigray. No one seemed to have foreseen the catastrophe that would follow any attempt to invade Tigray. Everyone was absolutely sure that the war would end in a few days without any serious consequence.

**“The difficulties of peace are better than the agonies of war”**

*Menchem Begin (Israel PM)*

September 05-2020

Although I can't be sure about what the implications of the decision of the House of Federation, to consider the elections in Tigray as null and void are, I had spent the entire day building scenarios based on the possible decisions the House may reach until the news broke. Today was a tense day for us all because if the House of Federation succumbs to the pressure of the satanic recommendations of some opposition parties and hate mongers, who are eager to see Tigray in flames, it may make a historical mistake of plunging Ethiopia into a bloody civil war. War in Tigray cannot be one of the episodes of a Silvester Stallone's "Rambo" series. It would be like the destructive "Game of thrones" reducing the seven kingdoms into triviality and the separation of the north.

Sun Tzu said: "the wise warrior avoids the battle". Sun Tzu was a Chinese general, military strategist, writer, and philosopher, who is credited by the whole world for authoring the "Art of War". Bravery is giving priority to alternative paths which lead to peace rather than to war. War mongering has never been bravery. In fact, history has shown that those who initiate it out of the belief that they have the capacity to win it, have perished in it. The invincible Napoleon was defeated in Russia! so was Hitler's war machine in the same place. A mechanized European army was defeated in Dogali and Adwa by spears and swords.

The decision of the House of Federation, which focused on the rules and procedures rather than on mutually destructive measures as proposed by politicians who are blinded by the craving for power, disregarding Ethiopia's peace and unity, will provide a level ground for national dialogue and reconciliation. The decision should also go great distances enough to accommodate the results of the election in Tigray and discuss on how to go forward. Laws are made by people to help them live in peace. If some of the laws lead them to war, they



must have the guts to change them or to temporarily turn blind eye to them until reconciliation takes the place of aggravating misunderstandings. The problem at hand is quite simple to solve if we all stop inflating it beyond our capacity to manage it. We should rule the rules; the rules should not rule us. We don't violate or compromise the "Ten Commandments"; but anything below that is possible and acceptable as long as it leads to peaceful resolution of our common problems. Very busy as we are aggravating our problems, we are becoming easy prey for our enemies. Ethiopians must stop residing in their destructive emotions and be rational for the sake of continuity of this great Nation of ours into eternity!

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### **The Gavel or the Gun?**

August 09-2019

I just returned from the grand conference of Tigrayan scholars in Mekelle (Quo Vadis Tigray). It is heart-warming to discuss development in a besieged Regional Capital. One can never fail to admire the people, the scholars, and the leadership for making it possible. There seems to be a consensus among everyone that the only way forward is not the business as usual. Innovative pathways must be designed to ensure sustainable development in the Regional State. This is the only way the people of Tigray can be safe and dignified.

Tigray has become analogous to the "eye of the hurricane" where there is calm while violent storm rages around it. This should have been considered as a blessing for all Ethiopians because there is a place in Ethiopia where sanity prevails. In the rest of Ethiopia people and politicians are surprisingly engaged in denying themselves the peace they badly need for normal and productive life. While development is the agenda in Tigray, and there is caution but no tension in the streets of Mekelle, other regions are obsessed with the talk of power politics and a non-peaceful way of grabbing it. In the

latter, development seems to have been archived for “later use” although it must have been the primary agenda. Development if forgotten has its own way of punishing people who forget it by cumulatively and irreversibly degrading capacities for resumption and rehabilitation.

Tigray is so peaceful and strong that it can serve as a refuge for all other Ethiopians who are displaced by conflicts. Any Ethiopian can go, live and invest in Tigray, but must refrain from insults, threats, and conspiracies. During my stay in Mekelle I was able to observe that ordinary people and scholars alike bear no grudges against the people of Ethiopia. In spite of the push to the limits they are still waiting patiently, and apparently endlessly, for the “Tigreophobic” frenzy to subside. I have even visited city corners of “night-life” in Mekelle where the youth drink and feel free to air their feelings. I have not heard a word of insult on other people of Ethiopia uttered except for happily dancing and singing all night long!. Why should one have a bad heart to hate such noble people with endless tolerance?

As a women of law Her Honorable Chief justice Meaza Ashenafi should have admired the peace in Tigray rather than proposing to end it. I did not write this article to ridicule W/o Meaza Ashenafi. I have no intention of doing that. I have my admiration for her. I know her when she was a fresh-women at Sidist Kilo Campus. She was energetic and assertive at that young age. She was a self-empowered women right from those years. In later years I came to know that the same Meaza has already become a National figure engaged in the most testing of social activities to liberate and empower women. When the PM appointed her to the post of chief justice it was not to be a baptism of fire for her as it is for many other ministers who get used to the job while doing it. I was stunned when I heard that she suggested action for rule of law to prevail in regions which have become “legal-outlaws”. It seemed to be a general statement referring to any region; but by cancellation there is no other region in Ethiopia considered by the central government as “rebellious”

than Tigray. She did not need to mention the name of Tigray as there is no other region at which all spears are pointed. Many including ESAT and Dr. Aregawi denied that the statement was targeting Tigray. Many considered the reaction from Tigray as unprovoked nervousness. Such statements are only a matter of opinion and a matter of vested interest. There is no doubt that Her Honor Meaza had Ethiopia's former spymaster in mind when she used the Eisenhower example. He is criminalized by the central government as a torture master rather than being celebrated as an undercover national guard. It is puzzling to say the least that he is accused of being professional by avoiding public view. Concealing oneself is a rule of thumb in the field of intelligence. It is silly to make oneself public while the enemy is concealing itself. Anywhere in the world the law turns a blind eye when it comes to intelligence activities. The job normally has a tendency to go sour on suspects who are trained to look innocent when apprehended. You cannot enjoy both national security and justice for the individual or group if both cannot exist at the same time. You don't choose one from the two but the right tradeoff has to be attained wisely. The center should be security of Ethiopia not personal grudges.

I have no problem with her example. The example is a good example, but more appropriate to a different context. When in 1957 Governor Faubus of Arkansas State blocked the US Federal court order in favor of racially integrated schools US President Eisenhower sent the 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne Division into Little Rock City to enforce the Federal Court Order. Well-done!! This is one of the noblest actions that can be taken by a president of a democratic country. No one should tolerate racial discrimination. Everything has to be done to end it. Since racists are lawless and violent you can only communicate with them in the same language they use. However, this is not applicable to Tigray and TPLF. Haven't 60,000 Tigrayans died and another 60,000 injured to bring about equality in Ethiopia? Haven't they used violence like Eisenhower to end discrimination and oppression of the nations and nationalities of

Ethiopia (this included racism on the dark skinned Nilo-Saharans)? Why? Armed action was the only language that oppressors of nations and nationalities could understand. So Tigray and its leaders are like Eisenhower not dissimilar. Aren't Tigrayan politicians engaged in a hard struggle to preserve the Constitution which ensures the equality of nations and nationalities? The loud and clear message from Tigray that is being persistently aired to the people of Ethiopia is "fight to protect your equality".

Eisenhower did not send troops against civil right activists who fought for the equality of races. They were on his side when he took the action. In Ethiopia, Her Honor Meaza should change the direction of her arrow towards the chauvinists who still stubbornly believe that 'some Ethiopians are more equal than others'. If she succeeds in identifying the right target every Tigrayan soul will follow her to victory. I don't blame her. She may have gone out of her own characteristic brave way to please some hate-blinded politicians. What she sung is the sweetest music to their ears: invading Tigray, catching and humiliating the spymaster of Ethiopia, and ending the autonomy, peace, and self confidence in Tigray. Otherwise, Her Honor Meaza is still the best fit to the post she is assigned to. Unlike most others she has earned it. However, she must avoid being distracted from her law books, which preach non-violence and identifying the right offenders. In the US the highest position in the list of social status is held by the chief justice not by the chief of staff. Why? Because people normally love to see a person enforcing the law using jurisprudence rather than using cannons.

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## **Ethiopia is in a rigidity-induced suicidal mood**

October 31-2020

The last few weeks in Ethiopia have seen perplexing developments in the political sphere where the Country is speeding towards its own doom as if it is in a bus that got its brakes malfunctioning or its gear shifter stuck. What is happening to the Country is also perfectly analogous to a man angered by something, that could be easily resolved with patience and consultation, climbs to the roof of a 40-story building and tries to jump down to the street below grinding his bones into pebbles. A huge crowd in the street below is warning and begging the man not to do it; telling him to seek other solutions rather than ending his life. As we often see in the movies a hero would climb up to where the man is standing precariously and try to talk him into changing his mind.

Rigidity (mental rigidity), according to Aquilar and Galluccio 2007, refers to an obstinate inability to yield or a refusal to appreciate another person's viewpoint or emotions characterized by a lack of empathy (understanding and entering into another's feeling). James Coplan 2016 made a list of things that could occur if a person with cognitive rigidity does not fulfill their rigidly held expectations: agitation, aggression, self-injurious behavior, depression, anxiety, and suicidality. The last in the list is what has characterized Ethiopia in the last few weeks.

One should ask: Are the list of problems in Ethiopia so impossible to solve peacefully that the only solution is the self destruction of Ethiopia, a Nation which endured too much over the centuries but remained intact? Should this generation of leaders of Ethiopia be so selfish that their destructive ego drives the Country to a point of no return? Sadly, it is not us who are worried about Ethiopia, it is others from outside Ethiopia who are warning us that we have become too busy destroying a Country the world loves and admires much more than we ourselves do! It is hard to understand why leaders in

Ethiopia fail to realize that any next war in Ethiopia means the end of Ethiopia. The threshold of resilience of the individual, the society and the economy is already reached. Any next war in Ethiopia, however easy and brief it may seem to carefree and myopic politicians, will be the last straw on the backbone of the Nation. History may remember these words of warning after we are long gone; but it is world history not Ethiopian history that will have the chance to record the self-destructive mood Ethiopia is in induced by its shellfish current generation of leaders and politicians.

The only reason why Ethiopia is sliding into self-destruction is Tigray elected its leadership because it felt that the decision by the Federal bodies to postpone the election was not based on a sufficiently legitimate reason. Isn't this just a matter of opinion? Isn't it silly and irresponsible at the same time if this leads to exchange of bullets rather than to legal and political debates, and give and take compromises? In fact, later developments proved that Tigray was right in holding elections. The Federal government was only looking for legal excuses to punish TPLF and by extension Tigray, and it was lucky to get one. This legal excuse did not last long enough because the decision to postpone elections (which incriminated Tigray for holding elections) was annulled a week after "the illegal" election in Tigray was done. Now the legal squabble about election in Tigray is only a case in history! The Federal government is accusing Tigray for holding elections violating the decision to postpone which is already annulled and no more binding. Let us take a related example, not exactly the same though. A law is passed prohibiting the killing of elephants. A tourist is accused of killing an elephant. In a surprisingly quick reversal, before the court case of the elephant poaching tourist is over, authorities pass another act and allow killing of elephants. What happens to the elephant killer? Should a sentence be passed on it while elephant killers are rejoicing their freedom to kill elephants? Tigray cannot be accused of doing some "offence" in the past by a law which ceased to exist. How is Tigray expected to undo its election in which millions participated willingly

and millions of public moneys was spent on it? When people have elected already how realistic and practical is it to ask them or try to coerce them to elect again? Isn't it too much rigidity, at all damaging costs, to stick to something impractical and make it a guide for action with disastrous outcomes?

Albert Einstein said, "If I am given one hour to solve a problem, I will use 55 minutes for thinking about the problem and the rest 5 minutes for thinking about the solution". In Ethiopia, politicians take less than 5 minutes to think about the problem and they take the rest 55 minutes or more for thinking about the solution. Why does it take them so much? Because they rush into action before they fully understand the problem. They don't understand the problem, and therefore, they only think of solutions based on their feelings, emotions, biases, historical enmities, hasty generalizations, obsession with power, which have little to do with the right solutions the problem demands. It takes them 55 minutes because they will be lost in the wilderness of the problem. They did not study the nature of the wilderness adequately, hence they will have no way out of the wilderness after they rush into it.

If the wellbeing of Ethiopia is the center of our lives, our thinking, our aspirations, then it is easy to solve the current problem. If leaders in Ethiopia genuinely consider themselves below Ethiopia, not the lies and hypocrisies that are often told in public, then they have to leave the problem solving to those who can do it best and do it genuinely and honestly. It is customary in the developed world for officials at all levels to resign if they fail to get tough when the going gets tough. Leadership in Ethiopia should be felt as a burden not as convenience for self indulgence. That is what acceptable change means. Ethiopia was catering for the independence of Africans from colonialism, it has been sending peace makers and peacekeepers to several African countries. It has now become suicidal unable to solve its own problems peacefully. The only solution to differences in Chivalry-dominated Medieval Europe was sword fight to death. In the American Wild-west cowboys abhorred discussing. They

thought that was cowardice. They happily face one another in the downtown street, a shouting crowd watching, and kill one another. They are individuals; they are forgotten soon after that and life goes on. BUT having trigger happy cowboys as leaders of Ethiopia? That will be the end of Ethiopia!!

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**አንድነትና አሃዳዊነት፡ የጊደውያን የቃላት ግምታታትና የኢትዮጵያ የቀልቀለት መንገድ**  
July 29-2021

ሰሞኑን ከምንሰማቸው ንግግሮችና ነገሮች የምንገነዘበው ከኩይሳ ተራራ እየሰሩ፣ በቀላሉ የሚፈታውን ችግር እያወሰሰቡ፣ እኛ ከሞትን ስርዶ አይበቅልም ብለው ህዝብን ከህዝብ በማፋጀት ኢትዮጵያን ይዘዋት ለመውረድ ከፍተኛ ዘመቻ ላይ እንደተሰማሩ ነው። እነዚህ እነማናቸው? እነዚህ ጎሬአቸው የበዛ ግን አላማቸው አንድ የሆኑት ኢትዮጵያን አንድ ላይ ጨፍልቀው መግዛት የሚመኙት ሃይያውያን ናቸው። ሰሞኑን ሚዛናዊና ዲሞክራሲያዊ ለመምሰል ቃላትን እያሸሞነሞኑ፣ ሲመች በሳቅ ሲከፋ በለቅሶ እያጀሱ የአሃዳዊነትና የአማራ የበላይነት መርዛቸውን የሚረጩት እነ ኤርሚያስ ለገሰ "ሆድ ያባውን ብቅል ያወጣዋል" ሆነው አርፈውታል። የትግራይ ህዝባዊ ጦር የትግራይን ህዝብ ከምድረገፅ ለማጥፋት ከተደረገው ርብርብ ህዝቡን ነፃ ለማውጣት የሚያካሂደውን የመከላከልና ወንጀለኞችን የመቅጣት ጦርነት የኢትዮጵያን አንድነት የሚንድ አገር አፍራሽ ጦርነት ስለሆነ ሁሉም ኢትዮጵያዊ አገሩን ለማዳን በትግራይ ህዝብ ላይ በመነሳት ግዴታውን እንዲወጣ በመሪውም በምሁሩም ጥሪ ቀርቦለታል። ትግራይ ከዘር ማጥፋት መከት መትረፏና የተቀማቸውን መሬት ማስመለሷ በእጅጉ ያቃጠለው ኤርሚያስ ለገሰ የጋዜጠኝነት የውሽት ክንብንቡን አውልቆ ጥሎ ያፈጠጠ የናዚ ግልገል ሆኖ ተገኘ። ትግራይን ለማጥፋትና የሃገሪቱን አስተዳደር ወደ አማራ-መር ሃይያዊ አገዛዝ ለመቀየር የተደረገው ጥረት ከሽፎ አገሪቱ በአሃዳዊያን አልሞት ባይ ተጋዳይነት ስትናጥ ኤርሚያስ ለገሰ ያቀረበው መፍትሄ እንደጋዜጠኛ ሰላማዊውን መንገድ መምረጥ ሳይሆን የከፋና ለኢትዮጵያ መፍረስ የማረጋገጫ ስርቴሬጅት የሚሰጥ ነው። ከዲሞክራሲያዊ አገር ውስጥ ከርቀት በምችት ተቀምጦ ውሃ ከመልቀቅ ይልቅ እሳት ማቀጣጠል ነው ጥሩ ሳይሆን ወንጀል ነው።

ኤርሚያስ ያቀረበው የዲያብሎስ መፍትሄ እንዲህ ይላል፡- "አገሪቱ ከምትፈረስ ማእከላይ መንግስት አስቸኳይ ጊዜ አዋጅ አውጆ ህገ መንግስቱን ማፍረስ"። ይህ ማለት ወልቃይት ከአማራ እጅ መልሶ ከሚነጠቅና ትግራይ የምታራምደው ፌደራላዊ ስርአት ከሚያሸንፍ ህገመንግስት አልባ የሆነ ወታደራዊ አምባገነን መንግስት ይመስረት ነው። ሰው ኢትዮ360 ዲግሪ ብሎ ለራሱ ስም አውጥቶ 45 ዲግሪ እንኳ ዞር ብሎ ማየት ያቅተዋል? ለነገሩ የኢትዮጵያ ትምህርትና ዲግሪ ለብዙዎቹ የፖለቲካ ጭፍኖች ህዝብን ለማሳበድ የሚጠቀሙበት የደብተራ ድግምት ሆኗል። ደብተራ የላቀ የእምነት ሰው እንዲሆን የተማረውን ትምህርት በሌላ ሰው ላይ ጉዳት ለማድረስ ሲጠቀምበት መኖሩ ከዚህ የተለየ አይደለም። ሰብአዊነት



የሚያጎናፅፈውን ፍልስፍና እስከ ጣርያ ድረስ ተምሮ ዳኛቸው አስፋ "በትግራይ ላይ ተነሱ፣ ህዝቡንም ፍጁ" ካለ፣ በሰላምና በህዝብ ደህንነት የትምህርት ዘርፍ የመጨረሻውን ዲግሪ የተቀዳጀው አቢይ አህመድ ህዝብን ያህል የአምላክ ስራ "ካንሰርና አረም ነው ዝመቱበት" ካለ፣ አባይን ገድቦ ብርሃን ይሰጠናል ያልነው የውሃ መሃንዲስ ስለሺ በቀለ በአጉል አድርገዳይነትና ጠባብነት "የትግራይ ህፃናት ሓሺሽ እያጨሱ ኢትዮጵያን ይወጋሉ" ካለ የዲግሪዎች መክሸፍ ይባላል እንጂ ሌላ ምን ይባላል?

ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ያለው ትርምስ ዋና መንስኤው በአንድነት ስም አሃዳዊነትን ለማስፈን የሚደረግ መሰሪ ዘመቻ ነው። የኢትዮጵያን አየር የሞላው በኢትዮጵያ አንድነት ላይ በትግራይ ሃይሎች አደጋ ተጋርጧል የሚለው እሪታና አቤቱታ ነው። እውነታው ግን በትግራይ ሃይሎች አደጋ የተጋረጠበት የኢትዮጵያ አንድነት ሳይሆን የአንድነት ለምድ ለብሶ አራት ኪሎና ባህርዳር አብያተ መንግስታት ውስጥ የመሸገው አሃዳዊነት ነው። አንድነት ከአሃዳዊነት ጋር መምታታት የለበትም። አንድነት ማለት አንድ ወጥ መሆን ማለት አይደለም። ወጥ ከሆነ "አንድ" ይባላል። ይህ ማለት አንድ ቅርፅ፣ አንድ ቀለም፣ አንድ ይዘት ያለው ማለት ነው። "አንድነት" ማለት "አንድ" መሆን ማለት አይደለም። "አንድነት" የሚለው ቃል ቁጥርን ለመግለፅ ወይም የሆነ ቁስ አካልን ባህርይ የሚያመለክት ሳይሆን አስተሳሰብን የሚወክል ፅንሰ ሃሳብ ነው። ይህን በሚገባ ለማብራራት የላሊበላን ውቅር አብያተ ክርስትያናትና የአዲስ አበባን አንዱ ሰማይ ጠቀስ ህንፃ በምሳሌነት መውሰድ ይቻላል። የላሊበላ ጊዮርጊስ ደብር ከአንድ ወጥ ድንጋይ ነው ወለሉም፣ ግድግዳውም፣ ጣርያውም፣ መስኮቱም፣ ምሶሶውም የታነፀው። ይህ "አንድ" እንጂ "አንድነት" አይደለም። ለምሳሌ "አንዲት ኢትዮጵያ" ማለት ኢትዮጵያ አንድ ሃይማኖት፣ አንድ ቋንቋ፣ አንድ ባህል፣ አንድ አስተሳሰብ፣ አንድ ታሪክ አላት ብለው የሚቃወሙ ሰዎች የሚጠቀሙበት አባባል ነው። አንዲት እስራኤል፣ አንዲት ግብፅ፣ አንዲት ጃፓን፣ አንዲት ፊንላንድ ቢባል ትክክል ሊሆን ይችላል፣ እሱም በጥንቃቄ ነው። አንድ የሚመስል ማህበረሰብ ምን የሚለያይበት ነገር እንደሚኖር ለመገንዘብ መሞከር ጠቃሚ ነው።

የአዲስ አበባን አንድ ህንፃ ብንወስድ የላሊበላ አንድ ወጥ ድንጋይ አለመሆኑን እንገነዘባለን፣ አይናችንን ካልጨፈንን በስተቀር። ይህ ህንፃ ከምን ከምን እንደተሰራ መዘርዘር ሁሉም የሚያውቀውን ነገር መድገም ይሆናል። ማለት የሚገባው ነገር ግን በተለያዩ ቦታና ማምረቻ የተመረቱ፣ ለህንፃው ውበት ጥንካሬና አገልግሎት አስጣጥ የሚበጁ፣ የየራሳቸው ባህርያት ያሏቸው ማቴሪያሎች ተቀብረው በአንድነት የፈጠሩት ህንፃ መሆኑ ነው። እነዚህ ማቴሪያሎች ተጨፈላልቀው ወይም በአንድ ቀልጠው ወይም በአንድ ተፈጭተው አንድ ማቴሪያል ተደርገው ቢሆን ኖሮ ህንፃው ህንፃ አይሆንም፣ የሚጠበቅበት አገልግሎትም አይሰጥም። ህንፃው ህንፃ ሆኖ ተገቢውን አገልግሎት የሚሰጠው እነዚህ የተሰኩት የተለያዩ ማቴሪያሎች ምንነታቸው ተጠብቆ ድርሻቸውን ሲወጡ ብቻ ነው። አርማታ ብረት ብረትነቱ ቀርቶ ተፈጭቶ ከስሚንቶው ጋር በማዋሃድ "ና ኮለን ሆነህ ቁም፣ ና ስላብ ሆነህ ወለልና ጣሪያ ሁን ቢባል ይናዳል እንጂ አይጠብቅም። ኮለን ኮለን ሆኖ ህንፃ የሚሸከመው ብረት በጥንካሬው ስሚንቶ ባጣባቂነቱ ምንነታቸውን ጠብቀው በ"አንድነት" ሲጣመሩ ነው። የአንድ መሆንና የአንድነት ልዩነት በሌላ ምሳሌ መረዳት የሚቻለው በተፈጥሮ ሳይንስ "ኮምፓውንድ" እና "ሚክስቸር" ያላቸውን ልዩነት በማስተዋል ነው። ኮምፓውንድ የተለያዩ ባህርያት ያላቸውን

ንጥረነገሮች አዋህዶ አንድ የተለየ ነገር መፍጠር ሲሆን የተዋሃዱት ንጥረነገሮች ስማቸው ብቻ ሊኖር ይችላል፤ አንዳንዴም ጨርሶ ይጠፋል። ሚክስቸር ማለት ምንነትን ጠብቆ ተፈላጊውን አገልግሎት በጋራ መስጠት ማለት ነው። የሰንዴና የሽምብራ ቅልቅል ቆሎ ይጣፍጣል። እዚህ ላይ ሽምብራም ሽምብራ ነው፤ ሰንዴም ሰንዴ!

የኢትዮጵያ አንድነት ሲባል የኢትዮጵያ ኮምፓውንድ ሳይሆን የኢትዮጵያ ሚክስቸር ማለት ነው። ኢትዮጵያ እንደ ላሊበላ ደብር አንድ ወጥ አለት ሳትሆን እንደ ፍንፍኔው ህንፃ የብዙ ማቴርያሎች ስብጥር ናት። አንድ ወጥ ሳትሆን አንድ ወጥ ለማድረግ መታገል የፓለቲካ ጥፋት ብቻ ሳይሆን ከተፈጥሮም ጋር እንደመታገል ይቆጠራል። ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ያለው የታሪክ፣ የባህል፣ የቋንቋ፣ የሃይማኖት ልዩነትን መካድ ወይም መኖሩ ቢታመንም "ቢታኝ" ስለሆነ ከአንዱ ብሄር ታሪክ፣ ባህል፣ ቋንቋ፣ ሃይማኖት ስር ገብቶ ቅመማ ቅመም ሆኖ ያገልግል ብሎ አገር እስክትናወጥ ድረስ በአቋሙ የፀና የግትርነት ፓለቲካ ጎጂ ብቻ ሳይሆን አጥፊ ነው። የዱር እንስሳትን አንበሳ፣ አጋዘን፣ ነብር እያልን መለየት ካላቃተን ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ሊከበር የሚገባው የራሱ ማንነት ያለው ሲዳማ፣ አፋር፣ አኝቀክ መኖሩ የሚካደው ለምንድነው? ሁለቱም ተፈጥሯዊ ክስተቶች ናቸው እንጂ የሰው ልጅ ሆን ብሎ የሚፈጥራቸው ልዩነቶች አይደሉም። ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ትልቅ ፈተና የሆነው ብሄር ብሄረሰቦችን "ህገ መንግስቱ ከአንዲት ኢትዮጵያ ፈልጦ ፈላገጠ ያረገፋቸው ትንሽና ትልቅ የእንጨት ቁርጥራጮች" እንደሆኑ አድርጎ የማሰብ የተደናበረ ፓለቲካ ነው። ፍጥጥ ግጥጥ ያለው እውነት ልዩነቱ ህገመንግስቱን ፈጠረ እንጂ ህገመንግስቱ ልዩነቱን አልፈጠረም። ህገ መንግስቱ ያደረገው ነገር ቢኖር አንድ ወጥ ለማድረግ በሃይደውያን ሲቀጠቀጡ፣ ሲፈጩ፣ ሲቀልጡ የነበሩት ብሄር ብሄረሰቦች አንድ ውሁድ ሆነው ሳይሆን ማንነታቸውን ጠብቀው በአንድነት እንዲኖሩ ነው። አንድ ማድረግ አሃዳዊነት ነው፣ አንድነት ግን ፌዴራላዊነት ነው። አሁን በትግራይ የሚመራው የፌዴራሊዝም ሃይል እየተወነጀለ ያለው በግልባጭ ነው። "የኢትዮጵያ አንድነትን ለማፍረስ" ብሎ መክሰስ ትርጉሙ ፌዴራሊዝምን ለማፍረስ እንደሚለት ነው። ፌዴራሊዝምን በማፍረስ የኢትዮጵያ አንድነትን ለማፍረስ እየታገሉ ያሉት አሃዳዊያን ናቸው። "የአባዩን እክክ እማየ ላይ ልክክ" ነው ነገሩ። አንድነት የሚኖረው ልዩነት ሲኖርና በጋራ ጉዳዮች ላይ አብረው እየኖሩ አብሮ ለመስራት በፍላጎት ስምምነት ላይ ሲደረስ ነው። ህንፃ ግንባታ ላይ ብረትና ስሚንቶን በግዴታ የሚያገናኘው ሰው ነው፤ በአገር ግንባታ ላይ የየራሱ ማንነት ያለውን ህዝብና ህዝብን የሚያገናኘው ግን ፍላጎትና ፈቃደኝነት ነው። አሃዳዊያን የነሱ ባልሆነው አንድነት እያጭበረበሩ በአንድነት ባለቤት ፌዴራላዊያን ላይ ህዝብን አጭበርብረው በማንሳሳት ኢትዮጵያን መቀመቅ እያወረዱት ነው።

የማይቆጩው ነገር ግን "ደባ ራሱን፣ ስለት ድጉሱን" የሚሆን መሆኑ ነው። የአማራ ፓለቲከኞች ግልፅ በሆነ ቋንቋ ጆኚችን እስኪጠዘጠዘን ድረስ "ኢትዮጵያ ማለት አማራ፣ አማራ ማለት ኢትዮጵያ ነው" ብለውናል። እና ኢትዮጵያ ከፈረሰች ማነው የሚፈርስው? አማራ ብቻ መሆኑ አይደለም እንዴ? ሌላውም አንድ ወጥ የአማራ ድንጋይ ሆነህ ካልተሰራህ ኢትዮጵያ አይደለም ተብሎ እኮ የየራሱ ስም ይዞ በተጠንቀቅ ቆሟል እንጂ አይፈርስም። ከኢትዮጵያ ህዝቦች ጋር ተስማምቶ በእኩልነት መኖርን ተፀይፎ፣ ጨፍልቆ ካልገዛኝትሁ እያለ ሌላው ላይ የከሰ ናዳ በማውረድ የቆመበትን መሬት የሚቆፍረው ማነው? የኢትዮጵያ ሰሪና ፈጣሪ፣

ጠባቂና አሻጋሪ እኔ ብቻ ነኝ እያለ ሌሎችን ብሄር ብሄረሰቦች እንደተለጣሬ እየቆጠረ የሚያሳንሰው የአማራ የፖለቲካ፣ የኢኮኖሚና የአካዳሚክ ልሂቅ ነው። ስለዚህ መነሻውና መድረሻው፡- የኢትዮጵያ አንድነት እያፈረሰ ያለው አሃዳዊነት ነው። የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ሆይ አፈራራቅህን ወደ መሰሪው እውነተኛ ጠላትህ አዙር። አንድነትን እጠብቃለሁ ብለህ በአንድነትህ ላይ አትዝመት። ከደነዘዝክበት ንቃ! ጁንታ እያልክ የምትዘረግጠው ህዝብ የአንድነትህ መከታ መሆኑ በጊዜ ነቅተህ ተገንዘብ። ኤርሚያስም ከነፃ አገር ተቀምጦህ መርዘህን አትርጭ። ኢትዮጵያን አበጣብጠህ ከፈረሰች በኋላ የሚኖርህ ቻናል ኢትዮ 000 ነው።\*\*\*\*\*

**የኢትዮጵያ የዘመኑ ፖለቲካ እሴት ላይ ጋዝ ማርክሱክና**  
 May 18-2020

አሳ አጥማጅ ባህሩ ፀጥ ሲል አይወድም ምክንቱም አሶቹ ስለሚረጋጉ መረቡን አይተው ሊሸሹ ይችላሉ ወይም ከባህሩ ጥልቀት ውስጥ ሊሆኑ ይችላሉና። ባህሩ ወጀብ ሲመታው አሶች ወደላይና ወደ ዳርቻ ሊገፉ ይችላሉ፤ በተጨማሪም ግራ ተጋብተው ሳይውቁት ወደ መረቡ እየዘለሉ ሊገቡ ይችላሉ። “በታመሰ ወሃ አሳ ማጥመድ” የሚለው የኢንግሊዝኛ ተረት የፖለቲካ ጥቅም የሚፈልጉ ግለሰቦች ወይም ቡድኖች ህዝቡ ተረጋግቶ እንዳያሰብና በውጥረትና በጭንቀት የነሱን መከታነት እንዲሻ የሚያደርጉበት ቅንነት የሳይለው ዘዴን ለማመልከት የታለመ ነው። ይህ ዘዴ የአሳው መኖሪያ የሆነው ባህርን ቀውጦ በማድረግ አሳው የመጣበትን አደጋ በእርጋታ እንዳያስተውል ሲያደርግ በአሳው የተመሰለው ህዝብም ኑሮው በውዝግብ የተሞላ በማድረግ የግለሰብ ፖለቲከኞች ሆነ የፖለቲካ ቡድኖችን ድብቅ አላማ ለማስተዋልና ጠንቅቆ ለመገንዘብ እንዳይችል ይሆናል።

ሚድያዎን አፍነው ይዘው ከመፋቀር ይልቅ መጣላትን የሚያስቀድሙ፤ “ይቅር በኛ ያብቃ ትውልድ ይዳን” ከመባባል ይልቅ ቁስል ላይ ስንጥር በመትከል የጥላቻ ስሜት ተባብሶ ወደ ቀጣዮቹ ትውልዶች እንዲሻገር ለማድረግ ቀንና ሌሊት የሚታክቱ፤ እኔ ከሞትኩ ስርዶ እንዳትበቅል የሚሉ ላለፉት 50 አመታት ከስልጣን የተገለሉ ሰባት መንግስታትና ተከታዮቻቸው፡ ቀጣዩ መንግስት ከነሱ የባሰ እንዲሆን በማስደረግ ህዝብ እንዲናፍቃቸውና ወደፊት ሳይሆን ሁል ጊዜ ወደ ኋላ እየ እንዲኖር የሚጥሩ፤ ኢትዮጵያ ያለችበት ጂኦፖለቲካዊ አቀማመጥና የነፃነት ተምሳሌት ሆና የመኖሯም ታሪክ ለሚያበሳጭቸው ሃይሎች ጥቃት ምቹ ሆና ብትገኝ የማያስጨንቃቸው፤ የግል ኑሯቸው የተደላለደለ እስከሆነ ድረስ በደሃው ህዝብ ላይ ቢገባሉ የማይጎረብጣቸው ኢትዮጵያ ሳትዘራቸው የበቀሉ አገሪቱን ወደ ጥፋት ጎዳና እየመሯት ነው። ስልጣን ጥቅም ከሌለው ማንም አይፈልገውም፤ ለህዝብ ራሱን አሳልፎ የሰጠ የመልአክ ዝርያ ያለው ካልሆነ በስተቀር። ይህ ደግሞ በኢትዮጵያ የሚበስ ይመስላል። “ኢትዮጵያውያን እርስ በርስ ይፋቀራሉ፤ አገራቸውን ይወዳሉ” የሚሉ “የላም በረት” የማይባልባቸው ተረቶች አሉ። እንዲህ አይነት አባባሎች በተግባር አይታዩም። “አገር ማለት ሰው ነው” የሚለው አባባል ይመቸኛል። ለጋራና ሽንተረሩ እየዘፈኑ ጋራና ሽንተረሩ ላይ የሚኖረው በሚልዮኖች የሚቆጠረው ድሃ ወገን ተረጋግቶ የአለት ህይወቱን እንዳይገፋ ያለውን ልዩነትን እየለጠጡ አዲስም እየፈጠሩ ሰላም ማሳጣት ምኑ ላይ ነው አገር ወዳድነቱ?

ባሁኑ ወቅት ኢትዮጵያ ያለችበት ሁኔታ እጅግ አስጨናቂ ነው። ለልማት ዋስትና ይሆነኛል ብላ የጀመረችው የግድብ ግንባታ ታላቅ ፈተና ገጥሞታል፤ ቀላል መፍትሄ ያለውም አይመስልም። አገራቸውን ወደው ፍላጎቱን ለማስፈፀም ቆርጠው በተነሱት ግብዥኛና አገራቸውን በውዝግብ አዳክመው ለጥቃት አመቺ ያደረጉት ኢትዮጵያውያኖች ተፋጠዋል። የሁለቱ ሃይል ተመጣጣኝ አይደለም፤ የግብፅ አቅም ይበልጣል። ለምን ቢባል የጦር ሃይል ብዛትና ጥራት አይደለም። ኢትዮጵያ ስትዋጋና ስታሸንፍ የኖረችው ከሷ የበለጠ የጦር አደረጃጀት ከነበራቸው መንግስታት ጋር ነው። አሸናፊ የሚሆነው ከመሳሪያው በስተጀርባ ያለው የአላማ አንድነት ነው። ኢትዮጵያና ግብፅ ጦርነት ቢገጥሙ ኢትዮጵያ ልትሸነፍ የምትችለው በግብፅ ዘመናዊ ሄሊኮፕተሮች ወይም ሚሳይሎች ሳይሆን በግብፅ ህዝብ አንድነትና አገራዊ የአላማ ፅናት ነው። “አካሄዱን አይተው ሸክሙን ይቀሙታል” የሚባል ተረት አለ። ቀማኛ በተፈጥሮው ፈሪ ነው። ብርም ንብረትም ቀምቶ በሰላም ቤቱ ገብቶ ለመጠቀም እንጂ በቅሚያ ላይ “በጀግንነት” መሞት አይፈልግም። ለዚህም ነው የሚቀማውን መንገደኛ አቅም በአረማመዱ የሚለካው። ይህ ተረት ለቀማኛ የተፈጠረ አይደለም። ደካማ ሰውና ደካማ አገር ፈሪም ቢሆን እንደሚደፍረው ለማመልከት ነው። ግብፅ የኢትዮጵያን አረማመድ በሚገባ አስተውላለች። ለዚህ የተልፈሰፈሰ አረማመድ ግብፅ በሰፊው አስተዋፅኦ አድርጋለች፤ ቢሆንም ተጠያቂ አይደለችም። ተጠያቂው “አገሬን እወዳለሁ፤ ውለታ ሰርቼላታለሁ፤ ከወያኔ አፅድቻታለሁ” እያለ ሲፎከር ከርሞ በወያኔ ጊዜ የነበረውን አንገራዊ ሰላም የሚያደፈርሰው ነው።

ለኢትዮጵያ አንድነት መሰረት የሚሆነው መከባበር ነው። አንዱ ህዝብ ሌላውን ካላከበረው በመልሱ አክብሮትን መጠበቅ የለበትም። እኔ የምሰራው ሁል ጊዜ ትክክል፤ አንተ የምትሰራው ሁል ጊዜ ስህተት ነው የሚባል ከሆነ ራስን የአምላክ ባህርይ አላብሶ ሌላውን ማሰይጠን ይሆናል፤ ይህን የሚቀበልም አይኖርም። የዚህ አይነት መነጋገር ሳይሆን ለየብቻ መናገር ውጤቱ መደንቆር ነው። በደርግ ጊዜ ሲዳሞ በዘመቱት የእድገት በህብረት ዘማኞች ላይ በሬድዮ የተነገረው መግለጫ ከዚህ ጋር የሚሄድ ነው። “በጩኸት የፈረሰች አገር ብትኖር ኢያሪኮ ብቻ ናት” ይላል የመግለጫው ርእስ። መልእክቱ በጩኸት አገር አትፈርስም ነው። አገር በጩኸት ልትኖርስ የምትችለው ጩኮቱ እንደ አይነት ሲሆን ሳይሆን የተለያየና የማይሰማ ሲሆን ነው፤ ድምፁ እየጨመረ የሚሄደው አንዱ የራሱ ጩኸት ብቻ እንዲሰማ በሚያደርገው ጥረት ነው። አራሱ ፈልጎ ወይም አሳምነውት ካልሆነ በስተቀር ማንም ሰው የራሱን ድምፅ ቀንሶ የሌላውን ጩኸት አይሰማም። በአሁኑ ጊዜ ኢትዮጵያን የሚያምሳትና ሊያፈርሳት የሚታገላት ጩኸት “እኔ እበልጣለሁ፤ እኔን ብቻ ስሙኝ፤ እኔ ብቻ ልክነኝ” ጩኸት ነው። ጩኸቱ ጎልቶ የሚሰማው “አመድ በዱቄት ላይ ሲሰቅ” ነው።

ሰሞኑን አገሬ አዲስ የተባሉ ፀሃፊ በአይጋ ፎረም ላይ ያወጡት መጣጥፍ ላይ የሰፈረው የግብፅና የኢትዮጵያ ሁኔታ እንዲሁም ስለኢትዮጵያዊነት ያሰፈሩት ትንተና በጣም የሚመስጥ ነው። ለዚህም ላመሰግናቸው ላከብራቸው እፈልጋለሁ። ስለኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ አንድነት አሰፈላጊነት ሲያትቱ ግን ቃላት አጠቃቀም ላይ ጥንቃቄ አላደረጉም። ሰሜን ኢትዮጵያን በሚመለከት የሚሰነዘሩ አስተያየቶች ምንም ቢጨቀዩ “ጠፈፍ ያሉ ናቸው፤ ደረቅ ናቸው” እየተባሉ የሚታለፉበት ምስጢር ምን ይሆን? ደርጎች፤ ብአዴኖች፤ አህዴዶች እንዲህ አደረጉ ብሎ ለመናገር የሚሸማቀቅ ፀሃፊ ድምፁን ከፍ አድርጎ ወያኔዎች እንዲህ አደረጉ በማለቱ ሙሳ የሚዘንብለት ለምን ይሆን? አገሬ ስለ ህዳሴው ግድብ በሰፊው

ፅፈዋል፤ ግንባታውን በድፍረት እንዲጀመር ያደረገውን ግን ለማሞገስ በጣም ተቸግረዋል። መለስ ግድቡን ያስጀመረው “በራሱ ስይጣናዊ አላማላይ ተመስርቶ ቢሆንም ማስጀመሩ ግን ለኛ እርግማን መስሎ ምርቃት ሆኖልናል” (ትርጉሙ እንዳልተዛባ ተስፋ አለኝ)። መለስ የሰራቸው መጥፎ ድርጊቶች ይኖራሉ። ለዚህ የቦዘነ ሰው የለም የክልሉ ተወላጆችም በየብእራቸው ይተቹታል፤ ሞቶም አላሳረፉት። በመሰረቱ ራስን ወይንም የራሴ ነው የምትለውን ወውቀስ የስልጣኔ መገለጫ ነው። ህወሓትን በግንባር ቀደምትነት የሚተቹት አብዛኛዎቹ የትግራይ ተወላጆች ናቸው። ከዚህ በፊት የነበሩት የኢትዮጵያ መሪዎች በጎ ነገራቸውን እያገነንን እናሞግሳቸዋለን እንጂ በህዝብ ላይ የፈፀሙት በደል እኮ ዳር ድንበር አልነበረውም። ግን ስለመጥፎ ድርጊት ስናወራ ብንከርም ፋይዳ የለውም፤ አንድነታችንን ከማላለት በስተቀር።

እርግጥ ነው ግድቡ ሲጀመር “መለስ ይችን አገር ቁልቁል ሊደፋት ፈልጎ ነው” ያሉ ሰዎች እንደነበሩ በጀርባ ሰምቻለሁ፤ ይህ የአንድ ሁለት ሰው ብቻ ሳይሆን የሺዎች አመለካከት መኖሩም የአዋቂ ግምት አሳድሮብኛል። ከፅሁፉ የከፋው ነገር ግድቡን ለመሰራት መለስ በሆዱ ይዞ ነበር ስለተባለው “ስውር አላማ” ነው። “ትግራይ ከኤሪትሪያ ጋር በማበር የራሷን መንግስት ስትፈጥር መለስ ሆነ ብሎ የፈጠረውን ‘ደካማ’ የቤኒሻንጉል ክልል ግዛት በመጠቅለል ግድቡን ለራሷ ለማድረግ ነው።” ይላል ፅሁፉ! ጨዋና ያልታረመ ሰው ያላቸው ልዩነት ከክር የቀጠነ ነው። ጨዋ የሆነውና ጨዋ ያልሆነው ሰው ሁለቱም በአንድ ነገር ላይ እኩል መጥፎ ስሜት ሊሰማቸው ይችላል፤ ሁለቱም ወደ አፋቸው መጥፎ ቃል ሊመጣባቸው ይችላል። ልዩነታቸው ግን ጨዋው መጥፎ ቃሉን መልሶ ዋጥ ያደርገዋል፤ ጨዋ ያልሆነው ግን ወደ ውጪ ይተፋዋል። መለስ በሌላ ነገር ይወቀስ እንጂ በንዲህ አይነት ነገር መታማትም አልነበረበትም። በነገራችን ላይ አገሪ በአንድ ድንጋይ ሁለት ወፍ መምታት ችለዋል። በግድቡ የሰሜንን ሰው ሚና በማቃለል ሲረኩ በሌላ በኩል ደግሞ ቤኒሻንጉል ጉምዝን ከብር በመንካት የውስጥ ስሜታቸው ሳያስቡት ፈንድቶባቸዋል። በመሰረቱ እነዚህ የቤኒሻንጉል ሰዎች ክልላቸው በሰሜን ሲወረር ዝም ብሎ የመተባበር ባህል አላቸው እየተባሉ ነው? ለህልውናውና ለሰብአዊ ክብሩ የሚሞተው “የተለየ” ህዝብ ማነው ታዲያ? በዝባዝንኬ ትርክት አዘቅት ውስጥ ብዙ ሳንጓዝ ግድቡ ጉባ ላይ የተሰራበት ቴክኒካዊ ምክንያት እንዳለው መገንዘን ያስፈልጋል።

በጣናና በግልገል አባይ ላይ ግድብ ለማሰራት ያቀዱት ቀዳማዊ ሃይለስላሴ ተሞግሰው ወደ ሱዳን ድንበር አስጠግቶ ግድብ ያስጀመረው መለስ ዜናዊ የተወቀሰበት ለኢትዮጵያ ከጉባና ከጣና ሃይ የትኛው ስለቀረበ ነው? ግድቡ ሱዳን ድንበር ድረስ የተጠጋው ግልገል አባይ ላይ ይሁን፤ ጣና ሃይቅ ላይ ይሁን በሺሎ፤ ጃማ ላይ ይሁን ወለቃ 6000 ሜጋዋት የሚያመነጭ በቂ ዉሃ ስለማይኖር ነው። አባይ ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ሆኖ የመጨረሻው የዉሃ ይዘት የሚኖረው ዲዴሳ፤ ዳቡስና በለስ ወንዞች ከተቀላቀሉት በኋላ ነው። ይህ የሚሆነውም ካማሺና መተከል ድንበር ላይ ካላው ጉባ ነው። “ሳያጣሩ ወሬ፤ ሳይገድሉ ጎፊሬ” ሆኖ ወደ ስም ማጥፋት ከመኖጥ ይልቅ የግድብ ስነዉሃ ባለሙያ ማነጋገር ይቀል ነበር። ለነገሩ ችግር የለም የሰሜንን ሰው በሰራውም ባልሰራውም መሳደብና ስም ማጥፋት የሚያስሞግስ እንጂ የሚያስከንን ወይንም የሚያስቀጣ አይደለም። መለስ ዜናዊ ለኢትዮጵያ በአንድ ጊዜ ሁለት ሰው ሊሆን አይችልም። ሁዋላ ትግራይ ግድቡን ወራ ለመያዝ እንዲያመቻት አድርጎ ያዘጋጀላት መለስ ኢትዮጵያ የአፍሪካ ህብረት መሪ ሆና እንደትቀጥል የሚያስችላትን የአፍሪካ

ሀብረት ፅ/ቤት በአዲስ አበባ ለማቆየት የማይወዳቸውን መሬቶች ስም እያሞገሰ ሽንጡን ገትሮ ተሟገተ! በመሰረቱ “ፎብያ” የአይምሮ በሽታ ነው። ራቢስ የተሰራጨበት ሰው የፍጡራን ህይወት የሆነውን ወሃን ይጠላል። ጥላቻ ከበሽታዎች ሁሉ የከፋ በሽታ ነው።

የትግራይ ህዝብ ከኢትዮጵያ የመገንጠል ፍላጎት የለውም፤ ትርጉምም አይሰጠውም፤ የተወሰኑ አዲስ ፖለቲካኞች ከመንጫጫታቸው በስተቀር። ይህም የሆነበት ምክንያት የመገንጠል አቅም ስለሌለው ወይም ከኢትዮጵያ መንግስት የሚያገኘው ጥቅም እንደይቀርበት ሳይሆን ኢትዮጵያ ምንም ባይተዋር ብታደርገውም እናት አገሩ ስለሆነች ነው። የመገንጠል ሃሳቡ ራሱ ለህዝቡ ባዕድ ነው። ጥላቻ የበረታባቸው ግለሰብ ፖለቲከኞች ግን በመሳደብ፤ በመወንጀል፤ በማባረር፤ በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ደህንነትና ምቹት እንደይሰማው በተለያዩ ረቂቅም ገሃድም የሆኑ ዘዴዎች በመጠቀም የመገንጠል ፍላጎትን በግድ “እያጎረሱት” ነው። እልክ የሚያጋባ ተራ ንግግርም አለ። ለምሳሌ “ትግራይ ከፊለገች ትገንጠል፤ ከኢትዮጵያ የምታገኘው እንጂ ለኢትዮጵያ የምትሰጠው የላትም፤ “ግልግል ነው፤ “ከኢትዮጵያ ተገንጥለው አንድ ሌሊት አያድሩም” ወዘተ። ራሱ በዚህ ተራ የሆነ ህዝብን የማግለል ድርጊት የሚሳተፍ እንጂ አደብ የሚያስገዛ መንግስት በሌለበት ሁኔታ ስለባ ለሆነው ህዝብ ይህ ታላቅ ጭንቀት የፈጠረ ነው። “እንዳትልሰው ፈጃት እንደትተው ልጅ ሆነባት” ይገልፀው ይሆን?

በአሁኑ ጊዜ በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ያለው ትግራይን የሚመለከት የፖለቲካ ሁኔታ በትግርኛ ተረት ለመግለፅ እሞክራለሁ። “አይትፅብሐዮ እንተበልኩዋስ ትገጠላ”። የዚህ ትርጉም የባሰ ስራ አትስሪ ለማለት ነው። ወጡን እያጠቀሰች መብላት እንዳይበቃት እያፈሰች በመጉረስ ያስቸገረችትን እንግዳ ላይ በቁጣ የተናገረችው ነው። ህወሓት በሰላም ከፌዴራል ስልጣን ወረደችና ሰዎቹ ወደ ትውልድ ስፍራቸው ሄዱ። ከስልጣን የተወገዱት በህገ መንግስቱ መሰረት በምርጫ መሆንሲገባው አልተደረገም። የህወሃት አመራሮች የሰሯቸው ጥሩ ተግባራት ቢኖሩም መጥፎዎቹ ገነው ታይተዋል። እውነትም ገነን ብለው ነበር፤ ዳኛ መሆን የነበረበት ግን የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ በምርጫ ካርድ አማካይነት ነበር። ችግሮቹ ገነው እንዲታዩ ምክንያት የሆነው ድርጊቶቹ ራሳቸው ብቻ ሳይሆኑ ባመዘኙ ሚዛን የጎደለው የአመለካከት ችግርም ነው። ያም ሆነ ይህ እነዚህ በጦር አድገው በጦር ያረጁ መሪዎች ድምፅ ሳያሰሙ ከአራት ኪሎ ወጥተው በሰላም ወደ ማረፊያቸው መሄዳቸው እጅግ የሚያሰኝ መሆን ነበረበት። ለክብራቸው መሳሪያ መዘው አራት ኪሎን ቀውጢ ቢያደርጉትስ ኖሮ እየተቀጣጠለ አገር መሆን እንችል ነበርን? ሰብአዊ ፍጡር ናቸውና ስሜታቸው እንደሚገዳ ጥርጥር የለውም። የሄዱበት ክልል ህዝብ ምንም እንኳ በነሱ ላይ ብዙ ቅያሜ ቢኖረውም ልጆቹ ናቸውና በሰላም እያኖራቸው ነው። ነገሮች እዚህ ላይ መቆም ነበረባቸው። ቀጥሎ የመጣው ነገር የለቀቀን እንደወደቀ የመቁጠር አጉል ትእዚት ነበር። ከመሪዎች የማይጠበቁ የወረዱ ቃለት ሁሉ ባደባባይ መለፈፍ ጀመሩ፤ ሌላውም እንደ ወቅታዊ ፋሽን ተከተለው። ስድቡ መንገድ ላይ የልጆች መጫወቻ እስከ መሆን ደረሰ። አንዳንድ ክልሎች ላይም “ሮሃንጃይዝም” ተጀመሮ ተጣጧፈ። አጠፉ የተባሉት የህወሓት መሪዎች ለቀው ሄዱ፤ ሌሎችም በወረንጦ እየተለቀሙ ተባረሩ። መቸም ጉልበት ሃቅ ነውና ያልተፈለጉት ተወግደዋል። እዚህ ላይ አዳምን ያስገረመው በህዝብ ላይ የተከፈተው ዘመቻ ነው። ይህ ከሆነ ፊትም ቢሆን ጥላቻው በህወሓት የአስተዳደር ችግር ብቻ ሳይሆን ከዛ ዘለግ ያለ ነበር ማለት ነው። አዋቂ ሰው የፈለገውን ሲያገኝ ጥንቃቄ መውሰድ አለበት። ነገሮችን ለማለዘብና

ለድርድር ለምክክር ለፍቅርም እድል መስጠት አለበት። ፍላጎቱ ካለ በደል በቀላሉ እንዲረሳ ማድረግ ይቻላል፤ “የት ይደርሳሉ፤ምን ያመጣሉ” የሚሉ የአብሪት ስሜቶች ገዢ ስሜቶች እንዲሆኑ ካልተፈቀደላቸው በስተቀር። በዳይ ወገን የተባዳዩን መጥፎ ስሜት ለመሻር ጥረት ማድረግ ይገባዋል። ነብርን መውጫ መግቢያ ካሳጡት ወደ አሳዳጁ ይዘላል፤ ቢያዋጣው ባያዋጣውም ደመነፍስ ነውና!

ኮሮና ቫይረስ በአለም ዙሪያ ብዙ ህዝብ እየፈጀ ነው። ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ያን ያህል ደረጃ ባይደርስም ስጋቱ ግን ቀላል አይደለም። የኢትዮጵያን የእድገት ጉዞ አንበርክኮታል። እድገትን ብቻ አይደለም የአገሪቱ የዴሞክራሲ ግንባታም አደጋ ላይ ወድቋል። ምርጫው ይተላለፍ አይተላለፍ የሚል ሙግት ተጀምሯል። በሁለቱም ወገን ያለው የክርክር ሃሳብ ተገቢነት ማንም ሊረዳው የሚገባ ነው። ነፃሌ ውስጥ ምርጫ መካሄድ ነበረበት፤ በወርሺፍ ምክንያት ማእከላዊ መንግስት አይቻለኝም አለ። ልክ ነው ? አዎ ልክ ነው! ምንም እንኳን ምርጫ ማካሄድ ህገ መንግስታዊግዴታ ቢሆንም ለነፃና ፍትሃዊ ምርጫ የማያመች ሁኔታ ሲፈጠር ምርጫ ማካሄድ ምናልባት ውጤቱን ሊያበላሽ ይችላል የሚል ስጋት ተገቢ ስጋት ነው። ፈተናው ግን ወረርሽኝ መቼ አብቅቶ ለምርጫ የሚመች ሁኔታ ይመጣል የሚለው አምላክ ብቻ የሚመልሰው ጥያቄ ነው። ስለዚህ በተግባር ማራዘሙ ገደብ የለሽ ይመስላል። ህወሓት በፌደራል ካለተቻለ የክልሉን ምርጫ እናካሂድ አለች። ልክ ናት ? አዎ ልክ ናት! “በህገ መንግስት ስንተዳደር ህገ መንግስቱን ተግባራዊ ለማድረግ ቀዳዳዎችን መፈለግ አለብን” ባይ ናት። ሁለቱም ወገን ልክ ናቸው። አሁን የሚያስፈልገው ውይይትና ድርድር ነው። ህወሓት ከፌደራል ስልጣን ብትወርድም አሁንም ክልል እያስተዳደረች ነው። የመወሰን ግዴታ አለባት። ፌደራል መንግስትም ሁኔታዎችን አይቶ የመወሰን ስልጣን አለው። በነዚህ ሁለት ውሳኔ የመወሰን ሃላፊነትና ስልጣን ባላቸው አካላት መካከል የሚፈጠር ልዩነት እንደ በጎ የዴሞክራሲ ልምምድ መወሰድ አለበት እንጂ የሌላ ቁም በቀል መወጫ መሳሪያ መሆን የለበትም። በመሃሉ የምትጎዳው አገር ናት። መደረግ አለበት ብየ የማስበው ምርጫው የትግራይ ህዝብም ፍላጎት ከሆነ ወረርሽኝ ከምርጫ አያግደንም ካለ መፍትሄ መስጠት ያለበት ምርጫ ቦርድ ነው። ምርጫ ቦርድ በትግራይ ውስጥ ብቻ ሳይሆን በሌሎች ያመቸናል ባሉ ክልሎችም ምርጫ እንዲካሄድ ድጋፍና የድርጅት አቅም መስጠት አለበት። ከዛ በተረፈ ግን የፊተኛው እንዳይበቃና ይቅርታ ሳይጠየቅበት ደግሞ ሌላ ግዴታ ጎግግር አስፈላጊ አይደለም። እየተነገረ ያለው ስለምርጫ እንጂ ስለህወሓትና ብልፅግና ፓርቲ ፉክክር አይደለም። በምርጫ ቦርድ ድጋፍ የሚካሄድ የትግራይ ክልል ምርጫ የተሰጋውን የግንጠላ ሂደት የሚያስቀር ይሆናል። ለምን ቢባል ያለ ምርጫ ቦርድና ማእከላዊ መግስት ምርቃት በትግራይ የሚካሄድ ምርጫ ወደ ግንጠላ እንደሚያመራ ማንም ሰው መጠራጠር የለበትም። ማእከላዊ ምንግስት ይህ እንዲሆን አይፈልግም ብየ አምናለሁ። አሁን የማእከላዊ መንግስት እልክ ለማንም የሚጠቅም አይመስለኝም። ያለው ሁኔታ የአዛዥና ታዛዥ፤ የእምቢተኛና የፈቃደኛ ጉዳይ አይደለም። የሃገር ህልውና ጉዳይ ነው፤ ጥንቃቄና ትእግስት ይፈልጋል።

“ምርጫ የምታካሂዱ ከሆነ እርምጃ እንወስዳለን” የሚለው አማርኛ ስለሚያስከትለው ጦስ ፍፁም ምክክር የተደረገበት አይደለም። ዛቻው ከጉዳዩ ጋር የተመጣጠነ አይደለም። ሁለቱም ወገን የሚናገረው ስለ ህገመንግስት መከበር ነው። ይህ መልካም ነገር ነው። ብዙ ዘመን እኮ ለክርክር እድል ሳንሰጥ እኮ ተፋጅተናል። ከዚህ ጥንቃቄ

ያልተወሰደበት ንግግር ብዙ ጥያቄዎች ሊነሱ ይችላሉ፡- ቀዳሚው፡ የሚወሰደው እርምጃ ምንድነው? የሚል ነው፡፡ አውራ መንገዶች መዝጋት? በጀት ማቆም? ሙብራትና ስልክ መቁረጥ? ጦር ልኮ ክልሉን መውረርና የህወሃትን አመራሮች አስሮ አዲስ አበባ ማምጣት? ወዘተ፡፡ ነገሩ የፊልም ስክራፕት ይመስላል፤ አሸናፊ ግን አይኖርም! ችግርን ለመፍታት ሌላ በቀላሉ የማይፈታ የከፋ ችግር መጋበዝ ብልህነት አይደለም፡፡ አሁንም አልዘገየም፡፡ ማእከላዊ መንግስት ለኢትዮጵያ ሲባል ራሱን ከመጠን በላይ ማግዘፉን ትቶ ከክልል መሪዎች ጋር በእርጋታና በአገር ፍቅር ስሜት መነጋገር ያስፈልገዋል፡፡ባንዳ የሚለው የሚዘገንን ፍረጃም ጥንቃቄ ይደረግበት፡፡ ከአፍ የወጣ አፋፍ ነው፡፡ በወሬ፤ በግምትና የሞራል ጥቃት ለማድረስ በታሰበ ተንኮል ሳይሆን በተጨባች ማስረጃ ኢትዮጵያን አሳልፎ የሰጠን ሰው ስድብ ሳይሆን ፍርድ ቤት ይቅረብ፡፡ ሌላው አላስፈላጊ ትርፍ ቃል ነው፡፡ በኢትዮጵያ አንድ ቀረርቶ አላ፤ እንዲህ ይላል፡- “ነካካቸው ነካካቸው አትስጣቸው ጤና፤ ምንጊዜም ደህና ሰው አልተባልክምና”፡፡ ጥቃት የበዛበት ግለሰብም ሆነ ህዝብ ወዳልተፈለገ የእልክ ስራ ሊገባ ይችላል፡፡

ጉዳቱም የጋራ

ነው፡፡\*\*\*\*\*

**ኢትዮጵያ የሞገ ዳቦ ይመስል ከተባላች በኋላ ኪስ ውስጥ አትገኝም፡፡**

March 21-2020

ፈረንጆች እንደሚተርቱት አንዲት ዳቦ ካለችህና እሷንም ከበላሃት ይችን ዳቦ ኪስህ ውስጥ አታገኛችም፡፡ በልቶ ከጨረሳት በኋላ እንደነበረች አገኛታለሁ ብሎ ኪሱን የሚዳብስ ሰው ካለ አሱ የለየለት ቁላቁል ለመሆኑ ምንም ጥያቄ የለውም፡፡ ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ባለፉት ጥቂት አመታት እየሆነ ያለው ከዚህ የተለየ አይደለም፡፡ ኢትዮጵያ የምትጠፋበት ዘዴ 24 ሰአት ሙሉ ሲያሰብ፤ ሲያቅድና ሲተገብር የሚውልና የሚያድር ሁሉ ተሳክቶለት ኢትዮጵያ ብትጠፋ ሌላ ተለዋጭ ኢትዮጵያ ከኪሱ አውጥቶ የሚኖርባት የሚመስለው ሰው አሁን በሚልዮን ካልሆነ በመቶ ሺዎች የሚቆጥር ሆኗል፡፡ ነገሩ ሰውንም ብቻ ሳይሆን እግዚአብሔርንም ሊያስገርም የሚችል ነው፡፡ እግዚአብሔር ከፍጡራት ሁሉ ለሰው ዘር የተለየ ስጦታ የሰጠው በረቱን እንደኩበት በእዳሪ አበላሽቶ አለማደሩ ነበር፡፡ የዚህ ምሳሌነቱ ለኢትዮጵያ ነው፡፡ መዋያ ማደሪያውን መዋልና ማደር እንደሚያስችለው አድርጎ የሚያበላሽ ቢኖር ከብት፤ አሳማና፤ ደሮ ካልሆነ በስተቀር የሰው ፍጡር ባህርይ ሊሆን አይችልም፡፡

ከሁሉም የሚያስገርመው ደግሞ በዚህ ኢትዮጵያን በማፍረስ ዘመቻ ላይ ሸሚዙን እስከ ትከሻው ጠቅልሎ የሚታከተው ባብዛኛው የኢትዮጵያ መንግስት ደሞዝተኛ የሆነው ነው፡፡ ራሱንና ቤተሰቡን የሚያኖረው በዚህ ደሞዝ መሆኑን እያወቀ፤ ልጆቹን ጎምህርት ቤት እየመረጠ የሚያስተምረውና ለወደፊት ለሱም ለራሳቸውም ተስፋ ይሆናሉ ብሎ ማሰብ የቻለውም በመንግስት ደሞዝ ላይ እምነቱንና ክብደቱን ጥሎ ነው፡፡ የመንግስት ደሞዝ ወሩን ቆጥሮ ሊመጣና የተረጋጋ መደበኛ ህይወት ሊኖር የሚችለው ከዳር አስከፊ ዳር አገር ሰላም ሆኖ፤ ንግድ ተጣጡሬና ኢንቨስትመንት ተስፋፍቶ ከሚሰበሰበው ግብር በማእከልና በፓርላማ ፀድቆ እንደየ ግብር አስተዋፅኦው ሳይሆን እንደየ ህዘቡ ብዛት በበጀት መልክ ሲከፋፈል ነው፡፡ ይህ አካሄድ በሰላም እንዳይካሄድና እንዲሰናከልም የሚጥር ግለሰብ ሆነ ቡድን ወር ሲመጣ ደሞዙን እንደተለመደው ማግኘት እንደ ተፈጥሯዊ ሙብቱ አድርጎ ይቆጥራል፡፡



የኒቨርሲቲዎችን አስበጥብጦ ወታደራዊ ካምፖች ሲመስሉ የማይደንቀው፤ እንደድልም የሚቆጥረው የተበላሽ ዜጋ ልጆቹ የኒቨርሲቲ ገብተው እንዲማሩለት ጊዜውን፤ ገንዘቡንና ጉልበቱን የሚያፈሰውንም ይጨምራል። አገርን ከሰሯ ምንግል አድርጎ የሚነቅላት የውጭ ወረራ አይደለም። አገር ላትመለስ የምትጠፋው በውስጥ ነው። ብዙ ሰዎች ግን ይህን በሚገባ አይረዱም። ይህ ቁልነት በኢትዮጵያ ታሪክም በተደጋጋሚ ተከስቷል አሁንም እያየነው ነው።

ባለፉት ሁለት አመታት የኢትዮጵያ ስም የት እንደገባ ሳይታወቅ የብሄሮች ስም ብቻ አየሩን ሞልቶት ከረመ። እዛም ግጭትና ግድያ እዚህም ግጭትና ግድያ፤ አንዱ ሲያባራ በሌላው ይለከሳል። በየሰአቱ የማህበራዊ ሚዲያና መደበኛው ሚዲያ የተሞላው በልማት ዜና ሳይሆን በግድያ፤ በተቋማት ቃጠሎ፤ በውጤቱን ዘመቻና፤ በተፈናቀለ ህዝብ አሃዞች ነው። የግድያ፤ የቃጠሎ፤ የማባረር ዜና ሳይሰማ ማደር የለበትም የሚል አስገዳጅ ሁኔታ የተጣለ ይመስል ሁሉም በየክልሉ፤ በየዞኑ፤ በየወረዳውና በየቀየው የግድያ ዜና እንደይቋረጥ አስተዋፅኦውን የሚያበረክት ይመስላል። ድር (ልበለው) በየዞኑ የነበረው የህዝብ ጥያቄ የኒቨርሲቲ ይገንባልን ነበር። አሁን የዞን ጨርሰናል ወደ ወረዳ የኒቨርሲቲ ልንገባ ነው ብለው አንድ የትምህርት ሚኒስቴር ባለሙያ/ባለስልጣን ስብሰባ ላይ ቀልድ ጣል ያደረጉበትን አጋጣሚ አስታውሳለሁ። የኒቨርሲቲ ለዞንና ለወረዳ በኮታ የሚዳረስ መሆን ባይገባውም ጥያቄው ሰላማዊና ለሃገር ጠቃሚ ነበር። በዛ አጋጣሚም የ45 የኒቨርሲቲዎች ባለቤት ሆነናል። ይህ ለወደፊቱ ልማታችን ጠቃሚ ግብአት ነው። አሁን በየዞኑ ያለው አካሄድ ግን ከፊተኛው በተቃራኒ የቆመ ነው። እነዚህ በየዞኑ የተመሰረቱት የኒቨርሲቲዎች ሲበጠበጡ አቋቁሙልን ብሎ የወተወተ ዞን ሁሉ ወይ ዝም ብሎ ያያል ወይ እሳቱ ላ ጋዝ ይጨምራል። ኢትዮጵያ ከፍተኛ ባለሙያ የምታሰለጥንበት እድሏ በግዴለሽ ዜጎቿ የሚሰናከል ከሆነ የወደፊት እጣ ፈንታዋ ብዙ ትንንሽ ሆና ወደ ጥንታዊ ጋርዮሽ መመለስ ነው።

በውስጥ ኢትዮጵያን ቅንቅን እንደበላው ግንድ ቦርቡረን ካዳከምን በሁዋላ ግብፅ አገራቸውን በማይወዱ ግን እንደሚወዱ ደጋግመው በሚናገሩ የኢትዮጵያ ዜጎች ለተደረገላት ውለታ እያመሰገነች የራሷን ፍላጎት ኢትዮጵያ ላይ ለመጫን ሞከረች። የግብፅን ድረጊት ያየ ያ ኢትዮጵያን ከውስጥ ቦርቡረ ያዳከመው ሁሉ ከሌላው ቅን ዜጋ ጋር አብሮ ዘራፍ ላገሬ ማለት ጀምሯል። ምን አይነት አባዜ ይሆን። አሁን ሁሉም የየብሄሩ ምሽግ ይዞ የሚፎክረው ኢትዮጵያ ብትቀር እያንዳንዳችን አገር ሆነን ከበፊቱ የበለጠ ቀና ብለን እንሄዳለን የሚል በአሸዋ ላይ የተመሰረተ እምነት ይዞ ነው። በዙሪያው ከቦ ሊቀራመተው የሚያደባውን ግዙፍ ሃይል ለማየት አይኑ የተሰወረ ፖለቲከኛ ኢትዮጵያ ከፈረሰች እጣ ፈንታው የሚሆነው ስልቻውን ቋጥሮ ወደ ስደት እንጂ ወደ ስልጣን ወንበር ሊሆን አይችልም። የሰማኒያ ብሄረሰብ መሪዎች ሰማኒያ አገርና ሰማኒያ ዙፋን ይመኛሉ። ተግባራዊ ለማድረግ ከሞከሩ በማግስቱ ያውሬ እራት እንደሚሆኑ እሙን ነው። አሁን የኢትዮጵያ ፖለቲከኞች የሚፈፁት የበታታኝነት ድርጊት ለትውልድ የማይጠቅም ጎጂም ስለሆነ በወላጆቹ መጥፎ ተግባር የሚሰቃይ ትውልድ ከመፍጠር መውለድ ማቆም ፍትሃዊ ይሆናል። ይህ አገርን የመበታተን ስራ በፍጥነት ካላቆምንና ቁጭ ብለን በእርጋታና በሃላፊነት ስሜት መነጋገር ካልጀመርን የምንወልዳቸው ልጆች በአልልታ ሳይሆን በለቅሶ ብንቀበላቸውና ሞት የሚገላግላቸውን ደግሞ በአልልታ ብንሸኛቸው ይመረጣል።\*\*\*\*\*

# CLUSTER 6

## Genocidal Rhetoric



- Daniel Kibret: A Strange Way to Make a Living
- ፀጉረ ለውጥ የሚለው ፍረጃ አደገኛ አጠቃቀም
- ኢትዮጵያ፡- በአንድ ህዝብ ጥላቻ ብቻ አንድ የሆነች አገር
- ዲሂዩማናይዜሽን (ሰብአዊ ፍጡርነትን መንሳት) የዘር ፍጅት እሳት ማራገቢያ
- "ህዝብን ባርያ ለማድረግ የሚጠይቀው ብቸኛ ስራ ፍርሃት መልቀቅ ነው።"

**“Certain public statements by Hutu political leaders and RTLM radio broadcasts constituted direct and public incitement to commit genocide against ethnic Tutsis.”**

Prosecutor ICC

## **Daniel Kibret: A Strange Way to Make a Living**

September 23-2021

A queer version of specter of Nazism is haunting the World. This time it came not from Europe but from Africa; not from some renowned personality but from a good for nothing in Ethiopia's capital Addis Ababa. This person is a contradiction: He poses as a man of God, but he is a vicious blood thirsty beast; his fiery oratory pushes multitudes into barbarous actions, but he is a real coward hiding in the comfort of the renovated Arat-Killo office. It is dumbfounding to know that this person is no other than Deacon Daniel Kibret who is the Social Affairs Advisor to Abiy Ahmed of Ethiopia. He loves the Geez language title "Muaze Tibebat", probably meaning the pinnacle of wisdom. No need to be surprised; many bad people have nice names. That is how they mix easily with the flock and drive it to the cliff. Both are the same in their deeds but what makes Daniel different from Hitler, Himmler, and Goebbels is that the latter are led into what they did by their loyalty to an ideology, while the former is trying to make a living in the most disgusting way.

Some people teach, others sell, and still others drive Lorries for living. There are thousands of occupations and occupational categories people are engaged in, that range from eking out a living from a small piece of land to making superprofits in global business. Some jobs are noble and others ignoble. Some drop out of their comfort zone in big business and selflessly find themselves sharing miserable life with their rural folks in order to free them from the brutality they are subject to with impunity. Among hundreds of such brave sons and daughters of Tigray, just one can be pulled out as an example. Mr. Sanjit of My Views on News called him the "Finest African General". Yes he is; but that is not all. He is also in a successful big business and has a history of serving global organizations with his skills in military science. He is best known for

building a well-organized army for Ethiopia, the Badme victory and many others. As a young man he was a brilliant student and deserved everything good in later life. He spent a quarter of his age in the bush to liberate his people from subjugation. This man is General Tsadkan Gebretensay. Now you find him sitting on a rough bolder under a tree and sleeplessly commanding the Tigrayan Army of devoted youngsters to save their people from genocide that is planned on them. Isn't this the noblest of all ways to live?

At the other extreme of the noble-ignoble job spectrum are abhorrent occupations such as working as a hired "hit-man" to murder people on contractual basis. It is a sad paradox that mercenaries die to make a living. We have no shortage of such people. We find plenty of them in our neighborhood of states. Eritrea, for instance, has become a nation of mercenaries from the top leadership to the young soldier at the bottom. The state of Eritrea has no economy enough to provide its people with decent living. It is a disgrace that its young people of productive age are trying to make a living by robbing in neighboring territories of Tigray and Gondar. They remind us of the "Pirates of the Caribbean" under the command of the nasty Jack Sparrow. What is jokingly referred to as the "Italian-Job" is the Mafia related bank robbery and drug trafficking; something which is not only illegal but also immoral. However, these mean nothing compared to what we can dub as "Daniel's-Job". The kind of occupation Daniel Kibret is engaged in is tragically unique in the sense that the job description clashes head on with what he is actually doing. Let's see how the conflict is manifested.

Daniel Kibret is doing three things that are not compatible with each other. He is in religious service as an ordained deacon of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, he is in the chief executive's office as an appointed politician, and he is a Goebbels-style propagandist in the war on the people of Tigray. As a deacon he runs a radical al-Qaeda type group (Mahbere Kidusan) which challenges Church Canons and politicizes it inline with ethnocentrism of a particular group of people. He has also been Islamo-phobic and accused

Protestants of heresy. He is so dangerously intolerant that the only religion he recommends for Ethiopia is Orthodox Christianity. In fact, he is not a true Orthodox Christian himself; his words and actions don't match. His inner passion is not to be a saint but to be rich and famous by trampling on all codes of morality. He has painted his hair dark color to hide greying. Greying is a blessing in Orthodox Church tradition; but he has no desire for that honor. He is keen for a worldly life. He kept low enough in the Church hierarchy as deacon to enable him to shave his beard, paint his hair, and dress a designer-made suit and a necktie. With his age he could have reached the level of a bishop where he is obliged to wear a long robe, a mitre, and grow his beard long.

Although Daniel Kibret is a heretic in deeds, his talent (“ብላዕ ኢሉዎ”) to hypnotize his audience has earned him the popularity he does not deserve. Abiy Ahmed was convinced that Daniel's skills, at driving people willingly to hell, are of great advantage to him. So here we go! Daniel Kibret was catapulted to the position as social affairs advisor to Abiy Ahmed; post sociology professors deservedly aspire. What is normally expected of Daniel Kibret, in that position as a social affairs advisor, is to propose innovative ways of improving and further enhancing health care, access to education, and social justice and harmony. All these require a strong academic background in sociological research, not having thoroughly read chapters of the Bible. I know religious morality contributes to social cohesion; but the job requires more skills than kindness. Even equipped only with the knowledge of the Bible Daniel Kibret could have done the minimum required for instilling the feeling of love among Ethiopians; but he seems to be unwilling to do that. His investment is in the wrong side of virtue-vice divide. Instead of preaching peace he takes the path of inciting ethnic hatred, which is a more lucrative business, given the huge number of people in Ethiopia who have gone crazy about that. Daniel saw that the gold coin is shining bright with the brush of genocidal rhetoric.

It is not new to see the appointment of unqualified people to various positions in Ethiopia. During the Monarchy, the Derg, and the EPRDF people were posted in high places not for their knowledge and skills but for their blind loyalties. No best-people cabinet ever existed in Ethiopia. To tell the truth TPLF was the top in doing such appointments.

I have no idea how much it has changed and could improve in the future. Even with such appointments those assigned were trying to do something appropriate although it was diluted with a lot of bad things. The problem with Daniel Kibret is not that he is assigned to such high position without qualification, but it is because he is a sociopath incompatible with his position as a social affairs advisor. USA was disgusted about his speech propagating for genocide on Tegar in his public speech in his hometown. This may be the most strongly worded genocide rhetoric but we have heard him several times before saying the same thing in different occasions. Unless his tongue is cut out from his mouth he will never stop. He is always greeted with applause and he is convinced that he is making a “decent” living. Isn't it strange to see a deacon investing in genocidal business? Rwanda has experienced genocidal priests who stimulated, tolerated, and even led death squads against Tutsis. Please press this link and read the research article: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/49b92b279.html>

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**“ፀጉረ ለውጥ” የሚለው ፍረጃ አደገኛ አጠቃቀም**  
July 28-2020

**ግሳታወሻ:** በዚህ ርዕስ ጉዳይ ላይ በአይጋ ፎረም ፅሁፍ ካወጣሁ ሁለት አመት ሊሆነው ነው። ይህ ምክር አዘል ፅሁፍ የሚመለከታቸው ሰዎች ጆሮ የደረሰ አይመስልም። በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ እየተለመደ የመጣው የቃላት ጭቃ መወራወር እንጂ መደማመጥ አይደለም። ከዚህም የተነሳ የደቡብ ክልል ፖሊስ ኮሚሽነር የኢህአዴግን ጉባኤ አስመልክተው በሰጡት መግለጫ ላይ “ፀጉረ ለውጦችን ነቅታችሁ ጠብቁ” ብለው ለሰፊው ህብረተሰብ የሰጡትን “ምክር” መነሻ አድርጌ የፃፍኩት ጠንካራ ማሳሰቢያ ነበር። ስከን ብሎ መስማት ለሚችል ሁሉ ይህንን ጉዳይ አጠንክሮ መድገሙ አስፈላጊ ሆኖ አግንቼዋለሁ።

ሰሞኑን ከአማራ ክልል አመራር በኩል ከተሰማው ነገር ሁሉ አሳሳቢ የሆነው “ፀጉረ ልውጥ የሆኑ ሰዎች ስታገኙ መታወቅያ ጠይቁ፤ ማን እንደሆነ ከየት እንደመጣ ወይም እንደሚሄድ አጥብቃችሁ ጠይቁ” የሚል መመሪያ በምስጢር ለሚመለከታቸው የፀጉታ አካላት ሳይሆን ባደባባይ ለ20 ሚልዮን የአማራ ህዝብ መነገሩ ነው። እዚህ ላይ ህወሓት ወደ አማራ ክልል ታጣቂ እየላከች ነው አይደለም ወደሚለው ጉዳይ ልገባ አልፏል። የማውቀው ነገር ስለሌለ። አማራ ክልል ወደ ትግራይ ታጣቂ እየላከ ነወይ የሚለውም ቢሆን ማስረጃ ስለሌለኝ አላስተናግደውም። ፖለቲከኞች የራሳቸውን የውስጥ ችግር ወደ ሌላው ማላከኩ ከድንጋይ ዳቦ ዘመን ጀምሮ የተለመደ ስለሆነ ቁምነገር ነው ብዬ ትኩረት አልሰጠውም። ሊገርመኝ የሚችለው ነገር ቢኖር ይህ ያረጀ ያፈጀና ድሮ የተነቃበት ዘዴ ልክ እንደ አዲስ ፈጠራ የሚጠቀሙበት ሰዎች መኖራቸው ብቻ ነው።

ማንም ሰው በፍትህ ሂደት ሳይረጋገጥ ወንጀለኛ አይባልም። አሳዛኙ ነገር ግን ይህ በኢትዮጵያ ቴሌቪዥን እንጂ ተግባር አይደለም። የአለመሰጠናችን አንዱ መገለጫ ይህ ነው። መንግሥት ይዞ ወደ ጉዳዩ የሚሄደውን ሰው ለዚህ ስራ የተመደበ፤ ዩኒፎርም የለበሰና ህጋዊ መታወቂያ የያዘ የፖሊስ ባልደረግ ሳይሆን እንዲሁ አንዱ መሰል መንገደኛ አስቁም “ማህፀን ወይም ነህ፤ ከየት መጣህ” ብሎ በጥያቄ ቢያጣድፈው ለዚህ የሚሰጠው የህግ ትርጉም ምንድነው? ጠያቂው ሲጠየቅስ የክልል መሪዎች የሰጡኝ መመሪያና መብት ነው ማለቱ ይቀራል? ለማለብ መብት ትኩረት ሰጥተው ለውጥ አመጣን የሚሉ የፖለቲካ መሪዎች የግለሰብ መብትንና እንደ ዜጋ በራስ መተማመንን የሚሸር መመሪያ በግዴታ ለሽነት ማስተላለፍ መሰረታዊ የፍትህ መርህን ጥሶ ጊዜያዊ ተሰሚነትና ተወዳጅነት ለማትረፍ ካልሆነ በስተቀር ምንም ሌላ ፋይዳ የለውም። የሚገርመው ደግሞ ከሁሉም ቀድመው ተሸቀዳደድመው “ህዝብ ከህዝብ የሚያጋጩ፤ ህዝብ ከህዝብ የሚያለያይ ፕሮፓጋንዳ የሚነዙ” እያሉ ሲወነጅሉ ድምጻቸው ጎልቶ የሚሰማው የነሱ ነው።

በጉዳዩ ያለኝን ሃሳብ መግለፅ ከመቀጠሉ በፊት መጀመሪያ “ፀጉረ ልውጥ” የሚለው የፍረጃ ቃል ትርጉም፤ በቅርቡ እንዴት ወደ ኢትዮጵያ የፖለቲካ መዝገብ ቃላት ውስጥ እንደገባና ማን እንዳስገባው እንመልከት። “ፀጉረ ልውጥ” የተለየ የፀጉር ቀለም ያለው ሰው ለማለት አይደለም። በከርዳዳ ባለፀጉሮች አገር ባለ ዘማው “ፀጉረ ልውጥ” ነው ማለት አይደለም። ጠጉረ ልውጥ ማለት “የአካባቢው ነባር ኗሪ የማያውቀው፤ ለአካባቢው አዲስና ለመጀመሪያ ጊዜ ባካባቢው የታየ፤ ለየት ያለ ሰው” ነው። “ፀጉረ ልውጥ” በአጠቃቀም ላይ የእንግዳነት በጎ ያልሆነ ጎኑን የማንፀባረቅ አዝማሚያ ቢኖረውም ባይተዋር የሆነ፤ ድጋፍና መስተንግዶ የሚያስፈልገው የሰው አገር ሰው ለማለትም ይሆናል። በዚህም ሆነ በዛ “ፀጉረ ልውጥ” የአካባቢው ያልሆነ ባእድ ሰው ለማለት ነው። እዚህ ላይ አካባቢ ምን ማለት ነው? ወደዚህ መንደር ከሌላ መንድር የመጣ ነው? ወደዚህ ወረዳ ከሌላ ወረዳ የመጣ ማለት ነው? ወደዚህ ክልል ከሌላ ክልል የመጣ ነው? ወደዚህ አገር ከሌላ አገር የመጣ ነው? እነዚህ ጥያቄዎች ስሜታዊ መልስ ይሰጣቸው ይሆናል የህግ አንቀፅ የሚመልሳቸው አይደሉም። ከሌላ አካባቢ የመጣ ሁሉ በወንጀል ተጠርጣሪ ነው የሚል ህግ ሊኖር አይችልም። ወደ አገራችን የገባ ቱሪስት ሁሉ የወንጀል ተጠርጣሪ ለማድረግ እንደመሞከር ይሆናል። ለዚህም ነው ፖለቲከኞች በፍትህ አካላት ተቀባይነት ሊያገኝ የማይችለውን ፍረጃ በህግ አንቀጾች ላይ

ተመስርቶ የሚሰራው የፍትህና የህግ አስከባሪ ተቋምን በጎን አልፎ በጥላቻ ስሜት ለታወሩት ደጋፊዎቻቸውና ተከታዮቻቸው የመፍለጥ የመቁረጥ ሙብት የሚያቀዳጁት።

“ፀጉረ ልውጥ“ የሚለው ፍረጃ መቼ ጥቅም ላይ መዋል እንደጀመረ ባላውቅም በነጋሴዎች ዘመን ሲነገር እንደነበረ ይታወቃል። ይህ በደርግና በኢህአዴግ ዘመናት ብዙም ያልተሰማው ሃረግ በድንገት ወደ ኢትዮጵያ የፖለቲካ መዝገብ ቃላት ውስጥ ከገባ ሁለት አመት ሆነው። ልማትና ጥፋት የተቀላቀለበት የኢህአዴግ የ27 አመት አስተዳደር በገዢው ግንባር የውስጥ ሴራና በውጭ ግርግር ማእበል ሲመታ ከመርከቡ ውስጥ አንድ “ዮናስ“ ወደ ባህሩ ተወረወረና ወጀቡ ፀጥ አለ። ይህ ከመፅሃፍ ቅዱሱ ታሪክ የሚለየው በዚህ የኢህአዴግ መርከብ ውስጥ ብዙ የቀሩ ዮናሶች መኖራቸው ነው። ሁሉም ዮናሶች ወደ ባህር ሳይወረወሩ ቢቀሩም ወደብ እስኪደርስ ድረስ ለጊዜውም ቢሆን ወጀቡ ፀጥ ያለው የተጣለለት ወገን ያጣ “ዮናስ“ ላይ ሁሉም እንዲጮህበት በመደረጉ ማእበሉ የሚፈልገውን ያገኘ ስለመሰለው ነው። እዚህ ላይ ነበር ማእበሉን የሚያረጋጋ በአራዳ አባባል “ቢዚ“ የሚያደርግ ዘዴ የተገኘው። ያኔ ነበር “የቀን ጅብ“ ና “ፀጉረ ልውጥ“ የተባሉት የጋሪ ፈረስ የአይን ከለላዎች የተሰሩት። “የቀን ጅብ“ የሚለው አባባል በፊተኛው ፅሁፌ አስተያየት የሰጠሁበት ስለሆነ አልደግመውም። ከአይጋ ፎረም ድረገፅ ማከማቻ ውስጥ ማግኘት ይቻላል። ማለት የምፈልገው አንድ ቃል ግን በአርአያ ስላሴ የተፈጠረውን ፍጡር የክርስትና ሃይማኖት ተከታይና መሪ ከሆኑ ሰዎች አፍ “የቀን ጅብ“ የሚል ቃል መውጣቱ የአምላክ ስራን ማኮሰስ ነው። ባህርዩና ድርጊቱምን ይሁን ምን አምላክ ሰውን ሰው ጅብን ጅብ አድርጎ ነው የፈጠረው። ፖለቲካና ሃይማኖትን እያጣቀሱ አንዱን በሌላው ማፍረስ ያስኮንናል።

“የቀን ጅብ“ የሚለው ፍረጃ ሞራልንና ሃይማኖትን ሲጋፋ “ፀጉረ ልውጥ“ የሚለው ግን የሚጋፋው ህግን ነው። በወርዋሪዎቹ ዘንድ ህወሓት “ብቸኛዋ ዮናስ“ሆና ከተወረወረች በኋላ አሳ ነባሪው ውጤት ባህር ውስጥ ያስቀራታልና ሁሉም ሰላም ይሆናል የሚል ስሜት አልነበረም። በመፅሃፍ ቅዱስ ታሪክ ዮናስ ቢያጠፋም ለአምላክ ከነበረው ቅርብ የተነሳ አሳ ነባሪው ወደ መሬት መልሶ እንዲተፋው አደረገ፤ ንስሃ ገብቶም አምላክን ማገልገል ቀጠለ፤ የአምላክ ልሳንም ሆነ፤ ለሰው ልጅ ጠቃሚ የሆኑ ትንቢቶችም ተናገረ። ህወሓትን ያሰወገዱ ሰዎች ህወሃትን የሚንቁ ሰዎች አልነበሩም። እንዲያውም ህወሓት ውልቅ ብላ ስትሄድ የበለጠ ፍርሃት ሳያሳድርባቸው የቀረ አይመስልም። ነገሩስ ለአዳምም ገርሞታል። ከለጋ ወጣትነት ጀምሮ ሁለት ፀጉር እስኪያበቅሉ ድረስ ከብረት ጋር ተዋህደው የኖሩት የህወሓት አመራሮች ኮሽታ ሳያሰሙ ከአራት ኪሎ መቀሌ መታየታቸው በሆዱ የሚያደንቅም፤ የሚገረምም፤ ግራ የሚጋባም፤ የሚፈራም በጣም በርካታ ነው።

ህወሓትን በእንዲህ ሁኔታ ያሰናበተው ሁሉ፤ ከተሰናበተችም በኋላ ሲቀርብባት የነበረው ውርጅብኝና ውንጀላ ድንገት አራት ኪሎ መልሳ ከገባች ሰፊ የብቀላ ስራ ትሰራለች የሚል ስጋት ሊኖር ይችላል ብዬ አስባለሁ። እኔ ነብይ ስላልሆነኩኝ ህወሓት አራት ኪሎ ትገባለች የነደትንም ትበቀለላችሁልሁት ማናገር አልችልም። እንደ ተራ ሰው የምገምተው ግን በሃላፊነት ስሜት እንደለቀቀች ሁሉ በሃላፊነት ስሜት ተመልሳ ትሰራለች የሚል ነው። ህወሓትን የሚጠሉ ሰዎች ብዙ ምክንያት ያላቸው ናቸው። የኛ እጅ የጠራ ነው ብለው የሚያሰቡት አንዳንዶቹ ህወሓት ሙሰኛ ናት እያሉ አይኗን ማየት ይጠላሉ። ሌሎቹ ስልጣን



የኛ ብቻ ነው የሚሉና ህወሓትን እንደ ሃሳዌ መሲህ የሚቆጥሩ ናቸው። ትግሬ የሚባል ነገር የሚያንገሸገሻቸው ሰዎች ደግሞ ወርቅ ቢያለብሳቸውም ከሚኒሊክ ቤተመንግስት ውስጥ ትግሬ ገብቶ ከሚያዩ ሞትን የሚመርጡ አሉ። አንዱ የአይጋ ፎረም ደምበኛ በአንድ ወቅት “ህወሓትም አራት ኪሎ ትመለስና ሁሉም አብረው ተባብረው አገሪቱን በሰላም ይምሩ” ብየ የሰጠሁትን አስተያየት ሲቃወሙ እንዲህ አሉ፡- “ህወሓት አራት ኪሎ ከምትመለስ ኢትዮጵያ ብትጠፋ ይሻላል”። የሚገርመው እኔ ራሴን አጠፋለሁ እኮ አላሉም፤ ኢትዮጵያን ነው እንደትጠፋ የተመኙላት። ስለዚህ የብዙዎች አስተሳሰብ ህወሓት ወደ አገር አስተዳደር አትመለስም ነው። ይህን ማረጋገጥ የሚችሉት ግን የማይቻለውን ህወሓትን የማጥፋት ስራ በመከወን ሳይሆን የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ እንዲፈራትና እንዲጠላት የማድረግ ዘመቻ ነው። ይህ ህወሓትን ነጥሎ በማጥላላት ሊሳካ እንደማይቻል ይታወቃል። ውስጥ ያለው ነገር ከበድ ያለ ነው። ህወሓት አራት ኪሎ እንዳትመለስ ሳይሆን ውስጠ ወይራው ትግሬ የተባለ ወደ አራት ኪሎ እንዳይገባ ነው። ይህን ማድረግ የሚቻለው ትግሬ የተባለ ሁሉ ከትግራይ ውጪ ባለው ኢትዮጵያ የሚፈራና የሚጠረጠር እንዲሆን በማድረግ ነው። የሚፈራና የሚጠረጠር ከሆነ ደግሞ እንዳቅሙ ሰርቶ ንብረት አበጅቶ “አገሬ እንጀራ” ብሎ ሊኖር አይችልም። እንደ ባይተዋር እየታየ፤ ለሰፈር ሽምግልና እንኳ ካልበቃ እንደየ አቅሙ በሃገር ፖለቲካስ በምን ተአምር በህዝብ ተመርጦ ይሳተፋል? “ፀጉረ ልውጥ” የሚለው አሸማቃቂ ፍረጃ በመደጋገም የትግራይ ተወላጆች ከትግራይ ውጪ ባሉት የኢትዮጵያ ክልሎች ተረጋግተው እንዳይኖሩ የሚያደርግ የተንኮል ስራ ነው። “ፀጉረ ልውጥ” የሚለው ተንኮል ለመስራት የተዘጋጀ ወንጀለኛ ለማለት ተፈልጎ ከሆነ ይህ አላማ ያለው ሰው ከኢትዮጵያ አራት መአዝናት ሊመጣ ይችላል። ማን ትግሬ ብቻ ወንጀለኛና ተጠርጣሪ አደረገው? ሶስት አስርት አመታት አገሪቱ አንፃራዊ የወንጀል መቀነስ ያሳየችውስ ወንጀለኞቹ በሙሉ አራት ኪሎ ቤተመንግስት ተጠቃለው ስለገቡ ነው እንዴ?” “ፀጉረ ልውጥ” የሚለው ፍረጃ ለህዝብ የቀረበበት አጋጣሚ ሆን ተብሎ ከህወሓትና ህወሓትን ሽሽጋል ከተባለው የትግራይ ህዝብ ጋር ተገናኝቶ ስለሆነ የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ “ፀጉረ ልውጥ” ማለት ማነው ተብሎ ቢጠየቅ መቶ በመቶ “ትግሬ ነው” ብሎ እንደሚመልስ ጥርጥር የለውም።

እዚህ ላይ እርስ በርሱ የሚጋጭ ነገር አለ። “የትግራይ ህዝብ ፅኑ ኢትዮጵያዊ ነው፤ እናት አገሩን ጥሎ አይገነጠልም፤ ይህ ቅስቀሳ የህወሓት ቅስቀሳ ነው” እየተባለ ይነገራል። እኛም ይህን እያልን ነው። በዚህ አስተሳሰብ አንለያይም። የትግራይ ህዝብ ዜግነት ሳይሆን የኢትዮጵያ ወላጅ ነው። ይህ አስተሳሰብ ይዘን በርካታ የትግራይ ልሂቃንና ተራ ሰዎች ለትግራይ ህዝብ “በርዝ ራይት” እየታገልን ነው። ትግላችን ግን ዉሃ ላይ እንደሚገሳፈፍ መሰረት የሌለው ቤት ነው። አንድ እጃቸው “የትግራይ ህዝብ ኢትዮጵያዊ ነው” እያሉ የሚፀፉት በሌለው እጃቸው ደግሞ “የትግራይ ተወላጅ ይኸን አገር ማስተዳደር የለበትም፤ ሞተን እንገኛለን” ብለው ይፀፋሉ። የማንኛውም አገር ህገ መንግስት ዜጋ የሆነ ሁሉ የመመረጥና አገርን የማስተዳደር መብት አለው ይላል። ይህ “እንዳያማህ ጥራው፤ እንዳይበላ ግፋው” የሆነ ነገር ነው። በየደረሰበት የኢትዮጵያ ክልል፤ ገጠር ሆነ ከተማ “ፀጉረ ልውጥ” ከተባለ ፤ ትግሬ በመሆኑ ብቻ የህወሓት “የጥፋት መልእክተኛ” ከተባለ ኢትዮጵያዊ መሆኑ በምን መንገድ እናሳምነው? ትግራይ ትገንጠል የሚሉት ወጣቶች ላይስ ምን እይነት የፖለቲካ

ሆነ የሞራል ልእልና ሊኖረን ይችላል። ከትግራይ ህዝብና ከፖለቲካኞቹ ይልቅ ለትግራይ መንግሥት ምክንያት የሚሆኑት ግፊቶች እየተከሰቱ ያሉት ከመሃል አገር ነው። ህዝቡ የግድ ዘመድ የሆነ ያህል ሆኖ እየተሰማው ነው። እንደ እድሜ ጠገብነታችን ተስፋ ቆርጠው እንገንጠል የሚሉትን የትግራይ ወጣቶች ማረጋጋት የምንችለው በዘኛው ጎራ እሳት ሳይሆን ወሃ ካየን ነው። ኤሪትሪያውያን “አብና” የሚሏቸው ወልደአብ ወልደሚሪያም መጀመሪያ ላይ የኤሪትሪያን መንግሥት አይደግፉም ነበር። እስቲ ነገሩን ቀረብ ብዩ ልፈሽው ይሉና አዲስ አበባ ተቀምጠው ሁሉን ነገር ሲያዳምጡ እንደከረሙ ይነገራል። የመጨረሻ ውሳኔያቸው የሆነው ግን የኤሪትሪያ መንግሥት አስፈላጊነት ነበር። በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ የሚደረገው ነገር በጣም አሳዛኝ፤ ልብ የሚሰብርና ተስፋ የሚያስቆርጥ ነው። መለስ ዜናዊ የትግራይ ተወላጅ የሆነ የኢትዮጵያ ጠቅላይ ነበር። አገሪቱን ከነበረችበት አዘቅት አንስቶ የት እንዳደረሳት አምኖ መቀበል የጨዋ ህዝብ ባህል ነው። የአባይ ግድብን በድፍረት በማስጀመር ቁርጠኛ ኢትዮጵያዊነቱን ያስመሰከረ ታላቅ ሃውልት የሚገባው ሰው ነው። ያስጀመረው ግድብ ሲጠናቀቅ የሱን ስም የሰይጣን ስም ይመስል ጨርሶ አለማንሳትና አለማመስገን የሚያስተላልፈው መልእክት ምንድነው? እንዲህ እየተሆነ ነወይ አብሮ የሚኖረው? የትግራይ ህዝብ መጥፎ ሲሰራ እየተወቀሰ፤ ጥሩ ሲሰራ እየተሞገሰ ካልሆነ ዜግነቱስ፤ የኢትዮጵያ መፍለቂያ ምንጭነቱስ ምን ትርጉም ይኖረዋል። የትግራይን ህዝብ ማዋረድና ማቃለል መወንጀል የሚያስቀጣ አይደለም። ህወሓት አዲስ አበባ እንደገባች ከጥቂት አመታት በኋላ አሜሪካ የሚኖሩ አንድ ኢትዮጵያዊ ፕሮፌሰር በኢትዮጵያ ርሺው መፅሄት ላይ የኢትዮጵያን ካርታ ስለው፤ ትግራይ ላይ ከብ ሰርተው፤ “ትግራይ እንድትገነጠል ጥያቄ እናቅርብ” ብለው ቅስቀሳ አደረጉ። ማንም ሊያርማቸው የሞከረ የለም፤ ይህ ግን ትራዝን (የሃገር ክህደት ወንጀል) ነው። በወቅቱ ኢትዮጵያ ከመጡ “በአገር ክህደት ወንጀል እከሰታለሁ” ብዬ መልስ መስጠቴን አስታውሳለሁ። ሰውየው ብቻቸውን እንዳልሆኑ ግን በሚገባ እረዳለሁ። እነዚህ ግዴታዎችና አደፍራሽ ልኒቃን የኢትዮጵያ ግዛት የሆነ የኢኮኖሚ ጠቀሜታ ሲኖረው ብቻ እንዳይገነጠል የሚለመንና የሚቆላመጥ ጥቅም የለውም ሲባል ደግሞ እንዲገነጠል የሚገፋ ከሆነ ኢትዮጵያዊነት ከቢዝነስ ቁርኝት የተለየ አይሆንም። ኤሪትሪያ እንዳትገነጠል ለወደብ ብቻ ሲል 30 አመት የተዋጋ ሁሉ ትግራይ ሂጅልኝ እያለ የሚገፋ ከሆነ የሞራል ዝቅጠት ነው። ባጭሩ ወደ ርእሱ ልመለስና አማራ ክልል ውስጥ ከዚህ “የፀጉረ ልውጥ” ዜና ጋር ተቀላላቅሎ በሺ የሚቆጠሩ የፀጉታ ችግር ፈጣሪዎችን በቁጥጥር ስር ማዋሉ ተዘግቧል። ከትግራይ መጡ የተባሉት ታጣቂዎችና አማራ ክልል ውስጥ የበቀሉት ችግር ፈጣሪዎች ልዩነታቸው ብሄራቸው ብቻ ነው። የፀጉታ ችግር ፈጣሪዎች በህግ ፊት እኩል ናቸው፤ አንዱ በቁልምጫ ሌላውን በግልምጫ ማስተናገድ ክልልን ከሚመሩ ታላላቅ ሰዎች አይጠበቅም።

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## ኢትዮጵያ፡- በአንድ ህዝብ ጥላቻ ብቻ አንድ የሆነች አገር

September 30-2021

አይነ ስውናና ልቦ ብርሃኑ ጋዜጠኛ ቴዎድሮስ ፀጋይ በኢትዮጵያ ላይ ያለው ችክ ያለ ፍቅር ይደብረኛል። "አትወጣጠሪ አትባይ ጠምበር ገተር፣ እኛም አንድ ሰሞን እንዲህ አርጎን ነበር"። የድሮውን ኤሪትሪያን የሚያካትተውን የኢትዮጵያ ካርታ በመግቢያ ምስልነት እያሳየ "የጥንታዊት ኢትዮጵያ አርበኞች" አይነት ስሜት ይለቃል፤ አርበኞቹ ተጠቃሚዎች የነበሩ ይመስል! እርግጠኛ ነኝ ቴድሮስ አይሳካለትም፣ ምክንያቱም በዚች አገር የሚሳካለት ኢትዮጵያን ከልቡ የሚወድ ሳይሆን ወደድኩሽ እያለ ቃላት የሚያዝገደጉደው ነው። "ኢትዮጵያዊነት ሱሴ ነው" እያሉ አይደል አገሪቱን ለትርምስ የዳረጉት? "ኢትዮጵያን እናድን" በሚል ተረት ተረት አይደል የውጭ ሃይል ጋብዘው የገዛ ወገናቸውን እንደ አውሬ ያደኑት? ቴዎድሮስ ፀጋይን እወደዋለሁ። የትንተና ችሎታው ወደር አልባ ነው። የኢትዮጵያ ፍፁማዊ አንድነት ሲነኩ ንዴቱ አይጣል ነው እንጂ። በላይ ዘለቀን የሰቀለች አገር፣ ስዩም መስፍንን የረሸነች ኢትዮጵያ፣ የሃንሰን ያራከሰች ምድር፣ አብዲሳ አጋን ከነመፈጠሩ የዘነጋች ውለታ ቢስ እናት ለቴዎድሮስ ፀጋይ ትሆናለች ብሎ ማሰቡ የሞህነት ነው። እግረ መንገዴን የተሰማኝን ጣል ባደርግም ቴዎድሮስን ያነሳሁበት ዋና ምክንያት ባለፈው ሰሞን የተናገረውን የማይረሳ እጅግ ገላጭ የሆነ ሃይለቃል ለዚህ ፅሁፌ በድጋፍነት ለመጠቀም ነው። ቴዎድሮስ እንዲህ አለ፡- "ኢትዮጵያን እግዜር ይወዳታል እየተባለ የምትሆነውን እያየን ነው፣ የጠላት ቀን ምን ልትሆን ነው?"

ኢትዮጵያን አንድ ያደረጋት ምንድነው? ብዩ ራሴን ስጠይቅ የተማርኩት ይህ ሁሉ እውቀት እልም ብሎ ይጠፋብኛል። ከልሂቅ እስከ ደቂቅ የሚጋራው ቁልነት ውስጥ ተነክራ ራሴን ባታልል ለጊዜውም ቢሆን አረፍት አገኛለሁ። የምሁር መሃይም መሆን ስለማልፈልግ ግን "ኢትዮጵያን አንድ አድርጎ የሚጠብቃት እግዚአብሄር ነው" ብዩ በፈጣሪየ አልሳለቅም። እግዚአብሄር አያዳላም፣ የሚያዳላ ቢሆን እንኳ ለኢትዮጵያ የሚያደላበት ምንም በቂ ምክንያት የለውም፣ ይቺ የጭቆና አገዛዝ ምድር! ስለዚህ ብዙ ሰው ሊቀበለው ወደማይመርጠው ሃቅ እንሂድ። ኢትዮጵያ አንድ ሆና የኖረችው በጉልበት ነው እንጂ በውስጥ ያላት ልዩነት መበታተን ሳይሆን እርስ በርስ የሚያጠፋፋ ነው። በነገስታቱና በወታደራዊ አገዛዝ ዘመናት ከተወሰነ አካባቢ በተነሳና ከተወሰነ አንድ ማህበረሰብ በወጣ የገዢ መደብ ቀንበር ስር ተይዞ የቆየችው ህብረ-ብሄራዊትዋ ኢትዮጵያ በታሪኳ ለመጀመሪያ ጊዜ የተጨፈለቀውን ህብረ-ብሄራዊነቷን የሚያስተናግድ ስርአት በመዘርጋቱ ላለፉት ሶስት አስርት አመታት አገሪቱ ውስጥ የግዴታ ሳይሆን የውዴታ አንድነት ሰፍኖ ቆይቷል። በአንድነት ማእቀፍ ውስጥ የራስ አስተዳደር ያመጣውን የኢትዮጵያ አብሮነት ለአገዛዝ ምኞታቸው አንድ አንገት አልሆንላቸው ስላለ፣ ይህን ህብረ-ብሄራዊነት አገር የመበተን ሴራ ነው የሚል ስም አውጥተውለት እያራከሱትና እያሰኩነት ይገኛሉ። ፍትሃዊ የሆነውን የፈቃደኝነትን አንድነት ሽረው በጉልበት አንድነት ማምጣት የሚፈልጉት የድሮ ስርአት ናፋቂዎች ለሰላሳ አመታት የኢትዮጵያ ህዝቦች ልዩነታቸውን አከብረው አብሮነታቸውን ወደው በሰላም መኖራቸውን

ሽምጥጠው ይከዳሉ። "ኢፓርታይድ" ይሉታል በተውሶ ስድብ! ምን አገናኝቶት ነው ዱባና ቅል? ኢፓርታይድ መብት ከልካይ እንጂ መብት ሰጪ አይደለም። ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ያለው አባዜ ስድብ መዋሰና አለ አግባብ መጠቀም ነው። ሲቪላዊን መንግስት "ጁንታ" የሚል ምሁርም መሃይምም ያለባት አገር፡- ኢትዮጵያ!

በአሁኑ ጊዜ ኢትዮጵያ ያለችበት ሁኔታ ለጠላትም አይስጠው የሚያሰኝ ነው። ማን እንዲህ አደረጋት? እንወድሻለን እያሉ የሚያጭብረብሯት ጥቅመኛ ልጆቿ! እነዚህ ጥቅመኞች እንደ ቁጥራቸው ልዩነታቸው የበዛና የተወሳሰበ ነው። አንድ በረት ውስጥ የሚያሳድር የጋራ ነገር የላቸውም። አንድ በረት ውስጥ አንበሳን፣ ሚዳቋን፣ ጅብን፣ አህያን፣ እባብን፣ አይጥን፣ ወዘተ በሰላም ማሳደር ይቻላል? አይታሰብም! ይህ በኖህ ዘመን የቀረ ነው። ታዲያ ኢትዮጵያ በአሁኑ ጊዜ የእምቧይ ካብ ሆና እያለ እስካሁን ያልፈረሰችው በምን ሃይል ነው? "በአምላክ ሃይል" እንዳትሉኝ፣ ሃጥያት ነው። በአሁኑ ጊዜ ኢትዮጵያ አንድ ሆና የቆመችውና ኤሪትሪያም ሳትቀር አቅፋ የያዘችው በትግራይ ህዝብ ጥላቻ ብቻ ነው። የአንድ ህዝብ የመረረ ጥላቻ ያስተባበረው ህዝብ! የራሷን ማህበረ-ፓለቲካዊ እውነታ ተቀብላ የአንድነቷ ዋስትና አድርጋ የፈተለችውን የህብረ-ብሄራዊነት ድር እየበጣጠሰች ያለችው ኢትዮጵያ የቆጡን አሃዳዊነት ለማውረድ የብብቷን ህብረ-ብሄራዊነት እየጣለችው ነው። ይቺ የአህያይቱ እጣ የደረሳት አተርፍ ባይ አጉዳይ አገር ኢትዮጵያ አንድ ቋንቋ፣ አንድ ባህል፣ አንድ ሃይማኖት ካልሆነኩ ሞቼ ልገኝ ብላ ወስናለች። ልጆች እያለን ስምንተኛ ክፍል ሲወደቅ ገመድ ይዞ ሄዶ ራስን መስቀል የተለመደ ነበር። ኢትዮጵያም መሬት ላይ ባለው እውነታ ተግባራዊ ሆኖ ሁሉም አሸናፊ የሚያደርግ አማራጭ በጋራ ከመፈለግ ይልቅ የኢትዮጵያን ህዝብ እንደ ላሊበላ ህንፃ አንድ ወጥ ድንጋይ ካለደረግሁት ራሴን ባጠፋ እመርጣለሁ ካለች "መንገዱን ጨርቅ ያድርግልሽ" ብሎ መመሪያ ነው። ለዮኸ ለገራኸ የሚያስቸግር ልጅ እኮ በስህተት ምላጭ ወንድነቱን ሊያሳጣው ይችላል። የማን ያለህ ይባላል? "ቀድሞ ነበር"ንጂ መጥኖ መደቆስ..."። በትግርኛ " ታይሞግበር ደኒንካ ይንባዕምበር" ይባላል።

በሚያስደምም ሁኔታ ኢትዮጵያ እስከሞቷ ድረስ አንድ ያደረጋት የእውነተኛ አንድነት ዋስትና የሆነው ህብረ-ብሄራዊነት እውን ያደረገው ህወሓትና የትግራይ ህዝብን ከምድረገፅ ለማጥፋት ያላት ሰይጣናዊ ፍላጎት ነው። ይህን ትግራይን የማጥፋት ፍላጎት ምክንያቱን ለመረዳት "በሌሎች አለማት ፍጡራን አሉ ወይ?" ለሚለው ጥያቄ መልስ ለማግኘት የሚያዳግተው ያህል እንቆቅልሽ ነው። ትግራይ የኢትዮጵያ ስልጣንና ሃይማኖቶች መሰረት ነው እያለች ለመጣው ጎብኚ ሁሉ የምትናገረው ኢትዮጵያ፣ አምባገነን መንግስትን በከፍተኛ መስዋእትነት አስወግዶ ለኢትዮጵያ በህዝቦች ፈቃድ ላይ የተመሰረተ አብሮትነትን ያመጣው የትግራይ ህዝብ እያለች ስትተርክ የኖረችው አገር፣ የውጭ ወራሪ ሃይሎችን እየመከተ ነገሳትን ለትውልዶች ያወረሱ የትግራይ አርበኞች እያለች ስታወድስ የኖረችው ምድር አሁን ይህንን ህዝብ "የማሪያም ጠላት" አስመስላ በማቅረብ ከህፃን እስከ ሽማግሌ፣ ከቁስ እስከ ሃይማኖት የለሽ ያነሳሳችበት ምክንያት ምንድነው? ይህን ጥያቄ እንኳንና እኔ ደካማ የሰው ፍጡር አምላክ ራሱም ቢሆን ለመመለስ የሚቸገር ይመስለኛል። ኢትዮጵያ የተቀመጠችበትን ቅርንጫፍ ስትቆርጥ ሁሉም እጅ በእጅ መጥረቢያ በማቅረብ እየተረባረበ ይገኛል። በትግራይ ላይ ያለው ጭፍን የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ጥላቻ በህዝብ ማእበልነት በትግራይ ላይ እንዲዘምት አድርጎታል።

ተው ሲባልም "በውስጥ ጉዳዮችን ጣልቃ አትግቡ" ይባላል። ትግራይ ሲመች ከኢትዮጵያ ውጪ፣ ሲቸግር የኢትዮጵያ አካል እየተደረገች ነው። ስትጠነከርና አልሞት ስትል "ትግራይ የኢትዮጵያ መስራች" ትባላለች። አትሌቶቿ ሲያሸንፉ "ኢትዮጵያ ከፍ አለች" ተብሎ ይደለቃል። የትግራይ ምሁራን "ህዝብ ተጨፈጨፈ፣ ሴቶች ተደፈሩ፣ ይሁንታ የተሰጠው ረሃብ ህፃናትን ፈጀ" ብለው አቤቱታ ሲያቀርቡ "ከሃዲዎች፣ አገር አፍራሾች" ይባላሉ። "ህዝብ ተራብ" ብሎ መናገር ወንጀል የሆነባት አገር ኢትዮጵያ፣ ወይስ "ሚዛጥያ" እንበላት።

የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብን አንድ ያደረገው የትግራይ ጥላቻ ማብቃቱ አይቀርም። ጥላቻው ባይቀርም ጥላቻ የወለደው ክፉ ድርጊት ግን ያበቃል ብቻ ሳይሆን እያበቃ መሆኑን በተግባር እያየን ነው። ኢትዮጵያ አንድ የሆነችበት የትግራይ ህዝብ ጥላቻና ህዝቡን የማጥፋት የከረረ ፍላጎት ትግራይ ከዚህ የዘመናት የበደል አዙሪት ለመውጣት በምትወስነው ውሳኔ ምእራፉ ይዘጋል። በዚህ ወሳኝ ወቅት ኢትዮጵያን አንድ አድርጎ የሚያስቀጥላት አስተሳሰብ ከቶ ምን ሊሆን እንደሚችል የሚናገር ሰው አለ? እስካሁን የ"ጥሩ" ኢትዮጵያዊነት ማረጋገጫ ሰርተፊኬት የሚሰጠው ትግራይን አዳዲስ ስሞች እየፈበረኩ በመሳደብና "በለው! ጨፍጭፈው!" ብሎ በየመድረኩና በየሚድያው በማቅራራት ነው። አሁን የቀረ ነገር ቢኖር ትግራይን በመሳደብና በመራገም መአርግ መስጠት ብቻ ነው።- "ሲንዩር ተሳዳቢ፣ ጁንዩር ተሳዳቢ፣ ማይነር ተሳዳቢ፣" ወዘተ። ውስጡን በሚገባ ለመረመረ ሰው የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ በትግራይ ላይ ከማፍጠጡ በስተቀር የጋራ አላማና ራዕይ የለውም። ለአስር ሺዎች ይህ የትግራይ ጥላቻና ዘመቻ የእንጀራ ገበታቸው ሆኗል። በትግራይ ላይ በማነሳሳትና ባላቸው የጥላቻ መጠን በየደረጃው ሹመት ያገኙና ያንን ስልጣን ለማስጠበቅ አዳዲስ የጥላቻ መግለጫዎችን "በምርምር" የሚፈልጉ ብዙ ናቸው፣ ሁሉም ናቸው ለማለት ባልደፍርም። ባሁኑ ጊዜ ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ጀግና ተብሎ በቴሌቪዥን የሚቀርበው ምላሱ እጅግ የረዘመው ሁሉ ነው። ከሁሉም በላይ መዋሽትና መሳደብ የሌለበት የጦር መኮንን ሆኖ እያለ ስለ ትግራይ መዋሽትና መሳደብ በጦር ሃይሉ ውስጥ ሜዳልያ ባያስገኝ ደማቅ ጭብጨባ ግን በገፍ ይበረከትለታል። ካሳየ ጨመዳን አንድ በሉ፣ ባጫ ደበሉን ሁለት አላችሁ? ብርሃኑ ጁላን መቁጠር እንዳትረሱ! የሲቪል ባለስልጣናትን እንቁጠር? ተውት ይደክመናል! ሰዎቹም ዋሻችሁ ሲሏቸው ስለሚብስባቸው አለመነካካቱ ይሻላል እንደ አባራ!

ኢትዮጵያውያን የትግራይን ህዝብ መወገድ ያለበት "ካንሰር፣ አረም፣ እባጭ፣ እንቅርት" እያሉ በጥይትና በረሃብ ሊጨርሱት ሲታገሉ ኢትዮጵያዊ አለመሆኑን ወስነው ነው። መንገድ ሲዘጉበት፣ በጀት ሲነፍጉት፣ በአገሪቱ መንግስት ውክልና ሲያሳጡት፣ ሰርቶ በላውን የትግራይ ተወላጅ ድንበር ሾልኮ ወደ አሜሪካ የገባ የሜክሲኮ ሰው ይመስል ከየቤቱና ከየድርጅቱ እየለቀሙ ማጎሪያ ቤት ሲከቱት፣ ትግርኛ ቋንቋ መናገር ወንጀል ሆኖ የትግርኛ ሙዚቃ መስማት እንደ አገር ክህደት ተቆጥሮ ትግራዊ ሁሉ በያለበት ሲሸማቀቅ የውጭ ዜጎች የሆኑት ኤሪትሪያውያን እንደልባቸው ህብረተሰቡን በአንድ እግሩ ሲያቆሙት፣ ትግራዊያን ኢትዮጵያዊ ነህ እያሉት ነው? ራሳቸው በተግባር ያሳጡትን ኢትዮጵያዊነት "ኢትዮጵያዊ አደለህም የሚል ግልፅ መልእክት ደርሶኛል" ያለ ትግራዊያን "ኢትዮጵያዊ አይደለህም" ቢል ምን ያስገርማል? ኢትዮጵያዊ እንዳልሆነ በቃልም በተግባርም የተነገረው ህዝብ የግድ ኢትዮጵያዊ ልሁን ብሎ እንዲታገል ነው የሚጠበቅበት። ልጅ እያለሁ አባቴ ሊመታኝ

ከዘራውን ሲያነሳና ሲመታኝ ሮጬ ከማምለጥ ይልቅ ወደሱ ሄጄ ወገቡን አቅፈው እንደነበረ ታላላቆቹ ነግረውኛል። ይህ ለአባት ይሰራ እንደሆነ እንጂ በአገር ደረጃ አይሰራም። ዜግነት ጋብቻ ነው። ሁል ጊዜ ከሚቀጠቅጥህና አምርሮ ከሚጠላህ የትዳር ጓደኛ ጋር መኖር አትገደድም። በዜግነትም በትዳርም መዋደድና መከባበር ግዴታ ነው! ኢትዮጵያውያን (በጅምላ የምፅፈው በተግባር ልዩነት ማየት ባለመቻሌ ነው) የትግራይን ተወላጆች በተግባር ኢትዮጵያውያን አለመሆናቸውን በግልፅ ካሳዩዋቸው በኋላ "እሺ፣ ኢትዮጵያውያን ካልሆንን የራሳችን አገር እንፈጥራለን፣ መቸም ከ6 ሚልዩን በላይ ህዝብ አገር አልባ ሆኖ አይኖርም" ሲባል ቡራ ከረዩ ይባላል! "እንዴት ትግራይ ነፃ አገር ትሁን ትላላችሁ? እናንት ከሃዲዎች" እያሉ ያዙኝ ልቀቁኝ ይላሉ። "አምላኬ ሆይ ቅጥ ያለው፣ የሚጨበጥ እጅታ ያለው ጠላት ስጠኝ" ብሎ ፈጣሪን መለመን አስፈላጊ ሆኗል። ኢትዮጵያዊ እንዳልሆነ ሁሉ ትግራዊ ላይ ይህ ሁሉ መአት ሲያወርዱበት መላ አለም ጉድ አለ፣ አወዝ፣ ለማስቆም ሞከረ። እዚህ ላይ ኢትዮጵያ ምን አለች?" በአገር ሉአላዊነት ጣልቃ አትግቡ። ጉድ! ጉድ! ጉድ! (የፈረንጁ ጉድ አይደለም፣ የአማርኛው ነው)። ይህ ማለት "ልጄን ልገድለው ነውና በቤቴ አያገባችሁም" ያለ አባት እሪ ሲባል ተራራጦ የመጣውን ጎረቤት ያባርራል ማለት ነው። ልጁ ከሆነ ከሌላ ገዳይ መጠበቅ እንጂ ከሌላ ጋር ተባብሮ ልጅን መግደል ልጅ ነው ያሰኛል? የግድያ መከራው ከከሸፈ በኋላስ ልጁ አባቴ ነህ ብሎ ከቤቴ ውስጥ ይኖራል?" በህግ ልጄ ስለሆንክ የትም አትሄዳትም" ብሎ ማስገደድ ይቻላል? ቤተሰብ ልክ እንደ ሃገር የሚያስተሳስረው ፍቅርና መተሳሰብ እንጂ የህግ አንቀፅ የሚጥቅስ ግዴታ አይደለም። የልብን እየሰሩና እንደ ባእድ እየቆጠሩ የተባበሩት መንግስታት የጣልቃ አትግቡ አንቀፅ እየጠቀሱ ገላጋይን ማስጨነቅ፣ ማቀረድ፣ ማስፈራራት፣ ግንኙነት ማቋረጥ፣ መክሰስና መውቀስ የሚያባብሰው እንጂ የሚፈታው ችግር የለም። በትግራይ ላይ የተፈፀመው ታሪክ የማይረሳው ታላቅ የወንጀል ድርጊት እንኳንና በአንቀፅ በልመናም የሚሻር አይደለም። ትግራይ በተግባር ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ያለችው ካርታ ላይ ብቻ ነው። እሱም ጊዜውን ጠብቆ ኢዲት ይደረጋል!

ኢትዮጵያ በአሁኑ ጊዜ የተያያዘችው በደካማ ክር ነው። ይህ ክር የትግራይ ጥላቻ ነው። ኢትዮጵያውያን አንዳንድ ጊዜ ማምለጫ ሲፈልጉ ይታያል። በከፍተኛ የዘረኝነት የፓለቲካ ስካር ውስጥ ሆነው ትግራይን ከኢትዮጵያ ውጪ ብቻ ሳይሆን ከሌላ ጥላኔት የመጣች የኢትዮጵያ ጠላት አድርገው በዛ እንደ ዝንጅብል የተጠማዘዘ አማርኛቸው ሲራገሙ ይቆዩና የውጭ አለም ጩኸት ሲበረከትባቸው "እኛ የምንናገረው ስለ ህወሓት እንጂ ስለ ትግራይ ህዝብ አይደለም" ብለው የመጣባቸውን ውግዘት ለማለዘብ ይሞክራሉ። ስለ ሸፍጡ ትንሽ ይቆዩና ስለ ህወሓት እናውራ። ማንኛውንም የፓለቲካ ድርጅት መጥፎ ሲሰራ ማውገዝ፣ በጎ ሲሰራ ማሞገስ ያለ ነገር ነው። ህወሓት የሰራችውን ስህተት ከሰራችው የገዘፈ በጎ ተግባር ጋር ጨፍልቆ "የህወሓት መር አስተዳደር የጨለማ ዘመን ነበርና ይችን የፓለቲካ ድርጅት ከምድረ ገፅ እናጥፋት" ብሎ መላ የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ በነቂስ ሲነሳ በአለም ላይ ያልተለመደ ክስተት ነው። የዚህ ሰይጣናዊ ስሜት መንስኤውም የአስተዳደር አለመስተካከል ብቻ ሊሆን አይችልም። የአስተዳደር በደል ጥያቄ የሚኬድበት ርቀት ገደብ አለው። ሪፖብሊካን ፓርቲ ስለጠፋ ፓርቲውና አባላቱ ሁሉ ይደምሰሱ ከተባለ ከአስተዳደሩ ጉዳይ የላቀ ሌላ ችግር አለ ማለት ነው። ይህ ምን እንደሆነ ግልፅ ነው። የተጠላው የፓርቲው ድርጊት ሳይሆን አባላቱም

ሁሉ ናቸው። ጥላቻው ሁሉንም የማጥፋት ፍላጎት ደረጃ ከደረሰ የዘር ጥላቻ መሆኑ አያጠያይቅም። በቲዮሪና ለውጪው አለም ፍጆታ ሲባል "ካመፀ ፓርቲ ላይ የሚወሰድ የህግ ማስከበር እርምጃ ነው" ቢባልም እርምጃ እየተወሰደ ያለው በህዝብ ህልውና ላይ ስለሆነ ዋናውን አላማ መደበቅ አይቻልም። ስለዚህ ኢትዮጵያ በእብራት ያስተሳሰረች ብሎኖቿን ፈታለች። አሁን የቆመችው በትግራይ ጦርነት ቀጭን ክር ነው። ያ ያለ ድርድር በጦርነት ብቻ ከተጠናቀቀ አንድ የሚያደርጋት ሌላ ነገር ስለሌለ ጦርነቱ እንዳይጠናቀቅና ህዝብን እየማገዱ ስልጣን ላይ መቆየት ብቸኛ ምርጫ ሆኗል። ግን እስከ መቼ?

በሚገርምም በሚያሳዝንም ሁኔታ ህወሓት ጥላቻ የተደቀነባት በኢትዮጵያ በኩል ብቻ አይደለም። የስልጣን ፍላጎት ያሳወራቸው የትግራይ ተወላጅ የተቃውሞ ፓለቲከኞችም ጭፍን ጥላቻ ካለባቸው የኢትዮጵያ ፓለቲከኞች ጋር አንድ መዝሙር እየተጋሩ ናቸው። ለጊዜው ውዳሴ እያገኙ ስለሆነ ነገ እነሱ ራሳቸው አንገት ውስጥ የሚገባው ገመድ ያስተዋሉት አይመስሉም። በአሁኑ ጊዜ ህወሓትን ለማግለል መሞከር ስልት የጎደለው የዋህነት ወይም ስውር እጅ ያለበት መሰሪነት ነው። ህወሓት የመልአክነት ክንፍ ትከሻ ላይ ያበቀለች መልአክ ነች ማለቴ አይደለም። የትም ብትሄዱ እንዲህ ያለ ፓርቲ አታገኙም። አንድ ፓርቲ የሚገመገመው የሃይል አሰላለፍን ጠንቅቆ በመገንዘብ፣ ትንሹን ፎቶ ሳይሆን ትልቁን ስእል በማየት፣ ባለፈው ታሪክ ብቻ ላይ ተገትሮ የወደፊቱን ለመተንበይ በመሞከር አይደለም።

በሰው ሃይል ጥራትም ፓርቲ አይገመገምም፣ ፓርቲ የአካደሚክ ዲፓርትመንት አይደለምና! ዋናው ቁምነገር ለተሰለፈለት አላማ ያለው ቁርጠኝነትና የሰለጠነውን የሰው ሃይል አስተባብሮ አቅም መስጠት መቻሉ ነው። እስቲ በእውነት እንነጋገር ከተባለ ህወሓት ሁሉንም ጠቅልላ እያስተዳደረች ትግራይ በሁለት እግሯ እስክትቆም ድረስ ብትቆይ የሚጎዳው ማነው? ይህ ስለሆነ ብቻ "ቆዳ ቆርቆር ወፍ ሆና ራሳችን ላይ ተቀመጠች" ብሎ በዚህ ቀውጢ ጊዜ መናገር የትግራይ ፍቅር ነው ወይስ የራስ ፍቅር? አሁን ትግራይ ውስጥ ስልጣን መያዝ ማለት ድካም፣ መስዋዕትነት፣ መንገላታት፣ ሳይተኙ ማደር፣ መራብ፣ ማለት አይደለም እንዴት? "አንተ ሁን" የሚያሰኝ እንጂ "እኔ ልሁን" የሚያሰብል አይደለም። እኔ መቸም አሁን ጻድቃንን፣ ደብረፅዮንን፣ ወዲ ወረደን ሆነ ምግባይን መሆን አልመኝም። የፃፍኩት ስድብ አይምሰል፣ ምክር ነው! የህዝብ ፍላጎት ነው ወሳኙ። የህዝብን ፍላጎት ጠብቆ በአክብሮት መቀበል እንጂ ባልተሰራ የህዝብ ፍላጎት መለኪያ ቆጠራ (survey) እኛ የምንፈልገው ብቻ ነው ህዝብ የሚፈልገው እያሉ ግምት ውስጥ መግባትና መመፃጀቅ፣ በዛ ላይ ተመስርቶም ህወሓትን ለምን "ነፃ አገር ትግራይ ብለሽ ካልተነፈሰሽ ገደል ግቢ" እያሉ በየሚደያው ወከባ መፍጠር ለትግራይ ህዝብ ጠላቶች መድፍና ታንክ ከማቀበል የበለጠ ነው። እየተገኘ ካለው ሰፊ ድል መሃል እንዲህ ያለ አዋኪና አዘናጊ አጀንዳ አስከፍቶ ለጠላት ፕሮፓጋንዳ ትልቅ ግብአት ማበርከት ይቅር ሊባል አይችልም። ተቃዋሚ ፓርቲዎችም "ራስ ሳይጠና ጎተና" አትሁኑ። ገና ብዙ የምትማሩበትና ለወደፊቷ ትግራይ አመራር የምትዘጋጁበት ት/ቤት ውስጥ እንዳላችሁ አትርሱ። የትግራይ ህዝብ ወንዝ እያቋረጠ በቅሎ አይቀይርም። ትግስት ይኑራችሁ፣ በፊት በር ውጊያ ባለበት የጻፍ በር አትክፈቱ። ቤት በጅብ የሚደፈረው የቤት ውሻ አጥፍን ሲቀደው ነው።

የትግራይ ህዝብ ላይ እያገጠሙ "አይ መስጧችሁ ነው እንጂ የምንተኩሰው ህወሓት ላይ ነው" ይላሉ። ፀባቸው ያለው ግን ትግራይ ህዝብም ዘንድ ነው። እያመለጠቸው ይሁን ሆን ብለው ጠላታቸው ህዝቡ መሆኑን በግልፅ የተናገሩባቸው መድረኮችና ሚዲያዎች አሉ። በርግጥ ትናንት የተናገሩት እየረሱ ዛሬ ተቃራኒውን እንደሚናገሩ የተለመደ ነገር ነው። ሲደመርም ሲባዛም ዋናው ነገር እንደሚከተለው ነው፡- ህወሓትን ማጥፋት የሚፈልጉት የትግራይ ህዝብ ልምድ ያካበተ ጠንካራ መከታ እንዳይኖረው በመፈለግ ሲሆን፣ የትግራይን ህዝብ ማጥፋት የሚፈልጉት ደግሞ ህወሓትን ማጥፋት ቢሳካላቸው እንኳ የትግራይ ህዝብ አስር ህወሓት መፈፈል ይችላል ብለው ስለሚያስቡ ነው። በዚህ አቅጣጫ አየው በዛ ያለው አላማ ሁለቱንም ማጥፋት ስለሆነ በ"ፀረህወሓት ብቻ" ፕሮፓጋንዳ እንዳንጭበረበር እንጠንቀቅ። የድል ዜና በተነገረ ቁጥር ቀበረታችንን የምናላላ ከሆነ ቀጣዩን የድል ዜና ልናዘገየው ወይም ልናስቀረው እንችላለን። ተቃዋሚዎች ይችሉ የዩቲዩብ እንጅራን ከህዝብ አታስበልጧት። "የትግራይ ሰራዊት አባላት ምን እየበሉ ነው ደሽቃ ተሸክመው መቶ ኪሎሜትር በሰአታት የሚጓዙት" ብሎ ማሰብና መጨነቅ ነው የጤናማ አስተሳሰብ አንኳሩ። ሶፋ ላይ ተቀምጦ ሶዳ እየተነገጩ የትግራይ ሰራዊት ማን እንደሚመራው መፈላሰፍና ከዛ አልፎም ጤነኛ የሆነውን የትግራይ ሚዲያ መበከል ሃላፊነት የጎደለው የግዴታሽነትና የራስ ወዳድነት ተግባር ነው። በዚህ ቀውጢ ያለየለት ጊዜ፣ ጠላት መቆለን ለመቆጣጠር ተንደርድር በነበረበት አስጊ ወቅት ስለፓለቲካ ልዩነት በአለም አደባባይ ወጥቶ ዝናን ለማትረፍ መሞከር ከህደት ነው። በአንዳንድ ያልበሰሉ ተጋሩ ፓለቲከኞችና አክቲቪስቶች የተነሳ ወሳኝ የህልውና ማስከበር ስራ የሚሰሩ ጦር አዛዦችና ፕሬዚደንቱ ራሳቸው መግለጫ መስጠት ተገደዋል። መሪዎቻችንን ስራ ማስፈታት አለብን? ስለ መከላከል ትግሉ ያውሩ ወይስ ወንበር ላይ ተቀምጠን ስለምንለቀው በታኝ ትርክት?

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**ዲሂዩማናይዜሽን (ሰብአዊ ፍጡርነትን መገሳት) የዘር ፍጅት እሳት ማራገቢያ**  
December 16-2021

ማስገንዘቢያ

ይህ ፅሁፍ የፓለቲካ ክርክርን ከፍ ባለ ደረጃ ለሚጠቅሙ የታለመ ሳይሆን ህዝብ የስልጣን ፍላጎት ባሰከራቸው የፓለቲካ መሪዎች እየተገፉ በወገኑ ላይ፣ በአገሩ ልጅ ላይ፣ በጎረቤቱ ላይ በጭፍንነት ለትውልድና ለታሪክ የሚተርፍ ግፍ እንዳይሰራ ለማስገንዘብ እንዲረዳ አለም መዝግቦ ካኖራቸው ዘግናኝ ታሪኮች በጭልፋ የቀዳሁትን ለማካፈል ያለምኩበት ነው። የግፍ ታሪክ መተረክ ለተራሲው ጤና ይነሳል። ነገር ግን አሁንም ተመሳሳይ ሁኔታዎች እየተከሰቱ ስለሆነ የልብ ትርታን የሚጨምር ቢሆንም ህዝቦችን ለማስጠንቀቅ ሲባል ስለ እብደቶች መግፍና መናገር የግድ ይላል። ፅሁፉ ባለፈው ሳምንት የኸርማን ጌራንግን ጥቅስ እንደርእሰ ተሰጥቶት በዓይጋ ፎረም ላይ ላወጣሁት ሃተታ ተከታይ ሊሆን ይችላል።



1. ረዥም መንደርደሪያ

በተለያዩ የአለም ክፍሎች ሰዎች በሌሎች ሰዎች ላይ ተነስተው የፈፀሟቸው ዘግናኝ ድርጊቶች “የሃይማኖት አምባ”፣ የግዜር “የስለት ልጅ” እየተባሉት በምትንቀለጹት ሰዎች ላይ ውስጥ ሲታቀዱም ሲተገበሩም ይታያል። የትግራይ ህዝብ በማህበራዊ እድገት ደረጃው፣ በረዥም ታሪክ ባለቤትነቱ፣ ሰብአዊአዊነት የተላበሰ ጅግንነቱ ከፍ ካለ ማማ ላይ የተቀመጠ ህዝብ ነው። የማህበራዊ እድገት ደረጃችን ከሌላው ከፍ ያለ ነው ብለው ከሚታዩትና ከነሱ ዝቅ ያለ ነው ብለው በመደቡት ላይ እብሪት ከሚፈፀሙት ጋር የማይመሳሰል ዘውድ የሆነ ባህርይ ባለቤት የሆነ ህዝብ ነው። የትግራይ ህዝብ ከልሂቅ እስከ ደቂቅ በበላይነት ስሜት ተነሳሽነት ሌላውን ለመድፈቅና የእድሜ ልክ ባርያ አድርጎ የመግዛት ባህል የለውም። ይልቁንስ ለተጨማሪ ፍትህ ለማስገኘት የሚተጋ የተመረጠ ህዝብ ነው። ይህ ጉራ አይደለም። ከነሱ የተለየውን የሰው ፍጥረት የማይመስላቸው፣ ተዋግቶ የሚያሸንፍ፣ ነግዶ የሚያተርፍ፣ ነግሶ የሚመራ፣ ስርቶ የሚያመርት፣ ተናግሮ የሚያሳምን፣ ተምሮ የሚበቃ፣ ፀልፍ የሚሰማ ያለ የማይመስላቸው ሁሉ አይናገሩት እንጂ የትግራይ የሞራል ክፍታን ውስጣቸው አሳምሮ ያውቀዋል። ይህንን ህዝብ ነው ከ80 ብሄር ብሄረሰብ ነጥለው በቃላት ውርጅብኝ አነሳስተው በተገኘው ዘዴ ከምድረ ገፅ ለማጥፋት ቆርጠው የተነሱት። በትግራይ ህዝብ ላይ ይህን ለመፈፀም ያነሳሳቸው ምክንያት አንድ ቢሆንም እውነተኛውን ምክንያት በመደበኛ ህዝብን የሚያሳብዱበት ግን ሌላ ዘዴ አላቸው። ከሆዳቸው ውስጥ ያለው ዋናው ምክንያት የኢምፔርያል አሃዳዊ አገዛዝ አንደኛ ጠላትና የጠቅላይ አገዛዝ ህልማቸው ዋና እንቅፋት አድርገው የወሰዱት ከሰማንያ ብሄር ብሄረሰብ አንዱ የሆነው የትግራይን ህዝብ ነው። ህዝብን በአጠቃላይ መወንጀልና በህዝብ ላይ ማነሳሳት ብዙም ተቀባይነት ስለማይኖረው በትግራይ ህዝብ ላይ የማነሳሳቱ ተግባር ትኩር ብሎ ላላስተዋለው መስሎ የሚታየው “ጥቂት” በሚባሉ መሪዎች ላይ የሚካሄድ ዘመቻ እንደሆነ ነው። “ህወሓት ካልጠፋች ኢትዮጵያ መቸውም ስላም አታገኝም” ይሉታል ጭንቀታም መሆኑን አሳምረው ለሚያውቁት የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ። ህወሓትን እያደገን ነው እያሉ ግን የትግራይን ህዝብ ይፈጁታል፣ ይዘርፋታል፣ ያወድሙታል። ይህን ባደረጉ መጠን የህወሓትና የህዝቡ ጥምረት እየጠነከረ ይሄዳል። ጥምረቱ ለህወሓት አይበገሬነት ምክንያት ሲሆን በንዴትና ተስፋ መቁረጥ ይሉኝታቸውን ጥለው በቀጥታ በህዝቡ ላይ ዘምተዋል። ራሳቸው ቁጣና ምሬትን በህዝብ ዘንድ አሳድረው የትግራይን ህዝብ በያለበት “ሽብርተኛ ድርጅት ደገፍክ” እያሉ ይወነጅሉታል። “ሽብርተኛ” ሲባል የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ቶሎ በአእምሮው የሚመጣው ፎቆችን አውድሞ ኒውዮርክ ላይ 3000 ንፁሃንን ያጠፋው ቢላደን፣ ኢትዮጵያውያንን አሰልፈው አንገታቸውን የቀሉት አይሲሶች ናቸው። እነዚህ የኢትዮጵያ መሪዎች በህዝቡ ላይ የሰነ አእምሮ ገም እየተጫወቱ ነው። መቐለ ያሉት ምርኮኞች የሚሉትም ይህንን ነው። “አንዳትማረኩ፣ ከያዟችሁ ያርዱችኋል ተብለናል”። ትክክለኛ ሽብርተኞች ለራሳቸው ስልጣን መጠበቅ ሲሉ ወደ አላስፈላጊ መስዋእትነት የላኳቸው እንጂ በሰብአዊነት የተቀበሏቸው እውነተኛ ጀግኖቹ አለመሆናቸውን ተገንዘቡ። ከጅብ መሃል ሳይሆን ከሃይማኖተኛ ህዝብ እጅ መግባታቸውን ሲያዩ ልደታቸውን እያከበሩና የመቐለ ልጆች ወልደው እየሰሙ ነው። የትግራይ ህዝብ የሚወደድበት ብቻ ሳይሆን የሚመለከበት ጊዜ ሩቅ አይደለም። ዓድቅ ከጭፍጨፋ በኋላ ነው ቤተ ክርስቲያን የሚሰራለት፣ ህዝቡ ያጠፋውን አጥፍቶ ከእብደት ከወጣ በኋላ። አሁንም ጀሮው ጥይትን እንጂ ቃላትን አይሰማም።

ለዚህም ነው የትግራይ ወጣት ትውልድ ትምህርቱን፣ ወላጆቹን፣ ስራውን ትቶ በየግንባሩ የሚሞደቀው። አቢይ ትግራይ ሄዶ የተለገሰው ጭብጨባ መልእክቱ ምን ነበር? “ጥሩ አስተዳዳሪ ከሆንክ ለኛ የግድ ትግራይ መሆን የለብህም” የሚል ነበር። ታዲያ አቢይ “ሞተር” ያለውን “ጅብ ነህ” ብሎ ሊያጠፋው ቢመጣ ከአመራሩ ጋር አንድ ሆኖ ራሱን ላይከላከል ነው? “አንቺው ታመጪው አንቺው ታሮጪው”! አመራርን ለማጥፋት የኢትዮጵያን ህዝብ ማነሳሳት ላያስፈልግ ይችላል። በቲዮሪ በጥቂት ቀናት ውስጥ አምሳ የማይሞሉ የሠራተኛ አመራሮችን ማጥፋት ቀላል ነው። ምንም እንኳን አምሳዎቹን አመራሮች የፈጠራቸው ህዝብ በመሆኑ አሁንም ሌላ አምሳ ሊተካ እንደሚችል ቢታሰብም “የፊት የፊቱን” እንዳለው ጓዶ ነቃይ ህገ መንግስቱን ቀይረው ጠቅላይ ግዛቶችን እስኪያደራጁ ድረስ ፋታ ይሰጣቸዋል። ምንጩን ማድረቅ የሚመኙ ቢሆንም የተገኘውን ይጠቀማሉ። ይህ ግን ሊሆን አልቻለም፣ አመራሮቹን ለማጥፋት አልተቻለም። ይህ የሆነው ትግራይ ውስጥ ህዝቡና አመራሩ ወሃና ወተት ሆነው በመቀላቀላቸው ነው። ህዝብና አመራር የሚቀላቀሉት አንዱ የሌላኛው የህልውና ዋስትና ሆኖ ሲገኝ ነው። ህዝብና አመራር በተፈጥሮ ወሃና ዘይት የመሆን ባህርይ አላቸው። ዘይቱን ከውሃው ለመለየት ቀላል ባይሆንም የማይቻል ግን አይደለም። አመራርና ህዝብ ዘይትና ውሃ ሳይሆን ወተትና ወሃ እንዲሆኑ የሚያደርጋቸው በሁለቱም ላይ የተነሳ ጠላት ሲኖር ነው። ወሃና ወተትን ለይቶ ወተቱን መድፋት ስለማይቻል ያለው አማራጭ አንድ ላይ መድፋት ነው። “አሳን ለመያዝ ውሃውን ማድረቅ ነው” ከተባለ ሁለቱንም አንድ ላይ ማጥፋት መሆኑ ነው። ህዝብን ጨርሰህ ለማጥፋት ከተፈለገ ደግሞ በጦር ሃይል ብቻ የሚቻል አይደለም። ይህን አቢይ ባህር ዳር ላይ በይፋ ተናግሮታል፡- “በጦር አልተቻለም፣ ህዝብን ማነሳሳት አለብን”!! “ዋናው ኮማንደር” ኢሳት እኮ ቀደም ብሎ ምክር ለግሷል፡- “95 ሚሊዮን የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ በ 5 ሚሊዮን የትግራይ ህዝብ ላይ ተነስ”።

ሚልዮኖችን በሚልዮኖች ላይ ማነሳሳት ቀላል ነገር አይደለም። እንዲሁ “የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ሆይ! ሆ ብለህ ተነስና የትግራይን ህዝብ አጥፋ” በማለት ብቻ የሚሞከር አይደለም። ይህን የሚሞከር ሰው በቅርቡ ከአማኑኤል ሆስፒታል “ኤፎችን” ተከናንቦ በክሪስማስ የተመረቀ ደደብ እብድ ነው መባሉ አይቀርም (ሳቅ በሳቅ)። ህዝብን በህዝብ ላይ ማነሳሳትና ጥፋት ማድረስ የሚሳካው የሚያነሳሳው ሳይሆን የሚነሳሳው ራሱ እብድና ጨካኝ እንዲሆን ሲደረግ ነው። ለስልጣናቸው ቀናኢ የሆኑ መሪዎች በተቀናቃኛቸው ላይ ለማነሳሳት ህዝብን እብድና ጨካኝ እንዲሆን የሚያደርጉት በምን ምትሃት ነው? የሚል ጥያቄ ወሳኝ ጥያቄ ነው። ይህንን ጥያቄ ነው በዚህ ፅሁፍ ለመመለስ የምሞከረው። በታዳጊ አገሮች በየደረጃው ያለው ከጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር እስከ የሰቅ ጥበቃ ሃላፊ ድረስ ያለው ስልጣን ተጨማሪ ገንዘብ የሚገኝበት እድል ብቻ ሳይሆን የህልውናም ጉዳይ ጭምር ነው። በባለፀጋ አገሮች የግል ፋብሪካ እያለው መሪ የሆነ ሰው ጥፋት የሰራ ከመሰለው በራሱ ከስልጣን ይለቃል። ፊትም ቢሆን የሚበላው አጥቶ ሳይሆን ለዝና ይሆናል ስልጣን የሚይዘው። ልጆቹን የሚያስተምርበት ገንዘብ ያልነበረው ሚኒስትር ሲሆን መኪናና አበል ጥሎ መውረድ ሞት ነውና አጥፍቶ መጥፋትን ይመርጣል። “ደግነቱ” እሱና ልጆቹ ሳይሆኑ አጥፍቶ የሚጠፋለት ተራው ህዝብ ነው። መሪዎች ስልጣናቸውን ለመጠበቅ ሲሉ ህዝብን እንዴት እንደሚያነሳሱትና ለምን ሰብሉን ማሳ ላይ ለወፍና ለዝንጀሮ ሰጥቶ፣ የሚሳሳላቸው ሚስትና ልጆቹን ከቤት ትቶ፣ ቆመህ ጠብቀኝ ይሁን የሽንኩርት መከተፊያ ይዞ ፀላእተ ሰናይ እንደወረሰው ታማሚ ሆኖ እያቅራራ ወደ ሞቱ እንዲመራ እድርገው ናላውን

እንደሚያዘኑት እናያለን። አነሳሾቹ ቀላል ሰዎች አይደሉም። ህዝብን ለጭካኔ ተግባር በማነሳሳት፣ ራሱን ለነሱ ስልጣን መጠበቅ ለቤተሰባቸው መልካም ህልውና ማረጋገጥ የራሱን ቤት አፍርሶ፣ ልጆቹን በትኖ ያለ ቀባሪ በየጉድግው ተረፍርፎ ይቀራል። ከሁለት አስርት አመታት በፊት የንጋቱ የቅዳሴና የወንጌል ትምህርት መሃል ላይ አስገብቶ እስካሁን ድረስ የማይረሳኝ አባባል የተናገረ አንድ ቄስ ንግግሩን አሁን ካለው ሁኔታ ጋር ሳንዝበው ግርምት ፈጥሮብኛል። ቄሱ ፍካሬ እየሰሰን ለምእመናኑ ሲያስረዳ እንዲህ አለ፡- “ህዝብ በህዝብ ላይ ይነሳል፣ አማራው በአሮሞ፣ ትግሬው በአማራው፣ አማራው በትግሬው ላይ ይነሳል”። ቄሱ የራሱ ምሳሌ መስጠቱ ነበር እንጂ እየሰሰ ስለ ትግሬ፣ አማራና አሮሞ ያለው ነገር አይኖርም። እንዲህ ማርያም ሰሜን ሸዋ መጥታ ከርማለች፣ ፅላተ ሙሴ ጣና ደሴት ላይ ይገኛል፣ የክርስቶስ መስቀል ግሽን ላይ ተቀምጧል የሚሉ አይን ያወጡ ተረቶች በሃይማኖት ሰዎች ስለሚነገሩ ፍካሬየሱስ ውስጥ ስለ አሮሞ፣ አማራና ትግሬዬ የተፃፈ አለ ቢሉም አይከለክሉ። ዳግማዊት እየሩሳሌም በኢትዮጵያ አላች ይባራል የለ? ምን ይሳናቸዋል? የሚያሳዝነው “እውነት እውነት” እያለ ከንፈር የሚመጠው ምእመን ነው። እነሱ ይህን የሚያደርጉት የበላይነቱን ትርክት ስሜት ውስጥ በሚያስገቡ ነገሮች ለማጠናከር ነው። “ህዝብ በህዝብ ላይ ይነሳል” የሚል ሃይለ ቃል ቅዱስ ደብር ውስጥ ከተሰበከ ያሁኑ ጦርነት ስሩ የሚመዘዘው ከአቢይ ሶስት አመት ሳይሆን ቀደም ያለ ዝግጅት እንዳለ ፍንጭ የሚሰጥ ነው። እኔን የሚመስለኝ አቢይ ለዚህ እቅድ የገበጣ ጠጠር እንደተደረገ ነው። ሰው ሁሉ በአቢይና ኢሳያስ ላይ ይረባረባል። እርግጥ ነው ሁለቱም በትግሬይ ላይ የየራሳቸው አውዳሚ የሆነ የግል አጀንዳ አላቸው። ገዢና ሻጭ ገበያ ላይ በሚገባ ተገናኝተዋል። ሁሉም በሌላው ላይ አትራፊ ናቸው። ነገር ግን ማንንም ግለሰብ የሚያነሳውና የሚያገነው ስርአት አለ። ስርአቱ ግን ሲመታ እንጂ ሲተኩስ አይታይም። የሚታዩትና የሚረገሙት ግለሰብ ተዋናዮቹ ናቸው። ግለሰቦቹ ሲሄዱ ሌላ ይተካል። የ100 አመት አሃዳዊነት ብን ብሎ አይጠፋም። እንዲያውም እጅግ በተማረ ግን በተግባር መሃይም በሆነ ትውልድ ተጠናክሮ ቀጥሏል። አቢይ በልደቱ ወይም በእስክንድር ቢተካ አሃዳዊነት የት ይሄዳል? ልዩነታቸው አቢይ አሃዳዊነትን ማክረሩና ልደቱና እስክንድር ግን አለዝበው ስለሚይዙት ብቻ ነው። ልዩነታቸው የሜቶዶሎጂ ልዩነት ነው። ለሶስቱም የፌደራል ህገ መንግስቱ ከትግሬይ የመጣባቸው መቅሰፍት አድርገው ያስባሉ። ቀሪዎቹ የህገ መንግስቱ ተጠቃሚ ክልሎች ደግሞ ወደ ትግሬይ የተወረወረው ፈንጂ እንዳይነካቸው ጥግ ይዘው ከመቀመጥ በስተቀር እግራቸው ስር ጉድጓድ እየተማሰ ባለበት ሁኔታ በአርምም ተውጠው ወይንም ወደ ትግሬይ ዘምተው የገዛ እጃቸውን በመቁረጥ ላይ ተሰማርተው ባሉበት አሁንም አሃዳውያንን ክልልነት እንዲሰጧቸው ይማፀናሉ!! አይ ትግሬይ! ልፋትሽ ከንቱ! ነፃ ይጣሻቸው ነፃነትሽን ሲገፉሽ! አንድ የአማራ ትውልድ የነበረው የአድዋ ገበሬ ነው አሉ የሰብሉኑን ነገር አይቶ እንዲህ ብሎ አንጎራረ፡- “ታዘብኩሽ ማይ ጓጓ፣ ማድጋ ዘርቼስ ማድጋጋ”። ትግሬይ ልፋትዋና ሞቷ ትርፍም ባይኖረው የዘራቸውን ብቻ እንኳ ብታገኝ ተመስገን ባለች! አሁን እኮ አዛዥ ማን እንደሆነ በግልፅ እያየን ነው። አቢይ ተሸንፎ ሰራዊቱን ከባሰ ውድመት ለማዳን ብሎ ከመቆለ፣ ከወልድያ፣ ከደሴ ቢያፈገፍግ “ከህወሓት ጋር መከረህ ጥለህላት ወጣህ” እያለ ቅጡ እስኪጠፋው ድረስ ያልተቆጣው የአማራ ልሂቅ አለ? ያቺን ለማካካስ ብሎ የትግሬይ ሰራዊት በየለቀቀለት ሲዘምት ለጊዜው የነ ሃብታሙ አያሌው የቃላት ሜዳልያ ተሰጥቶታል። ሆኖም ግን “የትግሬይ ሰራዊት ተመልሶ መቸለ ሲገባ እዛው እንገናኛለን” የተባለው ቀርቶ መገናኛው ነፋስ መውጫና ጨፍራ ሆኖ ሲገኝ ኢትዮጵያ 360 በአቢይ ላይ አማርኛውን ይቀይራል። እስቲ

እውነት እንነጋገር። ኢትዮጵያን የሚያስተዳድረው አቢይ ነው ወይስ ኢሳት? የሚፈልጉትን ካደረገላቸው በኋላ በማግስቱ አብይን አውልቀው እንደሚጠሉት የማይገምት አለ? “በሬ ሆይ...”!

ህዝብን በህዝብ ላይ በጥላቻ፣ በምሬትና በጭካኔ የምታነሳሳው አንተም የተናደድክና ያበድክ በመምሰል፣ ምግብ እንደማይበላልህ፣ ሳትተኛ እንደምታድር፣ ገንፍለህ ማይኩ በእርግብግቢት እስኪሰነጠቅ ድረስ እየጮህክ ድራማ እየተወንክ ነው። ባለሞያዎቹ እንደነ ታማኝ በየነ፣ አብራር አብዶ፣ “አብዩ ይመር” ያውቁበታል፣ የነገው የደራ ገበያቸው የት እንደሚሆን ያውቁታልና። መቸም በርግጠኝነት ትግራይና ኦሮሚያ አይደለም እነሱ የተወኑበት ድራማ የሚታየው። ሙያ ሳይሆን የሚልዩን ብርቶ ኮንትራት ያለባቸው የነ ኢሳቱ አንዳርጋቸው ግን የጄኖሳይድ ፕሮጀክታቸው ኪሳራ እንዳያስመዘግብ ስልት በለለው ግልብነት “አረመኔ ሁኑ” እያለ ደም ስሩ እስኪገታተር ይጮሃል። የታማኝ ትወና ረቀቅ ያለች ናት። እንደ ማርቲን ሉተር በጭብጨባ ታጅቦ ንግግሩን በልዩ ቅላጫ ይቀጥላል። በውጊያ እሳት ላይ ያሉት እንደነ ጀኔራል ታደሰ ወረደማ ረጋ ብለው ሰራዊታቸውን ሲያናግሩ ማየት ነው። ለካ እውነትም ባዶ ቆርቆሮ ሲንከባለል ይጮሃል፣ ሲሞላ ግን ድምፅ የለውም። ታማኝ እንደሆነ ከመሸበት አዳሪ ነው። ወጣት የመድረክ አስተዋዋቂ ሆኖ ሻለቃ መላኩን ሲያሞጋግስ ኖሮ ሰሞኑን ደግሞ በሰይፉ ቀርቦ “ኢህአፓ ሆኜ ለመታገል ሳይሳካልኝ ቀረ” እያለ አይኑን በጨው አጥቦ ያሁኑን ትውልድ ያምብረብራል። በኢህአፓ ሺ ወጣት ያለቀበት ጎንደር ታማኝን አፋን ከፍቶ ሲሰማና ሲያጨበጭብለት ማየት የህዝብም ወስነታ አለው ለካ ያሰኛል። እርም የሌለው የጎንደር ዳያስጉራ ሻለቃ መላኩን አመስግኖ የለ? ወደ አሜሪካ ስላባረረው! ይብላኝ በመላኩ ቀይ ሽብር እዚህ ሞቶ ለቀረው። ምን ይደረግ፣ አርባ አራት ታቦት መቁጠር ህሊናን አይፈጥር! ጎንደርን ከጥፋት አድናለሁ ብሎ ሱዳኖችን የጨረሰው አጫ የሃንስ ነበር። ታሪክን በሚፈትን ሁኔታ በጎንደሮች የተሳደዱትን የአጫ የሃንስ ሰራዊት የልጅ ልጆች ተቀብለው ያስጠለሉት ሱዳኖች ናቸው። “ከአማራ ሱዳን ይሻለኛል” አለ ደብረፅዮን ተብሎ እንደ ወንጀል ተቆጠረ፣ ስታሊን ገብረ ስላሴም ለማስተባበል ትግል አደረገ። ቅን ሰው ስለሆነ ይሉኝታ ይዘት ነው! ግን ለምን? ከአስርቱ ታላት የማልቀበለው ነገር ቢኖር “ጠላትህን ውደድ” የሚለውን ነው። “አትግደል” የሚለውን ተቀብሎ ጠላቴን ባልገድለውም እንድወደው ግን ግዴታ የለብኝም። ክርስቶስ “የሚሰሩትን አያውቁምና ይቅር በላቸው” ብሎ ለአባቱ ምህረትን ለመነላቸው፣ ላሰቃዩትና ለሰቀሉት ሁሉ። እኔ ግን ተራ ግለሰብ ነኝ እንጂ ክርስቶስ አይደለሁም። ሳያውቅ በስህተት ሳይሆን ሆን ብሎ በአብሪት የሚጎዳኝን ይቅር አልልም። ተው ሲባል ለሚሰቅና ለሚያላግጠው ምህረት ይገባዋል? ትግራይ አልጠፋለት አለች እንጂ ብትጠፋለት ኖሮ ዘላለም ጀግንነቱን እየቆጠረ ይኖራል፣ ይፀታል ተብሎም አይታሰብም። ለክርስቶስ እጅግ የቀረቡት የትግራይ የኦርቶዶክስ ሃይማኖት መሪዎች እንኳን “...ይቅር በላቸው” አላሉም ራሳቸውን ክፉ መንፈስ ከተጣናውታቸው ሰዎች መራቅን መረጡ እንጂ። ቆረንጦስ 6:17 ላይ እንዲህ ይላል፡- “እግዚአብሄር አለ፡- “ከመሃላቸው ውጣና ለብቻህ ሁን፣ ንፁህ ያልሆነውን አትንካ፣ እናም አቀበልሃለሁ።” ትግራይ በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ከአማራ ጋር አብራ ለመቆየት ብትወስን እንኳ እንደተፋታ ባልና ሚስት ተካርፈን እንኖራታለን እንጂ ፍቅር የሚባል አይታሰብም። ስላልጠፋን ነው የተሰራውን ይህ ሁሉ ጉድ የምንረሳው? የጠፋትስ? ካርታ ላይ ያለው የኢትዮ-ሱዳን ድንበር የፓለቲካ እንጂ የፍቅር ድንበር

አይደለም። የፍልስጤሞች ወዳጅ የሆነችው ያስጠለለች እናታቸው የርዳናስ ናት ወይስ ያባረረች እስራኤል? ታየኝ ፍልስጤሞችና እስራኤሎች የርዳናስን እንደ ባለድ ቆጥረው እርስበርስ ሲዋደዱ! እንዴት ነው አይናችን እያየ “ከሱዳን አማራን አወዳለሁ” የምንለው? እነሱ “ከሱዳን ጋር አንዋጋም ወንድማችን ነው፣ ከትግራይ ጋር ግን እስከመጨረሻ ነው” ያሉበትን ቪድዮ ስታሊን ብትፈልገው ጥሩ ነው። አማራ “ሱዳን ወራኛለች” እያለ ግን ደግሞ “ወንድም ህዝብ ነው” ካለ፣ የትግራይን ህዝብ አንድ ፐርሰንት ያስጠለለችው ሱዳን የትግራይ ወንድም የማትሆንበት ምክንያት ይነገረን። ነፍሰ ጡር እያለች በፋኖ የተንገላታችው ሁመራዊት የሱዳን ድንበርን በእግር አቋርጣ ስትሄድ ያየ ባለ አህያ ሱዳናዊ እሷን አህያው ላይ ጭኖ ወደ መጠለያ ወሰዳት ስሰማ እምባየ ወረደ። ይህን አርጅቼ ራሴን እስከረሳ ድረስ አልረሳውም። ካርቱም እንድ ሳምንት ያህል ቆይቻለሁ። ድርም በልጅነት የአል ፈናን መሐመድ ወርዲ ዘፈን ደሜ ውስጥ ገብቶ ነበርና ሱዳን ሲባል በርተው ይታዩኛል። የካርቱም ጉብኝቴም የነበረኝን ስሜት የሚያጠናክር ነበር። ሱዳንን አትውደድ ከምትሉኝ አርባ ጅራፍ ግረፉኝ። የስሜት መነካት እንጂ የቆዳ መላጥ አያምም። ምጥ የሚረሳው ህመሙና ጉዳቱ ልጅ ስላስገኘ ነው። ለዚህ ነው እናቶች ሌላ ምጥ የሚመኙት። የትግራይ ጉዳት ምጥ አይደለምና አይረሳም። ትግራይ ያተረፈችው ውድመት እንጂ ልጅ አይደለም። ልጆቿንም በገፍ አጣች እኮ!

ህዝብ በህዝብ ላይ እንዲነሳ ብቻ ሳይሆን በክፍተኛ የጭካኔ ስሜት እሳት ለብሶ እሳት ጎርሶ እንዲዘምት የሚያስችለው አንዱ ዘዴ እንዲጠቃ የተፈለገው ህዝብ በአርአያ ስላሴ የተፈጠረ የሰው ፍጡር ሳይሆን ለሰው ልጆች ጠንቅ የሆነ ነገር አድርጎ በማቅረብ ነው። ሰው ለሰው ማዘኑና ርህራሄ ማሳየቱ አይቀርም፣ ለአውሬ ግን ያለውን አቅም ተጠቅሞ ያጠፋዋል እንጂ ዝም ብሎት አያልፍም። ጅብ ከሰፈር ገባ ከተባለ ህፃን ሳይቀር በስሜት ተነስቶ በጡጦውም ቢሆን ጅቡን ሊመታ ያስባል። “እረ ተውት፣ ፍጡር ነውኮ” የሚባልን ፍልስፍና የሚሰማ የለም። ትግራይ “የቀን ጅብ ነው” የተባለ ጊዜ መቸም ትግራዊን በአካል አይቶ የማያውቅ ሰው ሁሉ በተለምዶ በሩን ዘግቶ ከተኛ በኋላ የሚመጣው ሳይሆን “በቀን የሚመጣማ እጅግ አደገኛው” ነው ብሎ የሚያስብ ሰው ጅቡ ሳይቀድመው ለመቅደም ይሞክራል። ከሰፈር የትግራይ ልጆች ካሉም “አሃ! አብርኝ የሚማረው ያያ ሐንስ ልጅ ለካ ጅብ ነው” ብሎ ልጅ እናቱን ሊጠይቅ ይችላል። እናቲቱም የቆየ የዘር እብደት ካለባት “አዎ ጅብ ነው፣ እንዳትጠጋው” ልትለው ትችላለች። ይህ ልጅ ሲያደግ ፋኖ ይሆንና የትግራይ ልጅ ሲያገኝ ገድሎ ያቃጥላል ወይም ወደ ወንዝ ይጥላል። ካንስር አለብህ የተባለ ሰው ከውስጡ አስቆርጦ ለማስወጣት የብዙ ሺ ብር ወጪ ያወጣል። ካንሰሩ ሰው ሆኖ ከፊቱ ካየው ብር ሳይከፍል ያጠፋዋል። ከአረም የሚመለስ እጅስ አለ? አህል አጥፊ ነው፣ ያስርባል። ሰው የመሰለ አረምም በመጎልጎያ ሳይሆን በዲሞፍተር ይነቀላል። “የትግራይ ደም ቢኖረኝ በሲሪንጋ መጥጬ አወጣው ነበር” ይላል አንዱ (በምን እድሉ ያገኘዋል እንጂ! (ሳቅ በሳቅ)። ሌላው የተነካ ደግሞ “የትግራይን ህዝብ ጋዝ አርከፍክፈው ለምን አያቃጥሉትም?” ብሎ ይጠይቃል። ካምፕ ፋየር መሆኑ ነው! (ሳቅ በሳቅ)። “አምላኬ ሆይ የሚበላ ከልክለኝ እንጂ ከደንቆር ጋር አታውለኝ” ብሎ መማፀን ያስፈልጋል። ዘረኛ ፐርፓጋንዳ እንዲህ አይነቶችን ሰዎች ነው የሚያመርተው። ለትግራይ ህዝብ የወጡላት ሰብአዊ ፍጡርነቱን የሚነፍጉ የቅፅል ሰዎች ከመብዛታቸው የተነሳ መቁጠር አቁመናል። ሰዳቢዎቹ ግን ንዴታቸው ስላላቋረጠ በየሽንፈታቸው ማግስት አዲስ ስድብ ይፈለፍላሉ። “ከትግራይ ስይጣን ይሻላል”

ያሉት በሃጥያት የተበከሉ ቁስ የተናገሩት ምን ትርጉም እንዳዘለ አልገባቸውም። የታያቸው አምርረው መሳደባቸው ነው። ወይ ቅስና! ከነሱ ሰይጣን ይሻላል ካሉ ከመላክና ሰይጣን ሌላ አማራጭ ስለሌለ ትግራይ መላክ ነው ማለት ነው! (ሳቅ በሳቅ)። ከሁሉም የሚገርመው የባጫ ደበሌ በትግራይ ህዝብ ላይ የሰነዘረው ሰብአዊ ፍጡርነትን የሚነሳ ስድብ ነው። “ዝንጀሮ ናቸው” አለ! በመልክ ከሆነ ሰው ይፍረድ፣ ዝንጀሮ የሚመስለው ሰዳቢው ነው ተሰዳቢው? ተሳዳቢው ሳይንስን ስላልተማረ ነው እንጂ ሰው ከዝንጀሮ አይደል የተገኘው? በዚህ አይነት ሉሲን ጁንታ ሳይላት አይቀርም። ብልግናን በብልግና መመለስ ተገቢ ባይሆንም “መስተዋት ቤት ውስጥ ሆነህ ቀድመህ ድንጋይ አትወርውር” ብሎ መምከር ግን ተገቢ ነው። ወታደር ሆኖ የሚረከቸውና ጄኔራል ያደረገችው ዝንጀሮ ምን ያህል ከሱ የላቀች ጀግናም ሊቅም የሆነች ዝንጀሮ ናት? ሲናደዱ አፍን መቆጣጠር አዋቂነት ነው። የትግራይ መሪዎች በጨዋነት ጠላታቸውንም ቢሆን በአደባባይ የማይዘልፉት እኮ ባህላቸው ከፍ ያለ ስለሆነ እንጂ ማንን ፈርተው?

2. ዲሂዩማናይዜሽን (ሰብአዊ ፍጡርነትን መንሳት)

ዲሂዩማናይዜሽን ወይንም ሰብአዊ ፍጡርነትን መንሳት በአርመንያና አዘርባይጃን መካከል በነበረው ግጭት ውስጥ ከፍተኛ ሚና ነበረው። በጆ ነርሰስያን እንደተጻፈው አርመን ጠል የሆነው የአዘርባይጃን ፕሬዚደንት አሊዮቭ ለስልጣኑ በህዝቡ ዘንድ ድጋፍ ለማግኘት ሲል የአርመንን ጥላቻ ያስፋፋ ነበር። የአርመን ህዝብን ከሰውነት ውጭ በማድረግ “ውሾች፣ ተባዮች” ናቸው ይላቸው ነበር። ማት ዳንኤልስና ዱግ ባንዶው ይህ በሽታ አሜሪካንም ሳይቀር እየነካካት መሆኑን ፅፏል። አንድ እንደ ቀልድ የሚነገር ነገር አለ። ሪፓብሊካኖች ዲሞራቶችን የሚመርጠውን ህዝብ “ዲመንክራትስ” (ሰይጣናዊ ገዢዎች) በሚል አጉል ቀልድ ይጎነትላሉ። “ይቺ ጥሬ ስታድር አትቆረጠምም!” ነው። ለነገሩ አሜሪካ ለእንደዚህ አይነት ታሪክ አዲስ አይደለችም። አፍሪካውያንን እንደ ማገዶ በጥምር በጥምር ጀልባ ውስጥ እያጨቁ የደረሰ ይድረስ ብለው አሜሪካ ድረስ ካጓጓዙ በኋላ እንደ በግ ወገባቸውን እያስጨበጡ፣ እንደደረሰ ጥርሳቸውን እያስፈተሹ ሲቸረቸሩ አልነበር? ይህን ድርጊት አናቆምም ብለው ነበር እኮ ረዥም የእርስበርስ ጦርነት ያካሄዱት። በአስራ ስምንተኛው ክፍለ ዘመን በአሜሪካ የተካሄደ አንድ የባርያ ጨረታ ማስታወቂያ ፓስተር ሁለት አፍሪካውያን ወንድና ሴት ስእል ግራና ቀኝ ይታያሉ። በአገራቸው በከብራቸው እያሉ ባማረ አለባበስ የተሳሉበት ስእል። ነገር ግን ማስታወቂያው እንዲህ ይላል፡- “የሚሸጥ! ዘጠና አራት በመልካም ጤንነት ላይ ያሉ የጊዮሮዎች ካርጎ። አሁን በደረሰው በዚህ ካርጎ ሰላሳ ዘጠን ወንዶች፣ አሰራ አምስት ጉብሎች፣ ሂያ አራት ሴቶችና አሰራ ስድስት ልጃገረዶች ይገኙበታል።” እግዚአብሔር ያሳያችሁ “ካርጎ” ነው እኮ ያላቸው። እንዲህ ተብለው ይገዙና የነጮች መጫወቻ ሲሆኑ ነበር። አቅም ስላልነበራቸው ብቻ ሳይሆን ጌቶቻቸው ከውሾቻቸው በታች አድርገው እያዩዋቸው ጭንቅላታቸውን ስላላሸባቸው ራሳቸው የተሰጣቸውን ደረጃ በፀጋ ተቀብለው ከውሻና ከድመት በታች ሆነው የኖሩም አሉ። ነገነት ሲሰጣቸው ነጮችን እንደ ባለውለታ የቆጠሩ ብዛት ነበራቸው። አሁንስ ቢሆን ህግ እየያዛቸው እንጂ በገናኛው ክፍለዘመን “የጥቁሮች ህይወትም ህይወት ነው” ወይንም “ብላክ ላይቭዝ ማተር” እየተባለ አይደለምን? በቀጥታም ባይሆን የአሜሪካ ጥቁር ህዝብን እንደ ዝንጀሮ የመቁጠር ስሜት በስፋት ይንፀባረቃል። እንዲህ አይነቱ ስሜት በነሱ ላይ የሃይል እርምጃ ለመውሰድ የሚያበረታታ እንደሆነ አያጠያይቅም። በርም ዘመን ሮማውያን ያልሆኑ

በጨረታ ተሸጠው የግል ንብረት ይሆኑ ነበር። ይቺ በኢትዮጵያም በስፋት ተተግብራለች። የጠቆረውን “ባርያው” እያልን የምናቆላምጠው ከየት ያገኘናት ታሪክ እንደሆነች ይህ ትውልድ ብዙም አይገነዘብም። በሃይል ከተወረሩት የደቡብ ኢትዮጵያ ሰዎች ተፈንግለው በመላ ኢትዮጵያ ተዘርተው እንደቀሩና እስካሁንም በህብረሰቡ ዘንድ ከሰው በታች ሆነው እንደሚታዩ ይታወቃል። ከአሜሪካ ሳንወጣ ቀይ ህንዶች ወይንም የአሜሪካ ህንዶች በሚባሉት ነባር ባላባት ህዝቦች ላይ በአውሮፓ ነጭ ሰፋሪዎች የተፈጸመው የዘር ማጥፋት ዘመቻስ የተጠቀመው ይህንኑን ሰብአዊ ፍጡርነትን መንሳት አልነበረም እንዴ! ይህን ጉዳይ በሚመለከት እውቁ የመብት ታጋይ ዶ/ር ማርቲን ሉተር ኪንግ በአንድ ወቅት እንዲህ ብሎ ነበር፡-

“አገራችን የተወለደችው በዘር ማጥፋት ነው። ይህም ሊሆን የቻለው እንደ በጎ ነገር ነባሮቹ አሜሪካውያን ህንዶች ከሰው በታች ናቸው የሚለውን አስተሳሰብ ተቀብላ በማራመዱ ነበር። በፓሊሲ ደረጃ ነባር ህዝብን በማጥፋት ከአለም አንደኛ የሆነው እኛ ነን። ይህ አሳዛኝ ድርጊትንም እንደ አገር ክብር ቆጠርነው። ስለሆነም ለዚህ አሳፋሪ ድርጊት ቁጭት የሚባል ነገርም አናሳይም፣ ይልቁንም በስነፅሁፍ፣ በፊልም፣ በድራማ፣ በተረት ስናምጋግሰው እንታያለን።”

ቀይ ህንዶች የተባሉት የአሜሪካ ነባር ህዝቦች የአውሮፓ ስደተኛ ሰፋሪዎች ቤታቸው ድረስ ሄደው “ምህረት የሌላቸው አረመኔዎች” ይሏቸው ነበር። በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥም እንዲህ አይነት አይን ያወጣ ድፍረት ነበረ ባለፉት ሩቅ ዘመናት። ሰው በሆኑበት ወደ ቀያቸው ዘው ብለው በጉልበት ገብተው ነባር ኗሪዎችን ከሰው በታች አድርገው በመቁጠር ለሰላም ስንል የማንጠቅሳቸው አስነዋሪ የሆኑ በርካታ የቅፅል ሰዎች፣ ተረቶች፣ ቀልዶች ተነግረዋል። አሁንም በሰፊው ጥቅም ላይ እየዋሉ ቢሆንም ነገር ላለማጫጫስ ስል ከመዘርዘር እቆጠባለሁ። አንዱን ብቻ ግን ነካ አድርጌ ልመለስ። የእውነት የተደረገ አይመስለኝም፣ ነገሩ ቀልድ ነው። ሆኖም ግን በህዝብ ላይ የሚያመጣው ምሬት ያው ነው። አንዱ ንጉስ አዋጅ ሲያስነግሩ “ሰው አትግደሉ —ም ቢሆን”። በዘዴ ሰው አይለህም ማለት እንዲህ ነው። ወደ ቀይ ህንዶች ጉዳይ ልመለስና ሊማን ፍራንክ ባውም ከአውሮፓ ሰፋሪዎች አንዱ ያደረገውን የዘር ማጥፋት ቅስቀሳ እንዲህ አድርጎ ጠቅሷል፡- “የደህንነታችን ብቸኛ ዋስትና ቀይ ህንዶችን ጨርሶ ማጥፋት ነው። ስልጣኔያችንን ከአዴጋ መጠበቅ የምንችለው እነዚህ ያልሰለጠኑና ሊሰለጡ የማይችሉ ፍጡሮችን ከምድረገፅ በማጥፋት ነው”። የዚህ ሰፋሪ ንግግር ቁርጥ የኢትዮጵያን ትመስላለች። ትግራይ የኢትዮጵያ ብቸኛ አዴጋ እንደሆነችና ከምድረገፅ ጠፍታ ዘመናት ካለፉ በኋላ ተቆፍራ ብትገኝም ችግር እንደሌለው በዲያብሎስ ነው በዲያቆን ዳንኤል አለም እስኪደነግጥ ድረስ ባይባይ ተናግሯል። ከትግራይ ሰይጣንን የመረጡት እነዚህ ድልብ ዘረኞች ዲያብሎስ ቢባሉ ይከፋቸዋል ብላችሁ ነው? ማት ዳንኤልስና ዱግ ባንዶው ስለ ቻይናዎቹ ዊጊር ሙስሊሞች በስፋት ፅፈዋል። ቻይና “ምን ያለበት ዝላይ አይችልም” እንደሚባለው አንድን ህዝብ ለይቶ የሰው ፍጡርነቱን መካድ በተመለከተ የምትወስደው አቋም ከትልቅነቷና ከአብዮት ታሪካ ጋር አይመጣጠንም። ቻይና ዋናዋ የሰው መብት ገፋፊ አገር ናት። ዚንጅያንግ በሚባለው ክፍለ ግዛቷ ውስጥ አንድ ሚልዮን የዊጊር ሙስሊሞችን የምታገሩባቸው ግዙፍ ካምፓች ገንብታለች። ካምፓቹ “የተሃድሶ ካምፓች” (ራ.አ.ዱኬኮን ካምፕስ) ይባላሉ። የሚያስደምመው ነገር ግን ለእነዚህ የተሃድሶ ካምፓች የተቀጠሩላቸው መምህራን ሳይሆኑ የተገዙላቸው የሚከተሉት ናቸው፡-

2768 የፓሊሲ ዱላ፣ 550 የኩብት ማገጃ የኮሬንቲ ጉጦች፣ 1367 የእጅ ማሰሪያ ካቴና፣ እንዲሁም 2792 አድማ ቢታኝ የበርበሬ መርጫ ጣሳዎች ናቸው። ኢትዮጵያ የቻይና ጎበዝ ተማሪ ሆናለች። ይህን ይህን ከቻይና ሌላ ሌላው ደግሞ ከኤሪትሪያ። ቀድሞ የተፈጠረች አገር ተማሪ ሆና ቀረች። በጎ በጎውን መማር እንኳን ያባት ነበር፣ ክፉ ክፉውን በመቅሰም ከክፍሏ አንደኛ ሆናለች። በበጎ ነገር መታወቅ “በጁንታው” ዘመን ቀረ! ቻይና ጥሩ ጓደኛ አግኝታለች። ሁለት ሆኖ አይፈራም። ቻይና ዊግርን አጉራ ትቀጠቅጣለች ኢትዮጵያ በርካታ ካምፕ ፈጥራ ተጋሩን ትቀጠቅጣለች። መቼም ትግራዊያን እንደ ሰው የሚያይ መንግስት እንደ ድመት በቀን አንድ ዳቦና አንድ ጉንጭ ዉሃ ብቻ አይሰጥም። ተጋሩ ጅቦች፣ ሰይጣኖች፣ አረሞች፣ ካንሰሮች፣ የልጆች ማስፈራሪያዎች፣ ሽብርተኞች፣ እየተባሉ በኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ አእምሮ ውስጥ ስለተሳሉ እየታፈሱ ነው። እየተሰቃዩ ነው ሲባል ሰው ስሜት እየሰጠው አይደለም። መንግስትም ፕሮፓጋንዳው እንደሰመረለት አይቷል። የህግ ሰዎችም የሰዎች እንጂ የጅቦች ህግ የለንም ብለው ነው መሰል ፀጥ ብለዋል (ሳይወዱ ሳቅ በሳቅ)። ስለዊሮች ከሰው ያነሱ መሆንን በሰው አእምሮ ለመቅረፅ በየቦታው የተለጠፉ ትልልቅ ፓስተሮችና የግድግዳ ላይ ምስሎች አሉ። ቢቢሲ ካሰባሰባቸው ከብዙ በጥቂቱ ከዚህ ቀጥሎ ያሉት ምስሎች ይገኙባቸዋል። አንደኛ፡- አንድ ሰው መጥረጊያ ይዞ ከመንገዱ ላይ ያገኛቸውን የጥቃቅን ዊሮች ከምር ጠርጎ ሲያስወግድ የሚያሳይ፣ ህለተኛ፡- የኮንክሪት ማስተካከያ ዳምጠው ዊሮችን ጨፍልቆ ከስሚንቸው ጋር ሲደመድማቸው የሚያሳይ፣ ሰለተኛ፡- ዊሮች ምስላቸው ጥቃቅን እንደሆኑ ወይንም ጥቁር እንደሆኑ ተደርገው ይሳላሉ። ቻይና ይህን ጉድ ይዞ ነው የተባበሩት መንግስታት የሰብአዊ መብት ቻርተር ከዋና “ጠባቂዎች” አንዷ ሆና የተቀመጠችው። ድንቄም! የኢትዮጵያ መሪ ጄኖሳይዲስቶች መሃይም አይደሉም። እስኪግሉ ድረስ የተማሩ ናቸው። “ኩሉ እመክሩ ወዘሰናይ አፅንኦ” በሚለው መርህ ስር ተምረው “እንኳን ደስ ያላችሁ” ተብለው የተመረቁት ለካ ሰናይ ሰናዩን አይደለም። የነሱ መርህ “ኩሉ እመክሩ ወዘጄኖሳይድ አፅንኦ” የሚለው ነው። ይህ ባይሆን ኖሮ እንደ አሪስቶትልና ሶቅራጦስ ለሰው ልጅ የሚበጅ የፍልስፍና ትምህርት ተምሮ ዶክትሬት ዲግሪ የበጠሰው ዳኛቸው አሰፋ ራሱ እንደ ሳቪጅ አድርጎት በአደባባይ ትግሬን እየፈለግህ አጥፋ ይል ነበረን?

በናዚው የአይሁዶች ፍጅት ዘመን ሰብአዊ ፍጡርነት የመንሳት (ዲሂዩማናይዜሽን) ከፍተኛ ደረጃ የደረሰበት ነበር። አሁን ስለራሴ ህዝብ በተመሳሳይ ጉዳይ ስፅፍ ከልብ እያዘንኩ ነው። በርሊን አጠገብ፣ ኦሪጎን/ቡርግ ቀበሌ ውስጥ የሚገኘው የሳክሰን ሃውዘን ማጎርያ (ኮንሰንትሬሽን) ካምፕን ከአግር አስከራሱ ውስጥ ገብቼ ጎብኝቶቹሁ። በሳጥን የሞላ የሰው ጥርስና በሰው ቆዳ የተሰራ የገንዘብ ቦርሳ ሚዩዝየሙ ውስጥ አይቻለሁ። እስረኞችን ገድለው ለማቃጠል የሚከቱባቸው ትልልቅ ምጣዶችን አየሁ። አጥንታቸው ተለቅሞ ለካልሲየም ማዳቦሪያ ፋብሪካ በግብአትነት እንደሚሸጥም ተነግሮኛል። ጫማ ፋሪካዎች የጫማ ጥንካሬ የሚለኩባቸው እስረኞች ከቁጥራቸው በታች ጫማ ለብሰው በዛ ረሃብ 20ኪሎ አሸዋ ተሸክመው 20 ኪሎሜትር ዙር የሚሄዱበት አደባባይ አለ። ብዙዎች በዙሩ ላይ ይሞቱና ወደ ምጣዱ ይወሰዳሉ። በእስረኞቹ መከራ የናዚ ኤስ ኤስ ፓሊሶች ቢዘነስ ይሰራሉ። አዲስ አበባም እኮ ጁንታ ነህ ብለው ያሰሩትን ለመፍታት ፓሊሶች ብር እንደሚቀበሉ ይሰማል። ትንንሽ ኤስ ኤሶች! ህወሓትን ሊያዳክሙ አስረው በብር ይለቃሉ! ይህን የሚያደርጉት የሚያስሯቸው ተጋሩ ንፁህ መሆናቸውን በሆዳቸው ስለሚያውቁ ብቻ ሳይሆን ከሆዳቸው



በስተቀር ስለ ህወሓት ሆነ ብልፅግና ግድ ስለሌላቸው ነው። አይሁዶችስ ምንም ሳይበድሉ እይደል የተገፈፉት! ሃብታቸው ተዘርፏል የጥርሳቸው ወርቅ ሳይቀር ተነቅለል። የሚገርመው ነገር ሳከሰን ሃውዘን ማገርያ ካምፕ በር ስትደርስ የምታየው ከብረት የቀረፀ መልካም ምኞት አለ። ጄኖሳይዲስቶች ከሰው በታች ባደረጉት ላይ ምን ያህል እንደሚያሾፉ የሚያመለክት ፅሁፍ ነው። እንዲህ ይነበባል፡- “አርባይት ማክት ፍራይ”። ትርጉሙ “ስራ ነፃ ያደርግሃል ነው”። አስጎብኝዎቹ የነገሩኝ እንዲህ ነው፡- እስረኞቹ የበሩን ፅሁፍ አይተው ተስፋ አድርገው ከገቡ በኋላ ፓሊሶቹ ለብስበው “መውጫችሁ የገባችሁበት በር ሳይሆን ምጣድ ቤቱ አናት ላይ የምታይዋት ጢስ መውጫ ናት” ይሏቸው ነበር። በጥይት መግደሉ ከአቅማቸው በላይ ሲሆንባቸው ሻር ውሰዱ እያሉ መርዝ ጋዝ ከሚረጭበት ድፍን ቤት ውስጥ አስገብተው ይፈጁቸው ነበር። ጉብኝቴን ስጨርስ አእምሮ የ ተቃውሶ ስለነበረ እኔም በጢስ መውጫው የምወጣ መስሎ ተሰማኝ። ሰዎች በሌሎች የሰው ልጆች ላይ እንዲህ ደመ ቀዝቃዛ ይሆናሉ ከተባለ ስልታዊ ፕሮፓጋንዳ የአእምሮአቸውን ጤናማ ተግባር በማወክ ሊቆጣጠሩት የማይችሉት የሆነ የስሜት መመሳቀል ስለሚፈጥርባቸው ነው። ዛር ለአጭር ጊዜም ቢሆን ያመኑበትን ሰዎች ተቆጣጥሮ የአሳት ፍም ሳይቀር እንዲገርሱ ያደርጋቸዋል። ባላምንበትም ይህ ራሴ በአይኔ ብረት ያየሁት ነው። በውኑ እሳት የሚጎርስና ወንድሙ የሆነው የአገሩን ልጅ ትግራይ ተወለድክ፣ አባትህ ትግሬ ነው እያለ ቁም ስቅል ያሳያል? ተይዞ ነው እንጂ! እኔን! ናዚዎች አይሁዶችን “አይጦች” ይሏቸው ነበር። አይጥን የሚወድ አለ? ሊገድል ዱላ የሚፈልግ እንጂ። ዴቪድ ሊቪንግስተን ስሚዝ እንደተረከው ሂትለርና ተከታዮቹ አይሁዶችን “ክብር ላለው የአለም ህዝብ ህልውና ከፍተኛ አደጋ የሚጋርጡ፣ ዝነኛ የሆኑ የስልጣኔ ጠላቶች ናቸው” ይሏቸውና የበሽታ አስተላላፊ እንደ ትል፣ ቅማልና ባክቴርያ እያደረጉ ይሰሏቸዋል። ዴቪድ ሊቪንግስተን ስሚዝ የጠቀሰው የሂትለር የ1943 እ.ኤ.አ. ንግግር ይኸው፡- “ዛሬ፣ አለም አቀፍ አይሁድነት የህዝቦችና መንግስታት መብትና መብስበስ መንስኤ ነው፣ ልክ ጥንትም እንደነበረው። ህዝቦች ይህን ሻይረስ ለማጥፋት የሚያችላቸው ጉልበት ካላገኙ እንደነበር ይቀጥላል።” ናዚዎች ጠላቶቻቸው የሆኑት ሁሉ የአለም አቀፍ አይሁዳዊነት አካላት እንደሆኑ እርግጠኛ ሆነው ይናገሩ ነበር። የሩሲያ፣ የእንግሊዝና የአሜሪካን መንግስታት የተቆጣጠሩት አይሁዶች ናቸው የሚል እምነትም ነበራቸው። ይህ ማለት አይሁዶች ጀርመናውያን ቢሆኑም የጀርመን ጠላቶች ናቸው ተብለው ተፈርጆታል። ታዲያ የጀርመን ሰው እንዲህ ያለ አሳሳች ግን አደገኛ ፕሮፓጋንዳ እየሰማ ስለቀወሰ አይሁዶችን እንደ ሽንኩርት ቢከትፋቸው ምኑ ያስገርማል? “ተጋሩ ከኢትዮጵያ የዘመናት ጠላቶች ከሆኑት የውጭ መንግስታት ጋር አብረው አገራችንን ሊያጠፏት ነው” ተብሎ በፓለቲካ መሪው፣ በጳጳሱ፣ በፓስተሩ፣ በሙፍቲው፣ በፕሮፌሰሩ፣ በአገር ሽማግሌው፣ በሚድያው ነጋ ጠባ ሃያ አራት ሰአት ሲለፈፍ የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ለመጠራጠርና ለማጣራት አቅምም ፍላጎትም ይኖረዋል ተብሎ ይታሰባል? ሂትለር አይሁዶችን አይጥና ባክቴርያ እያለ በሚልዮኖች እየፈጀ አይሁዶችን እንግሊዝ፣ ራሽያና አሜሪካ ጋር አብረው ብኛል እያለ በአገር ከህደት ይከሳቸው ነበር። አይሁዶችን ያመናቸው ጀርመናዊ እንዳልነበረ ሁሉ ተጋሩን ስማን ይመናቸው? እዚህም እንደ ጀርመኑ የትግራይን ህዝብ በጉሮሮው ይዘው በረሃብ እየፈጁት ነው። “ተጋሩ ከአሜሪካ ጋር ሆነው ሊያጠፉን ነው” እያሉ በብልጠት ያማርራሉ፣ “ጣልቃ ገብነት ይበቃል” እያሉ የአሜሪካ አደባባዮችን ያጥለቀልቃሉ። “አያ ጅብ ሳታመኻኝ ብላኝ” አለችው አሉ አህይት ጅብን፣ ከታች እየጠጣች አደፈረሰሽብኝ ስላላት። የኢትዮጵያውያንን በተጋሩ ላይ የጀመሩት እብደት አለም እንዲጋራቸው ይፈልጋሉ ብቻ ሳይሆን ሊያስገድዱም

ይሞክራሉ። አለም የጤና ጥበቃ መሪዎ ማን ሊሆን እንደሚገባ ደፋሮቹ ኢትዮጵያውያን እየገነኙት ነው። ኢትዮጵያን አሁን ማን ይሰማታል? አለም ከአዲስ አበባ ሸቶ ናይርቢ እየሰፈረ፤ የራሷን ዜጋ ከአለም አቀፍ ተቋም አመራር ይልቅ የምትል አገር! ማርስ ላይ ተደርጎ ይሆናል እንጂ በምድርስ አልሰማንም። አለምን ያሸበረው ኮቪድን የተጋፈጠ ጀግና አማራ መሆን ነበረበት ለካ! ጊነስ ቡክ ኦፍ ሬከርድስ መቸም ይህንን ጨምላቃ ከህደት አይመዘግብም። በሩዋንዳው ጄኖሳይድ ሁቱዎች በገጀራ ሲጨፈጭፉ የነበሩት ሰውን ሳይሆን በረሮዎችን ነበር የሚፈጁት። እዚህስ እያለቁ ያሉት ተጋሩ ናቸው እንዴ? ጁንታ ወይም ካንሰር ወይም ጅብ ወይም ሰይጣን ናቸውከ! ወይ ጉድ! “ምን አይነት ዘመን ነው ዘመነ ድራቶ” አለ ድምፃዊ ተሾመ ደምሴ። የኛው ጄኖሳይድ ሳይጀመር ሩዋንዳ ኪጋሊ ተጉገፍ ነበር። ስለ ሩዋንዳ እልቂት በወቅቱ በዜና እከታተል ስለነበርና አንድ ሁለት ፊልሞችም አይቼ ስለነበር ከኤርፓርት ወደ ከተማ ለመሄድ ስጋት አድርገኝ ነበር። ስአቱ ሌሊት ስለነበረም ጭምር ነው። በታክሲ ስንዝ መንገድ ላይ ሬሳ ተረፍርፎ የማይ ይመስለኛል። በሰነትኩባቸው በርካታ ቀናት የኪጋሊን አሰድናቂ ውበት ላይ ማተኮር አልቻልኩም። የጄኖሳይድ መዘክሩን ለመነበኝት ሄጄ ሰአቱ አልነበረምና ተዘግቷል ብለው መለሱኝ። አምላኬን አመሰግንኩ፤ በሺዎች የሚቆጠሩ የራስ ቅሎች አይቼ ሰባንን ከማደር ዳንኩኝ። በማግስቱ ታላቅ በጎ ስራ ወደተሰራበት ሆቴል ሩዋንዳ አመራሁ። በጣም ያምራል። ድራፍት አዝዜ ቆምኩኝ፤ የቁም መደገፊያ ነበራና ጠረጴዛው። ሆቴል ሩዋንዳ የተባለው ፊልም ላይ ያየሁት ነገር ጋር እያስተያየሁ ድራፍቴን ጨርሼ ልቤ እንደተወጠረ ከግቢው ወጣሁ። የትግራይ ሆቴሎች አንድ ቀን ሆቴል ሩዋንዳ ይሆናሉ ብዩ ግን በፍፁም አላሰብኩም። ከማድርበት ሆቴል አስተናጋጅ የሆነ ቱትሲ ኢትዮጵያዊ መሆኔን ሲገነዘብ ደስታውን ገለፀ። “ካገርህ ሚስት ፈልግልኝ” አለኝ። እኔም የውሽት ቃል ገባሁለት። የእውነት እንኳን አልሆነ። መቸም እንዴን ዘመዴን ነበር የምድርለትና ጁንታ ተብላ ሚስቱ ስትታሰር እሱ መግቢያ የት ይሆን ነበር?

ህዝብ በህዝብ ላይ ለምን እንደዚህ አምርሮ ይነሳል? ብዩ ስጦይቅ “ፍካሬ እየሰሰ ስለሆነ” እንዳትሉኝ። እሱንም ያልሆነ ስም ሰጥተው የሰቀሉት የራሱ ወገኖች ናቸው። አይሁዶች መልካም ነገር ያስተማረውን ክርስቶስን ምን ሲሉ አምርረው ጠሉት? ዴቪድ ሊቪንግስተን ስሚዝ የሰዎች ስሜት ተበላሽቶ ሌላውን ህዝብ እንደ አውሬ ያለ ርህራሄ ከመቀጥቀጥ የማይመለሱበትን ስነ አእምሮዊ ሁኔታ ላይ የጥናት ውጤቱን አቅርቧል። እንደ ስሚዝ ጥናት እንዲጠቁ የተፈለጉት ህዝቦች የሰው ልጆችን አስተሳሰር ከያዘው የሞራል መብትና ግዴታ ስርአት ውጪ እንዲሆኑ ሲደረግ ነው። የተወሰነ ህዝብን ቀሪው ሁሉ ከሚጋራቸው ከሞራል እሴቶች እንዲገለል ከተደረገ በሱ ላይ የከፋ እርምጃ መውሰዱ አድራጊውን የሚያሸማቅቅ አይሆንም። ለዚህም ነው የማህበረ ሰብ የሞራል እሴቶች ስልታዊ በሆነ በረቀቀ እንዲሁም ተከታታይና ሁሉን አቀፍ የሆነ የማግለል ዘመቻ ለዘር ማጥፋት አመቺ ቅድመ ሁኔታዎች ሆነው የሚገኙት። በትግራይ ህዝብ ላይ እየተካሄደ የቆየውና አሁንም ተባብሶ የቀጠለው ጄኖሳይድ ዘርፈ ብዙ ነው። መነሻውም እንደሌሎች በአለም ላይ እንደተከሰቱት ዘር ማጥፋቶች በተጠቁው ማህበራዊ የበታችነት የወለደው ሳይሆን በተቃራኒው የተጠቁው የትግራይ ህዝብ ማህበራዊ የበላይነትን ለማውደም የሚደረግ ዘመቻ ነው። ይህ ለአለም የጄኖሳይድ መንስኤ ታሪክ ውስጥ አዲስ ክስተት ነው። የትግራይ ህዝብ ቁጥሩ ከአጥፊዎቹ ጋር ሲነፃፀር አናሳ ቢሆንም በአለም ላይ ገናና ከነበሩት ስልጣኔዎች አንዱ የሆነው የአክሱም

ስልጣን ባለቤት ነው። አለን ከሚሉት የክርስትናና የእስልምና ዘመናዊ ስልጣኔዎች እጅግ ቀድሞ ጥልቀትና ስፋት ያለው የክርስትናና እስልምና ባህል የነገባ ህዝብ ነው። ጀግንነቱና የውግያ ስልቱም በተፈጥሮ ልቀት ያለው ከመሆኑ የተነሳ ኢትዮጵያን ከውጭ ወራሪዎች ሲታደግ የኖረ አርበኛ ህዝብ ነው። የአፍሪካ ብቸኛውን ፊደል የቀረፀና የፀሎትና የመወደስ ዜማዎችንም የፈጠረ በስልጣኔ የመጠቀሚያ ህዝብ ነው። በርካታ ዘመናዊ ትምህርት የተማሩ የትምህርትና የኢኮኖሚ ልሂቃን ያሉት ሲሆን በወታደራዊ ዘርፍም በአለም ደረጃ በሚመደቡ ምርጥ የጦር ሊቃውንት የታደሉ ነው። የተፈጥሮ ሃብት ውስኪነትና የአየር ንብረት ጫና ያለበት ቢሆንም ችግርን ተቋቁሞ የመውጣት አቅሙ እጅግ ከፍተኛ ነው። ለዚህም ነው ለዘመናት የደረሱበትን አሁንም በከፋ ሁኔታ ያጋጠሙትን አውዳሚ የሆኑ የተፈጥሮና ሰው ሰራሽ አደጋዎችን ተአምራዊ በሆነ ጥንካሬ ተቋቁሞ የወጣና እየወጣ ያለ ህዝብ ለመሆን የበቃው። ብዙ የአለም ህዝብ ጠፍቶ ወይም እጅግ ተጎድቶ በቀረባቸው ጥፋቶች የትግራይ ህዝብ ግን አፈር ልሶ መነሳት የዘወትር ልማዱ ነው። የራሱን ሙበት አያስከም የሌሎች ህዝቦች ሙበትንም አለመንካት ብቻ ሳይሆን በተቆርቋሪትና የሚቆምና ደሙንም እስከማፍሰስ የሚደርስ ታላቅ ህዝብ ነው። የዘር ማጥፋት ጉዳይ ሲነሳ በእንደዚህ አይነት ልቀት ባለው ህዝብ ላይ የመፈፀሙ ነገር የተለመደ አይደለም። ንቀት ዘር ማጥፋትን ይወልዳል፤ የትግራይን ህዝብ ሊንቅ በሚያስችለው የማህበራዊ ልቀት ደረጃ ላይ የሚገኝ ሌላ ህዝብ ለመኖሩ የሚታወቅ ነገር የለም። የሆነው ግን ይኸው ነው። ራሳቸውን በቃላት ጋጋታ ሰማይ የሰቀሉ፣ ከኛ በላይ ላሳር የሚሉ ስልጣኔን ከትግራይ ህዝብ እጅ ነስተው የተቀበሉ በእርሻ ሰበል፣ በከብትና በህዝብ ብዛት የሚገነባ የታሪክና የባህል ልቀት ያለ ይመስል አይናቸውን በጨው አጥበው በድርቅና አኮሳሽ ስምና ቅፅል እየለጠፉ አገራዊ ጥላቻን በማነሳሳት የትግራይን ህዝብ ለማጥፋት ከፍተኛ ትግል ይዘዋል። ይህ ትግል አሁን እጅግ መጠነ ሰፊና የአለም መንግስታትን ዲፕሎማሲ ያመሰቃቀለ ሆነ እንጂ ፊትም ቢሆን ከአሁኑ ባነስ ልኬት ሲደረግ ኖሯል። “ትግራይ አንበጣ ይበላል” ብቻ ሳይሆን ራሱ አንበጣ ነው እያሉ በአንበጣ በሊታ አሞራ ስም የተሰየመ የጦር ዘመቻም ተካሂዶበታል። ባለፈው አመትም ይህ ሰብአዊ ፍጡርነትን የሚገስ ስያሜ ከስንት ዘመን በኋላ እንዳይስ ተነስቶ ጎንደር ላይ “የመቀሌው፣ አንበጣ በሊታው” እየተባለ ይፎከርና ይቅራራ ነበር። እንደ ጎንደር ሆኖ ያበደ ህዝብ በአለም ላይ ይኖር ይሆን? ለራሱ አላግባብ በሰጠው የበላይነት ስሜት ጎርፍ ተወስዶ የማይመለስበት ገደል ውስጥ ጨምሮታል። ጎንደርን ገንጥሎ ከኤሪትሪያ ጋር ለማዋሃድ ድልድይ የሆነችውን ወልቃይትን ከትግራይ ለመዘረፍ ህዝቡን ያስፈጃል። የጎንደር ዳያስፓራ ጂኦፖለቲካዊ ቅዠት!

ዘር አጥፊዎቹ ራሳቸውን ሲያታልሉ የትግራይን ህዝብ የገመገሙት በህዝብ ብዛቱ ነው፤ ፎርሻዎች ግሪኮችን በብዛታቸው ብቻ አቅማቸውን እንደ ገመቱት ሁሉ። ፎርሻዎች ያልገባቸው ግሪኮች ለአለም ያበረከቱት የሳይንስ እውቀት ብቻ ሳይሆን የውጊያ ጥበብንም ጭምር እንደ ነበር ነው። ሰውን የሚገድለው አንድ ጠርሙዝ ውሃ ሳይሆን አንዲት ጠብታ መርዝ ናት። በትግራይ በሚደረገው አይነት ብዙ የዘር ማጥፋት የተከሰተውም ይኸው ነው። የሂሳብ አራት መደብ ጠንቅቆ ያላወቀውም ሳይቀር የትግራይ ህዝብ ስድስት ፐርሰንት ብቻ መሆኑን ያላንፀባረቀ የለም። ዘጠና አራትንና ስድስት ፐርሰንትን እያወዳደረ ሳይዋጋ በህልሙ ድል የተቀዳጀ ቁጥር ስፍር የለውም። አለም አዲስና አንፀባራቂ ታሪክ እየፃፈ ነው። ታሪክ እስከ ቅርቡ የሚያውቃቸው የዘር ማጥፋት ድርጊቶች ከተጠቁዎች በኩል ምንም ግብረ

መልስ ባልነበረበት አሳዛኝ ሁኔታ የተፈፀሙ ነበሩ። አርመኖች በቱርኮች ሲጨፈጨፉ ምንም መከታ አልነበራቸውም። ስድስት ሚልዮን አይሁዶች እስኪያልቁ ድረስ የአይሁድ መካች ጦር የሚባል አልነበረም። የአይሁዶች መንግስትም አልተመሰረተም ነበር። ቱትሲዎችም ቢሆኑ ካለቁ በኋላ ነው ታጣቂዎች የደረሱት። የዘር ማጥፋት በተካሄደባቸው ሁሉ ተጠቂው ህዝብ ያለ መከታ እንደ አብርሃም በግ ነበር በዝምታ ሲታረድ የኖረው። ትግራይ ውስጥ እየሆነ ያለው ግን ፍፁም የተለየ ነው። ልዩነቱ ማህበራዊ ዝቅታ ላይ ያለ ህዝብ ማህበራዊ ከፍታ ላይ ያለን ህዝብ በቀላል የስነ ህዝብ ስሌት ላይ ብቻ ተመስርቶ ለማጥፋት መሞከሩ ነው። የዘር ማጥፋት ጦርነቱ በኢትዮጵያ ሃይሎች ብቻ ሳይሆን የውጭ ሃይሎችንም በወሳኝነት ባካተተ መልኩ ተጀምሮ እንደቀጠለ ነው። በትግራይ ላይ ወራሪውን ሃይል ለማበረታታት ሲባል የስነ ህዝብ ስሌት ተሰራና በጥቂት ቀናት ይጠናቀቃል ተባለ እንጂ ይህን ህዝብ አጠፋለሁ ብሎ መነሳት ቀላል እንዳልሆነ ወራሪዎቹ በሚገባ ያውቃሉ። የትግራይን ህዝብ ካላጠፉ ስልጣናቸው ስለማይረጋ ምርጫ የላቸውምና ማንኛውም ዋጋ ለመክፈል ቆርጠው ተነሱ። ዋጋው ሳይውል ሳይደር በጥቂት ወራቶች ውስጥ እየታየ ነው። የአገሪቱ ኢኮኖሚ ተምዘግዝጎ ወረደ፣ ሰራዊቱ አለቀ፣ የኢትዮጵያ ስም እንዳይመለስ ሆኖ ረከሰ፣ አገሪቱ በነፃነት ሳይሆን ቢቃለ አባይነት ታወቀች፣ ትምህርትና ማህበራዊ ህይወት ተቃወሰ፣ ጦርነት በመላ አገሪቱ ተሰፋፋ። ኢትዮጵያ ሆይ! አልነገርኩሽም ወይ ጩኬ በላንቃየ፣ ትግራይን ነክተሽ ሰላም አታገኘም ብየ። ይህ ግጥም ብዙ ነገር ይናገራል። ትግራይን ለመውረር በሰላም ስምና በኖቤል ውስጥ ተሸሽገው የኢትዮጵያን ኢምፔርያሊዝም ማንሰራራት እንዲመሩ የተመረጡት አቢይና ኢሳያስ ሲመክሩና ዝግጅት ሲያጧጥፉ የሚከተለው ጥፋት በግልፅ የታያቸው በርካታ ታላላቅ ሰዎች “ይህ ነገር የማያባራ መአት ያመጣልና ተወ!” ብለው መክረው ነበር። እብሪቱ ግን “መኖር የሚችሉት ወይ ትግራይ ወይ ኢትዮጵያ እንጂ ሁለቱም አንድ ላይ አይሆንም” የሚል ሆነ። ወይ ጉድ! “ያዳቆነ ሰይጣን ሳያቀስስ አይለቅም” አሉ። የትግራይ ዘር የማጥፋት ጥረት ልዩ የሚያደርገው የሚፈራውና የሚከበረውን የትግራይን ከፍታ በውሸት ትርክት ዝቅ በማድረግ ህዝብን ማነሳሳቱ ነው። የአገር መከታ መሆንና ኢትዮጵያም በአለም መድረክ ታዋቂና የተከበረች እንድትሆን የማድረጉ፣ እንዲሁም የኢትዮጵያ የክርስትናና የእስልምና ማእከል የመሆኗ ነገር የትግራይ የልአልና ምንጮችና መገለጫዎች ናቸው። ትግራይን ከዚህ ልአልና አውርደው ሳይጥሉ ለዘር ማጥፋት ህዝብን መቀስቀስ ስለማይችሉ የእንስሳና የበሽታ ስም ከመስጠት በላቀ ህዝብን ለበቀል የሚጋብዙ “ትግሬዎች ባንዳ ናቸው! ትግሬዎች ፀረ ሃይማኖት ናቸው” እይሉ ይለፍላሉ። ትግራይን ከማህበራዊ ከፍታ የማውረድ ዘመቻው በየቀኑ አዳዲስ ክስተቶች የሚያስመዘግብና መገለጫዎቹም በርካታ ናቸው። ተቀድቶ የማያልቁት ውድ የባህል እሴቶችን ለማጥቃት ረዥም ጊዜና ጥረት ይጠይቃል። የሴቶች ነፃነት መገለጫ የሆነው አሸንፎ ከትግራይ ማህበራዊ ከፍታዎች አንዱ ነው። ሰሞኑን እሱንም ደረጃውን ለማሳካስ ተራ የህፃናት ጨዋታ እየተጫወቱ ነው። በኔ ግምት ከእንግዲህ ዘር ማጥፋት በአለም ላይ የትግራይ የመጨረሻው ሊሆን ይችላል። የአለም ህዝቦች የመጣባቸውን የዘር ማጥፋት መመከት እንዳለባቸው ከትግራይ ታሪካዊ ልምድ መማር አለባቸው። ትግራይም በዚህ ረገድ ባላት ለጭቁን ህዝብ የመቆርቆር ባህል ለተጠቂዎች ልምድ ለማካፈል ወደኋላ አትልም። ካለፈው ታልቅ ታሪኳ በላቀ ሁኔታ የአለም ጭቁን ህዝቦች የትግል አርአያ ሆና እንደምታንፀባርቅ ፅኑ እምነቴ ነው።\*\*\*\*\*

**“ህዝቡን ባርያ ለማድረግ የሚጠይቀው ብዥኛ ስራ ፍርሃት መልቀቅ ነው”  
ኸርማን ጌሪንግ (ከናዚ መሪዎች)**

**December 09-2021**

ይህ ፅሁፍ በአማርኛ ቋንቋ የተዘጋጀው አለም በሚገባ የሚያውቀውንና እብዶች የለኮሱት የሁለተኛ አለም ጦርነት አስከፊ ውጤት እንደነ ታማኝ፣ ዘመነ፣ አንዳርጋቸው፣ ዳንኤል፣ መሳይ፣ ስዩም፣ ዳኛቸው፣ መሳፍንት፣ አገኘሁ፣ ወዘተ የመሳሰሉ ከአንድ ብሄር ብቻ የወጡ ኢትዮጵያውያን ኸርማን ጌሪንግ ወደ ገደል ለሚመሩት ህዝብ ምክር እንዲሆን ታስቦ ነው። ጀርመን አንድ ብሄር ስለሆነ ከ50 አመታት በኋላ መልሶ ተዋሃደ፣ ያጣውን ታላቅነቱን ሳንቆጥር። የኢትዮጵያ ነገር ግን ከዚህ የተለየ ነው። ይህ በሽረሪት ድር የታሰረው የሰማንያ ብሄር ብሄረሰቦች አንድነት ከተጠጠሰ እንኳንና በአምሳ በአምስት መቶ አመትም መልሶ አይገናኝም። ፊትም ቢሆን የተጣበቀው በጉልበት ነውና በስልትና በቀልምጫ መሆኑ ቀርቶ “በዘመቻ ሚኒሊክ” በጉልበት አንድ ማድረግ መቀጠሉ የኢትዮጵያ የፍፃሜዋ መጀመሪያ የሚሆን መሆኑን ህዝቡ ከስሜት ወጥቶ ቆም ብሎ እንዲያስብ ለማሳሰብ እፈልጋለሁ። የበሉት ዳቦ ከመሶብ አይገኝም። ቁጭት ጨጓራና ደም ግፊትን ያስከትላል እንጂ በእብደት ያጡትን አገር አይመልስም። የትግራይ ህዝብ ምንም ሳይበድል የደረሰትን ግፍ ከመረዳትና በወገንነት ስሜት የችግሩ ተካፋይ እንደመሆን “አጥፋው፣ አውድመው” እያሉ ጊዜ የማይሸረው ጠላትነት መጋበዝ ከአፍንጫ አርቆ አለማሰብ ነው። አይሁዶች እኮ ስድስት ሚልዮን አልቆባቸው አልጠፉም፣ አረብን የሚያስደነብሩ፣ አለምን የተቆጣጠሩ የማይቀመሱ ኮምጣጤዎች ሆነው ይኖራሉ። ጀርመንን ያወደሟት “የጀርመን ጠላቶች” የተባሉት አይሁዶች ሳይሆኑ በስመ የጀርመን የበላይነት ራሳቸው ጀርመኖቹ ናቸው። ተራውን ጀርመናዊ “ዋናው ጠላትህ አይሁድ ነው፣ ሩስያ ናት፣ እንግሊዝ ናት” እያሉ ሲያጃጅሉት ነበር። እዚህም ህዝቡን በባንዴራ፣ በዘፈን፣ በተዛባ ታሪክ፣ እያሳቡዱ ከአንድ ወር በላይ አርቆ እንዳያይ እየተደረገ ነው። አሁን ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ እየሆነ ያለው ነገር ጀርመን ወደ ሁለተኛ የአለም ጦርነት ያመራችበት አካሄድ ጋር በእጅጉ ይመሳሰላል። በቀላሉ ሊፈታ ይችል የነበረውን የትግራይ ጥያቄ በእብሪትና ማን አለብኝነት ወደ ሃይል እርምጃ ሲወሰድ ግዙፍ ሾላ እንደዋዛ አፈር ላይ ከጣሏት ቅንጣት ፍሬ እንደሚወለደው በሶስት ቀን ያልቃል የተባለው “ጥቂት መሪዎችን የማሰር ዘመቻ” ወደ አለም አቀፍ ውዝግብ ተቀይሯል። ይህንንም የባሰው ሳይመጣ ወደኋላ መመለስ ከመሞከር ይልቅ “ትግራይን ሳናጠፋ ኢትዮጵያ አትድንም”፣ ወልቃይትን ከማስረከብ ሁላችን እንለቅ” በሚል አሳቱ ላይ ጋዝ እየተደፋበት ነው። የትግራይ ጦርነት ሲጀመር አራት መንግስታት የተሳተፉበት ነበር። ከዛ ቀጥሎ የአለም ሃያላን በሁለት ጎራ ተሰለፉበት። አሜሪካ ትግራይን እየረዳች ነው በሚል የፈጠራ ወሬ ቱርክ፣ ቻይና፣ ኢራንና ኢምሬትስ ከነ ድሮናቸው ሰተት ብለው ወደ ጦርነቱ ገቡ። ሱዳንንና ግብፅን የትግራይ ወገን አድርጎ በሃሰት በመፈረጅ የሌሎች የአፍሪካ አገሮችን ድጋፍ ለማግኘት ጥረት እየተደረገ ነው። ይህ አይደለም እንዴ የአለም ጦርነት ማለት? ይህ አይደለም እንዴ “ተቀምጠው የሰቀሉት ቆመው አያወርዱትም” የተባለው?

በጣት የሚቆጠሩ በዘረኝነት የታወሩና የመሬት ወረራ ህልም ያናወዛቸው እንደ ኸርማን ጌሪንግ ያሉ የጀርመን ፖለቲከኞች ሁለተኛውን የአለም ጦርነት በመለኮሳቸው በአምስት

አመት ውስጥ ከሰባ ሚሊዮን በላይ የአለም ህዝብ ሞቷልም የደረሰበትም አልታወቀም። ስድስት ሚሊዮን አይሁዶች ከጦር ሜዳ ውጪ በግፍ ተገድለዋል። በዚህ ጦርነት የአራት ትሪሊዮን ዶላር ኪሳራ ደርሷል። ከአራት ሚሊዮን በላይ ጀርመናውያን የሞቱና የጠፉ ሲሆን የቆሰሉትና የተማረኩትን ግን ቤታቸው ይቁጠራቸው፣ ፈርሶ ካልሆነ። ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ግን ምርኮኞች ፎቶ ሾፓች ስለሆኑ መቁጠሩ በሰፍት ዌር ይሰራል! (ወደ አይስቁ)። እዚች አገርማ ፎርጅድ ምርኮኞችም በገፍ ናቸው። አንድ ጥይት ሳይተኩሱና ሳይተከሰባቸው ከየ እናታቸው ጓዳ ወጥተው ምርኮኛ የሆኑ ሺዎች ናቸው! ይህ በንፁሃን ተጋሩ ላይ የሚደርስ ግፍ ባይሆን ኖሮ በሳቅ የሚያንፈራፍር አሪፍ የኮሜዲ ፊልም ይወጣው ነበር። ወደ ጦርነቱ ጉዳት ልመለስና በገምብ ድምጥማጣቸው የጠፉ ከተሞችና የኢኮኖሚና ማህበራዊ ተቋማትን ሳይጨምር ጀርመን ለጦርነቱ 300 ቢልዮን ዶላር ወጪ አድርጋለች፣ አምስት ሚሊዮን ዜጎቿንም አጥታለች። በወደ ዘማኞችና በምልምሎች የተሞላው የጀርመን ስራዊት ከ14 ሚሊዮን ያላነሰ ነበር። አሁን እነዚህ አብዶች ከዚህ ሁሉ ውድመት ለጀርመን ምን አተረፋችሁላት ይባላል? ትርፉ አገሪቱን ክብር አሳጥቶ የአሜሪካ ተረጂ እንድትሆን ማድረግ፣ ለሁለት ተሰንጥቃ በሶቭየትና በምእራቡ አለም ወታደራዊ ሃይል ስር ወድቃ ለግማሽ ምእት አመት ህዝቧን ማለያየት፣ በአለም ዙርያ ለጀርመን ህዝብ ከፍተኛ ጥላቻና ጥርጣሬ መፈጠር፣ ከፍ ያለ አቅም ያላቸው የጦር መሳሪያዎች እንዳታመርት መታገዷ። ከዚህ የከፋ ምን አለ? “እሾህ ላጣሪው”።

እዚህ ላይ መነሳት ያለበት ወሳኝ ጥያቄ እነዚህ የናዚ መሪዎች በምን ዘዴ አሳውረው ነው የጀርመንን ህዝብ ወደ እንደዚህ አይነት ጥፋት የመሩት? የሚል ነው። መልሱ ከዚህ ፅሁፍ ርእስ ላይ በአጭሩ ተመልሷል። የተብራራ መልስ የሚገኘው ግን ኸርማን ጌሪንግ ወዳልቀረለት የኑረንበርግ አለም አቀፍ ፍርድ ቤት ቀርቦ ከተናገረው ነው። ጌሪንግ እንዲህ አለ:-

*“ተራው ህዝብ በተፈጥሮው ጦርነት አይወድም። ይህንን በቀላሉ መረዳት ይቻላል። ሆኖም ግን፣ ሁልጊዜ ህዝብን መሪዎች ወደሚፈልጉት ነገር ማምጣት ይቻላል። ቀላል ነው! ማድረግ ያለብህ፣ ለህዝቡ “እየተጠቃህ ነው” ብለህ ማስፈራራት ነው። ጦርነት የማይፈልጉትን ሰላማዊያንንም የአገር ፍቅር የሌላቸው አድርጎ በመፈረጅ አገሪቱን ለአደጋ እይጋለጧት እንደሆነ አስመስሎ መስበክ ነው”።*

ይኸውላችሁ! ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ አገር እያተራመሰ ያለው የጌሪንግ ህዝብን የማጃጃል ፍልስፍና ነው። ህዝብን ለፈለጉት ስይጣናዊ አላማ የአገር ጉዳይ እያስመሰሉ ማነሳሳት ቀላል ነው። ሰው እንደማንኛውም የእንሰሳ ዘር የመኖርያ ክልሉን ድንበር የሚነካበት አይወድም። ዝሆኖች ሆኑ ጉንዳኖች የራሳችን ነው የሚሉት ወሰን አላቸው። ተፈጥሮ የመከላከያ አቅም በተለያየ ሁኔታ የሰጣቸውም ይህን ክልላቸውን ላለማስደፈር ነው። ይህ የደመነፍስ (ኢንስቲንክት) ጉዳይ ነው። ይህ የፓለቲካ ፍልስፍና ክርክር የሚደረግበት አይደለም፣ የህልውና ጉዳይ ስለሆነ። ለዚህም ነው ወስላታ ፓለቲከኞች የራሳቸውን የግል ወይንም የቡድን ጥቅም በህዝብ ደምና በህዝብ መከራ ለማስከበር የሚጠቀሙበት የማነሳሻ ዘዴ ጥያቄ የማያስነሳውን የደመነፍስ የህልውና ጉዳይ ላይ የሚያተኩሩት። ነብር መጣብህ ካሉኝ ወይ መሸሽ ወይ መጋፈጥ እንጂ ቆሜ ጥያቄ አልደረድርም። ለዚህ ነው የተፈጥሮ ህልውና መጠበቂያ ተፈጥሯዊ ስሜቱንና አቅሙን ለራሳቸው አላማ የሚጠቀሙበት። “የትግራይ

ሰዎች አማራን ከምድረ ገፅ ሊያጠፉ ከክልል ገብተዋል” ሲባል የማይደነግጥ፣ ሞፈር ቀንበሩን ጥሎ የማይነሳ፣ ልጅ ሚስቱን በቅጡ ሳይሰናበት የያዘውን ይዞ የማይዘምት የሰው ፍጡር ይኖራል? “ትግራይ ሆ ብሎ ታጥቆ ወደ አማራ ክልል የገባው በደረሰበት እጅግ ከባድ ጥፋት ራሱን ነፃ ለማድረግና ወንጀል የፈፀሙበትን ለይቶ ለፍርድ ለማቅረብ” መሆኑን ለአማራው የነገረው የለም። ይህ ከተነገረው አማራው አይነሳም። “አጥፊ ግብሩ ያውጣው፣ ግብሩ ያጥፋው” ብሎ ከቀየው ንቅንቅ አይልም። ይህ በአማራ ክልል አላበቃም። ይህ “ክልልህን ሊያጥፉ ነው” የሚለው ቅስቀሳ የሚያነሳሳው አማራን ብቻ ስለሆነ ለቀስቃሾቹ በቂ አልሆነም። ስለዚህ ከፍ ወዳለ የማስፈራራያ እርከን ማደግ ነበረበት። አገኘሁና ታማኝ እንዳጋለጡት የአማራ “ጥቃት” የመላ ኢትዮጵያ “ጥቃት” እንደሆነ ተደርጎ “ተሰርቶበታል”። አሁን ጀርባን የሚያደነቁረው ጩኸትና ቅስቀሳ “ኢትዮጵያ ልትፈርስ ነው! ሁሉም ዘምቶ ያድናት!” የሚል ነው። በሽብርተኝነት ተፈርጀው ኢትዮጵያን ለማፍረስ እየተሞጉ ነው የተባሉት የትግራይና የአሮሞ ሃይሎች ይህን ማድረግ እንደማይፈልጉና ይልቁንም ኢትዮጵያን ወደ ሚኒሊክ ዘመናዊ ኤምፓየር እንዳትመለስና ብትንትኗ እንዳትወጣ በፍላጎት ላይ ለተመሰረተ አብሮነት እየሰሩ መሆናቸው ነው የሚታወቀው።

መቶ ሰው አንድ አዳራሽ ውስጥ ኑር ከማለት መቶ ክፍሎች ያሉት ኮንዶ ህንፃ ውስጥ ቢኖር አይመረጥም? አንድ አዳራሽ ውስጥ መኖር የግል የቤተሰብ ምስጢር የለ፣ በግል እንደየምርጫው መመገብ የለ፣ ራቀት መውጣት ሆነ በግል መፋቀር የለ፣ የግል ስሜት ማንፀባረቅ የለ! ኮንዶ ውስጥ መኖር ያው እንደ አዳራሹ አንድ ህንፃ ነው፣ ግን ከላይ የተጠቀሱት የግል ህይወቶች ተከብረው ይኖራሉ። ለኮንዶው የጋራ መናፈሻዎች፣ ጥበቃዎች፣ ሱቆች አሉ። ይህ የግልና የጋራ ህይወትን ያስከበረ ድንቅ የሆነ ሚዛናዊ ህይወት አይደለምን? የመቀጠል ተስፋ ያለው አዳራሹ ውስጥ ተፋፍኖ እንደ አስረኛ መኖር ሳይሆን በኮንዶስ ያለው ፍትሃዊ ኑሮ ነው። በአሁኑ ጊዜ በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ያለው ትግል ስለ አገር ህልውና ማፍረስና እንዳትፈርስ መታገል ሳይሆን ለኢትዮጵያ አብሮነት የሚበጀው የቱ ነው የሚለው የርእዮተ አለም ፍትሃዊ ነው። እኛ ያልነው የአዳራሽ ውስጥ ጭፍለቃ እውን ካልሆነ አገሪቱ ትፈርሳለች ማለት ከንቱ አስተሳሰብ ነው። የጎንደር ነጋዴዎች “የሰለጥ መሬት ከእጃችን ካልገባ ኢትዮጵያ ትፈርሳለች” እያሉ ዩኒፎርም ለብሰው ፎቶ እየተነሱ ህዝቡን ሲማግዱት መንቃት ካልቻለ ምን ማድረግ ይቻላል?

የትግራይ ሰራዊት ሲጠነክርና አማራን የማጥፋት ፍላጎት እንደሌለው ህዝቡ እየተገነዘበ መምጣቱን ሲገነዘቡ፣ ይህ ሰራዊት ኢትዮጵያን ሊያፈርስ ነው የሚለው ውትወታም ቀለሙ እየለቀቀ ሲሄድ የኢትዮጵያን ህዝብ በትግራይ ላይ የሚያነሳሱበት ዘዴ እየሳሳባቸው መጣ። ይህ ሁኔታ በፈጠረው ስልጣንን የማጣት አደጋ የማነሳሳቱ ፕሮፓጋንዳ አሁንም አንድ እርከን ከፍ አለ። የመጀመሪያው እርከን “አማራ ሆይ! ሊያጠፉህ ነውና ተነስ” የሚል ነበር። ቀጥሎ ያደገው ወደ ሁለተኛ እርከን ሲሆን “ኢትዮጵያዊ ሆይ! አገርህን ሊያፈርሷት ነውና ህፃን፣ እዋቂ፣ አዛውንት ሁልህም ተነሳ”። እድገቱ ከክልል ወደ አገር ሆኖ ቆየ። ዘወትር “ኢትዮጵያ ያንተ ናት” ይሉትና ከዛው ቀጥለው “ወልቃይትን፣ ራያን፣ መተከልን፣ ደራን” አስመልስ እያሉ ግራ የሚያጋቡት የአማራ ህዝብ አሁንም ማጭዳን ይዞ ለአጨዳ በወጣበት እግሩ ግንባር እየሄደ ደረግፋል። ቀሪው ኢትዮጵያዊ ብሄር ብሄረሰብ ግን በመጠኑና በዝግታም ቢሆን የተስፋፊዎች ተንኮል እየገባው ያለ ይመስላል፣ ለዚህም ነው ዝምታ ያበዛው። በለቅሶ ላይ ሁሉም ሲያለቅስ ይቆይና ደክሞት ፀጥ ሲል የቅርብ ቤተ ሰብ ግን ጩኸቱን ሲቀጥል ጎልቶ

ይሰማል። ብሄር ብሄረ ሰቡ እየገባው ያለው እውነታ ከአማራው ጋር ሆኖ ሲጮህላትና ትግራይን ሲያወግዝላትና ሲወጋላት የቆየላት ኢትዮጵያ የአማራይቱ አሃዳዊት ኢትዮጵያ እንጂ ያቺ አብሮነት በእኩልነት የምታነግሰው ኢትዮጵያ ምንም ሳትሆን በጤንነት በፌደራሊስት ሃይሎች እጅ ስላላች የሚያሳሱበት ነገር እንደሌለ ነው። በኢትዮጵያ ህልውና ዙሪያ የተገነባው የፕሮፓጋንዳ ግንብ እየፈረሰ ስለሆነ ኢትዮጵያዊ ጌራንነት ቅስቀሳውን ወደ ሶስተኛ እርከን አሳድገውታል። “አፍሪካን ማዳን!”። አማራን ማዳን፣ ኢትዮጵያን ማዳን፣ አፍሪካን ማዳን፣ ቀጣዩ ደግሞ አለምን ማዳን ሊሆን ይችላል። ሰዎቹ በጣም ደፋሮች ናቸው። “ኢትዮጵያ እንደ ማርስ ሰው አልባ ሆናም ቢሆን እኛ እያለን አትጠፋም” እያሉ የሚናገሩ እውቀት ያልዳሰሳቸው ጋኖች ባለቁበት ጋን የሆኑ ምንቸኞች ናቸው። አወቅን እያሉ በተናገሩ ቁጥር ተሸማቀን አለቅን! ስልጣን የሚያዘውም፣ ሃብታም የሚከነውና አዋቂ የሚከነው በአንድ መንገድ አይደለም። ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ባለፉት ጥቂት አመታት የምናየው የምንሰማው ግን ኪሱ ያበጠውና ጭንቅላቱ የከሰሰው ነጋዴ ሁላ ስለ አሜሪካ ዲፕሎማሲ ትንተና ይሰጣል። ብልፅግና ውስጥ በመግባቱና በፓርቲው መመዘኛ ስልጣን ስለተሰጠው ብቻ ሌላው ሁሉ ምንም የማያውቅ መሃይም ይመስለዋል። ብሊንክንን “የአለም ደድብ፡ የአሜሪካን ስንዴ ነቀዛም፣ አሜሪካን ታሪክ አልባ፣ አሜሪካን አዲስ ቅኝ ገዢ” እያሉ አይጥ ሆነው ዝሆን ላይ የሚያላግጡ መሃይማን ሞልተውናል።

የኢትዮጵያ ፀረ-ትግራይ የማነሳሳት ዘመቻ ሶስተኛ እርከን ላይ እንዴት እንደደረሰ እንመልከት። ዋናው መነሻ የትግራይ ሰራዊት ማመን ከሚፈልጉት በላይ ጠንክሮ በስልጣናቸው ላይ ከፍተኛ አደጋ ስለጋረጠባቸው ነው። “ዱቄት ሆኗል፣ ተበትኗል፣ እየተሸሎከለከ ነው፣ ከመኪና ወርዷል፣ የሱን አይነት በዘራችሁ አይድረስ” ሲሉት የነበረው የትግራይ ሃይል አዲስ አበባ አቅራቢያ ሲደርስ ትርክታቸውን ቀየሩ። “ይህ ሃይል የትግራይ ሳይሆን የአሜሪካ ነው” አሉ። ጥርቅም አድርገው አንዲት የራስ ምታት ከኒን እንኳ እንዳትሾልክ አድርገው የዘጉት ድንበር አሜሪካ መግባት ብትፈልግ እንኳን በየት ገብታ ኢትዮጵያን እንደምትወጋ ግልፅ አላደረጉም። የሌላቸው መረጃ ከየት ያምጡት? ተንታኝ የተባለ ሁሉ በተቀደደለት የውሸት ትርክት ባይ እየፈሰሰ ታሪክን እየለቀመ ያጣምማል ያጋንናል። በመሰረቱ አሜሪካ ለተገፋው የትግራይ ህዝብ ማድረግ ይገባት የነበረው ከጭንቀትና ከቃላት የዘለለ ብዙም ጠንክር ያለ እርምጃ አልወሰደችም። አሜሪካ የምትጠቀመው በኢትዮጵያ አንድነት በመሆኑ፣ ሆኖም ግን ይቺ አሜሪካ በአንድ ሳህን ላይ እንድትሆንላት የምትፈልጋት ኢትዮጵያ አሜሪካን የሚያሳፍር ከባድ የሰብአዊ መብት ጥሰት ስትፈፀም ስታይ የምታደርገው ነገር ግራ ገብቷታል። ስታመነታ ግን ቻይናና ሩሲያ ማጭ ብለው ቀድመዋት ኢትዮጵያን እያሳጧት ነው። በዚህ የተደናገጡት የአሜሪካ ባለስልጣናት ባገኙት አጋጣሚ ኮታቸውን ገልብጠው እየለበሱ ነው። “የአራት ኪሎ ማንግስት በትክክል የተመረጠ ነው፣ ብሄር ብሄረሰብ የማይባልባት ኢትዮጵያ ብትኖር ደስ ይለናል፣ የትግራይ ሰራዊት ከአማራ ይውጣ (የምእራብ ትግራይን ጉዳይ ሳይጠቅሱ)” የሚሉትን ቃላት በዘር አጥፊው ኢሳት ሳይቀር እየቀረቡ ይምበዛበዛሉ። በዚህ አይነት እስረትነት ከኢትዮጵያ ጋር ለመታረቅ ቢሞክሩም የኢትዮጵያ ፓለቲከኞች አሜሪካን ያንበረከኩ ያህል ሆኖ ስለተሰማቸው ጥቃቱን ቀጠሉ። ሁለት ያጣ ጎመን የሆኑት አሜሪካውያን ከዚህ በፊት በሌሎች አገሮች ላይ የወሰዷቸውን ቆራጥና ጊዜ ያልሰጡ እርምጃዎች አሁን ደርሰው ጥርስ አልባ የሚያገላ እንበሳ ሆነዋል። በዲፕሎማሲ አለም ድክመት ማስጠቀያ ነው። ይህ



የአሜሪካ መንግሥት ነው ቱርክና ኢሚሬት በድፍረት ኢትዮጵያ ገብተው ትግራይን የሚወጉት። የአሜሪካ በኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ ላይ ቀበቶዋን በማላላቷ መርኅን ጨብጣ እንደልብ እንዳትሮጥ ካደረጓት ፈተናዎች አንዱ የራሷ ዜጎች መቆጣጠር አለመቻሏ ነው። ዜጎቿ ለፍትህ ብለው የትም አለም ቢታገሉ የአሜሪካ ዴሞክራሲና ሰብአዊነት የቆመለት አላማ ነው። የአሜሪካ ዜጎች የሆኑ የትግራይ ተወላጆች ትግራይ ላይ ባለው ፍትህ አልባነት ክንዳቸውን ቢያነሱ ለአሜሪካ ህዝብ ኩራት ነው። የኢትዮጵያና የኤሪትሪያ ባንዴራዎችን ይዘው ወደ ትግራይ የእርዳታ መስመር እንዳይከፈትና አሜሪካም በዚህ ጉዳይ ውስጥ ጣልቃ እንዳትገባ የሚሉ አረመኔ ዜጎቿን በህግ እንደማስታገስ በሰልፈኛው ብዛትና ጩኸት ተደናግጦ የሰብአዊነት ጎዳናዋን ትስታላች ብሎ ያሰበ የለም። በዚህም ሆነ በዛ የአሜሪካ ባለስልጣኖች ጠበቅ ማለት ሲያቅታቸው ኢትዮጵያ አጋጣሚውን በመጠቀም አፍሪካን ልታነሳሳባቸው እየሞከረች ነው። “ሃሽታግ ኖሞር”/ይብቃል” በሚል መፈክር በዳያስፓራው የተለኮሰው እንቅስቃሴ የትግራይን ህዝብ የሰቆቃ ደምፅ ያዳፈነ በአሜሪካ ባለስልጣናት ልልነት የጎለመሰ ኢሰብአዊ ንቅናቄ ነው። ይህ አፍሪካ አህጉር ድረስ የደረሰው ፀረ-ትግራይ የዲፕሎማቲክ ዘመቻ “አፍሪካ የአሜሪካ ቅኝ ግዛት የመሆን አደጋ ላይ ናትና አፍሪካዊ ሁሉ ተነስ” የሚል ነው። በዚህ የተደሰቱት ሩስያና ቻይና አሜሪካን ከአፍሪካ ለመንቀል ጥሩ አጋጣሚ ሆኖላቸዋል። ይህ ሁሉ አለም አቀፍ ውስብስብ ገመድ የተገነገነው በቀላሉ ለሚፈታው የትግራይ ችግር ነው። የትግራይ ግዛቶች ይመለሱ፣ አገልግሎቶች ይከፈቱ፣ እርዳታ ያለ ገደብ ይግባ፣ ወንጀለኞች ይቀጡ፣ የጠፋው ይካሰ፣ ህወሓትን ማሳደድ ይቁም፣ የታሰሩት የፓለቲካ እስረኞች ይፈቱ፣ ሁሉም ያሳተፈ መንግስት ይመስረት። በቃ! ይኸው ነው! በዚህ የሚፈረስ ክልል አለ? በዚህ የሚፈረስ አገር አለ? በዚህ የሚጎዳ አህጉር አለ? ከኩይሳ ተራራ መፍጠር ካልሆነ?

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**Strange World: Collaborating with the criminals to expose their crimes.**  
March 19-2021

A brilliant friend of mine always has words to describe all of the observations he makes; but when it comes to what sometimes happens in Ethiopia, he frequents a very interesting expression. He would say: "Ethiopia is a land of 13 months of surprises". This says it all! We have by now become used to the surprises taking place in Tigray which bewilder any logically thinking person. The dictionary is too weak to express it in words and communicate effectively. This week someone on interview in some Tegar media outlet rightly said, "What is happening in Tigray is hard to process in the head". Ethiopia's notorious experience with generating surprises has reached its peak this week

when the enablers to perpetrators of the crimes being committed in Tigray are mischievously posing as investigators of the crimes, they themselves instigated.

I have always found it hard to understand where the human element in world diplomacy dwells. My understanding of why international organizations are established is conventional. I feel that they are there to protect the value of life humanity holds dearly but is often violated by individuals and groups. In this cruel world of vice. This job requires dedication and self-sacrifice, a vow to serve humankind. Those leading and working in the international bodies are like missionaries who are devoid of concealed personal agenda behind their service. If an international organization turns out to be just a golden opportunity to be located at the highest salary scales, then everything is lost.

In the four months of "dirty" war in Tigray we have seen and heard the world diplomatic community making sense and losing sense at the same time. While the EU, notably Ireland and the USA made the Tigray issue a family affair of their own and are sleeplessly fighting to end the tragedy, others are locked in callous diplomatic routine of engaging with the very government in Ethiopia which has unleashed the forces of evil on Tigray. Instead of conducting independent investigation on whether or not Eritrean troops are in Tigray violating Ethiopian sovereignty and committing atrocities on a biblical scale, they prefer to call and ask the government of Ethiopia if it has allowed Eritrean troops into Tigray and turned blind eye to the atrocities they are committing. They know the answer before they pick up the phone. In their sane mind how can they expect a criminal to admit its crime to a foreign government or to a chief of a world organization? What they are doing is just transferring the burden on their backs using the business-as-usual diplomatic list of chores.

Now we have come to yet another more troubling negligence of the international community. The world human rights commission preferred to be too conventional in collaborating with the Ethiopian government wing of "human rights" to investigate the human rights abuses and war crimes committed in Tigray by the same government that pays monthly salary to employees and allocates annual budget to

the human rights commission it fully controls. The world human rights commission is assuming that there is a democratic government in Ethiopia which has freely functioning checks and balances as it is in the USA and Europe. It is clear to this World human rights commission that this is not true. It knows already that the results of the investigation will be that the government of Ethiopia has been blessing and embracing and caressing the people of Tigray. The World commission must stop such insensitivity to the plight of the people of Tigray. Which government in Africa would do self-censure, travel to the Haig on its own free will, and face the ICC?

I cannot imagine the ladies and gentlemen in the World Body are oblivious to this simple truth unless they intend to engage in lip service to Tigray. The AU chief is another hypocrite who now turned into an investigator of a crime he blessed let alone try to prevent it. The World body of human rights and the AU have deviated from serving the truth the world expects them to do. They are busy with coverups for an undisclosed reason. Tigray will survive and thrive, but those that failed it in this time of need will live with thier wrecked conscience if they have got any tiny bit of it.

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# CLUSTER 7

## Allied Blitzkrieg on Tigray



- Who can declare the end of a war?
- Tigray: The darkest hour is just before the dawn
- Four Campaigns for one goal

Ethiopia, Eritrea, and the Amhara Region, with support from Somalia and UAE, prepared for a large-scale war against Tigray since 2018 and started it on November 4, 2020. Tigray was only one of the administrative regions of Ethiopia, and the alliance of foreign states against it was unprecedented in world history. The balance of power seemed like a fight between elephants and a rabbit. While Tigray had only 9000 lightly armed militia to defend itself, according to the IISS (2019-2021) Eritrea had 321,750 troops, 270 tanks, 22 aircraft and helicopters. Ethiopia had 138,000 regular troops with a hundred thousand Amhara militia, 462 tanks, and 40 aircraft and helicopters. When the going got tough Tigray was able to raise hundreds of thousands of volunteers ready to die for their land and their people. What happened in the next two years was no less than a miracle.

## **Who can declare the end of a war?**

November 30-2020

The great journalist Martin Plaut, who keeps himself strictly within the perimeters of professional ethics, twitted a couple of days ago: "The next few weeks will show who miscalculated. Difficult for 6% of the population of Ethiopia to face the Federal army, the Amhara militia, and the Eritrean military all at the same time. Clearly the Tigrayans have lost cities. Now we will see if they have lost the war". This is a great incite based on a full understanding of the timeless ethos of freedom inherent in the Tigrayan culture. We don't need to wait for weeks to realize that starting the war was a grave miscalculation. It was based on the wrong perception of the invincibility of a joint force of Ethiopia, Eritrea, and a hate blinded Amhara militia misguided by false sense of bravery and mischief of its elite, against "a poor tiny region which is dependent on Ethiopia for its survival". Three days were "generously" allotted to start and end the war.

How much time the war takes is not decided by both sides but only by the side which started the war. There has never been war in history whose end is decided by those who started it. Neither Hitler nor Mengistu were able to end the wars they started. They were able only to start them by "counting their chicks before they are hatched". As Commander Seye Abrha once said, "We know war and thus we fear it". Why is war feared? Because how it ends is not predictable! When crazy megalomaniacs trigger war on other people, who jealously guard their freedom and the right to self-determination, they would be pressing a button triggering a chain reaction that they cannot control. The loss of lives and the destruction of property emboldens rather than weakens those who defend their freedom. In such war's nations rise from the ashes more powerful than before. They are like steel which acquires its greater strength and resilience from more and more burning. Vietnam not USA and France decided

the end of the wars. Carpet bombing and Agent Orange never forced the tiny but gallant Vietnamese to surrender. They fought in the rice paddies, they fought in the underground tunnels, and they fought in the forests and weakened the "elephants" into collapse. What did the Vietnamese have in their hands? Little more than AK-47 rifles, but missiles in their hearts!

Those who started the war were pushed by bad people who were eager to see flood of Tigrayan blood, but not the grave consequences of it on those who start it. Many unheard voices had warned against triggering this kind of war which cannot be justified on any legal ground and could do irreversible damage to the Country. Tigray is uniquely placed in Ethiopia as cradle of Ethiopian civilization and the prime defender of the Country from external aggression. It is a nation of people who are steeled by persistent wars and frequent droughts. Nothing could be worse for Tigrayans than what they have already experienced in the last few centuries and from which they emerged victorious. The difference of the past from what is happening now is that in the past Tigrayans have never been considered as an Ethiopian and attacked with the support of foreign countries. This is a historic turning point and a critical threshold exceeded for Tigrayans to ask themselves what Ethiopia means for them. The fact that those regions of Ethiopia, who got their self-rule from the blood of the thousands of Tigrayans, supported or kept their silence when the beacon of their freedom is being extinguished by those who enslaved them in the past.

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<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Tigray: The darkest hour is just before the dawn</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">December 17-2020</p>
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The proverb, used as a title, may have originated from the Irish song meant to inspire hope under adverse circumstances. What is happening in Tigray has never been dreamt of. It looks like a doomsday scenario: From a tranquil life which was envied by all

Ethiopians, until a few weeks before, the entire State is overwhelmed by a tsunami of war from all directions. A bolt from the blues for millions of Tegar death, displacement, injury, and loss of property became the fate of the people for over a month now. Anyone who carried guns converged on Tigray eager to devour it in a few days. The invasion, which included a foreign country and a regional militia alongside Ethiopia's defence force, had the leadership of TPLF as a "target". The WWII DD-day like military operation was to catch finger counted leaders, who were elected by the people to form a Regional Government just a couple of months before the blitzkrieg. The entire operation was like trying to kill a flea with an atomic bomb. The fact that the war by allied forces on Region had no sufficient reason to justify it was sheer insanity at a massive scale. Humanity may have had no idea how far hate can go. The war in Tigray showed how far hate can go for the world to record.

Although Tigray has been hit by the center several times in history and its people killed, harassed, insulted, intimidated, jailed, and marginalized in Tigray and elsewhere in Ethiopia, nothing compares to what is happening now. The UN is expressing its alarm about the two million children on the verge of death due to lack of food and medicine; the tens of thousands of refugees in Sudan, who escaped from genocide; massive ethnic profiling of Tigrayans in all walks of life in all parts of Ethiopia; millions in situ and internally displaced starving; legalized bandits from the Amhara region who flocked into Western and Southern Tigray marauding cities and villages; all services like power, telecommunication, road and air transport, water supply, health service sealed. As far as our knowledge of history goes no such thing ever happened in any part of the world on fellow citizens. Worse than the war, which was heroically degraded by the Tigray Defence Force, was the unreserved support of the invasion by political parties, religious institutions, scholars, and ordinary Ethiopians. Tigrayans, including those who used to be ardent adherents of Ethiopian nationalism, are confused to say the least about the all-out war on Tigrayans with the support from

foreign governments. They are unable to understand what the meaning of the Ethiopian citizenship they have got written on their passports and id-cards could be. Typical in this regard is what a certain Tigrayan in addis ababa told The New Humanitarian: "...more like 80 percent regarded themselves (Tigrayans) as Ethiopians... but after the war I am sure if I say I am ethiopian to my people they will hate me". By now, most Tigrayans are convinced that Ethiopia is not for them. Is this going to pass just as a hiccup? Wouldn't Tigrayans forget and forgive like Japan did to USA? The answer is No! If you stumble on a boulder once, the boulder is the bolder not you. If you stumble on the boulder again the boulder is you not the boulder. There was no time in the history of Ethiopia that Tigray was treated fairly. Every time some bad thing is done to it, it forgives and forgets. Maybe it had not been getting the message clearly. This war is unique in the sense that it is well designed to "help" Tigray better understand that it is not needed in Ethiopia. Now Tigray rudely awakened to the reality that Tigray has never been considered as Ethiopian. Knowing the truth is halfway to the solution. The dawn of a new Tigray is sure to come, but the darkness before it is long and deep. Tigrayans have to show the world that they were the glorious Axumites and will experience the renaissance soon. Never weep, never give up! We have God the almighty on our side. We are his earliest believers who built his domicile in Axum and Negash!

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**Four Campaigns for one goal: Rendering Tigray Unviable**

March 30-2021

People become more vulnerable to any next attack if they consider the series of attacks as isolated incidents triggered by passing emotions. The invasion of Tigray and the untold brutalities that followed have alarmed any sane minded human being, except those who are literally in a huge lunatic asylum called Ethiopia. A key



question for the prognosis of the catastrophe must be: Is this a terrible hiccup or a next higher phase of malignancy? The medical analogy can be taken as perfect because local twitches in the nervous system resulting in long and painful hiccups are similar to conflicts, which could turn out to be very bad, but are caused by temporarily elevated emotions and lack of proper communication. This does not arise from any underlying grudge or deep-rooted hatred. Such conflicts happen so unfortunately that the only remedy is to stop them, forgive and forget. One could tell an extended story of the similarity between Tegar and Amhara in religion, culture, history, physical appearance, and so on. This is a convenient premise for the wrong conclusion that the war between Tegar and Amhara an avoidable fratricide, just a passing hiccup. Cain and Abel fighting for the love of their father. The killing is bad, but the reason is glorious. Who wouldn't want to get the love of a father entirely for oneself?

It will be the most insensitive evasion of the history of Tegar in Ethiopia to ignore every invasion they suffer, in the hands of Amhara Rulers at the Center, as a tragic family story of Cain and Abel. In the middle of the massive gang-rape, wanton killing of civilians, and the destruction of the regional economy and the livelihoods of communities in Tigray those locals that have joined hands with the invaders dare to say, "Amhara are our brothers and sisters"! The most recent multipronged invasion of Tigray is the most complicated and the most barbaric, but it is the latest of the four campaigns launched on Tigray, from 1889 to 2021, all aimed at making it unviable as a nation. The four campaigns are only the most glaring; but there have been countless offenses on Tigray as a political entity and on Tegar as individuals or groups. The first happened in the Menilik era (Campaign I); the second during Haile Selassie's reign (Campaign II); the third during Mengistu-lead Junta rule (Campaign III); the fourth and the ongoing is launched and executed by the axis of evil: Prosperity Party-Amhara Hegemons-Eritrean Dictatorship (Campaign IV).

Little wonder that there are more similarities than differences between the four campaigns that targeted Tigray; designers differ but the goal is the same. Next section lists and discusses the commonalities between the four campaigns on Tigray.

1. Treasonous use of foreign power in the campaigns:

- i. **Campaign I:** Menilik allied with Italian colonial forces against Yohannes IV and got 30,000 guns and 28 cannons to subdue Tigray and use it for the expansion of his empire in the south, west and east.
- ii. **Campaign II:** Haile Selassie used British Royal Air Force to crush the Woyane rebellion and killed hundreds of civilians in the central market of Mekelle and elsewhere in Tigray
- iii. **Campaign III:** Mengistu used Russian support as military advisors and suppliers of sophisticated weaponry to crush the TPLF and to bombard and shell civilians all over Tigray.
- iv. **Campaign IV:** Abiy got the massive direct involvement of tens of divisions of ground forces and air support from Eritrea, commandoes from Somalia, and drones from United Arab Emirates. Eritrea's involvement in the war in Tigray was unprecedented because it took the leadership role in designing the entire operation in which Abiy and his generals only played the "second fiddle" in a Country they call their own and, on a people, formally registered as Ethiopian citizens. Abiy had wanted to involve Sudan, in the war in Tigray, on his side. Sudan was expected to assist the invasion by closing its borders for the defenders of Tigray. Sudan did the opposite of what it was expected to do and became the only reliable host for tens of thousands of Tigrayan refugees. This is something that will happily be remembered by Tegaruru into eternity.

2. Use of political geography as a tool to enfeeble:

- i. **Campaign I:** Menilik ceded the Red Sea littoral portion of Tigray to the Italians, planting a permanent geopolitical thorn in the flesh of Tigray. This action helped him to prevent any armament shipment to Tigray and any economic benefits from the trade route from the Ethiopian interior via Tigray to the Red Sea. The least mentioned Article 3 of the Wuchale Treaty, which has been evaded for a century, has helped Menilik to seal the fate of the heirs to the throne of Yohannes IV and continue with the empire building in the south, west, and east. The distant ports of Massawa and Assab were more useful for Tigray than for the center of the Empire: Addis Ababa. Djibouti was more convenient and safer to use for the Shoa-centered Abyssinia.
- ii. **Campaign II:** Haile Selassie penalized Tigray by awarding huge and fertile territories in the west and south to Gondar and Wello respectively. This helped Haile Selassie to significantly reduce the tax-base and the food producing capacity of Tigray. For Haile Selassie this was a final blow to the reluctant vassals in Tigray.
- iii. **Campaign III:** Mengistu retained the provinces regionalized during the Monarchy until 1987; but with the intensification of the TPLF-led armed struggle he felt that the land area size of Tigray has to be further diminished. When creating an “Autonomous region of Tigray” (*Ras Gez*) to “resolve” the national question Mengistu took away the Danakil eastern half of Tigray and incorporated it with the new Assab autonomous region (*Ras Gez*).
- iv. **Campaign IV:** Abiy facilitated the invasion of western and southern Tigray by the Amhara Militia who claimed the land as taken away from them by the Federal Arrangement of 1995. The forced colonization of Eritrea in Campaign I has served

Campaign IV in which the former kins of Tigray were transformed into more brutal collaborators against it.

3. Laming native political leadership and the role of proxies in Tigray:

- i. **Campaign I:** Menilik effectively rendered the nobility in Tigray too weak to challenge the Crown. Heir to the throne of Yohannes IV, Mengesha Yohannes died in prison; the great Tigrayan general Alula was reduced to a pet in Menilik's court; Gebre Selassie of Adwa served Taitu in Addis Ababa. The remaining members of the Tigray nobility had more time devoted for fighting one another than challenging the legitimacy of the Crown at the Grand Palace
- ii. **Campaign II:** Haile Selassie continued to appease Tigray by assigning natives to its governorship. However, the appointees were shackled by marriage vows to their spouses who have blood relations with the Crown. Mengesha Seyoum, the great grandson of Yohannes IV, wedded to the granddaughter of Haile Selassie, had more than five great grandsons and daughters of the Emperor. Would Mengesha Seyoum lead a rebellion against the great grandfather of his own children? He also jailed Blatta Hailemariam Reda, the leader of the first Woyane for life in Arba Minch so far away from his people. Any sign of descent from any member of the nobility was never tolerated. When the son (Aba Yilak Kassa) of the enfeebled governor of Tigray, Seyoum Mengesha, grew rebellious against the Crown his own father surrendered him to the crown to be killed. This was the power of the political anesthesia injected into the veins of the key members of the Tigray nobility.
- iii. **Campaign III:** Mengistu assigned Colonel Kale Kiristos and Mulugeta to govern Tigray. In reality they were just figure heads devoid of any real power. Representatives of the Derg and political cadres exercised more power; but the power to

kill and cripple their fellow Tegar. Protecting Tegar was not in their job description; hunting and destroying anyone suspected of involvement with TPLF was. Mass murderers of Tegar like Desta Tadesse and Belay Berhe were killed by Mengistu after they successfully completed the mission!

- iv. **Campaign IV:** Abiy did not have a chance to put proxies in Tigray before the end of 2020. Tigray had leaders of its own in a federal arrangement that legitimized self-rule; the outcome of the long and arduous struggle wedged by Tegar. Following the invasion of Tigray, a transitional government is installed at Mekelle, while the elected government of the people is out and about in the cozy fold of its rural constituency. The alien proxy constituting of a retired army general (Yohannes) and a university professor (Mulu Nega) are Tegar only by birth. In their homeland among their own people, they have become more “catholic than the pope” at Arat Kilo. They are doing the more damaging psychological harm to their fellows than the physical harm the sworn enemies of the people are inflicting.
4. Using hunger as a weapon in Tigray:
    - i. **Campaign I:** Menilik in collaboration with Italian colonial forces wrecked the food production system of Tigray both as a separate campaign to impoverish and as a supply source for the war effort.
    - ii. **Campaign II:** Haile Selassie refused to send food aid to the hundreds of thousands of victims of drought-induced famine in Tigray both in 1958 and 1973.
    - iii. **Campaign III:** Mengistu refused to distribute food aid to victims of drought-induced famine in Tigray in 1984-85. It was a dreadful action intended to weaken the support-base of TPLF. Hundreds of thousands of victims died of starvation and communicable diseases, while the demons in Addis Ababa were celebrating the foundation of the WPE.

- iv. **Campaign IV:** Abiy turned a blind eye to the blocking of highways leading to Tigray aimed at denying it access to the food market outside Tigray. When swarms of locust invaded Tigray support to fight the invasion was brutally denied. While the catastrophic invasion of Tigray was in full swing, four million people were held hostage by starving them to force the surrender of the TPLF leadership. In a tragic death of logic TPLF leadership was expected to surrender to save its people from starvation, as if these cruel invaders would provide food to the people after the surrender! It was already very clear that the target of the invaders is not only TPLF leaders but the entire population of Tigray as a mass base of TPLF. They know very well that as long as the people of Tigray remain intact, they are capable of producing more talented leaders. The surrender of even all TPLF leaders does not effectively end the fight of the people for freedom. It could only delay it.

### **To sum up**

The billion-dollar question is: Will there be **Campaign V** in Tigray at some point in the future? The answer is a big “Yes” if the people of Tigray dangerously lapse back to their bad habit of forgiveness. Campaign I was followed by II, and II by III and IV because the deceptive good manners of the invaders and their supporters have been lulling Tegararu into sleep while the enemy prepares and looks for a weak point to attack Tigray again. The only way **Campaign V** can be avoided is self-censure about past negligence that resulted in a series of damaging invasions. It is crucial to understand that the four campaigns are aimed at the same thing: to render Tigray unviable. If it refuses to be unviable the campaign series will continue in other more severe seasons and episodes. If Tigray survives Campaign IV. Sure, it will, it will never survive Campaign V. If there is any Tigrayan that doubts that Campaign V will ever happen, it must be harboring a bitter hate for his own people. So, what would facilitate Campaign V? The answer is the forgetfulness, the negligence, the fatal kindness, and suicidal forgiveness of Tegararu!\*\*\*\*\*

# CLUSTER 8

## Tigray Turned into Hell on Earth



- Tigray on Fire
- World History of Genocide for comparison with Tigray
- Amhara's laughable imitation of Nazi Germany's 'super-race'
- Talk about ideas not about leaders
- Intentionally confusing battle with human rights violation
- Stubborn Dictators
- Mekelle is not intimidated...

What was declared to be a law enforcement operation, on TPLF leaders, turned against the people of Tigray with full force. Six hundred thousand to one million Tigrayans died because of direct massacres, weaponized hunger, lack of health care, and deliberate air and artillery bombardment on civilian targets. Tens of thousands of children, young girls, adult and elderly women, even nuns were gang raped, turned into sex-slaves for weeks and months, genitally mutilated, and shot and killed or injured after rape or refusal to consent. Rapes involved clearly stated genocidal intentions. Most schools and health services were destroyed and looted. Factories were burnt and looted, farm animals were slaughtered and/or robbed. Crops were robbed and burnt or destroyed in the field and in the silos. Churches and mosques were deliberately hit by artillery fire. Two million were displaced, a third of them flocked to Sudan.

## **Tigray on Fire!**

February 16-2021

Oh Lord the Greatest save Tigray,  
By Your Might and Grace hear my cry.

People are punished for electing leaders,  
As the demise of The Constitution heralds,  
They are brutally invaded by evil hordes,  
By an army of the dead like in the “Game of Thrones”.

Your people are slaughtered and their livelihood messed,  
Virgins dishonored, Nuns are raped, and Priests murdered,  
Your Shrines are ruined and Relics are looted,  
Hunger as a weapon of war is unleashed,  
To exterminate millions and leave their land deserted.

Hundreds of thousands in refugee tents encamped,  
Ungrateful Ethiopians silent, traitors crazing, the World its feet  
dragged,  
To the tune of war as religious leaders danced,  
And the cruel and aimless Eritrean troops rampaged.

The Tigray Defense Force fights as before never seen,  
More than the Spartans of the ancient had been,  
Leaders in the bush, suffering and dying, like their  
countrymen.

Painful it may be, it may as well take longer.  
Victory is certain, Tigray will emerge stronger!



## World History of Genocide for comparison with Tigray

May 14-2021

### Prologue

Homo sapiens is the only species in the animal kingdom which is not much affected by the mass extermination of its own kind. Normally, advancement is measured not merely by the state-of-the-art tools and methods we use but by how much we value human life. That was the reason why the preamble of the UN-Charter states: “*We the peoples of the United Nations...determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war...reaffirm faith in the fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person...*”. One can understand the uncontrolled genocides committed before 1945 as there was no international system to regulate the behavior of one group of human beings over another. The preamble of the UN-Charter is unequivocal but the actions of the UN in converting the preamble into practice has always been equivocal and incongruent.

One problem with the United Nations is the crippling mechanism it has at its disposal to convert the words in the preamble into concrete action. The UN is so weakly positioned to act on its own. Although the UN-Charter was signed and ratified by almost all significant world powers and it is up to the UN secretariat to manage the details of implementation with full authority, the UN does not have the freedom to do so. Every time a case of serious human rights violations arises for the UN to act, it is obliged to go into the boring and unproductive routine of a Security Council meeting to decide on actions. It is well known that the members of the Security Council are strange bed fellows with their own diplomatic axe to grind. They are so divided by their ideologies, diplomatic interests, and trade wars that they cannot reach effective decisions on issue that may affect one or the other of them. The UN secretariat is given responsibility by the world community through the ratifications of the UN Charter but not the authority to implement it through its own

management mechanisms. This is analogous to a teacher in a classroom with full responsibility for the subject he teaches but is required to ask the school director for permission to give homework to his students.

UN troops evacuated from Rwanda while hundreds of thousands of Tutsis were being massacred. The preamble of the UN Charter evaporated into thin air because the then Secretary General of the UN “did not get his orders” from the Security Council to stop the genocide. When the UN Security Council met, after a long delay, to talk about the genocide in Tigray, the two world powers (China and Russia) objected to any serious action to stop the genocide. Since the veto power these two powerful states possess is given to them to use it to deter bad action not to stop good action, their refusal to agree on significant action to stop the genocide in Tigray rendered the rest of the 13 member states of the Security Council powerless. See? This is how far the giant UN can go! Russia and China had signed and ratified the UN Charter in 1945! Sadly, member states are allowed to go their own ways on key human rights issues based on the nature of the relations they have with the perpetrator states. Genocide perpetrator states always have officially stated excuses for conducting genocides. So do Ethiopia and Eritrea! Friendly states prefer to believe what the perpetrator states propagate as the “valid” reason for the violations of human rights. Perpetrators of genocide in Tigray use the attack on the Northern Command and the missile attack on Asmara as “valid” drivers for the genocide in Tigray!!! Oh God! What a valid reason to massacre civilians, gang-rape women, loot personal property, destroy civilian infrastructure, burn crops and slaughter farm animals, and displace people? Northern command and missile on airbase are military targets. What kind of military responds to military attacks by genocide? There cannot be any rationale under the sun to justify human rights violations.

Friendly powers support the perpetrator states by keeping their silence or some could go to the extent of barring remedial action as China and Russia did on Tigray. Later on, they subscribed for a

watery decision of the UN-Security Council as a compromise. The expected strong decision for action was diluted in order to include China and Russia. What for? If the decision they are included in is a toothless tiger? This is just a diplomatic routine to mend their own internal relations at the expense of the victims of genocide. Would the world be the same or even a better place without the UN? I personally think so! USA and EU have stated the genocide in Tigray in the strongest words possible. Although EU seemed more unified in its position about Tigray USA is split on how harsh the measure it takes should be. The Nobel Prize winner turned genocide perpetrator has put the West, especially the USA, in a very difficult position. USA during the Trump term of office was responsible for installing him in power. In addition, the Nobel Prize is considered to be an expression of western political and cultural supremacy. The dilemma for the West is clear. It cannot live by its principles enshrined in the UN Charter because the last thing the West would like to see is losing its credibility. For this reason more words are spoken than actions taken. When the West is betrayed by a person it helped to power and to a Nobel Prize it would be required to protect its integrity in the face of such embarrassment. For sure the confusion of the West and its desperate effort to cover up does more harm than good. It is unwise to do another blunder to compensate for a previous blunder. Boldly admitting past mistakes and going for uncompromising solutions is the best remedy for the dangerous impasse.

The worst outcome of the indecision driven by cover up, and also trying to rescue the perpetrators against a very ugly background of gross human rights violations, is emboldening the perpetrators of the genocide. The Eritrean Government has heard very strongly worded statements from various officials of the USA to leave Tigray. Every time the request to leave comes the Eritrean reaction is to amass more troops and commit more atrocities in Tigray. By now Eritrea must have become tired of the toothless requests to withdraw and could be planning for the long haul in Tigray. There is already no

respect for USA or for EU among Ethiopian and Eritrean Government officials. This is the logical outcome of foot-dragging and expecting miracles to happen without strong intervention.

Worse still is a case of human rights violation is weighed for its worth to call a Security Council meeting by the discretion of the UN Secretary Generals. Leaving a key component of the UN Charter to the hearts of the Secretary Generals is a great deal of lapse in the noble humanitarian mission of the United Nations. General Secretary Antonio Guterres grew a very thick skin about the massive atrocities committed in Tigray and preferred to confer with the perpetrators and put all his trust on them. For Guterres Tigray was just in a temper tantrum. He preferred to be strictly diplomatic and deal with the head of a member state of the UN rather than pay attention to the cries of agony in Tigray. Later on he “improved” his stance towards Tigray using dozens of empty synonyms that are worth little for the suffering people of Tigray: “Concerned, worried, alarmed, distressed, outraged, etc”.

The UN Human Rights chief also got her own personal version of a UN. When an independent investigation of the human rights violations in Tigray by the UN-HR was called for she selected the perpetrator as a partner for the investigation. It is shocking that chief UN functionaries can get their personal wishes commanded by the UN system. Despite the uproar from Tigray about her decision to partner with the perpetrators of the genocide to “independently investigate” the UN-HR Chief has defiantly continued to work against the principles that installed her in the UN position. The logical outcome of her callous decision is the recent report on the genocide victims in Axum by her partner in the investigation. As expected by everyone else, except the UN-HR Chief, Ethiopia's top body of law denied that civilians died in Axum! The lesson for the whole world is not to put trust on the UN functionaries who are driven more by their own personal attitudes than by bitter realities on the ground. When the World Human Rights Watch expressed its alarm at the report, the UN-HR Chief did not react. Of course, a

similar report of investigation must be what the UN-HR Chief is contemplating; a systematic cover up! It is not only the sick diplomatic formula, which covers up crimes against humanity by the “sovereignty” rhetoric that motivate some states to act against human rights appeals. Some world states that had been genocidal states at some point in their histories are reluctant to involve in the resolution of human rights violations elsewhere. Although positive moves towards ending genocide elsewhere could have helped them to repent for their dark histories of genocide they add more tar to darken their histories much further by their tacit support for genocide. Some states with genocidal histories have gone to the extent of trying to sell arms to the perpetrators of genocide in Tigray.

## **I. History of genocide**

There must have been hundreds of thousands of acts of genocide since antiquity. As the glory of kings and nations has been at the center of all wars in the past what happened to ordinary civilians was not worth the attention of chroniclers. In this piece of writing, I have compiled 35 documented genocides from web sources. I have preferred to categorize them by the centuries in which they happened with other details, such as the targeted, the perpetrators, the duration and the maximum estimate of the number of victims. The UN Genocide Convention defines genocide as "acts committed with intent **to destroy**, whole or part of a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group. The definition implies that destruction of the group could be both killing and without killing. Destroying life and destroying livelihoods have the same effect on the victim. A person with a destroyed life is as good as dead! Hence, the perpetrators of genocide use all available and more convenient means to harm a person until breathing or not breathing will have no difference.

1. **Before 1800** (1775) the *Dzungar genocide* by the Chinese ruling dynasty. In four years 600, 000 victims.
2. **1800-1900-In the 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

- Haitian genocide* by rulers of Haiti. In one year 5000 victims
- Aborigines' genocide* by Australian Gov. backed settlers. In 57 years 65,180 victims
- Moriore genocide* by Newzealnad other tribes. In 29 years 1900 victims
- Amerindians genocide* by white invaders California, USA. In 27 years 120,000 victims
- *Circassian genocide* by Russia. In four years 2, 500,000 victims

### 3. 1900-1940-Before World War II

- *Herero genocide* (Namibia) by German colonizers. In five years 110,000 victims
- Greek genocide* by Ottoman Turks. In nine years 900,000 victims
- Armenians genocide* by Ottoman Turks. In eight years 1, 800,000 victims
- Assyrian genocide* by Ottoman Turks. In nine years 750,000 victims
- Romani (Jipsy) genocide* by Germany. In eleven years 500,000 victims
- Polish genocide* by Soviets. In two years 250.000 victims
- Polish genocide* by German (Nazi). In six years 3,000,000 victims

### 4. 1941-1945- During World War II

- Jews' genocide* by German Nazi. In five years 6,000,000 victims
- Serbs genocide* by Croatia. In five years 500,000 victims
- Bosnians genocide* by Yugoslavia. In five years 65,000 victim.
- Chechens genocide* by Soviets. In five years 400,000 victims
- Tatars (Crimia)genocide* by Soviets. In five years 195, 471 victims

### 5. 1945-2000- Post WWII to the end of 20<sup>th</sup> Century

- Maya genocide* by Guatemala. In 34 years 166,000 victims
- Bengals genocide* by Pakistan. In one year 3,000,000 victims
- Ikiza genocide* by Brundi. In one year 300,000 victims
- Acholi and Lango genocicde* by Uganda (Idi Amin). In seven years 300,000 victims
- Cambodia genocide* by Cambodia. In five years 3,000,000 victims

- East Timorian genocide* by Indonesia. In twenty five years 196,720 victims
- Anfal genocide* by Iraq. In four years 182,000 victims
- Isaaq genocide* by Somalia. In four years 200,000 victims
- Selknam genocide* by Chile. In fifteen years 4000 victims
- Bosnia genocide* by Yugoslavia. In four years 35,000 victims
- Tutsi genocide* by Rwanda Hutu. In one years 800,000 victims
- Hutus genocide* by Congo. In two years 232,000 victims

## **6. Since 2000- Early 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

- Bambuti genocide* by Congo. In two years 70,000 victims
- Darfur genocide* by Sudan. In nineteen years 500,000 victims
- Yazidis genocide* by ISIL. In six years 10,000 victims
- Rohinjia genocide* by Burma. In five years 43,000 victims
- Tigray genocide* (Ongoing) by Ethiopian DF, Eritrean troops, Amhara Militia

## **II. Attack Types used in the History of genocide**

As long as the goal of genocide is to destroy the human person there could be an endless list of attack types used throughout history. In my Compilation of genocide from the 18<sup>th</sup> century attack types that are common to all or most and those that are unique to each case of genocide are discussed.

1. Mass killings using firearms is the most common attack type in all or most genocides.
2. The alternative to mass killing using firearms used under Nazi Germany are the gas chambers and gas vans.
3. Extermination labor (death) camps where victims work hard to death were used under Nazi Germany and in the Cambodia genocide.
4. Torture is a brutal way of ending life for those the perpetrators want to see them die slowly in front of their eyes.
5. Hunger by preventing food production, burning and looting harvest, denying access to food market or food assistance. For

those who would like to enjoy mass extermination in their absence, while drinking their Scotches, this is the most effective genocide tool.

6. Human guinea pigs for scientific experiment is done by genocidal scientist to test a new drug or other research about human physiology. This was widely use in Nazi concentration camps on Jews and Poles. This was also practiced in the Cambodian death fields and on the Herero people of Namibia by Germans.
7. Ethnic cleansing involving the removal of the victims from key political, military, economic and social positions. This has been widely used in the modern period in which victims might have had a golden age before the genocide started.
8. Deportation to other countries like in the Rohingya case and make the victims stateless.
9. Mass internal population transfer from their homelands to alien locations where the victims cannot adjust. This is a common form of genocide.
10. Death march is where thousands of the victims are lined up and forced to march over a very long distance. The fatigue and hunger on the way kills the victims one by one. This was a very cruel the Armenians and Greeks were exterminated by the Ottoman Turks.
11. Prison shooting is mass killings in prisons where sound-proof structures are prepared ahead of time. Nazi Germany had these kinds of sound-proof killing quarters. Acholi and Lango genocide by Uganda (Idi Amin) involved putting the victims in military barracks and kill them by firearms and airforce bombing of the barracks.
12. Rape is the most immoral of the attack types because it violates the most revered of humanity: motherhood. It was used as a genocidal tool in the Bambuti genocide (Congo), the Maya genocide in Guatemala, and the Bengali genocide in former East Pakistan.



13. Human hunting was used by the white settlers from Europe on the American Indians in California. The Amerindians were hunted like game (fowl and deer)!
  14. Forced conversion of religion was used on the Yazidis by ISIL among numerous such acts elsewhere.
  15. Forced disappearance- sometimes when the genocide target very important personalities which may cause uproar disappearance without trace is an effective attack type used. This was used widely in Cambodia.
  16. Cannibalism- the most primitive of the attack types was used in the Bambuti genocide in Congo and the Moriori genocide in New Zealand.
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**Amhara's laughable imitation of Nazi Germany's 'super-race'**

March 21-2021

There is nothing under the Sun the Amhara would not attempt to do to prove their inflated self-concept except development and poverty eradication. Out of the endless proverbs, idioms, and sayings the Amhara produce for almost everything, one is most appropriate to my opening statement: They refer to someone who behaves like an overlord but has little for lunch as የለማኝ ኩሩ- "proud beggar". This is not intended to be an insult; it is a compliment. They hate to see a poor beggar who does not hold his head high. These are cultural values of the Amhara that hold dignity, however empty it is, over and above economic security. Amhara culture has been glorifying carrying the gun for killing and revenge than farming, commerce, and artisanship which are better sources of income than a gun under the pillow. Yirga Dubale the late Gondere vocalist had a stanza in one of his most popular songs which praises killing as a virtue while debasing farming as cowardice. Here it is:

"ገዳይ ገዳይ ያልሺው አባትሽ አይገድል፣ አርሶ ያብላሽ እንጂ ሆድሽ እንዳይጎድል"

Literal translation is: "Don't boast about your father as a killer (hero); he is just a farmer (coward) who fills your belly".

The Amhara militia flocked to Tigray in the middle of the harvest season because for the farmers, who turned into poorly trained militia, harvesting is less honorable than the golden opportunity to kill a "Tigre Woyane". If they return alive, which they were very sure about, they will be received with cheers and 19th Century songs: "ጉሮ ወሽባዩ...ገድሏል ገድሏል ዝናሩ ጎድሏል...". No questions about who they were killing! They may have killed unarmed children, raped women, looted property, and burned churches and villages, but they would tell their admiring folks that they killed hundreds of Woyanes. Members of their family will be proud of them and those families whose fathers stayed home will be ashamed of their fathers for tending their cropland and livestock instead of going to the "land and Woyane-hunt".

Historically, rather than trying to improve the productivity of the land they already own the Amhara prefer to follow their feudal lords and migrate long distances and use their guns to rob fertile land, turn the natives into serfs and servants, and spend their time on religious affairs, inventing proverbs that degrade natives, hunting wildlife, exchange festivities, and sing love songs and war dances. The Amhara belittle skilled labour as a sub-human occupation. They alleged beastly character on artisans and handicraftsmen. They outcasted them for centuries as evil spirits that would possess them. They even debased merchants as "መጫኛ ነካሽ", ("donkey loaders"). The bottom line is, the Amhara think they are the only selected people in Ethiopia and gun ownership and use is what selected people must do to stay honored. Such gun loving culture, similar to the friends of Trump (American Gun Association), does not imply bravery above everyone else. Unfortunately, this is what the Amhara think of themselves: "They are the bravest of all Ethiopians".

There is no intention here of dishonoring the Amhara if all this was a long story of the past that was closed in the past. No people have a perfect history untarnished by a generation or two. The strange thing with the Amhara is that instead of regretting and apologizing about what they did to people using the gun they value above everything else; they glorify it as a virtue and as a symbol of cultural superiority over all others. There is a huge gap in communication between Amhara politicians of this age who are busy glorifying past misdeeds of their fathers and forefathers, and other Ethiopians who either don't want to see Amhara's past brutalities presented as positive nation building effort or want to hear honest apologies from the descendants. This is where everyone is standing and facing one another: a huge stalemate! The Amhara are not ready to give up their claim of "God-given" superiority over Ethiopians and over the Orthodox Church and over the whole Country. The rest do not recognize this claim and are working for equality and mutual respect to prevail. The Amhara are using Ethiopia as card to press their hegemonic agenda forward. Every time they feel defeated they declare "Ethiopia is defeated"; every time they are alienated they "cry wolf" as if Ethiopia is going to disintegrate. They are sure to themselves that they are the only protectors of Ethiopia; but the truth they never want to admit they are responsible for tearing Ethiopia apart!

During the Monarchy and Military rule, when the Amhara were at the helm Ethiopia was in Chaos because of the war in Eritrea and Tigray. Now again when they happen to be able to dictate the current ruler the Country is back again in war! For the Amhara the gun is the solution for everything; but they have always ended in defeat. Tegarū at the helm for 30 years held Ethiopia together in peace by skillfully mixing carrot and stick. Here we have the protectors of Ethiopia are becoming its killers. Their thirst for superiority and hegemony over Ethiopia is bringing Ethiopia to its end. Since the Amhara have no plan B if their plan A of hegemony on unitary Ethiopia fails (surely it will fail, but the Amhara are sure to succeed).

Probably they will restore their old Kingdom of four provinces and launch the Zemene Mesafint again. That is it! Since the Amhara polity is centered on "living in the past" (nostalgia) they have no forward-looking and reality-admitting mechanism to rescue themselves with. They have no history of liberating themselves because they have never had the "chance" to be oppressed. I say chance because they cannot have it when they will need it very soon. They have put all their eggs in one basket, i.e. The past is going to come back for them. Would it? Where in the world did that happen? That would happen in Ethiopia only if the Amhara are God Himself. He has the power to restart the world. We all should be sorry for them. They are killing thousands to restore their hegemonic past; but the future will be unsympathetic to millions of them.

The Amhara horde that invaded Tigray, riding Eritrean wild horses, have proved to the world that they are not genuine heroes as they noisily claim to be. Eritreans did the job for them and they claimed the victory. They denied the presence of Eritrean troops in Tigray, not because they are worried about Sovereignty of Ethiopia, but because they want to attribute the "defeat" of the TPLF to their heroism. In addition, fear of exposure is also another reason for denying Eritrean presence. If it is known, it already is, Eritreans will have to evacuate exposing the false heroism of the Amhara invaders. They will easily be chased out by TDF embarrassed as bunch of cowards! This will have consequences on how the Amhara are viewed in Ethiopia ever after. They cannot be sure they can live peacefully in their Region let alone take land from Tigray, Oromia and Sudan. They know, TDF will follow them to their doorsteps.

While they know the end of their stay in Tigray is embarrassingly very near, they are stupidly stubborn to continue doing what they are dangerously addicted to do. As if their baseless chauvinism is not enough, they are doing something in Tigray that proves beyond doubt that the Amhara are not in a normal state of mind. The Amhara are trying to be like Nazi Germany over Tigray. Germans during the Nazi years elevated themselves to the level of a "super-

race". They were doing all kinds of experiments in the concentration camps on Jews, Russians, Gypsies, and other inmates to prove that they are really superior. After 80 years the Amhara in Tigray are doing a brutal act on Tegar women different in the practice but the same in the idea to Nazi Germany. Like the Germans during Nazi era the Amhara think they are the 'super-race' in Ethiopia. Who knows may be in Africa! May be in the world! It is the funniest comedy in the universe when the Amhara claim to be a more superior race than Tegar. This should not anger Tegar because they are hallucinating as owners of the Axumite Civilization in which Tegar have already become superior to the Amhara. In spite of this truth Tegru's decency is not allowing the claim of superiority. The silence of Tegar encouraged the Amhara to claim the superiority as builders of the glory of Axum for themselves as if it is on a shelf in a supermarket to be stolen by a stray street boy.

After wearing the stolen super-race cloak, they are calling Tegar (the owners of the cloak) as inferior-race. This was exposed by CNN senior international correspondent Nima Elbagir from Hamdayet Refugee camp in Sudan. The whole world has read and heard this neo-Nazi none sense in Africa. This is what the raped women reported: "He pushed me and said, 'You Tigrayans have no history, and you have no culture.'". That was not all! Amhara forces told them by raping "they were ethnically cleansing them, purifying them, and making them Amhara". What can anyone say to this?

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**Talk about ideas not about leaders.**  
January 11-2021

Of course, it is the biggest news in decades that Sebhat Nega is arrested. He was "the master mind" of TPLF's achievements in the last four decades as he is referred to by his captors. It is true that he was a master mind, but one of the many master minds. His captors are singling him out as the only master mind in the TPLF because

they wanted to enjoy public approval that they have cut TPLF's head forever. No one can deny that Sebat Nega was the most consistent, unflinching, and tactical politician Ethiopia has ever seen. His energy and creativity do not wane through the years from youth to old age. He has differences, even enmities, with many; but his firm stand about Tigray as a Nation is unshakable.

Is his arrest a loss for Tigray? Yes, no doubt about that. Is his arrest a victory for his captors? No, absolutely not! Sebat Nega has never considered himself as an irreplaceable leader. He never acted like Napoleon or Alexander or Hitler or Jengis Khan, whose ends marked the end of what they stood for leading millions behind them. In his everyday life Sebat Nega behaved like any ordinary person mingling easily with everyone. He never boasted that he was the mentor of Meles and all the other political and military leaders who were younger. At one time he was heard saying "In the TPLF we have a collective leadership". He meant to say TPLF is not Sebat's, Debretsion's, Meles' party. It belongs to all its members; above all to all the people of Tigray. TPLF is unique in the sense that none of them escape criticisms in evaluation meetings. There are no fierce dogs unleashed by comrade Napoleon of animal farm against those who criticize the leadership. TPLF suffered from divisions after divisions because it was a party of equals. No one has absolute power to silence everyone else. This has weakened TPLF but that is how the idea it represents remained alive. This is what makes a party indestructible. Why? Because TPLF is an IDEA in an organizational form. The idea is SELF DETERMINATION. This idea is the noblest of all. All the struggles worldwide for liberation from oppression were for self-determination. In Ethiopia the idea that TPLF fought and paid tens of thousands for is already spread throughout Ethiopia and adopted by all of the nations and nationalities. It can never be undone!

Ethiopian governments never learn from history. The first Woyane rebellion was crushed brutally involving natives against the Weyenti. A lot of air bombardment, killing of civilians, looting was

also intentionally done to degrade the moral of the people and make sure that they will never rise again. They thought the last nail on the coffin of Weyane was the capture and exile of Blata Hailemariam (the leader of the rebellion). The reactionaries got the whole thing wrong. They thought the rebellion was the result of Blata Hailemariam's personal problem with Arat Kilo. They were convinced that if Tigray is governed by natives with minds back at Arat Kilo there will never be any trouble. However, the idea that underlies the Woyane rebellion remained alive and simmering like a magma below the surface. Blata Hailemariam was sadly missed, but Woyane never died. Ideas produce leaders endlessly. Yasir Arafat died, Ghandi died, Martin Luther died, Che Guevera died, Socrates died, Meles died, Dekike Estifanos died, the Apostles died, so on and on; but the ideas of peace, liberation, self-rule, etc. remained bright polished by every next generation. I would advice those who invaded Tigray to pause and think about combating ideas with ideas not with bullets, raping and looting. The invincibility of the idea of self-determination does not imply military invincibility. TPLF could be defeated and its leaders arrested and killed. The bravest of all men could be defeated if they are overwhelmed by all of the national armies of two or more states. That is what is happening in Tigray. However brave Tigray is it cannot withstand a "falling sky". It is a cowardly invasion to say the least. I pity those who are boasting and celebrating. The surprise and celebration should be when David defeats Goliath not the other way round.

Technically speaking, without devine intervention, it is Goliath that is expected to win. Goliath's win over David is not heroism because it is Goliath's massive muscles against tiny David that may have done the job. World history as well as Ethiopian history has clearly shown that ideas never die; but a generation of champions of the ideas do. It is the greatest folly that victors take comfort and celebrate. As the victors celebrate and then forget they are always surprised by another generation of champions of the idea emerging with greater vigour. Crushing the first Woyane the reactionary rule

in Tigray never dreamt of a second Woyane after 30 years. Would there be a third Woyane? Absolutely, Yes! Ideas never die!

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**Intentionally confusing battle with human rights violation**

March 25-2021

War is a bad thing. There is no question about that. It's not fun even when soldiers kill soldiers. However, it is a way of life in this world where humans resolve their differences mostly by the barrel of the gun rather than on the top of a table. The inevitability of war has obliged the world to formulate some rules to be strictly adhered to during military conflicts. It is not allowed to fight by means other than guns. It is sheer cowardice and satanic to use looting, rape, and hunger as a weapon to degrade the morale of the enemy force. It is cowardice because harming unarmed people does not need bravery. Even killing disarmed war prisoners is for a barbarian to do. This is the difference in the level of culture between the TDF and the invaders in Tigray.

When battles rage civilians may be trapped and harmed. This is the unfortunate consequence of war. It does need to be a scientist to know this simple fact. It is not possible to consider the death of civilians under such circumstances as war crimes or human rights violations. It is up to the parties in the conflict to avoid the possibilities of collateral damage to civilians. TDF has shown the world its elevated culture and love for its people by withdrawing from Mekelle and other cities in Tigray to minimize the damage to civilians. Surprisingly, the uncultured invaders considered this action as cowardice. They had wanted to kill half a million residents of the Capital using TDF's stay in Mekelle as an excuse.

The death of soldiers in battle and the death of civilians in battle is not the same. The former is a norm, and the latter is a sad incident. When the civilian death happens by intention it is not only sad but



also a war crime. War crime includes rape as a weapon of war. Comparing the brutal act of rape by a soldier and death of a soldier in battle is like comparing a professional boxer punched to death by his opponent in the ring and an innocent man beaten to death in the streets. If one dares to consider the former as a more criminal act than the latter, then logic is standing on its head! The professional boxer knows what could happen to him in the ring when he chooses to join the dangerous sport at the outset. There is a possibility of injury to death. Death or injury in the ring is not for the police if the match was approved by the referee as per the rules of the game.

It was stunning to hear in the Ethiopian Parliament that death of soldiers in battle was considered to be more brutal than the rape of a girl by a soldier. The fact that the entire Parliament listened to this and did not react causes helplessness in the way Ethiopia is being ruled. A soldier is hired to fight; and fighting involves a high likelihood of death. Unfortunately, this is what the job requires: readiness to die! When a soldier senses that clouds of war are getting heavier, he/she has to be alert and expect victory, defeat, injury, and death in any hour of the day. That is unfortunately again what he/ she is paid to feel and do. A rape victim is not hired to be a rape victim. There is of course an immoral profession called prostitution where women sell their body for pleasure in order to earn a living and even to be rich. A rape victim is not a prostitute who willingly allows the violation of her body for cash. A rape victim is a woman who even could be a rich woman or a poor one, but its body is violated by coercion. Doing something as a profession and accept the consequences and something happening to someone without consent are not comparable. Soldiers killed (bayoneted) at the alleged start of the Tigray war is war does not rape. When the TDF felt that the northern army was planning to hit them any next moment they attacked. It was a conventional battle not a massacre. Mengistu Hailemariam said in 1978: "They wanted us for lunch we ate them for breakfast". No one went to court for killing General Teferi Bante;

no one was sorry for them because they had plans to kill Mengistu. It was a difference in speed!

Admitting guilt is one thing that could be for the priest or for the court to handle depending on the gravity of the offense; but belittling a crime as huge as rape is inhuman to say the least. Why is rape considered as the greatest of crimes? Because it is associated with the great honor of motherhood. More than half of Humankind's values are founded on the celebration of motherhood. People lose half of what makes them human beings if they are involved in the violation of motherhood. There are thousands of churches named after St. Mary. Why does she deserve so much of reverence? The answer is simple: Because she gave birth to our Lord Christ! Every woman has the same womb which gives birth to continue human race on this planet. The women's private parts must be the most protected of all human treasures that are not violated without the consent of their owner. Trivializing the rape of women and their brutal violation by putting foreign objects in their private parts and demonizing the killing of soldiers by soldiers is a brutal murder of logic just for the sake of evading crime against humanity!

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## **Stubborn Dictators**

March 27-2021

The Cambridge English Dictionary defines a stubborn person as: "a person determined to do what he or she wants and refuses to do anything else...has huge arguments and is difficult to move, change, or deal with... refuse to accept defeat".

The world has seen a pair of dictators joined in words and deeds during the last World War: Adolf Hitler and Benitto Mussolini. They believed that they were always right, and the rest of the World was always wrong. They built their power base by maddening millions

by hate speeches and elevating their blindfolded followers to the level of a super race. They drove their followers crazily into destructive wars in Europe and Africa. They were sure that they can rule Europe and Africa forever. Even when their arrogance was coming to an end after they devastated the world in five years of war and killed six million Jews, they continued to believe that they had the upper hand. They lied about their defeat to their people until the point in time Berlin and Rome were bombed flat and encircled. Hitler charred himself and Mussolini was dragged behind a car. They died without admitting that they were wrong. Their Neo-Fascist and Neo-Nazi fans still believe that the dictators were right.

Dictators are all the same. They have an insatiable appetite for power and they never want to give up until their last breath. Their key method is to poison the minds of the masses because they appeal to emotions rather than to reason. Once exposed to their vicious propaganda and systematic brainwashing the millions of followers reach a point of no return where no logic or truth makes sense to them. When Abiy told Ethiopians that "TPLF massacred the unsuspecting North Command in their sleep" and poured fuel to the fire by adding "How could your protector be killed?" He got what he wanted: everyone including religious leaders descended into insanity. It is Abiy, Isaias and the Amhara political inner circle who know the truth that the war was planned long before and TPLF had to act in self-defense. The dictators and their brainless lieutenants repeat the lie a thousand times in various contexts so much that people avoid listening to the truth. Prior to this convenient event to justify the invasion of Tigray and the destruction that followed both dictators had been engaged in a mammoth PR campaign to tarnish the name of the TPLF and the people of Tigray. They used every media at their disposal and a huge army of face-bookers just to paint the TPLF and Tigray as evil spirit that possessed Ethiopia and Eritrea for 27 years deserving complete destruction. They had actively prepared fertile ground for a complete hate and a burning desire to obliterate Tigray from the map.

This land which is closer to God was delayed but not abandoned. The almighty did His miracles through the gallant sons and daughters of Tigray in the bush and overseas and opened the eyes of the world for Tigray although the world is in deep trouble with Covid-19. When the world caught the dictators, red handed and dictated its terms to them they still did not believe that they have lost the game. Since they were sure of victory and had no plan B they are in a mental state of denial which is extremely dangerous unless restraining action is taken against them. They have started justifying their human rights violations publicly. The world has to take drastic action against the dictators so that the world will never grow dictators ever again. They are sick in the head so much that Himmler had workshops that made purses from human skin, Abiy in Ethiopia trivialized gang rape, and Idi Amin ate human flesh, Isaias liberated Eritrea to impoverish it. For how long is the world going to tolerate such human freaks?

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**Mekelle is not intimidated, nor is Tigray Army  
provoked by cowardly air raids**  
October 21-2021

History has been repeating itself several times in Tigray that after every major defeat of Ethiopian forces it is the air force that remains alive to fight in places where there is no battle. The air force is like a boxer outside the ring kicking and striking the air where there is no one in front of him to strike back. Seventy years ago, Weyenti of Tigray defeated Ethiopian forces at Emba Alaje and there was nothing that could prevent them from marching to Addis Ababa to dismantle the brutal monarchy. British Royal Air force was used by Ethiopia to strike Mekelle's Monday Market to kill hundreds of women and children. Derg's cowardice from the usual center of power at Arat-Kilo did exactly the same thing soon after the defeat at the battle of Shire. Derg administration left Mekelle on its own but

sent the air force to kill 18 civilians including 80 years old man. Instead of fighting in Badme face to face against the heroes, coward Isaias (as he is known as in the EPLF) sent jets to kill tens of primary school children in Ayder, Mekelle.

It has become the fate of Tigray to be a target of cowardly air strikes far away from the battlefield. This is clear testimony that what the enemy wants is not to fight heroically in battles and gracefully admit defeat as gentlemen but to murder innocent people with every available opportunity. Tigray will never be free from this as long as it remains part of Ethiopia. Every time such brutalities are done the optimism for a better future for Tigray within Ethiopia shrinks. After the devastating defeat of the axis of evil in Tembien enemy troops left Mekelle in a panic although they piled up lame excuses for their withdrawal. The Derg in Mekelle, led by Corporal Legesse Asfaw, was comparatively more gentlemanly because it did not deny evacuating Mekelle because of military defeat. The TDF which rose from the ashes like the mythological phoenix and evolved within a few months into an undefeatable force invaded the land of the invaders and aimed at breaking the cowardly siege of Tigray and punish the perpetrators of the destruction of Tigray at their locations. Although Amhara irregular forces, allied with Eritrean land-pirates and the PP army, had committed untold atrocities on civilians in Tigray the Tigray Army in the Amhara land it conquered did not take revenge on civilians. The difference between a civilized and barbarian army was quite clear. Unfortunately, the moral high ground of the Tigray Army was not reciprocated by the mentally deranged enemies who are confused and divided by their insatiable thirst for power. Every time they are defeated in the battlefield, they round up innocent Tegarau in business and the army in Addis Ababa and elsewhere in Ethiopia. They kill and burn innocent Tegarau; they Kill and throw into cliff; they kill and throw into rivers, and so on!!

The most recent of the usual expression of cowardice after every major defeat is the air strike in Mekelle on Monday market day and during Muslim Id celebration. The second air strike happened today

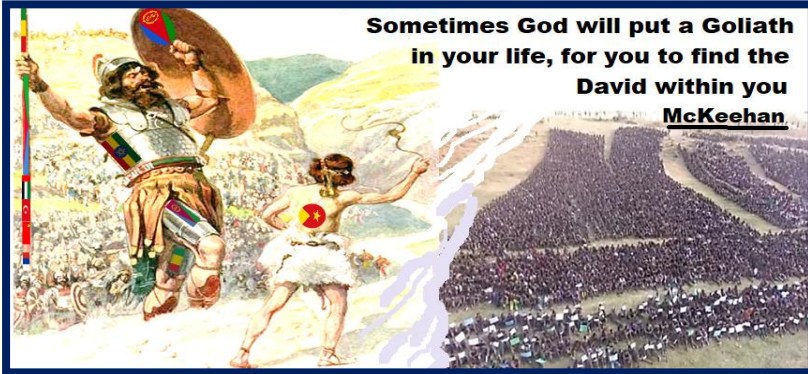
before noon. The air strikes in Mekelle are hundreds of kilometers away from the battle fronts and the people are suffering from famine due to the cruel humanitarian blockade by the inhuman Arat Kilo rulers. As if hunger is not enough to exterminate Tegararu they are bombing them from the air. The most inconsistent leader in the world, Abiy Ahmed, had mocked the Tigray army for not fighting like heroes in uniforms and face his troops directly instead of "hiding among the people". Now the Tigray army is out in the open and fighting him face to face. If he were the hero, he boasted he was he would admit defeat of his evil intentions of exterminating Tegararu not conduct air strikes very far away from where the victorious TDF heroes are. You find heroes in the battlefield not planting flowers in their back yards or shooting at unarmed people. In the genuine world of heroism, no unarmed person is harmed. Even during the ancient sword fights a swordsman who has dropped his sword is not cut before he picks his sword and starts fighting again. His opponent will wait until he picks up his sword and is ready to fight.

The cowardly airstrikes on Mekelle may have two objectives. Firstly, to intimidate the people of Tigray and force it to stop manning and supporting the Tigray Army. The cowardly enemy may also hope for the Tigray Army in Amhara land to surrender or go back home. Secondly, it may be provoking the Tigray Army to resort to an act of revenge on civilians in the Amhara land out of anger and regret about its kind treatment. The latter can help Abiy to convince the world that Tigray Army is committing atrocity. He is working hard to equalize war crimes and use it for negotiations to avoid ICC. Since neither the people in Mekelle will be intimidated nor the Tigray Army be discouraged or provoked, Abiy and his team of murderers are advised to reduce their crimes.

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# CLUSTER 9

## Fall of Goliath



- ኅልደድና ዳዊት፤ ሃይል ከአግዚአብሔር እንጂ ከግዝፈት አይመጣም
- Tigray Celebrating and Looking Forward
- Damage Assessment Project
- If I were allowed a second God I would worship The TDF
- ምህላ የሚደረገው ትግራይና ህወሓት ለምን አንሰራሩ ይሆን?

Tigray was devastated by the war beyond imagination. With God's grace and bravery of its children it rose from the dust and defeated the occupational forces in the historic "Alula Operatio" and forced to panic and leave a large part of Tigray including the Capital City. Thousands of war prisoners were taken and a huge arsenal of heavy weapons were captured. This marked the beginning of another phase of the war in which the new army of Tigray (TDF) marched towards Addis Ababa to punish the perpetrators of the genocide and rape, and to break the siege that was imposed on Tigray, as a silent killer, since the retreat of the invaders from Tigray. Western Tigray and Northern Tigray remained in the hands of the invading Eritrean and Amhara forces.

**ገልጾና ጻዊት ሃይል ከእግዚአብሔር እንጂ ከግዛሬት አይመጣም**

December 30-2018

1980 ዓ.ም. ህወሓት አብዛኛዎቹን የትግራይ ከተሞች የተቆጣጠረበት አመት ነበረ። የቤተሰብ በጣም የቅርብ ወዳጅ የነበረችው የጎንደር ተወላጅ ሴት በዚህ የህወሓት ድርጊት ከመባሳጨቷ የተነሳ አንድ እድሜ ልኬን ልረሳው የማልችል አስደንጋጭ ነገር ተናገረች፡- "ህዝቡን ጋዝ አርከፍክፈው ለምን አያቃጥሉትም"። በሆዴ "ሳሃሊተነ ቅድስት" ከማለት በስተቀር ትንፋሽ አልወጣኝም። እንዴት አድርጌ ልተንፍስ? ወላጅ አባቴን ጨምሮ መቐለ ከተማው መሃል የሚኖሩት እህቶቼ፣ በየደብሩ አፅማቸው ያረፈው እናቶቼ፣ አያቶቼና ቅድመ አያቶቼ በእሳት ጥገና ሲጋዩ በአይነህሊና ስለታዮኝ። ድንጋጤ ብቻ አልነበረም ዝም ያሰኘኝ። ምንም እንኳን የትውልድ ቦታችን እጅግ የተራራቀ ቢሆንም ዝምድናና ወዳጅነት በሱ እንደማይወሰን ከልቤ አምን ስለነበር የሷን ያህል የሚቀርበኝ የትግራይ ተወላጅ የሆነ ሰውም አልነበረኝም። የእድሜዬ ግማሹን ያህል ጎንደርና ጎጃም ስኖር "አገሪ እንጀራዬ ነው" ባይ ነበርኩ። ለካ ዳደኝነቱ በሷ ህግና አመቺነት እንጂ በጋራ መተሳሰብ ላይ የተመሰረተ አልነበረም። ስለዚህ በኔ ስሜት መጎዳት አልተጨነቀችም። "ወያኔ ነህ፣ ባትሆንም ትግሬ ነህ ተብሎ ማእከላዊ ምርመራ ውስጥ የአራት አመት እስር በጠጣሁበት በመከራዬ ጊዜ ተመላልሳ ስለጠየቀችኝ አሁንም ወዳጅነታችን የፀና ነው።"

ያ አመት በህወሓት ድል ያልተናደደ ሰው አልነበረም። ከዚህም የተነሳ በተለይ በአዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ግቢ ውስጥ የትግራይ ተወላጅ ተማሪዎችና መምህራን ስጋት ውስጥ ገብተው ነበር። ከሁሉም በላቀ የተባሳጨት ግን የኢሠጋው ግንባር ቀደም ካድሬ አቶ ሸመልስ ማዘንግያ ነበሩ። "የውክልና ጦርነት ነው የሚካሄድብን" አሉ የልደት አዳራሽ በተማሪ ጢም ብሎ በሞላበት። ህወሓት የማን ቅጥር ወታደር ሆና ጦርነት እንደከፈተችባቸው ከራሳቸው በስተቀር ለማንም ግልፅ ባይኖርም በጭፍን ጥላቻ ምክንያት በህወሃትና በትግራይ ህዝብ ላይ ስድብ መሆኑ ከተረጋገጠ ይጨበጩባል። በዛ ስብሰባ ላይ የሆነውም ይኸው ነበር። አዳራሹ እስኪነጋገሩ ድረስ ተጨበጩ። ወደውም ጠልተውም ስብሰባው ውስጥ የተገኙት የትግራይ ተወላጆች ተማሪው ተነስቶ ቅርጫ እንዳያደርጋቸው በመስጋት አብረው ጭብጨባውን አቀለጡት። ወይ አገሪ ማለት! እኩል ተወላጅ እኩል ዜጋ ሆኖ አንዱ ፊሪ ሌላው ተፈሪ፤ አንዱ ሰዳቢ ሌላው ተሰዳቢ የሚሆንበት ፍትህ የተዛነፈበት አገር!

አቶ ሸመልስ በህወሓት ጉዳይ ላይ ብቻ ተናግረው ቢያቆሙ ኖሮ በፓለቲካዊ ንዴትነቱ ብቻ ታይቶ ሊታለፍ ይችል ነበር። ለቀቧት ጥላሽት እንደ ድርጅት መልስ መስጠት ሃላፊነቱም የህወሃት ይሆን ነበር። የሰውየው ዋና አላማ ግን የህወሓትን ድል ከውጭ ሃይል ጋር ማገናኘቱ ብቻ አልነበረም። ዋናው አላማቸው ህዝቡ ነበር። የጀመሩት በአገር ማዳን ጦርነት ላይ የአገር ረዳት አጥተው፣ ከሶስት የውጭ ወራሪ ሃይሎች ጋር ሲፋለሙ፣ ዘውዳቸውን ሳያገጡበት ሳጥን ውስጥ እንደተዘጋጠ፣ በታላቅ ጅግንነት ያለፉትን አሳዛኙን የኢትዮጵያ ንጉሠ ነገስትን በመዝለፍ ነበር። በ1980 እንኳን ንጉሱን ህወሓትን ለመዝለፍ በቂ ምክንያት አልነበረም ።



ጥፋት ያላጠፋ ንጉስ ነግሥ ኢየሱስም ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ። ነገሰታቱን የምናስታውሳቸው ግማሽ ይሁን ፍብ ይሁን በፈፀሙት በጎ ተግባር ነው።

አፄ ሚኒሊክን በአድዋ ድል እናሞግሳቸዋለን ቀሪውን ግን ለአንባቢ ልተወው። ኢትዮጵያን አንድ ያደረጉ ታላቅ ባለውለታ አፄ ቴዎድሮስን የጎንደር ህዝብ በሠሯቸው ግጭት በእጅጉ ከመቀየሙ የተነሳ ሳና ቅጠሉ በንጉስ ፋሲል ተሰይሞ እያለ ጎንደር ከተማ ውስጥ ከአንዲት አነስተኛ ሆቴል በስተቀር በኒህ ታላቅ ንጉስ የተሰየመ ነገር አልነበረም። ያች ሆቴልም ድርጅቶች በባለቤቱ ስም ይጠሩ ብሎ ደርግ መመሪያ ሲያወጣ "ቴዎድሮስ ሆቴል" ስሟ ወደባለቤቱ ስም ተቀየረች። ከኢህአዴግ ስልጣን መያዝ ወዲህ ስለቴድሮስ የማይዘፍን የለም፤ ሃውልትም ተሰርቷል፤ ከፍ ይበልጥ ይጨመርም እየተባለ ነው። ይህ ተገቢ ነው። ለኒህ ታላቅ ሰው ከዚህ በላይም ይገባቸዋል።

ከሁሉም የኢትዮጵያ ነገሰታት በላቀ ከውጭ ወራሪዎች ጋር የተጋፈጡት አፄ ዮሃንስን ግን ከማንም የበለጠ ጥፋት ሳያጠፉ ለምን አፍ ያለው ሁሉ እንደሚቀጠቅጣቸው አገር መስጠት የማይቻልበት እንቅስቃሴ ነው። አቶ ሸመልስ ማዘንጊያ እንዲህ አሉ፡- "አፄ ዮሃንስ መተማ ሄደው የሞቱት ለሃይማኖታቸው ብለው ነው።" እንደልቡ እንዲናገር የተፈቀደለት ሰው ከሰው ሁሉ የበለጠ አዋቂ ይመስለዋል፤ ደፍሮ አፉን የሚያስይዘው ሰው ስለማይኖር። እኒህ ተናጋሪ እንዲህ የሚዘልፏቸው ሰው ከጭንቅላታቸው አቅም በላይ ናቸው። በነገራችን ላይ ሸመልስ ማዘንጊያ ከተስፋዩ ወልደስላሴና ለማ ጉተማ ጋር በ1976 የተደረገው የትግራይ ተወላጆች አገር አቀፍ አፈሳ አስተባባሪ ነበሩ።

"አፄ ዮሃንስ ለሃይማኖታቸው ሲሉ መተማ ሄደው ሞቱ" የሚለው አራካሽ የሆነ አባባል ሆነ ተብሎ የተቀየረው ከየትኛው ሌላ አባባል እንደሆነ ተናጋሪው አሳምረው ያውቁታል። ጎንደሮች ውለታቸውን በልተው የአፄውና መተማ ላይ ደማቸውን ያፈሰሱት ጀግኖች የልጅ ልጆችን እንደአውሬ ማሳደድ ሳይጀምሩ የሰማእቱን ታላቅ ውለታ እንዲህ ገልፀውት ነበር፡- "የጎንደር ሃይማኖት ቆማ ስታለቅስ፤ አንገቱን ሰጠላት ዳግማይ ዮሃንስ።"

ህዝብን "የትም አይደርስም፤ አቅም የለውም" ብሎ በመናቅ ተራ ዘለፋ መናገር የሞራል ድቀት ነው። አፄው የተሰውት ህዝባቸው ለሆነው ለጎንደር ህዝብ እንጂ ለራሳቸው ሃይማኖት አልነበረም። ሃቁን ፍርጥ አድርገን እንነጋገር ከተባለ ለጎንደሮች የደረሰላቸው እኮ የትግራይ ንጉስ እንጂ የጎጃምና የሸዋ ነገሰታት አልነበሩም። የጎንደር ዋና ከተማው እኮ ገዳሪፍ ነበር የሚሆነው። "ሚኒሊክ ተወልዶ ባያነሳ ጋሻ፣ ግብሩ እንቁላል ነበር ይህን ጊዜ አበሻ" የተባለው እኮ በምርምር ዘዴ ትምህርት "ካውንተር ፋክቸዋል" የተባለውን ሁኔታ ለመግለፅ ነው።

በነገራችን ላይ የጎንደር ህዝብ የአፄ ዮሃንስ ባለውለታዎች መሆናቸውና በሞታቸው፣ ከዛ በኋላም በሆኑት የተሰማውን ቁጭት የገለፀበት ረ ሸም ግጥም ያለበት የኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ መፅሃፍ የፃፉት ሰው እኮ የትግራይ ተወላጅ አለመሆናቸው ሁሉም ያውቃል፤ ምናልባት ከአቶ ሸመልስ በስተቀር።

አሁን ያለው የትግራይን ህዝብ በአንዲት ጉርሻ እንዋጠው እንሰልቅጠው የሚለው እብሪት መንሻው ህወሓት የሃገር ሃብት ዘረፈች በእስረኞች ላይ ሰቆቃ ፈፀመች፤ ህወሓትና ህዝቡ አንድ

አይነት ስለሆነ አብሮ ይቀጣ የሚለው አይደለም። ገና ህወሓት ለስልጣን ሳትበቃና ሙስና ውስጥ የመግባት "አድል" ሳታገኝ፣ እንዲያውም በአስር ሺዎች የአማራ ወጣቶችን የፈጀውን ደርግን ለማስወገድ የምትታገል ባለውለታ እያለች ጀምሮ ነበር ጦሩ የተወደረው።

ህወሃት እኮ ገና ሌብነት ሳትጀምር ነበር "ሌባ! ሌባ!" ተብላ በሰልፍ የተሰደበችው። ማክሰኞ ግንቦት 20፣ 1983 ኢህአዲግ ሠራዊት አዲስ አበባ ሲገባ የተቀበለው አዘውትሮ በቴሌቪዥን ሲታይ እንደኖረው ዘንባባና አበባ የሚያቀብለው ብቻ ሳይሆን በሺዎች የሚቆጠሩ በሚያሹብር ሁኔታ የዛፍ ቅርንጫፍ ይዘው የሚሮጡ ሰልፈኞች በከፍኛ ድምፅ "ወያኔ ሌባ!" እያሉ በጦርነት የዛሉትን ታጋዮች ሲያስጨንቁ ነበር፤ በተለይ አምስት ኪሎ አካባቢ። ልብሳቸው ከላያቸው የረገፈባቸውና እስከዛች ሰአት ድረስ ለወራት ያህል አሳትና ባሩድ ሲያሹቱ የቆዩትን ወጣቶች "ሌባ" ብሎ መሳደብ አሁን የእውነት ሌብነት ከመጣም በኋላ ይኸው የሰድብ ቃል ሲደገም ሰው ለካ "ሌባ" የሚባለው ቢሰርቅም ባይሰርቅም ነው ብሎ ለመደምደም የሚያጓጓ ቢሆንም አዙረው ሲያስበት ደግሞ የሚሰጠው ትርጉም ሰባት ቢልዮን የአለም ህዝብ ሌባ ነው ስለሚያሰኝ ያስፈራል። ነገሩ ወዲህ ነው። ከጥላቻው ብዛት የተነሳ ትግሪ ስረቀም አልሰረቀም ሌባ ነው ተብሎ ይፈረጃል። የዚህ መፍትሄው ምንድነው? የትሪልዮን ዶላር ጥያቄ ነው።

የህወሓት አባላት ወይንም ደጋፊ ናችሁ እየተባሉ፣ አይደለንም ካሉም "ትግሪ አይደለህም እንዴ እንዴት ህወሓት አትሆንም?" እየተባሉ በማእከላዊ ምርመራ ድርጅትና በመቐለ ህዝብ ድርጅት እስርቤት ውስጥ እግራቸው በ"ወፌ ላላ" እየተተለተለ ከባድ ሰቆቃ ሲፈፀምባቸውና ሲረሸኑ የነበሩት በመቶዎች የሚቆጠሩ የትግራይ ወጣቶች ታሪክ ያሁኑ ትውልድ እንዲያውቀው አልተደረገም። የፍትህ ሰቆቃ ከደርግ ዘመን ማለት ከስሩ ጀምሮ እስከ አሁን ድረስ ያለው (የነበረው?) ማንም ይፈፅመው ማንም ቁጥር 1፣ ቁጥር 2 እየተባለ ቢሠራ አስተማሪ ይሆናል፤ ቁጥር 3 አይኖርም ብለን ተስፋ በማድረግ!

እየተሠራ ያለው ግን መፅሃፍን ከመሃል ገዎች ጀምሮ እንደማንበብ የሚቆጠር ነው። አንድ ድርጊት ሰቆቃ የሚሆነውና የማይሆነው በአድራጊው ማንነት ላይ ተመስርቶ አይደለም። ይህ የአርባ አመት ሰቆቃ ቆርጦ ማቅረቡ በአጋጣሚ አይደለም። ሰቆቃ የሰብአዊነትና የህግ እንጂ የፓለቲካ ጉዳይ አይደለም። የዚህ ብሄር ተወላጅ ይፈፅመው የዛ ሰቆቃ ሰቆቃ ነው። እንዲያውም በደርግ ጊዜ ማእከላዊ ውስጥ በትግራይ ተወላጆች ላይ በመርማሪዎች ሲፈፀም በነበረው ግፍ ተጎጂ የነበሩት እስረኞችን አሁንም ያኔም "ማነው ያስቃይህ?" ተብለው ቢጠየቁ የምን አካባቢ ተወላጆች እንደሆኑ ሆዳቸው እያወቀ ብሄር ሳይጠቅሱ "የደርግ መርማሪዎች ናቸው" ብለው ነው/ነበር የሚመልሱት። ይህ እኔው ራሴ የማውቀው ጉዳይ ነው።

በኤሪትርያና በትግራይ የሚገኘው ትግርኛ ተናጋሪ ህዝብ ከውጭ የመጣ የአረብ ወራሪ አስመስለው እነ አጥናፉ አባተ የራያና የወሎን ታጣቂ ዛምበሳና ዓድዋ-እንቲጮ ድረስ አዝምተውት ተዋጊዎቹ አረብ አለመሆናቸውን ሲመለከት የጦር ስልቱ ጠፍቶት መሸሸ ያልቻለው የሻዕቢያና የህወሓት የመትረየስ መኖ ሆኖ ቀረ። የዘመቻው ስያሜ "ራዛ" የሚል ነበር። ራዛ በትግርኛ አንበጣ የምትባላ አሞራ ናት! የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ግሩም ህዝብ ነው ፊትም

አሁንም የዘረኝነት መርዝ እያጠጡ የሚያሳብዱት ልሂቃኑ ናቸው። ህዝብ ፊቱን ማዞር ያለበት ወደ እርስ በርስ ሳይሆን ወደነዚህ "ከታመሰ ባህር ውስጥ አሳ ወደ ሚያጠምዱት ጉዶች ነው።

ሰላማዊ መፍትሄ ተረግጦ ትግራይ ህዝብ ላይ ጦር ከተመዘዘ ግን በእግዚአብሔር ሃይል ከጎልያድ ግዝፈት የዳዊት ወንጭፍ እንደሚያሸንፍ ጥርጥር የለውም። ጀግና የሚወጣው በመከላከል ላይ እንጂ በማጥቃት ላይ አይደለም። ተከላካይ እንጂ አጥቂ ጀግና ተብሎ እያውቅም።

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**Tigray Celebrating and Looking Forward**  
June 29-2021

I congratulate Tegararu for the sudden shift from deep darkness to brightness and hope!

In the late afternoon yesterday, I heard the breaking news about the liberation of Mekelle on ATV with my mouth widely open and my tiny eyes bulging out, letting warm tears of joy flow down my cheeks. In the morning hours of Nov. 4, 2020, I had experienced the same open mouth and budging eyes when I heard about the tragic news of the invasion of Tigray. At that devastating moment my eyes dropped cold tears of grief. I was not alone then, and I am not alone now. Millions of Tegararu were and are in the same mood and even much higher. Why not? This is a matter of survival, not of an individual, not of a political group, but of an entire people. The victory is nothing less than rising from the dead. For most of us Tegararu, who have become stateless in a country we trusted as a motherland, the resurrection of Tigray is a matter of having a homeland we can call your own. This is the pinnacle of human identity. What happened yesterday is in a small part a miracle; but a larger part of it is the logical outcome of the invincible army of Tigray and its battle hardened, patriotic, determined, and skillful commanders. The swift counterattack on a vast scale and the victory, by a comparatively small and poorly equipped army of Tigray, against a multinational force armed to the teeth with heavy weaponry and air power, is unprecedented in world history. It could dwarf the

heroic feat of the smaller number of Spartans at Thermopylae against the countless Persians.

The world community played a significant role in turning the intentionally hidden war of genocide in Tigray into a key global agenda. However, the reversal of the dangerous trend of turning Tigray from a vibrant Nation into a mere geological and geomorphological unit is attributed to the Tigray Defense Force. Listen to the poem by Martello Awet:

“አይነሳልህ? ዓለም” <https://youtu.be/ktBo6CCjbrs>. This fact is reinforced by the motto on the DW International “ሃለዋትና ብቻልፅምና”. To put it in a layman’s language, the world loves heroes. The Rwandan genocide was not halted by the world community which was busy with its “concerns” about the tragedy. It was the rebel army that saved the remaining Tutsis from total elimination. The Rohingya rebel army was too weak to save its people from genocide as the world watched with indifference. The attention of the world was drawn to Tigray by the persistent actions of the diaspora Tegaruu; but was pushed into action (though too weak and watery) by the clear signs of the revival of the Tigray people’s army into a noticeable force. Although the invaders were trying to trivialize it as “flour blown away by wind” and hiding their head in the sand like ostrich, the world saw the ground truth that this army of determined people cannot be overlooked. Given the discipline and the political maturity of the Tigray army and its leaders in domestic and international affairs, the world may have considered the politicians and the TDF as reliable potential partners in peace making and peace keeping in the Horn of Africa. As Ethiopia is messed up in its domestic and foreign policies the West must have become obliged to look for allies in addition to Kenya to manage the complex Horn of African geopolitics in its favor.

We have every bit of the news of the victories of the TDF over the invaders. Large part of Tigray is liberated. Soon the occupied territories of Tigray will surely be freed. As we celebrate current

victories and prepare to celebrate the inevitable next victories we have to be awakened to the sobering postwar realities. At least in Tigray, military victory is a means to an end. Of course, there is a reason for most of us to consider the victory as an end in itself. In view of the terrible things that have been happening in Tigray for the last eight months some degree of hopelessness was crawling in our minds although the unbreakable morale, defiance, and the strong instinct of survival dominated our inner mentalities. As we celebrate, we also grieve our losses in human lives and brutally stripped dignity. When God takes away your loved ones you neither complain nor revenge. When human beings take away the lives of your loved ones you are obliged to think differently. A natural death in the hands of the almighty has to be taken out of the mind sooner or later, because it is a natural cycle that happens to every living thing. The genocide, the economic devastation, and the violation of human dignity that has been happening in Tigray for eight months is not something that can be swallowed by the euphoria of military victory.

Here I am not talking about revenge, although deep in myself I occasionally entertain a satanic feeling of devastating revenge on those who did this to the peace-loving, religious, and hardworking people of Tigray. I am talking about the measures that the leaders of Tigray and the TDF must take to destroy any possibility of this happening ever again. The reason why Tigray experienced this devastating invasion, threatening its very existence, is because it allowed the perpetrators of the war on Tigray during the Derg to go away with it. The network and the network administrators of the Derg wars in Tigray, with their soft arsenal in the political and cultural fields, kept the anti-Tigray sentiment not only alive but more vigorous under the safe umbrella of the unsuspecting TPLF-EPRDF. The current invasion of Tigray was not a result of what transpired in the last three years. It metamorphosed from egg to pupa and to a full-grown grasshopper in the comfortable host of the EPRDF. The trusting TPLF failed to notice that even its partners in the coalition

were friendlier to the anti-TPLF/Tigray political configuration than they were to itself. TPLF wrongly considered its victory over the Derg as the victory of all Ethiopians and loosened its belt to a devastating end.

Following the victorious advance of the TDF there are unmistakable signs of the lead-invader of Tigray, the Amhara elite and its blindfolded followers, trying to appease Tigray into forgetting what happened as “wrong and unfortunate”. Who is the leading coordinator and actor in the invasion of Tigray? Many Tegaruu tend to get the answer wrong: Some consider Abiy to be the leader of everything. They prefer to believe that the ambitious Abiy invited Eritrea and the Amhara Militia to invade Tigray. Others throw all the burden on Eritrea. The truth is everything is planned, coordinated, and executed by the Amhara political elite who vowed to destroy the bastion of federalism (Tigray), change the constitution, and establish a unitary state in Ethiopia with the Amhara at the helm for good! To this end the Amhara political elite encouraged Eritrea to be involved because it has had its deep-seated grudges against Tigray that it harbored for over two decades. The opportunity for Eritrea to devastate Tigray was facilitated by the Amhara elite who got the upper hand in the Ethiopian politics and foreign relations in the absence of TPLF. Abiy feared the Amhara elite and preferred to fall on their palms because his political base in Oromia was shaky as he is not considered to be “Oromo enough”. What the Amhara elite wanted from Abiy was him to partner with them against TPLF/Tigray (their key obstacle to their hegemonic ambitions), the OLF (which is in the hearts of all Oromos and is essentially federalist), and invade Western and Southern Tigray with the support of EDF under Abiy and supported by Eritrean troops.

Some Tegaruu seem to be subscribing to the deceptive late coming propaganda that: “It is the Oromos who pushed the Amhara and Tigray to fight against each other so that it will be easier for them to monopolize political power in Ethiopia”. Following Tigray’s victory in the battle and diplomatic fields the threatened Amhara elite has

switched its vocabulary from “Finish them! Rape and purify them! Hunger them! Take away their land!” to “Amhara and Tegararu have the same religion, culture, and history. It is wrong for them to kill one another. The Oromos are the greater enemy for both of them”. As they toot these poisonous words, they seem to have considered the people of Tigray they brutalized and displaced in millions as having short memory that does not last even for a few months. The Oromos have their own grudges on TPLF, but they did not flood into Tigray as the Amhara hordes did. Tigray is against any claim by any national region to monopolize power: be it the Amhara or the Oromo. However, Tigray has a strategic partnership with Oromos as defenders of the self-determination of nations. This is so fundamental that Tigray cannot compromise its partnership with the true representatives of the Oromo people. Neither Tegararu nor Oromos have any aim to eliminate the Amhara. The Amhara are loudly complaining about this in order to get sympathies from the rest of Ethiopians while hiding their imperial ambitions. There could have been peace and democracy in Ethiopia since a long time ago if the Amhara elites were to abandon their claim as the creators of Ethiopia, protectors of Ethiopia, and the only legitimate rulers of Ethiopia. By these illusive claims, which no Ethiopian nation and nationality would buy, the Amhara elite are taking Ethiopia down the abyss. If Ethiopia crumbles no one else is responsible for that except the Amhara elite who are tenaciously clinging to the impractical idea of Amharanized Ethiopia.

Even if the war in Tigray is over, as long as the imperial ambition of the Amhara elite is alive, it will remain like a dormant volcano waiting until it gathers enough gaseous pressure to erupt to the surprise of the local inhabitants who have built cities near it. Tigray has always been the target of the Amhara imperial ambitions. Little wonder it is the only nation that always had its political philosophies clear to the dissatisfaction of the Amhara elite. In the postwar era Tigray has to make sure by political and military means to end once and for all the age-old threat on Tigray from the Amhara neighbors.

Tigray has to seriously see to it that its brute northern neighbor has to be penalized, pacified, and its potential as a threat on Tigray is permanently disabled. The third task of Tigray in the immediate postwar months or years is to make sure once and for all that no government at Arat-kilo could survive with harmful intentions on Tigray.

After the victory over the Derg the wrong perception in Tigray was that “the interest of Tigray is no different from other nations; and therefore, Tigray has to solve its problems in cooperation with all other Ethiopians”. The truth is no one was willing to cooperate with Tigray; rather they were digging its grave under the very eyes of the TPLF-EPRDF. By this I mean Tigray had to and has to cater for its own interest under all circumstances. It must never succumb to the old way of doing political things because it is this folly that took Tigray to the verge of extinction. This is the strategy. The strategy of “Tigray first” could be translated into practice using various tactics. A big question arises at this point: In what political context can Tigray accomplish the taming of the three belligerent forces (Amhara, Eritrea, and Ethiopia) and do the herculean job of restoration and development.

In one recent Tigrigna article on Aiga forum the issue of referendum was raised and commented upon. To dwell in my own view about the referendum in Tigray I come up with the following possible scenarios: 1. No referendum (the pre-war business as usual); 2. Referendum soon after the complete liberation of Tigray without transition; 3. Referendum after some years of transition. In the Tigrigna article on Aigaforum the author expressed his dissatisfaction about the prevailing mood on referendum among some Tegarū politicians. In what he referred to as “አፍ አፍ ልገም” he felt strongly against the tendency to evade the issue of referendum in Tigray. Is the evasion of the issue for the short-term or for the long-term as well? I am of the opinion that given the heartbreaking behavior of Ethiopians over Tigray during the invasion the idea of Tigray remaining as an integral part of Ethiopia is more of a dream



than reality. This relates to the third scenario listed above. The first scenario that there will be no referendum is a death sentence on Tigray. The only scenario that is worth discussing is whether the referendum must be done soon after the liberation of Tigray or delayed until Tigray passes through a Tigray-centered transition.

The transition is instrumental in accomplishing the missions that pertain to the long-term security of Tigray by removing all the potential threats from the Amhara, Ethiopia and Eritrea. Devastated as Tigray is in terms of its social and economic infrastructure and the livelihoods of its people drastically weakened, in my opinion Tigray cannot afford to withstand a separate existence as an independent state in the short-term. This is basically the difference between strategy and tactic. The strategy to shape Tigray into a politically, economically, geopolitically, and diplomatically viable state is to hold a referendum and forge its own independent statehood. To attain such peak of self-determination tactics could be debatable. The key debate is the timing of the referendum: should it be held now or later. If it is not done now could there be a possibility of settling down and the cooling of the current emotions favoring referendum? I don't consider this as a problem as long as the people of Tigray keep what happened to them in their hearts for as long time as possible. What many of us fail to realize is that the enemies of Tigray are pushing Tigray to separate. When the genocide fails, they are eager to get Tigray out physically. For them it is almost the same: They keep Tigray out of Ethiopian politics and avoid the consequences of their actions in Tigray. If Tigray cannot put its iron hand on the triple-enemies and disable them for good the threat to Tigray will worsen in different forms even as an independent state. If you ask me what my instinct tells me about this issue: I want to see Tigray as an independent state tomorrow morning! BUT am I serving my own feelings of anger fueled by the brutalities in Tigray or am I devising a tactical maneuver for Tigray to attain its lofty goal: Independence at a convenient and feasible later date?

Disgusted beyond limit as I am by the actions of the invaders, inside me, I have turned into a human monster against them. As far as Tigray and Tegar is concerned there is no political status-quo ante in the relations with the invaders. However, much we are harmed we have to decide “never again” but keep our composure to void being outmaneuvered by the enemies. The enemies of Tigray get their ammunition against us from what they refer to as the characteristic “passing anger” of Tegar. “Keep your friend close; keep your enemy closer”. This is what we Tegar lack. The fact that Tegar by nature think aloud and are notorious extroverts is what has been causing widespread damage to us by the patient, silent, and introvert enemy. There should be a sea change in the typical Tigrayan character in terms of not being obvious and predictable. We always win wars, but we soon lose and succumb to enemy machinations because we lack the software to guard our achievements. To differ is a healthy state of mind; but there should be time and place for it. Exaggerating insignificant differences like geographic location of our home districts in Tigray could drive us towards a common doom in the hands of the enemy. This time unlike other times is a struggle for survival of Tigray as a Nation. This is the bottom line. Any deviation at this point by individuals or groups is being much worse than the enemy. We will have time in free and prosperous Tigray of the future to quarrel and fight not only by districts but also by neighborhoods if there is addiction for it. In fact, by that time all of us will feel Tigray as only one district and one neighborhood. It is poverty that pits us against one another. Germany, France, and Austria feel as one people with high level of economic and social development. We have to thrive to attain that.

To say a few things about the restoration of Tigray. Once the military campaign ends the elected government should issue its first proclamation to launch a short-term, medium term, and long-term restoration and sustainable development. The proclamation should provide for formulating a special policy of restoration and development followed by a detailed strategy. The strategy document

should be broken down into programmes and each programme into specific action projects. Prioritization on the basis of geography, gender, and social and economic sectors should guide the design of the programmes. Action number one is to set up an institution that coordinates the restoration and development. A national board overseeing restoration and development should lead the Tigray Institution for Postwar Restoration and Development (TIPRD). The first stage of restoration must use the service of volunteers. A movement for voluntary action in Tigray should be initiated to last until the medium term. Although urgent actions are taken for the most urgent problems in the first phase whatever is done in the first phase must keep in mind the needs of the medium and development phases. In other words, actions in the first phase of restoration must be relevant to the third development phase.

Postwar restoration in Tigray should not imply a return to the status quo ante. The invasion has changed not only the physical attributes in Tigray but also our state of mind about how we should go on from here into the future. Innovative and sustainable technologies and practices must prevail. The pre-war economy and the federal policies that shaped it were meant for all Ethiopia, not taking the special environmental and socioeconomic peculiarities of Tigray. For instance, the Federal disaster management policy of 2013 (the 1993 policy hijacked to alienate Tigray) fails to consider drought as number one natural hazard. The water policy of Ethiopia does not take water scarce areas into consideration. Conservation is not well addressed in the policy. From the outset, whether Tigray still remains in the Federation or not it has to formulate its own appropriate policies and use them beginning from the restoration phase.

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**Damage Assessment Project: A commendable jump-start towards sustainable postwar restoration and development**

October 16-2021

In the middle of a decisive final engagement of the TDF, in all fronts against the evil force, the Government of Tigray has launched a Project of great value, with the characteristic courage and optimism inherent in the Tigrayan psyche. Diagnosis is the key first step for successful treatment or cure. It is dangerous to make the slightest error in diagnosis because wrong treatment on the basis of wrong diagnosis could lead to death or permanent physical and psychological damage. That is the fundamental reason why inventions and innovations of diagnostic tools, in the medical sciences, are advancing much faster than in other fields. Precision in diagnosis is what is normally aspired for to save human lives and ensure healthy living thereafter. Similar to physical ills social ills require advanced tools for diagnosis and the right institutional arrangement if they are to be effectively alleviated or eradicated. The calamities that have befallen Tigray have become beyond what the human brain can accommodate. In order to understand what happened and decide on temporary and permanent solutions to the physical, economic, social, and psychological damage an appropriately high level of tools and institutions must be designed in order to avoid costly pitfalls. To craft such tools and design the best possible institutional arrangements for the diagnosis of the damage a sense of sacrifice, perseverance, sensitivity, courage, and foresight are indispensable preconditions for success. The Damage Assessment Project (DAP) needs as much selflessness as there is in the battle fronts because victories in the battle fronts can have a lasting value only if Tigray could stand again on its two feet and march happily forward into eternity.

Setting up the DAP is a vital move at the right time; but it must be kept in mind that it is not a transitory arrangement to solve a specific

problem as most projects are conceived to be. DAP must be only a tip of the iceberg, which is a huge edifice of policy, strategy, and institution building. Very soon after the Government of Tigray was reinstated, I posted an article on Aiga Forum proposing to the government that it has to issue a well-studied proclamation for launching the postwar restoration of Tigray. I had the optimism and trust for the TDF, I share with all Tegaruu that the victory is sustainable and Tigray will never be reoccupied by the enemy. The proclamation I proposed was meant to be an umbrella for all activities for the restoration and beyond of Tigray. As it is/was a war economy it is expected to be a restoration economy in the short-term and a vibrant developing economy in the longer term. Hence, no part of its political, economic, and social activities can lie outside the inclusive domain of restoration. Restoration does not mean only putting back schools, health facilities, and factories; it also vitally includes the restoration of damaged livelihoods and the dignity of our mothers and sisters through local and/or international legal action. DAP, of course, is a step number one leading to effective remedial action in the political, economic, social, and psychological spheres. However, a standalone and single-task project cannot accomplish the massive and multi-faceted transition from data collection to sustainable action. It is not wise and may face severe shortcomings to think that the Government of Tigray will take the huge burden of data collection and action only through its sectoral bureaus.

This is a postwar era for Tigray. It is a time that was never seen and heard of before. Uniqueness calls for uniqueness. It is difficult if not impossible to solve new problems with old solutions. Of course, I don't mean we don't take lessons from them, but we cannot depend entirely on them. Under normal circumstance, routine is taken care of by elected governments and their state apparatus. It is unquestionable that Tigray has a legitimate government the people elected in a landslide. No one in a normal mind should be challenging this as it would be a disrespect for the people of Tigray

who elected the government. The point I am trying to make very strongly is that postwar Tigray is not a routine! Its restoration from the enormous damage it sustained cannot be successfully accomplished by the conventional bureaucratic channels setup to last the period of elected tenure of the government. By restoration we mean building into the future. With the future in mind what we do now must include the future generation. Hence, any move by the Government of Tigray towards restoration, which includes DAP, must be participatory. All political parties, all scholars of Tigrayan origin with different areas of expertise, and all ordinary people with something to contribute must be involved at all levels from planning, decision making, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation. After the restoration phase is over, and Tigray enters into the age of routine, elected governments will have the unchallenged prerogative to run routine affairs of the state. By the way restoration very critically requires a clear and firm decision on the political future of Tigray. Political context determines what kinds of tools are used and what direction is taken for restoration. Restoration is not just an emergency measure. It is a phased effort that has to flow seamlessly into the future. You cannot run a successful restoration under different contexts and expect success. It is futile to paint different and contradictory political scenarios and start restoration. It is a totally different matter to start restoration of Tigray within the political context of Ethiopia from a scenario of an independent Tigray. This very important and decisive issue has to be resolved before any decision to launch restoration which includes DAP.

Although I am happy about DAP, I don't entertain the illusion that restoration, which DAP is the first step, will be successful without serious dialogue or consultation with all stakeholders about the political future of Tigray. All political parties in Tigray, including the ruling party, not only have the right but also the responsibility to sit and talk even in the middle of the war, about the future of Tigray. With all due respect for the Government of Tigray, as an elected representative of the people, I would strongly recommend that it

ceases to sideline political forces in Tigray for trivial differences and nourish enemy propaganda. Political parties in Tigray must also exercise caution and patience so as not to destroy the bigger picture to the pleasure of the enemy. Worry not! Hurry not young Tegar! The future is absolutely yours! Handle it with care like Chinaware!

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**If I were allowed a second God I would worship The TDF**

July 25-2021

"Self-defense is a virtue, sole bulwark of all right" Lord Byron

"Self-defense is not only our right; it is our duty" Ronald Reagan

The reference to the 'army of angels', who are fighting to deliver Tigray from the quagmire it was plunged into by the egomaniacs and megalomaniacs at Arat-Kilo and Bahir Dar, as TDF is criminalized as an act of treason. That means one can get a death sentence or life imprisonment for referring to the army as TDF. Had this "law" been put in its proper context I would agree to its enforcement. If Sidama dubs its regional force as SDF, it is unquestionably illegal. The same holds true for the Amhara, Somali, Oromia, and Harari forces. These regions have their rights protected as states of the Federation. No one in Ethiopia, including the Center, utter a word compromising the membership of these regions in the FDRE. Nothing is done or said to them that could be tantamount to declaring them as non-Ethiopians. Even if they openly express their hate for Ethiopia and stand against its rulers, as many in some opposition parties operating in these regions often do, no one dares or wants to alienate their regional states as non-Ethiopian.

This is not a right enjoyed by Tigray. If Tigray does any of what opposition politics in other regions do it is treated differently. It is not tolerated as the rest are. Although the social psyche in Tigray is (was) more strongly bonded with Ethiopia, it is always accused of posing a threat to the very existence of Ethiopia. It is all the same

whether Tigray does something good for or something bad to Ethiopia. It is just being Tigray that matters for the hate-blinded multitudes to brand it with all kinds of names as anti-Ethiopia. This has its roots in the past indicating that it is chronic. The great Tigrayan- Ethiopian scholar Gebrehiwot Baykedagn has written this sad statement as far back as a century ago: “Menilik did not consider Tegarü as his own people”. This attitude of Arat-Kilo towards Tigray has been consistent throughout the century. The heirs of Menilik- Haileselassie and Mengistu- have inflicted harm on Tigray which no one would contemplate of doing on the people of other countries outside Ethiopia. Somalia had attacked and invaded Ethiopia more than twice; but Ethiopian troops did not enter Somalia to rape women, to rob, and destroy property and infrastructure, and reduce Mogadishu to Bekoji. Eritrea invaded Ethiopia, and Ethiopia won the war; but Ethiopian forces were withdrawn from Eritrean territory without raping women, destroying and looting property.

Tigray was invaded and devastated by allied domestic and foreign forces for a reason that is not sufficient even for a fist-fight. It is not the invasion by allied forces perse that is surprising. It is where and on who the invasion took place. Unlike Somalia and Eritrea Tigray is an integral part of the Federation with all due rights and privileges as a national regional state like all others. However, the nature of the invasion of Tigray has no precedent not only in Ethiopia but also the world over. Tigray was invaded and devastated in a way that was never attempted on Somalia and Eritrea, who had invaded Ethiopia and drained its human and financial resources. The message to Tigray and to the world is unmistakable. Accompanied by words, uttered by leaders and lay people alike, which clearly implied that Tigray is not Ethiopian, the unbelievable atrocity committed in Tigray has delivered a clear message to the people of Tigray that they don't belong in Ethiopia. They don't need to be told straight that they are not Ethiopians. Any language, including Amharic, has synonyms and figures of speech. Tigray has received all the synonyms and figures of speech that convey the message that Tegarü



are not Ethiopians. Tigray also reads between the lines of the lethal statements that are crafted to seem legal. No message has come from Tigray so far that it is not part of Ethiopia. Tigray is sober and responsible society that does not catch the common cold of madness from its disoriented enemies. Tigray will take its time to ponder on this carelessly handled fragile issue.

Leaving aside the pre-invasion name-calling on Tigray as if it were alien from another world, more than enough ammunition of words have been fired at this beleaguered nation more than enough to consider itself as non-Ethiopian. However, in the absence of official statement about this issue from Tigray Arat-Kilo is putting the blame for the “separation of Tigray” on Tigray itself. Angered and frustrated by the miraculous advance of the TDF and the world using the name in its reports Arat-Kilo thought it got a legal loophole to accuse Tigray of a separatist tendency. Here is Arat-Kilo’s pointless point of argument: “A defence force is named as such only when that state is an independent state. Since Tigray is a Federal state of Ethiopia it cannot name its militia as a defence force”. Well, Well, Well! Here we are! The name of the TDF, for the first time in three years, put the phrase “Tigray is Ethiopia” in the mouths of the Arat-Kilo real anti-Ethiopians. When did Tigray become Ethiopian for the rascals? When Tigray defeated them and is driving them to their doorsteps? When Tigray is weak it becomes non-Ethiopian; when it becomes strong it becomes Ethiopian. What kind of strange identification method is this? Who gave them the right to put Tigray in one category or the other? This is the exclusive right of Tigray to put itself wherever it will locate itself. If Tigray were considered as a state in the Federation Arat- Kilo would never never invite foreign armies to crush it! During the allied invasion Tigray was not Ethiopia; after the mission of the invasion failed and Tigray rose from the ashes and posed a real threat to the scumbags it was declared as a part of Ethiopia!! (Hilarious laughter is recommended at this point).

TDF was named as such not because Tigray claimed independence. Tigray is not a lawless society as its enemies are. Despite the bad things that happened to it Tigray has an established tradition of acting lawfully. The de-facto illiterate enemies of Tigray don't match Tigray on this. They act in a wild-west scenario. This is why law-abiding Tigray found its enemies difficult to handle. They are like a huge frying pan without a handle. Tigray has assured the Amhara people no revenge for mass killing, gang-rape, looting and property destruction. This is the difference between the savagery of the Amhara militia and the civilized TDA. It is about time that the difference has to be shown to the world and to the hypnotized Ethiopians and Eritreans. The reason why the 'Army of Angels' of Tigray is named TDF is because it is the only defence force currently operating in Ethiopia. This may puzzle readers, but it is the truth. The Ethiopian army is not a defence force, because while it is expected to defend Ethiopia from the Sudanese incursion and Eritrean invasion of northern Ethiopia, it is considering Sudanese incursion as a brotherly visit and the Eritrean invasion as a friendly support! So, what is the job of the Ethiopian army? To attack its own territories in Tigray and Oromia. The right name for the Ethiopian army is Ethiopian Attack Force (EAF). By the same token Eritrean Attack Force (EAF) and Amhara Attack Force (AAF). Did you get the point folks? The TDF is the only defence force of a special sort because it is defending Tigray ("north Ethiopia") from Ethiopians allied with foreign forces. Isn't this funny? Yes, it is funny, but you weep not laugh. This signifies the death of Ethiopia in the absence of a defence force at its borders and sick political comedians in the center. The latter have no idea that they are navigating the boat called Ethiopia on the still water above the waterfall!

I said I would worship the TDF is not blasphemy. What is religion or faith or belief after all? Isn't it about virtue? Isn't it about justice? Isn't it about sacrifice for brutalized human beings? I would worship anyone who abandons his/her family, comfort, job, and everything else, to save people who are in grave danger of extermination. This

is what the tens of thousands in the TDF are doing for Tigray's six million innocent souls. If I build churches all over the world for St. George who saved only one life from a dragon, shouldn't I build temples on the nine planets for such a rare bravery and sacrifice of "Saint" TDF to save six million Tegraru from genocide? What thrills me and takes me away to near blasphemy is the miracle that happened in Tigray in the last two months. A miracle is what you think is impossible to happen. This often serves as a confirmation for faith. From November to June the enemies were having fun with the elimination of the TPLF and took for granted the total submission of Tigray. Even the bandas were absolutely sure about this and started rampant corruption besides ill-treating their fellow poor Tegraru. We on the Tigray side were trapped between remote and dwindling hope and grinding hopelessness. Every day we watched videos of horror that dwarf the catastrophe in Yemen or Syria. Tomorrow became not a new day to thank God for it but another day of wailing mothers, charred and ruined Hidmos, lost livelihoods, drained and dusty faces of men and women who as well could have been our own parents or siblings. When I see a mother crying and waving hands at the death of its family members it reminds me of my mom who did the same thing when Italians killed her father and brothers and burned the house to the ground. Oh Tigray! Ethiopian and Italian soldiers do the same thing on it. In which country and continent is Tigray located? This is a new challenge for geographers and cartographers. Ethiopia rejects it and Africa neglects it!

When like the tsunami that rose suddenly and wreaked havoc to the entire Asian continent the TDF miraculously became like a bolt from the blues and devastated the allied forces and expanded the war arena to the entire northern quarter of Ethiopia. Neither the enemy nor we could believe what was going on. A young and inexperienced army of volunteers, motivated by the sheer desire to save their people and land from barbaric invaders is what has turned into a snowstorm. These young men and women are the second generation tegadelti. As a matter of divine intervention commanders of the first

generation are still alive and strong enough to lead them into such resounding victories against the multiple enemies. Few, including we, believed that the former TPLF commanders would be healthy and strong enough to lead such an amazingly successful operation against the huge and well-armed enemy troops from all over Ethiopia. Merara Gudina used the weight gain of TPLF leaders, in his 2005 election debate, to make an unnecessary fringe point to his advantage. He said “TPLF is sure to go in this election; but its leaders are top overweight to go to the bush and fight again”. In fact, this is too loose a tongue for a heavy-weight politician like him. I brought this issue here believing that Merara has chewed his tongue by the fact that it is the fat General Tsadkan who has designed the huge and intricate war theatre. Neither is General Abrha Dinkul, who is sending shivers to Art-Kilo from the Danakil, skinny. I say I worship the TDF because people normally feel humility towards something that overwhelms them. If people see something beyond their imagination, they would be short of words however much well versed they are with them. “Worshipping” came to my help to enable me express what I am unable to do with words. Otherwise, I remain a devout Orthodox Christian the Axumite-Ezana version.

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**ምህላ የሚደረገው ትግራይና ህወሓት ለምን አንሰራሩ ይሆን?**

April14-2021

በኢትዮጵያ ፈጣሪያችን እጅግ ተቸግሯል። ልመናው ቅጥ አጥቷል። ምንም በደል ያልፈጸመ ሰላማዊ ህዝብ በእሸን ጦር በደቦ ሲዘመትበት፣ ሴቶች በሺዎች ሲደፈሩ፣ ግፉ ሞልቶ ሲፈሰም የትግራይን ደም በአማራ ሴት ደፋሪ ደም ለማጥራት ሲታሰብ፣ ጥንታዊ ገዳማት ሲፈርሱ ሲቃጠሉ መነኮሳት ሲገደሉና ሲዋረዱ፣ ብረት ያላነገቡ ገጥሞች ለአምስት ወራት በየቀኑ በገፍ ሲጨፈጨፉ፣ የህዝብ የኢኮኖሚ መሰረት ሲወድምና ሲዘረፍ፣ ህዝብ ለከፋ ረሃብ ሲጋለጥ፣ የጤና መሰረተ ልማቱ ጭራሹን ወድሞ ቀላል መድሃኒትም እያጣ ሲያልቅ፣ ህገመንግስትን ዋጋ ባሳጣ በመንግስት የተፈቀደ የግዛት ይገባኛል ወረራ በመቶ ሺዎች ህዝብ ሲፈናቀል፣ የትግራይ ህዝብ ለዚህ ውድመት የዳረገውን ወረራ "ህግ ማስከበር" የሚል የክርስትና ስም ተሰጥቶት በአብያተ ክርስትያናት ምርቃትና ድጋፍ መሸኘቱ እየታወቀ ምህላው አሁን የት ተገኘ? ለምንስ? ለአምላክ ምህላ የሚቀርበው በህዝብ ላይ ከአቅም በላይ በሆነ ምክንያት እልቂት ሲደርስ ነው እንጂ አብያተ

ክርስትያናቱ ራሳቸው መርቀውና ንጉሥ ብለው በላኩት ጦር በክርስትያኑ ህዝብና በአብያተ ክርስትያናት ላይ ይህ ሁሉ ግፍ ሲፈፀም ድምፅ አልባ ሆኖ አድፍጦ ከተቆየ በኋላ አይደለም።

የትግራይን ህዝብ ያሸነፉ ሲመስላቸው ዘፈንና ወረብ፣ የተሸነፉ ሲመስላቸው ምህላ ምን የሚሉት ፈሊጥ ነው? አምላክ እኮ የተበዳይን እንጂ የበዳይን አቤቱታ አይሰማም። በርግጥ ቤተክርስትያን ተሂዶ "እከሌን ድብን ካደረግክልኝ" በሬ እየተተኩ አመጣልሃለሁ" እያሉ በመሳል አምላክን ማስቸገር የተለመደ ሃጥያት ነው። ልብሰ ተከህኖ ተለብሶ ቅዱስ ቆብ ተደፍቶ ስንት ተንኮል እንደሚሰራ ማን አጣው? ሃይማኖትን ለፓለቲካ ጠቀሜታ እያዋሉ ከፓርቲዎች ያላነሰ ሽኩቻ ውስጥ የሚገቡ አብያተ ክርስትያናቱን እንዳጎደፉና ምእመናንን መንገድ እንዳሳቱስ የማይውቅ ይኖራል? አንገም ተው አንገም ተው እንደማለትና አባታዊ ስራን እንደመሰረት አንዱን ወገን ጭራቅ ሌላውን ወገን መላክ አድርገው እየሳሉ የሚያፋጁና ወገን ለይተው በአለም አደባባይ ላይ ሰልፍ የሚወጡ ሁሉ አሁን ደርሰው አምላክን በምህላ የሚያስጨንቁት ግፍ አንሰልፍ እንጨምር ፍቀድልን ነው? ነገሩ ግልፅ ነው። ይህን ያህል መላምትና ግምት መደርደር አያስፈልግም። የትግራይ ህዝብ ጭፍጨፋውን ተቋቁሞ መልሶ በማንሰራራቱና ህወሓትም ጠፋች በነነች ተብላ ከጳጳስና ፓስተር ጀምሮ እስከተራው አማኝ ድረስ ሳቅና ፌሽታ ሲጋሩ ቆይተው ወታደራዊ ድሎቿን ሲሰሙ ድንጋጤና ሽብርቸውን ለአምላክ ለማጋራት ቆርጠው ተነስተዋል። በመሰረቱ የአብያተ ክርስትያናት መሪዎችና የክርስትና ቆዳ የለበሱ የማህበረ ቅዱሳን ፓለቲከኞች፣ የአምላክን ቃል መጫወቻ አድርገውት ተውኔት የሚሰሩበት ፓስተሮች ማየትና መስማት የተሳናቸው ወራሪውን ጦር መርቀው ከሸኙ በኋላ ነው። አይናቸውና ጀሯቸው የተደፈነውም የላኩት ወራሪ በሚፈፀሙ ግፍ የህዝብ ዋይታ እንዳይሰሙ ነው። ያውቁታል! እንዲህ ያለ መጠነ ሰፊ ወረራ ህዝብና ኑሮውን ሳያወድም እንደማይቀር ያውቁታል። ብቻ ህዝቡም ይዳከም ከተቻለም ይጥፋ ህወሓትንም ነፍስ እንዳትዘራ አድርጎ መምታት ነበር ዋናው ግብ።

ህያው አምላክ ከመንበሩ አለና በነዚህ የሃይማኖት ቆዳ በለበሱት ሃጥኦን ላይ መክት ላከባቸው። መክቱ ምን እንደሆነ ግልፅ ነው። በትግራይ ህዝብ ላይ የተፈፀመውና አሁንም የቀጠለው ግፍ አምላክ በውጪም በውስጥም በሚኖሩ የትግራይ ልጆች መንፈስ ውስጥ አድሮ ጥንካሬ ሰጣቸውና ተአምር እየሰሩ ነው። ይቺ "ሰሜን ኢትዮጵያ" በሚል ጨርቅ ታፍና አለም ያላወቃት ከአለም ስልጣኔዎች አንዷ የሆነችው ትግራይ ከአፅናፍ እስከ አፅናፍ የአለም የዜና ርእስ ከሆነች ወራት አልፏል። የራሱ ህዝብ በኮሮና እያለቀበትም ቢሆን አለም ለትግራይ የሰጣት ትኩረት የአምላክ እጅ ያለበት ለመሆኑ መጠራጠር የለብንም። ለዳዊት ጉልበትን ሰጥቶ ጎልያድን የጣለበትስ ከትግራይ ህዝብ ሁኔታ ጋር አይመሳሰልም? አምላክ የተጎዳውን ህዝብ በሚጠግንበት ስኬት ምህላ እየተጠራ ያለው "ህዝብን የማዳን ስራህን ተውውና የኛን የግፍ በትር አወፍርልን" ተብሎ ነው? ከወረራው በፊት "ለምነን ነበር" ለማለትና ለታቀደው የማይቀር ወረራ ማህበራዊ ድጋፍ ለማስገኘት የሃይማኖት መሪዎች ነን ያሉ ወደ መቐለ ሄደው ነበር። አጥቂውንና ህግ አፍራሹን ትተው ወደ ተጠቂውና ህግ አከባሪው ነበር "ተው" ለማለት የሄዱት። ይህ በሃይማኖት ታሪክ እንግዳ ድርጊት ነው። የትግራይ ህዝብ መንገድ አልዘጋ፣ የትግራይ ህዝብ ሌላውን እውራሌሁ ብሎ አላሰፈራራ፣ ወታደራዊ ትርኢቱም "እንዳትመጡብኝ" የሚል መልእክት ያዘለ እንጂ አዲስ አበባ ድረስ ልመጣባችሁ ነው የሚል መንፈስ አልነበረውም። የትግራይ ህዝብና መሪዎችስ እጃቸውን ሰብራ ካረረሯቸው ኢትዮጵያ ምን አላቸው? እንኳንና በጉልበት ገፍተው አዲስ አበባ ደርሰው

ኢትዮጵያን ሊያስተዳድሩ ቀርቶ አርባ ታቦት ተሸክማ ማሩኝ አስተዳድሩኝ ብትላቸውም የሚሞከሩት አይደለም። የትግራይ ህዝብና መሪዎች ሌላ ያዘረከረከው ቆሻሻን አፅድተው ሲያበቁ የሚባረሩ አይደሉም። ደርግ ያጋጃትን አገር አፀዱ አስዋቡ የጨለማ ዘመን የቀን ጅቦች ተባሉ፤ በጨለማ ዘመን ቀን ከየት እንደመጣ ባይታወቅም። አስተካክለው የሰጡትን የሚያበላሽና መልሳችሁ አስተካክሉልኝ እንደሚል ስርአት የለሽ ህፃን ልጅ ደርግ ተመልሶ መጥቶ የባለ ያበላሻትን አገር የትግራይ ህዝብና መሪዎቹ ለማስተካከል የሚገደዱት በሞራል ነው በውለታ? የትግራይ ህዝብና የመሪዎቹ ማንሰራራትና ተከታታይ ድል በ"አጥፍተናቸዋል" ራስ ማታለል የማይመለስ መሆኑ ሲታይ ወደ ድንጋጤ አምርቶ መፍትሄው ምህላ ሆኗል።- "ሞቷል አብቅቶለታል ያልነው የትግራይ ህዝብና መሪ ድርጅቱ አንሰራርተዋልና እባክህ አምላክ ሆይ ከነሱ የበቀል በትርጠብቀን"!

የትግራይ ህዝብና መሪዎቹ እየታገሉ ያሉት ራሳቸውን ከወራሪ ነፃ አውጥተው እውቀታቸውና ያካበቱት ልምዳቸው በራሳቸው አገር ግንባታ ለማዋል እንጂ እንደወራሪው ሃይል የበቀል ኋላቀር ባህል የላቸውም። ልዩነቱ ግልፅ ነው። በስልጣኔና በኋላ ቀርነት መካከል ነው። ጆግና ነሀ የተባለው ወራሪ ጦር ንፁሃን ወጣቶችን እየረሸነ ገደል ይከታል፤ የቀን ጅብና ሰይጣን የተባለው ሰራዊት "ጡት ያልጠገቡ ህፃናት ጦር ሜዳ ላይ ወድቀው ሲያይ ያዘናል ያማርራል። ኋላቀሩ ወራሪ ሲባል ሴቶችን ሲደፍሩና ሲያንገላቱ ስልጡኑ ሃይል ሴት ምርኮኞችን ይንከባከባል። "የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ለመግዛትም በሱ ለመግዛትም አይመችም" ላሉት ቀደምት አባቶች የትግራይ ህዝብ ጀርድ ለግሶ ቢሆን ኖሮ ስድስት ኪሎ በአንበሳ እንደተበላው አንበሳ ቀላቢ አይሆንም ነበር። እስከ ምህላ የሚያደርስ ጭንቀት አያስፈልግም፤ ህወሓት መቐለ እንጂ አራት ኪሎ ወደተባለ የወራሪዎች ጎሬ አትመለስም። የወራሪዎችና ክርስትያናዊ አሟሟቂዎቻቸው ትግራይን አጥፍተው ከኤሪትሪያ ጋር በመዋሃድ የ"ታላቋ" ኢትዮጵያ ህልማቸውን እውን ሊያደርጉ ነበር የተማመኑት። ይህ የገነቡት ካብ ድንገት ሲናድባቸው "ትግራይ ነፃ መንግስት ከሆነች ኢትዮጵያ ትፈርሳለች" የሚለው ዘፈን ተጀምሯል። የምህላውም አንዱ ምክንያት ይኸው "አተርፍ ባይ አጉዳይነት" ነው። ከወረራው በፊት ትግራይ ብትወረር የኢትዮጵያ የመጨረሻዋ መጀመሪያ ይሆናል እየተባለ ባመዘኙ የትግራይ ተወላጆች የሆኑ ምሁራን ተደጋጋሚ ማስጠንቀቂያ ቢፅፉም ቢናገሩም መሳቂያና መሳሰሉት ሆነው እንደነበር አመት ያልሞላው ትውስታችን ነው። አንዴ "አትፎክሩ ለኢትዮጵያ ኢሚንት ናችሁ" ይባላል። ሌላ ጊዜ ደግሞ "ኢትዮጵያ ሰላም የምትሆነው ትግራይ ስትዳከም ወይንም ስትጠፋ ነው" በሚል እርግጠኝነት ልባቸው ተደፍኖ አቅማቸውን በሙሉ ይህን ለመተግበር ብቻ ያዋሉ አልፍ አላፍ ናቸው። እንደ ነጠላ ሰረዝ ህወሓትን የሚያወግዙ ቃላት በየአረፍተነገሩ መሰንቀር ልማድ የሆነባቸው ጥላቻ ብቻ ሳይሆን ፍርሃትና ቅናትም እብረው ጭንቅላታቸው ውስጥ ተበርዘል። ሳሩም ቅጠሉም ህወሓት የሚመስላቸውና ኮሽ ባለቁጥር "ህወሓት መጣ" እያሉ የሚባሉትን እንዴት አድርገው ነው አገርን አረጋግተው የሚያስተዳድሩት? በአንድ በኩል ህወሓትን ለማጥፋት እየታገሉ በሌላ በኩል ደግሞ በህወሓት ዘመን የነበረውና ግን በብልፅፀፃ ያጡትን ሁሉ እያነሱ ትንፋሽ እስኪያጥራቸው ይተርካሉ። ህወሓት አንሰራራች ሲሰሙም ወደ ምህላ ይገባሉ። ይህ በፀበል የማይለቅ ጋኔል ነው! አጥብቆ የተጠጋውም ከሃይማኖተኞቹ ዘንድ ነው።

ወረራው ተጀምሮ የ"ጁንታው" ዋና ከተማ ተያዘች ከተባለ በኋላ ታውረውና ደንቁረው የነበሩት አይናቸው የበራውና ጆሯቸው የተከፈተው በህልምም በውንም ያልጠበቁት አስደንጋጭ የትግራይ ህዝብና መሪዎች ማንሰራቱት መልሶ ማጥቃት የመጀመሩ ዜና ጭንቅላታቸውን ሲመታቸው ነው። ስለትግራይ ህዝብ ደግነት ተወራ፣ እንርዳው እንደግፈው እናቋቋመው የሚሉ ጫጫታዎች መሰማት ጀመሩ። የፀረ ትግራይ ዘመቻ የቃላት "ደጅ" አዝማቹ ታማኝ በየ "የትግራይ ህዝብ የኔም ነው፣ በሞኖፓል አትያዙ" አለ! ወይ ፍቅር?! ስድስት ሚልዮን የትግራይ ህዝብ ለዚህ የኪነት መድረክ አስተዋዋቂ ስድስት ሚልዮን ህፃናት መስለውት ይሆን? በፊት ትግራይን እያወገዘ ብር ሲያገኝ አሁን ደግሞ ትግራይን ለመርዳት ብር ሊያገኝ። የኢሳቶቹ ይሻሉ ይሆናል በድሮ የመረረ ጥላቻ አቋማቸው እንደ እንጨት ደርቀው የቀሩ። ከመዘላበድ እሱ ይሻላል። የሚነዳቸው የሚያጋብሱት ብር ብቻ ሳይሆን የትግራይ ጥላቻ ከደማቸው ውስጥ ስለገባም ጭምር ነው። የኢትዮጵያ 360 ፈላስፎች ደግሞ ትግራይን በሚመለከት "ብለን ነበር፣ ህወሓትም የተሻለ ነበር" እያሉ ነው። "ወረራው አብቅቷል ወልቃይትና ራያ በእማራ እጅ ገብቷል" ሲባል ሶስቱም ሆነው የሳቁት ረዥም ሳቅ ግን ከማንም አእምሮ ሊጠፋ አይችልም። አለም የትግራይን የዘር ፍጅት አወገዘ፣ ኢትዮጵያም በሃላፊነት እንደምትጠየቅ ሲነገር የሃይማኖት ቆብ የለበሱት "ግፉ በለው" ባዮች "እርዳታ" (ስድብ) ይዘው መቐለ ገቡ። ህገመንግስት ፈርሶ በ"ህግ ማስከበር" ስም ሉአላዊ ክልል በውስጥና በውጪ ሃይል ሲወረርና ይህ ሁሉ ግፍ ሲፈፀም "ተወ. ብለናቸው ነበር፣ ጠግበው ነው" እያሉ መሃል አገር ተኝተው ለወራት በቆዩበት ጊዜ የትግራይ ህዝብ ግን ደመኞቹ ጠላቶቹ እነማን እንደሆኑ የመንገዙበት እድል አግኝቷል። ስቃዩ ትምህርት ሆኖታል፣ የዋህነቱን በሞት በመደፈር በመዘረፍ ሳሙና አጥቦ ጭንቅላቱን አፅድቷል። "ጌታ ሆይ! የማላውቃቸውን ጠላቶቹን አሳውቀኝ" አይደል የሚባለው። የትግራይ ጠላቶች መሸገው የነበሩት ለካ ከማይነቃበት የሃይማኖት ግምብ ውስጥ ነበር። የሃይማኖት መሪዎቹ የመቐለ ህዝብ እንደ ገመቱት የዋህና እየሞተ ይቅር የሚል ሆኖ አላገኙትም። አሁንም የህዝቡን ስሜት የሚጎዳ መግለጫ ከማውጣት አልተቆጠቡም።

ኬኔዲ በወጣትነቱ የባህር ሃይል መኮንን ሆኖ የጀግና ሜዳልያ የተሸለመበትን ሁኔታ እንዲናገር ሲጠየቅ "ጀግና የሆንኩት ተገድጄ ነው" አለ። ለምን ሲባል "ጀልባየን ስላሰጠሙብኝ ዋኝቼ ህይወቴን አዳንኩ" ብሎ መለሰ። ይህ ቀላል ንግግር አይደለም። በቅድሚያ ከዚህ የምናገኘው ትምህርት ከተመታው ጀልባ ይልቅ የዜጋ ህይወት ከፍተኛ ዋጋ እንዳለው ሜዳሊያ በመስጠት የሚያረጋግጥ አገርና ህዝብ እንዳለ ነው። አክሱም ላይ የተገደለው 300 ሳይሆን 100 ነው እያሉ ወንጀልን በቁጥር ማነስና ሙብዛት የሚወስኑ፣ "እንኳን በወንድ ተደፈሩ፣ በሳንጃ ቢሆን ወንጀል ይሆን ነበር" ከሚባልበት አገር መፈጠር የምድር ኩነኔ ነው። የባሰው ደግሞ እንዲህ ሲባል ስሜቱ የማይነካ ቄስና ጳጳስ ከሞላበት አገር! ግፍ እያየ ምቹት እንዳይቀርበት አፋን የሚዘጋ የሃይማኖት መሪ በባዛበት አገር! ተገድጄ ነው ጀግና የሆንኩት ያለው ኬኔዲ ምሳሌነቱ ለትግራይ ህዝብ ነው። የትግራይ ህዝብ ለምእት አመታት ወራሪዎችን ያስለመዳቸው አንድ ክፉ ነገር አለ፡- አሰርበው ካስፈጁት በኋላ ይቅር ብሎ ይረሳል፣ ወረው ከጨፈጭፉት በኋላ ምላሳቸውን ሲያለዘቡሉት ተለል ብሎ ይተዋል። ሲተውም ለቀጣይ ጥንቃቄ የሚያስቀረው እርሾ የለውም። ሁለተኛ እንዳይጋለጥ ሆኖም ራሱን አያስተካክልም። ይባሰ ብሎ የወራሪዎቹ ፍቅር ይፀናበታል። ወራሪዎቹን እያጠናከረ ራሱን ያዳክማል፣ ለሌላ ወረራና የከፋ ጉዳትም ራሱን ያጋልጣል። የወራሪዎቹ አላማ እንደ መሪዎቹ

የሚለያይ ሳይሆን ለዘመናት አንድ አላማ ብቻ እንደሆነ አይዘርለትም። ህዝብ ክርስትያን ወንድሙን ለማጥፋት እያሰብም እያለ ሞት የተጀመረበትን የቃኤልና አቤልን ታሪክ ይረሳል። ከወረራው በፊት ማለት የወረራ ዛቻ ገና ከመውጣቱ በፊት የትግራይ ህዝብ ኢትዮጵያዊነቱን ማጣት ሞት መስሎ ይታየው ነበር። አንዳንዶች እንደሚዘላብዱት ቢገነጠል የሚባለው አጣለሁ ብሎ አይደለም። የትግራይ ህዝብ አስተሳሰብ በሆዱ እንደማይቃኝ ሁሉም ያውቃል። ኢትዮጵያዊነትን ማጣት የፈራው የባለቤትነት ስሜት ስለነበረው ነው። የሚገርመው ነገር የኢትዮጵያ ጠላቶች፣ አገሪቱን ለመበታተን ቆርጠው የተነሱ ሲባሉ የነበሩት ህወሓቶችም አብዛኛዎቹ ኢትዮጵያዊነትን በበጎ አይን የሚመለከቱ ነበሩ። ከዛ በፊት ኬኔዲ በጦርነቱ ብዙ ችግር ደርሶበት ኖሮ ሊሆን ይችላል ያንን ግን አልፎ ቀጥሏል። ጀልባውን ሲያሰምጡበት ግን ህልውናውን ሊያጠፉ እንዳለሙ ገባው። ስለዚህ እንደምንም ብሎ የነሱ አላማ እንዳይሳካ ጥረት ማድረግ ነበረበት፣ ዋኝቶም ወጣ። ከዛ ቀጥለው ባሉት ዘመቻዎች ኬኔዲ ጀልባው እንዳይመታበት ተጠንቅቆ ከአላማ ማራቅ አለበት። ይህ ምሳሌ ወደ ትግራይ ሲመነዘር እንደሚከተለው ይገለጻል፡- ትግራይ በሚኒሊክ፣ በሃይለስላሴ፣ በደርግ ወረራ ተፈፅሞባት ብዙ ግፍ አስተናግዳለች። የአሁኑ ወረራ ከበፊቶቹ የሚለየው በህልውናዋ ላይ የመጣ መሆኑ ነው። ኢኮኖሚዋንና መሰረተ ልማቷን በማውደም "መርከቧን" አስምጠውባታል ከጦር ባህር ለመውጣት የሞት ሽረት ዋና እይደረገች ነው። እየተሳካላትም ነው። "የፍጻሜ ጦርነት ነው..." የሚል የኮሚዩኒስቶች መዘመር ነበር። የኬኔዲ የአንድ ግለሰብ ህይወት ነው። የትግራይ ህዝብ ህልውና ግን የስድስት ሚልዩን ህዝብ ብቻ ሳይሆን የአኩሪ ጥንታዊ ስልጣኔ ታሪክ ህይወት የሚመለከት ነው። ይቅርታ ለህይወት እንጂ ለሞት አይደለም። ክርስቶስ ብቻ ነው እየገደሉት "የሚሰሩትን አያውቁምና ይቅር በላቸው" ያለው። እሱም ቢሆን የማይሞት አምላክ በመሆኑ እንጂ ለሰው ፍጡር የሚበጅ አነጋገር አይደለም። "ጠላትህን እንደራስህ ውደድ" የሚለው ትእዛዝ ሌላ አጋኝ ቃል አለው፡- "አትግደል" የሚል። ሁለቱም ሲገጣጠሙ የሚሰጡት ትርጉም እንዲህ ነው፡- "ጠላትህን ውደድ ግን የሚገድልህን አይደለም"። ኬኔዲ ጀልባው ሁለተኛ እንዳይመታበትና ሰጥሞ እንዳይሞት (ሁለተኛ ጊዜ መትረፍ ላይሳካለት ስለሚችል) ጀልባውን ከገዳዮቹ አላማ አርቆ ወይንም ሰውሮ መንቀሳቀስ ይኖርበታል። ትግራይ ሊያጠፏት ከቆረጡ ሃይሎች ራሷን ማሸሸ ይኖርባታል። ነፃ ትግራይ አሁን ካለችበት የተሻለ እንጂ የከፋ ህይወት አትኖርም። የከፋም ቢሆን ከመሞት ድህነት ይመረጣል። በትግራይ ቀልድ አዋቂ የነበሩት ሰው የህወሓት ጦር በ1981ዓም መቐለን ተቆጣጥሮ ሲያስተዳድር ሰላም ሰፈነና ግን በቂ አቅርቦት አልነበረም። እኒህ ቀልድ አዋቂ ለታጋዮች ሰላምታ ሲያቀርቡ "እንዴት ዋላችሁ እነ ሰላምና ድህነት" ብለው ቀለዱባቸው ይባላል። ሰውየው ሁለት ወንድ ልጆቻቸው በደርግ ካድሬዎች ታሰረውባቸው ስለነበረ ከአቅርቦቱ ይልቅ የተገኘውን በልቶ በሰላም ለማደሩ ምክንትያት ለሆኑት ታጋዮች ምስጋና በቀልድ ለውሰው ማቅረባቸው ነበር። ትግራይ ከአጋም የተጠጋች ቁልቁል ሆና ስትደማ የምትኖርበት ምክንያት የለም። ስለዚህ ትግራይ መርጣው ሳይሆን ተገዳ የማይቀለበስ ውሳኔ ትወስናለች። የተወጋችው ብቻ ሳትሆን የወጋትም መርሳት የለበትም፣ ውሳኔዋን በፀጋ እንዲውጥ!

ትግራይ የራሷን መንግስት ስትመሰርት ኢትዮጵያ እንድትበታተን በመመኘት አይደለም። የተበታተነ ጎረቤት ለትግራይም እንደማይበጅ የታወቀ ነው። ይህ ማለት ግን ትግራይ ኢትዮጵያ እንዳትበታተን ብላ ራሷን ለመስዋእትነት ማቅረብ አይጠበቅባትም። ግድያ የሞከረብህን ባትገድለውም ልታድነው ግን አትሞክርም። ትግራይ በአፄ ዮሐንስ ከጀርባዋ እየተወጋች



ኢትዮጵያን ታድጋለች፣ ሃውልት የተሰራላቸው ግን ከኋላ ወጊዎቹ ናቸው። ደርግ በግትርነት አንዲት ኢትዮጵያ ወይንም ሞት ብሎ ነፃ አውጪ ያራባባት ኢትዮጵያ በመለስ የምትመራው ህወሓት ነበረች 80 ቁርጥራጭ ከመሆን ያተረፈቻት። "ራሳችሁን ሳይሆን እኛን መስላችሁ ኑሩ" የሚሉት አሃዳዊያን በመንግስቱ ያልተሳካውን አሁን ተግባራዊ ለማድረግ ይታገላሉ። በፌዴራሊዝም የዳኝነትን አገር ፌዴራሊዝም አየበተናት ነው እያሉ መአት በማውራት ሊበትኗት እየታገሉ ነው። የትግራይ ተወላጅ መሪዎች ኢትዮጵያ የብዙሃን አገር የመሆንዋን የመረረ ሃቅ ተቀብላ አቻችላ እንድትኖር ብዙ ጥረት አድርገዋል። ከምስጋናው ስድቡ ቀደመ እንጂ።

አሁን ወደ ሳምንት ሙሉ እግዛታ የሚያደርስ የአምላክ ምህረት ብቻ የሚፈታው የኢትዮጵያ ችግር ምንድነው? ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ያለው ችግር ፓለቲከኞች በስልጣን ጥም ጎትተው ያመጡት ችግር ነው። መጀመሪያ ተረጋግቶ አገር ያረጋጋና ልማትን ያመጣ መንግስትን በቤተመንግስት ሴራ ተወገደ። የመንግስት ለውጥም ካስፈለገ በህዝብ ምርጫ መተካት እንጂ አገር የሚያናጋ አንድ መንግስትን በዘር ነጥሎ የሚያጠቃ እዛው በዛው የሆነ ለውጥ አይደለም። የመንግስት አንድ ነጠላ አካል ለብቻው በቀሪዎቹ አካላት ሲገለበጥ ይህ አይነት ህገወጥነት ህገወጥነትን እንጂ ህጋዊነትን አያራባም። 80 ብሄር ብሄረሰብ ለ30 አመት መብቱን አጣጥሞ በሰላም ከኖረ በኋላ አድፍጠው የቆዩ የድሮ ስርአት ናፋቂዎች ስልጣኑን ጨበጠው እንደድሮ በአንድ መስኮት ትገለገላለህ ሲሉት የማያምፅ ህዝብ አለ? አብያተ ክርስቲያናቱ እነዚህን ፌዴራሊዝምን እያጥላሉ ህገ መንግስቱን ለመቀየር የሚታገሉትን አደብ ግዙ ብለው እንደመገሰፅ ያለቀሉትን ስርአት ለመመለስ የሚታገሉትን በጥባጮች ዱላ ማቀበል ሙያ ብለው ይዘውታል። ኢትዮጵያ ሳትፈርስ ፌዴራሊዝም ስለማይፈርስ፣ ፌዴራሊዝም እንዲፈርስ የሚፈልጉትም የአንድ ብሄር ብቻ ፓለቲከኞች በመሆናቸው፣ አርቶድክስ ቤተክርስቲያንም በነዚህ እጅ ውስጥ በመሆኗ ጥፋ ዳኛ ገላጋይ መሆን አልቻለችም። ቤተክርስቲያኗ ራሷ በአንድ ብሄር ፓለቲካ ተሰንጋ እያለች እንዴት አድርጋ ነው አብዛሃዎቹ የሚቀበሉትን ፌዴራሊዝምን መደገፍ የምትችለው? አገሪቱን ከመበተን ማዳን ቀላል ነው። በታኞቹ ራሳቸው ስለብተና ቀድመው እየጮሁ ያሉት ናቸው። እነሱን ስራት ማስያዝ ነው፣ አገር ከተፈለገች። በፌዴራሊዝም ክሮች የተሰፋች መልክ ብዙ አገር ፋብሪካ ወስደው አቅልጠው አንድ ወጥ ጨርቅ ሊያደርጓት ነው የሚታገሉት። ይህ የማይሆን ቅዠት ነው። ወደ እግዚአብሄር ምህላ ከማድረግ በፊት መጀመሪያ በሰው አቅም ሊሰራ የሚቻለውና አብዛኛውን ችግር ሊፈታ የሚችለውን ስራ መቼ ተሞክረና። ምርጫ ተላለፈ፣ ያልተመረጠ መንግስት በጉልበት ቀጠለ! የአገሪቱ ህዝብ ከዚህ የሚማረው ህግ አክባሪነትን ነው ህገ ወጥነትን? የባእድ አገርን ድንበር ጠብቆልኝ ብሎ ሌላ የባእድ ጦር አስተባብሮ በህግ የተከለከለ የአንድ ክልል ሌላውን የአለውረርን ጥሶ ሰላማዊ ክልልን መውረር ለአገሪቱ ህዝብ ህግ አክባሪነትን ነው ህገወጥነትን ነው መንግስት እያለማመደ ያለው? የመንግስትን ስርአት አልበኝነት ያየ ዜጋ ብረት ይዞ ያሻውን ቢያደርግና አገር ቢበጠበጥ ምህላ ነው መፍትሄው ወይስ መንግስትን መገሰፅ?። አህያውን ፈርተው ዳውላውን ቢቀጠቅጡት እኮ አህያው ለጀሮው የከበሮ ድምፅ ነው የሚሆንለት። ይህ ሃላፊነትን አውቆ የችግሩ ምንጭ በትክክል ለይቶ አካፋን አካፋ እንደማለት ችግሩን በምህላ ለእግዚአብሄር ማሸከም ከተጠያቂነት አያድንም። አገሪቱ ከምትታመስበት ጦርነት ውስጥ የተገባው አሳታፊ የሆነ የጋራ አገራዊ ጉባኤ ይደረግ ብለው አብዛኛዎቹ ፓለቲከኞች ጠይቀዋል። ይህ ነገሮች ሳይበላሹ ማስተካከል ይቻል ነበር። ህወሓት ተመልሳ ትመጣለች በሚል ተልካሻ ምክንያት ህዝብን እያስፈራራ በጋራ ስለ አገር እንዳይመከር ሆነ። አገራዊ ምክክር እንዲደረግ ዋና አስተባባሪ መሆን

የነበረባት ቤተክርስቲያን ራሷ በብሄር ፓለቲካ ተነክራ ልሙጥ ባንዴራ እያውለበለበችና የቤተ ክርስቲያናትን ጣርያዎች እየቀሰች ከአሮሞዎችና ሌሎች ብሄሮች ጋር በእልክ አተካሮ ውስጥ ሰጥማለች። ቤተክርስቲያን በተፈጥሮ የብሄር የላትም። የህዝቦች ዳኛ ናት። በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ግን አርቶዶክስ ቤተክርስቲያን ጳጳሷንም በብሄር የምትለካ አስገራሚ ተቋም ናት።

አብያተ ክርስቲያናቱ ምህላ ያዘዙት ኢትዮጵያ ከገባችበት አጣብቂኝ የምትወጣበት ቀላል ዘዴ በአለም አቀፍ ህብረተሰብ ተደጋግሞ እየተዘረዘላትና ባስቸኳይ ተግባራዊ አድርጊ እየተባለች ባለችበት ነው። መፍትሄዎቹ ቀላል ከመሆናቸው የተነሳ እንኳንና የሳምንት ምህላ የደቂቃ ልመና የሚያስፈልጋቸው አይደሉም። አምላክ ሲማፀኑት የሚደርሰው መጀመሪያ ራሳቸውን ለሚረዱት ነው። "God helps those who help themselves". በሬው ጠፍቶበት የትም ቦታ ከጋሮም ቢሆን ፈልጎ ለማግኘት ሳይሞክር ወደ ደብር ሮጦ በሬየን ፈልገህ ስጠኝ ማለት ተገቢ ነው?

- 1. የኤሪትሪያ ጦር ከትግራይ ይውጣ
- 2. የአማራ ሚሊሽያ ከትግራይ ሉአላዊ ግዛት ይልቀቅ
- 3. ተቀናቃኞች ተኩስ አቁሙ ተነጋገሩ
- 4. የጦር ወንጀል በገለልተኛ ይጣራ
- 5. የተዘረፈ ጉበረት ይመለስ የወደመው ይካስ

ከላይ ከተዘረዘሩት አምስት መፍትሄዎች ለቤተክርስቲያን የማይመቸው የትኛው ነው? አምስቱ ከመንግስት በላይ የቤተ ክርስቲያን መንፈሳዊ ሃላፊነቶች አይደሉም? አምስቱ መፍትሄዎች በሰው አቅም የሚሰሩ ሆነው እያለ ከሰው አቅም በላይ ናቸው ብሎ በምህላ ለአምላክ መወርወር እንደ ቡመራንግ ተመልሶ የወርወራውን ግንባር ይመታል። የአምላክን ስም በከንቱ አታንሳ ማለት እኩ ራስህ በምትፈታው ችግር ሹካ ማንኪያ አቀብለኝ እያልክ አትነዝንዘው ማለት ነው። አምስቱ ነጥቦች ለምን በምህላ ተጠቅልለው ለአግዚአብሄር እንደሚወረወሩ ግልፅ ነው። አምስቱ ነጥቦች ለህወሓት ፋታ የሚሰጡና ተመልሳ እንድትጠናከር የሚረዱ ናቸው ብሎ በማሰብ "ህወሓት ከምታንሰራራስ አገር ድብን ትበል" ይመስላል። ህወሓት ይህን ያህል የተጠላችው ለኢትዮጵያ በማሰብ አይደለም። ለኢትዮጵያ ክልብ ቢታሰብ ኖሮማ ማንም ንክች አያደርጋትም ነበር። ኢትዮጵያን ለወርቃማ ዘመን ያበቃችው ህወሓት የተጠላችው ስልጣን በቋመጡ ግን አገር በሚጠሉ ሰዎች ነው። ሊቁ መለስን ያለ እድሜው የቀጨው የኢትዮጵያ አስተዳደር እንደ ኬክ በቀላሉ የሚቆረሰ የመሰላቸው ሰዎች አገሪቱ ኬክ ሳትሆን ግራናይት አለት መሆንምን ሱያዩ በስልት ሳይሆን በመሻ ገቡባት። ተፈረካክሳ ለኮረት አትሆን፤ ለሙሊት አትመች፤ ለመአዝን አትበቃ ካደረጓት በኋላ ያበላሹትን ለማስተካከል የባሰ ችግር ውስጥ እየከተቷት ነው። እነዚህ ሰዎች መገንዘብ ያቻሉት አምስቱ ነጥቦች ከህወሓት የበለጠ ጠቃሚነታቸው ለወራሪዎች ነው። ህወሓት እንደሆነ አምስቱ ነጥቦች ኖሩ አልኖሩ በህዝባዊው ጦርነት ራሷን ችላ ለድል ትበቃለች። ይህ ግን ለወራሪዎቹ የሚመች አይሆንም፤ ባጭሩ።

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# CLUSTER 10

## Angels of Death over Tigray



- ሺ ሰማንያ: ጉዞ ወደ ኤሪትሪያ
- Reagen (Debretsion): "Mr. Gorbachev (Isayas)..."
- The Vandals of the 21st Century...
- "Quralew": Aren't Eritreans worried...
- Open message to Eritreans...
- Back to the debate on responsibility...
- ጎንደርና ኤሪትሪያ...
- "ሀዘቢ ኤሪትሪያ አይሕተትን"?

When the Ethio-Eritrean border was opened I used the opportunity to tour Eritrea I departed 50 years ago. Although from Tigray I got my senior highschool education in Eritrea and the grandfather of my three children is an Eritrean by birth. After I wrote an article on my impressions about Eritrea, in an article included here in the compilation, Eritrea invaded and wrecked havoc to my homeland. This broke my heart and my personal relations to Eritrea are tarnished forever.

## ሺ ሰማንያ፡ ጉዞ ወደ ኤሪትሪያ

November 16-2018

ኤሪትሪያን ለመጨረሻ ጊዜ ያየሁት በ 1964 ዓ.ም. መጨረሻ ላይ ነበር፤ አምሳ ዓመት ያህል መሆኑ ነው። በዛ ወቅት ኤሪትሪያ በወገን ክህደት፣ በየአይነቱ የባሕድ አገዛዝ፣ ወገናዊ በሆነ ንጉሳዊ የዘር ሃረግ አገዛዝ፣ እንዲሁም ህዝብን እርጋታ በሚነሱ ወታደራዊ ዘመቻዎች፣ አሰሳዎችና ወከባዎች ውስጥ የጓጎለ ቢሆንም ላይዋ ግን እያረረች የምትሰቅ ያገር የባህር ማሸላ ነበረች። ከተሞችዋ ያሸበረቁና ህይወት ያላቸው ነበሩ። ህዝቡ ሲሰራ እንደ ንብ ሲዘናና እንደ እምቦሳ ነበር። ይህንን አንፃራዊ ብርሃን ችግርን ሁሉ በጉልበት ብቻ ለመፍታት ሲሞክር የነበረው ደርግ አንድያውን ድቅድቅ ጨለማ አደረገው። በአስር ሺዎች የሚቆጠሩ የኤርትራ ተወላጆች ተቀጥረው ሲሰሩባቸው የነበሩትን እንደነ ቃኘው ጣብያ በመዝጋት፣ የጣልያኖች ማምረቻና አገልግሎት ሰጪ ድርጅቶችን በመውረስ፣ በንግድ ሥራ የተሰማሩትን አረቦች እንዲለቁ ምክንያት በመሆን፣ ንጉሡ በካሮትና-ዱላ ስልት ሲያስተናግዱ የቆዩትን የህዝቡ ቅሬታ ወፍራም ዱላ ብቻ ይዞ ገባበት። ኢትዮጵያን ከልብ ሲያገለግሉ የነበሩትን እንደነ ጄኔራል አማን ዓንዶም የመስሳስሉ ምርጥ የኤሪትሪያ ተወላጆችን በመግደልና ኤሪትሪያውያን ከኢትዮጵያ ጋር መቆየታቸው ለውድ ሳይሆን በግድ መሆኑን በይፋ አሳወቀ። ዮኒቨርሲቲ የነበሩት የኤሪትሪያ ተወላጅ ተማሪዎች በሳታዩ አውቶቡሶች ተሳፍረው ከአዲስ አበባ ወደ ኤሪትሪያ በርሃዎች ፈሰሱ። ምእተዓመት ለሚያክል ዘመን የሰከነ ህይወት ኖረው የማያውቁት የኤሪትሪያ ህዝቦች ለከፋ የሰቆቃ ህይወት ተዳረጉ። መንደሮቻቸው ተቃጠሉ፣ ህዝቡ ተሰደደ በመላ አለም ተሰራጩ። አቅም ያለው ብረት ጨበጠና ተዋደቀ፣ ቤተሰብ ተበተነ ስደት ባህል ሆነ። ደርግ በኤሪትሪያውያን አይምር ላይ ሲጫወት የነበረው መረብ ማዶ ካሉት ዘመዶቻቸው ጋር የማናከስ ስራ ነበር፤ የትግራይ ተወላጆችን በስለላ ሥራ ላይ እያሰማራ። የባሰው ግን ኤሪትሪያውያን ቢደሰቱበት እንጂ ሊጠሉት ከቶ የማችሉትን ከውጭ ወራሪዎች ጋር ሲፋለሙ የስልጣን ዘመናቸውን በቤተመንግስት ሳይሆን በጦር ሜዳ ያሳለፉትን አፄ ዮሃንስና ራስ አሉላን ስም እያሞጋገሰና ሃውልት እየሰራ ከደርግ ጋር ተመሳሳይ አላማ የነበራቸው በማስመሰል ኤሪትሪያውያን በትግራይ ህዝብና በመሪዎቹ ላይ ቁም እንዲቋጥር ተደርጓል። ከፌደሬሽኑ በፊትም ቢሆን ከኢትዮጵያ ጋር እንደሚሰሩ የተለያዩ ደም አፋሳሽ ግጭቶች ሲቀሰቅሱ በነበረው የአንድነት ቡድን ውስጥ የትግራይ ተወላጅ የሆኑ ሰዎች ሰርገው እንዲገቡ ሲደረግ እንደነበረ ይወራል። በቀኃሥ ዮኒቨርሲቲ ተማሪዎች የነበሩት የኤሪትሪያ ተወላጆች የነፃነት ትግላችንን ያከሸፉት ትግራዮች ናቸው የሚል ቁጭት ሲያስተናግዱ አልፎ አልፎ ከትግራይ ተወላጅ ተማሪዎች ጋር ግጭት ይፈጥሩ ነበር። ታሪክ ያሳየው ግን የዚህ ስሜት ተቃራኒ ነበር። ለኤሪትሪያውያን ነፃነት በግምባር ቀደምትነት ጠበቃ ሆነው የቆሙት ትግራዮች ነበሩ። የትግራይ ህዝብ እንደ ህዝብ የኤሪትሪያውያንን የነፃነት ፍላጎትን የተቃወመበት ዘመን የለም፤ ለቅኝ አገዛዝ ባርነት ተላልፈው ሲሰጡም ጥልቅ ሃዘን ተሰምቶታል። አሁንም ድረስ የማናከሱ ጥረት ተጠናክሮ የቀጠለ ይመስላል። ለዚህም ኤሪትሪያውያንና መሪዎቻቸው በስሜትና በአጭር ጊዜ እይታ ዘላቂ ዝምድናውን ባያባክኑት ይመረጣል።

ጉዞየን የጀመርኩት ከአዲስ አበባ በልጅ ልጄ ታጅቤ ነበር። በአባይ ባስ የተጓዝነው የዓፈር ክልልን አቋርጦ በሚያልፈው የመቐለ መንገድ ነበር። በህግ አገር ህግና ዳኛ የጠፋበትና እንደ ጀግንነት እየተቆጠረ ባለው የአውራ መንገዶች መዝጋት ምክንያት በመደበኛው መስመር መኬድ ባለመቻሉ ነበር አማራጭ መንገዱ የተጀመረው። ጀግንነትና የወገን ፍቅር እንጂ ውንብድና የማይነካው የዓፈር ህዝብ ግን ጉዞውን እጅግ ሰላማዊ እንዲሆን አድርጎታል። መንገዱ አመቺ ከመሆኑ የተነሳ የአውሮፕላን እንጂ የመሬት ላይ ጉዞ አይመስልም። መንገዱ ከወሎው መስመር የረዘመ ቢሆንም በተመሳሳይ ወይም በተሻለ ሰዓት ይደረሳል። እንደ የዋህ የአለቱን ፓለቲካ እንጂ እንደብልጥ የአመቱን ኢኮኖሚ ያላየው መንገድ ዘገና አዝማቾቹ ከተመላላሽ መኪኖች የሚገኘው ጥቅም ማስቀረታቸው ብቻ ሳይሆን አስተማማኝ ሰላም በሌለበት የሚመጣው ቱሪስትና ኢንቬስተር ሳይሆን የጦርነት ዜና ዘጋቢ ብቻ መሆኑን አለመገንዘባቸው ነው።

የዓፈር መሬት ውበቱና ብዝሃነቱ በጣም አስደናቂ ነው። ብሄራዊ ፓርኮች እንዲሁም የማርስና የጨረቃ ገፀ-መሬት የሚመስሉ አካባቢዎች ለሳይንሳዊ ልብወለድ ፊልም አዘጋጆች አመቺ እንደሆኑ አስብኩ። ክልሉ ከሆሊውድ ጋር ቢደራደርስ ብዩም ተመኘሁ። በዛ ተፈጥሯዊ ሳውና ባዝ የእንግዳ ማረፊያ ቤቶች በብዛት ቢሰሩ የብርድ በሽታና የጡንቻ መተሳሰር ችግር ያለባቸው ሰዎች አዘው ሄደው በመሰንበት ፈውስ ሊያገኙ ይችላሉ። ከአስራ ሦስት ሰዓታት ጉዞ በኋላ የሰሜን ኢትዮጵያ ኮከብ ከሆነችውና በአስራ ዘጠነኛው ክፍለ ዘመን የኢትዮጵያ ዋና ከተማ ከነበረችው መቐለ ደረሰን።

"መአዝ ከውድአ አቱ ቅርንብ ዓይና ኩሒለ ሰኢለ፤ መአዝ ከርክበሉ ሸምጢ አካላታ ዳንጋአ ችሊለ፤ እታ አራታዊት ነዌሕ መበቆላ፤ ተባሃሂ ላዛ መቐለ ወለላ፤ አለኹ ንበላ" ድምጻዊ ዳንኤል ዘርኤ

ይቺ ከተማ የትግራይ ብሄራዊ ክልል መናገሻ ስትሆን ከኢትዮጵያ ሁለተኛዋ ትልቅ ከተማ ለመሆን ስንዝር ነው የቀራት ይላሉ። እድገትዋ ግን ከውሃ አቅርቦት ጋር ባለመመጣጠኑ እንዲህ የሚል ዘፈን ተዘፍኖባታል፡- አይትፀወግለ፤ ከይርስወኪ ከም ማይ መቐለ። ከፊል በርሃማነት የሚያመዝንበት፤ በላይም-አለት ስነምድር የተሸፈነውና ንፋስ የሚጠነክርበት መቐለና አካባቢው የገፀምድር ሆነ የከርሰምድር የውሃ ሃብቱ ውስን ነው። የህዝቡ የውሃ አጠቃቀም ባህሉ ግን ከእጥረቱ ጋር አራምባና ቆቦ ነው። ውሃው ሳምንት ቆይቶ ሲገኝም ቁጠባ የሚባል ነገር የለም። ሁሉም መኖር የሚፈልገው ልክ እንደ ባህርዓርና ሃዋሳ ህዝብ ውሃ እየተራጨ ነው። ሰአኒኻ ክንዲ እግርኻ የሚባል የትግርኛ አባባል አለ። የጫማህን ቁጥር በእግርህ ልክ አድርግ እንደማለት ነው። መልእክቱ ጫማህ ከእግርህ ከበለጠ አረማመድህ ተወላግዶ መንገድ ላይ ልትወድቅ ትችላለህ ነው። ድሮ የነበረውና ማይ-ዚንን ሲባል የነበረው ከቤት ጣርያ የዝናብ ውሃ አጠራቅሞ የመጠቀም ልማድም የተረሳ ይመስላል።

ሌላው መቐለ ውስጥ ያስተዋልነው ክስተት ድምበር በመከፈቱ ከኤሪትሪያ ወደ ከተማዋ የጎረፈው የህዝብና የመኪና ብዛት ነው። ኢአር የሚል ሰሌዳ የለጠፉ መኪናዎች በየመንገዱ ቆመው ይታያሉ። የመቐለ ህዝብ ገበያውን እየተሻሙ መሆኑንና ሌሎች አገልግሎቶች መጨናነቃቸው እየተሰማውም ቢሆን በደስታ ተቀብሎ እያስተናገዳቸው ነው። ከግማሽ ምእተ-አመት በላይ መሪዎቹን በቅኝ ገዢነት ሲፈርጁበት፤ የኤሪትሪያን ነፃነትና የኢኮኖሚ

እድገት ማየት የማይፈልግ የመረረ ጠላት አድርገው ሲቆጥሩት፤ ውሃ በቀጠነ ጣታቸውን ትግራይ ህዝብ ላይ እየቀሰሩ ሲወነጅሉት፤ የደርግ ሰላዮች ነበራቸው በማለት ከሰውነት ውጪ አድርገው ከኤሪትሪያ ምድር ሲጠራርጉት፤ ለራሳቸውም ቢሆን ጎጂ እንጂ ጠቃሚ ሊሆኑ ከማይችሉት ሃይሎች ጋር በማበር ደህነቱና ክብሩን ለአደጋ ሲያጋልጡ፤ አስመራ ላይ ያለው መንግስት የዓይደር ት/ቤት ህፃናት ላይ በምብ በማዝነብ የመቐለን እናቶች ማቅ ያስለበሰውን ድርጊት በድጋፍም በዝምታም ሲያልፉት፤ እንዲሁም በቅኝ መገዛት የሰብአዊ ክብር መገሰስ መሆኑን ዘንግተው የትግራይን ህዝብ አሳንሶ ለማየት ሲጠቀሙበት የትግራይ ህዝብ ዘላለማዊ ቁም ሊቆጥር ከቶ ግድ ይለው ነበር። ሆኖም ግን ኤሪትሪያውያን ወንድሞቹና እህቶቹን በታላቅ ትእግስትና አርቆ አሳቢነት ከመንጋው እንደጠፋ በግ ቆጥሮ የክፉ ቀን መጠለያ ሆናቸው። አሁን ለትውልድ የሚዘልቅ ትምህርት ወስደዋል ብሎ ማሰብ ይቻላል። የትግራይ ህዝብ በዚህም በዛም እየተዋከበም ቢሆን ራሱን ችሎ ኤሪትሪያውያንንም ለማስተናገድ የሚችልበት አቅም ባይገነባ ኖሮ የዛ ሁሉ የሰው ጎርፍ ማረፊያው የት ይሆን ነበር?

ወደ አስመራ ለመጓዝ ንጋት ላይ መቐለ መናሃርያ ደረሰን። መደበኛ ትራንስፖርት ስላልተጀመረ አስመራ! አስመራ! እያሉ የሚጠሩት የሚኒስትረ ደባት የሆኑ የመቐለ ልጆች ናቸው። ለነሱ አዲስ የእንጀራ መስመር የተከፈተላቸው ይመስላል። ሰላም የማያስገኘው ጥቅም አለን? ከመቐለ አስመራ 300 ኪ.ሜ. ሲሆን ከአዲስ አበባ-መቐለ ድረስ ያለው 780 ኪ.ሜ. መንገድ ሲደመር 1080 ይሆናል። ክፍያው በብር 350 ነው። ውድ ነው አይባልም። አንድ ሺ ብር ቢሉስ ማን ይቀራል? መንገዳችን መስፍን ኢንጅነሪንግን በቀኝ መሰቦ ስሚንቶን በግራ በኩል አልፈን የመሰቦ ሰንሰለታማ ኮረብታ ዳገታማ መንገድ ተያያዘነው። ማይ መኸደን፤ አጉላሳ እያልን አነስተኛ ከተሞችን ስንቆጥር በተፈጥሮ ሃብት እንከብካቤ ቁጥቋጥና ሳር የለበሰውን መራትም በአግራሞት እያስተዋልነው ነበር። ውቅሮ ከተማን አቋርጠን ስናልፍ ከጎኔ የተቀመጡት አንዲት ኤሪትሪያዊት እናት ይህ ከተማ ምነው አላልቅ አለ ብለው ሲጠይቁኝ እኔም ባልናገረውም ሲሰማኝ የነበረ ስሜት ነበረና እኔንም አስገርሞኛል ብየ መለስኩላቸው። እንዲህ እያልን ህይወት የሚያድስ የአየር ፀባይ ያላትና ትግራይ ውስጥ ከመቐለ ቀጥላ ትልቅ ከተማ ከሆነችው ዓድግራት ደረሰን።

"ሐ.መራ ነይረ ከምለስ ዓድግራት፤ አስመራ ነይረ ከምለስ ዓድግራት፤ ከመዓልኩም ደቅዓደይ ምዓራት"

ዓድግራት ዓጋመ የሚባል እንደ ጉራጌዎች በንግድ ስራ የተካነና ከአካባቢው ርቆ በሚሄድበት ቦታ ሁሉ በጥረቱ የሚከብር ህዝብ ማእከል ናት። ተቀምጦ እንጂ ጥሮ ግሮ መክበር የማይሆንላቸው ሰዎች ከቡር የሆነውን ዓጋሜነትና ጉራጌነትን እንደሰድብ ቃል ሲጠቀሙበት ኖረዋል። ለኤሪትሪያ ድንበር የቀረበችው ትልቋ የኢትዮጵያ ከተማ የሆነችው ዓድግራት ከድንበሩ መከፈት የላቀ ጥቅም ታገኛለች ተብሎ ይገመታል። ዓድግራት ቋምግ ለመብላት ወረድን። ዋናው አላማ ግን ሌላ ነበር፤ ብርን ወደ ናቅፋ መቀየር። ብር ወደ ናቅፋ የሚቀየረው በመደበኛ ሳይሆን በየመንገዱ በነፃነት በሚዘዋወሩ ግለሰብ ባንኮች ነው። ውድድር የለ ድርድር የለ በተባልከው ሂሳብ መቀየር ነው። ናቅፋ የብር አጥፍ ያህል ዋጋ ይኖረዋል የሚል ጥርጣሬ ግን አልነበረኝም። ለአንድ ናቅፋ ብር 1.84 ሂሳብ ከፍቶ ኪሴን በማማሽ አንደልኩ። ኤሪትሪያ ውስጥ ያለው የምግብ ዋጋ ጋር ሲሰላ ኪሴ ከመጉደል አልፎ ባዶ ሊሆን መቃረቡን ሳይ

ከኤቲኤም ተጨማሪ ብር አውጥቼ ለመቀየር ተገድጃለሁ። የልውውጡ ሥርአትና ተመን ጉዳይ ግን አሁን ካለው መልካም ስሜት ባሻገር ቢታሰብበት ብዩ ለመንግስታቱ እተዋለሁ።

ዛለአምበሳ ስንደርስ ምንም እንኳ ብዙ የአድሳት ጥረቶች ያሉ ቢሆንም የጦርነት ጠባሳዎች ግን በግልፅ መታየታቸው አልቀረም። በሰላም መነጋገር ሳይሳነው የሰው ልጅ ወንድሙ ላይ ሰይፍ ማንሳት ለምን እንደሚቀናው በዘመናት ያልተፈታ እንቆቅልሽ ነው። ቸኩሎ ይተላለቅና ከጊዜ በኋላ በማይመልሰው ክፉ ድርጊቱ በፀፀት ሲቃጠል ይገኛል። ዛለአምበሳን አልፈን ኤሪትሪያ መዳረሻ ላይ እነዛ ምሽጎች በከፊል ፈራርሰው ይታያሉ። እዚህ ላይ ነበር የኤሪትሪያ ድንበር ጠባቂ ጦር አባላትን ያገኘው። መከሳታቸውና መጎሳቆላቸውን ሳይ እምባየ ዱብ ዱብ ሊል ትንሽ ቀርቶት ነበር። ሁላችንም ከሚኒባሳችን ወርደን እልፍ ብለው ወደተተከሉት ድንኳኖች እንድናመራ ተጠየቅን። ድንኳኖቹ ውስጥ ለኢትዮጵያውያንና ለኤሪትሪያውያን ለየብቻ የተዘጋጁ ባህር-መዝገቦች ላይ መታወቂያ እያሳየን ተመዘገብን። አጥብቆ መጠየቅ የለ፤ ፍተሻ የለ፤ ከአክብሮት ጋር ያልከውን መመዘገብ ብቻ! ይህ ቀላል የሆነ የድንበር ማቋረጥ እድል ለጊዜው ቢመቸኝም ድንገት አንድ ሃሳብ ብልጭ አለብኝና ውስጤን ረበሸው፤ ሁለቱን አገሮች መጉዳት የሚፈልጉ ክፉ ሰዎች ይህን ነፃነት ቢጠቀሙትስ ብዩ ጉዞየን ቀጠልኩ።

ከኬላው ጀምሮ ሰንግል፣ ዓድቀይሕና ደቀምሐሪ የተባሉ የኤሪትሪያ ከተሞችን እያገናኘ የሚያልፈው የአስመራ መንገድ ብልሽት መኪናችን ደንገላሳ እንዲረግጥ አስገድዶት ነበር። በመንገዱ መነኳኮር የተበጠጠሰው ወገባችን አይናችን ባየው ተጠግኗል። ግራና ቀኝ የሚታዩት ሜዳና ኮረብታዎች በተፈጥሮ ሃብት ጥበቃ ለምለም ለብሰው ይታያሉ። እዚሁ ብቻ ሳይሆን በቀጣዮቹ ቀናት ወደ መንደፈራና ባፅፅ (ምፅዋ) ስንጓዝ በተለይ ምንጉዳ የሚባለው ረዥም ጠመዝግዛ መንገድ የሚያቋርጠው ተፋሰስ፣ እንዲሁም ዓርብ-ረቡዕ የሚባለው ከፍተኛ ተዳፋትነት ያለው ወደ ምፅዋ መውረጃ ገደላማ ተፋሰስ ችፍግ ብለው የበቀሉት እፀዋት የኤሪትሪያን ከበሳ (ደጋ) ምድር ግርማ ሞገስ አጎናፅፈውታል። ከሰሃራ-ሳሕል በርሃ ጋር የአፍና አፍንጫ ያህል የሚቀራረበው የኤሪትሪያ ከበሳ በዚህ ሁኔታ ላይ መገኘቱ አስተማማኝ እንዲሆን ያደርገዋል። ለሰይጣን የሰሙን ሳይሆን የእጁን ስጠው የሚለው አባባል እዚህ ላይ አስፈላጊ ነው። የህግደፍ አመራር ያለው የመልካም አስተዳደርና የሰብአዊ መብት ሬኮርድ ጥሩ አይደለም ሲባል ጨርሶ ምንም እንዳልሠራ መቁጠር ጥሩ ባህል አይደለም። ጥቁር የሚቀባውን ጥቁር እየቀባን ነጭ ሆኖ መቆየት ያለበትንም እንዳለ እየተውን መሄድ ተገቢ ነው። በመንግስት ሥራ በተለያየ የሃላፊነት እርከን ላይ የነበሩ የትግራይ ተወላጅ የሆኑ ቅን ዜጎች ላይ እየደረሰ ያለውም ተመሳሳይ ነው። አገሪቱ የደረሰችበት ደረጃ ሰው የለፋበት ሳይሆን ከሰማይ ተምዘግዝጎ ወርዶ ኢትዮጵያ ላይ ያረፈ መና ይመስል ይህን እውን ለማድረግ የታገሉትንም፣ የታገሉትን አላማና የሰማእታቱን አደራ ቅርጥፍ አድርገው የበሉትንም አንድ ላይ ጨፍልቆ ሁላችሁንም ሲአል ይዋጣችሁ ብሎ ማለት ተገቢ አይደለም። ፈጣሪያችን ከሰማይ የተበላሹት ብቻ እንጂ ሁሉንም መላእክት ወደ ምድር እንዳልወረወረ መፅሃፉ ግልፅ ያደርጋል።

አስመራ ስንደርስ መኪናችን ስተት ብሎ ወደ ዕዳጋ ሓሙስ አልሄደም። በከተማዋ የደቡብ ዳርቻ ላይ የሚገኘው ጎዳይፍ ተብሎ ከሚጠራው ሰፈር ነበር የጉዟችን መጨረሻ የሆነው። ቢጫ ታክሲዎች ተከልኩለው ወደሚጠብቁበት ቦታ በመሄድ የአስመራ ልጆች "ሹቅ" ብለው ወደሚጠሩት የከተማዋ እምብርት ጉዟችንን ተያያዝነው።

"ጓል አስመራይ፣ ጓል አስመራይ፣ ጓል አስመራይ መአረይ ሽኮሪናየ" ድምፃዊ አያሌው መስፍን።

ኮምቢሽቶቹ እየተባለ ወደሚታወቀው ትልቁ ጎዳና ስንገሰግስ የከተማዋን በርካታ ሰፈሮች የመመልከት እድል አገኘን። በመንገዳችን ላይ የህንፃዎቹንና የመንገዶቹ ሁኔታ ስንመለከት፣ እንዲሁም በቀጣይ ቀናት በከተማው ውስጥ ስንዘዋወር የታዘብነው ነገር አይምሮን የሚነካ ነበር። ከተማዋ በ1960ዎቹ የተነሳና በጥንቃቄ ጉድለት ምክንያት የጠቆረና ቀለሙ በከፊል የለቀቀ ፎቶግራፍ ትመስላለች። ጨቋኝ ነው ሲባል የነበረው ንጉሣዊ አገዛዝ ዘመን እንኳ ስታብረቀርቅ የነበረችው አስመራ ከነህዝቧ ሱባኤ የገባች እንጂ በነፃነት ጥማት ተቃጥላ 30 አመት የጦርነት አውድማ ሆና የራስዋን እድል በራስዋ የመወሰን እድል ካገኘች እንኳና 27 አንድ አመት የቆየችም አትመስልም። ይህ ሁኔታ እንደ መንደፈራ፣ ደቀምሐረ፣ ዓድቀይህ፣ ባፅፅ (ምፅዋ)፣ ሰንዓፈ የመሳሰሉት ሌሎች አነስተኛና መካከለኛ ከተሞችን ይመለከታል።

"ተላብዮምኻ ኢሎም ሓደራ፣ ወርቂ ከትላብስ ዓባይ ኤሪትራ" ድምፃዊ ወዲ ትኩል

የተፈጠረው ችግር ምን እንደሆነ አልገባኝም። አስመራ የዩኔስኮ ቅርስ ስለሆነች አትነካም ያሉኝም አሉ። የዩኔስኮ ቅርስ መሆን ማለት ይህ ከሆነ ባፍንጫየ ይውጣ። እኛ ዘንድስ ለዩኔስኮ ሲባል መስቀል ወደ ካርኒቭል ተቀይሮ፣ አሸንዳ እንደ አውደ ጥናት በባለስልጣን ንግግር እየተከፈተ የግብታዊነት ጣእሙን አጥቶ የለ? ድምፁን ከፍ አድርጎ የሚሰቅ የለ፣ ህፃናት መንገድ ላይ አይሯሯጡ፣ ወጣት ሴቶች ፋሽን ለብስውና ፀጉር አክለው መንገድ ላይ አይታዩ፣ ብቻ ባጠቃላይ ቀዝቃዛ ህብረተሰብ ሆኗል። በክፍለሃገር ትራንስፓርት አቅርቦት በኩል ያለው ሁኔታ የሞባይል ቻርጅ ያላቸውና መቀመጫ ወንበራቸው ለቀናት ቢቀመጡበት የማይጎረብጠው፣ ወርፋ ሳያስፈልግ በባንክ ቲኬት የሚቆረጥባቸው ምቹ ባሶች ካሉበት አገር ወደ ኤሪትሪያ የተጓዘ ሰው አስቸጋሪ እንደሚሆንበት አያጠያይቅም። አውቶቡሶቹ ሁሉም ማለት ይቻላል የእድሜ ባለፀጋዎች መሆናቸውን ለማወቅ የአርቢስ ምርመራ አያስፈልጋቸውም። ከ50 አመት በፊት በጎንደርና በደሴ መስመሮች ከአስመራ አዲስ አበባ ህዝብ ሲያመላልሱ የነበሩት "ሳታዮ" አውቶቡሶች አሁንም አገልግሎት እየሰጡ መሆናቸውን አንዱን አውቶቡስ ዕዳጋ ሐሙስ መናሃርያ ውስጥ በማየት አረጋግጫለሁ።

አስመራ ከተማ አየርዋ ጤናማ የሆነ ደጋማ ስፍራ ናት። ወቅቱ የዝናብ ወቅት ነው። ከእስያ ወደ ደቡባዊ አፍሪካ አቅጣጫ የሚገፍሰው መደበኛ አህጉራዊ ንፋስ ከቀይ ባህር መጠነኛ የሆነ እርጥበት በማንሳት ለኤሪትሪያ ደጋማ አካባቢዎች ዝናብ ይሰጣል። በህንፃዎቹና በጎዳናዎቹ ማርጀት ብንከፋም የአስመራ ፅዳትና የህዝቡ ዲሲፕሊን መንፈሳዊ ቅናት ያጭራል። በአዲስ አበባና በሌሎች የኢትዮጵያ ከተሞች የሚታየው የማሽከርከር፣ የማህበራዊ ግንኙነት፣ የአገልግሎት አሰጣጥ ሥርአት አልበኝነት ጋር ሲያስተያይቅ አገርን እስከመጥላት የሚያደርስ መጥፎ ስሜት ይፈጥራል። ይህ የአስመራ ህዝብ ዲሲፕሊን መሠረታዊና ውስጣዊ መሆኑን ስላስተዋልኩ የፓለቲካ አመራሩ ተፅእኖ የፈጠረው ነው ብየ ለማሰብ ተቸግሯልለሁ። የፓለቲካ አመራሩ ጫና የፈጠረው ቢሆንም መቸም ከዲሞክራቲክ ሥርአት አልበኝነት መቶ እጅ ይሻላል። አስመራ ከተማ ብቻ ሳይሆን በሌሎች ከተሞችም እንኳን የተከመረ የወደቀ አነስተኛ ቆሻሻም ለእይን አይታይም። አትክልት ተራው የቆሻሻ ማጠራቀሚያ ገንዳዎችም ጭምር ከጥሩ



የአትክልትና ፍራፍሬ መዓዛ በስተቀር አፍንጫን የሚሰረስር ክርፋት የላቸውም። አስመራን ጨመሮ ባዩናቸው ከተሞች ሁሉ ፌስታል የሚባለ ነገር የለም። የሚጠቀሙት ካኪ ወረቀትና የማዳበርያ ዘምቦል ነው። ፅዳት መጠበቅ ድርም ቢሆን የህዝቡ አኩሪ ባህል መሆኑን ስለማውቅ ባየሁት ብዙም አልተደነቅሁም።

አስመራን እንዲህ ጎርጎራ ካየኋት በኋላ ቀጣዩ ጉዞዩ ወደ መንደፊራ ሠራዩ ሆነ። መንደፊራ ከአስመራ 50 ኪ.ሜ. ያህል ርቀት ላይ በደቡብ ምእራብ አቅጣጫ ወደ ዓድቀ በሚወስደው አውራ ጎዳና ላይ የምትገኝ መካከለኛ ከተማ ናት። ዓዲ ውግሪ የሚል ሌላ ስምም አላት። ወደዚች ከተማ ያመራሁት በንጉሱ ዘመን ከፍተኛ ሁለተኛ ደረጃ ትምህርቱን የተማርኩባትና "ማትሪክ በጥሼ" ቀዳማዊ ኃይለለሳሌ ዮኒቨርሲቲ የገባሁባት ባለ ውለታዩ የሆነችውን የቅዱስ ጊዮርጊስ ት/ቤት (ሳን ጂዮርጂዮን) ለመጎብኘት ነበር። ከአስመራ ስንወጣ ውብና ሰፋት ያለውን የሰምቦል ሜዳ እያየና እያደነቅን ነበር። የአስመራን አውሮፕላን ማረፊያ በቀኝ በኩል እያለፍን የዘንድሮን ጥሩ አዝመራ የሚያመለክቱ የሰብል ክምሮች እያየን ወደ መንደፊራ አቀናን። በመንገዳችን ላይ የምትገኘውን ጥንታዊትዋን የድባርባ ከተማንም አይተን አለፍን። መንደፊራ ከተማ ለመድረስ 5 ኪ.ሜ. ያህል ሲቀረን አይናችንን የሰበውን መዝናኛ ስፍራ ለመጎብኘት ከአውቶቡሱ ወረድን። የመዝናኛ ስፍራውን የሚያስተዳድሩት ጠንካራ ግን በእድሜ ገፋ ያሉ ሰው ናቸው። አብረውን እንዲቀመጡ ከጋበዝኳቸው በኋላ ብዙ ነገር አወጋን። ደርግ ስልጣን እንደያዘ ወድያውኑ ህዝባዊ ግንባርን የተቀላቀሉ ነባር ተጋዳላይ መሆናቸውን አጫወቱን። በ1983 አዲስ አበባ ድረስ መሄዳቸውንም ነግረውኛል። የባህርዳር ፓሊቴክኒክ የቅዩሳ ምሩቅ የሆኑት እኒህ ሰው ልዑል ራስ መንገሻ ስያም ባሉበት የመቐለ መሰቦን መንገድ እንደቀየሱ ሲነግሩኝ ልዑሉን በታታሪነታቸውና በትህትናቸው እያደነቁ ነበር። በንጉሱ ዘመን በደቡብና ምስራቅ ኢትዮጵያ በተሰሩ መንገዶች ላይ እንደተሳተፉም አውግተውኛል። የባድመው ጦርነት ጭራሽ መሞከር እንዳልነበረበት በአፅንኦት ሲናገሩ የሰጡኝ ምክንያት አዲስ አበባ እያሉ የሰሙት፣ ያሰደነገጣቸውና ያበሳጫቸው ነገር ጋር የተያያዘ መሆኑ ነበር። ነገሩ ለኔ አዲስ መሆኑ ብቻ ሳይሆን አሳማኝነትም ነበረው። የትግራይ ህዝብ በራሱ ላይ የተሸረበውን ሴራ ግምባር ቀደም አስፈጻሚ ሆኖ መገኘቱ ሰውየውን ግራ አጋብቷቸዋል።

ነባር ታጋዩ አዛውንት ኤሪትሪያዊ በነገሩኝ ነገር እየተገረምኩ ወደ ሳን ጂዮርጂዮ ት/ቤት አቀናሁ። የት/ቤቱ ርዕሰ መምህርና አስተዳዳሪው በደስታ ተቀብለው አስተናገዱኝ። ት/ቤቱ እንደ ተውኩት ነው ያገኘሁት። ካስቀመጡት የሚገኝ ወዳጅና ገንዘብ ሲሆን ደስ ይላል። ለልማት ወሳኝ የሆነ መሠረተ ልማት ግን ለአስርት አመታት ያህል ደንዝዞ ሲቆይ ልብ ይሰብራል። ይህ ት/ቤት በሺዎች የሚቆጠሩና በያሉበት አገር ከፍተኛ የልማት አስተዋፅኦ የሚያደርጉ ሊቃውንት የፈሩበት ነው። ትምህርት ቤቱን ለማደስና ለማሟላት ከፍተኛ ድጋፍ እንደሚያስፈልግ ጥርጥር የለውም። ይህ ነው አንዱና ዋናው የህዝብ ለህዝብ ግንኙነት ማጠናከርያ መንገድ። የህዝብ ለህዝብ ግንኙነት አላማ ጊዜያዊ ሳይሆን ዘላቂ መሆን አለበት። ዘላቂነት ከወደፊት ትውልድ ጋር የተያያዘ ነው። የወደፊት ትውልድ ማለት ደግሞ አሁን ት/ቤት ውስጥ ያሉት የወደፊት አገር መሪዎች ናቸው። እነሱ ላይ ትኩረትና ቅድሚያ ሰጥቶ የተሰራ የህዝብ ለህዝብ ግንኙነት በአለት እንደተሰራ ግምብ ይሆናል። በመላ ኢትዮጵያ በተለይ በትግራይ የሚገኙ ት/ቤቶችና ዮኒቨርሲቲዎች በተቀነባበረ መንገድ

የመጻፍት፣ የትምህርት ቁሳቁስ፣ በአረፍት ጊዜ እዛው ድረስ ሄዶ በማስተማር፣ በጋራ የምርምርና ስልጠና ስራዎች በመስራት ለግንኙነቱ ጠንካራ መሠረት መጣል ይቻላል። በርግጥ ለዚህ በጎ ተግባር የመንግስታቱ በጎ ፈቃድ ወሳኝ ሚና አለው። አሁን አየሩን የሞላው ስሜታዊ የፓለቲካ ዲስኩር፣ ታሪክን እያስተካከሉ ወይም እያዘቡ ማቅረብ፣ የዘፈንና የኮንሰርት ጋጋታ፣ የከፍተኛ የስልጣን አካላት መገንባትና ሞቅ ያለ መወዳጀት አጭርና ውሽንፍራም ዝናብ ያመጣው ጎርፍ ሆኖ እንዳይቀር መጠንቀቅ ያስፈልጋል። እንዲህ ያለን አጋጣሚ ተጨባጭ በሆኑ፣ ግልፅነት ባልጎደላቸው፣ ህዝብንና መሬትን በነኩ እርምጃዎች መደገፍ አለባቸው። ከላይ ብቻ የሚሠራው ስራ ከዚህ በፊትም በተደጋጋሚ የታየና አስደስቶ ያስለቀሰ ነው።

"ሹም ንሹም ይኳለሱ፡ ድኻ ንድኻ ይላቸሱ" የትግርኛ አባባል (ሹምና ሹም ሲጎራረሱ፣ ድሃና ድሃ ይላቀሱ)

አስመራ ተመልሰን ካደርን በኋላ በማግስቱ ከአስመራ 100 ኪ.ሜ. ያህል ወደምትርቀው ባፅፅ (ምፅዋ) ተጓዥን። በ100 ኪ.ሜ. ርቀት ከባህር ጠለል 2300 ሜትር ከፍታ ካላት አስመራ ከባህር ጠለል 5 ሜትር ብቻ ከፍታ ወዳላት ምፅዋ መውረድ ማለት 7500 ሜግ ከፍታ ላይ ከሚበር አውሮፕላን በፓራሹት የመውረድ ያህል ነው። ይህን አደገኛ አወራረድ የሚያስተናግደው መንገድ ግን ሰፊ፣ በጣም ጥሩ ሊባል የሚችል አስፋፊት የለበሰ ምቹ መንገድ ነው። በዚህ መንገድ አዘውትሮ መመለስ ያስመኛል። የመንገዱ ስፋትና ልስላሴ ብቻ አይደለም አስደሳች የሆነው፣ የአካባቢው ልምላሜና በዚህ ልምላሜ ላይ ጣል ጣል የተደረጉ ፈርጦች የሚመስሉት የነፋሲት፣ የእምባትካላና የጊንዳፅ የከተማ ቤቶችም ጭምር ናቸው። በዚህ መንገድ ላይ ያየኋቸው የትራፊክ አገልግሎት ሰጪ ትልቅ ከብ ኮንሼክሽን መስተዋቶች የኤሪትሪያውያን የፈጠራ ችሎታ ህያው ምስክሮች ናቸው። እነዚህ መስተዋቶች ጠመዝማዛው መንገድ ተጀምሮ እስከሚያበቃበት ያለው ረዥም መንገድ በየመታጠፍያው ላይ የተተከሉ ናቸው። ቁልቁለት ወራጅ መኪና ወደቀኝ ሲታጠፍ ዳገት ወጪ መኪና ወደ ግራ ሲታጠፍ ስለማይተያዩ ግጭት ይፈጠር ነበር። መታጠፍያው ዳር ላይ ተማክሎ የተተከለው መስተዋት ግን ከተለያዩ አቅጣጫዎች የሚመጡት መኪኖች ፊት ለፊት እንዲተያዩ ይረዳቸዋል። ከተረጋጋ አነዳዳቸው ላይ ተጨምሮ ህይወት የሚታደግ ቴክኖሎጂ ሆኖ አግኝቼዋለሁ። እነዚህን በጣም ውድ የሚመስሉ መስተዋቶች የሚነካ ሰው የለም። ከቴክኖሎጂ ሃርድዌር ጋር የሰው ባህርይ (ሶፍትዌር) ሲገጣጠም አገር ያድጋል ይገሰግሳል። ከዘመድና ከስራ ጋር የሚያገናኘው የቴሌ ገመድ እየተበጣጠሰ በሚወሰድበት ህብረተሰብ ውስጥ ስልጣኔ በቀላሉ ይደላደላል ብሎ ማሰብ ከባድ ሥራ ነው። ለይህ ነው እንጂ እነዚህ መስተዋቶች ሊማሉም፣ ግራ ካህሱ፣ ደንገ፣ ሃረጎ፣ አላጆ፣ አባይ ሸለቆ፣ ጣርማ በር፣ ምጉላት፣ ጣራ ገዳም፣ አለም ሳጋ ላይ ቢተከሉ የሰንት ሰው ነፍስ ከየቤትዋ ታድር ነበር።

ወደ ምፅዋ ስንቃረብ የአካባቢው ሰዎች "ዶጎሊ" ብለው የሚጠሩትና በኢትዮጵያውያን ዘንድ "ዶጎሊ" ወይም "ዶጋሊ" በሚል ስም የሚታወቀው ስፍራ ደረሰን። ይህ ስፍራ የአንግሊዝ መንግስት በአጼ ዮሃንስ ላይ ከህደት በመፈፀም ከማህዲስቶች ጋር አጣልቶ የጣልያን ጦር ምፅዋ ላይ ካስፈረባቸው በኋላ ወደር አልባው ራስ አሉላ የጣልያንን ጦር ያሸነፉበት ግንባር ነው። ይህ ድል ከአድዋ በፊት ለመጀመሪያ ጊዜ የአውሮፓ መንግስት አፍሪካ ውስጥ የተዋረደበት አኩሪ ታሪክ ሆኖ ተመዝግቧል። ይህ ኤሪትሪያውያንም ሊኮሩበት የሚገባ ድል በተቃራኒው

የሚያዝኑበት ሆኖ ማየቱ እንቆቅልሽ ሆኖብኛል። በጤነኛ አይምሮ ቅኝ ሊገዛው የመጣን ሃይል ወገኑ የሆነ ጦር ሞቶና ቆስሎ ጠላቱን ቢያባርርሉት ባለውሊታ እንጂ ጠላት ይሆናል? በዚህ ስፍራ ወደላይ ሾጠጥ ብላ በወጣች ኮረብታ እናት ላይ ረኝቱም አንቴና የሚመስል ሃውልት አለ። "መቻብር ጥልያን" ነው አለኝ ከጎኔ የተቀመጠው ተሳፋሪ። ለ 30 ዓመት ትግልና መስዋእትነት አንድ ድንጋይ እንኳ ሳይቆምለት ምነው? ብዩ በሆዴ አገረመረምኩ። ይህን አሳቤን ሳልጨርስ ሃውልቱን ተጠግተው የኢጣልያና የኤሪትሪያ ባንዴራዎች ጎን ለጎን ሲውለበለቡ አየሁ። ይህ አስደማሚ ድርጊት ቅኝ አገዛዝን አምርሮ ለተዋጋው የታዳጊው አለም ህዝብ ምን አይነት መልእክት ሊያስተላልፍ እንደሚችል የኤሪትሪያ ህዝብ በቅጡ ተገንዝቦት ይሆን? ብዩ ራሴን ጠየቅሁ። መቻም ቅኝ አገዛዝ ለኤሪትሪያውያን ብቻ መልካም የሚሆንበት ምክንያት አይኖርም። ኤሪትሪያውያን 30 ዓመት ሙሉ በዱር በገደሉ የተዋደቁት ከኢትዮጵያን ቅኝ አገዛዝ ነፃ ለመውጣት አልነበር? ቅኝ ገዢን ለመውደድና ለመጥላት የቆዳው ቀለም ወሳኝ የሚሆንበት መመዘኛ አለ ይሆን? ራስ አሉላ ተመሳሳይ ሥራ ሰርተው ባንዱ ወንጀለኛ በሌላኛው ጀግና የሆኑበት ስሌትስ ከየት የተወሰደ ነው? ዶጋሊ ላይ ያሸነፉት የጣልያን ወራሪዎችን ነበር፤ አድዋ ላይም እንዲሁ። የዶጋሊ ድል ወንጀል ሲሆንባቸውና ሲወገዙበት በአድዋ ድል ግን ስማቸው በወርቅ ቀለም ተፅፏል። በዚህ አካሄድ አንድ ሰው ጀግና ወይንም ወንጀለኛ የሚሆነው ማንን ወጋ ሳይሆን ከየትኛው ንጉስ ስር ሆኖ ነው የወጋ በሚል ተገምግሞ መሆኑ ነው። ታሪክ በሰው ሳይሆን በራሱ እጅ ራሱን የሚፅፍ ቢሆን አለም የተሻለች ስፍራ ትሆን ነበር።

ምፅዋ ከተማ ውስጥ ካደርን በኋላ በማግስቱ ጥዋት ወደ ጉርጉስም የባህር ዳርቻ መዝናኛ በታክሲ የ12 ኪሎሜትር ጉዞ አደረግን።

"ምፅዋ ሌድኪ ተናፈሲ፣ ጉርጉስም አብ ባሕሪ ሓምሲ" ድምፃዊ በረከት መንግስተአብ።

በረከት እንዳለው ድንቅ ከሆነው የቀይ ባህር ውሃ ውስጥ ገብተን ስንዝናና ውሃው ውስጥ እንደተነከርን መዋልና ማደርን ተመኘን። ወደ አስመራ ለመመለስ ታክሲው ድርሰ ሲጠብቀን ከኔጋር አብሮ የሚጓዘው የልጅ ልጅ "አልሄድም እዚህ ነው የምቆየው" ብሎ ከምሩ አስቸግሮኝ ነበር። ። እኔም በውስጤ የሱን ስሜት እንደተጋራሁ ግን አልነገርኩትም።

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**Reagen (Debretsion): "Mr. Gorbachev (Isayas) - tear down this wall"**  
 May 2-2019

I had a chance to see the Berlin wall before it was torn down 1989. It was a scene of irrationality where you sadly observe folks on both sides of the wall hanging their clothes to dry on the balconies of their apartments, less than 100 meters of distance separated by a wall. It was not just 100 meters, but West and East Berlin were worlds apart.

There was no way that one can cross to the other side without facing gunfire, barbed wire, and hound dogs. The people in both sections of the same City were not responsible for the separation; but they have bitterly endured the separation of families for over 40 years. People are too care-free to ignite wars. Any irresponsible individual, like Hitler, can trigger it. However, it is the life of the innocent civilians that will be wrecked by the consequences. World War II ended in five years; but the consequences remain forever. For those consequences that luckily could be reversed like the Berlin Wall a lot of diplomatic efforts were made to bring back a united Berlin for a united Germany. Of all such efforts a single four-word request by President Ronald Reagan of USA remained shining brightly in the history of Germany. Ronald Reagan roared with his commanding Holly Wood voice: "Gorbachev, tear down this wall". Two year later the wall was demolished by the people themselves from both sides. It was the greatest celebration Germany has ever seen! Justice triumphed over tyranny.

The separation of the same people of the Ancient core of civilization into two was done not only once but several times; but every time with the same goal: weakening the Region. It started with the separation into two of the Region as Bahre Negasi and Tigray. One slice, Bahre Negasi was weakened into subjugation by colonial power as awarded by those who divided it. Tigray, another slice, was subject to persistent instability and abject poverty. History has proved that none of the two benefited from the artificial separation. None of the two were able to regain the Axum-Adulis glory they had experienced for a thousand years. That was what was needed by their enemies.

Leaving history to history which we can never undo however hard we try, what we need to do now is expressed beautifully by a Tigigna saying: "ናይ ሞት ይፀናሕ፣ ናይ ሕልፈት ይበኸ":: We have to look back into history in order to learn from it; but we should not live in it as we have a long future to deal with. Whatever caused the existing state of affairs in the Tigray-Eritrean relations has to be considered

as a terrible thing of the past. We have to learn from it because we cannot afford to repeat the same mistakes. We were fighting when they want us to fight; we were insulting and degrading each other because they tricked us (or played some of us) into doing that; and they controlled our familial people to people relations by denying us the decision making power to take our affairs into our hands.

The time has never been right as it is now for the people of Tigray and Eritrea to restore what they have lost by the medieval separation into north and south. The "two" people must never miss this opportunity to mix and develop in unison. We have to unite in such a way that no one will have the power to separate us ever again. By this, I don't mean violating Eritrea as an independent state and Tigray as a State in the FDRE. I am talking about an innovative way of restoring the social and economic unity in a manner that does not adversely affect the existing or future political arrangements in both independent countries.

President Dr. Debretsion delivered "The State of Tigray" speech this week. To me it was an amazing speech; so informative and humorous as well. In the face of great adversity it is sedating to see leaders smiling and cracking jokes, which shows their good control of situations. He was talking so casually that he created an atmosphere of friendly chat. I say keep up Sir! Everyone is behind you! In his speech Dr. Debretsion appealed to the Eritrean leader to open the border for the people. This reminded of the appeal by President Ronald Reagan to Michael Gorbachev to tear down the Berlin wall. He demanded that the Berliners be allowed to live with their brothers and sisters, aunts and uncles, nephews and nieces, sons and daughters and parents.

Government to Government diplomatic relations are routine formability of state to state relations, which have little to do with the interest of the ordinary people on both sides. The relation is happening between diplomats, politicians and business people in Asmara and Addis Ababa not between ordinary farmers and petty

traders in Gerhusernay and Tsorona, not between Zalambessa and Senafe, not between Adiabo and Barentu, and not between Setit Humera and Gash Setit.

While we are trying hard for the reunification of the people of Tigray and Eritrea the unity of Tigray must be ensured. Dr. Debretsion expressed his bitterness about the campaign to disunite the people of Tigray. This is unacceptable to anyone who loves to see Tigray prosper. Everyone has to fight back. This is not what Tigray needs at this critical juncture in its history. No one should be allowed to make Tigray like in the years after Yohannes IV. This is not a matter for Dr. Debretsion and his party alone; it is the responsibility of every Tigrayan to root this out mercilessly. What awrajas have been demanding is equality not superiority or disunity.

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**The Vandals of the 21st Century: Eritrean and Amhara Troops in Tigray**  
January 18-2021

We are having a "Wild West" scenario in the 21st Century, in a world that has succumbed to the rule of lawlessness, when it is expected to be more human than the anthropoid ape it evolved from. What is happening in Tigray is a material expression of how much humanity has retrogressed socially while paradoxically it claims to have achieved a space-age technology. The world's largest democracies and the World Body have disabled high-tech world wars but turned a blind eye to wars of savagery worldwide. The "highly advanced" world has stood and watched the Jewish holocaust, the death camps of Cambodia, the massacre of Salvador Allende's supporters, ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, the Rwandan genocide, and the Rohingya tragedy. Tigray, an ancient human civilization, a world treasure, and the home of brave but peace loving people, has been invaded by

foreign troops, with the inexplicable permission of Ethiopia into its sovereign territory to do whatever they wish to do.

Tigray is the core of the Axumite Civilization, which spanned for over a thousand years and was the contemporary of Rome. This makes it a world heritage that is jealously guarded by humanity. What happened to great Rome, in the 5th Century AD, by the Vandals is happening to Tigray in the 21st Century. By this Century and much earlier, the world has moved the common noun- "Vandals"- into a word in the English Dictionary. In the dictionary the word "Vandal" means a person engaged in the worst of all human actions over fellow humans. This implies that the world has vowed never to allow anything like that ever after. Unfortunately, realities around the world, including in Tigray, is a living witness of the fact that the world community has not lived upto its promise of making Vandalism history. The word Vandal has close to 30 synonyms: savage, brutal, uncivilized, rude, rough, harsh, destructive, atrocious, outrageous, cruel, barbaric, inhuman, ruthless, malicious, ferocious, sanguinary, blood-thirsty, beast, merciless, wild, unpolished, rapacious, ravenous, remorseless, hard-hearted, hooligan, murderous.

The Vandals were barbaric Germanic tribes who invaded Rome at the height of its glory. Rome at the time had been the highest and most complex material expression of the level of intelligence the human race had ever attained. However, Jacobsen, who studied the history of the Vandals, thinks that the Vandals were a lesser evil than they appear in the history books. He wrote "They did sack Rome but they spared most of the city's inhabitants and did not burn down its buildings." Here we are running for the "Vandal Book of Records"! What the "wild" invaders of Rome restrained themselves from doing, i.e. destroying and looting infrastructure and exterminating Romans, is being done in Tigray by the joint Eritrean and Amhara troops. So, this implies that these troops are Super Vandals. The world has a clear choice to take: To stop these troops from finishing off the ancient land of Tigray and keep the history of the Vandals

without a modern day competitor, or sit and watch the tragedy and in the end write a new world history for the Super Vandals. Choosing the latter sets a sad precedent for worse acts of Vandalism in the future worldwide.\*\*\*\*\*

**"Quralew": Aren't Eritreans worried about their own integrity if not about Tigray?**

January 29-2021

Tegaru are the most resilient people who never panic however odd the odds are. Some young people had the guts to hide in a building and take a video of an Eritrean camel caravan loaded with looted furniture and kitchenware. While the long caravan passed by those taking the video were making fun of the dishonorable act Eritreans were engaged in. They were saying: "Ayyiiii Shabia; Quralew, Quralew". Since the looting of what Tigray built in the last 30 years was going on all over Tigray by Eritrean troops, with tacit permission of the Ethiopian army and Amhara bandits, I was messing up my brain to find a word fitting the act. Now I found it: "Quralew"!

"Quralew" is an informal word for those who buy old and stolen articles and sell them to customers in the streets. Those who are looting Tigray and selling it in the streets of Asmara are nobody else but members of the Eritrean army, which is reputed for fighting for 30 years to liberate Eritrea. I have no doubt that all Eritreans are proud of the liberation fighters; we all were until...! While the whole world is talking about looting Eritrean troops, expressing deep distress about it, few Eritrean voices are heard about this shameful act by a defense force of a respectable nation. Eritreans may not be worried about what they are doing to those who stood on their side during the testing days of the liberation war. Tigray can live with that if Eritreans willingly sell their honor, ally with former enemies, and destroy their friend in need. Eritreans, myopic as they have become, are eying Ethiopia like a piece of cake, denied to them by Tigray. The last few months have shown us clearly that Eritreans are not sure



who their real enemy is. In naivety, they think that petty family quarrels make enemies without trying to see a much greater picture. Tigray is getting vaccinated. It will be immune and healthy soon. Eritreans I grieve for you, who are being led blindfolded and smiling into the abyss.

This is what Eritreans were expected to do at the first news of Eritrean invasion of Tigray not to mention the massive looting. Without waiting for Tegar, they could have poured into the streets of European, American and Australian cities to demonstrate against the use of Eritrean troops for personal ends by invading a neighboring state. Living and working in advanced democracies, Eritrean infatuation with a dictator and turning blind eye to atrocities committed, is a betrayal of the moral values of the host countries. No people can maintain their integrity by concealing the acts of a home-grown tyrant as a family affair when a neighboring land suffers from the brutality of "brotherly dictator". If Eritreans are serious about establishing a functioning democratic order in Eritrea, they must not confuse patriotism with tolerance for tyranny. It is not the multiplicity of opposition parties that can remove a dictatorship. Eritreans must be honest to their cause and call a spade a spade. Otherwise, they will sooner or later board a ship which they will have no right to pilot.

### **Eritreans!**

If you have lost your conscience and don't want to oppose in public the role of Eritrea in the mess in Tigray, you will simply lose the credit you could have earned by courageously condemning the evil acts of your leader and army. Tegar in the diaspora have really worked hard and made history that now Tigray has got the full attention of the world community. Tigray is betrayed by Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Africa, but delivered by unexpected friends from the advanced world. Tigray will survive and thrive; but Eritreans seem to have lost their compass. Fixation on " Weyane must be punished" leads Eritreans to nowhere! There is nothing to punish Weyane for!!

It is a shame for Eritreans to go so low to the service of others; it is the greatest shame to engage in looting. If Eritreans have a back to comfortably carry this burden of immorality, no doubt they will pay for it dearly.

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**Open message to Eritreans: Confused Eritreans doesn't know the location of the enemy camp**

April 01-2021

When Dina Mufti put in words the probable reason for the confusion of Eritreans with correctly identifying their real enemy the often-carefree Eritreans exploded into fury against him. Of course, what he said provokes outrage in people who fought for 30 years to liberate Eritrea. However, if one tries to examine the underlying drivers of such kinds of statements on Eritreans, I argue that the drivers are the logical outcomes of what countless Eritreans are doing and saying. TPLF's standpoint on Eritrean independence has never flinched in all those years. One of the reasons for TPLF to lose its grip in Ethiopia has been its unwavering support for Eritrean independence. Some even considered TPLF as more Eritrean than the Eritreans. In Ethio Forum interview of Aboy Sebhat last year the interviewer asked if Aboy Sebhat supports the re-unification agenda of Eritrea with Ethiopia as an idea entertained by Isaias and his group, he answered "No!". This surprised the interviewer and was almost in a mood to laugh at Aboy Sebhat. He wore a sarcastic smile. Why sarcasm? Obviously because the interviewer took Aboy Sebhat as more catholic than the pope.

It has become a conundrum what Eritreans want from Tigray and where Tigray failed them. What could Tigray pay more than life in Sahel and a firm stand in favour of their liberation for nearly half a century? Should Tigray have invaded the entire Eritrea after its Badme victory and committed atrocities on Eritrean civilians? Was it wrong for Meles to order the withdrawal of troops from Eritrea out

of respect for Eritrean territorial integrity where the non-Tigrayan members of the Ethiopian army (current dear friends) wanted to take Asmara and Assab and declare Eritrea as an Ethiopian province? Meles lost significant political ground in Ethiopia for not allowing at least the return of Assab using this opportunity of a militarily defeated of Eritrea.

When at last Isaias, who is still popular among no less than half of Eritreans, joined Abiy and the Amhara political elite, who are arch enemies of Eritrean independence, against TPLF and Tigray, the bastions of Eritrean liberation. Isaias was cheered as no Ethiopian hero ever was. Was so many Ethiopian's cheering for an independent Eritrea when Isaias was unequivocal about the need for no boundaries and a possible unification? What Isaias, Abiy, and the Amhara and their millions of fans were saying and doing and how they sidelined and vowed to punish TPLF and Tigray, cannot appeal to Eritreans as something favorable for them. If Eritreans really jealously guard their independence what has been happening all through cannot be interpreted as Eritrean independence-friendly! What is the hardest to understand is how and when Eritreans trusted Ethiopian politicians for respecting their independence and in what logic Tigray became their enemy and brutalized it in a manner that is far from being the action of grateful people?

By their enthusiasm for the evil group Isaias, Abiy and Amhara and their bitter hatred against Tigray, Eritreans have been sending wrong signals to the world that they love those that hate their independence, and they hate those that love their independence!! This would lead any person, including myself, to conclude that "Eritreans must have problems with their independence and they want to get rid of it". This could have convinced Dina Mufti to make such a statement. He has a degree in political science, and he can read between the lines. If Dina's statement has really angered Eritreans, then they have to take more than half the blame for knowingly or unknowingly creating such impressions about their independence on others. Eritreans need seasoned analysts who can see the logic in politics of

1+1=3. Hasty, unprocessed, emotional, and imprudent politics will irreversibly harm Eritreans. Although as a human being I would care less about what happens to Eritrea, given the horrendous actions Eritreans troops are taking in my home state, the carelessness of Eritreans in their own and in Ethiopian politics is going to affect us all. I wrote this article out of awareness of how confused Eritreans have become on what it takes to protect their independence and who their real enemies are.

My awareness was triggered by the reaction of Eritreans to what Dina Mufti said. Eritreans are rudely awakened from their sweet sleeps about what is on the verge of happening to them. They were foolishly busy allying with their enemies and destroying their friends. I am surprised, still Eritreans are accusing Dina Mufti as an individual and almost demanding their "dear Abiy" to punish him for saying something which "is not in the policy of the Axis of Evil". Given the widespread confusion among Eritreans, which is dangerously reinforced by their feeling of having complete grasp of events and trends more than anyone else, it is possible to conclude that they will not wake up to the reality even after they have lost their independence for good. Is this going to affect Tigray adversely? I don't think so. It may even be a blessing in a bad guise. I feel bitter with myself saying this; but if Tigray is considered as an enemy and treated brutally for upholding Eritrean independence, then it will have to leave Eritrea to Eritreans to worry about. Blessed be our almighty God Tigray certainly have its way out of this mess.

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## **Back to the debate on responsibility: Eritrean Defense Force vs. "PFDJ Army"**

**April 25-2021**

At least five armies- three foreign, the Amhara regional militia, the Ethiopian Defense Force- took part in the invasion, physical and psychological destruction, and genocide in Tigray. The well coordinated and pre-planned action is still ongoing and getting worse with every passing day. This requires the prioritization of action to stop the war crimes. The off-palace President of Tigray has been unequivocal about it: "First and foremost Tigray has to be freed from the scourge". Before Tigray as a State with an elected government could get air into its lungs and start sorting out the culprits, in order to put together an international legal case against them, Eritreans seem to be too hastily worried about who is going to be held responsible for the acts of barbarianism in Tigray by Eritrean troops. A few weeks ago, I had written on the subject, though very lightly, basing myself on some talk show on Asena TV. Before I go on any further on the subject, I would like to express my appreciation for the Eritrean Channel which has become a strong and uncompromising voice for Tigray. Besides hosting Tigray channels, the unwavering political stance of Eritrean Journalist running the channel is a good reason for hope about the future of Tigray and Eritrea.

A friend of mine drew my attention to the interview held with the Eritrean Dr. Daniel R. Mekonnen and I felt obliged to air my opinion about the statements the interviewee made on the problematic of responsibility. Although I can try to understand Dr. Daniel's position as protective of his motherland, which is living in peace as its armed kids wreak havoc over my land without any sign of reservation, I am carrying a huge and unbearable burden on my head thrown with impunity on the peace loving people of Tigray. Dr. Daniel seems to have taken much comfort in his version of assignment of

responsibilities. He preferred to think that it is not a government of Eritrea which is plundering Tigray but a bunch of individuals who are bent on using the army to realize their own personal dreams. It follows from this, according to Dr. Daniel, that only those individuals are to be held responsible not Eritrea as a political unit. To objectively counter this point of argument I may have to stop being my real self. Although it is difficult to even temporarily remove from the mind the deep emotions triggered by the brutalities the Army from Eritrea is committing in Tigray, just for the sake of levelling the field for debate, I will avoid posing as an emotional defender, akin to Dr. Daniel, and make my points based on logic.

There are a number of fallacies in the point of argument that those responsible for the carnage in Tigray are the "key members of PFDJ not Eritrea as a sovereign state". Before I go on to exposing the fallacy in this statement of convenience, I need to put my hypothesis about why the assignment of responsibilities from the Eritrean side is being diminished to the few individuals in the PFDJ leadership. This is the statement in full made by Dr. Daniel rephrased and abridged: "The people of Tigray will live with grudges against Eritrea for many years to come; but those to be penalized are the leaders PFDJ". Look at this statement very carefully. The vibrant economy of Tigray has been reduced to ashes from a spoon to manufacturing complexes; from the traditional oven used by a farming woman to the burning of harvest and slaughter of livestock; and from the mass murder of Tigray's human resource to the devastation of its health and educational infrastructure; and from the destruction of priceless historical and religious treasures to the violations of the dignity of motherhood in Tigray. It is impossible to attain a status quo ante in less than 20 to 30 years. Whatever can be done to restore even the weakest of normal life requires tens of billions of dollars. Completely disabled Tigray cannot cover any portion of this outlay. I am putting aside the greater harm done by gang rape and the wanton killings of civilians and the huge amount of money needed for social-psychological rehabilitation of the

victims and their surviving family members. Money may restore the loss of hardware but never the soft component of the invasion. The international community may be involved in the restoration of Tigray on the basis of its humanitarian responsibilities; but the bulk of the cost of restoration must be covered by the Eritrean State whatever form of government it currently has or will have in the future. This is my hypothesis about the underlying driver of Dr. Daniel's assignment of responsibilities to the PFDJ chieftains alone. This leaves Tigray a victim without justice. Isaias and his entourage may appear in ICC and be sentenced to long years of prison hoping that this is going to happen for real. The jail sentence of Yugoslav butchers- Radovan Karadžić, Slobodan Milošević, and Ratko Mladic- did not heal Bosnia. I would go to the extent of proposing selling Serbia and using the money to restore Bosnia. BUT Bosnia's problem is only a drop in the ocean of Tigray's devastation in the hands of Eritrean troops. Dr. Daniel is horrified by the thought of his homeland paying the full cost of war reparation in Tigray. What postwar relations Eritrea and Tigray will have is to be decided based on how future politics evolves on both sides; but first Eritrea must squeeze its resources to fully compensate the hardware damage it inflicted in Tigray just to begin with. This is the bottom line below which Tigray will never attempt to go. Let me come to the logical framework of my argument which puts the responsibility squarely on Eritrea as a State. I will raise three fundamental but interrelated issues to make my point strongly:

#### 1. Fallacy I: Individuals not states are responsible

Tigray is familiar with such lame lines of argument. "It was Menilik not the government of Ethiopia that devastated Tigray in final years of the 19th Century; It was Haile Selassie the cruel king that used the Royal Air force to kill women and children in the Monday market; It was Mengistu the brutal tyrant who bloodied Hawzien; and now it is Isaias who returned Tigray to the stone age". Well, this is like: " እንታይምግበር ደኒንካ'ንባዕ'ምበር". Calling a spade, a spade and make it do the shoveling not the digging should be our guide in handling

such extremely sensitive issues. The truth that Dr. Daniel should not evade, in an act of patriotic defense, is that whatever actions PFDJ led by Isaias has been taking, regardless of their merit as favorable or unfavorable to the target, were done on behalf of the Eritrean State. Here is why! Not all governments in the world have full acceptance from their people. There were countless governments in the world that ruled their people with an iron hand: Chile, Spain, Congo, Zimbabwe, Haiti, Burma, Iraq, Argentina, Cuba, etc. These governments have had supporters and oppositions. What their supporters and oppositions think about the bad governments notwithstanding these governments have had a seat reserved for them in the UN General Assembly and the ambassadors they assigned to all world countries are accepted, respected, and attended to. It is no different for Isaias and his PFDJ team who get a red-carpet reception to whichever state they travel for a diplomatic mission. Regardless of what the whole world feels how bad a dictator Isaias is due regard is given to him as the official representative of Eritrea. Getting rid of Isaias as unrepresentative of Eritrea is the responsibility of Eritreans. Eritreans have already seen signs of trouble before when Isaias sent troops to Yemen, Sudan, Djibouti, and trained Alshabab in Somalia. None of them tried to stop him; many loved Isaias as an Eritrean strong man of Africa regardless of the adverse consequences for Eritrea. The world community has no reason at all to meddle. If Eritreans are comfortable with Isaias and PFDJ regardless of the bad things he does to them, why should the world community care to deny Isaias his status as representative of the people of Eritrea? The world cannot be more catholic than the pope and tell Eritreans to remove Isaias because he is bad for them!

## 2. Fallacy 2: Tigray + TPLF vs. Eritrea State - PFDJ

Isaias and his team, including a million of his fans, believe that TPLF and Tigray are one and the same. The positive sense of this assertion is constructive and true. Why Eritreans prefer to think Tigray and TPLF are the same is for a sinister reason. Whatever punishment TPLF should face from Eritrea should target the people of Tigray as



well. Let us assume that the baseless accusation that Eritreans were ill-treated in the hands of TPLF is true. If this is so on whom should Eritreans put out their revenge? The logical answer of course is on TPLF separately. If most Eritreans, hold that TPLF and Tigray are one and the same and the punishment goes to both, why are they not admitting that Isaias and PFDJ are the same with the people of Eritrea and the responsibility for the devastation of Tigray goes to both? The convenient double standards here is unmistakable.

### 3. Fallacy 3: Isaias-Abiy friendship with full Eritrean backing

The row triggered by Foreign Affairs spokes-person Dina Mufti was just a game of hide and seek. Eritreans are expectedly better versed with how politics is done than Ethiopians are. They have had an initial advantage during the years of colonialism to know about how modern politics is run. It is also expected that they are conscious of even the slightest move in politics directly or indirectly connected with Eritrean affairs. I find it hard to believe that Eritreans were ignorant about the underlying motive of the Isaias-Abiy friendship. They know much better than anyone else that Isaias has always been an Ethiopianist motivated by his personal quest for leadership over Ethiopia and beyond. Isaias never concealed his desire to his associates and the wider public of Eritrea that reunion with Ethiopia has always been a more profitable option for Eritrea. His comrades heard from him, but they had no intention of removing him as a threat to Eritrean independent existence. I don't think they were oblivious to the fact that anyone in the front seat can have its wishes commanded. Trapped in dilemma about a possible surrender to Ethiopia and the desire of Eritreans to keep "Wedi Afom" in the leadership position, they preferred to shift the burden of their ambivalence to TPLF and Tigray. This is customary in psychological distress where one is advised to shatter as many Chinaware on the wall as can be available to relieve the hysteria which does not have an easy way out. The Chinaware and the wall are analogous to Tigray destroyed for no visible or audible offense.

When the “reconciliation” between Isaias and Abiy was launched in a fanfare devoid of any diplomatic procedures and/or consultation with relevant domestic administrative apparatus on both sides, Eritreans were uncontrollably jubilant. Although Eritreans know Abiy is an Ethiopianist of the highest order and never compromises the claim of ownership on Eritrean ports they never paid attention to what possible danger to Eritrean independence could emanate from the two Ethiopianist leaders of two officially separate countries. For the rest of the world, seemingly not for Eritreans, Isaias was unequivocal about his words and actions. His interviews are almost invariably about Ethiopia and who he considered as its arch enemy: TPLF. Eritrea was never an important agenda for him. Eritreans have told us the reason why they supported the Isaias and Abiy rapprochement. They thought they got a solution for the border impasse for 20 years. In fact TPLF never refused to solve the border problem; it was a demarcation problem that Isaias used to keep Eritreans on their toes and denied them the economic progress they deserved after 30 odd years of liberation war. He intentionally weakened Eritrea to induce the feeling of inadequacy among Eritreans without Ethiopia. However, this was not what he was telling Eritreans. He was attributing the failure of Eritrea to progress as much as Tigray did because “TPLF debilitated Eritrea through sanctions and international isolation”. Eritreans who desperately sought for an explanation why they returned to their precolonial life the TPLF scapegoat was a convenient and easily absorbed excuse for senior and ordinary Eritreans alike. A background of chauvinist slurs on Tigray have stimulated the public acceptance of TPLF and Tigray as “culprits”. When Isaias said in public that “the border issue is irrelevant, and Ethiopians and Eritreans are one people”. Blaming the TPLF for the border impasse and drawing swords against it was also irrelevant. All though this Eritreans overwhelmingly supported Isaias as their deliverer.

### 3. Fallacy 4: A strong Tigray is a threat to Eritrean independence

None of the preceding fallacies are as absurd as this one here. Eritreans know very well that all political parties and any ordinary Tigrayan recognizes the independence of Eritrea and does nothing to violate it. Tegararu have no bad habit of contradicting their own standpoint even in time of adversity. While Eritreans are busy destroying Tigray with the tacit approval of most Eritreans most of us, including myself, still believe in the protection of Eritrean independence. We don't confuse principles with our current ordeals. Tigray is a civilized society that is never swayed by emotions. Eritreans don't need a lame excuse to hate what should never be hated. It is understandable that from the inception Eritrea has never had a leader of its own until Isaias came to the helm. They have an inalienable right to be infatuated with Isaias as long as it does not have an adverse consequence on others. Tigray has become "the Ram of Abraham" for Eritreans' fatal honeymoon with Ethiopian nationalists. Many Eritreans are so obsessed with Isaias and his actions that they have lost even the most primordial sense of humanity. Those who rallied in the streets of American and European cities, supporting the human rights violation by Eritrean troops in Tigray, were not a minority at all. From the Eritrean opposition talk shows we can read between the lines that the opposition is facing insurmountable difficulties of convincing PFDJ's massive support base to their side. Fallacy 4 has entered a positive feedback loop pushing Eritreans in the direction of what Yemane Gebreab proposed: Eritreans in a "silence is consent" tacitly approved Isaias' campaign of extermination in Tigray because they entertained the strange notion that "a strong Tigray is a threat to the very existence of Eritrea". Once the extermination came to a full swing but Tigray was never to be erased the fear of retaliation from Tigray among Eritreans doubled and tripled. Irrational fear gave birth to cruelty over Tigray; cruelty triggered defiance and stiff resistance; a new cycle of fear that Tigray may invade Eritrea as a revenge induced by TPLF-Tigray's devastating counter attacks on Eritrean troops; and in a positive feedback loop Eritreans vowed for a complete devastation of Tigray.

Eritreans are well known in Africa and the world over for fighting as long as it takes to earn their freedom. It is a fairy tale for me to hear and read that Eritreans have found it impossible to remove Isaias from his presidency and replace him by a participatory democracy which does not lash out at its neighbors to nurse its own frustrations. Support for Tigray that surges and ebbs with the perceived strength and weakness of Eritrea against Tigray is not acceptable. Supporting the Vietnamese when America is weakened by the Vietcong is unfair; because there is no guarantee that the support for Vietnam will not be reversed when America starts to get the upper hand. The lack of firmness and the loss of direction among Eritreans is going to harm Eritreans themselves than it would Tigray. I don't think the intermittent Eritrean support for Tigray will ever be of any value. It is the other way round that is valid. Tigray may deliver Eritreans from the dilemma they are stuck in, lest the Sahelian-betrayal is repeated.\*\*\*\*\*

**ጎንደርና ኤሪትሪያ፡- አገኘሁ ተሻገር እውነታውን ኖርጥ አደረገው**  
 July 26-2021

የዘንድሮይቱ ኢትዮጵያ የምትደንቅና የምታስደምም ሆናለች። "ሰውየው ከመሞቱ በፊት ሲቅበዘበዝ ነበር" የሚለው አባባል ሳይመለከታት አይቀርም። "ኢትዮጵያ ከመናዲ በፊት ለዎኝ ለገራኝ አስቸግራ ነበር፤ ተይ በቅጡ ያገደው አለዝያ ትጎጃለሽ ብትባል ከጁንታስ ሞት ይሻላል ብላ ቁራጭ ገመድ ይዞ እየሮጠች ነው" ብሎ ማለት ትክክል አይደለምን? ኢትዮጵያ ዋና ከተማዋን ከአዲስ አበባ ወደ ጎንደር- ባህርዳር ቀይራለች፤ ፕሬዚደንቷ፤ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሯ፤ ጠቅላይ ጦር አዛዥ፤ የፌደሬሽን ምክር ቤቷ ሁሉንም ጠቅልሎ አገኘሁ ተሻገር ሆኗል።

አገኘሁ ተሻገር ቅዱስ ያልሆነ ጦርነት እየመራ፤ የአማራን ህዝብ በሐምሌ ጨለማ ከሞቀ ቤቱ፤ ከሚያርስበት ማሳ፤ ከየህዝብ አገልግሎት ስራ አያፈናቀለ፤ በቂ ስንቅ ሳይኖረው፤ በቂ ልብስም ሳይደርብ፤ ለአልቂትና ለምርኮ ለመላክ ከተት ሲያውጅ ውቅያኖስ በሚመስል ጥቁር ሰማያዊ ሙሉ ልብስ፤ የፀሃይ ብርሃን የመሰለ ነጭ ሽሚዝና ክራባት ለብስ ነው። ይህ የሚያመለክተው ከውስጡ ያለው አስተሳሰብ ከህዝባዊ አላማ የራቀ የግልና የቡድን አላማ መሆኑ ነው። "የአማራን ህዝብ ለማጥፋት የትግራይ ህዝብ እየመጣ ነው" ብሎ የሚያውጅ ሰው የሚለው እውነት ቢሆን ኖሮ ወገቡን ታጥቆ ፎጣውን ጠምጥሞ ከየቤቱ እየነተተ ለሞት ከሚልከው ምስኪን ህዝብ ጎን ይዘምት ነበር። የአማራ ዘማች ድሮን ቢሆን ኖሮ ከቢሮ ሆኖ ማሰማራት

ተገቢ አሰራር ነበር። ለነገሩ እብድ ሲያሳብደው ሳይጠይቅ ሳያጣራ የሚያብድ ህዝብ ድሮን መሆን ሲበዛበት ነው። መሪዎቹም ለሱ የሚገቡ ናቸው ማለት ይቻላል

የአስተሳሰብ ልዩነት ከቃላት ይልቅ በተግባር ይገለጻል። ለራሱ ድሮ ለቆረጠባት አንዲት ህይወቱ ብሎ ሳይሆን ምራን ብሎ እምነት ለጣለበት የትግራይ ስድስት ሚልዮን ህዝብ ህይወትና ደህንነት ከሰውነት ውጪ ሆኖ ከበርሃ መቼለ የገባው ዶ/ር ደብረፅዮን አንገቱ ላይ የህዝባዊ ትግል አርማ የሆነችውን ሽርጥ ለብሶ ይታያል። ከጦርነቱ በፊት ግን በሙሉ ልብስ፣ ነጭ ሽሚዝና ክራባት አምሮ ለሚደቀው ይቀርብ ነበር። የህዝብ እውነተኛ መሪ ህዝብ የሆነውን ይሆናል። ይህ ሁሉ ተአምር የሚሰሩት ጄኔራሎችም ስለደረቡት ልብስ ጥራት ሳይሆን ስለህዝባቸው ነፃነት እየተጨነቁ ከሰውነት ውጥተው ይታያሉ። በዚህ የትግራይ የነፃነት ትግል መሪና ተመሪን በተግባር ላይ እንጂ በአይታ ብቻ መለየት አይቻልም። አገኘሁ ተሻገር ጆርጅ ቡሽን እየኮረጀ ያለ ይመስላል። ጆርጅ ቡሽ ጦር ወደ አፍጋኒስታን ልኮ ቴክሳስ ከሚገኘው የቤተሰብ ቤት ለአረፍት ይሄድ ነበር። ድንጋጤውና ተስፋ መቁረጡ ከንግግር መላቅጥ መጥፋትና አደገኛ መሆን የሚታወቅ ቢሆንም ህዝብ አስፈጅቶ፣ አገሪቱን አመሳቅሎ ምንም ሳይነካ የመቆየት ተስፋ እንደሰነቀም ሁኔታው ያሳብቃል። አገኘሁ ተሻገር አውዳሚ የሆነና በህዝቦች መሃል መቸውም ሊሸር የማይችል ደመኝነት የሚያስከትል ጦርነት እያወጀ የትልቅ ኩባንያ ዋና አስፈፃሚ መስሎ የሚቀርበው እውነትም ይህን ጦርነት ለትልቅ ቢዝነስ ሊጠቀምበት እንደሆነ ራሱ በገዛ አፋ ፍርጥ አድርጎታል። አገኘሁ ተሻገር ፍርጥ ያደረገውና የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ለእነ አገኘሁና ለነኢሳይስ ሴራ አገሩን መስዋዕት ከማድረግ በፊት ሊረዳው ስለሚገባው አብይ ጉዳይ ላይ ላተኩር።

ለምንድነው ትግራይን እንዲህ የመረረ ጠላት ተደርጋ የተሳለችው ብሎ መጠየቅ ተገቢ ነው። እውን ይህ ሁሉ የትግራይ ጠላት ኢትዮጵያን ከልቡ የሚወድ ነውን? እውን ትግራይ በኢትዮጵያ ላይ የፈፀመቻቸው ለህልውናዋ አደገኛ የሆኑ ነገሮች በተጨማሪ ማስረጃ ዘርዘሮ ማቅረብ የሚችል አለን? እውን ትግራይ ኢትዮጵያን ከጣልያን፣ ከድርቡሽ፣ ከግብፅ ከማዳን፣ በቅርቡም አገሪቱን ከፍታ ላይ ከማድረስ በስተቀር ሁለት የባህር ዳርቻዎችን ለቅኝ ገዢዎች አሳልፎ ከመስጠት የከፋ ጥፋት በኢትዮጵያ ላይ ፈፀማለችን? ነገሩ ሌላ ነው። አማራ-መር ሆኖ የኖረው፣ አሁንም በኦሮሞ "የባላይነት" በስተጀርባ ተጠናክሮ የቀጠለው፣ የእጅ አዙር የአማራ ልሂቃን አገዛዝ አሁን በአገኘሁ ተሻገር "ያላቀቂ ሳሚነት" ግልጥልጦ ወጥቷል። በተጋለጠው የድምፅ ቅጂና በተለያዩ ኢጋጣሚዎች አገኘሁ ተሻገር በሚያደርጋቸው ንግግሮች ውስጥ ይፋ ከወጡት ከብዙ ነገሮች አንዱ ከአራት ኪሎ ጀርባ ሆኖ ኢትዮጵያን የሚነዳት የአማራው ጥምር የፓለቲካና የኢኮኖሚ ልሂቅ መሆኑን ነው። ይህ ወሳኝ መረጃ ነው። እነዚህ ልሂቃን ገብቶትም ሳይገባውም የአማራ ጉዳይ ነው በሚል በሰሜን የሚያጫፍረው የአማራ አካደሚክ ልሂቅን በማሰማራት "አሮሞ የመንግስት ስልጣንን በሞኖፓል ይዟል፣ አማራ እየተጠቃ ነው" እያሉ በማማረር አገሪቱን ቢያደነቁሩም ምርጥ የሆኑትን የአሮሞ ልጆችን ከርቸሎ ያከረመው ግን በውስጥ ዋናውን ተግባራዊ ስልጣን የያዘው የአማራው ፓለቲከኛና ለማዳዎቹና እያለቀሱ የሚተባበሩት ጎበናውያን ናቸው። የወጣው እውነታ እንዲህ ያላል፡- "የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ በኛ እጅ ነው ያለው" የሚል ነው። ጉድ ያሰኛል አይደል? በዚህ አላብቃም። የወልቃይት ጉዳይ "የአማራ የማንነት ጉዳይ" ነው ሲባል ከረመ። "ምእራብ ትግራይ ተደርገው የተካለሉት የኛ

ወገኖች ናቸው" ተባለ። የአማራ የማንነት ጉዳይ ከሆነ የአማራ ጉዳይ ብቻ መሆኑ ነው አይደል? የቦረና ጉዳይ የሶማሊ የማንነት ጉዳይ ነው ከተባለ ሌላው የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ምን አገባው? ወልቃይት 98 ከመቶ ትግርኛ ተናጋሪ ቢሆንም አማራ ነው መባሉ አስቀኝ ቢሆንም ያው ተነስቷልና በፌደራል ህግ ይፈታል። የቦረና አሮሞዎችም ሶማሊ ናቸው ከተባሉ እንደ ኮሜዲ እየሰሙ መዝናናት ነው።

ወልቃይት ያሉት ተጋሩ አማራ ናቸው ብሎ ከወረረ በኋላ ልቀቅ ሲባል "ወልቃይትን ልቀቅ ማለት ኢትዮጵያ ትፍረስ ማለት ስለሆነ የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ወልቃይትን ለማዳን ዝመት" ከተባለ ከዚህ ቅጥፈት በስተጀርባ ሌላ ግዙፍ ሴራ እንዳለ ያመለክታል። አገኘሁ ተሻገር ለታማኝ በየ እንዲህ ብሎ ነገረው፡ "የወልቃይትን ጉዳይ የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ ለማድረግ እየሰራን ነው"።

ይህ ማለት የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ አይደለም አልነበረምም፤ ገና አሁን የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ ለማድረግ ከአገኘሁ ተሻገር የፓለቲካ ፋብሪካ ውስጥ እየተፈበረከ ለመላ ኢትዮጵያ ሊከፋፈል ነው። የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ይህን የመሰሪዎች የፓለቲካ ሸቀጥ የሚገዛው በገንዘብ ሳይሆን ጎንደርና ትግራይ ዘምቶ ህይወቱን በመስጠትና አካሉን በማጉደል ነው። እኔ ኢትዮጵያውያን ነገር የሚገባቸው አርቆ አሳቢ ህዝብ ይመስሉኝ ነበር፤ ለካ ማንም አጭብርባሪ እያሰጨፈረና እያሰጩከረ በቀላሉ ሊነዳቸው ይችላል? እገኘሁ ተሻገር የወልቃይት ጉዳይ የጎንደር ጉዳይ ብቻ ሳይሆን የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ አስመስሎ እያጭበረበረ መሆኑ ከተሰማ በኋላም ልዩ ሃይልና ሚሊሻ የሚልኩ ክልሎች መኖራቸው ብቻ ሳይሆን መስቀል አደባባይን ያጥለቀላቀው ሰልፈኛም "ኢትዮጵያ፣ ኢትዮጵያ" እያለ ነበር የዋለው! ኢትዮጵያ ምን ሆነች? ምን መጣባት? ትግራይ ልታጠፋት ነው? ወይ መደናቀር! ትግራይ ያለችው "የምአራብ ትግራይ መሬቴንና ህዝቤን መልሱ" ነው። ነገሩ እኮ ብሬን መልስልኝ ሲባል ልትገድለኝ ነው ብሎ ከአጀንዳ ውጪ እንደሚጮህ ሰው መሆኑ ነው። አራምባና ቆቦ!

ኢትዮጵያን ከመፈረካከስ አፋፍ ያደረሰው ይህ ሁሉ ውሸት፣ ይህ ሁሉ ማጭበርበር፣ ይህ ሁሉ የፓለቲካ ትብተባ የጎንደር የቢዝነስ ኮሚዩኒቲ ከኤሪትርያ ጋር የንግድ ልውውጥ ለማድረግ ቆርጦ ስለተነሳ ነው። የጎንደር የኢኮኖሚ ልሂቃን በአገር ውስጥም በውጪም ከሌላው አማራ በላቀ የቢዝነስ ክንዳቸውን አፈርጥመዋል። ይህን የቢዝነስ አቅማቸውን መሬት እውርደው ለማስፋፋት በማይመቸው የጎንደር ጂኦፖለቲካ ተቀይደዋል። ጎንደርን የኢትዮጵያ ቁንጮ እንደሆነች አድርገው የሚያስቡት የጎንደር ልሂቃን የድር የበላይነቷ እንዲመለስ ይመኛሉ። ከዛም ሲያንስ የአማራ ማእከልነቷን ይሻሉ። ይህ ሁሉ ተግባራዊ ይሆናል ብለው የሚያስቡት በኢኮኖሚም የበላይ በማድረግ ነው። እርግጥ ነው ይህን የሚያደርጉት ለሰፊው የጎንደር ህዝብም አይደለም፤ ሙሉ በሙሉ ለራሳቸው ጥቅም ነው። የጎንደር ህዝብ የአማራ ህዝብ የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ እየሞተ እየቆሰለ በባዶ ሆዱ እያቅራራና "ሽረ ገዳይ" እየዘፈነ ድልድይ ሆኖ ሊያሻግራቸው እንጂ ምንም የሚያገኘው ነገር የለም።

ከኤሪትርያ ነፃነት በፊት ጎንደር ለውጭ ንግድ ስትጠቀም የነበረችው የጂቡቲን ወይንም የአሰብን ወደብ ሳይሆን ምፅዋን ነበር። ከጎንደር በሽረ፣ አድዋ፣ ዓዲሻላና አስመራ ወደ ምፅዋ የሚያደርሰው አውራ ጎዳና ያለ ገደብ መጠቀም ይቻል ነበር። ጥቁር አዝመድ፣ ሰሊጥ

(ከሁመራ)፣ ጥራጥሬ፣ ሌሎች የጎንደር ምርቶች በዚህ ወደብ ይስተናገዱ ነበር። የውጭ ንግድ ብቻ ሳይሆን የኤሪትሪያ ያገር ውስጥ ገበያም ከጎንደር በሚላኩ የግብርና ምርቶች ይሸፈን ነበር። የኤሪትሪያ ትግል በተለይም የትግራይ የፖለቲካ እንቅስቃሴ መጋጋል ሲጀምር ግን ይህ የንግድ መስመር የመቋረጥ እጣ ገጠመው። ዋናው ገበያቸው ኢዲስ አበባ የሆኑትና በዛውም ጂቡቲ የሚመቻቸው ጎጃም፣ ወሎና፣ ሸዋ በኤሪትሪያ ገበያ መቀዝቀዝና በምፅዋ መስመር መዘጋት የጎንደርን ያህል አልተጎዱም። ስለዚህ የኤሪትሪያ መስመር የጎንደር እንጂ የቀሪው አማራ ክልል ጥያቄም ችግርም አይደለም።

በደርግ ጊዜ አሁን ካለው የአማራ ክልል ውስጥ እንደ ጎንደር በቀይ ሽብር የተጠቃ የለም። የኢህአዴግ የበርሃ ትግል የተጠጠፈውም በበለጠ፣ በአለፋ፣ በአርማጭሆ በርሃዎች ውስጥ ስለነበር ኢህአፓ ሲፈርስ በአስር ሺዎች የሚቆጠር የከተማ ወጣት፣ የገጠሩ ሰው ሳይቀር እንዳለ ወደ ሱዳን ገብቶ የአሜሪካ ቪዛ አግኝቷል። በኋለኛቹ አመታትም በቤተሰብና በጋብቻ ቪዛ የአሜሪካ የጎንደር ኮሚዩኒቲ እጅግ ግዙፍና ወሳኝ እንዲሆን አድርጎታል። በአገር ውስጥም የጎንደር ሰዎች የሃይማኖቱን፣ የፖለቲካውን ተቋማት በስውርም በይፋም በመቆጣጠራቸው ለኢኮኖሚው የበላይነት በር ከፍተኛቸው ነበር። በውጭም በአገር ውስጥም በአማራ የፖለቲካ ጉዳይ ላይ ራሳቸውን የመረጡ ተወካዮች ሆነው ስለተገኙ ቀሪው አማራ እነሱ በቀደዱት ቦይ የመፍሰስ አዝማሚያ ሲያሳይ ቆይቷል። "ጠላትህ ትግራይ" ነው እያሉ ሲያደነቁት ስለቆዩ በሌላ ነገር በራሳቸው የጀግንነት ጥያቄ ቅርቃር ውስጥ እየከተቱት መሆኑን መገንዘብ አልቻለም። በዛውም ኢትዮጵያን የሚጎዳ መስመር መያዙን በትክክል የተረዳ አይመስልም።

አሁን የጎንደሮች ሃብት ሲከማችና ከበርቴ ጎንደሬ ሲበረከት ጎንደር በቂ እግር መዘርጊያ የላትም። 1ኛ/ለሰፊ ኢንቨስትመንት የሚያስፈልገው መሬት መገኘት አለበት 2ኛ/ ሰፊ የቅርብ ገበያና የውጭ ንግድ ያስፈልጋታል። ሰፊ እግር መዘርጊያ መሬት ጉዳይ ሲነሳ ናዚ ጀርመንን ያስታውሳል። የጀርመን ኢኮኖሚ አድጎ በነበረበት ወቅት የጀርመን ምድር ለዚህ ኢኮኖሚ የሚመጥን በቂ መሬትና የተፈጥሮ ሃብት አልነበረውም። በሂትለር የሚመራው የናዚ ጂኦፖለቲካ አስተሳሰብ "ሊባንስ ራውም" ወይም "የመስፋፊያ ቦታ" የሚል መርህ አንግበው ነበር አውሮፓን የወረሩት። ጎንደር፣ በተለይ የበላይ ነን የሚሉት ደቡብ ጎንደር ተራራማ፣ ሰበርባራና ሽለቋማ መሬት ሲሆን ድርቅም የሚፈታተነውና ቅዝቃዜው የበረታ ምድር ነው። ብዙ ህዝብ ከሰፈረባቸው ለም ግን ውስን የጣና ዳር መሬቶች ውጪ ቀሪው ጎንደር በሰሜንና ሰሜን ምስራቅ እጅግ ተራራማ ነው። ወደ መካከለኛው ምእራብ ያለው አርምጭሆም ሰበርባራና ህዝብ የሰፈረበት ነው። ምእራቡ ባመዛኙ የቅማንት ማህበረሰብ የሰፈረበት ሲሆን ከዛ ቀጥሎ ያለው መተማም በርካታ አራሽ የሰፈረበትና ምርት ለመጓጓዣም የማይመች ነው። ጎንደሮች ያለባቸው የመሬት እጥረት ሱዳን ግዛት ውስጥ ድረስ በመግባት ለመፍታት ሞክረው ቆይተዋል። ይህ ከትልቁ የውጭ ጎረቤታቸው ከሱዳን ጋር ችግር ውስጥ ከቷቸዋል። ከላይ የተጠቀሱት ሁለቱ ወሳኝ ፍላጎቶች ሊሟሉ የሚችሉት 1ኛ/እጅግ ለም፣ ሰፊና፣ በህዝብ ያልተጨናነቁ፣ ለኢንቨስትመንት የሚሆኑ መሬቶች ያሉት በሰሜን በኩል ምእራብ ትግራይ ተብሎ በተካለለው አራት ወረዳዎች የያዘ በተለየ ትኩረት የወልቃይትና ሁመራ መሬት ነው። ይህ መሬት ለዘመናት የሚኖሩበት ትግርኛ ተናጋሪዎች በመሆናቸው በፌዴሬሽን አወቃቀር መሰረት በትግራይ የተካለሉ ናቸው። በርግጥ አለአግባብ በአድልዎና ማናለብኝነት የሃይለስላሴ ዘውዳዊ መንግስት ከትግራይ ተነጥቀው ለጎንደር እንዲሰጡ በመወሰኑ ለተወሰኑ

አስርት አመታት ጎንደር ስር ቆይተዋል። 2ኛ/ እነዚህ የምእራብ ትግራይ ወረዳዎች ከኤሪትሪያ ጋር ድንበር ስለሚጋሩ ጎንደር ለምትመኘው ሰፊ የኤሪትሪያ የግብርና ውጤቶች ገበያና ለውጭ ንግድ የምፅዋ በር አመቺ መሸጋገሪያዎች ናቸው። እነዚህ ለጎንደር ሁለት ወሳኝ ጥቅሞች የሚሰጡት የምእራብ ትግራይ ወረዳዎች በትግራይ አስተዳደር ስር በመሆናቸው እንዴት ከትግራይ እጅ ተፈልቅቀው ይውጡ ሆነ የመላ ጎንደር የቀን ቅገታና የሌሊት ህልም። በዚህ ጉዳይ ላይ ብቻቸውን አልነበሩም። ኤሪትሪያም ተመሳሳይ አመለካከት እያስተናገደች ነበር።

ኢትዮጵያን ያመሰውና ትግራይን ጥፋት አፋፍ ያደረሰው፣ የአማራና የመላ ኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ ነው የተባለው ምስቅልቅል የተፈጠረው የጎንደርና የኤሪትሪያ የጋራ ጥቅማቸውን መሰረት ያደረገ ሴራ ነው። እዚህ ላይ ሊሰመርበት የሚገባው ጉዳይ ኢሳያስ የኤሪትሪያን ወጣቶች ትግራይ አስገብቶ ግፍና ዘረፋ ላይ እንዲሰማሩ ያደረገው የግል የበቀል ስሜቱን ለመወጣት ብቻ ሳይሆን በመድፍ ድጋፍ የአማራ ምሊሻን ምእራብ ትግራይን እንዲወር ከማድረግ ጋር ለዚህ አላማ ትግራይን አድቅቆ በጎንደር በኩል የሰሜን ምእራብን ገበያ የሚያገኝበትን ዘላቂ ዋስትና ለማረጋገጥ ነው። ከጅምሩ ኢሳያስና ቡድኑ ለኤሪትሪያ ሁለት አማራጭ ነበራቸው። አንደኛው፣ የነፃነት ትግሉን እንደመደራደሪያ በመጠቀም ኤሪትሪያ በኢትዮጵያ ላይ የወሳኝነት ሚና በመያዝ ውህደት እንዲፈፀም ሲሆን፣ ሁለተኛው ግን ነፃ ኤሪትሪያ ኢትዮጵያን የኢኮኖሚ ቅኝ ግዛት በማድረግ የጥሬ እቃ አቅራቢና የኢንዱስትሪ ውጤት ተቀባይ ልታደርጋት ነበር የተወጠነው። ሁለቱም ውጥኖች የከሸፉት በትግራይ ነው የሚል እምነትና ቁጭት በኤሪትሪያና በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ነበረ፣ አለም። ህወሓትን ከስልጣን ያገለለው ለውጥ ኤሪትሪያ የተሳተፈችበት ትግራይን አድቅቆ የከሸፈውን እቅድ ለመተግበር ነው። ይህ ከሰላም ጋር ያልተገናኘውና ምእራቡን አለም የሸወደው ሴራ በኢትዮ-ኤሪትሪያ ሰላም ስም የኖቤል ሽልማት እስከማሰጠት ደረሰ። በለውጡ የምእራባውያን ፍላጎትና ግፊትም ተጨምሮበት ስለነበር ነገሩ ሰላም ሳይሆን ነገር መሆኑ የገባት ትግራይ ውጥረት ውስጥ ገባች። ኤሪትሪያ ላሰበችው የኢኮኖሚ ቅኝ ገዢነት አላማ በር ወለል ብሎ የተከፈተላት በጎንደር በኩል ነበር። በአፋር ሊሆን አይችልም፣ በትግራይ ሊሆን አይችልም! ቀሪው አዋሳኝ ከትግራይ ተቀምቶ ለጎንደር መሰጠት ያለበት ብቸኛ የወልቃይት ሁመራ ኮሪደር ነው። እዚህ ላይ የሁለቱም ፍላጎት ተገጠጥሟል። ጎንደርና ኤሪትሪያ ከአንድ ውሃ ተቀድተዋል፣ ሁለቱም ሊከብሩ ወስነዋል! የሚከብሩት ግን የህዝብ የመኖር መብት ጨፍልቀው ነው። እዚህ ላይ ጥቅም ብቻ ነው። ጎንደር ኤሪትሪያን ምንም ለጥቅም ብትፈልጋት ባእድ አገር መሆንዋን ታውቃለች። ጎንደር ትግራይን ምን ያህል ጥቅሟ ላይ የተጋረጠች እንቅፋት ብትሆን ባእድ ሳትሆን የኢትዮጵያ ክልል መሆኗን ታውቃለች። በህገ መንግስቱ ብቻ ሳይሆን በሞራል ደንቦችም መሰረት ከባእድ ጋር አብሮ የራሱን ወገን መምታት አይቻልም፣ አይገባምም። ይህ አይነት አገራዊነት ለጎንደር ምናም አልሆነ፣ ሳሩን እየተከተለች የአገር ክህደት ገደል ትገባለች እንጂ።

ጦርነቱ ከመጀመሩ በፊት ጎንደሮች አይ የሃንስ ለኛ ብለው (ለሃይማኖት ብለው እያሉ ነው የሚያረክሷቸው) እዚች ተሰዉ ሳይሆን ያሉት ኢሳያስን ጋብዘው እየትህ እዚህ ነው የተቀበሩት ብለው ጭራ መቁላቱን ነው የመረጡት። ጎንደሮች የፈለጉት ካቅማቸው በላይ የሆነውን ምእራብ ትግራይን የመውረር አላማ እንዲያሳካላቸውና ለዘላቂታውም ትግራይን አጥፍቶ ዋስትና እንዲያስገኝላቸው መለማመጣቸው ነበር። ኢሳያስ ግን ምንም እንኳን ይህ ትግራይን የማስወረርና የማጥፋት ጉዳይ በዋናነት የሱ ፍላጎት ቢሆንም እየተግደረደረ እንደ አዳኝ መሲህ



መቆጠርን አትርፎበት ነበር። ኢትዮጵያ ላይ ለመንገስ ህወሓት ስላልተባበረችው ጭልጥ ብሎ ወደ ጎንደሮች ጉያ የገባው አቢይ የኢሳያስ አምላኪና ታዛዥ አድርገውት መስመሩን ስቶ ወዳልሆነ አዘቅት ገባ። ህወሓት በመከረችው ቀና መስመር ቢጓዝ ኖሮ የጎንደሮች የቢዝነስ ጂኦፖለቲካ ረገጣግ ውስጥ ገብቶ አይዋጥም ነበር። የትግራይ መከላከያ ስራዊት ደባርቅ በር ላይ ባለበት ሁኔታም አገኘሁ ተሻገር የጎንደር ቢዝነስ ጂኦፖለቲካ ተስፋውን አንገቱ ላይ እንዳንጠለጠለ ነው። አሁንም የወልቃይት አግር መዘርጊያና ከኤሪትሪያ ጋር መገናኛ አውን ይሆናል የሚል ተስፋ ሰንቋል። የኤሪትሪያን ድጋፍ አሁንም እንደ ወሳኝ ግብአት እየቆጠረ ነው። አሁንም ለኤሪትሪያ አግር ኳስ ቡድን አባላት ባህር ዳር (ጎጃም) ሆኖ የጎንደራ ባህል ጃኖ አልብሶ፣ አስመራ ሲገቡ እሱን ለብሰው እንዲገቡ ተማፅኖ አስጨበጨባቸው። የጎንደር ባህል ልብስ አማራን ይወክላል ብሎ መሆኑ ነው። የአስመራ ህዝብ ሲቀበላቸው የኢትዮጵያ ባህል ልብስ ለብሰው መጡ ተብሎ ይታሰባል። ለኢሳያስም ስጦታ በአግር ኳስ ቡድኑ በኩል እንዲሰጠው በጭብጨባ ተሰጥቷል። ቁልምጫውና ማትብደዱ ጥቅም የለውም። ኢሳያስ ከነጭፍራው ራሱን የማዳን እንጂ በጎንደር የተወረረ ግዛትን የመጠበቅ ስራ ሊሰራ አይችልም። ለትዝብቱ ግን አገኘሁ ተሻገር ለስፓርተኞቹ የነገራቸው ነገር በአማራ ጉዳይነት በኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይነት በወልቃይትና ሁመራ ህዝብ መብት ሲመኻኝ የቆየው የመሬት ወረራ እውነታውን የሚገልፅ ነው። በነገራችን ላይ ይህ ጉዳይ ለስፓርተኞች የሚነገር አልነበረም። መጨነቅ መጠብብ ምስጢርህን ለድመትህ ለመናገር ሳይገፋፋ ይቀራል?

እንደ አገኘሁ ተሻገር አገላለፅ፡- "እኛ የእርሻ ሰብል ውጤቶች አሉን፣ ኤሪትሪያ የኢንዱስትሪ ውጤቶች አሏት ይህን መለዋወጥ እንችላለን፣ ለዚህ መልካም ግንኙነት እንቅፋት የሆነችን ትግራይ ናት"። የኢንዱስትሪ እቃ ተቀባይና የግብርና ውጤት አቅራቢ መሆን የቅኝ ተገዢነት የኢኮኖሚ ግንኙነት ነው። ጎንደሮች ኤሪትሪያ ቅኝ እንድትገዛቸው ይለምናሉ፣ ገፅ በረከት ይሰጣሉ። ራሳቸው የኢንዱስትሪ ምርት አምርቶ እንደመወዳደር ኤሪትሪያ የኢንዱስትሪ ምርት አምርቷልን እኛ ገበሬዎች ሆነን እንቅር ይላሉ። ብዙ አገር ቅኝ ተገዝቶ የኖረው በንደዚህ አይነት ሆዳም ባንዶች አማካይነት ነው። ጎንደሮች አርበኞች ነን እያሉ ያቅራራሉ፣ ግን ቅኝ አገዛዝን በልመና ይቀበላሉ። ቅኝ አገዛዝን ከመለመን ከትግራይ የኢንዱስትሪ ውጤት ከዶላር ይልቅ በብር መግዛት አይቀልም ነበር? ከባእድ ጋር ሆኖ የትግራይ የሃገር ውስጥ ኢንዱስትሪን በቅናት ስሜት ከማውደም? አገኘሁ ተሻገር የተናገራቸው ነገሮች ሁሉ ከሚሰይልና ጄት በላይ ለድል ጠቃሚ ናቸው። ይህ በወልቃይት በኩል በጎንደርና በኤሪትሪያ መካከል የሚደረግ ንግድና እንቅፋት የምትፈጥረው ትግራይ ጉዳይ ነው ከአማራ ጉዳይነት አልፎ የመላ ኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ እንዲሆን "የተሰራበት"። ለምን ጎንደርና ኤሪትሪያ ወልቃይትና ሁመራን ወረው ንግዳቸውን እንዳያጧጥፉ እንቅፋት ሆንሽ ተብላ ነው ትግራይ በኢትዮጵያ አፍራሽነት የምትከሰሰው። ትግራይ እንቅፋት የሆነችው ኢትዮጵያ ከኤሪትሪያ ጋር በተዛባ የንግድ ግንኙነት እንዳትጎዳ በሚል ነበር። ይህ አገርን ማፍረስ ከሆነና የጎንደር የቅኝ ግዙን ጥሪ አገር መውደድ ከሆነ ላለመስማማት እንስማማ እንጂ ሃቅ ይዘን በወንጀለኞች አንወንጀል አለች ትግራይ!

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## "ህዝቢ ኤሪትሪያ አይሕተትን"?

February 16-2021

አብ ኣሰና ቴቢ ኣብዝገባር ዝነበረ ቃለ መሕትት ሰራዊት ኤሪትሪያ ኣብ ትግራይ ብዝፍፀም ዘሎ ናይ ዲያብሎስ ተግባር ዘሕትቶ ንመን እዩ? ህዝቢ ኤሪትሪያ ተሓታቲ ድዩ ኣይኮነን? ዝብል ተላዒሉ ነይሩ። እቲ ዝወሃብ ዝነበረ ርእይቶ መሕዘንን መሰከሒን እዩ። እቆም ወሃብቲ ርእይቶ ዝበፀሕዎ ድምዳሞ "ህዝቢ ኤሪትሪያ ኣይሕተትን፣ ዝሕተቱ እቶም ናይ ህግደፍ መራሕትን፣ ገበን ዝፍፀሙ ዘለው ውልቀሰባትን እዮም። እቲ ዝሕተትውን ዓለም ለኽቤት ፍርዲ ገበን እዩ" ዝብል እዩ። ቐዳማይ ነገር እቲ ኣብ ኤሪትሪያ ዘሎ መንግስቲ "ድላዩ እንተገበረ እኳ ኣሕሊፍኩም ኣይትቡዎም" ዝብል ቐፅሩ ማእለያ ዘይብሉ ምሁርን ዘይምሁርን ህዝቢ ኤሪትሪያ ከምዘሎ ካብ ማንም ዝተሰወረ ኣይኮነን። ቐፅሩ ቐሊል ዘይበሃልውን "እንታይ ገደሸና" እናበለ ናብርኡ ዝነበር እዩ። ገሊኡምውን "ወያነ ፀላኢትና እዩ፣ ህዝቢ ትግራይውን ወያነ እዩ" ብዝብል ናይ ህዝቢ ትግራይ ምጥፋእ ናይ ኤሪትሪያ ህልውና ዘውሕስ ገይሮም ዝሓስቡ ኣለዉ። እቶም ኣንጻር ህግደፍ ዝቃሉዎ ዘለውን ምፅናት ህዝቢ ትግራይ ዝኹንኑ ዘለዉውን ቐፅሮም ኣዝዩ ዝወሓደን ንህግደፍ ሓንቲ ቐንቲ ሜትር ድፍኦ ከብል ዝኸእል ዓቕሚ ዘይብሎም እይኹ። ብቃላት ጥራይ ምቕዋምን እከይ ተግባራቱ ምቅላዕን እቲ ናይ ዝደንደን ህግደፍ ጨርቂ ዝቐድድ ኣይኮነን፣ ይትረፍ ካብ ስልጣን ከውርዶ። ዋላኳ ህዝቢ ኤሪትሪያ ቃላት ከገልፀዎ ዘይኸሉ ግፍዕታት ኣብልዕሊኡ ዝተፈፀም እንተኾነ ብህግደፍ ደንዚዙ ዘሎ እቲ ኣብ ትግራይ ዝቐትልን ዝጉሕልን ዘሎ ናይ ሳዋ ሮቦት ሰራዊት ጥራይ ኣይኮነን። እቲ ኣብ ዳያስፓራ ዘሎውን ኣብዛሓኡ "ብዘበን ውቤ ዝፀመመ" ከምዚ ዝበሃል እዩ ኮይኑ ዘሎ። ፌዴሬሽን ፊሪሱ ኢሉ 30 ዓመት ብረት ኣልዒሉ ኣንጻር ዝዚፍ ሓይሊ ኢትዮጵያ ዝተገሰጸሐ ህዝቢ ህግደፍ እትባሃል ሓንቲ ሰረት ዘይብላ ኣጉዶ ምፅናው ዓቕሚ ስኢኑ ንምባል የፀገም እዩ። ኤሪትሪያውያን ህግደፍን መራሒኣን ካብ ወያነን ካብ ካልእ ፀላእን ከም ዋርድያ ዝሕልወና እዩ ኢሎም ዝሓስቡ እንተኾይኖ እቲ ስርዓት ከውገድ ዝኸእል በኤሪትሪያውያን እንተይኮነ በግዳማዊ ሓይሊ እዩ ክኸውን ዝኸእል።

ብ"እንታይ ይብሉና? መሪር ቐም ዝዓቀበ ፀላኢ ኣብ ጎረቤት ከይነንብር" ብዝብል ስኽፍታ ህዝቢ ባህ ዘብል ዘረባታት ብምዝራብ ጥራሕ ተወሲኑ ዝነበር ኤሪትሪያዊ መሊኡ እዩ። "ትግራይ ናይ ምድጋፍ ኣይኮነን፣ ኣሕዋትና እኮ ኣብዘይምልኮቶም ኹናት ትግራይ ይመቱ ኣለው" ብዝብል ኣብ ትግራይ ብኢትዮጵያን ብኣምሓራ ጦር በይኑ ወራር ተዝፍፀምውን ዘይምግዳሽ ዝመስል ስምዒታት ይጋዋሕ ኣሎ። እቶም ኣብ ናቕፋ ንኤሪትሪያውያን ሓጊዞም ኣንጻር እቲ ሕዚ ንትግራይ ወራርዋ ዘሎ ደርጊ ተዋጊኦም ዝተሰውኡ ተጋሩ ተጋደልቲ ደመ ከልብ ዳርጋ ምግባር እዩ። ህዝቢ ትግራይ ናይ ህዝቢ ኤሪትሪያ ካብ ብቃላት ምእባድ ዝዘለለ ሓገዝ ዝደሊ ዘሎ ፅባሕ ከይኮነ ሕዚን ሎሚን እዩ። ህግደፍ ዝላእኹም ኣራዊተ ገዳም ንህዝቢ ትግራይ ምስኣነቲን መሬቱ ምስወረሩን ኣብ መጋባእያ ዓለም ናይ ኤሪትሪያውያን ኣብ ልዕሊ ህግደፍ መሰኻኽር ኮይንካ ምቕራብ እንታይ ዓይነት ሓገዝ እዩ? ህዝቢ ትግራይ ብቐልፅሎ

ሐርነቱ ምስ ኣውሐስስ ባዕሉ ይዛዝሞ እምበር እንታይ ሓገዝ የድልዩ? ከምዚ ክርስቶስ ኣብ ምፅኣት ነቶም ሃጥኣን ከዛረቦም እዩ ዝበሃል ክሲ እዩ ነገሩ፡- "ዓሪቕ ኣየልበኩምንን፣ ጠምየ ኣይብላዕኩምንን"።

ንኤርትራውያን ፈተውትናዶ ፀላእትና ንምባል ተፀጊምና ኣለና። እቲ ብኤርትራያዊያን ዓብላልነትን ብሰራዊት ኢትዮጵያን ኣምሓራን ዝበፀሓና ዘሎ ብርሰት ብዓይና እናረኤና ኤርትራያውያን ፀላእትና እዮም ንምባል ንሕና ተጋሩ ዝኸበደና ናይ ሕሉፍን ናይ መፃን ናይ ሓባር ዕጫና ብፍልጠትን ብውሕልልናን ስለዝረኣየና እዩ። እዛ ኣራኣኢያ እዚኣ ኣብ ደምበ ኤርትራያውያን ተነገራ ኣይተቐመጠትን። ኤርትራያውያን ንሓቀሩ ንሃገሮም እንታይ ሕልሚ ከምዘለዎም፣ ምስ ትግራይውን ከም ቆልዑ ብዕለታዊ ጎንፂ ብዘድህቦ ድኹም ኣራኣኢያ ዝተደረገኸ እንተይኮነስ ኣብ ማእኸላይ ምብራቕ ድመቕ ዝኾነ ጥምረት ንምፍጣር ክግበር ዘለዎ ፃዕሪ ቕሩባት ካብዘቃልሕዎ ዝሓለፈ ስጦም ነገር የለን። ክቡራት ኤርትራያውያን ኣሕዋትናን ኣሓትናን "ህዝቢ ኤርትራያ ኣየሕትቶን" እናበልኩም ህግደፍ ድላዩ ክገብር ኣይተገብርኩም። ሓደ ህዝቢ ዝመርሖ መንግስቲ ኣብ ልዕሊ ካልእ ህዝቢ ግፍዒ ክፍፀም እንተሎ "ኣይምልከተናን" ኢልካ ተጎልቢብካ ምድቃስ፣ ወይከኣ ንማንም ተግባራዊ ረብሓ ዘይብሉ ቃልዓለም ብሚድያ ምግባሕ ነቲ ግፍዒ ዝፍፀም ሓይሊ ሓገዝ ካብ ምሃብ ዝተፈለየ ኣይኮነን። ልቢ ግበሩ! ኣብ ቤት ፍርዲ ዝቐርቡ ቀታላይን ደው ኢሉ ረኣይዎን እዮም።

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# CLUSTER 11

## Diplomacy and Human Rights



- The Superheroes: Tegar in the diaspora...
- The callous diplomatic language and the invasion of Tigray
- International Community: Quickly Walk your Nice Talk
- The myth of foreign backing to Tigray's struggle for freedom
- Amhara, Tigray, and Egypt: the history of betrayal...
- Tigray Conundrum 2021: Ethiopian Enemies and Foreign Friends
- America trapped between its national interest and its core values...
- From December 2020 to December 2022...

Tigray is a regional state (province) in northern Ethiopia. So, any international relation is done through Ethiopia. When the Tigray war started and human rights violations became so widespread the international community was obliged to act, but was restrained by state to state relations and diplomatic protocol. While the human right violations had to be attended to by the UN organizations, USA, and the EU the lack of cooperation from Ethiopia and Eritrea prevented any tangible action except for statements of concern and calls for ending the war and the violations. Now some form of a peace deal is facilitated with the participation of USA, EU and the African Union. It shall be seen how the international community will help justice be served in Tigray through the mechanisms of the peace deal.

**The Superheroes: Tegarū in the diaspora braved the winter and stood for their people.**

March 01-2021

It is the greatest paradox in the history of Tigray, the great ancient nation that it is suffering at the same time it is celebrating. The fact that it is suffering, in the devilish hands of those who benefited from its great sacrifices and hard work, is by now known to the whole world. Why Tigray is smiling while weeping is because it is celebrating its sons and daughters in the diaspora who are out in the city streets of America, Europe, and Australia, for several weeks now, in a determination no less than those who are in the trenches of Tigray to wipe the barbarians out. In the traditions of human societies, it is unusual to celebrate heroes outside the battlefield. In our modern age where world nations are intricately woven by the strong fabric of international laws and the soft and hard methods to enforce them, facing a lawless and immoral enemy in the battlefield alone does not ensure victory. Even war has its rules, but it all depends on what kind of enemy one is facing. An undisciplined, cowardly, and brainwashed horde can frustrate even the bravest of defenders because its "heroic" deeds are on civilians rather than on the armed combatants in the battlefield.

As if the barbaric nature of the invading Amhara musketeers, PP Army, and the Eritrean Alibaba's 40,000 thieves, are not enough to reck havoc on Tigray society, the ideologists behind them in the cities are pathological liars, blanket deniers, and educated illiterates. The latter would cover the eyes and ears of the world community, because they dare to abuse the international diplomatic codes of conduct with impunity. They bark at the world diplomatic community for interfering in the internal affairs of Ethiopia. Non-interference does not include gross abuse of human rights in the darkness. Non-interference does not include invading own citizens to punish them for conducting democratic election. Non-interference

does not include inviting a foreign power to kill, rape and loot your own citizens. Non-interference does not include allowing and assisting as much lawlessness as one state in a federal arrangement to invade another state within the federation and setup its administration in the territory of the invaded state. Non-interference does not include the invited former Italian colony to colonize a regional state within Ethiopia! A sovereign territory of Ethiopia. Non-interference does not include the destruction of UNESCO heritage sites even if they are located within the jurisdiction of the offender state. Non-interference does not include forced identity changes such as the Amharanization of the Tigrigna speaking Western and Southern Tigray. Non-interference does not include installing a puppet government replacing a democratically elected government of Tigray.

All the above is done in the name of "law enforcement". In practice it is "law-breaking enforcement". The world community of states depends on the reputable international media for information about what is happening around the world. In Tigray that was intentionally blocked. The rigid international codes of diplomacy do not allow states to contact the offended particularly when they are within the jurisdiction of a sovereign state. Heads of states are obliged to contact heads of states. When Hitler and his human hounds were exterminating the Jews in their millions the diplomatic community would call Hitler and ask him to "exercise restraint" or would express its "grave concern" about the atrocities on Jews. Hitler would say "this is a gross interference into the internal affairs of the sovereign German State". The world community would remain "concerned" until six million Jews perish in the hands of the Nazis. Now the world community talks about the holocaust and visits memorials for the last seventy years. This is the grave implication of the impotent diplomatic codes of conduct in international affairs.

It is the diplomatic "tradition" of non-interference that has become a prime cause of the gross violations of human rights by unelected and elected but dictatorial governments worldwide. Where citizenship is

no more a protection for some sections of the people of a state, the world has the obligation to protect them as they are citizens of the world. Ethiopian and Eritrean leaders tricked the USA and the world by posing as reformers and peacekeepers, while having a finalized plan of the atrocious Tigray war in their pockets. One was awarded the Nobel honor "not for what he has done so far; but as an encouragement to what he is going to do in the future". The reputable Noble Committee had no idea about what it referred to as "the future" could be: one of the most brutal wars the region has ever seen! Integrity is never embarrassed; it acts! The Nobel Committee must admit in public that it has committed a grave mistake because of the lack of foresight. In fact, it had already learnt a lesson from An San Sucki, who turned a blind eye to the Rohingya massacre, with the Nobel Prize on her shelf. The USA took away its eagle eye away from the world because its watchful diplomatic routine was distracted by the un-American presidency it had for four years. While USA was stunned by what was impossible to happen on US soil: The Attack on the deep seated American Democratic tradition. The Eritrean, Ethiopian, and Amhara invaders used the the sad American predicament as a smoke screen to brutalize the people of Tigray. The smoke screen was dissipated by the heroic Tegararu in the diaspora; and now the world can clearly see the tragedies that were unfolding in a complete media blackout.

**Keep on fighting soldiers without uniforms!** That is the only way the world community in a diplomatic formula trap can hear the cries of the victims in Tigray!

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**The callous diplomatic language and the invasion of Tigray**

December 12-2020

In my lifetime I haven't heard of any action by the international community and by the world powers to stop a conflict and the

inevitable humanitarian crisis that follows before significant damage is done. These are the steps that have become sickeningly customary that those capable of stopping calamities follow. First, even if they get hints or receive reports from analysts, journalists, intelligence agencies and also from the potential victims of an evolving crisis, reaction doesn't come soon enough. The usual tendency is to turn a blind eye to brewing calamity inadvertently encouraging the perpetrators to go ahead with what they have planned. They don't pay attention until the crisis reaches such a level that the major media outlets have it as breaking news and a subject for news analysis and key personality interviews. By this time thousands of people are displaced and similar numbers have died already.

These are the diplomatic terminology that are in frequent use when a crisis becomes a global agenda. I will use the example of the joint invasion of Tigray by two governments and a regional militia and the humanitarian disaster that followed. This invasion was not triggered by the incident of "attacking and disarming" the northern command. It was planned meticulously for two years but waiting for an excuse. Addis Ababa is a center of African and International diplomacy and it is absurd to think that the international community was not aware of what was boiling in Ethiopia. The Tigray State Government had warned the international community more than once that what we see today was inevitable. The call for intervention to stop a disaster before it happens fell on the deaf ears of the international community as it happened in several cases, like Rwanda, Myanmar, Bosnia, Nazi Germany, Cambodia, and others. It begins with statements like: "This is an internal affair". Yes, the killing of a million people in Rwanda was an "internal affair"; the preparation towards it was happening under the very eyes of the UN peace keeping force. It is a conundrum which peace it was keeping. UN diplomats and world powers were busy with diplomatic phraseology about the non-violation of the sovereignty of Rwanda. Myanmar is an ally of western powers and they have got their usual mistake on their heads in the Nobel Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi.



The international community or those who could have stopped the carnage waited until Myanmar finished the job of genocide on the Rohingya. Political analysts crowded global media outlets and journalists were very busy reporting under "difficult" circumstances about the mass displacement and suffering of Rohingya women and children. It is sad that journalism is not preventive; it feeds on such calamities as if they are sport tournaments or carnivals. For the international community this was a Burmese "internal affair". It is only when the crisis draws global alarm that the "internal" is turned into "international". When Tigray Government warned of a regional crisis, few cared to listen; when refugees started to flood into Sudan it turned into breaking news and a subject for parliamentary debate for those who got their ears back!

The other nauseating diplomatic terminology is "I (we) are concerned about developments in Tigray". When the reports of blockage of communication, internet, power, roads, and banks was announced with impunity and while it is clear what the grave implication of all the blindfolding and muffling of an entire region is to the lives of millions of people in Tigray, world leaders are just "concerned"! When the international community is burdened with humanitarian aid and threatened with a loss of its grip in the horn due to a possible spread of the conflict to other countries they call "both parties to exercise restraint"! The terminology is used as if two independent states are fighting not fellow Ethiopians being punished for electing their leaders. Election was not a crime; It is noble normally appreciated by the world of democracy. The invader and the invaded are both "requested to stop" on equal footing. The ugly tradition of the global powers is when an invasion occurs, or harm is done to particular groups of people what is evaluated is not what is happening but who is doing it. If it is an ally who is doing it "restraint" is cordially requested, if it is an unfriendly nation which is doing it a sanction will be imposed immediately. It is meaningless to request Tigray for restraint. Tigray did not invade any one. It is invaded by three armies in four directions without sufficient reason.

What power does Tigray have to "restrain" unless this is a veiled request or warning for Tigray to surrender?

According to international law no country is allowed to involve in an internal conflict in another country. It was clear for the last two years, to anyone who has been listening to statements made by the Eritrean leader that Eritrea would for sure involve militarily in Ethiopia's Tigray State to punish former allies turned into enemies for a reason driven by personal power ambition from the Eritrean leader's side. Words were converted into deeds and the Eritrean army was in Tigray almost in its entirety. Although communication is sealed in Tigray the fact that Eritrean garrisons have poured into Tigray cannot be a secret for the world powers who possess state-of-the art intelligence technology. No one can be fooled that the big powers don't know exactly what is going on Tigray! The tragedy is Tigray is of little use for them. They preferred to retain the friendship of Ethiopia and Eritrea in a benefit/cost calculation dumping moral values. The only gesture of "goodwill" came in the form of calling and asking the leaders of Ethiopia and Eritrea to check whether or not Eritrea is militarily involved in Ethiopia. This is ill humor. Asking Eritrea to check if it is involved? What answer was the UN chief expecting? He knows the answer is denial. He told the world that he got no evidence of Eritrean involvement in the conflict in Tigray. Who are the sources? Ethiopia and Eritrean leaders! This is too bad not only for the UN's reputation but also for conducting any research. The UN has a sophisticated security apparatus. A saying in Amharic goes (translation): "If not willing a needle cannot pierce butter". The world cannot be a better place if universal moral values are eroded, for the sake of alliances and counter alliances, maximizing benefits, avoiding trouble, and adhering to unhelpful diplomatic formulae, by the powers who are expected to be examples for the rest of the world.

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## **International Community: Quickly Walk your Nice Talk**

April 05-2021

We Tegarū will remain grateful forever to you for attending on time to our plight in the hands of beastly invaders. This has given us hope and emboldened our resistance against the huge odds. In spite of the global roar against the callous twin dictators based on tangible evidence of war crimes we are still fully in the hands of the enemies who are angered by the exposure of their actions to the world community. The risk delay of a decisive action by the international community poses to the very existence of the people of Tigray is hard to imagine. The dictators are using the delay of action by the international community to tactically obliterate evidence of the crimes committed and to do more acts of brutality on the people and their livelihoods to the point beyond any possibility of rehabilitation. They are repeating the sick mantra: "law enforcement against those who attacked the northern command" and this has dulled the senses of Ethiopians as it is an emotional appeal to patriotism.

The invaders are not stupid. They are determined to evade anything that would drag them to the ICC. Dictators love themselves more dearly than the nations they rule. As long as they can save themselves, they would not care to see their nations going down the drain. This is what is happening to Ethiopia, Eritrea, and the Amhara; they are melting under the feet of the dictators. Every minute passing without effective action by the international community is a blessing for the invaders and a curse for the victims. Being proactive reduces the cost of difficult and complicated restoration in Tigray. When Saddam Hussien invaded Kuwait USA did not give a chance for Iraq to dismantle Kuwait beyond repair. The lightning military action saved Kuwait and USA the possibly expanded war theater in the Middle East. The reservation by the international community out of respect for the sovereignty of Ethiopia and Eritrea may be understandable given the need for the

application of the diplomatic formula. However, if the receiving end of the respect abuses it and uses it as a smoke screen to go away with crimes against humanity and destroy the viability of the ancient nation of Tigray then it is not wrong to violate rules to protect morality. Rules are made not to tolerate vice but to protect the virtues of human dignity.

We can see vividly what the invaders are doing in the territories of Tigray they occupied. They are resettling Amhara population in the west by displacing the native Tegaruu in hundreds of thousands; they are changing the school curriculum; especially the medium of instruction; they are dismantling the former administrative structure to the level of grassroots and instating their own; they are establishing their own security structure and policing. Unless this is stopped early enough, and the Amhara militia forced out of Tigray as soon as possible the war of the restoration of the territories of Tigray is going to be extremely bloody. TDF may not be restrained by Federal boundaries if force is involved in returning the west to Tigray. TDF may want to push to Gondar in hot pursuit of the Amhara Militia. Timely intervention and the peaceful return of the west to Tigray can be less costly for all sides. Even if this generation of Tegaruu fail to return its annexed territories the following generations will. There will not be any peace for the occupiers any time in the future. It is most likely that Abiy Ahmed may be planning to use the annexed western and southern Tigray as a bargaining chip for a possible negotiation with TPLF to get concessions to freedom from being sued for crimes against humanity. Abiy has admitted that he commanded the Amhara Militia to invade Tigray and will never hesitate to use the Militia to invade other regional states as well. He is using them as his private army because he knows their craving for land has cleaned them of their integrity.

Eritrea is the key actor in this war theater. Since Isaias is the mastermind, who got trust from Ethiopians by beating his chest to the mention of the name Ethiopia, Abiy Ahmed and the Amhara chieftains will find it impossible to handle the scheme if Isaias and

his troops leave Tigray. None of the former have a full grasp of how they started it and what is going to happen next. The role of Abiy and his Amhara allies was to inadvertently open the lid and let the Jinni out of the bottle! Although it is difficult even for him it is only Isaias that can somehow manipulate the Jinni. For Isaias, return to Asmara may mark the beginning of the end of his dictatorship. For Abiy and the Amhara chieftains it could open the gates for TPLF to be restored to its elected position and start securing its legitimate territory in the west and south. Such failure of Abiy a few months after his cheered victory speech will shake the ground beneath him and lose even the sham election he planned for June. He had counted his chicks before hatching: "Destroying TPLF, controlling Tigray under PP, and then crack his whip at the rest of submissive Ethiopia!"

For Isaias and Abiy it is a matter of life and death to stay in or leave Tigray. They would do anything under the Sun to continue what they are doing in Tigray by changing their tactics and creating visual illusions to enchant the world community: "Readiness to investigate"; "Willingness to restore to lives of the people"; "Cooperate with the international community"; etc. etc. If the international community loosens its belts with such words of deception intended to buy time and cause further destruction in Tigray, its next moves will face immense and tragic difficulties to realize and save a Nation from extinction.

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<p><b>The myth of foreign backing to Tigray's struggle for freedom</b></p> <p>September 13-2021</p>
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Bacha Debele and Sahlework Zewde exchanged pleasantries on their shared illusions on the external backing for the freedom struggle in Tigray. They contradicted their own actions, which spoke much louder than the words, that the invasion of Tigray and the mass extermination attempt by alternating methods of using bullet and

hunger was nothing similar to what one does to fellow compatriots. While the two and their associates are mobilizing the people of Ethiopia to fight as if the war is against a foreign aggressor, and did not mind the fact that Tigray is still an integral part of Ethiopia, they are confusing us as usual that the war is an internal war "among ourselves" but with external backing. The political mess in Ethiopia is such that Tigray on some occasions becomes a domestic rebel and on other occasions it is referred to as foreign aggressor to an extent that the fight against it is considered as similar to the battle of Adwa against Italy.

The spirit of Menilik is summoned to the minds of Ethiopians so that they would all take even kitchen knives to fight the "ancestral enemy": Tigray. They have even named the war as a crusade against the "enemies of Ethiopian religion". The tabots are abused to the extent that they are taken to the war fronts to boast the morale of the army fighting against the army which has come from the cradle of Christianity (lol). One cannot help laughing and crying at the same time about the sheer absurdity. Giving Tigray a bad name under all circumstances is an established tradition of Amhara rulers and the ill-natured elites. TDF fighters are the proud descendants of the brave Tegarū who repelled the Italian, Egyptian, and Mahdist aggression directed at all of Ethiopia. Those who are accusing Tegarū as collaborators with Ethiopia's foreign enemies have a bloody history of betrayal stabbing Tegarū from behind. Carrying Tabots and lying are not compatible in the eyes of God. It has to come to the realization of the deaf, blindfolded, Godless Ethiopian politicians that God is helping Tigray to do such miraculous things after emerging from where it was deeply buried. TDF don't need to carry a Tabot. God is on their side already!

Any Christian in Ethiopia who drew sword against Tigray must repent before it is too late for God to bestow mercy upon them. Tigray is a Holy Land for Ethiopia and Africa as well. Christianity and Islam set their first foot on Africa in this part of the Continent. Who is on the side of evil inciting war and taking bloodshed as the

only solution to all problems in Ethiopia? Who is disapproving democratic elections and attacking elected governments? Is it Tigray which changed a Ministry of Peace into a second Ministry of War? Who unleashed the full force of a cruel foreign army against fellow Ethiopians in the north?

When the Axis of Evil invaded and destroyed Tigray, they were absolutely sure that it will never revive. It went beyond their mental power to explain the sudden and devastating rise of Tigray from the ashes and are now engaged in outrageous speculations about external support for the TDF. Even if many know the potential of Tigray to be indestructible like the Atom, and victories need to be no surprises, they are desperately looking for an inflammable face-saving excuse. They know from the bottom of their hearts that Tigray never intends to harm Ethiopia. They are fabricating lies about the collaboration of Tigray with the enemies of Ethiopia because that is the last thing Ethiopians would like to hear and such maddening propaganda makes Ethiopians completely irrational and fatally aggressive. The truth, which is hopelessly being distorted to justify the extension of the blockade of Tigray, is that the West led by USA is supporting Tigray not to harm Ethiopia but to defend its right to survive as a Nation. It is easy but immoral to misrepresent the good intentions of the West just to serve one's own evil intentions on Tegar.

For the World Community Tegar are as many citizens of the world as other Ethiopians are. That means they are equal as humans in the eyes of the World. Hence, the democratic world in the West does not allow Tegar to be hunted like wild animals. In fact, the historical contribution of Tegar to World civilization is much dearer than that of their tormentors. The World has great respect for the genius builders of the Axum Obelisks as much as they do for the great Athenians who built the Parthenon on the Acropolis. Those who accuse the West for "backing" Tigray are saying something opposite to reality. It is the West's concern for the unity of Ethiopia which has been delaying their concrete actions to save Tigray. Tigray is paying

dearly due to the hesitation of the West. Ethiopian politicians are blaming the West for nothing. Has the West done anything for Tigray without seeking permission from Ethiopia? Hasn't USA been literally begging Ethiopia to help Tigray save lives? Haven't USA diplomats been ill-treated in Ethiopia because they did not want to deal with Tigray directly without consulting the embarrassingly indecent high government officials in Finfine? The officials in Addis Ababa and Bahir Dar are oblivious to the fact that if the West wants to destroy Ethiopia it does not need to sneak through TDF or Tigray. It can bomb Ethiopia into ruins as it did in Iraq twice. China and Russia would never dare to come to help.

They don't want to risk their relations with USA for the sake of this poor and less useful African country. Ethiopia should not inflate itself beyond limits. It is not a lifeline for USA. The latter is simply sympathetic to the fate of 100 million. That is all!

Mesfin WM published a book in 1977 entitled "Somalia: the problem child of Africa". After nearly half a century Ethiopia, which branded Somalia as a "problem child of Africa", has surpassed Somalia and has become "The problem child of the world"!! That is how a state, which is chronically awkward to manage using available political and diplomatic tools, can be described.

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**Amhara, Tigray, and Egypt: the history of betrayal and the current baseless accusation**

**May 05-2021**

France 24 English saw its respectable studio messed up by a Key Ethiopian politician who preferred to defend the genocide in Tigray, by behaving so childishly. The gallant and genius Meaza Gidey has brilliantly reduced Neamin Zeleke into a naughty boy. That was enough for him to learn from if he really has the desire to learn. She is much younger than he is, and he is expected to be more dignified; but it turned out to be the other way round! He claims to be a



politician of international level; but has no idea about the most basic rules of political engagement. Neamin is not alone; most Ethiopian politicians of Amhara origin are xeroxed from the same original. Meaza has hit a thousand birds with one stone. If you see one, you know them all. One statement from Neamin Zeleke is accusing Tigray of collaborating with Egypt. By responding to Neamin I will be responding to those thousands who can see a speck in Tegar'u's eyes, while their own eyes are filled with rocks and boulders.

Before I go on with the details of my reaction to the allegation about "Tigray-Egyptian connection" allow me to enlighten readers about how an entire generation of the Amhara political elite failed to upgrade its political thinking to fit the political realities of the 21st Century Ethiopia. Amhara political thinking, from the 'shepherd to the professor' is petrified in the comfort of an "eternal truth of Amhara supremacy; in which Amhara is the able ruler and the rest of Ethiopia are lazy and uncivilized subjects". This sick narrative is deeply tattooed in the brains of the Amhara regardless of economic and educational status. Now technologies are available to remove tattoos from the skin; but removing tattoos from the brain requires soft not hard technologies. Tattoos in the brain are not visible dark patterns but stubborn ideas that have become change-proof. The goal of education is not the mere amassing of information in the brain but bringing about the capacity to process and filter information. With the passage of time more receptor cells are created. However, Amhara political mentalities are frozen in time as soon as the Federal Constitution became the law of the Land in Ethiopia. Instead of trying to grasp the reality of the existence of nations and nationalities and their craving for self-rule, the Amhara political elite knowingly twist the argument and cry-foul of a conspiracy to destroy Ethiopia. This is clearly a game of "wax and gold". The wax which the Amhara show to Ethiopians in flying colours is the 'harm brought on Ethiopia by the Federalists'. They use all kinds of primitive terminologies like "gotegnent" (localism), and gosegent (tribalism) to belittle the noble peoples' agenda of self-determination. Some even dare to refer

to the Federalism in Ethiopia as "Apartheid" without caring to know how different the two are. It is little wonder that the popularly elect civilian political party (TPLF) is being referred to as a "Junta", without caring to turn the pages of any English dictionary. Even professors, who have better access to a dictionary than the ordinary fans are heard using the word matter-of-factly.

Misnomers are abundant in their vocabularies because since 1991 the Amhara Elite are determined to win in the war of words and character assassination of thinkers who even slightly deviate from their stone-rigid medieval ideas rather than engage in scholarly debate. Scholarly debates are possible only between political opponents who are willing to update and upgrade to the state-of-the-art political paradigms relating them to National realities however bitter to swallow they may be. The gold covered by the wax is Amhara supremacy. The wax will melt if the Amhara are successful with their camouflage (saving Ethiopia) by persuading Ethiopians to crush TPLF and OLF: arch advocates of Federalism. If the wax melts the gold will appear. By this time Ethiopians are assured that they back in the 19th Century forever!

Neamin said "Tigray has drawn Egypt to its side". If the fox calls the lion a "fox" what should the lion say or do? There are a few possible reactions: one could be, the lion feeling strongly that such bad examples should not exist in its wild kingdom crushes the fox to death. Another possible reaction could be to laugh at the fox hilariously and leave. Unfortunately, foxes are stubborn animals who could nag the lion to madness. The lion must take his time and tell the fox in uncompromising terminology about a list of nasty attributes that have made him a fox. The lion should show the fox evidence in the fox that are not shared by the lion. Who is the real friend of Egypt? Unless Amhara betrayal comes with every opportunity as it almost invariably does, the Amhara are the dearest friends of Egypt in the Horn of Africa. The Amhara elite were busy destroying or modifying the contents of books and other documents that expose the realities of the past. By over exaggerating some

books and documents, glorifying selected authors, and fabricating god-like characters in the ubiquitous drama, songs, and videos they have overcrowded the minds of Ethiopians diverting their attentions away from the wealth of historical truth possessed by the nations and nationalities of Ethiopia.

It was Tigray, the heir of the Axumite Civilization that got connected with Egypt first. This was not a military alliance; it was a trade link. Powerful Axum never needed a military support from Egypt. The next contact Egypt had with Tigray was not related to Tigray. Egypt was interested in the headwaters of Blue Nile and this was not located in Tigray. The Gojjames, who had to worry the most about Egyptian interest in the Amhara land did neither contribute nor celebrate Yohannes IV's victory in Gundet and Gura. To the contrary the Amhara under Menilik were conspiring from behind Yohannes putting him in a weaker position against Egypt. When Meles Zenawi "disappointed" Egypt by building the GERD. The Amhara elite, including the uneducated, were on the same side with Egypt condemning the construction of the dam as "Meles grandest scheme of destroying Ethiopia". There were even opposition politicians who travelled to Egypt to pay allegiance and do their best to stop or weaken the dam. They succeeded by overthrowing Tigray and messed up the process of dam construction and the skillfully handled negotiations. It was not Tigray that sent Abiy to Cairo to "Wollahid" the Dam.

These three unmistakable evidence of Amhara elites overt and covert support to Egypt don't allow finger pointing by the culprit at the innocent. These are bad times for Egypt because currently Ethiopia does not have one head and one mouth to negotiate properly with. It is impossible to get a sober deal from a leadership in Ethiopia which is engaged in genocide in Tigray; Eritrean invasion in Tigray, Amhara and Oromia; border war with one of the three partners (Sudan); officials lying profusely and cannot be trusted for negotiations; armed conflicts all over Ethiopia; and a very weak

central government restricted to the Capital. Egypt must have become nostalgic to the Meles Era.

It is better to have a strong and unified enemy than a mess of a government to negotiate with. Egypt can trust the stable and consistent Meles Government for the proper implementation of deals. Egypt is not helping Tigray; but if after a century long Egypt's enmity with Tigray and friendship with the Amhara is there anything wrong if Tigray becomes friends with Egypt? It means Tigray has corrected its mistakes of creating enmity with Egypt to protect and benefit the Amhara. If the Amhara become so ungrateful and so cruel to Tigray, what obligation does Tigray have to remain foolishly loyal and bear an unfounded hate for Egypt? Tigray must repent for serving the devil at its own expense and should sooner or later strengthen its friendship with Egypt. If we use the measure of morality to judge us, how does Ethiopia justify its alliances with foreign states against Tigray and accuse Tigray of allying with Egypt?

Tigray does not need assistance. It fought against the mighty Derg army for 17 years and defeated it. Even now, when Ethiopia turned the invasion of Tigray into a world war, Tigray is still waging a people's war using arms taken the enemy. It has professors and shoe shiners fighting among its ranks. It needs external support to feed its people who are denied food by their compatriots. Even if Egypt is not involved now, Tigray will forge a lasting friendship with Egypt and collaborate in science and technology. Tigray may have to apologize to Egypt for Gundet and Gura and for launching of the GERD. Yohannes should have allowed Egypt to occupy Gojjam for good! Tigray could have lived in peace! Tigray thanks the Amhara politicians for helping it to correct its historical mistakes even if it is damagingly late. Noble people as Sudanese and Egyptians are they did not try to revenge against Tigray for its ill-advised battles against them. They were noble enough to understand the betrayal Tigray faced in the hands of compatriots. Who are our compatriots now? Neamin Zeleke! A Sudanese is closer to me than you are. Tegararu are your brothers!?! Is this the feeble political

tactic you were able to learn in your lifetime of training on Amhara chauvinism? Keep on barking while we keep on walking!

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## **Tigray Conundrum 2021: Ethiopian Enemies and Foreign Friends**

March 06-2021

It is a usual part of children's play to test one another's wits with riddles such as: What has four legs but does not breathe? The answer is: table or bed! If someone gives you a riddle like: Who are the enemies and friends of Tigray? The grandson of a martyred patriot like me would answer matter-of-factly: Foreigners (Italians) are the enemy and Ethiopians are the friends. The challenged side may even consider the answer to the riddle as too obvious. Can it ever come to your mind that this answer which looks plainly obvious is the wrong answer? Do you have the energy and will power to hear that the right answer to the riddle is the other way round? Foreigners are the friends and Ethiopians are the enemies! Well, friendship and enmity is not weighed by citizenship at least when it comes to Tigray. A compatriot is a fellow citizen whom one expected to love more than a foreigner. This is theory! When it comes to practice the entire logic of citizenship-based intimacy may stand on its head, as it did in Tigray since November 2020.

If the British Martin Plaut spends several months of sleepless nights to tell the world about the horrific atrocities Ethiopians are committing in Tigray (fellow Ethiopians) then I am lost in the meanings of the word's enemy and friend. As "Ethiopians" in Tigray we are bred in such a way that we trust Ethiopians and suspect foreigners. That sounded logical to us all. Although we saw and heard that Haileselassie used foreign air power to bombard Tigray in the early 40s; denied Tigray food aid during the terrible famine of 1958 and 1973; robbed its territories in Southern and Western Tigray; although we were dismayed by the brutality of Derg troops

on famine victims in 1984-85 drought; we preferred to attribute it to bad governance on the part of the ruling elite, freeing ordinary Ethiopian from the blame. Not deterred by the brutalities committed against them for the entire century, Tegarū went with the routine of serving Ethiopia from the bottom of their hearts. When they got the opportunity to be at the helm in 1991, they took Ethiopia to great heights never seen before.

For Tegarū the world started to rotate from east to west since November 4, 2020. One can understand nuclear science, though with great difficulties. It is also possible to explain how the solar system came into being. For any human it is almost impossible to comprehend if the Earth reverses its rotation to east-west. To me as a Tigrayaw what Ethiopians did and are doing in Tigray and why the rest of Ethiopians, including religious leaders, cheered the brutalities is beyond the capacity of my brain to take in. Her Excellency Angela Merkle is a leader in a faraway land. Who can understand Angela's anger about the brutalities in Tigray and the indifference on the part of the Ethiopian leaders? Ironically, Ethiopians were angered by Angela Merkel's anger! Tegarū fought against Sudan in the 19th Century unfortunately driven by tricky regional politics of the time. When Ethiopian troops mishandled drought victims in Tigray the Sudanese saved their lives by hosting them with unforgettable kindness. Which do I consider as my friends? Derg? Because it is Ethiopian? Tegarū didn't learn even from this. It was after this that they built the Dam and challenged Sudan! The dangerous refrain "Ethiopians are mine, foreigners are not" is seemingly tattooed onto the Tigrayan DNA.

Only after 40 years Ethiopian troops again displaced hundreds of thousands of Tegarū from their homes in Western Tigray. The displaced and brutalized again got shelter in the familiar place that Tegarū can by now call their second home: Sudan! It was not a formal government level action initially. The way ordinary Sudanese received the displaced Tegarū brings tears of gratefulness to your eyes. How can the displaced Tegarū understand this riddle? Chased

away by their own "compatriots"; but hosted by foreigners. One could argue that Eritreans are foreigners who are doing most of the atrocities in Tigray. That is a different matter. The enmity between Tigray and Eritrea was planted and watered by the rulers of Shewa. The latter are using what they planted as a stick to beat both into dust. Ethiopians invited Eritrean troops to commit atrocities with the intension of transferring the blame to the latter. We have criminal number one Ethiopia criminal number two Amhara and criminal number three the Eritrean tyrant. Eritreans are suffering no less than we do: and those that have the freedom to do so have stood on our side.

USA has a lot of problems of its own. Its parliament building was attacked sending shockwaves all over the world. The transfer of presidency was a severely testing time for the newly elected and appointed US leaders. It was at this trying time that US Secretary of State Blinken, who got the whole globe on his shoulders like the mythological Atlas, managed to pay attention to Tigray! The whole Ethiopia roared against him for being just human! The going got tough and when Blinken, with that grace and patience, flexed his muscles the world of brutality was shaken to its foundations. Ethiopian politicians were heard saying "We were betrayed by our friends". This shows how callous they are and expect USA to be the same! US and EU cannot be partners to their satanic acts on their fellows.

Now Tegar have cleared their heads, though washed with blood, that they have been big fools to trust and sleep with their enemies. The Earth for sure is rotating from east to west. In fact, it has been like that for centuries. It was only Tegar who were not learning their lessons properly. There is always an end to everything including the irrational love Tegar have for Ethiopia. It is proved beyond any iota of doubt that Ethiopians are enemies. The conundrum has got an unusual answer; but what is usual and what is unusual depends on context not on beaten-track principles. I wind up with what Aiga's Zeru Hagos lamented a couple of weeks ago. I read his statement

posted on his own column for commentaries. I read it several times because it struck my essence so deeply. He said: "How am going to repent for a lot of efforts I made to defend Ethiopia?" (I have rephrased the quote). This is exactly what those of us Tegaruu who served Ethiopia without reservations are feeling now. We are consoled by the facts that while Ethiopians have tightly closed their eyes on Tigray: the part of the world that always makes sense is watching our situation with widely opened eyes. Barbarian enemies vs. Civilized friends. This is fine with us except that the geography is too strange and evades logic. It is a blessing in a bad guise that the virtuous are now visible to the world when the cloud of vice clears. Once Tigray knows who its enemies are it is possible for it to stir into a bright new world with patience and foresight.

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**America trapped between its national interest and its core values in the Tigray war**  
August 24-2021

The key to the conduct of international relations is national interest. America puts this diplomatic formula as bluntly as: "There is no permanent friendship but national interest". All world states have their own national interests that they solicit from others, impose on others, and/or protect from others. World states also have core national values that may or may not be antagonistic or impediments to national interest. America and Britain for sure have shared values such as: democracy, peace, human rights, and constitutional order. They may join hands to realize these treasured values in their dealings or relations with other world states. However, America and Britain may clash head on in matters of international trade, each protecting its own markets from encroachment by the other. Zooming in into the internal affairs of particular states it is quite common for America's national interest to come into conflict with its core values. American allies and/or trading partners often may have



undemocratic or democidal regimes in which constitutional order is wrecked. The situation puts America in a difficult position with that state of paradox which is a friend in terms of national interest but at the same time an enemy in terms of the core values. There have been three possible options to resolve the diplomatic dilemma: 1/ to take sides with the state, support and defend it against its domestic opposition, or 2/ to take sides with the internal opponents of the state, or 3/ try to reconcile the two. Unfortunately, taking one of the options is something which is more easily said than done.

America has on several occasions taken option 1, which gives primacy to national interest, and risked its cherished values of freedom and democratic governance. A case in point is the US-friendly junta in Burma where USA did not exceed the unhelpful rhetoric in favour of the Rohingya genocide victims. General Pinochet was installed and supported by the CIA against the fans of the democratically elected government of Salvador Allende. The junta in Chile was meant to protect the copper mining US companies not the democratic rights of the people of Chile. In fact, which of the three options to choose largely depends on who sits in the Oval Office; but there is also an established way of doing things any US-President cannot bypass. This takes us to the American diplomatic dilemma that it is experiencing in Ethiopia over the Tigray genocidal war. It was the way it all began that put the USA in such a difficult position of inaction the consequence of which has extended the death and suffering of the people of Tigray in a biblical scale. The EPRDF-led government was successful in running an economic and social development experiment in Ethiopia which was based on a delicate balance between capitalism and socialism. Since the USA has never approved such a "brew" of socialism and capitalism it eyed the EPRF with mistrust as it also more often than not inclined towards China. Ethiopia and USA were allies on terrorism, though. It is not unusual for the USA to seek convenient substitutes for such governments that cannot be manipulated to bow to the economic dictates of the IMF and the World Bank. Although the USA had its tacit appreciations

for the success of the experiment which rocketed Ethiopia onto being one of the fastest growing economies, the fact that the commanding-heights of the Ethiopian economy is (was?) state controlled failed to turn Ethiopia into "capitalist-enough" state to the satisfaction of the USA. It was a blessing in a bad guise for the US-officials during the Trump presidency that bad governance had tarnished the good image of the EPRDF. America took this golden opportunity and used the civil unrest in Ethiopia to support the removal of the leading member of the EPRDF-coalition leaving the rest of it intact to lead the "transformation to genuine democratic rule". The loud noise of capitalism was in the air; but that did not serve the enhancement of social and economic realities on the ground. It was only a smoke screen to attack Tigray by giving it a bad name and inciting the wrath of Ethiopians against it.

I have no evidence that Trump's USA backed the invasion of Tigray; but I take its silence as consent! The callous Trump was busy with the election issues although he may have been informed by his aides about the unjustifiable aggression, the civilian atrocities, the destruction of social and economic infrastructure, the massive robbery, and the involvement of foreign forces in this should-have-been a domestic conflict. When the more humanitarian and peace-loving president and his foreign relations team swore into office it was too late for Tigray. The whole Tigray was brutally violated in pitch darkness and deafening silence. The whole world roared against what happened in Tigray with USA taking the lead. USA was already talking about genocide in and the withdrawal of foreign troops from Tigray. The reference to the invasion as genocidal implied that friends of the USA at Arat-kilo will most likely face justice in the Hague. On the one hand, the long endured national interest of the USA in Ethiopia can be protected only if this Country remains in one piece. America can never accept the second largest country in Africa as a fragmented failed state. On the other hand, the invasion of Tigray and the widespread war crimes committed by what America wrongly believed to be reformist leadership was not

compatible with the moral values USA holds dearly. The trend towards the disintegration of Ethiopia is unmistakable because the war crimes in Tigray have disillusioned Tegraru with regards to their continuity as Ethiopians. Most analysts believe that a domino-effect may most likely be triggered with the separation of the de-facto political and historical core of Ethiopia in the north. The genocidal war of invasion has been made more potent by the blockade of Tigray with the evil intention of starving its millions to death. The world has ample experience how gruesome the use of famine as a weapon of war is. Millions died in Biafra, during the Nigerian civil war, due to the blockade of food supplies to the Igbo people under General Yakubu Gowon. There is a great deal of similarity between what happened in Biafra and what is unfolding in Tigray.

America is performing a dangerous tight-rope balance to save Ethiopia and its current leaders if possible, for the USA, if not for the world, and at the same time to address the humanitarian crisis in Tigray and the unconstitutional violation of the territorial integrity of Tigray by the neighbouring Amhara expansionists and their Eritrean backers. The sticking point for America is that it is dealing with stubborn politicians who are decided to destroy Tigray at all diplomatic costs of international isolation and incrimination. America is accused by the Ethiopian leaders for backing the "terrorists" in Tigray. Since the latter are also accusing the entire people of Tigray as collaborators of "terrorists" they are want the world to believe that the siege of Tigray is an extension of the military campaign to starve "millions of terrorists". That is why they are accusing the USA for being "terrorist-friendly" when it insists on lifting the blockade and opening up for humanitarian access. Art-kilo and Bahir Dar have branded six million Tegraru as "terrorists" and thus America's request for access is rendered as interference in the internal affairs of Ethiopia. Ethiopian leaders have had their strange way of foul-mousing the integrity of the

USA, embarrassing it visiting top officials, and threatening the cutting of diplomatic ties. Unbelievably the tactic seems to be

working. Anger and frustration with the misbehavior of Ethiopian top officials, and the general public too, did not induce taking more drastic punitive measures on Ethiopia by USA.

Unable to jump out of the trap America seems to be standing on its lowest point of resolve and trying to appease Ethiopian leaders by putting pressure on Tigray favourable for the Amhara war-effort. USA believes that the preconditions given by Tigray Government for ceasefire and national dialogue are the most realistic. They can help America to keep Ethiopia intact and at the same time open humanitarian access via the most convenient route: Western Tigray. The precondition includes a new and inclusive transitional government. USA has to be clear about its desire. If it is keen about the safety of Ethiopia not about Abiy's leadership then it has to go for a more inclusive one. Constitutional order must be restored by the withdrawal of Amhara forces from Tigray. It is unfair to expect Tigray to withdraw from the Amhara Region when its own territory is still annexed by the Amhara forces. No other region's territory is taken by a neighbouring region. Why is the violation of the constitution in Tigray acceptable, but not elsewhere? War is not a hobby or something to have fun with. Tegarau youngsters are shedding their blood not because it gives them pleasure. It is because they wouldn't opt for a smaller Tigray than it was before the war just for the sake of peace. Human life and honour are inseparable. Mel Gibson took the role of Wallace of Scotland in 'Brave Heart' and was axed while crying "freedom!!". This is an enduring value that drives humanity and is compiled as chapters of history. Otherwise, we just belong to the Animal Kingdom. America must snap out of its dilemma and live up to its revered values. It must call the spade a spade not only with words but also with deeds. National interest does not nourish values; it is the other way round.\*\*\*\*\*

**From December 2020 to December 2022: USA still singing about  
Eritrean withdrawal**

December 20-2022

**Background: The absence of wisdom in US international relations**

I have taken only one university course on international relations and I am not sure if I will be perfectly diplomatic in what I write here. While I fume and clench my fist about something bad happening in the world of diplomacy a seasoned diplomat would have severe stomach acidity while forcing a smile on his face. I am not sure whether or not USA is the friend of Ethiopia and/or Tigray. It has a long time ago decided that it is friendless. I quote USA: “No permanent friends, but permanent interest”. So, even the feeble minded dude can do simple syllogism that USA’s best friend is “Mr. Interest”. Here I am talking about the folks in the White House not about the kind and honest Americans in the 50+ US states.

It is unfortunate that USA does not allow good people to love it because these good people have nothing to recharge US interest with. A huge statue of Abraham Lincoln sits high enough for a passerby in Washington DC to see. Does it occur to all those people that this man fought for the freedom of the oppressed and got a bullet in his head by those who hated him for that? What has changed ever since? Why can’t Joe Biden be an Abe Lincoln for the suffering millions in Tigray? Couldn’t Abe Lincoln have joined the Confederates, hit a jackpot, and live longer?

I have read about the Founding Fathers and I did not see anything that suggests that USA should be blindfolded by sheer interest and even risk going off the cliff following it. The US Constitution started as a moral document (it still is) not as a business contract. USA can balance interest and morality and still continue to be a superpower. Those in the white house with a vision limited to four or eight years of tenure don’t seem to realize how fast USA is sliding down in the rank of global popularity. It is obvious that popularity means market.

Russia and China don't care about neoliberalism or structural adjustment. They don't nag states about how to do their household chores; nor do they eye with appetite the commanding heights of developing economies; but they simply invest for mutual benefit. That is why USA is losing globally and engaged in a break-neck competition with China and Russia.

USA may not have hated Meles Zenawi and his Party so bitterly for his revolutionary democracy; it did not love him either. It was unnecessarily suspicious of him and may be was praying for his death or removal. When "God" did it for her it never realized that it has lost the best leader it could ever have in Ethiopia. The greatest folly in US diplomacy is that it wants to plug a USB cable to the leaders of developing countries and expect them to function as per the software installed on the "server". As it is in enterprise management the adage "Ruling the least is ruling the best" is also relevant in inter-state relations of a superpower with a developing nation. Just a few years after the passing away of Meles Zenawi, Ethiopia, the darling of USA, started to swing violently out of orbit into nowhere. USA miscalculated again; as it most often does, to gauge leaders for Africa in light of their readiness to privatize the commanding heights of their economies.

Does USA prefer Liaises-Fair Capitalism accompanied by war and economic collapse or state capitalism which brings about regional peace favorable for USA? As USA craved for the hands of the WB and the IMF deep in the Ethiopian economy, it was grabbed by an opportunist who used it for his own ambitions. It is no secret that USA backed the political change in 2018 hoping that it will help liberalism prevail in Ethiopia. Did that happen? Is USA satisfied with the current regime and wants to protect it against the leaders of the previous regime in Tigray? Is USA absolutely sure that any change of government in Ethiopia will be worse for USA? Does USA want to protect the current government against all the odds of a hopelessly divided Ethiopia? Is USA's blind support for a unitary system in Ethiopia realistic and would sustain US interest in

Ethiopia? Has USA become too oblivious to the balance of political forces for and against Federalism in Ethiopia? You don't host a tiger in fear of having a lion instead. It is only a matter of perception or lack of information that the lion may possibly be more docile than the tiger.

### **USA still singing about Eritrean withdrawal**

I am not sure USA is taken seriously for its orders, warnings, instructions, and recommendations. This is the logical consequence of its own deeds. There is little consistency in them. Sometimes USA acts without warning; at other times it warns endlessly but never acts. It is possible that people are reading the USA, from their experiences of dealing with it, that if it warns more than twice then it simply becomes "barking dogs never bite". There is another contradiction in the configuration of its words and actions. It acts on freedom fighters harshly while it just warns dictators reluctantly if at all it sincerely does that. What is the logical outcome of this diplomatic tactlessness? USA ends up as hostess of dictators and enemy of freedom fighters. Is this the two centuries old value on which American society sits squarely? I don't think so!

Two years ago, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of December 2020, a spokesperson for the United States Department of State told Reuters that "...it has credible reports of Eritrean troops presently active in Tigray and called on them to withdraw." I have not counted the number of times USA demanded that Eritrean troops withdraw from Tigray in the last two years: boringly a hundred times may be! I have no idea for how many more years USA is going to keep on repeating the call for withdrawal of Eritrea from Tigray. USA knows perfectly well and has stated it unambiguously that Eritrean troops are not nurturing the people of Tigray lovingly. Between December 2020 and December 2022 eight hundred thousand people perished in Tigray, the economy and infrastructure in shambles, largely due to the involvement of Eritrea in Tigray. USA knows this very well.

At this point, like Norman Geisler, I am obliged to ask one of the most difficult questions Christians face: How can an omnipotent and loving God preside over a world filled with evil and suffering? I apply this to USA. When the Tigray delegation shook hands with the perpetrator-in-chief of the Tigray genocide I was chilled to my bones because I am not a diplomat to smile about it. When the president of USA received Abiy Ahmed so warmly, I wondered if it is callousness to the plight of millions that keeps the planet rotating nonstop. I told myself then “this world is not for the soft-hearted”.

When Saddam invaded Kuwait USA wasted no time advising or warning Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait; it used its strong muscle to deliver its message as a superpower. Words do not make you a superpower; action does! There is no head of state in the world that defied warnings by USA as much as the Eritrean leader did. Isaias Afeworki leads an economy and society which is immune to sanctions. Why? Because it is too weak and desensitized to feel any pressure. The warnings at Isaias Afeworki imply that if unheeded sanctions will follow. Both USA and Eritrea know that even if warnings are followed by sanctions they will have little effect. So, it is meaningless for Eritrea to heed US warning because it is only a paper-tiger.

The only way warnings can be heeded is through military action. USA does not seem to be willing to take that option on Eritrea. The reaction of Eritrea to the countless warnings is either they will lull Isaias to deep sleep like classical music or pull out other cards that could force USA to blink. One of the cards is the “formal military agreement” with Ethiopia that only Abiy and Isaias know about. Eritrea is defending its involvement in Ethiopia as legalized by the agreement of joint military action in Ethiopia. This makes it is hard for USA to justify its warning or action to Eritrea to withdraw from Tigray and the rest of Ethiopia. When this does not work, direct military action by USA remains to be the only option but what are the risks?



Firstly, there is a morbid fear in USA that any military action against Eritrea may pull Russia and China to the Eritrean side. This may possibly trigger a world war in the Red Sea. If USA strikes Eritrea, it is my humble opinion that Russia and/or China will not be involved except for a release of a barrage of condemnation on USA. Eritrea is too insignificant for the former Eastern Bloc powers to risk everything for it. Even where Russian interest reigns supreme in Kuwait, Iraq, and Afghanistan Russia did not directly confront USA. Of course arming Eritrea could be an option for them but that would not help Eritrea win a war against USA. What makes this issue more complicated is not only the global alliance and counter alliance that ensues from the strike on Eritrea but more critically also the direction from which USA would strike Eritrea.

So secondly, USA attacking from the Red Sea, to avoid involving or seeking permission from Ethiopia in the operation, has little value to drive Eritrea out of Tigray. It will more deeply entrench Eritrea in Tigray and turn Tigray into a bloody battlefield. This would be

like “throwing the child with the bath-water”. After all, it is the responsibility of Ethiopia to force Eritrea to withdraw from Ethiopian territory; but did Eritrea force its entry without Ethiopia’s consent? The answer is No. Ethiopia sought the ‘effective’ hands of Eritrea to do its dirty job in Tigray. Eritrea entered Tigray as a double edged sword: 1. Doing favor for Ethiopia destroying Tigray will help Eritrea gain a firm foothold in the Ethiopian national economy and security with the long dreamt intent of colonizing Ethiopia; 2. Eritrea has its own axe to grind in Tigray where in it wants to severely punish Woyane leaders and their supporters (People of Tigray that means) for allegedly impoverishing Eritrea and rendering it a pariah state internationally.

When compared to the greater plan Eritrea has for Tigray the aforementioned two are just a miniscule. Even if the two reasons rationalizing the presence of Eritrea in Tigray/Ethiopia were absent the Eritrean political elite led and facilitated by the Eritrean

government have a gruesome agenda up their sleeves to work hard for the destruction of Tigray. A leaked document from the Eritrean political elite considers Tigray as a curse to the “Eritrean National Identity” which must be wiped out from the map. Eritreans are deep in identity crisis. The whole world, except Eritreans themselves, knows that the origin of the state of Eritrea can be traced to the notorious Wuchale Treaty in which Menilik II ceded the former coastal territory of the ancient Axumite kingdom and the northern portion of the later “Tigray Lordship” to the Italians. This was how the Eritrean state, a former Italian colony, was born.

Colonial rule is not a virtue; but many Eritreans served it, as many also opposed it. This has happened in all former colonies around the world and there is not much ado about it. Unfortunately, unlike other formerly colonized people worldwide Eritreans uniquely desired to merge colonial rule with the development of national identity. The Arab world is a single nation of Arabs but divided into different states. Libya and Egypt are a single Arab nation but two separate states. At least for the Arab world a single nation-state was not realized due to colonial rule. However, Arabs are trying to make up for this by establishing the: “Arab-League” embodying Arab nationalism. Somalis in Ethiopia and the Somalis in the former Italian Somalia consider themselves as a single nation although they are citizens of different states. The Ethio-Somalia war was nothing but Somali nationalism asserting itself. There are plenty of such examples in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Eritreans have become an exception to the rule to the manner by which nationhood is carved. It is hard to understand the logic on which this is based. Eritreans prefer to consider themselves as a piece of Italy on the Red Sea Coast. By so doing they consider the Roman Empire as the Empire of their ancestors. The conundrum is the ancestors of present Eritreans were a significant part of the core of the Axumite Empire that prevailed around the time of the Roman Empire. The heir to the Axumite kingdom is Tigray and ‘Tigrawaynet’. So the Tigray nation, which evolved from the

Axumite civilization, is currently in two independent states; Ethiopia and Eritrea. Some refer to it as ‘South Tigray’ (Tigray/Ethiopia) and ‘North Tigray’ (Eritrea). There are countless Eritreans who subscribe to this designation of Tigray nationhood. However, the ‘lost sheep’ Eritreans, mainly government backed, are denying that they belong to the Tigray nation and want to promote Eritrean nationalism as opposed to Tigray nationalism.

The worst aspect of the baseless Eritrean nationalism is not in the claim but in the way it is planned to be realized. Eritreans are entitled to their fake nationalism as long as it does not harm the safety and security of others. However, they want to grow Eritrean nationalism on the graveyard of Tigray nationalism. It is sadly analogous to the destruction of the seed for the seedling to sprout. What does this imply? How is Tigray nationalism to be destroyed? Tigray nationalism is not just a building or some monument to be brought down with a TNT explosion. Tigray nationalism means Tegar. Destroying Tigray nationalism means destroying Tegar. Can anyone believe this madness? Yes! Because it happened, it is happening, and will continue to happen by Eritrean forces in Tigray and elsewhere in Ethiopia. How can this be stopped?

The only way to end this insanity of an insane nation of Eritrea rising at the cost of Tigray is firstly, to remove the dictatorial rule in Eritrea, secondly Eritrean troops must be out of Tigray, thirdly, Tigray must be allowed to retain a well-equipped army for its own protection; and fourthly the government in Ethiopia must be replaced by a genuine federal government which does not do personal business with the sovereignty of Ethiopia in general and that of Tigray in particular. I propose the latter because the most effective way to remove Eritrea from Tigray and Ethiopia is to make the agreement between Abiy and Isaias null and void. This cannot be done effectively and quickly enough for Tigray because the agreement has brought Abiy under the full control of Isaias. Isaias is intimidating Abiy to the extent of excluding the reference to Eritrea in the Pretoria agreement. Isaias operatives are so deeply entrenched

in the security apparatus and have got powerful friends among the Amhara that Abiy is not sure about his own safety. As the people of Tigray die and starve Abiy is talking about the estimated 2 billion US dollars in compensation for “Eritrean lives lost killing Tigrayans!” This is a sick joke; and Tigray has no time for it. With regime change in Addis Ababa TDF can effectively remove and punish Eritrean dictatorship and Tigray can live with a more peaceful neighbor.

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# CLUSTER 12

## War-Siege-Peace



- Unconditional ceasefire: Is there any practical meaning to it?
- Abiy praised for a ceasefire that isn't and continued fighting...
- No Celebration, No Dejection: TDF advance into Amhara and Afar...
- For how much comedy do we have to laugh before the war ends?
- Disarming TPLF Combatants: Agreement on what does not exist
- Rights turn to Privileges: Killers thanked, Crimes forgotten

However hard the allied invaders try to overwhelm the Tigray Forces, with intensive air and artillery bombardment on both civilian and military targets reinforced by human wave tactics, they were only depleting their forces and losing huge quantity of military equipment. The disgrace they experienced in the eyes of the world, repeatedly defeated by a smaller force, forced them to take the cowardly action of imposing siege preventing humanitarian assistance to six million people in the entire Tigray and denying them basic services: Power, telecommunication, internet, banking and public transport. Supply of medicine and fuel was also barred from entering Tigray for over a year. This was the siege from outside 2021-2022; but there was already a siege from inside even when the invaders were ruling Tigray in 2020-2021. Peace agreement is signed but the invaders are dragging their feet in the process of implementing it. Two partners in the alliance (Amhara and Eritrea) rejected it and a new conflict seemed imminent.

## **Unconditional” ceasefire: Is there any practical meaning to it?**

October 27-2021

Why do people start war? No one would argue that it is for fun. War is an extension of politics; and politics is about ideologies and about group or national economic interests. Simpler differences in ideologies and interests may be resolved through give and take negotiations. The shared elements within the different ideologies and divergent interests may be used as basis for reconciliation and even to form coalition governments. When ideologies are polarized, and interests become irreconcilable each side would decide to impose its will on the other by force of arms. The resort to arms as a means to achieve goals is more common in a situation where a neutral third party does not exist, or sovereignty does not allow external intervention to resolve the issue peacefully. Peaceful settlement requires courage to call a spade a spade. It is rare if not impossible for both sides in a conflict to be right. Using universal standards of morality and justice one of the two parties to a conflict must be wrong in many if not in all of its justifications for involvement in the war. Hitlerite Germany had its own ideology and interests; so did the then Soviet Union. Germany decided to invade Soviet Union to get more territory for its economic ambitions motivated by the “Lebensraum” ideology. The Soviet Union entered the war to defend itself as a sovereign state. Imagine of a call for an unconditional ceasefire, out of concern about more destruction and loss of human lives, while German troops are deep in Soviet territory committing all kinds of atrocities. Who insane mind is expecting both sides to stop fighting simultaneously as if a traffic red-light is flashed on their eyes? If they can stop fighting, without setting preconditions, whenever they are told to stop, it implies that they had no sufficient reason to start the war in the first place. War is not started if there is no sufficient reason to do so. The reason may be acceptable and judged as rational or it may be unacceptable and

irrational. The judgement may vary depending on the interest and ideology of the third party passing the verdict.

The irreconcilable differences in ideology and interest that are used to justify wars are those listed in the preconditions. Having no preconditions is the same as having no reasons to fight in the first place. The hope that the irreconcilable differences that led to war have already been resolved during the course of the war or could be solved after an unconditional ceasefire is unrealistic. It is, of course, preferable to solve differences without going to war; but this is the fancy of a dreamer. When if both sides are not willing to give up isn't war going to be the logical outcome? Would there be regrets in the middle of the war by any of the two sides that the defense of fundamental values was wrong? Here is a simple example: Without going into details the complex almost internationalized Tigray war can be summarized as the war between protecting the federal system and restoring the unitary system in Ethiopia. It is clear that the two are dichotomies that cannot exist in one place at the same time. So, it is impossible for the two political ideologies to sit around the table and make peace for coexistence. Only one of them can prevail. In the Ethiopian situation it is either the Federalist side led by Tigray, or the advocates of the unitary system led by the Abiy government, with the Amhara imperialists on the driver seat, that can prevail. The war is expected to decide that. A cease fire without precondition means negotiating federal system (devolution) with unitary system (centralism). The “unity of opposites” works only in dialectical materialism. No country can have two constitutions enforced at the same time.

USA, EU, China, and Russia don't care whether Ethiopia is federal or unitary. What they want is to impose their interest in Ethiopia undisturbed. Who rules, dictator or democrat, is not their problem as long as they can have a free hand in the economy and diplomacy of a particular state. Of course, they prefer unitary system because they would pull only one string to ensure their national interests. When they learn that the government of Abiy they supported to come to

power is misbehaving and embarrassing them they would like to punish it but not too severely. When they see that people are killed and deliberately starved in Tigray with genocidal intent silence on the tragedies tests their humanity. Unable to choose sides they prefer to go for something which is more easily said than done: “CEASE FIRE WITHOUT PRECONDITION”! Most world states, almost everyone, think that cease fire and negotiation is the wisest alternative to destructive wars. In theory, yes! In practice, No! It is like “belling the cat” theory and “who is going to bell the cat?” practice. The Abiy government has named Tigray a terrorist state and is decided to eliminate it. The Amhara allies (masters) of Abiy are determined to end Tigray's leadership of history and religion and annex a third of its territory. Isaias of Eritrea, the ayatollah of the triple-alliance, wants to delete Tigray from the map of Ethiopia. Tigray on the opposite side is struggling against all odds to save itself from extinction. Are these intentions reconcilable? If they were reconcilable no war would exist between the alliance to exterminate Tigray and the Tigray to save itself. Unless those claiming to be neutral are deliberately blindfolded and cannot see the reality Tigray is defending itself and the alliance is attacking it. Is it fair to ask both to stop when “the neutral” are scared to face the truth and punish the attacker? There is no doubt that the defender would stop defending once the attacker stops attacking. It is not enough for the attacker to stop attacking for the defender to stop defending so as to end the war. If the attacker has done or is still doing something during the war that are harmful to the existence of the defender preconditions are not only unavoidable but also justifiable. Western Tigray is still in the hands of the Amhara and Eritrean forces; Tigray is under siege in which all power, communication, and financial services are cut and a food and medical supply blockade is imposed with an evil intention to kill millions in Tigray; Tegarau are rounded up and taken to concentration camps similar to Nazi Auschwitz and Sachsenhausen; widespread ethnic cleansing of Tegarau from the civil service; and no budget for Tigray and civil servants are starving without salaries and health and educational services are wrecked in



the entire Tigray. How on earth could Tigray stop the war and negotiate with the aforementioned inhumanities in place? Isn't the proposal for ceasefire without precondition a death sentence for Tigray emboldening the perpetrators?

“Both of you diplomacy” is like a “cutting the Gordian knot”-diplomacy. Not caring to thoroughly examine the intricacies of the war in Tigray, and call the spade a spade, is the denial of justice. How could Tigray negotiate as Tigray when a third of its territory is under occupation and the people in it are killed and displaced? How could Tigray come wearing a necktie to a round table while millions of its people are starving to death as a result of the blockade? How is Tigray going to sit in front of its enemies without an assurance that they will be punished for their war crimes in Tigray till this very day? Stopping a war does not solve fundamental problems unless the problems that caused the war are solved prior to negotiations. That is what preconditions are for. There is no win-win for the just and unjust in the kind of dirty war taking place in Tigray. Such wars are inherently win-lose where the just wins and the unjust loses. Third parties refereeing negotiations have to live with such facts of real life. There is no permanent solution to a conflict without solving the core problems that led to it. The world does not learn from its several mistakes of trying to end conflicts by putting equal pressure on both parties in a conflict. The careless “both of you diplomacy” during the Badme conflict triggered a war that caused the death of a hundred thousand on both sides. When Badme was invaded by Eritrea Ethiopia declared war on Eritrea. AU and the rest of the world was not wise enough to call Eritrea a spade and avoid the bloody war that followed. Every Tom, Dick, and Harry diplomat was applauded for proposing: “both Ethiopia and Eritrea must stop the war”. I have taken an introductory semester course in international relations; but I did not notice so much of simplicity in diplomatic action in the course as I see how the world tries to end conflicts. Any child can say they are “worried” and the “war must be stopped”. That is what

small children are saying when interviewed after surviving an accident in war.

Much more analysis and synthesis is expected to get deep to the roots of the war in Tigray rather than chasing sensational news like the paparazzi about the “attack on the Northern Command” and the “TDF in Dessie threatening Addis Ababa”, etc. The diplomatic tools for the USA, UN, EU, AU should not be as simple as scissors and clippers; proposing cease fire without preconditions is nothing different. Unless USA, UN, EU, AU stop playing like a village elder, who eases household conflicts by asking both spouses to be patient and love one another, no wars can be avoided or shortened. If USA, UN, EU, AU are really serious about ending the war in Ethiopia they have to be more courageous to endorse without hesitation the preconditions set by Tigray. The fundamental obstacle to action by USA, UN, EU, AU is the universally held but wrong opinion that the war is between Ethiopia as a state and a rebel group called TPLF. The wrong perception or conception is destroying every chance for ending the conflict. The real picture of the conflict is an illegal party leading the government in Ethiopia has declared a genocidal war on the entire people of Tigray, who elected TPLF to lead them, in an unholy alliance with Amhara extremists and Eritrean mercenary army. The war is not Ethiopia versus Tigray. If the statements I am making in this part of my last paragraph are taken as guide for action by the USA, UN, EU, AU, Ethiopia will remain safe. Tigray knows who its bitter enemies are. The world community must know that Tigray is just fighting for its life. Tigray does not need to destroy Ethiopia to save itself. Bringing to justice the perpetrators hiding at Arat Kilo and crying wolf about “Saving Ethiopia from TDF” is just enough.

The world must be too intelligent to listen to the habitual lies and deceit of the Arat Kilo leaders. They just want to save their lives and if possible, their power at all costs including the destruction of Ethiopia. This is not trading accusations. The world can save Ethiopia not by asking for unconditional ceasefire, which simply

extends the war because none of both sides want to stop it until it gets what it wants. Ethiopia can be saved only by ensuring the right of Tigray to exist. Otherwise trying to stop pain from malaria by providing anti-pain pills instead of anti-malarial drugs kills the patient. Ethiopia can survive and thrive only as a federation. The proponents of the unitary system must remove the archaic ideology from their heads if they really love Ethiopia not themselves. The world community should not waste time on lame diplomacies; it must use its political and military tools to enforce a new inclusive government that does not brand some of its citizens as terrorists and others blessed as dear sons and daughters.

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**Abiy praised for a ceasefire that isn't and continued fighting with the more stubborn proxies**  
December 30-2021

UN Chief and US Envoy to the Horn heard what they desperately wanted to hear: the withdrawal of TDF from the Amhara and Afar. They praised the Tigray Leadership just like a good boy and are gone for their Christmas cum New year vacations. Getachew Reda is a genius who could have been a UN chief if not a US envoy. He finds himself in the valley bottoms and mountain tops every other hour not to earn top-ups and allowances in a lucrative UN office, but to save his people from death by man made starvation those able to stop it seem to be enjoying it. They are busy chewing synonyms of words of sympathy while their arms remain tightly folded. Getachew Reda is typically reserved in the sharpness of his terminology; but he had an outburst at the UN a day or so ago. Some media considered his statement on the UN as a “lashout”. In fact, to the UN, what he uttered is much less than it deserves. While on a happy vacation I am sure that they will never tell their kids that in a far away land, in Tigray, children like them are starving to death. This is a matter considered routine to be attended to during office hours. Do I really

want a job in the UN and be a money grabbing monster like them?  
God forbid!

We were delighted by the withdrawal of the TDF because we trusted the UN and the US that they needed a political working space to end the invasion of Tigray and the humanitarian blockade by more peaceful means. These were the two key reasons why TDF had to push to the edges of Addis Ababa. It was felt by all Tegararu, who were understandably disappointed by the withdrawal of the TDF, that the decision was acceptable if Tigray's key demands are to be taken care of by the UN and the US once Tigray takes the initiative for a less costly peaceful settlement. Tigray's decision was meant to be win-win for Tigray and for Abiy who was in his final few days to leave or face the inevitable. Under normal humane circumstances the UN and the US are expected to take action to save millions of people not one individual. Unfortunately, it seems to me (I am entitled to my own opinion) that for the UN and the US the withdrawal of TDF from Amhara and Afar was an end in itself not a means to move more freely towards the more critical humanitarian objective. Prof. Kjetil Tronvoll warned that if TDF's good will is not reciprocated the war will most likely be endless. The huge problem truth is facing is the UN and the US are biased with the sources and don't mind scrutinizing statements. They prefer to believe the Abiy side however outrageous the statements it makes against Tigray are. What matters most to the UN and the US is the retention of Abiy in power at all costs; in spite of the enormous embarrassment, he caused them he remains to be their brainchild they will never betray. Hence, for the UN and the US the bitter reality in Tigray is a real "ant in the butt", an inconvenient truth! This is the main reason why the UN and the US procrastinate effective actions looking for lame excuses most of which are their own making.

Lame excuse Number One is: "Humanitarian aid is interrupted due to drone strikes on the aid destinations". USA has never been silenced or prevented by any other world state or power if it decides to take action. Did Russia stop it when it invaded Congo as a UN

force? Patris Lumumba was a Soviet puppet. Did Russia come to the aid of Saddam Hussien when US and UK bombed the hell out of Iraq? We are told on several occasions that the Security Council could not reach firm decisions on Tigray because of Russia and China. How convenient!! We know when it comes to retaining Abiy at Arat Kilo UN, US, Russia, and China have no difference. Their only difference is how blatant their respective support for Abiy should be. Russia and China, led by dictatorial regimes, have decided to be totally oblivious to the tragedy in Tigray and are backing Abiy in whatever brutal actions he takes against it. They don't mind fishing for profits even from a pool of blood. They don't flinch for genocide because they have more than enough in their own back yards. The UN and the US on the other hand are obliged by the democratic guidelines on their shelves to deal with international issues from the humanitarian perspective. The corporate capitalist world they are sworn into crosses their paths towards the supremacy of moral values over greed. Hence, one finds the UN and the US in debilitating dilemma more often than not. The consequences of such inaction have always been disastrous. This is what is exactly happening in the Tigro-Ethiopian war.

Lame excuse Number two is: "Both Ethiopia and Tigray are committing atrocities on civilians; so if the war is to come to an end both must stop fighting". The UN and the US don't want to buy the truth that both did not start the war! It has already become an open secret that the war was planned ahead of time by Ethiopia and Eritrea and an opportune moment was being awaited. This fact is too huge to cover and hide. But AU, the UN and the US were initially certain and relaxed that the war was just a brief policing of a regional state. The convenient propaganda about the attack on the northern command was fanned into a prairie fire which engulfed even what were thought to be sober and sane minds. As a logical outcome of the fabrication about the cause of the war the sick UN mantra of "noninterference in internal affairs of member states" was at full swing leading potential support for Tigray astray. The UN and the

US were “corrected” into calling the TDF as the “rebel group” in “northern Ethiopia” (no more “in Tigray”). While politicians in Ethiopia have already de-patriated Tigray in words and deeds and are treating it as if it is a foreign state the UN and the US have become more catholic than the pope and decided on the matter as a domestic affair. Inside them they know very well that Tigray is ostracized from mainstream Ethiopian society in every possible way. That is not all! Ethiopia invited/hired Eritrea to do the dirty job for it in Tigray. I want the UN and the US to answer these: Do you two have any evidence at your disposal that proves Tigray is a de facto part of Ethiopia? Does it fit into your definition of “non-interference in sovereignty when a sovereign state allows/invites/hires a neighboring state to destroy a province within its jurisdiction? Would you invite or hire Mexico to devastate Texas, and prevent sympathetic Canada from intervening to save innocent Texans? What kind of Sovereignty is this? What is happening in Tigray has no precedence in world history as far as my knowledge of the subject goes. Nations normally make war against their own citizens; but they don't allow other states to do it for them. When the UN and the US are faced with such unusual circumstances, they have the responsibility to revise the old editions of their law books to fit new situations. This is the difference between civilization and barbarism.

Because the UN and the US don't seem to take the pains to put new wine in new bottles, they are putting the unique case in Tigray in an old and rotten bottle. When Abiy Ahmed declared that he has ended hostilities with Tigray soon after TDF completed withdrawal from the territories it had occupied, the UN and the US were too quick to thank him for that. They were sure about TDF because its statement came after the completion of withdrawal. However, they had no proof of Abiy's ceasefire enough to shower thank on him. They knew who the boss really is that can decide the end of the war. Abiy's decision to stop fighting does not hold water as long as Fano and Isaias don't. It is the eagerness of the UN and the US to add some space to the comfort zone of Abiy so that he does not fester them by

his anachronistic “No more Western Colonialism in Africa”. While bare faced colonization is being done by China in Africa, Abiy and his support base are trying to intimidate the West to be indifferent or drag its feet on the Tigray predicament. Emboldened by the readiness of the UN and the US to turn a blind eye towards Tigray Abiy is using a more effective proxy to re-invade Tigray. Now Eritrea has invaded Tigray and is fighting on several fronts.

The official version of the war in Tigray in the UN and the US is that there is a cease fire on “both sides”. This has become a thick smoke screen for Abiy to continue fighting by supporting Fano and Afar in the south, east, southwest, and west and by letting Eritrea to do as it wishes in the north, west and east. It has become a boring evening prayer for the UN and the US to warn Eritrea to withdraw from Ethiopia. Eritrea is wary of the toothless tiger. Since Tigray is not considered to be Ethiopia no one seems to care if Eritrea does not withdraw from Tigray. After all, by now Isaias is considered to be the elder brother of Ethiopians. Who cares about sovereignty and who cares about Tigray? Considered by AU, the UN and the US as a poor and inconsequential territory not worth the pains! Ethiopia is a much bigger pie not to be exchanged for unprofitable humanitarianism.

The President of Tigray honestly felt that peace for Tigray is at hand as long as Tigray drops many of its preconditions and focused on what appear to be acceptable to the International Community. Who would object to a humanitarian corridor and a return of the cartography of Tigray to its pre-war extent? Dr. Debretsion sent a four action-point message to the UN Chief confident that he was doing the right thing most appropriate for the new state of affairs. The way the action-points were articulated was amazing. No UN Chief with a sober mind would be expected to scrap them as if he never read them. One would stop and ask: What is it these people want from Tigray? Do they want to be passive spectators of a genocide by starvation and territories of Tigray to be annexed by another region and a foreign country in gross violation of the

Constitution that is still the supreme law of the land in Ethiopia? The President of Tigray thought that he was making sense, as we all did, by requesting for a demilitarized corridor for humanitarian aid. How else is he going to feed his starving millions? Is this something that UN Chief fails to take seriously?

TDF lived up to expectations of the International Community by undertaking a mammoth withdrawal from several hundred kilometers away. This was a logistical nightmare for the young fighters exhausted by war. All this was not due to defeat, as the ungrateful beneficiaries of the withdrawal dare to portray. But it was out of respect for the International Community which was not duly reciprocated. As Abiy's ceasefire is being praised the war has continued. The war continued not because Abiy is strong enough to defeat the TDF, which has remained intact after withdrawal, but because he is using high tech weapons which are beyond the capability of Tigray to defend itself. Drones have become the new ENDF, and in practice TDF is fighting against Turkey, UAE, Iran, and China. If the UN and the US really want the war to stop and save Tigray from starving to death in millions it is easy. They can stop the arms shipment to Ethiopia not from the source but at the destination (Ethiopia). President of Tigray requested for an arms embargo on Ethiopia. Even this was brushed away by the UN Chief. Well, he may say "I am hired to be a diplomat not to be a Samaritan". I know, but our job descriptions do not flush out our being human from our soul.

The most complex challenge Tigray is facing, as it tries to put its story on the table of the International Community for a more concrete action, is the massive propaganda cyclone that is set in motion by the Abiy loyalists at home and abroad. The intensity and persistence of the operation of the propaganda machine is clouding Tigray so much that the International Community has become intentionally or unintentionally forgetful of the grave situation in Tigray in the first half of the year. The eyes and ears, the sympathies as well, of the International Community was on Tigray. The



genocide, the gang rape, the destruction of livelihoods, by the joint invading force was unacceptable and everyone was overwhelmed by the news of the humanitarian crisis. The invaders admitted that they were defeated in the diplomatic front. As the International Community fatigued by its own words of sympathy but no concrete action; the TDF was evolving to take the security of Tigray into its own hands. So came the liberation of most parts of Tigray and the march into Amhara and Afar regions. Unfortunately, the anti-Tigray Ethiopia used the opportunity and massively engaged in what is known as “mirror propaganda” or “accusation in a mirror”. This kind of propaganda is so confusing that it becomes hard to identify who the real culprit is. If a thief enters your house and calls you a thief the police that come to the crime scene will have to do a lot of work later on, but for the time being they arrest both. It is a court that solves the problem when the owner gets his papers for house ownership. The propaganda that is spread by all available media, presented skillfully and persuasively, is not easy to counter check for veracity.

Let me start with the examples of mirror propaganda from cases outside Ethiopia. By the end of the example what I mean by mirror propaganda in Ethiopia will be clear to everyone involved. Arshaluys Barseghyan, November 19, 2020 (notice the date), told a case story of mirror propaganda used in the Armenian-Azerbaijani war. I will mention the most typical: Azerbaijan was accused of hiring Turkish-backed mercenaries from Syria in the war against Armenia. This was proved to be true by reputable international media. A few days later Azerbaijan accused Armenia of using Kurdish mercenaries in the war against Azerbaijan. “This was a complete fabrication but played perfectly into the ‘both sides’ blame game” according to Barseghyan. In the last few months, the media in Ethiopia is overcrowded with make-believe accusations against the TDF for raping women, destroying infrastructure, summarily executing civilians, etc. in the Amhara and Afar regions. The wordings or phrasings have no difference with what was in the

world news about what happened in Tigray a few months before. Tigray was estimating that the restoration from the destruction could take over 30 years. The same number of years were used to describe the damage in the Amhara region by the TDF. An astronomic sum of 280 billion birr was tabled for the central government as war reparations. This was the total national budget of Ethiopia only a few years back.

The TDF had no intention of revenge on the Amhara people. It had a goal which had nothing to do with the ordinary Amhara people. The propagandists know very well that nothing of that sort happened; but they are determined to escape responsibility for what they did in Tigray a few months ago. They are working hard 24/7 to divert the attention of International Community away from Tigray. The “No more movement” reinforced by mirror propaganda is a thick dark curtain to obscure the reality in Tigray. As the “No more” movement is rallying Africa against the West, its attention has been almost effectively diverted out of fear of losing Africa. Once they lock Africa and the West in unending squabble genocide perpetrators in Ethiopia will get the respite from the specter of ICC haunting them.

The UN has consolation for its failure in its customary regrets. Antonio Gutierrez has four more years in the UN. I hope he does not fail Tigray at this time of need for the sake of “UN working procedures”! UN is serving human beings; so, it has to wear more a human face than a strictly diplomatic one. It is of no use to regret afterwards as Koffi Anan did. After a decade of the Rwanda Genocide Annan said: *“Rwanda Genocide must leave us always with a sense of bitter regret and abiding sorrow”*. He had no genocide on his head like his successor, but Boutros Ghali realized his failure only after he was replaced. He said: *“The failure of the UN- My failure, may be, in retrospective, that I was not enough aggressive with the members of the Security Council.”* I hope Antonio Gutierrez will not emulate the two African failures in UN leadership. It is my

belief that the UN Chief will unleash his humanitarian instinct and visit Tigray after the New Year vacation.\*\*\*\*\*

**No Celebration, No Dejection: TDF advance into Amhara and Afar was a means not an end**

December 02-21

Several hours before the official communique was released by the Central Command of Tigray Sanjit of My Views on News broke the news of the evacuation of TDF from key places that it had captured after heavy battles in the last few months. As a natural reflex I was caught off guard for a moment but got my composure back after examining my own thoughts on the TDF's campaign beyond the borders of Tigray. Throughout the last five months of TDF's military operation in the Afar and Amhara regions I was joyous about its victories but deeply worried about the fact that it was stretching itself beyond reasonable limits. With a devastated and starving home base, with meager resources to sustain the food supply and health services for its fighting force, and the exhausting constant movement with less time to rest the human limits to endurance can be surpassed with devastating consequences. The depletion of the ammunition stock without a means to replenish it, as the endless human wave attack continued unabated, is a food for thought for the leadership of TDF. It is hard to imagine how the young fighters with their veteran commanders were able to accomplish what they have done in the face of an overwhelming force countering their advances. Though without any tangible support the whole world was mesmerized by the demigods of soldiers of the TDF.

With the release of the official communique by the Central Command of Tigray I came to know that the commanders of the TDF are not only brave and endowed with inexhaustible military skills but also far sighted with the courage to accept realities however hard they are. Fighting an extended war with a regime that does not hesitate to send millions to their deaths is not only exhausting but also unfruitful. Dictatorship is never ready for

compromise and turns every stone to protect its political power. It uses all immoral means under its disposal to crush its enemy. Its targets are indiscriminate and cowardly making it difficult for a disciplined fighting force to play by the rules of the game. The off-battle airstrikes on the Tigray Capital and the mass incarceration of Tegarü noncombatants is a clear testimony to the messiness of the enemy TDF is unluckily facing. The million-dollar question is: Should the TDF continue with the business as usual of 'defeat, capture, and retain' cities and towns in the Amhara and Afar? The answer is No! The enemy seems to have become familiar with the "TDF routine" in the conduct of the war and has made it difficult for the TDF to stick to its modus operandi. Many in the social media have been able to predict what the next move of the TDF will be. This is a danger signal for the TDF. Although TDF fighters are superhuman they are far from being divine. Bit by bit their strategic advantages may be eroded by hit and run tactics from the Amhara irregulars who are hell bent on dying like flies to achieve their imperial dreams. This calls for drastic changes in tactics, on the part of the TDF, in order to avoid being predictable.

The elevated spirit of Tegarü at home and abroad, with the certainty of victory at Addis Ababa, may have had its lows and depressions in the last day or two. The feeling is understandable given the threat of starvation in Tigray, the quick justice expected on the perpetrators of war crimes in Tigray, and the urgent need for the liberation of Western Tigray. As there is no sufficient reason for celebration in the Abiy Camp there is little cause for dejection in the TDF camp. Carried away by the almost endless series of TDF victories we Tegarü seem to have lost ourselves in the euphoria and utterly forgot the very reason why TDF advanced so deeply into the Amhara and Afar regions. Getachew Reda might have got tired of reminding everyone of us that the mission of TDF's military campaign in Amhara and Afar is to put pressure on Bahir Dar and Arat-Kilo so that they are arm twisted to end the humanitarian and essential service blockades, and the unconditional withdrawal from Western

Tigray of Amhara and Eritrean occupiers. It is unmistakable that TDF's stay in Amhara and Afar is a means to an end: FREEDOM! The end goal is achieved by defeating the enemy and forcing it to comply to the demands of Tigray. Defeating the enemy and forcing it to comply is not location bound. It is done wherever it is convenient for the TDF to do so with least cost in time, energy, material, and human lives. For the TDF it is absurd to defend Dessie, Kombolcha, Lalibela, or Chifra. There is no more military advantage in dying defending these cities. The initial advantage they had for crushing the ENDF is already enjoyed and gone for good. TDF is not supposed to be the mayor of Dessie; neither is it expected to be the chief priest of Lalibela. The new move will help TDF to concentrate its armies in few strategic but mobile fronts for best effect. So far TDF was at a potential disadvantage of being scattered and stationed far and wide while its enemies became beneficially concentrated and mobile. This allowed the latter to torment the TDF here and there with the aim of exhausting it with the passage of time. TDF started as a guerrilla force against a stationed army; through time, the enemy turned into a Guerilla army while TDF waited stationed in cities. This is a recipe for disaster! So let the TDF move around and Tegaruu keep your spirits high and trust the heroes of Tigray!

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**For how much comedy do we have to laugh before the war ends?**

December 25-2021

In fact, I have no reason and am left with little energy inside me to laugh at a time when my people are being hunted by human hound-dogs from every direction. However, I always untie my knotted nerves thanks to the stupidity of the tormentors of the people of Tigray who either lack the skills or don't mind organizing their official falsehoods in a logical and consistent manner. Making people believe falsehoods requires great skills. These people are amateurs! We know they are not the best available politicians; but they are the trickiest and foolhardiest ever! What they want is people

to applause them. See the naïve smile on the face of Shimeles Abdissa in response to the applause and laughter of the audience when he mocked the USA for its “blighted wheat” without any sense of responsibility and respect for the democratic world power. USA realized that for Ethiopia AGOA could be blighted too. It’s understandable for America to feel hurt by the ungrateful lashing out in ignorance. Of course, that was not the main reason for the cancellation of AGOA; it was because Ethiopia became infatuated with Nobel-awarded genocide perpetrators.

These are the kinds of leaders Ethiopia is glorifying! Maybe it is true that “people get the leaders they deserve”. In view of the great leaders hard-hit Tigray is awarded with the truth of the proverb is confirmed. On the morrow of humorous lies and denials always comes embarrassment; and thus, forcing them to lie again contradicting their previous lies. Sometimes they make contradictory statements in the same speech and go away with it. This happens when the audience is blindly in love with the lying politicians, or it is scared of retaliation following any unwelcome comments. The former is the most likely reason concluding from experiences of recent politics in Ethiopia. The falsehood often emanates from the urge to hide defeat in the battle and/or the diplomatic field. The rate of reproduction of lies and denials is so high that when analysts handle one today four or more may come up the next day. I am sure I cannot address all of them in this tiny article; the task is undoubtedly Herculean. Let me focus on the latest and the most laughable.

These are two lies from the chief executive. Should I call them lies? More appropriately, they are intentional public deceptions with full awareness of the truth. The first of the two goes like this:

*“The people of Tigray are traitors. We don't want to continue fighting deep in Tigray because they will repeat their betrayal to our military disadvantage. First they demanded that the Northern*

*Command stay put in Tigray to protect them; later on, they slaughtered it”.*

This statement talks volumes. Why did the people of Tigray demand the Northern Command to stay put in Tigray? We are advised not to forget the Sumerians let alone a very recent history of the couple of years before the November 2020 blitzkrieg over Tigray. The Command was in Tigray because the border with Eritrea- “the problem child of the Horn” -is situated in Tigray's northern limit. It is an Ethiopian defense, not intended for Tigray alone, as the PP officials later lied about. For twenty odd years the border was guarded by the Command at the order of the EPRDF government, which included those guys now in power. The military policy of Ethiopia identified Eritrea as an enemy state. When the two tyrants of the two states started the mysterious courting and frequent dating everyone mistook it for a peace deal. Soon Tigray leaders were suspicious that something was brewing against them and against Tigray. The vapor started to turn into water and the new guys at Arat-Kilo decided to remove any armed barrier against Eritrea from the border.

The withdrawal of the Northern Command from Tigray was scary for Tigray because Eritrea may invade it in the absence of the Command. Tigray never suspected that Eritreans will be invited by the Ethiopian government to invade Tigray. So, they demanded the Command to remain in Tigray. The Northern Command, as a matter of fact the entire Ethiopian Defense force, was the brainchild of TPLF! Hence, there was no question about belongingness in Tigray. When it comes to the very survival of Tigray the Mosaic law of “Love thy enemy” does have no value. When the Northern Command was prepared to be instrumental in the invasion of Tigray by no other than the Eritrean army Tigray had to save itself. Abel was not aware of Cain's intention to kill him. He could have made the preemptive strike on Cain. Tigray was too wise to be Abel. This is the truth about the alleged “betrayal”. Not taking about individuals because there are plenty of them, the people of Tigray don't betray.

They are betrayed more often than not. It is their quick wit that saved them.

The second deliberate public deception is stated as follows: “*We tried to free Tigrayans from terrorist TPLF; now we have decided to let them fight the TPLF on their own.*” First of all, the most honest reason for the decision of the ENDF not to follow the TDF into Tigray territory is the fear that the Ethiopian army will most likely be decimated again. Several huge defeats in the Amhara region have inoculated dread in the ENDF commanders and the chief himself. The Army was irreparably destroyed in Tembien with around 8k war prisoners taken by the young and ill armed TDF. Now the TDF has evolved, in a matter of few months, into an invincible force. It is well known to the PP chief that much worse will happen this time which could bring his regime to its end. This is a face-saving statement but the choice is far from being smart. It is rather funny because it is only the fool who would entertain such a ridiculous wishful thinking that the people are crazy enough to fight against their own Guardian Angel. Does he really believe what he is saying? He doesn't. It is the people of Ethiopia he enchanted with his demagoguery that believe it from the bottom their hearts! Thanks God! You gave me something to laugh about hilariously.

Abiy and his associates have rightly realized that continuing the war will render a huge counter blow to them. They seem to have decided to take a bite of the loaf of bread if they cannot eat all of it. Such pragmatism may be a “better late than never” even if that is not going to ensure their power grip for long enough. Their decision to stop fighting the TDF is intended to save their necks from the wrath of the International Community which has already taken toll. In practice, they are trying to push into Tigray while blindfolding the International Community with the false promises of halting the advance into Tigray. They are using two spoons. If the re-invasion of Tigray succeeds, they will throw away the “spoon of ceasefire” and resume their usual disregard for international law. What is hard to comprehend for an ordinary mind like myself is why the



international community believes what they say when it has ample experiences about how much they lie, deny, and deceive. In a course I had on diplomacy the professor said bluntly: “Diplomacy means lying!”. “Oh, My God” I said then. Many years later I saw it in practice. Is this how the world is rotating and revolving 24/365? It must be only in Ethiopia. If it were the whole world that were lying to each other all through the Planet could have turned into a flaming desert like Mercury. Abiy and his associates are not dead serious about the cease-fire not on their own terms but on that of the political force that is on the driver-seat of politics in Ethiopia.

Abiy is just like a tamed lion whose roar is more powerful than his elbow. The real power in Ethiopia lies in the hands of the Amhara elite and their sedated, rewarded, or frightened entourage from the multiple ethnic minorities. The latter know very well that they will be next after Tigray, but they have chosen a temporary peace than a costly proaction to save the hard-won self-rule. The PP Oromos are reluctant members of the entourage, who sometimes test their political muscles against their Amhara associates to little lasting effect. When the going gets tough the PP Oromos very quickly reverse their pace. Shimeles Abdissa is my favourite hero in the dictionary. His early public speeches were violently anti-Amhara rule of the past. After he was honored in Bahir Dar he has become as timid as the cat frequenting statements that his Amhara bosses/associates would love to hear. Other lost cases of the Oromo are Taye Dendea and Adanech Abeibei. Now, a critical stage is reached after TDF willingly withdrew from Amhara and Afar in response to the call by the international community for both sides to refrain from spreading the war to other parts of Ethiopia. TDF won a decisive victory on the diplomatic arena putting “Abiyosphere” in a huge dilemma.

The Amhara “Knighthood” nicknamed Fano is determined to pursue TDF into extinction in order to ensure the permanency of the annexation of Western and Southern Tigray for Amhara region; for Gondar region to be more exact! Abiy, temporary or permanent no

matter, is protected by international diplomacy. He seems to be confident that with some sort of compromise with the TPLF he can retain his premiership. Tigray does not mind about who sits in the Menilik palace as long as its basic demands are met. It does not intend to manage the unmanageable Ethiopia ever again! This is not the foxy “grapes are sour” as the Abiyosphere prefers to think. Unfortunately, the toxic propaganda of the Abiyosphere is accusing TPLF of something which it would and should never contemplate capturing the Menilik throne. There is no spare seat. Menilik is back on his throne, though not breathing. (lol). The false propaganda has helped them to mobilize millions into a human wave severely testing the humanity of the TDF.

The Amhara elite and their armed wing-the Fano- are at odds with Abiyosphere. This is the cliff-edge of politics in Ethiopia this week. Abiyosphere cannot survive without support from the de-facto rulers of Ethiopia. His position as a de-jure head of government does not at all enable him to exercise his prerogatives. Unless otherwise Abiy stops playing hide and seek with the International Community and stands firm for peace against the Amhara odds, he would be taking too many risks that he cannot brush off by his tiresome oratory. The Amhara elite locked their wedding gowns with that of Isaias'. Isaias wants the Amhara market via Wolkait. Isaias wants to finish off Tigray in fear of retaliation from the TDF. The Amhara/ Gondar economic and political elite want Wolkait badly. They are also determined to destroy Tigray to rule out any “future relapse of Woyane power”. The common denominator between Isaias and the Amhara/Gondar elite is very clear. The denominator is not of much interest to Abiyosphere. He has lost the bulk of the ENDF he commands due to his great folly, in which he counted his chicks before hatching. He does not want to sleep facing the direction Tigray is located let alone go there and touch it. By today, Ethiopia has two leaders. The Fano command and the Abiy cabinet.

I will start laughing the moment the two start to fight. Can Abiy defeat Isaias and his fano allies? Yes, he can; only if he officially

declares the removal of Eritrean troops and security operatives from every part of Ethiopia and mainly from Tigray. He can request for international support for this. If he does, USA will for sure fire 10 of its cruise missiles at Adi Hello. Game Over!! The Fano will be a piece of cake to be left for the TDF to swallow.

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**“Disarming TPLF Combatants”: Agreement on what does not exist**

November 7-2022

The elusive ‘Pretoria Agreement’ refers to the TDF as “TPLF combatants”. How convenient! Armed people known as TPLF combatants don’t exist. Did it occur to the TPLF delegation in Pretoria that the signed agreement to disarm and demobilize “TPLF combatants” is in practice the disarmament and demobilization of phantom army in a visual illusion? I cannot speculate that the Tigray delegation in Pretoria had the wrong impression that TDF is a de facto TPLF army because I believe that members of the Tigray delegation are too intelligent to fall into the trap of political tricks woven by the Ethiopian delegation backed by a lot of unknowns behind them.

The political card is quite familiar. It is the unmistakable extension of the barrage of propaganda by the genocidal war mongers in Ethiopia and Eritrea to bury the truth that they are fighting against the people of Tigray. Advertently or inadvertently, the world community is led into believing that the two-year war in Tigray is against a rebel group known as TPLF. Even if it were true that they are fighting only the TPLF they are aiming at the wrong target. By referring to TPLF as a terrorist organization they are trying to get the approval of the world community which jumps at the mention of the word ‘terrorist’.

The governments of rascals worldwide know the weaknesses of people in the global decision making offices. When the latter receive requests from particular governments seeking aid to fight domestic terrorism, without second thought they feel they got friends in their fight against what they call terrorists in their own backyards. As emotions tend to overwhelm people by the thought of terrorists operating in some part of the globe they tend to rush into cursing them without taking sometime to investigate the facts on the ground. TPLF is not a bunch of terrorists as it is being portrayed to the world public.

Drawing parallel with Al Shabab and Al Queda is unfair in the sense that this group was founded fifty years ago to liberate the People of Tigray from age-old subjugation by the brutal central rule at Arat-Kilo. It protects non-combatants, treats POWs as human beings; it does not kill women and children and destroy their livelihoods as is customary among Terrorists. In fact, the war in Tigray has shown clearly who the real terrorist is. Was it TPLF which has been bombing women and children, raping thousands, destroying civilian infrastructure, and looting articles from industrial machinery to spoons and forks? It is easy for a political force with a subservient parliament, judiciary, army/security apparatus, and hate blinded millions to dare brand even the angels as terrorists. The tragedy is that the world finds it more convenient to believe governments in power rather than take the pains to go behind them and verify the issue objectively.

TPLF was the most successful government in Ethiopia for three decades presiding over an unprecedented economic boom, improved standards of living, and ensured peace and security that was taken for granted. Mention the name of a terrorist that has been as benevolent as TPLF in the political power in Ethiopia was. It was its own EPRDF partners, out of sheer jealousy, who gave it a bad name and are trying to kill it; as the proverb about the killers of their loyal dog goes. Most Tegarü embrace TPLF as their own and it is wild to say the least to refer to the TPLF as terrorist. This would be

tantamount to referring to millions of Tegar as terrorists by extension.

The world knows who is who; but it turns a blind eye to the allegations against TPLF as a terrorist party just for the sake of callous diplomatic correctness, the often insensitive prioritization of 'national interest', and the skeletons in the cupboards of some powerful states as regards to the embarrassing genocides in their dark histories. The point I am trying to hammer home here is not to prove the fact that TPLF is a party of the people. This is well known to the whole world, even to the toxic Ethiopian and Eritrean politicians, but they deny it to realize their ambitions in the Horn of Africa. To tarnish the bright color of TPLF and Tigray a huge quantity of pitch dark paint is needed. That is why falsehoods ornamented as truth have overwhelmed the Ethiopian and Eritrean media at home and abroad. I am not saying that TPLF and TDF have nothing to do with one another. This would be a gross simplification and even denial of the truth on the ground. The evolution of the TDF should be traced from the founding of the TPLF half a century ago.

The top TDF commanders were former TPLF combatants during the 17 years of armed struggle against military dictatorship in Ethiopia. They lost their TPLF party membership after they were assigned as officers in the newly established Federal Ethiopian Defense Force. So, neither the army chief of TDF, General Tadesse Werede nor the senior member of the Central Command, General Tsadkan Gebretensay are members of the TPLF. No one was required to be member of the TPLF to enlist in the TDF as a commander or as a rank and file member. Although many of the former commanders of the TPLF joined the Ethiopian Defense Force and were physically out from the TPLF, their hearts were understandably with their former mentor. Later on, following the Ethio-Eritrean war, many of the former Tigrayan commanders and civilian leaders turned against the TPLF accusing it of its bad decisions with regard to the border ruling. Some were jailed, many others were fired, and still others joined opposition parties.

Some of the most notable of the victims of the TPLF-purge were General Tsadkan (former chief of staff), General Abebe (former air force commander), Seye Abrha (former defense minister), and Dr. Mulugeta Geberhiwot (founder of the Peace and Security Institute, AAU). Since the war is a people's war, the former Tigrayan dignitaries in the military and civilian administration joined in the defense of Tigray against the allied perpetrators of genocide: General Abebe and Seye Abrha are doing their best from outside and General Tsadkan and Dr. Mulugeta are sharing the misery on the side of their fellow Tegararu. Like the 'Trinity' the TDF, the TPLF, and the Government of Tigray are one and three at the same time. What unites them as one is the Tigray Nation; and what differentiates them is their roles in the defense of that Nation: something the evil spirited politicians in Ethiopia and Eretria do not want to admit. This is how the trinity is woven into one.

The ancestral enemies of Tigray don't come from far away. They are uncomfortably lodged in its armpits. The people of Tigray got respite for three decades from the century old torment they were subject to by the 'toxic siblings' of theirs. This required the sacrifices of hundreds of thousands of the sons and daughters of the people of Tigray in the struggle led by TPLF. This has permanently glued TPLF with the people of Tigray. After the fall of the military regime in the hands of the TPLF fighting force in 1991 TPLF has lost its army and has been limited to a civilian membership ever since. What makes TPLF so significant in the Tigrayan political arena is its positive pervasiveness in the political, economic, and social affairs of Tigray. You will never move a yard in Tigray without hitting a TPLF tree.

When TPLF was removed from Federal positions by the political machinations of its EPRDF partners, its leaders settled in the Capital of their home state: Tigray. The people of Tigray hosted them with love as sons and daughters swallowing their anger about the neglect of Tigray when TPLF held Federal power for decades at Arat-Kilo. "Where else can we go" said the brilliant veteran politician Abay

Tsehay. He meant to say: “Do we leaders like himself, Seyoum, Tsadkan, Debretsion, Getachew, Mulugeta, Wendimu, Kindeya, and hundreds of others have to abandon the people of Tigray and live comfortably overseas when we know perfectly well that there is a clear and imminent danger on the very existence of the People of Tigray?”. He did not live to see that his words were so prophetic. Tigray is a wonderland; this tiny bit of land accommodates so many heroes and geniuses disproportionate to its physical capacity.

The bond between TPLF and the people of Tigray does not end there. During the political and election crisis in the Federal Capital, the flames of which were reaching Tigray, the latter did not fall into the intrigues of the new rulers which were aimed at tactically ending self-rule in Tigray by drawing TPLF into the Prosperity Party’s whirlpool. TPLF’s half a century old political experiences, its adequate knowledge of how the complex political knot in Ethiopia is tied, made PP’s call for re-integration fall on TPLF’s deaf ears. There were unmistakable signs that the Constitution was being violated and a potential existed for much greater and more dangerous violations in the near future.

Tigray was horrified by how self-rule was ended violently in the Somali Region. It was dismayed by the political machinations employed to get rid of self-determination in all other regional states of Ethiopia. Political forces, who had nothing else in common other than the deadly hate on TPLF and Tegar, were bonded in an unholy alliance against TPLF and Tigray. They painted their political, social, economic, and military campaign against Tigray an irresistible color of Ethiopian patriotism. Ethiopian politicians know perfectly well that they can send every Ethiopian soul into hell just by the very mention of “Ethiopian Unity”.

Hundreds of thousands flock to fight in Tigray without having the slightest idea what is going on. They listen only to government and government-friendly media and are too brainwashed to hear the truth from other more independent sources. It is hard to know how long it

will take, how many will die, and how far down the Ethiopian economy will descend before people realize that the source of the whole problem lies squarely at the palaces in Arat-Kilo and Adi Halo, not in Mekelle or Shire. Turning autonomous regional states into provinces of the prospective unitary Ethiopia is in full swing all over Ethiopia except the rebellious region of Tigray. As the protector of the Constitution and founder of the Federal system in Ethiopia Tigray is the biggest prize for the reactionaries at Arat-Kilo to facilitate the reversal of the federal system into a centralized monarchy-styled polity.

TPLF and all other Tigrayans, except for those whose bellies and brains changed positions, were absolutely certain that Tigray was next. While the noise of war songs against TPLF/Tigray was echoing all over Ethiopia and multitudes of excuses were fabricated to justify the attack on Tigray neither did TPLF acquire an army nor was TDF formed. Like any other regional state in Ethiopia Tigray had a special police force few thousands strong, armed with light weaponry. When the heavens came tumbling down on Tigray beginning from November 4, 2020, the few thousand security forces of Tigray were no match to the allied army of hundreds of thousands from Eritrea, Ethiopia and Amhara, equipped with the state-of-the-art military technology. It was a doomsday scenario for the people of Tigray who never deserved this in view of their significant historic contribution to the continuity of the Ethiopian state spanning for centuries.

Was mobilization comparable in size to a world war necessary to apprehend a few top leaders of the TPLF? Wouldn't it be analogous to firing a nuclear-warhead to kill a flea? Yes, the blitzkrieg would be absolutely ridiculous if the only goal of the attack were to catch TPLF leaders in Mekelle. By now the world has known that the mammoth operation which lasted for two years and has continued to intensify, is more than a law enforcement operation on TPLF leadership. Under normal circumstances, law enforcement on few law breakers, is undertaken by a police force and only by the national



army if the police is unable to withstand. Assistance from a foreign state (Eritrea) is called for only when another foreign state attacks Ethiopia and the latter is unable to defend itself.

What Ethiopia did, in the name of apprehending finger counted TPLF leaders, is a gross violation of international norm of handling own citizens and an act of treason as far as the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Ethiopia is concerned. US citizens, for instance, may not know what and where Tigray is; but they will realize what happened in the Tigray war when they come face to face with a US attack on one of its fifty states in collaboration with one of the neighboring countries.

When a goat gives birth to six-legged kid the Guinness Book of Records wastes no time to record it as a natural wonder. When millions are on fire in the Tigray war of irrationality the world seems to go its own usual ways. Generations of humanity will not be informed, and so, such impunities are often repeated. On the eve of the invasion the people of Tigray knew perfectly well that they, not only TPLF leaders, were the main targets of the colossal and multi-pronged military operation.

The motive was far bigger than bringing TPLF's top brass to 'justice'. Expansionists from the Amhara Region were craving for the fertile lands of western and southern Tigray and they were also claiming the patent of the ancient treasures of Tigray; Eritrean Isaias Afeworki and his septuagenarian henchmen vowed for revenge on TPLF/Tigray for allegedly "obstructing economic progress in Eritrea", and the PP-government in Ethiopia accusing TPLF/Tigray for holding "illegal elections and threatening the unity of Ethiopia".

The three forces thought they had sufficiently convincing reasons to invade Tigray, destroy and partition it. Of course, they have succeeded to madden their respective constituencies as the Nazis were able to create thousands of lunatics enough to murder six million Jews. As time passed after WWII Germans realized sorrowfully that their leaders had systematically lied to them and

brainwashed them into committing such heinous crimes. This may happen soon in Ethiopia and Eritrea; but too much harm is done already to allow healing soon enough. This will pass on to generations to the disgrace of the grand children of the criminals.

The people of Tigray elected TPLF to the Regional government based on Constitutional provisions defying the stern warnings of the PP leader. This marked the beginning of the preparation for the defense of Tigray against the invasion which was imminent. Regardless of what the rest of Ethiopia and Eritrea thought, the people of Tigray elected TPLF to lead them in the difficult time ahead. This installed TPLF as a war-time ruling party of Tigray. For the PP-government in Addis Ababa the new government, led by TPLF, was illegitimate. This is where the standpoints of the PP-government and the people of Tigray parted their ways.

The PP-government does not recognize the TPLF-led Regional State government as representative of the people of Tigray because it was elected in an “illegal” election. This led to PP-government rigidly held opinion that the people of Tigray and TPLF are different and even belligerent. The PP-government goes even much further down into the political abyss and claims that it wants to ‘liberate’ the people of Tigray from TPLF rule. Mind you! This is not a silly political statement as it may appear to be; it is a tactical maneuver to conceal the core mission of the war as if it is only targeted against TPLF: a party which they accuse to be not only the enemy of Ethiopia but also the enemy of the people of Tigray.

As regards to the latter the ammunition for such kinds of poisonous propaganda comes from none other than the traitors of Tigrayan origin who hold key federal government positions to make it look like this is not a people’s war. The Tigrayan-traitors hold some grudges against TPLF for their own personal reasons; but they failed to know in what contexts their revenge is to be taken against their former mother party. They provide a lot of moral boost to the killings and destruction in Tigray.

After the Government of Tigray left the cities, in the face of an overwhelming allied onslaught, and mixed with the rural populace to wedge a protracted war against the occupying forces, thousands of Tegarau from all walks of economic, social, and political life joined it. Convinced that the PP-government was doing the right thing for the people of Tigray it installed a PP-transitional government in the Capital of Tigray. Concurrently, Eritrean, Amhara, and Ethiopian troops were wreaking havoc to the social and economic life of ordinary people and murdering thousands in cold blood. As the corrupt and inept members of the transitional government were restricted only to Mekelle and squabbled over control of the teeny-weeny political power handed out to them, the resistance of the people of Tigray was taking shape in the hills and dales of Tigray. Now we have come to the critical point in this article where the seemingly complex relationship between TPLF, TDF and the Government of Tigray is unraveled. TPLF was elected in a landslide of over 98 percent and in practice the Government of Tigray is a mirror image of TPLF as a political party. However this does not mean that the TPLF as a party can replace the Government of Tigray. The party leadership represents its members; while the executive branch of the Government of Tigray represents all the people of Tigray regardless of their party affiliations.

This implies that TPLF is literally ‘bipolar’ in the sense that it is a government and at the same time a party; roles which should never be mixed up. When the TDF was organized in the “bush” it was organized as a military wing of the Government of Tigray not as TPLF combatants. Hence, the membership of TDF is not restricted to TPLF membership. It is believed that there are more non-members of TPLF in the ranks of the TDF than there are members of the TPLF. There are even hundreds if not thousands in the TDF who are in political opposition to TPLF. The leadership of the TDF is the prerogative of the Government of Tigray. However, since the Government is an overwhelming TPLF majority it may imply a de

facto TPLF leadership of TDF to the dissatisfaction of the non-TPLF members.

The rocky semantics must have been resolved for best effect on the fighting morale of the TDF combatants. TDF fighters should not be made to feel that they are fighting to save a party. They are there to save the People of Tigray. Of course, saving the people of Tigray is done more effectively by saving TPLF because TPLF is elected by the people to form a government. Tigray cannot afford to be without a government in the middle of its resistance against invaders. The Government is leading the people's resistance; and TPLF is leading the Government. It is to avoid such a game of words, which may have harmful political meanings and consequences that the Government of Tigray on behalf of people of Tigray set up a semi-autonomous 'Central Command' to lead the TDF. This may help understand how the three entities-TPLF, Government, and TDF-are one and three at the same time.

It does not harm a bit whether TDF is referred to as a TPLF Force as long as the reference does not take a legal meaning and serve the enemies of Tigray to convince the world public that their mission in Tigray is justified as solely against TPLF. It has to be clear to the whole world that TDF is a spontaneous people's movement of men and women volunteers drawn from high schools, universities, medical centers, opposition parties, and a vast array of urban and rural communities.

TDF is not a hired army; there are no payrolls for its members. Many of them were living lives of luxury. Now they are getting used to sharing food with the people or going hungry for days and drinking turbid water from streams. They never dreamt of finding themselves in this grave situation. They were forced into it to save their people from the planned extinction. When the war is over quite substantial numbers will leave to their schools, universities, health centers, lucrative businesses and farms which they are forced out from due to the invasion and destruction of Tigray. The Pretoria agreement

should be legally correct in the sense that the war in Tigray is not a law enforcement campaign against TPLF. It is an all-out war to wipe out Tigray from the map. This is not a fairy tale. Key advisors and policy makers in the PP-government have been preaching genocide in Tigray and going away with it.

If Daniel Kibret can say “We have to delete the people (Tegaru) from history” and still retain his position as the social affairs advisor of the Prime Minister; If a business tycoon could say “We have to eat this people (Tegaru) like fried mutton” and go on with his profits in peace; If a close confidant of the PM can encourage people to be very cruel against Tegaru and can walk happily under the Ethiopian sun; how is it possible that the war in Tigray is only about TPLF leadership? If the PP-government is to settle the problem in Tigray it has to admit that it was waging war against the people and must negotiate with the people represented by their government. Removing the reference to TPLF as terrorist is fine because calling TPLF a terrorist sounds like saying the people of Tigray have elected a terrorist group.

The PP-government must also endorse the pre-war election of Tigray because TPLF is leading the Government of Tigray elected before the war. It is illogical to recognize TPLF as a party but criminalize the election. It must be left to the people of Tigray to or not to change the government as per Constitutional provisions for self-rule. By doing so the PP-government will put the noose around its neck for invading and destroying Tigray for conducting election as per the dictates of the Constitution. However, it will leave no stone unturned to justify the war regardless.

The Pretoria agreement is loaded with lots of Made-in-PP political intrigues which are designed to delegitimize the referendum in Tigray, to deny it justice for the victims of genocide and gang rape, to weaken potential relations of Tigray with the outside world, to make it vulnerable to arbitrary treatment in the future without a means to defend itself, and to compromise its territorial integrity at

the will and whim of the Eritrean tyrants, the dictators at Arat-Kilo, and the unscrupulous land-grabbers in the Amhara Region. The PP-government is also trying to sneak through the agreement into the regional administration of Tigray by using the carrot trick. If it succeeds to persuade politicians of Tigray to form an ‘inclusive’ provisional government and go for a postwar election next, this will be a recipe for political disaster in Tigray.

The renegade Aregawi’s party and PP-Tigray will rub shoulders in the transitional government with TPLF, Baitona, TIP, and Salsay Woyane. This will be followed by installing PP-Tigray in the regional government through the customary election fraud led by the National Election Board. After all, the office is notorious for such irregularities. Helpless and defenseless Tigray will watch its right to self-determination washed away in broad daylight and its future rendered uncertain.

Am I not thinking about the starving and dying millions of Tegraru to dwell so much in the political future of Tigray? I have lost a lot of weight and my health is compromised more often than not every time I see victims of air strike and the cruel long siege on TV screen for the last two years. We are stuck between the devil and the deep blue sea. I will not blame God for all this because I know He has his ways. However, I am ambivalent about risking the future of Tigray for short-term relief from the predicament we find ourselves in. There must be a different way out of this that does not compromise the future of Tigray as a Nation of brave and diligent people. I don’t propose a panacea; the safe exit strategy has to be done as a joint-construction of realities by all Tegraru. In the end, allow me to be too personal about the TDF.

When I heard the terrible news about the agreement to disband the TDF I was unable to go to sleep the whole night. I did not mean to be irrational and fail to think of a compromise to end the suffering of the people in Tigray. I just am too weak to bear the idea. Call me unreasonable I will take it with grace; but I will continue considering the TDF as my saint and build a magnificent church for it; in my heart of course! \*\*\*\*\*

## **Rights turn to Privileges: Killers thanked, Crimes forgotten**

December 11-2022

### **Background**

The core strategy of the enemy is to gradually but surely erode the morale of the people of Tigray and render them too weak to defend themselves from the long-term physical and cultural genocide planned on them. To accomplish the mission effectively a peace time under enemy control is what is considered to be the most convenient. The most unfortunate part of the entire scheme is that both sides want peace; but the Tigray side uses it for virtue and the enemy side uses it for vice. This is what is happening after the peace deal signed in Pretoria and Nairobi. Did Tigray have to sign the peace deal which is most likely to be abused by the enemy side? Yes, it had to! All kinds of hypotheses are formulated and forwarded about why the delegates of Tigray signed the seemingly unfavorable deal. The loudest of all is the most expected: Alleged betrayal of the TPLF. Putting all the burden of blame on the TPLF may be the easiest thing to do because it removes the pains of thinking harder beyond what seems to be obvious.

The accusations leveled against TPLF lies on the premise that TPLF is haunted by the idea of finding itself at the Arat-Kilo palace by whatever means. This is followed by a kind of syllogism which concludes that succumbing to this kind of peace-deal is the logical flow from the “inherent” obsession of the TPLF for Federal power positions. In nature water finds its way following the slightest change in gravity. That means, water takes an effortless path. Human brain should not be like water weak enough to think along a path of convenience to reach conclusions. I don’t rule out the fact that such hasty conclusions about what TPLF did in Pretoria arise out of genuine concern for the fate of the people of Tigray. Many genuinely feel that all the arduous struggle they waged to free Tigray has utterly failed and those who signed the agreement are responsible for

that. A few others are unfairly using the opportunity to demonize the TPLF to pave their own path to political relevance among the Tigray public. This is not to mention the confused majority who are not willing to blame the TPLF for signing the unfavorable agreement but are skeptical about its honest implementation by the enemy side. The latter hold the truth in view of the fact that the characteristic untrustworthiness of the enemy can be proved by ample evidences.

I share the skepticism on the peace deal because what I experienced in the last two long and bitter years is that the enemy is determined to destroy Tigray and its people by all means available, peaceful or otherwise. I am fully convinced that the enemy smiles to kill and handshakes to maim. Anyone who is worried about the future of Tigray and its people has every reason under the sun to suspect the intentions of the enemy whether they are waging war or signing peace. Am I the only one who is aware of this? Are those who opposed the peace-deal better cognizant of the dangers underlying the peace deal? The answer is No! No one individual or group recognizes the “wolf in sheep skin” nature of the peace deal more than any other. This includes the leaders of TPLF and the commander of the TDF who signed the agreement. Who claims to be more Catholic than the Pope in this regard? Getachew, Tsadqan and Tadesse have put their lives in such a grave danger not to protect their personal interests but to protect the safety and security of the people of Tigray. Generations of Tigray have to be deeply grateful to these living saints.

If the leaders were bent on maximizing their own personal interests they would not need to go through all the adversity. Was it so difficult for Abraham Belay to be a defense minister? Did he have to fight and starve for two years to reach that position of power? Was it difficult before the war for Getachew, Tsadqan, and Tadesse to take high positions in the Prosperity Government if they had turned blind eye to the demise of self-rule in Tigray like it happened in the Somali Region? All of it is a matter of conscience. They are not the kind of people who lose all hopes and trade the fate of the people of



Tigray for a peace deal that is convenient for them. I am of a strong opinion that all Tegraru must unite around this reality. I know, most of us have become so happily addicted to the almost endless news of TDF victories that a withdrawal syndrome must have set in in our minds. I am not ridiculing this kind of mentality. This is how normal people work. We are as a matter of fact carried away by continuous successes that we become oblivious to what the other side can do to deny us of the joy. Even for the angels we have to realize that there are good and bad days. The best minds are those that quickly detect the point where the good ends and the bad begins. This is what the Tigray political and military leadership did. In history many of the failures of great men and great empires is the indulgence in the good without realizing that the bad is creeping in. Napoleon, Alexander, Ottomans, Persia, British, Rome, you name it and don't forget to include Axumite Empire and TPLF-EPRDF.

What is uniting all of the opinion groups is that the one month old peace agreement is likely to be a paper tiger to the alarm of its enthusiastic supporters, to the delight of its detractors, and to the frustration of its skeptics. Nothing else seems to be going at the expected pace except for the process of demobilizing the Tigray armed forces. The agreement seems to be putting the cart before the horse in the sense that disarming and demobilizing the TDF should have been the closing act in the entire drama of the peace deal. Taking up arms by the people of Tigray and forging the TDF was not a cause; it was a result. Effective solutions do not deal with results; they manage causes. Take Chloroquine not Aspirin for malaria. Trying to treat the headache, caused by malaria by continuously prescribing Aspirin, could kill the patient if the original cause of the headache (plasmodium ingestion) is not removed. When John F. Kennedy was asked how he became American hero during WWII, he answered: "I was forced to be a hero because they sunk my boat and I saved my comrade!" The TDF became world renowned heroes not just for the sake of being so but because they have the historic obligation to save their people.

Unless the alternating silent and noisy tactics used by the enemy to exterminate Tegararu are stopped Tigray will rise again with stone and sticks even if it is disarmed. So disarming without ending the cause for arming does not permanently bring peace; it only postpones war. A peace deal normally starts with disengagement not with disarmament. Disarmament is justified only when the reason for armament is effectively and permanently removed. We are dealing with enemies who know perfectly well what I am taking about here. They are creating all kinds of illusions to scatter our attention, to divide us, and continue with their original plans with greater ease. The enemies are not after our arms, they are not after our resources; they are after our unity! If we are disunited they will get everything else they want without effort. We may fail, we may be defeated, we may be killed and starved, we may be displaced and raped; but the worst thing that can happen to us is to be disunited! It is unity of Tegararu that created the TDF; it is the unity of Tegararu that forced the stubborn enemy to the negotiating table. There is no way that this cannot happen again if we stay united. Unity is the seed that germinates every time it is thrown on to the soil. Every Tigrayan soul has to keep this in mind, write it and hang it on the wall or tattoo it on your skins!

### **Rights turn to Privileges**

I was jailed by the Derg in the notorious central prison for four years, accused of being a Tigrayan! I was not a member of the TPLF. When I told my jailers that I was not a TPLF member they told me in black and white what my crime was. The interrogator asked me in amazement: “Aren’t you a Tigre?” God created me as a Tigrayan and this people are accusing Him of doing so! The enemy Tegararu are dealing with now is worse. If we are to choose between Ape beauty-queens Derg is comparatively cuter. Don’t ever pray to God not to give you an enemy. You will always have an enemy regardless. What you have to ask God all the time is to give you a manageable enemy. There is always a method in enmity and love. Isn’t it a curse when you face an enemy who has no method or does not want to

have a method or is not capable of having a method? What if you are dealing with an enemy whose rules of the game are that there are no rules of the game? This is the unfortunate situation the people of Tigray are currently in. The enemies of Tigray use the Constitutions and at the same time they don't use the constitution. They vow to protect the law and at the same time they break the law. They accuse those who are abiding by the law as criminals while they are the ones who are abundantly violating rules and regulations.

To move on into the details of the main section of this article let me dwell on the description of important concepts that help illuminate the analysis. This is based on the Meynell and Paron's book entitled "Applied Ethics Primer". Rights are entitlements or enforceable claims other individuals or groups are obligated to protect, fulfill, enforce, or at least not violate them. If we fail to respect someone's right to something, then we commit a serious injustice to them. What rights do Tigrayans have that must be respected and enforced by the law enforcement branch of the Ethiopian state? It is the Federal Constitution of Ethiopia that provided for the rights of individuals or groups in the following articles:

*Article 15. Every person has the right to life; No person may be deprived of his life except as a punishment for a serious criminal offence determined by law.*

No ambiguity is possible here. Although the right to live is a universal right, the lives of Tigrayans as citizens or nationals of Ethiopia is protected by the Constitution, the supreme law of the land. The right to live is a legal right protected by legal codes and enforced by various legal institutions. The legal codes in the Ethiopian context are detailed in the Criminal Code and the office of the attorney general and the Supreme Court are the institutional arrangements responsible to protect the right to live. Is the right to live provided by Article 15 respected for Tigrayans? Not at all! When Tigrayans were murdered in huge numbers in Mai Kadra, Axum, Mahbere Degue, Togoga, Mariam Denglat, Humera, Shire,

Adi Daero, Bora, Mirab Abaya, and in dozens of other locations, was it proved in a court of law that all these people committed “serious criminal offence determined by law”? Were there legal proceedings? Were the victims represented by a defense attorney? Was the execution signed and approved by the head of state? Was the attorney general aware of it and approved it? The answer to all the above questions is: “None of the above”.

The most important objective of a Constitution is Article 15. The most important job of an attorney general is Article 15. The exchange rate of Article 15 is the entire Constitution because the right to live is the mother of all rights. Tegarū are denied all of it. The manner of extra judicial mass murder of Tegarū takes silent and noisy forms used alternatively: Guns and Hunger. It is not only the right to life of Tegarū that is violated by the very individuals, groups, and institutions who had

the legal and moral duty to protect the lives of Tegarū. The right of security and protection against bodily harm is also extensively violated.

*Article 16. Everyone has the right to protection against bodily harm.*

The invasion of Tigray has massively victimized young and old women, children, and even nuns. Tens of thousands of women were gang raped, turned into sex slaves, and their genitals mutilated by Eritrean troops, Ethiopian army, and Amhara irregulars. The PM of Ethiopia mocked the gang-rape and the attorney general, a former advocate of women’s rights, gave her silence of approval and appreciated the Ethiopian army for enforcing the law in the “rebellious Tigray region”. The massive gang-rape in Tigray got sympathy from a Minister of Women who lost her job for it. Contrary to what the Constitution dictates under Article 16, the Minister was criminalized to the point of going into exile.

The right to live is not only a legal right but also a moral right. One of the Ten Commandments states: “Thou shalt not kill”. Religious

institutions are responsible for this particular mosaic code, and besides the legal support they have they also use the tools like excommunication on individuals or groups that commit murder. In Ethiopia, religious leaders of the Orthodox and Protestant churches were in the forefront of the propaganda campaign to commit genocide on the people of Tigray. The arch genocide preacher is none other than Ethiopian Orthodox Church Deacon Daniel Kibret who ironically is the social affairs advisor to the Prime Minister. The anti-Tigray campaign was not restricted to the Tigray region alone. Tigrayans as a matter of right as citizens of Ethiopia are spread throughout Ethiopia and been there for several generations. They were also targeted by the Government of Ethiopia and the friendly opposition parties and individuals.

*Article 25. All persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect, the law shall guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection without discrimination on grounds of race, nation, nationality, or other social origin, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, property, birth or other status.*

*Article 41.2. No person may be subjected to arbitrary arrest, and no person may be detained without a charge or conviction against him.*

Before and after the invasion of Tigray Tegarù all over Ethiopia came under a reign of terror where in anyone can insult them, arrest them (in violation of Article 41. 2.), rob their money and property, and shut their business while the foreigners from Eritrea enjoyed freedom and even superiority. Although Tegarù have the right to political opinion and to belong to any social group as per Article 25 they were brutalized only for being Tigrayans. The Mayor of Addis Ababa, who was sworn into office by the Constitution, was targeting “Tigrigna speakers” as criminals. She openly encouraged widespread impunity in Addis Ababa where most of the economically significant Tegarù live outside Tigray. The Constitution also provides for the right to public services:

*Article 41.3. Every Ethiopian national has the right to equal access to publicly funded social services.*

This article will be less enforceable in the states where the provision of basic services are largely privatized. In Ethiopia, as result of backwardness or as a matter of ideology basic services in Ethiopia are run largely by public financed institutions. By public services I mean potable water

services, power services, telecom services, banking, medical services, and air and land transport services. As part of the silent genocide basic services are blocked from reaching Tigray. This is clearly a gross violation of Article 41.3 by those who are responsible for protecting it. As long as Tigray remains a part of the Ethiopian Federal State the right of the people of Tigray to the services is not for negotiations. To negotiate on this basic rights is tantamount to legalizing criminality in public. When Tigray demanded that the Government in Addis Ababa respects the right of citizens to public service as per the Constitutional Article 41.3 half-baked PP politicians and activists in the political wilderness put the surrender of the Tigray Army as a precondition for the resumption of the basic services. This is analogous to a parent denying basic necessities to his child as a penalty for misconduct. There could be a sufficient reason why the child misbehaved; that is a different matter for discussion or argument. However, denying the child basic necessities of life is a criminal act on the part of the parent that could open a criminal case. Is lady attorney general of Ethiopia attending to this violation of the constitution in broad day light on millions of citizens of Ethiopia? She does not seem to have lost even a penny when the law is broken and millions are dying and starving as a result. It is rumored in the last few days that the attorney general is resigning. She is resigning for a trivial reason when she has a mountain-size case in Tigray to do so.

*Article 10.1. Human rights and freedoms, emanating from the nature of mankind, are inviolable and inalienable.*

Closely connected with Article 15 the right to live is the right to access to food. The threat to life emanates not only people could be killed by violence but also by the lack of food. Access to food is a human right under Article 10.1 that is inviolable and inalienable. Articles 41.3 and 10.1 should not imply that government is obliged by the Constitution to provide free services and food to people. It is the freedom of access to the paid services that is closed in Tigray. The government controls all the major highways leading to Tigray. When inter regional trade of basic goods and public passenger transport was obstructed by anti-Tigray irregulars in the Amhara Region the Federal government did not intervene to clear the blockade. This happened before the first Tigray invasion. As per Articles 41.3 and 10.1 Federal Government was not expected to distribute food and other commodities to Tigray; it was expected to clear the routes. After the Tigray invasion what started in the Amhara region was vigorously implemented by the bigger friend and collaborator of the Amhara irregulars in Addis Ababa. There was food aid dependents in Tigray already, but millions more were added to them because Banks were closed and people could not buy their food. So starvation came not only upon the poor but also the rich. Tragically, Tigray saw millionaire beggars and street hawkers. Those who were sworn to office their hands on the Constitution saw, with smiles in their eyes, when the people of Tigray perished in disgrace. Will Ethiopia survive this act of cruelty? I doubt!

The issue of access to basic services is more complex than it looks. There is legal arrangement, in the form of contract between the service providers and the customer. By the way basic service provision is not welfare nor is it based on the kindness of the government. The access to the basic services is paid for and the service itself is also paid for per unit of service. Access to tap water requires payment for the permit, extension of pipelines, and installation of meters. Per unit service is computed on meter readings. The same happens for electricity and telecom land lines. For mobile phone service there are charges for subscription and Sim-

cards. Charges are deducted for every call and message by the customer. There is a legally binding contract between the provider and the customer. It is punishable by law if any of the parties violate the contract. Neither the power authority, the water provider, nor the telecom can interrupt the service without justifiable prior notice. This is more so for banks. Opening saving account by any customer in any bank involves a contract where by the bank saves and uses the customer's money and pays interest in return. The customers signs a legal agreement in which the customer will have unrestricted access to the personal saving in the bank. All this is violated in Tigray. All banks are closed and customers are denied access to their savings for two years. The banks did not sue the government for rendering the contracts with their customers null and void without consent of the parties to the contracts. Some of the banks, were even financially supporting the war and the siege in Tigray, obviously harming millions of their customers. So, when the time comes it is not only the government that would go to court for this but also all the banks with branches in Tigray and the telecom, power, and road transport institutions.

The brutal lesson we learned from the Pretoria agreement is that it is possible for the Constitution to be so grossly violated and the provisions for the rights to services be negotiable. The world watched the impunity with utter carelessness. Would USA and EU states allow this in their own homelands? Are rights deserved for some and not for others? Are we too poor to demand for such rights of ours without preconditions set on us? It is not only the government of Ethiopia that is to blame but also the UN which has the charter for human rights lying idle on its table. It does its job not as suggested by the blindfolded statue of the lady justice but by its discriminatory eyes falling on the rich and the powerful. Now we can only get used to the fact that basic services and unfettered access to humanitarian aid have become conditional for the poor and friendless Tigray. These have become dependent on the kindness of the government of Ethiopia to open them or close them at will. So the eyes of the world



are focused on Tigray waiting for us to disarm if we are to be provided with food and get our own money from the banks. There are dozens of things that are hard to coin words for; but what is happening in Tigray with regard to the basic services and the humanitarian aid is dumbfounding. We are crying inside us because nobody seems to care about us if we talk loudly. The world has grown callous to such tragedies because they happened before at least in Biafra. The world is a world of states. It is more inclined to listen to what states have to say however untrue or illogical it is. Statehood has become right-hood.

Now we are in the palms of the government of Ethiopia who has delayed the implementation of the agreement for over a month. Our rights to the services and food aid have turned to privileges Privilege means that one is free to act (or not act) as they wish, but this freedom is unprotected. This means that it doesn't entail corresponding duties. That means you are free to use services but no one guarantees you access to it. So what you have to do to get access to the services is to beg for the kindness of the provider. Here is where the grave danger lies. They are using the provision of access to the services and humanitarian aid as a bargaining chip to go stark free from responsibility for the crimes committed in Tigray. They have started playing psychological games with the people in misery by procrastinating the release of aid and basic services and spreading falsehoods in the media about them alternating hope and hopelessness in the victimized people of Tigray. There was several days of talk and breaking news about the start of telecom service in Shire, power connection in Mekelle; and again other news coming again falsifying previous reports. Millions including myself are suffering from mental break down as the widespread confusion and hopelessness takes its toll.

The day before yesterday Berhane of Dehay Meneseyat expressed his unhappiness about Prof. Kindeya's tweet which was full of enthusiasm about the delivery of power to the City of Mekelle. Before I comment on this unfortunate issue let me take you to

another story (my story) related to it. When they arrested me and took me to Central Prison in Addis Ababa I was full of courage and challenged the police. For over two months in prison I was still acting like a lion in a den roaring and cursing my jailers for wrongly putting me in prison. No doubt my legal right has been violated because there was no court order for my arrest and I was not taken to court in 48 hours. Counting the days turned into counting weeks, months and then years. Unknowingly, I was getting used to the violation of my rights as if it is my own fault. I thanked the jailers for very “favor” they do for me in terms of food, water, mattress to sleep on, and even radio and TV inside the jail. When my release was decided, and I was summoned to the office, I thanked my jailers for releasing me. This was how the brave guy of four years ago was irreparably broken. What they did to my education to my family was horrible; but they made me have no power left to feel the pains of what they did to me. This is what happened to Prof. Kindeya and Berhane has to be in position to understand the situation. The Professor was a young scholar who led the advancement of Mekelle University as its second president. Now you find him helplessly waiting for the light bulb to brighten; something he had taken for granted before. I couldn't help but weep. I wish him happy days to come when he will be chatting about it with smiles. There are other media like Microphone Media ululating for every truck that arrives in Mekelle. Some listeners named him “elele”.

It may not matter much to thank or be happy when your rights brutally turn into privileges. The danger is that this may lead to overlooking or forgetting crimes. The enemy is doing it intentionally to weaken the resolve of the people and it may succeed in its effort if we intentionally or unintentionally collaborate to the evil design. We should bend not bow, to let the troubles pass for now. We have to get used to patience, but we have to be vigilant. Tigray is forever not for a few months, not for a few years. We have to handle the present with a clear view of the future. Obstacles now would give us more energy for the future. Losing hope is not a Tigrayan character.

# CLUSTER 13

## Tigray Political Opposition



- Blessing or Curse: Proliferation of Parties in Tigray
- Dr. Aregawi Berhe is entitled to his opinion; BUT...
- I cannot believe that "TDP" leader is calling for sanctions...
- If Baitona is a Tigray nationalist party, blessed be it!
- Lilay: Tigray can't afford to live in the past...
- Arena party has to provide a less contradictory reason...
- Wrangling while crossing a heavily flooded stream
- Personal opinion: SAWT, BAYTONA, and TIP
- Traitors in history

When it comes to managing political differences Tigray is not much different from what it was in the past centuries. The only difference seems to be the kinds of tools used to express differences. In the past the gun was the only way differences were resolved. Nowadays, alongside the usual lethal methods, modern technology of mass communication has enabled intensive and ruinous exchanges of words devoid of analysis and synthesis. All claim to stand for Tigray, but they are seen in public tearing it into shreds. Some have become its mortal enemies, others have become dangerously ambivalent, and still others think they are the best but unable to prove it in practice.

## **Blessing or Curse: Proliferation of Parties in Tigray**

May 12-2019

Billy Ocean, the celebrated rock star sang a song in the 1980s. It goes like this: "When the going gets tough, the tough gets going". We all agree that the going is getting tough for Tigray. We also agree that Tigray must not fail as a result. It follows logically that those that can lead Tigray out must be those that can endure the challenges and cure Tigray from the ailment it is suffering from. This is what the USA does when there are tough rescue operations to do. It selects its best commanders and elite commandoes for the purpose. It does not allow the operation to be a training session for new recruits because it cannot afford to fail.

Today I listened to the press release by Salsay Weyane Party leadership, a newly formed party in Tigray. They are all young. That is fine and acceptable; the future belongs to them. I also loved the name of the party. Whatever the serial number is "Weyane" is sweet to the ears. It reminds me of my mother's favourite story telling about the first one where she witnessed the bravery of the weyenti and the cruelty of the "victors". The second, I saw it and I know it. Its story, as an emblem of Tigrayan bravery and endurance, must be told for hundreds of years to come.

The increasing number of parties in Tigray is more disconcerting than comforting. Taking democracy at face value the sky is the limit for the number of parties to be formed. Theoretically, five million parties for five million people is possible, may be even more! Societies are not adopting democracy for its own sake or as an end; they are using it as a means to attain lofty goals of peace and prosperity for all. Democracy is customized to fit the political, economic, social-cultural, and historical peculiarities of societies at particular points in time. That is why we have democracy tagged with different brand-cards like revolutionary democracy, which goes for indefinite re-elections in order to implement its long-term grass

root objectives; liberal democracy which considers the proliferation of parties, frequent elections, and break-neck interparty competitions as the highest forms of the manifestations of democratic ideals; and social democracy which takes from the rich and gives it to the poor instead of enabling the poor to walk on its own feet.

In Tigray we now have three fiercely uncompromising ideological stances which are thought to serve as guides for how Tigray is to be ruled: Revolutionary democracy used and abused by TPLF, but never been an utter failure; liberal democracy adopted by TAND and ARENA under pressure to conform from the political crowd in Ethiopia without second thoughts about the dark side of the ideology for poverty-overwhelmed Tigray; social democracy adopted by the new party assuming that it will have enough rich people to take enough money from to give to the poor. All these parties are fast asleep and in sweet dreams with their imported ideologies while the people of Tigray are wide awake and waiting.

It has become a custom in Ethiopia that every time a new party is formed it rushes to tell its potential constituency in which political-ideological box it is in: liberal democracy, social democracy, etc. To my surprise no one dares to mention revolutionary democracy, which is already satirized as "Meles's nightmare ideology". No one wants to admit that there is "colonization of the mind" which is the most potent form of colonization. Liberal and social democracies are appropriate contextual solutions to the realities in the developed western societies. The latter developed not while they were liberal democracies but through colonial plunder, slavery and subjugation of people of the now developing world led by monarchs and tyrants! People who take up politics as amateurs or professionals should care to read history. Whatever, its shortcomings revolutionary democracy was at least an experimentation with "traditional medicine from herbs available in one's own garden". It is feeble to say the least to show differences based on political ideologies that have become just fashionable and taken to be readily acceptable as politically correct.

Here is the syllogism that many parties in Ethiopia, including parties Tigray, are formulating to their empty satisfaction: Liberal democracy is accepted in Ethiopia as a cure; Revolutionary democracy is rejected as a curse; I have adopted liberal democracy and hence I am more readily acceptable than TPLF is.

What people need to hear and see is not abstract ideologies and formulae designed in the west and rot-memorized by the politicians of the developing world. The latter are habituated to swallowing sugar coated killer pills manufactured in the west. Another discomfort, to tell you the truth bitterness, I felt from the press conference held by Salsay Weyane is what one of them stressed as the main rationale for the coming into existence of their party. He said, "Ours is a Tigray nationalist party". That is fine again; they can't be anything else if they are named Salsay Weyane! He continued to say "the party works solely for the interest of the Tigray people". Great! Although I appreciated the devotion I was unable to see the reason why another party should be formed for the same mission that others before it have stated as their own. At last, it came tumbling down on me: the young party official said in black and white that "So far there are no other parties in Tigray that have got this mission". I have had a few annoying graduate theses advisees who state the reason for taking up their research problem as no one else has done it before, without caring to adequately search the relevant literature.

No one can build a good reputation and win public support by burying its head in the sand like the ostrich. If this is the main reason for the establishment of Salsay Weyane and other new parties they are destined to be redundant. TPLF had faults does not at all mean that it did nothing for the people of Tigray. At least it has given them the peace and autonomy they longed for centuries. The last thing the people of Tigray would like to be is well-fed slaves. Freedom is more precious than gold. Many people condemn TPLF for retaining its name as a liberation front. I object to this. Liberation should not imply separation. Liberation means freedom to decide on one's own

affairs without external interference. Tigray has attained this; but those forces that had denied it that freedom are still alive and kicking. It is clear, the liberation movement has not finished its job.

Salsay Weyane and others should have had as their mission: "Building on the foundations constructed by those before us". In Marxian theory of dialectical materialism the "negation of the negation" is a key process leading to the transformations of the socioeconomic systems. It says: the seed has to die in the soil in order for the seedling to grow mature and produce more seeds. This does not mean the seed dies completely. It is the genes inside the seed that are continued in the new seeds while increasing in number. Darkening the past in order to take credit for brightening the present and the future is an ages old curse in Ethiopia.

There was a brilliant question from journalists to the new party: "Yours is similar to another party; why don't you work together?" The answer was a disaster! They don't know about that party except that it is a splinter from ARENA. How can a new party be formed without knowing exactly how different it is from parties formed before it? It is not enough to know that the party is a splinter from ARENA and sit satisfied assuming that it is "rejected" by the public. This rationale is extremely shaky for Salsay Weyane. I am not trying to discourage Salsay Weyane. Who knows, they may turn out to be the best ever leaders for Tigray. However, we are too tight with rapidly escalating political developments to play with probabilities.

Parties seem to be sprouting spontaneously without mutual consultations for the greater good of the people of Tigray. Some have gone to the extent of trying to ensure their own survival and ascent to political power by taking the internal affairs of Tigray to unfriendly political forces outside Tigray. TAND and ARENA support group in the diaspora painted a horrible picture of Tigray as a slave camp and appealed to the Prime Minister and the people of Ethiopia to liberate it.

If parties have similar goals there is no need for xeroxing them. If the parties are proliferating, and at the same pace dividing the people of Tigray, making them vulnerable in the face of their enemies the Regional Government Council has to take the matter seriously and ban or force mergers of parties that are duplicating goals or missions. Party formation must not be an economic investment; it is a sacrifice one pays for the people. One strong opposition party, working on shared goals peacefully with TPLF, is what the people of Tigray can afford to support. All parties other than TPLF should merge and make sense. Party formation must not be made as easy as opening cafes. It is with this kind of proliferation that inlets are widely opened for the enemy. Watch or Perish!

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**Dr. Aregawi Berhe is entitled to his opinion; BUT...**

October 24-2019

I am glad to see you alive and well after over 40 years. We were all young, energetic, and starry-eyed. We were convinced beyond any doubt that our motherland, Tigray, will throw war and poverty into the history books. Of course, as young people we all had the potential for shining achievements and disastrous mistakes. TPLF was founded by individuals who were full of enthusiasm not full of experience. It was like trying to find a path to the other side through a thick and frightening jungle. It is only those who passed through it that could know exactly how difficult it was. None of them had the blue print. They were engaged in often fatal and discouraging trial and error all though. There were times when hope was nearly lost and they had to courageously walk on a thin and weak thread.

The 17 years of TPLF led-struggle and the hardships endured by the people of Tigray seem very easy to talk about, but close to a miracle to live in and emerge alive from. While history was in the making as it never did before, the leaders of TPLF, who were largely university



dropouts, were frequently clashing on ideas. The difference sometimes took a violent and at other times peaceful forms. Resolving contradictions in the context of armed struggle, where everyday life and the future are uncertain, horrible things could be done that may form permanent scars in the minds of those involved. In the midst of fear of uncertainty about who is an ally and who is a spy in the ranks of the fighting force, and in the face of a formidable enemy as big as the Derg it is human to make terrible mistakes. As long as the goal is a prosperous future for the people of Tigray it should be the net gain that must be at the center of everything.

It was in the middle of the course of the trial and error that Dr. Aregawi Berhe (Berihu), the founding chairman of the TPLF, found himself in a difficult position whether or not to continue with the TPLF. One of the major causes of the feud with his comrades was the formation of a hard-core ML party within the broader TPLF. Those were testing times for Tigray and TPLF. Near dead-end was reached, which required innovative methods to replace the harmful business as usual. The most radical, probably the most realistic elements in TPLF were convinced that breakthrough can be achieved by radically restructuring TPLF into a highly regimented and iron disciplined force. That was how they felt the war could end in the victory of the people of Tigray. This is absolute truth because democracy is for the palace not for the bush. MLLT is seemingly no more after 1991 because it had already accomplished its mission: winning the war. Democracy was attained by way of tyranny. This may sound like a paradox but it is the bitter truth. The young TPLF leaders were testing their wits, fortunately they were right! It could never have been otherwise.

The bottom line is, as a founding chairman Dr. Aregawi should never have abandoned the organization. TPLF was his brainchild. He nurtured it for nearly a decade, but suddenly it was no more his! An ordinary person like me could leave the organization without any effect; but it must have been devastating, for his co-leaders and the rest of the fighters, for a founding leader to leave so easily just like

leaving a hotel room. Although it can be said that it is his right to leave, but it was not only a right he had. He had the responsibility to finish what he started and led many into it. It must have been very difficult for the remaining leadership to lose two senior leaders (including Gidey Zeratsion) in those bad years. This must have had a huge morale boost for the Derg. A psychological defeat is more damaging than losing a battle. Dr. Aregawi did not seem to have realized that by his action he defeated the mission he was ready to die for. He was a senior university student, with a potential for a successful career. It was this bright future that he abandoned in favor of the noble goal of delivering the people of Tigray from centuries of misery. He must have endured the difference and helped in its implementation. No one can be right and no one can be wrong in a trial and error. This was what exactly happened that unacceptably angered Dr. Aregawi. In a trial and error the end result is the judge. The result proved Dr. Aregawi wrong. He must have waited patiently (work hard as well) for the results whether or not they were his idea. In several commentary articles I have criticized TPLF on this or on that. Inside me I feel that I must have been in their shoes to experience rather than engage in what is the easiest of all to do: talk and write.

Dr. Aregawi left for Europe: the land of milk and honey. He left his classmates and comrades to survive on popcorn. He continued his education and got his PhD in the prosperous Netherlands. While he was attending classes in palace-like classrooms and enjoying himself with what Netherlands can provide his comrades were jumping from one rock to the other and crossing deep ravines and steep scarp slopes accompanied by tank mortar shells and air bombardment. He continued to use what he abandoned while in the comfort of Europe. Obviously, the best he can do to the satisfaction of the Dutch professors was the history of the TPLF. Tragically and criminally his PhD dissertation was on the history of the TPLF. The bloody struggle, with a death toll in tens of thousands was bread and butter for Dr. Aregawi. He abandoned the struggle of the people of Tigray,

but he used it for his own benefit. I am talking about a founding chair of TPLF not about an ordinary person like myself!

Worse still, he founded a new party to “fight for the people of Tigray”. He did not abandon his new party as he did to TPLF most probably because the party was in Europe: free from hardships and holding conferences in palace-like auditoriums not in cave shelters in Tembien, under the threat of bombardment. It could also be partly due to the fact that he has always been the chairman. Dr. Aregawi, as a chairman of TPLF in perpetuity, would never have left TPLF. It was much better and more acceptable if he had continued to support the TPLF from outside. He should have overlooked his differences with his comrades and help the people of Tigray in those bad days. The Dergairforce was throwing bombs on villages killing women and children (his mothers and siblings). There was no place for philosophy sitting in an armchair in those days! After the TPLF victory, Dr. Aregawi was busy allying with those forces that were not only against the TPLF but also against the people of Tigray. He was feeling important when treacherous opposition politicians were using him, as weapon for their own end, against the TPLF. As a founding chairman of TPLF he was considered as a big fish to weaken the TPLF.

As a person who claims to be “fighting for the people of Tigray against TPLF” he was allowed to return to Ethiopia by a political force that has become a thorn in the flesh for the people of Tigray. Dr. Aregawi should have been very careful about those who are around him. For them he is only an expendable sword against TPLF. This is not befitting for a senior politician like him to be at the service of people who have no love to spare for what he claims to be his own people(Tigray). He is far away from his constituency (Tigray) and expecting somebody to install him or get him elected. His only obstacle to this ambition is TPLF. He wants TPLF to be removed not by the people of Tigray but by an external force. He couldn't wait until the next election when it would be possible to remove or not to remove TPLF by the people of Tigray. He does not

realize that however bad TPLF may be it is elected to rule. It can only be legally removed by election. Other than this it would be a coup pure and simple. Dr. Aregawi expects the current TPLF leaders to embrace him as “a good old friend”! They must be angels! A person who abandoned them in a time of great uncertainty and never let them go afterwards cannot be a friend. They are acting like a human being by preventing him from conducting his political activities in Tigray. There should not be double standards on the part of Dr. Aregawi. He never tolerated dissent while he was the chairman of the TPLF. He penalized it brutally. When he points his index finger at his former comrades, three of the rest of his fingers are pointing at him. The people of Tigray are ready to forgive and forget; but when the lever of noise of “innocence” rises the truth must be told.

Although I had written a paragraph or two about Dr. Aregawi on a few occasions, this time, I decided to write in full because the frequent appearance of Dr. Aregawi in several TV channels and the way he expresses his views tests patience severely. Politics is not as spontaneous and rude as it sometimes appears to be. There are rules and all kinds of euphemism for every rude word and phrase in the political dictionary. In every TV interview he is involved in he becomes the most violent and foul-mouthed of all. He seems to go totally out of control when the name TPLF is mentioned. One interviewer saw Dr. Aregawi’s near insanity on a matter pertaining to TPLF and asked him blatantly: “Are you jealous that your friends became successful when you were sure that they would never be?”.

It is unhelpful, even damaging to the people of Tigray when a founder of the TPLF is behaving in such a bizarre way against the organization he founded. We all know TPLF as an organization is neither a devil nor an angel. There are bad and good people inside it. What matters most is what TPLF stands for. What TPLF stands for has already been established 45 years ago with Dr. Aregawi as an active participant. Nothing has changed since then. The mission of the TPLF is not adequately implemented does not make the mission

wrong. TPLF is a mission not a bunch of individuals, which one can love or hate. One can have problems with the individual leaders or members. They are not TPLF; they are only members and leaders of TPLF. They are not as permanent as the TPLF, which is a mission, a goal for the people of Tigray. Dr. Aregawi has to help in the attainment of the mission. Duplicating and triplicating organizations for the same mission results in a general weakness. May be the mission is not the same!? Through his interviews the only contribution Dr. Aregawi is making is to confuse the people of Tigray followed by misunderstanding his intentions. For a vote seeker this is suicidal!

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**I cannot believe that "TDP" leader is calling for sanctions on Tigray!**

August 22-2020

I am writing this reaction not because I am TPLF's communication officer but because as an ordinary Tigrayan and Ethiopian I couldn't bear the words that are uttered everytime the "TDP" gets talking. None of the words of the leader of "TDP" are as perplexing as what I read today in Mereja.com. When you feel that people have stopped hearing your voice, you may speak louder. If still that doesn't work you better take your dignified silence rather than throwing out garbage hoping that people will pay attention.

I have written more than one article requesting the leader of "TDP" to keep a low key with regard to politics in Tigray because if he has not been part of the victory over the Derg then he must stop acting like a Catholic more than the pope. If the TPLF as an organization is a criminal organization he is responsible for establishing it. If TPLF as an organization is a mafia organization Don Berihu must have been the God Father. Was the fault of the TPLF revealed to him in Europe as Moses got his revelations in the Sinai? Whatever was

happening in the TPLF in the first decade of the organization was his responsibility. May be he thinks that TPLF went rotten after he was gone. May be he wanted TPLF to be his own private army? The truth is TPLF became victorious after him!

We have heard too much from Berihu including promoting South FM in the midst of crisis in his home place. Let me ask a million dollar question: What did the "TDP" leader do for Tigray to be morally superior to TPLF? Why didn't he come back home during the TPLF years in Addis Ababa and engage in a peaceful struggle just like similar others? Scared of being arrested? Why not? That is how struggles go for a just cause, if one's cause is really just. Why engage in "remote" politics, come back claiming victory after somebody else paid the sacrifices, and start behaving like a victor? For the sake of decency so much of barrage of uncalled for words on TPLF shouldn't have come thinking that TPLF is doomed forever and is no more a threat. As a child I used to run to my brother, hold his hands, and start insulting the neighborhood boy who chased me. Grownups do not do this! They have to have confidence on their own and act in a dignified manner. What benefit is the Leader of "TDP" going to have if TPLF is eliminated? Is it because Tigray would be free for him to rule? Oh God! He has no idea how the people have changed through the years. The last favor the people of Tigray would do is to allow somebody, who abandoned them during the worst years of the struggle, to lead them. As an ordinary Tigrayan how would he expect me to choose him over Debrits who is making history by leading the people through the most complicated and extremely dangerous times ever, with skill and grace? How could I think of polluting Tigray by choosing the "TDP" who does not have any idea about the ethics of using the conventional terminology of modesty in political discourse? Politics has its own rules of Etiquette which the leader of the party is lacking as revealed in his public speeches.

As an ordinary Tigrayan, who loves his people, how can I trust a leader of a party whoes talk is almost always about TPLF and its

"crimes"? I cannot choose him for being the greatest foul mouth. I would go for someone who balances politics and development. Opposition party does not mean just spend all day opposing. Opposition leaders must be part of the solution not part of the problem. Sitting on the throne is not as easy and tempting as it looks from outside. I have never wished to be a leader in any capacity. I don't envy leaders. I understand how difficult their life is. I sometimes imagine myself in the position of Debrits. I am horrified by the thought of responsibility for six million people threatened from all directions; with the eyes, ears, and mouths (not hearts) of all politicians in Ethiopia directed at Tigray. As if all this is not more than enough the leader of "TDP" is adding to the stress gripping the people of Tigray. Then he expects to be elected as a remote control device! He lacks respect for the people because he thinks that TPLF is between him and the people of Tigray who "love" him more dearly than they do TPLF. With this odd mentality he will have to wait for a thousand years.

Let me respond to Berihu's satanic verses

1.

"ኢትዮጵያን የሁከትና ብጥብጥ ማዕከል ለማድረግ...በትግራይ ክልል ቦታቀደው ህገ-ወጥ ምርጫ..."

This is a very serious allegation without any tangible evidence and tarnishing the image of the people of Tigray on something they would never dream of doing". No Tigrayan, even a mad man in Tigray, would wish to see Ethiopia disturbed. Well as a matter of tolerated political tradition politicians in Tigray may disturb politicians in Addis Ababa and the vice versa. This is established politics. No one bears the birth right to rule others. Rivalry is an integral part of political life. Machinations are the tools designed for that. Success depends on the skills of playing with the tools. It is totally out of the rules of the game to accuse any competing party for some higher crimes to get the moral high ground against it. Accusations such as "conspiring to destroy Ethiopia" are deviating

from the rules of the game. It is like stealing "joker" to win the card game. Since people are sensitive to National unity and security they will be alarmed by such accusations and curse the victim. TPLF has done more for Ethiopia's economy and its unity than Berihu did. As a matter of fact more than anybody else did! "አመድ በዱቄት ይስቃል":: Those who are in Addis Ababa are fighting for their own political lives; but the usual excuse is this unfortunate Country. When it comes to citizenship and being Ethiopian TPLF is as much justified to be at Arat Kilo as PP is. Take Ethiopia out of this arena. Make no mistakes, no one is trying to kill Ethiopia; they are fighting for it. If they kill it they have nothing to fight for. The fight is about approach how Ethiopia should be ruled. TPLF says diversity should characterize the essence of unity; while PP goes for unity should be the essence of diversity. When we see the reality in Ethiopia, uncovered from the thick fog of politics, TPLF seems to have identified the core around which politics and social life in Ethiopia is built.

In which part of the world has election destroyed a nation? Unless logic has turned on its head election is a virtue and no-election is a vice. It is vice that destroys a nation, which means the absence of elections. The reason why I supported the election in Tigray is because the people wanted it! That means the election is no more TPLF party politics. Anyone who doubts the wisdom of five million people must be the devil himself. No one possesses the legal and moral ground to accuse entire people for going to the polls to destroy Ethiopia. I know, when it comes to insults and accusations on Tigray all related articles in the law books have become too blurred to be read. That is why most people find it easier to test their political skills on Tigray and TPLF. LWT means Living While Tigrayan; just like DWB Driving While Black considered to be a criminal act equal or more than DWD Driving While Drunk.

2. "...መንግስት ማዕቀብ መጣል እንደሚገባው..." What kind of politics is being run in "TDP"? Has it realized that the people of Tigray are its constituency? They want to delay the election by punishing the



people of Tigray who are ready to go to the polls; then "TDP" will be elected in "another election" or somebody would install them like "enderase" of the old monarchical days. What kind of sanction is going to personally target TPLF leaders without affecting the people? Why should there be sanction against the leaders of TPLF. Calling for sanctions against a party that is still operating legally and was elected to rule a regional state is a criminal act by itself. We haven't heard of any court case filed against TPLF leaders except Getachew Assefa, who would appear and defend himself in an impartial court when he feels it is safe to do so. So, making accusations against leaders in Tigray without tangible evidence and filed court cases is a criminal act.

3. "ምርጫው...ከፌዴራል መንግስቱ ራሳቸውን ላሸሹ ቡድኖች መደበቂያነት እያገለገለ ነው...ራሳቸውን አግልለው በአንድ ቦታ የመሸጉ ቡድኖች"

Did they? I doubted my own memory when I read this. Could you remind me please? Was it TPLF that moved out of Federal government on its own? "በሪሁ እርጋን ድያ ሕርቃን? The current PP as EPRDF-3 illegally removed TPLF from the federal government. This is what the whole world knows. The words by Berihu need correction. TPLF leaders are not hiding in Tigray. They are living in Tigray; which is their home place. They are not hiding from anyone. Why?

4. "በትግራይ ክልል የመሸገው ቡድን ጦርነት እገጥማለሁ እያለ፤ የጦር ነጋሪት እየጎሰመ ደግሞከራሲያዊ ምርጫ ያካሂዳል ማለት ስህተት ነው"

Berihu has intentionally inverted the argument upside down to suit his purpose. Tigray and TPLF have never wanted war. War is always imposed on them. "Beating war drums" is not a 21st century terminology. People have become rational. They don't engage in war just for the fun of it. There is death in war. No rational mind wants to die in a war that is avoidable. Tigray is delaying its schedule for development. The last thing TPLF would want to do is to waste resources on war that it can avoid. It has a lot at stake that can be impacted by any war, big or small. Berihu seems to have forgotten

the social psychology in Tigray related to war. War is a nightmare not a sweet dream for Tigray. The fields, the mountains, the valleys and hills are strewn with bones of those brave young people. There is nothing worse than the thought of this happening again. What I share with Berihu is both of us were in a safe distance away from where such a tragedy was happening. I am better positioned than Berihu is because I am always in tears when I remember my friends who perished in the war. I don't share the callousness of Berihu.

The election did not trigger the preparedness for war in Tigray; it is the threat on the election. As long as there are noises from the Center which suggest violent punitive actions why shouldn't Berihu justify the need to protect innocent families of ours. We have hundreds of experience about this kind of war. It felt easy for USA to remove Sadam in one battle. See what it has done to Iraq, that ancient cradle of world civilization! The beginnings of wars can be controlled not the ends. Care must be taken not to start them. Forget it! War against Tigray, people who have little to lose, it will be the mother of all wars in Ethiopia. Berihu should be advised not to take the Jimi out of the bottle sitting on an arm chair. Berihu may have left his political skills in the charismatic Wer'i valley a long time ago.

5. "...ለምርጫ የሚባከነው ገንዘብ ለልማት እንዲውል ማድረግ"

The grapes should not be sour for Berihu. What if Berihu were in the elections; would he still consider it as a waste of money? Money spent on election is not wrong; and there have never been wrong elections. It is tyranny which is always wrong. Election is an investment for development. It is by electing and spending on it that you can ensure higher returns in the economy and social life. Electing societies are highly correlated with high levels of development.

6. "...በምርጫ ሰብብ ለተጨማሪ አምስት ዓመታት ስልጣን ላይ ለመቆየት የሚደረግ በ ስልጣን መባለግ"

This is a self contradictory statement. It is well known that TPLF can only be removed by the people of Tigray. Tigray after 17 years of struggle is no more like the pre 1974 years. The Center appoints, whoever it likes to the Region. There is nothing wrong if someone from Gambela becomes the President of Tigray.; but he/ she must be elected by the people of Tigray. Our agenda is not being native, our concern is for being elected or not. If the people of Tigray want TPLF to continue they will elect it now, they will elect it later. No difference! This election has nothing to do with the intention for TPLF to extend its ruled in Tigray. If I am given the right to reveal my personal opinion and it doesn't offend the young parties, I would say TPLF is not completely replaceable in the 10 years to come. The experience is to much to lose for a hard transition.

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**If Baitona is a Tigray nationalist party, blessed be it!**

December 30-2019

I read Baitona's reaction to some unnecessarily provocative statement made by what Baitona suspected to be a significant personality. Before I go any further on the subject at hand I would like to say a few words about writing anonymously. Anyone is entitled to write with a pen name; but there are limits that cannot be crossed without doing harm. At least on matters pertaining to the current affairs of Tigray, which badly needs open and bold encounters, hiding behind pen names is nothing less than a criminal act on the people of Tigray. Who are the writers with pen names hiding from? From an enemy which is advancing without covering its face? Writing is the least we can do for Tigray, keeping in mind that thousands have given it their precious lives and limbs.

I was impressed by the way the reaction article was articulated by Baitona, which gave me some hope of continuity of leadership in Tigray which could protect and maintain the hard won status quo of

peace and self-rule. Baitona was accused for being a “TPLF clone created to destroy Arena Tigray Party”. A few days ago I read Ato Gebru Asrat’s interview with Addis Zemen (Mereja.com), which did not specifically mention Baitona, but was a worse blanket accusation levelled against all opposition parties in Tigray, as strategic offsprings of TPLF, sparing Arena and TAND (Changed its name to TDP to fit into the ADP and ODP row). Although break-neck competitions between political parties are characteristic to election politics world wide, it is suicidal in Tigray as far as the current situation in the state is concerned. Ideological differences between parties are a normal part of democratic life. However, all parties in a political jurisdiction cannot be allowed to compromise the basic tents on which the existence and continuity of a nation is based.

Even assuming that Baitona is a political handicraft of the TPLF what matters, above everything else, is not how it came into existence but what it stands for! Baitona claims to be a Tigray nationalist. I can only pray that it is genuinely so. This is what Tigray needs at this critical juncture in its history. Tigray’s nationalism has never been an aggressive nationalism; it has been and will continue to be a defensive nationalism. The nationalism in Tigray recognizes and supports by any means the positive nationalism of others and fights against any form of hegemonic nationalism from any source and direction. Isn’t this a noble cause loved and approved even by God Himself? We never know what is going to happen in the next century. Because of globalization Tigray may be integrated into African nationalism, even into a global one. Tigray nationalism may go down as being simple tribalism or clannism. What we are talking about is what we need to do now to shape the foreseeable future.

TPLF has to be applauded if it is making such an effort to perpetuate what I prefer to dub as “woyanism” (a unique form of nationalism in Tigray) in the young generation of Tigray. Whatever good thing TPLF does should not be disapproved as self-serving simply because it is the TPLF (blindly hated by many) which is doing it. Demonizing the TPLF, as if the bulk of the membership living and martyred are

not good people, is an evil-intentioned campaign to render Tigray leaderless and unprotected. Hasty generalization, based on a relatively small proportion of cases of corruption and dangerous amnesia of what TPLF stood and fought for, is totally unfair. Tigrayans involved in this are committing acts of treason whether they know it or not. Political ambitions may be tolerated and even approved; but killing a nation as a means to that end cannot be excused.

The reason why Tigray nationalism is a way out of the current crisis is because, unfortunately, it has become the rule of the game in Ethiopia. Nationalism is adopted in Tigray not as a luxury but as a necessity. As members of the human species no one is created to be exclusionist of fellow members of the Homo Sapiens Sapiens. Since the day of the murder of Abel by Cain, the following generations of humans have learned to defend themselves from the aggression of their fellows. Unfortunately, Abel did not know that he had to be prepared to defend himself against his own brother. Trust got him killed! Some Tigrayan politicians, who have a lot of work to do to ground their politics on stark everyday realities in Ethiopia vis-à-vis Tigray, have busied themselves with taking the “right side” and accusing Tigray nationalism as anti Ethiopian. It was the dream of every one of us that we live in Ethiopia accepted and respected as Tigrayans. Unfortunately, this dream has turned into a nightmare for over a century and is most likely to continue long into the future. Tigrayans are forced to be nationalistic by circumstances that are not their own making. The late president of USA John F. Kennedy was a marine during WWII. He swam ashore to safety when his boat was attacked. During the ceremony for his decoration as an American war hero he told journalists the reason why he became a hero. He said “I was forced to become a hero because they sunk my boat”.

For the entire century, beginning from Yohannes IV and Alula to Meles Zenawi and many other honest and hardworking Tigrayans and members of the TPLF, working diligently for Ethiopia and the central government is least recognized and praised. I don't mean an

Ethiopian should expect to be praised for working for his own country. However, if others are recognized and praised for something less it becomes a waste of time to go to greater distances than the expected share of duty for Tigrayans as citizens (until even that is also lost). We know, in spite of the persistent campaign to discredit what TPLF and Tigrayans have done for Ethiopia by canvassing it in real and fabricated bad deeds, many TPLF members and Tigrayans have continued to serve in senior and junior Federal government positions. This was not out of “kindness” of the chief executive but technically TPLF is elected to the Federal Government until the June 2020 elections. It still has the right to retain its “six-percent share” regardless of the noise: “Weed all of them out!”. Those who stayed in the Federal positions after the TPLF ouster like the affable general Seare lost his life under unknown circumstances and another (W/o Fetlework) is losing he name in public. The ESAT chatterboxes repeatedly pointed their fingers at those Tigrayans in Federal positions as “enemies behind the lines” and urged the central government to get rid of them all.

Last week one of them almost lost his breath with anger about the “double” role he alleged W/O Fetlework is playing, “abusing” her ministerial portfolio. He said the following without any fear of the law which protects any citizen before being proven guilty by due process: “Fetlework is working with the government during the day and conspiring with the TPLF in the night”. By the way, W/O Fetlework is known for her uprightness and sense of purpose. Those who are attacking her know very well that they are hitting at the belly of the TPLF/Tigray. They don’t do this to all others. They are selective to where it hurts most. This is indicative of the fact that Tigrayans are the “unwanted birth” of Ethiopia under all circumstances. Ethiopians outside Tigray have over 100 parties and over a thousand differences. Theonly consensus they have is their blind hate for TPLF-Tigray.

In this regard what Baitona stands for is appropriate and timely. Baitona seems to have taken the accusation levelled against it, as

carved after the image of TPLF, very seriously. In its reaction statement it went into great details to prove that there are only a few former TPLF members in Baitona and the majority are novice to politics. It is fine for the young and politically unexperienced generation to participate in the political life of Tigray. The TPLF monopoly of the political-sphere has to reduce significantly to make way for them. However, using this to defend Baitona against the accusation that it is dominated by former TPLF membership is unnecessary. There is nothing wrong with Baitona accepting even all of the TPLF members into its ranks as long as they think they can serve the people of Tigray much better within Baitona than within TPLF. The Arena and TDP leaders, who are throwing stones first while living in glass houses, themselves were former TPLF members and leaders Who is judging who? Is TPLF good when one is in it and wrong when one leaves it? The aged TPLF, Arena, and TDP leaders must coach the young generation of politicians in Tigray like Baitona rather than tenaciously adhering to gerontocracy. The future of Tigray unquestionably belongs to the young generation of politicians. The old generation of Tigray politicians have to be altruistic to ensure what they have toiled for is turned into reality by the following generation of Tigray.

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**Lilay: Tigray can't afford to live in the past; it has a bright future to take care of**  
August 23-2020

The biggest problem that is messing up politics in Ethiopia and leaving the Country without a functioning compass is the obsession with excessive glorification of the past and at the same time the unhelpful act of scratching of old wounds that does not solve our current problems, but only aggravate them. We find ourselves on the eve of an election in Tigray, the only Regional State in Ethiopia which stood out above all others in bold defense of the

Constitutional provisions for regular elections. The last thing the people of the Regional State would tolerate is putting stumbling blocks on their path as they march towards a democratic future.

We know Lilay is the son of that great leader, who emerged from the ordinary populace to be a leader of the people who rose against oppression. Blata Hailemariam made his own glorious history; and Lilay was expected to do better; but he didn't: "የእሳት ልጅ አመድ":: We all know there was a disappointing betrayal which turned the Weyane rebellion into a disaster. Dejat Gebrehiwot did not betray the rebellion just out of hate for Enderta or with the intention to benefit the people of Adwa. He did it out of purely personal greed. What benefit would the people of Adwa get from the crushing of the rebellion? Nothing! Lilay is repeating what Dejat Gebrehiwot did and Enderta is not going to benefit from that.

I can see from his talks that Lilay was a key member of the security department of TPLF. It is well known worldwide that even in mature democracies what the parliament does and what security departments do are in many cases diametric opposites. Parliaments live in the comfort of democracy and rule of law, while security departments are always dealing with threats of covert conspiracies and sophisticated insurgencies that people and even parliaments are not aware of. Parliaments run states; security departments protect them from harm. It is unfortunate that innocent people could be harmed in the process, which is a necessary evil. TPLF was trying to survive by protecting itself. Tragedies have happened in the process. In an armed struggle, the right hand may not trust the left hand.

Working in a security department as an agent is different from working in a ministry as a clerk. There are sensitive secrets that must be protected under a vow of secret service. Unless otherwise one was a spy for another body secrets are not revealed even when the agent is fired from the security department. What Lilay was engaged in this week is just a betrayal of the vow of secret service. This is the same as betraying yourself! There were hundreds of former members who



had their serious differences with TPLF leaders but suffered death and imprisonment under the Derg for not revealing the list of names of TPLF operatives working in the towns of Tigray; this includes me and my brother. When one joins an organization and enters into a vow to serve it and protect its secrets; it becomes a serious matter. You may fight against the leaders but not against your own vows.

The fact that TPLF leadership has turned into a 'kinship club' is a customary sign of weakness of guerilla leaders during peacetime. Yes, peacetime has killed the flaming sense of sacrifice in the former gallant fighters. They plunged into the "sugar in the absence of insulin to control its healthy level". But, do we have to sit on a mountain of blame and shame and see our future slip away from our hands?

It is OK to set up civil societies as long as they are for the benefits of societies. However, if the mission of the organizations is to pit one against the other they would be mafia organizations pure and simple. Enderta and Raya demand their rights to be protected like any other zones in Tigray, which are having their own problems too, including Adwa of course. Enderta and Raya are no more no less Tigrayans than the rest of Tigray. Mekelle is the core of Tigray and so is Enderta by extension as the immediate hinterland of the Capital of the Regional State. Expansion of Mekelle into the fertile farmlands of Enderta has triggered land grabbing and displacement in the outskirts of the Metropolis. It is the same problem farming communities around Addis Ababa, Hawassa, Adama, etc. are facing. There are blessings and curses when farming societies are located near expanding urban phenomena. This is a question for administrative justice not for fanning political fire. Unlike the pre-TPLF years Mekelle residents are drawn from all over Tigray. This is a blessing for my dear home town. It has never been as much a center of a much larger region as it is now. The job opportunities for the farming families of Enderta in the fast growing City has to be positively taken into account. What if the entire people of Enderta become city residents as long as they are gainfully employed?

The role of the Civil Society led by Lilay should be to engage in constructive negotiations with the City and Regional authorities about the justice in the expansion. Neither Raya nor Enderta are of different Ethnic origin from the rest. I don't need to tell Lilay and his group, that have unjustified claims to represent Enderta and Raya that Enderta and Rays are Tigrayans, PERIOD! Whatever grievances they have on the administration (we know they have a lot of it) they have to put it strongly enough on the authorities not by separating as regional state or joining Afar. The latter is a childish proposition because what obligations do Afars have to accept the two Zones into their region if they fail to be with their own? Who assured Enderta and Raya that Lilay (Enderta) will be a better president for "the Enderta-Raya Regional state" than Dr. Debretsion, a "non-Enderta". The Enderta people love in return any leader who loves and respects them. There are Adwans who insult them, there also Adwans who love them. This is just individual feeling. There are Gondares who belittle and insult Welloyes; there are also Gonderies who love and marry Welloyes. Such things are not a big deal enough for hasty generalizations.

The journalist who interviewed Lilay caught him lying about the cause of death of Hayelom. TPLF had nothing to do with the death of its hero. Unfortunately, Hayelom should not have been so careless about his own safety. It was a big loss for Ethiopia on the eve of the Badme-war. It was a disaster for poor Lilay, who tried to impress and please the anti-TPLF front that no one can believe him about the rest of what he said.

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**Arena party has to provide a less contradictory reason for its non-participation in the election in Tigray**

August 14-2020

Every human being, as an individual or as a member or leader of any group, has the inalienable right to reject what it does not like to have or accept what it is interested in. Arena party has the right to decide not to participate in the election in Tigray on its own free will. Problem arises when the rationale for non participation, when participation is most expected, lacks coherence and is contradictory. A party which has political heavy weights in its ranks would be expected to state reasons for its decision in a more consistent way to convince the nonpartisan audience like us. In stark contrast to this background the party has decided against participating in the election and advised the TPLF to engage in dialogue with the Central government instead. This is where the contradiction starts. No party has the right to tell another party what to do and not do. Any party including Arena has its own programmes of action. If Arena does not listen to TPLF when the latter tells the former what to do and what not to do why is Arena expecting TPLF to listen to its recommendations?

By the way, holding elections in Tigray does not rule out the need for dialogue with the Central government. The two are not substitutes of each other. Alongside elections dialogue is needed for the Central government to refrain from too much of baby sitting in the affairs of Tigray: an autonomous Region on the basis of Federal arrangement guaranteed by the supreme law of the land. The dialogue is useful for Tigray because it can save its political and economic energy for development rather than for unnecessary tensions with the Central government. The talk can help both to prevent the escalation of politics into unchartered territory unknown to both.

The only path to peaceful transition in Tigray is a slow and steady process of building democracy. This cannot be put off for the future. It has to be started right now with the available options and tools at Tigray's disposal. It is unrealistic to dream for a perfect democracy to appear at once. In the cradle of democracy- ancient Greece- democracy did not shine bright as soon as it was created. Slaves and the poor did not have the right to vote. USA did not have women voters until the turn of the last century. What has started in Tigray is the infancy of democracy. It is for the first time in the history of Tigray that opposition parties are campaigning for election. It can be weak, it can be insufficient in time and space; but the fact that it started to happen has to be applauded. No need to rush. Democracy like a house is built brick by brick. We have to be patient like the brick-layer if we want the building to last long enough. From what we hear and from what we read the people of Tigray did not stand against the democratic experiment. I am not a big fan of TPLF; but I swallow the Tigrayan reality whole that TPLF has a huge mass base in the Region and there is sufficient reason for it. So, for many years to come, we all have to admit, TPLF will continue to be a decisively important party in the Tigrayan political arena. The "gedli factor" which has created the bondage between TPLF and the people, despite the frequent administrative hiccups, will not be fading away for several decades to come. Arena party is not participating in the election in Tigray for the following reasons (BBC Tigrigna 27 Hamle, 2020 Amdom Gebreselassie):

1. The election in Tigray is unconstitutional
2. The election cannot be free and fair
3. There are no independent election observers drawn from human rights organizations and civic societies not associated with TPLF that can freely move around in Tigray to supervise the election
4. There is harassment on opposition parties in Tigray by the TPLF
5. The spread of Corona virus doesn't allow the election process to be conducted smoothly without causing health hazard

6. There is no enough time for opposition parties for an effective election campaign
7. The election in Tigray is not organized and run by the National Election Board as per the Constitution
8. \*\*The Federal government has violated the Constitution by postponing the elections beyond the strict five year limit

The election in Tigray is disapproved by the Central Government for not abiding by the decision of the Upper House of the Federal Parliament to postpone the elections and for not being organized and conducted by the National Election Board. In fact the latter logically follows from the former in that the Board cannot organize elections when the House has formally postponed the elections. Reason No.1 the election in Tigray is unconstitutional. So Arena does not want to be involved in the violatation of the Constitution by participating in “illegal” elections. It is noble to be legal; but where does the legality and illegality lie? Who decides what is legal and what is illegal? Reason No.1 and No.7 are connected. Election in Tigray becomes unconstitutional because the prerogative of the Board of Elections to manage elections throughout Ethiopia is violated by Tigray Regional Government. On the other hand Tigray Regional Government is referring to the relevant articles in the Constitution that there is no legal loophole that allows going around the articles that boldly state elections be held in time or on time. So, Tigray Regional Government has a point in rigidly adhering to the Constitutional dictates. Tigray Regional Government is violating the Constitutional provision about the mandate of the Board of Elections based on its argument that the Federal Government is unconstitutionally postponing the elections. Hence, the Tigray Regional Government is taking the devils alternative: On one side loyalty to the Constitution by holding elections as per the dictates of the law which is disapproved by the Central Government; on the other side engage in the unconstitutional act of taking away the mandate of the Board and replacing it by a Regional one, an action provoked by the bypassing of the Constitutional dictates about

election timing by the Federal Upper House based on Constitutional interpretation.

Arena is lost in the maze of arguments and counter arguments on the constitutional dictates and mandates. Under reason No.1 it strongly states that election in Tigray is unconstitutional, but under No.8 it criticizes the Federal Government for postponing the elections as a violation of the Constitutional dictates restricting tenure for only five years. If Arena thinks that the Federal Government is violating the Constitution by postponing elections why is it accusing the Tigray Regional Government for holding elections? If the Federal Government is wrong in postponing elections the National Board of Elections cannot be right in accusing Tigray Regional Government for having its own Board as a replacement, after a failed effort of getting the National Board's support. Arena, which is better, a complete violation of the Constitution or a partial one? If Arena holds that the postponement of National elections is wrong is it expecting the Tigray Regional Government to join the bandwagon of wrong doing against the Constitution which Arena believes is violated by the Central Government and its election Board? Arena's reason No.5 for its decision against participating in the elections in Tigray is the Corona Pandemic. Arena is right in this point because the virus is spreading fast and wide including in Tigray. We all know so does the TPLF, that the voters and organizers in Tigray are not Corona-proof. They are as susceptible as any human being can be. The question here is the continuity of societies and their polities, which has to be ensured at all costs. Wars come and go; so do Pandemics. At the same time, generations come and go. It is the responsibility of every generation to make sure that there will be a next and a next and a next generation that continues at a progressively higher level of standard of living, rule of law, and democratic order. When the poor Chinese toiled in the early 50s to build China as a big economic power house they had the Chinese of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century who are having a reasonably higher standard of living in mind. There are sacrifices made by a generation to ensure

the well being of the following generations in a noble sense of altruism.

Arena knows very well that the basic reason given by the Federal Government for postponing the elections is the threat of the Corona Pandemic. If Arena is convinced that it is dangerous to hold elections during the Corona Pandemic, why is it criticizing the Central Government for postponing the elections because of the Corona Pandemic? The Central Government has not mentioned any other reason than the Pandemic for postponing the National elections. Was it Ok for Arena to conduct National elections on time disregarding the threat of Corona spread? If so, why did Arena find it wrong to hold elections in Tigray under the threat of Corona spread? Is there a more powerful Corona virus in Tigray that would kill more Tigrayan voters than others elsewhere in Ethiopia? Honesty should be the best policy here! Let me probe into the Reasons No. 2, 3, 4 and 6 for Arena's decision not to participate in the elections in Tigray. These four reasons clash head on with reason No. 1. If the election in Tigray is unconstitutional everything stops there. Reasons No. 2, 3, 4 and 6 become automatically irrelevant. You cannot have election which is illegal on the one hand and not organized enough for participation on the other. If the election is illegal it is a waste of time to talk about the presence or absence of independent observers; enough or not enough time for campaigning; and the prophesy that the elections will not be free and fair. Arena considers the election as illegal on the wrong side of its brain and at the same time hesitates and wants to participate on the right side of its brain. It cannot stay firm on the "illegality" side because it would be double standards to hold a precarious stand point of considering the decision of the Federal Government to postpone elections as illegal and at the same time holding elections in Tigray also as illegal. Arena is helplessly standing in the middle trying to find a sound justification, for its decision not to participate, where it does not exist. Arena killed its main reason for not participating by its own hands. If postponing elections by the Federal Government is wrong

conducting timely elections in Tigray must be right as per the logic of the matter at hand. So Arena's illegality of elections in Tigray is dead! The face saving reasons remain: a possibility of rigging elections, no enough time for election campaigns, and no impartial observers.

We have reports that the parties in Tigray who have decided to participate in the elections are also complaining about the shortage of time. They are also saying that it is tolerable given the difficult circumstances the Region is in. In fact it must have been the new parties that are justified in complaining about the brevity of the time allotted for election campaigns. Arena has been in the Region for long enough now. It had the advantage over the new parties to tell every Tigrayan soul what Arena is all about. Unfortunately, Arena wasted the bulk of its time complaining and accusing the TPLF as a tyrant; for imposing rein of terror in Tigray, and painting all hues of dark color. Arena also wasted its time by shuttling between Addis Ababa and Mekelle while its main job lies squarely in Tigray. Arena is talking about something impractical. Independent election observers cannot travel to Tigray for reasons which are well known to Arena. No independent observer has as yet expressed its readiness to supervise elections in Tigray. While Addis Ababa is trying to stop the election in Tigray how is Arena expecting independent observers to be provided with visas and travel to Tigray? If what Arena is referring to as independent observers are Ethiopians residing in Ethiopia, it is hard to distinguish who is independent and who is not in the Ethiopian political arena where there seems to be a consensus in branding whatever is done in Tigray led by TPLF as a rebellion to be punished. Arena is avoiding elections in Tigray because it may not be free and fair. Yes, it may be not be free and fair, or it may also be free and fair! If free and fair elections are ensured where there are independent observers, well it is unfortunate that they are not available. Should Tigray wait until they are available? For how long? Is it sure to get them even after a long wait? If one accepts that elections have to be conducted in Tigray then you can only do what



you can possibly do. I don't think TPLF has any valid reason to rig elections this time around. I believe that it wants to prove itself in the face of its former partners that it is determined to hold free and fair elections even at a cost to its position.

Arena is the first opposition party to operate in Tigray in the middle of an all out domination of the politics in Tigray by TPLF. We know it was not easy! While opposition parties elsewhere in Ethiopia were working with relative ease it was nearly impossible for pluralism to prevail in Tigray where it was most deserved. There was jailing and harassment of opposition members including the leaders. No democratic mind can approve or tolerate this. However, TPLF cannot be viewed as a domicile of political angels in heaven or some alien in a distant planet. Whether we love it or hate it the Machiavellian instincts are inside all of us. Arena should not be so angry with TPLF for not resigning and handing over to Arena just like that. What if it was the other way round? TPLF as opposition and Arena as a ruling party? Would Arena cordially invite TPLF to take the throne without a hustle? Arena has to admit that it would never do anything like that. It is a normal part of political life not only in Tigray but even also in the USA that competing parties play all kinds of tricks on each other. In what is considered to be the most mature democracy in the world-USA-Democrats do all kinds of evil things on Republicans and the vice versa. Allegedly with full knowledge of President Nixon or his aides the Democratic Party's National Convention complex at Watergate was broken into. Trump allied with foreign powers against Democrats. The difference is, in the USA no one goes away with it, but no one refrains from trying. Tigray is not like the USA. Tigray has never been a democracy. Several centuries of degrading hereditary rule, seventeen years of brutal military dictatorship, and thirty years of single party rule though the latter is not externally imposed and a hundred times better than previous rules. The only way to survive in this context as an opposition party is firstly, to accept the right to self rule for the people without external interference into their internal affairs as

much as it is provided by the Federal arrangement. For instance, who rules in Tigray is up to the people of Tigray to decide.

Secondly, there is no mature democratic culture in the Region; it is yet to evolve if the beginning of the evolution is not hampered by over expectations. Hence, it is quite expected for opposition parties to face hardships, serious and discouraging obstacles on their way. The only remedy is not to run away, complain and seek outside help to ensure success but to face it head on in a give and take basis. It is important to remind Arena that it turned into an opposition party from being a faction of the TPLF. There are understandable grudges on the side of the TPLF mainstream on the minority faction which turned into an opposition party. If the faction cannot survive as members and leaders inside TPLF how is it possible for them to survive as opposition to a party that they demonized, they are demonizing and want to overthrow it? How is TPLF as a group of human beings expected to tolerate Arena? We all recall the bad mood in the rest of the TPLF majority and among the war veterans against the faction who had no intention for any compromise. Few liked what they did, sorry to say, including myself. With this uncomfortable background which was not taken well by the people Arena should not expect TPLF to evaporate and leave the political space entirely for it. Thirdly, if Arena claims its constituency to be the people of Tigray, it must stick to that. Whatever complaints it has on TPLF must be an internal affair of Tigray. The people are not too ignorant to see who is on the right track and who is not. Making the complaints and accusations on TPLF global news item does not help in improving relationship with the Ruling party which has the capacity to take drastic action if it feels pushed and shoved too much. It is natural for TPLF to brand Arena as an externally motivated political force if the latter helps the National anti-TPLF propaganda by adding more and more fuel to it. I am not advocating for TPLF, I am describing the ground reality that Arena is failing to see from too high above. TPLF and the people with it toiled for 17 years because they did not share EPRP's optimism that the Derg can be confused

into submission in a matter of few months or weeks. Incumbents as a matter of responsibility for the people or selfishness or both do not abdicate because some party asked them or coerced them to. The issue about TPLF is more an emotive than a political one.

The bondage between TPLF and the people of Tigray is glued by blood more than it is by politics. I think this is the reason why so many people are puzzled by the accommodative behavior of the people towards TPLF in spite of the so much maladministration and neglect. No one has the right to blame people and criminalize them for feeling safer in the hands of the TPLF where the most important factor is social psychology rather than political rationality. It is only those who live it that can properly understand it. Arena is acting weirdly as if it does not understand what is linking the people and TPLF despite its weaknesses in several fields of democracy and governance. That is why it is struggling to swim against the current of objective realities of politics in Tigray that prevailed throughout the last half a century. Arena claims to be talking the ‘ultimate truth’; and expects everyone to accept it. The absolute truth is that there is no absolute truth in the possession of an individual or a group that claims to have one. The absolute truth is that truth does not become truth because the “truthful” thinks so. Truth is only relative and one has to be wise enough to get it in its appropriate context and act accordingly. If Arena fails to participate in this experimental election I can safely guess that red carpet is not going to be rolled out for in any future elections. If it is hoping that the entire election in Tigray will be null and void so that Arena can have some God sent chance of prevailing in Tigray it would simply prove that Arena has little respect for the electorate.

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## **Wrangling while crossing a heavily flooded stream**

September 03-2021

*"I am ashamed to hear any Tigraway complaining about democratic space in Tigray now while his and her brothers/sisters are sacrificing life across Northern Amhara land."* Zeru Hagos  
(in Tegar-u-Aigaforum)

The enemies of Tigray have always waited for the magic bullet to effectively defeat Tegar-u. That magic bullet is Tegar-u turning against each other at a time when it is most fatal for them to do so. Victories have never been sustainable for Tigray because that evil instinct of discord surfaces too soon for the victory to be of any value. The history of Tigray is rife with in fights that almost invariably went in favour of the enemy. The nearly 40 years of internecine warfare between the nobility in Tigray, after the death of Yohannes IV, had given a free hand to Menilik II and his successors to degrade Tigray into total submission. Unable to make sense of what the nobility were doing to each other and to Tigray, the great general Alula was forced to sit idle at Arat Kilo Ghibi and hear the Empress mocking Tegar-u for their foolishness. Who killed Alula? Not the Italians, or Egyptians, or Mahdists whom he defeated. It was a fellow Tigraway noble man who killed him. This man had the potential to rally Tegar-u for a better future free from remote controlled subjugation by Shoan rulers. Tegar-u were never to learn even a bit of lesson from that and repeated it during the first Woyane rebellion. The historic division between the nobility resurfaced and some of them sided with the Shoa rulers against fellows in the rebellion. Everyone knows how brutally Tigray was ruled after that until another rebellion started in the mid-70s.

The TPLF-led armed struggle for the freedom of Tigray from subjugation was not free from the deleterious expressions of the "traditional" differences planted and watered by the myopic nobility

of Tigray. The notorious 1st "hinfishfish" in the ranks of the TPLF was caused by trivial differences blown beyond proportions by a few tyrannical leaders in the TPLF. The irony was the leaders were educated enough to avoid the violent purges they were sadly engaged in. They also failed to tolerate and cooperate with other similar armed movements for Tigray. A modern internecine warfare resulted in the death and injury of Tegarau on all sides. A few years later TPLF was rocked by still another in fighting, this time for "ideological purity".

In national liberation movements ideological differences are normally tolerated. But the bitterly split TPLF leadership had no stomach for compromise. Although TPLF managed to defeat the Derg and control Arat Kilo (the main source of the Tigrayan predicament) another major break of the TPLF became an unfortunate reality. One would ask, could it be in the DNA of Tegarau that they prefer to throw carelessly the bright future they toiled and bled for? The breakup of the TPLF leadership at the turn of the Century was the most fateful of all in fights in the political organization. The partner parties in the EPRDF coalition used the split in the ranks of the TPLF to later on weaken it, overthrow it, trivialize it, and demonize it with unprecedented bad consequences on the people of Tigray.

The story of the great scholar and religious leader Saint Yared is told as a story of a poor student who failed in a church school seven times. On the eighth he became the Yared that we know of today. Eighth chance could be a possibility in education. Sometimes a student could get exemption for course-allergy if "F" grade reappears several times. In politics and the fate of nations no such exemptions or repeated trials are possible without heavy cost. The people of Tigray and the political leaders have paid dearly every time they failed to learn from their previous mistakes. Tegarau have almost become predictable by their enemies. They have considered them as having short memories about how they had been ill-treated regardless of severity. Tegarau possess a dangerous propensity to

repeat something that has already caused them great harm. The obsession with the idea of invincibility, while self-inflicted weakness drains their energy from inside, is putting Tegraru in the most vulnerable position putting their survival at great risk. The year 2021 goes down into the history of Tigray and its relationship with Ethiopia not as a milestone but as a crossroad to decide its future. By God's miracle and the bravery of its sons and daughters what seemed like the final year for Tigray is reversed and continuity is more or less ensured. But the threat of genocide is far from over. The war is raging on several fronts and TDF is decimating the multiple enemy forces in a speed never seen on this planet. The failed genocide by bullet has been replaced by genocide by famine.

The diplomacy is getting messier by the day and the enemy is engaged in an intensive propaganda campaign to discredit and isolate the TDF which is defending Tigray. It is also very busy with trying to create rifts in the ranks of the fighting force and the political leadership heading the just war of defense. There are Tegraru who have already betrayed the people of Tigray as it is historically customary. Tigray is little worried about such traitors because they are of little consequence. Even the enemy does not trust them; and hence, they are a lost case. What the enemy prays for is division within the force that is fighting in all military and political fronts to save Tigray. To our alarm and dismay there are unmistakable signs of difference within the political leadership of Tigray, that are least expected at this time when success and failure are on the two sides of a razor-edge.

Differences in ideas is an attribute of civilized people; but if the difference and its reflection is ill-timed it is a recipe for disaster. The time Tigray finds itself is a time where even a dictatorship is tolerated. Russians have not only tolerated but also supported with their lives Joseph Stalin in WWII. They were wise enough to prioritize their concerns. It would be a folly for the Russian democrats to turn their guns or politics against Stalin while having Hitler's German Wehrmacht at their doorsteps. It is extremely

painful and unrewarding to be a wartime leader; so is it in a transition period. TPLF's position leading such a war of great complexity is not enviable. It is leading politics full of uncertainty and dealing with an enemy that cannot be managed even with a knowledge and skill in space science. It is unhelpful at this difficult point in time to be possessed by the political history of TPLF and its faults. What happened in the last nine months is more than enough reason for the TPLF to undergo a metamorphosis from an inward to outward looking party. There cannot be iron ore that does not melt in a blast furnace. Isn't the invasion and destruction of Tigray blast furnace enough for all Tegararu? Haven't we all changed beyond recognition?

Why are we obsessed with prewar politics which is no more relevant to solve our current problems? Some say without any sense of responsibility that "TPLF was a dictator before, and it will continue to be so in the future". Who is saying that? Aren't those in the TPLF as much Tegararu as we all claim to be? Are some Tegararu more Tegararu than others and think that they can "save Tigray from harm by TPLF's actions"? No one has the right to deny that it is the TPLF that organized the saving of Tigray with great skill and patience. Of course, it bears the responsibility to do so not only as a Tigrayan party but also as an elected government by a land slide. The TPLF-led government moved its seat to the mountains of Tigray as a tactical move to avoid civilian casualties as well as to keep itself safe in order to lead the resistance. Changing its location does not take away its legitimacy as an elected government. For whatever reason 2.7 million voters elected TPLF to office and the decision of the people a year ago must be respected unconditionally. I am not a member of the TPLF; neither am I its supporter. In fact, I was one of its constructive critics for as long as the TPLF ruled. It would look like a coup attempt on an elected government to suggest something as illegal as a "transition government drawn from all Tegararu".

This is dangerous for the future of Tigray if legally conducted elections can so easily be rendered null and void. A bad lesson of impunity impeding future generation from building sustainable

democracy. The war came only two months after the election. TPLF had no chance to show whether or not it would improve how it rules Tigray. For the last 10 months TPLF is managing deep crisis, which has drawn world attention and got it a good reputation. At this juncture it would be fair to judge the TPLF not for what it was unable to do immediately before the war or what it did not do for 27 years, but for what it is doing now and could do in the remaining four years. The fact that the four-year term of presidents must be respected, as the will of the people, gave the racist and foul-mouthed Trump to remain in office till the end.

One of the reasons given by those who are determined to replace TPLF, by an unelected transitional government in Tigray, are focused on the "lack of capability of the remaining TPLF leaders to effectively manage state affairs". This is a lame and unjustifiable assessment that does not hold water. First of all, we must have respect and sympathy for the martyred and jailed TPLF leaders. It is immoral to use their sacrifices as an opportunity to brand the TPLF as a depleted and weakened party unable to rule Tigray effectively. After all, it is not a necessity for elected officials and MPs to be scholars with higher degrees. What matters is how they they utilize the technocracy in the executive branch. Political will and the readiness to serve the people is what is most required of elected party members. Another criticism thrown at the TPLF is that it has kept its standpoint about the future of Tigray concealed. What do the people of Tigray want? We don't know; but we can only guess! Unless the people cast their votes in a referendum and the ballots are counted who claims to be the wizard or the prophet to know exactly to which option majority votes will go? Some individuals in some YouTube channels have gone to a figure as high as 90% of the votes in favour of independence. We seem to have gone wild pushed by our dreams without any intentions to wait for the will of the people to reveal itself. If we fail to respect the will of the people in last year's election it is also most likely that we wouldn't wait for the votes of the people in the referendum to know what they really want.



Respecting the people not nurturing one's own desire to grab political power should be the guide for honesty. If we dare to think that the people do not know what they want, and we try to put what we want in their mouths that is a disgrace and an anathema to democracy. The people of Tigray are those who suffered directly from the invasion. They would know what they want. They don't need to be told how to feel about their own future after all the bad things that happened to them. Connecting the dots from the statements being made in some YouTube channels one can suspect that a few of those that found themselves in the bush for the last several months may have been collecting and counting points to serve them for realizing their ambitions for political power. No need to be specific with names but unfortunately this is true.

Tigray Independence Party (TIP) is a prewar party. It was already decided on independence before the war. Baytona favoured confederation before the war and now it has shifted to a similar mission to TIP. Salsay Woyane Tigray may also be inclined towards independence. They all have to be respected for what they stand for. However, they should not try to impose their missions on other parties. It is the people who got the right to judge them as representative or unrepresentative of the will of the people. While calling for a wider political space in Tigray opposition parties should not be the one to deny it to other parties who may be taking options other than independence. Self-censure is a must as you point your finger at others. Although it has not made its position clear TPLF may likely have a federalist stance for Tigray. They may feel that if a genuine federalist system can be built and sustained Tigray may be safe within such a framework. Should TPLF be criminalized for this? Not at all! TPLF can be blamed only when it hinders other parties from spreading their ideas to the people after the war is over. Some leaders of opposition parties and other individuals almost accuse the TPLF leadership for not revealing its standpoint on independence.

In the first place, it does not need to reveal it now. This is a time for ensuring the very existence of Tigray. It would be a luxury, even sheer callousness, to declare options about the political status of Tigray that are relevant to postwar politics. Some opposition to TPLF go as far as accusing it of harbouring a hidden agenda of getting back to Arat Kilo Palace. They blame the leadership of TPLF for using the war of defense to "help them secure their personal property in Addis Ababa". This is too simplistic and abusive. There is no problem with securing personal property. Everyone would like to do that. This should not be a point for political debate; it is too immature. What we are all worried about is the fate, the businesses, and properties of Tegar in Addis Ababa. Their safety and continuity must be ensured. Nothing should be done in haste.

Everyone must understand the challenges TPLF is facing. The world does not want another state declaring independence. World powers and African states desire a united Ethiopia as the second largest state and the headquarters of the AU. The world may be sympathetic to our plight, but it is more willing to solve it in-situ. TPLF, as an elected leadership has to skillfully balance the interest of the world community and the dreams of Tegar. This is a very difficult job. The opposition is pressing on the TPLF to reveal itself about the issue of independence. For the supporters of Tigray in the West what TIP or Baytona believe Tigray should be is irrelevant. They are watchful of what TPLF stands for. Any slip of the tongue in favour of independence can take TPLF to the "American gallows". As a consequence, Tigray will lose everything. Such statements as "We don't care about what America feels" are not helpful. If Tigray is to be independent in the future, I think it has to have rich friends. It cannot lose them now. Even in a federation or confederation the rich states who by now admire us could continue to help us to grow through large scale investment. Watch out! Independence without recognition by the west is like living in the dark. We have to be brave and tactical as well. That is how the world moves on!

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## **Personal opinion: SAWT, BAYTONA, and TIP**

January 2-2022

I just don't get it: Haven't we heard the same statements by SAWT, BAYTONA, and TIP several times before?

What tests logical thinking to its limits is the frequency and timing of the official statements of the “trio”. Release a statement once; you may repeat it once more if there are modifications to the previous statement. But if you release a statement once, everyone has heard it and comments for and against it as I did in more than two occasions, it would be unwise to release statement with same content again. It may look like a childish urge to have your ideas to completely fill the air at the cost of more important issues. People have heard, and maybe they thought this is ill-timed, or too selfish and myopic, or oblivious to priorities. When people brush off the statements of the trio as untimely and even as distractors to the progress of the key mission it is great wisdom for the parties to refrain from releasing the same statements again and again.

This may send the wrong message that “the public is deaf”. What is most disturbing about the frequent release of the same statements is the timing of the release. It is stunning that they choose the time when the TDF is engaged in a win it or lose it battle and the people of Tigray are suffering from mass starvation on the ground and fire from above their heads. Who insane mind would discuss democracy, multi party system, and political space in this situation unless they have come from another planet?

I have no intention of discouraging multi-partism in Tigray. The young people in the trio are the future leaders of Tigray. But I don't want to tolerate their misbehavior in the middle of a war of survival and talk luxury. The concern of the people of Tigray at this historical juncture is not about which party is leading them, but which one is the “deliverer who can take them across the red sea to the promised

land”. Moses is not leading Israel now; but no one else could have got the Israelis to Canaan. It is ok for present day Israel to have noisy politicians who fist-fight one another in the Knesset. The worst pharaoh and Nazi days are over. In these very bad days, to which direction the “the central pole of the Meskel demera” is going to fall is not yet known, Tigray needs a one-party dictatorship not a “quadrumvirate”.

The best contributions the three parties can do for the people of Tigray is not releasing anti-TPLF statements at the worst of times but assisting TPLF in all ways possible to win the war and restore Tigray. Doing otherwise may hurt their reputation and the hope for future elections. If election has become their only concern it is sad, but they are entitled to their own feelings as long as they don't put obstacles on the road to victory.

I am not a TPLF-guy, but I am a pragmatist. For now, I am willing to entertain the idea of what TPLF is doing now, not what TPLF did in the past. Even if the devil joins the TDF to save Tigray, I will canonize him, no more say prayers against him. This is not blasphemy; that is the only way I can express myself about the unacceptable finger pointing of the trio against TPLF.

I find it hard to believe that the three parties have joined the anti-TPLF chorus. Accusing the TPLF for almost anything that has gone wrong has become universal in Ethiopia. A child may break his glass but tell his mother: “the junta broke my glass”. When the OLA defeats some army contingent human odds like Gizachew “the grey” would say: “It is the junta that did this”. He is either belittling the bravery of the Oromos and/or appeasing them to tactically avoid enmity with a demographic majority. You know what the enemies of Tigray want to hear from everyone, including from the people of Tigray? Cursing the TPLF! These days blaming TPLF for every evil gets you an effortless visa to the PP world.

Sajeed of My Views on News asked SAWT, BAYTONA, and TIP a very crucial question in his video on 1/2/22. He said: “Would the

three parties be willing to participate in the National dialogue if PP invites them?” Why did Sajeed say this? Because he is as puzzled as I am about why the trio released the statement at this point in time. He said: “They released the same statement two months ago”. Sajeed’s question is understandable. This could lead anyone into unfavorable speculation on the three parties about sinister intentions. Given the participation of the three parties in the war on the side of TDF, no one expected a distracting statement of this kind from them at this critical point of the war. It is very likely that people like me will misunderstand them. The release of the repeated statement by the three parties has come at a point in time which coincided with series of press statements by Redwan Hussien. He said this regarding participation in the National dialogue: “TPLF is not the only representative of Tigray”. This says it all! Soon afterwards Abrha Desta released and next the trio released a statement about their right to participate in the dialogue which TPLF is rejected from.

This is expectedly the denial of the fact that TPLF has got a landslide in the election. Logically, if Tigray is to be represented it is the ruling party that represents it. Is it the democratic party of the republican party that represent USA? Why should international logic stand on its head when it comes to TPLF? The three parties tried in the elections but failed. They have acknowledged TPLF's election was more or less fair. We don't have short memories when it comes to Tigray! The three parties must respect the elected party as a representative of Tigray rather than share abusive terminology with enemy against TPLF. After election, respecting TPLF is respecting the electorate. There is no way around this. Denying the elected party its legitimacy is treason, no less. Don't expect me to be merciful in the choice of my words; you have not been merciful to Tigray either. The parties are contributing ammunition to the propaganda war by PP, Amhara, and Eritrea against TPLF. I expect you to release another statement apologizing to the people of Tigray and promise never to put concrete blocks on the bridge to victory

## Traitors in History

January 23-2021

One of the key agendas in the complex politics of Tigray, which is gathering momentum in the last few months, is the issue of traitors. Although the intensity and the damage it is inflicting on the people's cause to survive and thrive is immense any analysis of it may become incomplete due to the absence of adequate and reliable information about who is who and the extent of harm done. In this article I will focus only on notorious historical examples of the damage done by traitors on their respective societies. I will start with an excerpt from Peter Tosh's immortal Reggae piece:

*"Jah Jah guide me from my friends; because I know, I know my enemies. They will come and sit round your table; wanting to kill you like Cain killed Abel."*

*"Anytime you see your friend, the first thing you see is his teeth, Yes but, if you could see the inner part; then we gonna know the sucker has got a wicked heart."*

*"Your enemies stay far from you, they don't want to see you, while your friends will come with a smiling face; and it doesn't mean another shoe's lace."*

"Traitor" is defined as "a person who betrays someone or something, such as a friend, cause, or principle". This article is not about betrayal among friends. Although even at individual level betrayal is immoral, it is left up to the individual to handle such irregularities in everyday life. As Peter Tosh suggested seeking God's blessing to protect oneself from betrayal by friends and at the same time being cautious are the best options. The most damaging betrayal occurs to communities at a larger scale. Betrayal of a cause or principle, particularly when the realization of the cause or principle requires engaging in war, traitors can do more harm than the enemy. They cannot succeed to destroy a cause; but they can lengthen the time and worsen the pain in the march towards the attainment of the cause.

You cannot have truth on opposing sides. Truth (noble cause) is always on one side as opposed to falsehood (evil cause). One who betrays an evil cause is not named as a traitor. Betraying the Derg, betraying the Sicilian Mafia, betraying Hitler, betraying the Serbs, and betraying the blood thirsty Hutu gangs is not being a traitor. The afore stated elaboration is need because the definition of a traitor does not indicate the nature of what is betrayed.

What are universally accepted as noble causes or principles are the struggle for freedom from slavery, tyranny, and national oppression; liberation from colonial rule; emancipation of women and the marginalized; and the fight for democracy and good governance. Anyone who betrays these causes for whatever reason is a traitor. I say "whatever reason" because no reason under the Sun justifies this kind of betrayal. Traitors put the lives of millions of people at risk; they sabotage well planned operations and multiply losses. Here is the main reason why traitors are more dangerous to a cause than the enemy. One can plan without being closely observed by the enemy: but the traitor co-plans. In addition, the traitor has got knowledge of the strengths and weaknesses on "his side" and/or has a good knowledge of the geography and society of the area where the noble cause fights to realize itself. With this advantage the enemy can catch those that stand for the noble cause unprepared with the help of the traitor.

Those that stand for the noble cause are always surprised, angered, and often discouraged especially by high profile betrayal of trust. The consequences of betrayal could also breed mutual suspicion in the ranks of the fighters for the noble cause. Unless it is handled with maximum care and patience innocent members may be branded as collaborators leading to factionalism and doom. Traitors abound in the world we live in. The Bible has stories of traitors like Delila who was Samson's mistress, the leader of the Israelis. Delila betrayed him to make it easy for the philistines to destroy the Israelis. What motivates traitors to be what they become? In his book "Anatomy of a Traitor", Michael Smith lists down possible motivators for traitors

as: money, hatred, love for adventure, fear, inflated ego, revenge, ideology, sense of what is right that transcends nationalities, addiction, and love/sex. Mathew Landis also identified two motivators: deep unhappiness and self-interest. The unhappiness could originate from dissatisfaction, disillusionment, depression, or a sense of defeat. It is "A response to an acute crisis or an accumulation of crises or disappointment". As to self-interest it belongs to every one of us as a species; but it does not become a universal motivator for betrayal. Some base their betrayal on it; some others don't. A "persons pre-existing psychology and circumstances such as how parents model traits like loyalty and grace in their children; and how dire a specific situation is". The latter could mean personal difficulties such as the threat of physical harm, psychological harassment and a feeling of powerlessness in the face of the enemy. It is often the case for traitors to betray when the going gets tough and they are not tough enough to get going. Factinate has very interesting data about who traitors are. During the time considered for the survey of US citizens 93% men and only 7% women spied against their own country; and a third of them were alcohol abusers.

Beginning from antiquity world history is rife with traitors. Neither there is a need nor space to mention them all. Focus on a few significant traitors in different parts of the world is made here. Who does not know the brave and selfless Spartan King Leonidas? He was one of the early victims of betrayal. When the Persians came in huge numbers to invade Greece Leonidas decided to counter them at the narrow pass of Thermopylae. The defence plan was reeked when a native Greek named Ephialtes betrayed his fellow Greeks and showed the Persians a path around the pass to encircle the Spartans. The latter fought fiercely with unexpectedly huge loss. Later on the Greeks were victorious over Persians and the poor traitor was killed without getting his reward. Dona Marina of Aztec-Mexico was sold to slavery by her mother and she put her revenge by helping the Spanish to conquer her land. American war of independence has



suffered one of the most notorious traitors the world has ever seen. Benedict Arnold was a general who was considered to be a great asset for the liberation war. In the middle of the war, he switched sides to the British loyalists and inflicted huge damage to America. He burned and killed in areas including his home place in Connecticut. The reasons for his betrayal were mostly personal: complaint about promotion and his fellows were charging him of corruption and lavish lifestyles. The most likely motivator for his betrayal is believed to be his wife who was a British loyalist. After 20 years of ill health this top traitor of America died in curse. Robert Lee has also betrayed the union and sided with the Confederates, who refused to end slavery.

World War II has experienced a number of high-profile traitors within only five years. Kawashina Yoshiko, a Chinese prince switched sides and fought for the Japanese against China. Higher still, Wang Jingwei formed a pro-Japan puppet government in China. In Europe, Philippe Petain, who was France's hero against Germany in World War I succumbed to his ego and became a leader of the Nazi-puppet government in his annexed Nation during World War II. None of the above compare to Vidkun Quisling whose name came to be synonymous with betrayal. He was the leader of the Nazi-puppet government in Norway. As it often happens to traitors who assume that things never change, Quisling was sentenced to death by firing squad soon after Norway was liberated from Nazi occupation. The truth unfortunately is that traitors will always be there with us taking no lessons from the past about how all ignoble acts are severely punished by God and/ or by humans. God abhors betrayal. Jesus was betrayed by Juda and Peter although we take comfort in the belief that all that was written and destined to happen.

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# CLUSTER 14

## Tigray: Society and Politics



- የትግራይ ህዝብ ሰላም እንጂ እንደ ቁርና እንደ ፋኖ ግርግር አይፈልግም
- ለፖለቲካ ስልጣን አለንልህ ያሉት በአንበጣው ወረራ ድምፃቸው ጠፋ!
- ዶር. አረጋዊ በርሀ (በሪሁ) የ1969 ዓ.ም. ሕንፍሽፍሽ ማን ቀሰቀሰው?
- The Unbreakable Moral: Tegarū also sing...
- "አንቲዐናካ ሽጉርቲ ይብላኝ" በላ አዴታት መቐለ
- Soft-Targets: The Predicament of non-TPLF member.
- Organized and experienced people are more potent...
- The Ashenda Nostalgia
- My eldest sister and her hometown Mekelle

Articles in this cluster are on diverse issues, but related to social life in Tigray: that the people of Tigray do not love violence, they maintain high spirit during time of adversity, often suffer from betrayal by their own, political differences are not often resolved by peaceful means, they have been misunderstood by fellow Ethiopians and marginalized, they have long experience of violence from central authorities, and possess a rich history and culture.

**የትግራይ ህዝብ ሰላም እንጂ እንደ ቁርና እንደ ፋኖ ግርግር አይፈልግም**

July 25-2020

የማነ የተባሉ በመረጃ ድረገፅ ላይ ያሰፈሩት ቃል ቢያንስ ቢያንስ ሃላፊነት የጎደለው ነው እላለሁ። አንዴ ሁለቴ ይህን ቡድን በሚመለከት በጻፍኳቸው አስተያየቶች ላይ ስሙና አርማው ሽብር የሚለቅ መስሎ ስለተሰማኝ የሰላማዊ ትግል ስሜት በሚሰጥ ስምና አርማ ቀይሮ በሰላም የህዝብ ድምፅ በማግኘት ላይ አተኩሮ እንዲሰራ መከፈ ነበር።

ህወሓት ስልጣኗን ለተሻሉና ህዝብ መሻላቸውን አምኖ ለሚመርጣቸው አመራሮች ሙሉ በሙሉም ባይሆን በከፊል እንድታስረኩብ የማይፈልግ ሰው ያለ አይመስለኝም። የተሻለ ማግኘት ማን ይጠላል? ነባርና አዲስ ጉልበት አብሮ እየሰራ ወደላቀ ዴሞክራሲና ልማት ቢያሸጋግር የአምላክ ምርቃት ነው። ጥያቄው የአመራር ለውጥ ይኑር አይኑር አይደለም፤ ይህ ተመልሶ ያደረ ነው። ለውጥ መኖር ግዴታ ነው። ባለፉት 30 አመታት ትግራይ በብዙ ምሁራን በልፅጋለች። ይህን ፀጋ በመጠቀም በመጠቀ እውቀት ላይ የተመሰረተ የልማት አመራር እንዲሰፍን መደረጉ የማይቀር ታሪካዊ ግዴታ ነው።

አሁን ወሳኙ ጥያቄ ይህ ለውጥ እንዴት ይምጣ ነው። በአለም ላይ ተመራጭ የሆነው የለውጥ አመጣጥ ሰላማዊ ትግል መሆኑ ለአፍታም አያከራክርም። በትጥቅ ትግል ወይንም በጎዳና ግርግር፣ ሰላምን በማደፍረስ፣ ስርአት በማሰናከል፣ ሽብር በመፍጠር፣ ማህበራዊ ትስስርንና፣ የተለመደው ኢኮኖሚያዊ ህይወትን ስልት በማሳጣት የሚመጣው ለውጥ ብዙ ዋጋ የሚያስከፍልና በታለመለት መስመር ተከትሎ ለመሄዱም ዋስትና የማይሰጥ ነው። ሰላማዊ ትግል ቀላል አይደለም፤ ትእግስት፣ የአላማ ቅንነትና ፅኑነት ያስፈልገዋል። ለዚህም ዝግጁ መሆን ያስፈልጋል። ስልጣን እንደምፅዋት በያዘው አካል በቀላሉ የሚመፀወት ነገር አይደለም። ስልጣን የያዘው አካል ስልጣኑን አሳልፎ መስጠት ላይፈልግ ይችላል። ስልጣን መልቀቅ ቢፈልግም እንኳን የሚተካው አካል ከሱ የተሻለና ህዝባዊ ሃላፊነት የሚወስድ ለመሆኑ እርግጠኛ መሆን አለበት። ህወሓትን የሚተካት ፓርቲ ወይንም ፓርቲዎች ህዝቡን አሁን ካለበት ማህበራዊና ኢኮኖሚያዊ ሁኔታ ወደ ላቀ ደረጃ የሚያደርሱና ደህንነቱንም የሚጠብቁ መሆናቸውን የማረጋገጥ ሃላፊነት አለባት። ህወሓት ይህን ሃላፊነቷን ያለ ራስ ወዳድነት እንድትወጣው ታሪክ ይጠብቅባታል። ስለዚህ ትግራይ ውስጥ ለውጥ የሚመጣው በህዝባዊ ምርጫ ብቻ መሆኑ መቀበል ግዴታ ነው። ህወሓትን መጥላት አንድ ነገር ነው ስለ ትግራይ ህዝብ የወደፊት ኑሮ ማሰብ ግን ሌላ ነገር ነው። ሁለቱን ማቀላቀል ተገቢ አይደለም። "የትግራይ ችግር መፍትሄ አንድ ቁልፍ ብቻ ነው ያለው፣ እሱም የህወሓት መወገድ ብቻ ነው" እያሉ የሚከራከሩ ሰዎች ከልብ አዝንላቸዋለሁ። ቢገለጹኝ አለም አንድ ችግርና አንድ የመፍትሄ ቁልፍ የሚባል ነገር ኖሮ አያውቅም። የማነ የተባሉት መሪ ና ትዴፓ ስልጣን ሲይዙ ለትግራይ ህዝብ ከህወሓት የበለጠ ደምን በጎ ነገር ሊያቀርቡለት እንደሆነ ከመናገር ይልቅ ህወሓት ላይ የሰድብ ናዳ በማውረድና ሞትን በመመኘት ለትግራይ ህዝብ ታላቅ ውሉታ የሰሩለት ሆኖ ይሰማቸዋል። የተሻሉ መሆናቸውና ለውጡን የሚያመጡትም ህዝቡን በማይጎዳ ዘዴ መሆኑን በተጨማሪ ካላሳዩ የትግራይ ህዝብ ከልጅ ልጅ እንዲያበላልጥ የሚጠብቁት ለምን ተአምር ነው?

የማነ የተባሉት መሪ እንዲህ አሉ፡- "...እንደ ቁርና ፋኖ የወጣቶች የእምቢተኝነት ትግል በማካሄድ ለ30 ዓመታት በትግራይ ህዝብ ጫንቃ የሰፈረውን አስከፊ ስርዓት በመገርሰስ የትግራይ ህዝብ የታገለለትን፣ ልጆቹን የገበረበትን፣ አካሉን የከፈለለትንና ንብረቱ የወደመበትን ትግል ወደ ትክክለኛ አቅጣጫና ዓላማ ለማስገባት እንታገላለን" ።

ከመጀመሪያው አባባላቸው ብጀምር፣ ቁርና ፋኖ ያካሄዱት ሰላማዊ ትግል ነበር፣ በሁለት እጅቻቸው "ኤክስ" ስርተው የነኩት ህንፃ፣ የነኩት መኪና፣ የነኩት ሰላማዊ ሰው፣ የነኩት ድርጅት የነኩት ፋብሪካ፣ የዘጉት መንገድ፣ ያባረሩት ህዝብ፣ የዘረፉት ንብረት ሳይኖር ነው ለውጥ ያመጡት እያሉን ከሆነ የልጆች ጨዋታ እየተጫወትን መሆን አለበት። ህወሓትን ከስልጣን ለማስወገድ በትግራይ ህዝብ ላይ የቁርንና የፋኖ ስልት እንጠቀማለን የሚሉ ከሆነ የትግራይን ህዝብ ሰላማዊ ህይወት በማደፍረስ ከህወሓት በላይ የህዝብ ጠላት የሚሆኑት እነሱ ናቸው። ከመቶ አመት በኋላ የትግራይ ህዝብ ያገኛትን የ30 አመት ሰላም የሚያደፈርስበት ማንም ቡድን የማንኛችንም የትግራይ ህዝብ ልጆች ጠላት ስለሆነ እንታገለግለን። ትግራይ ውስጥ የምግብ ችግር፣ የወሃ ችግር የአስተዳደር ችግር እንዳለ እናውቃለን። የሃብታምና ድሃ ልዩነት ሰፍቶ ቅጥ ያጣ መሆኑን እናውቃለን። ይህ በትእግስት፣ በዘዴ በጊዜ ሂደት የሚፈታ እንጂ በግርግርና በሁካታ የሚቀረፍ አይደለም። ሰው እኮ በሰላም ስላሳደረው አምላክን ያመሰግናል እንጂ ጧት ተነስቶ ለምን ምን አሳደርከኝ ብሎ አይራገምም። ሰላም ከሁሉም ይመረጣል። የትግራይ ህዝብ እውነተኛ ልጅ የሆነ ሁሉ ለህዝቡ የሚመኝለት በቅድሚያ ሰላም ነው። ዴሞክራሲ፣ ልማት፣ መልካም አስተዳደር የሰላም ልጆች ናቸው። መተካካት እኮ የሚተካው ከተተካው የሚበልጥ ለመሆኑ ዋስትና አይሰጥም። ይህም አራት ኪሎ ላይ በተጨባጭ ታይቷል። ስለዚህ ፈንቅል ሆነ ሌላ እኔ አበልጣለሁ ባይ ለመብለጡ ምንም ማረጋገጫ የለም።

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**ሊፓሉቲካ ስልጣን አለንልህ ያሉት በአንበጣው ወረራ ድምጻቸው ጠፋ!**

October 16-2020

ፈረንጆች እንዲህ አይነት ነገር ሲገጥማቸው የሚተርቱት እንዲህ በማለት ነው፡- "የጭንቅ ቀን ጓደኛ እውነተኛ ጓደኛ"። ከቦምብና ጥይት በላይ የትግራይን ህዝብ የሚጎዳው ድርቅና አንበጣ ነው። ጦርነት ላይ ሰው ይሞታል ቤት ይቃጠላል ይፈርሳል። ይህ ሲያበቃ በነበረው ወይም በሌላ መልኩ ኑሮ ይቀጥላል። በሚከፈለው መስዋእትነት ከጦርነት በፊት ከነበረው ህይወት የተሻለ ሆኖ ሊገኝም ይችላል። የትግራይ ህዝብ የ17 አመት ትግል ያስመሰከረውም ይህንኑን ሃቅ ነው። እንደ ድርቅና የአንበጣ ወረራ ያሉት የተፈጥሮ አደጋዎች ግን በግብርና ላይ የተመሰረተ ኑሮ ያለውን ህዝብ ከስሩ ነቅለው እንደሚያጠፉት የታወቀ ነገር ነው። የ1977 ድርቅ የህወሓትን ህዝባዊነት ያረጋገጠና ከትግሉና መስዋእትነቱ በላይ ህዝቡንና ድርጅቱን ያጣመረ ነበረ፣ እርዳታ ሊፓርቲ ምስረታ ዋለ የሚለውን አጉል ክርክር ወደጎን ጥለን። ለትግራይ ህዝብ ልጆችና ወዳጆች ሁለተኛው ታላቅ ፈተና የአሁኑ የአንበጣ ወረራ ነው።

እናቶቻችን አፈር ለብሰው፣ አፈር እያፈሱ አምላክን ሲማፀኑ የሚያሳይ የሚዘገንን ትእይንት እየታየ የህዝብ ጠላትም ቢሆን ቀን ፓለቲካን ሲያማስል ውሎ ማታ ተኝቶ ሊያድር አይችልም።

የትግራይ ህዝብ እንደማንኛውም ህዝብ የተሻለ አማራጭ አመራር እንደሚፈልግ የታወቀ ነው። ከህወሓት የተሻለ ካለ ምንም እንኳን ህዝቡ ከህወሓት ጋር ከሚያራርቀው የሚያቀራርበው ነገር የላቀ ቢሆንም የተሻለ ካገኘ እድሉን ለመጠቀም አይኑን አያሸም፣ የኢኮኖሚ እንጂ የአእምሮ ድህነት የለበትምና። እዚህ ላይ መጠየቅ ያለበት ጥያቄ የትግራይ ህዝብ የተሻለ አመራር የሚለው ምን የሚያደርገውን ነው? የሚል ነው። የትግራይ ህዝብ እንደማንኛውም የአለም ህዝብ፡ ዴሞክራሲና መልካም አስተዳደር የሚያገናኝበትን፣ ከጥቃት የሚከላከልለትን፣ በመከራውና በጭንቀቱ ጊዜ ከጎኑ የማይለየውን፣ ከድህነት አላቆ የኑሮ እድገት የሚያቀዳጀውን ነው። ይህን ሁሉ ማከናወን የሚከብድ ሲሆን ጨርሶ በሰበብ የማይዘለል ነገር ግን አለ፣ ይህም የህዝቡ ህልውና ነው። ማንም ለትግራይ ህዝብ ቆሚያለሁ የሚል ግለሰብ ሆነ ቡድን ሊዘለው ከቶ የማይቻለው ቀይ መስመር ይህ ነው። ለዲሞክራሲ፣ ለመልካም አስተዳደር፣ ለኢኮኖሚ እድገት መጀመሪያ በህይወት ሆኖ መተንፈስ መቻል ያስፈልጋል።

በ1977 ድርቅ ጊዜ መለስ ዜናዊ እንደሌሎች "የነፃነት ትግል መሪዎች" ለንደን ሆቴል አዳራሽ ውስጥ ክራባት ለብሶ አይደለም ለጋዜጠኞች መግለጫ የሰጠው። መኖኛ ፋቲክ ለብሶ፣ አለት ስር ተወሸቆ፣ ፀጉሩ ተንጨፍሮር እንባ እየተናነቀው ነበር "ህዝቤ እያለቀ ለማን ነው የምዋጋው?" ብሎ ጋዜጠኛውን የጠየቀው። እኩል ከትግራይ ህዝብ የተወለዱት ግን "የእርዳታውን ብር መሳሪያ ገዛበት" እያሉ ሲያወግዙት ነበር። ይህ ህዝብን በረሃብ የመጨረስ ግፍ ሊወገድ የሚችለው በትግል ብቻ ነበረና ለህዝብ እህል መስፈርና ለትግል መሳሪያ መግዛት የአንድ ሳንቲ ሁለት ገፅታዎች ነበሩ። የትግራይ ተወላጆች ሆነው፣ ከህወሓት ይልቅ ለትግራይ ህዝብ የቆሙት እኛ ነን እያሉ በውስጥም በውጪም ሆነው ሲለፍፉ የነበሩት ህዝብን በማዳን ስራ ላይ ከነበረችው ህወሓት እንከን በመፈለግ ላይ ተጠምደው ነበር። "በሌላው አይን ውስጥ ያለችውን ቅንጣት ከማጋነን መጀመሪያ በራሱህ አይን ውስጥ ያለውን ምሶሶ ቆርጠህ አውጣ" እንደተባለው ቅዱስ ቃል ህወሓት አይን ውስጥ ጉድፍ መኖሩ እንኳንና የውጭ ተመልካች ህወሓትም ራሷ አምና የተቀበለችው ድክመት ነው።

መደጋገሙ ፋይዳ የለውም እንጂ ህወሓት እኮ የትግራይን ህዝብ ክፉኛ በድላዋለች። ህዝቡ እኮ "በገዛ ዳቦ የልብ ልቡን አጣሁት ሆኖበት እኮ ነው ለሶስት አርባት አመታት የታገለለትን ዲሞክራሲ፣ መልካም አስተዳደርና ልማት ርቦት ጠምቶት ያሳለፈው። መርተው ያታገሉትና የህይወትና የአካል ዋጋ ያስከፈሉት ልጆቻችን ሸገር ላይ ማክሮ ኢኮኖሚው ተመችቷቸው ወደ ሰሜን አቅጣጫ ድንጋይ ወርውረው ፊታቸውን አዙረው ተኙ። የአቢይ አላርም ጊዜውን ጠብቆ በድንጋጤ ባይቀሰቅሳቸው ወደ ዋናው መደበኛ ስራቸው አይሰማሩም ነበር። የትግራይ ህዝብ ይቅር ብሎ የተቀበላቸውም ሁለተኛ ምርጥ ምርጡን ወደ ትግራይ እንጂ ወደ አራት ኪሎ እንደሚይልኩ በመተማመን ነው። ህዝቡኮ አራት ኪሎ ተቀምጦ ላስተዳድርህ የሚባል ቋንቋ መሮት ነው 17 አመት የፈጋው! የአሁኖቹ "አማራጭ" ፓርቲዎችም የሚመኙት በስልክና በኢንተርኔት በሪሞት ማስተዳደር ነው። ራስ ስዩም መንገሻ ትግራይን ሲያስተዳድሩ የነበሩት ፈረንሳይ ለጋሲዮን ኬላ ላይ ከሚገኘው ቋሚ መኖሪያ ሲላቸው ሆነው ነበር። ጉዞው

በእግርና በበቅሎ፣ ስልኩ በሌለበት ዘመን ነበር ይህ ሲሆን የነበረው። ደጃት ገብረስላሴም አድዋን ለወፍ ሰጥተው ሽገር ተቀምጠው ናሩ። አስተዳዳሪ ከጎኑ ያልነበረው የትግራይ ህዝብ ሲቸገር የሚያስታውሰው የለም። መሮት ሲያምፅ ግን በፍጥነት ጦር ይላክበት ነበር።

እኔ ህወሓትን፣ ትዴፓን፣ ዓረናን፣ ባይቶናን፣ ሳልሳይን አበላልጬ ማየት እንደሌለብኝ አውቃለሁ። ሚዛን ላይ ማስቀመጥ ግን የግድ ይላል። ሚዛኑ የኔ የግል ፍቅር ወይም ጥላቻ ሳይሆን የትግራይ ህዝብ መሰረታዊ ጥቅም ነው። እዚህ ላይ "መወለድ ቋንቋ" መሆኑ ግልፅ መሆን አለበት። የትግራይ ህዝብ ለመሰረታዊ ጥቅሙ ያልቆመ ወይም ይህን መሰረታዊ ጥቅም ተግባር የተነሳውን ተወላጅ አቅፎ ጡት ወይም ጡጦ የማጥባት ግዴታ የለበትም። ቋሚ ጥቅም እንጂ ቋሚ ወዳጅነት የለም የሚባለውን እዚህ ላይ "ቋሚ የህዝብ ጥቅም እንጂ ቋሚ ተወላጅነት የለም" በሚል መተካት ያስፈልጋል። "ህወሓትና ህዝብ አንድ አይደሉም፣ ህወሓት የትግራይን ህዝብ በድላላችና መወገድ አለባት፣ ወዘተ" የሚለው መስመር የለቀቀ አነጋገር የሚናገሩት ለትግራይ ህዝብ ቅንጣት ታክል ቁምነገር ሰርተው ያላሳዩት ናቸው። ለትግራይ ህዝብ ጥሩ ስራ ለመስራት የግድ መቀሌ ላይ ስልጣን መያዝ አያስፈልግም። መቀሌ ሳይሆን የትግራይ "ዋና ከተማቸው" ከሆነችው አዲስ አበባ ውስጥ የተቀመጡት ተቃዋሚ ድርጅቶችና ግለሰቦች "ህወሓትን መሳደብ ብቻውን ትግራይን እያሳደግም፣ የልማትና ዴሞክራሲ ግባችሁን ግልፅ አድርጉ" ሲባሉ እንደ ቅድመሁኔታ የሚያቀርቡት የህወሓትን ከስልጣን መውረድ ሳይሆን ጨርሶ መጥፋትን ነው። አመራሮቹ አዲስ አበባ ተቀምጠው "አለንልህ፣ ከህወሓት እኛ እንሻልሃለን፣ ህወሓትን ብቻ ገርስስልን" ይሉታል። "ከሩቅ ዘመድ የቅርብ ጎረቤት" ነውና ህዝቡ ከፋችም በጀችም ከጎኑ የቆመችውን ህወሓትን ማንም እንዲነካበት አይፈልግም። የትግራይን ህዝብ የማያውቀው ሌላው ህዝብ ቢናገር አይገርምም። "ህወሓት የትግራይን ህዝብ በግዴታ አፍና ነው የያዘችው፣ በየቤቱ ሰላይ አለ፣ ህወሓትን ለማጥፋት ህዝቡ ድጋፍ ይፈልጋል፣ ወዘተ" እያሉ የሚወተውቱት ከትግራይ ህዝብ አብራክ የተፈጠሩና የህዝቡን እምቢ ባይነት አሳምረው የሚያውቁት ናቸው። የትግራይ ህዝብ ለዘመናት የትኩረት ማእከል የሆነው ጭቆናን አሜን ብሎ የማይቀበል ህዝብ መሆኑ ስለሚታወቅ ነው። የጂኦፖለቲካ አባት የሆነው ሰር ሃሊፎርድ ማኪንደር "መካከለኛውን እስያ የተቆጣጠረ፣አለምን ተቆጣጠረ" የሚል ቲዮሪ ነበረው። ይህን ተከትሎ ነበር ሂትለር ወደ ሱቭየት ህብረት የዘመተው። ይህን ያከሸፈው ብዙም ተወዳጅ ያልነበረው ጆሴፍ ስታሊን ነበር። የሱቭየት ህዝብ ስታሊንን ተከትሎ ነፃነቱን አስከበረ እንጂ "ስታሊን አይበጅም፣ ጨካኝ ነው፣ አስወግደው" የሚለውን የምእራቡ ጩኸት አላዳመጠም። ይህን እያሉ ሲወተውቱ የነበሩት የውጭ ሰዎች ብቻ ሳይሆኑ በስደት በምእራቡ አለም ሲኖሩ የነበሩት የሱቭየት ተውላጆች ናቸው። ያልገባቸው ነገር በቀውጢው የህልውና አደጋ ጊዜ ከህዝቡ ጎን የነበረው ግን እነሱ ሳይሆኑ ስታሊን ነበር። አስከፊ ችግሮች ነበሩበት፣ ለሱቭየት ህዝብ በቅርብ የደረሰሰት ግን እሱ ነበር። ፍፁም የሆነው አምላክ ብቻ ነው። አልፎ አልፎ የጠቆረውን ሙዝ መጣል ሳይሆን ነጭ ነጩን እየመረጡ መብላት ነው የሚመከረው።

የአለም ጦርነት ግዙፍ ነው የትግራይ የአንበጣ ወረራ በተነፃፀረ አሜንት ነው፣ በመርህ ደረጃ ግን እኩል ናቸው። አምባጣ የትግራይን ህዝብ ህልውና በሚፈታትን ደረጃ በመከሰቱ ህዝቡ

ተደናግጦ ትርምስምሱ ሲወጣ ሚድያው የኢትዮጵያዊነት ስሜት በሌለው ከፍተኛ ጭካኔ የሚያወራውና የሚከራከረው ህወሓትን እንዴት አዳክም ማንበርከክ እንደሚቻል ነው። የትግራይ ተውላጅ የሆኑ ተቃዋሚዎችን ባካተተ ሁኔታ እንደርታና ራያ ላይ በየማሳው በጃኬትና በፊሽካ ከአንበጣ ጋር የምትሯሯጠውን ህወሓትን የትግራይ ህዝብ ጠላት ናት የሚባልበት ምስጢረ ፓለቲካ ምንድነው? ህወሓትን ሲኮንኑ፣ ለትግራይ ህዝብ አለኝታ እንደሆኑ በየሚድያው ሲሰብኩና ሱያሰብኩ ከነበሩት የሚጠበቅ ትልቅ ነገር ነበረ። ዝምታ ሳይሆን! በሚያስገርምና በሚያሳዝን ሁኔታ አብዛኛዎቹ ከህወሓት እኛ እንበልጣለን የሚሉት ተቃዋሚዎች አሁን አንበጣ ከወረረው አካባቢ የተወለዱ ናቸው። የሚራበው የነሱ ዘመድ አዝማድም ጭምር ነው። አንበጣን ከእንደርታና ከራያ ለማባረር ያላቸውን ነገር ይዘው የመጡት ከሁመራና ከኤሪትርያ ሳይቀር ነው። ከነሱ ይጠበቅ የነበረው በህወሓት ላይ ያነሱትን የፓለቲካ ብትራቸውን ቁጭ አድርገው አዛ ሄደው አንበጣ ማባረር እንኳ የማይቻላቸው ቢሆን እርዳታ ማስተባበር፣ በሚድያ ያለውን ውዥምብር ማጥራት፣ አንበጣንና ፓለቲካን የሚቀላቅሉትን ማረምና አስተሳሰባቸውን ለመቀየር መሞከር ነው። የክልሉ ፕሬዚደንት ከገበሬው መሃል ተገኝተው ሲያበረታቱ፣ የመቀሌ የነቨርሲቲ ፕሬዚዳንት ፕሮፌሰር ፈትየን አባይ እንደአብድ ከአምበጣ ጋር ስትሯሯጥ፣ የትግራይ ምሁራን በአለም አቀፍ ደረጃ ከፍተኛ ጥረት ሲያደርጉ፣ ነፍስ አድን መዋጮው ሲጎርፍ፣ ይህ ሁሉ ማለፉ አይቀርምና የትግራይን ህዝብ ምረጠን ብላችሁ ትጠይቁት ይሆን? ፕሮፌሰር ክንደያ ገ/ህይወት ቃለመጠይቅ ላይ የተናገረው ነገር ሆኖ የሚያስብስ ነው። እንዲህ አለ፡- "አውሮፕላኑ ቆቦ ላይ ከረጨ በኋላ ኩታ ገጠም ወደሆነው ትግራይ ራያ ሳይዘልቅ ተመልሶ ሄደ፣ በህይወቴ እንዲህ ያለ የሚያሳዝን ነገር አጋጥሞኝ አያውቅም"። ጋዜጠኛው ለቃለ መጠይቅ ስለጠራው እንጂ አንበጣ ለማባረር ወደ ገጠር እንደሚሄድ ሲናገር አንድ ላይ ፈገግታም ሃዘንም መጣብኝ። ኢትዮጵያ የምታክል አገር እያለች የአንዱ ክልል ህዝቧን የወረረ አንበጣ በፕሮፌሰር ጃኬት መባረር ነበረበት? አንድ የክልሉ ባለስልጣን በቴሌቪዥን ቀርበው በተናገሩት ልደምድም። ጋዜጠኛው ባለስልጣኑን "ከኢትዮጵያ መንግስት በኩል የአንበጣውን አደጋ ለመከላከል ትብብር መነፈጉ አያናድደዎትም?" ሲለው ባለስልጣኑ እንዲህ አለ- "እኔ አልናደድም፣ ምክንያቱም ሰው የሚናደደው ተስፋ በሚያደርግበት ነገር ነው፣ ተስፋ የቆረጥክበት ነገር አያናድድም!"። ይህ መግህፍት የሚወጡት አባባል ነው። የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ መጠንቀቅ ያለበት የትግራይ ህዝብ በኢትዮጵያ ተስፋ እንዳይቆርጥ ነው።

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**ዶ. አረጋዊ በርሀ (በራሁ) የ1969 ዓ.ም. እንፍሽፍሽ ማን ቀስተሰው?**  
 January 13-2020

በ19ኛው ክፍለ ዘመን የኖረው ጀርመናዊው የታሪክ ፀሃፊ ሊዮፖልድ ቮን ራንኪ ታሪክ እንዴት መግፍ እንዳለበት ሲመክር እንዲህ አለ፡- “ልክ እንደነበረው“። በህወሓት የ45 አመት ታሪክ ውስጥ፣ጥቃቅን ግን በርካታ የሆኑትን የውስጠ ፓርቲ ፍትግያዎቹን ትተን፤ ድርጅቱን

ከመሰረቱ የናጡ ሁለት ሕንፍሽፍሾች ተከስተዋል። በፓርቲ ፖሊቲካ አለም ውስጠ ልዩነት ጤንነት ነው። ፖሊቲካ ፓርቲ የሚመሰረተው በአባይት አቋሞች ላይ የጋራ አመለካከት ሲኖር ብቻ እንጂ አባላቱ በሙሉ በሁሉም ጉዳዮች ላይ አንድ አይነት አመለካከት ስላላቸው አይደለም። የውጭ እንጂ የውስጡ ድምፅ የማይሰማ ፓርቲ በርግጠኝነት የአምባገነንነት ባሕርይ አለው ብሎ መናገር ይቻላል። ሐወሓት ውስጥ የተከሰቱት ሁለት ዋና ዋና ሕንፍሽፍሾች የመጀመሪያው በ1969 ዓ.ም. በትግል ወቅት የተከሰተ ሲሆን ሁለተኛው ግን ከድል በኋላ በ1993 ዓ.ም. ነበር። ሁለተኛው ሕንፍሽፍሾች እኩል አቅም በነበራቸው አመራሮች መካከል የተካሄደና ሳሩ የተጎዳበት የዝሆኖች ትግል ነበር። ስለዚህ ሕንፍሽፍሽ መንስኤው ሆነ ውጤቱ በሁለቱም ጎራ አባላት በኤሌክትሮኒክና በህትመት ሚዲያ በጥልቀት ተዘግቧል፤ ተተንትኗልም። በህወሓት ታሪክ ወሳኝ ሚና የነበራቸው አመራሮች ድርጅቱን የለቀቁበት የሁለተኛው ሕንፍሽፍሽ በጊዜ ሂደት ድርጅቱን አዳክሞታል። ከዚህ በላቀ ደግሞ ድርጅቱን የለቀቁት አመራሮች በተቃዋሚነት ፖሊቲካ ስለተሰማሩ ሰላም መልካም አስተዳደርና ልማት ግንባር ቀደም አጀንዳ መሆን በሚገባው ትግራይ ክልል ውስጥ አንዱ ባንዱ ላይ መሰናክል እያበጀ በመሆኑ ህዝቡ ግራ እየተጋባ ነው። የሁለተኛው ሕንፍሽፍሽ ዋና መንስኤ በትግራይ ውስጥ ባለ ዴሞክራሲ፤ መልካም አስተዳደርና የልማት እቅድ አፈፀፀም ሳይሆን በኤሪትሮፖና ኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ ነበር።

የመጀመሪያው ማለት የ1969 ሕንፍሽፍሽ የተከሰተው ህወሓት ከተመሰረተች በቅጡ ሁለት አመት እንኳ ሳይሞላት ነበር። ነገሩ እጅግ አሰገራሚ ነበር። ታጋዩ ገና በአላማ ፍቅር በስሜት ግለት ላይ እያለ፤ ያውም አምስት መቶ ያልሞላ የታጋዮች ቁጥር በያዘ ድርጅት፤ ደርግ ህወሓትን ከጅምሩ እንዳይውጣት በሁሉም ዘንድ ስጋት በነበረበትና ጥንቃቄ በሚደረግበት በዛ ከባድ ጊዜ እንዲህ አይነት ውዝግብና ይህን ተከትሎም ብዙ አሳዛኝ ክስተቶች መፈጠራቸው ታላቅ እንቅስቃሴ ነበር። ይህ ውስጠ ፓርቲ ውዝግብ የተከሰተው ዶር. አረጋዊ በርሀ (የበርሃ ስሙ በራሁ) የህወሓት ሊቀመንበር በነበረበት ወቅት ነበር። ምንም እንኳን ይህ የመጀመሪያው ሕንፍሽፍሽ ከሁለተኛው ሕንፍሽፍሽ በላቀ ህወሓትን የውድቀት አፋፍ ላይ ያደረሳት ቢሆንም ምንም ነገር እንዳልተፈጠረ ማስመሰሉ ህወሓት ውስጥ እንደ ፖሊቲካ ባህል የተቆጠረ ይመስላል። ብቻ አልፎ አልፎ በሱብሰባ ላይ ወይም በሚዲያ የህወሃት የ17 አመታት ገድል ሲተረክ የ1969 ሕንፍሽፍሽ እንደዋዛ ይነሳና “ህወሓትን ለማፍረስ በደርግ የተላኩ፤ አመራሩን እኛ ካልያዝነው የሚሉ፤ ርሃብ፡ ጥማት፡ ብርድና ሃሩር መቋቋም ባቃታቸው ግለሰቦች የተነሳሱ ግን በጀግንነት የከሸፈ ሴራ ነበር” እየተባለ ወደ አንድ ወገን ያጋደለ፤ ንቅትና ማጉ-አለብኝነት በተላበሰ መንፈስ ይነገራል። ማንም ሆነ ማንም አብሮ ይሳተፍ የዛ ሕንፍሽፍሽ ሙሉ ሃላፊነት መውሰድ ያለበት ዶር. አረጋዊ በርሀ ነው። ከህወሓት በራሱ የግል አለመግባባት ለቆ አውሮፓ ከኖረ በኋላ አሁን ወደ ትግራይ ፖሊቲካ በተለመደው የአምባገነንነት ሰብአናው ተመልሶ ያለኔ አዋቂ የለም በሚል የበላይነት አባዜ አዲስ አበባ ተቀምጦ የትግራይን ፖሊቲካ እያመሳቀለ ይገኛል። ከዚህ በፊት ዶር. አረጋዊ በርሀን የሚመለከቱ ፅሁፎች በአይጋ ፎረም አውጥቻለሁ። በሁሉም ፅሁፎቹ ትኩረት የሰጡት የዶር. አረጋዊ ፖሊቲካ አካሄድ ከትግራይ ህዝብ አንድነትና ሰላም ጋር የሚጣረስ ሆኖ ስለሆኑት አባራ ማጨሱን አቁሞ ለትግራይ ህዝብ ሰላም በሚደረገው ጥረት የበኩሉን የተረጋጋ ተሳትፎ እንዲያደርግ ምክር ለመለገስ ነበር። ከትግል ሜዳ በትግስት ቆይተው ደርግን አሸንፈው



ለትግራይ ህዝብ አንጻራዊ ሰላም ያጎናፀፉትን እየዘለፉ የድህረ ድል አርበኛ መሆን የሞራል ዝቅጠት ነው።

ባለፈው ሰኔ ወር ዶር. አረጋዊ በርሀ ትግራይ ውስጥ የፖለቲካ አልጋ ባልጋ እንዲሆንለት ሲጠብቅ “አንድ ትራስና አንድ ፍራሽ ብቻ ያለበት ክፍል ውስጥ ታሰርኩ። በማለት ትግራይ ውስጥ ዴሞክራሲ የለም እያለ በአስሩ ሚዲያ ሲያስተጋባው ከረመ። እንግዲህ አምላክ አፈር ላበደረ ጤፍ አይመለስ! ይህ አውሮፓ የፈጠረው የመርሳት በሽታ ፍራሽ ላይ ሳይሆን አፈር ውስጥ የተኙት ሰዎችንም አስረስቶ ነው? ወርዲ ሸለቆ ውስጥ “ወይኔ ልጆቼ” እያሉ አፈር ውስጥ የገቡት ሽማግሌስ ተረሱ? ዶር. አረጋዊ መቐለ ሄዶ ድብደባ እንደደረሰበት እንደጉድ ሲናገር ነበር። ይቺ ዱላ ሌላ ሰው ሲመታባት ስሜት አትሰጥም፤ በራስ ላይ ስትነሳ ግን በጣም ታስጮሃለች። ከሽሬ ደርግ የላከው ሰላይ ነው በሚል በገመድ ታስሮ ሲደበደብ ያደረው ምስኪን የሰው ፍጡር የታሰረበት ገመድ የከንዱን ጡንቻ ዙሪያውን በጥልቀት ቆርጦታል፤ አይኑ ሙሉ በሙሉ ደም ጎርቧል፤ ሰውነቱ ወባ እንደያዘው ይንቀጠቀጣል። ያ እንዳይበቃ ዓዲ ዳዕሮ በነበረው ጊዜያዊ አስር ቤት ተወረወረ። ይህ ኢሰብአዊነት የማን ድርጊት ነበር? የመቐለ ወጣቶች ድብደባ እንዳደረሱበት የተናገረው የኔን የበለጠ ትኩረት ስቧል። የመቐለ ወጣቶች ዶር. አረጋዊን ለመደብደብ ህወሓት እስክትልካቸው ድረስ ይጠብቃሉ ብየ አላሰብም። በ1969 ዓ.ም. ሕንፍሽፍሽ የዶር. አረጋዊ ሚና ምን እንደነበር የሚተርክላቸው አባት፤ ታላቅ ወንድም፣ ወይም ሌላ የደረሰበት ወይም የሆነውን የሰማ ሰው ያጣሉ ብሎ መገመት ይቻላል? የትግራይ ምርጫ አሸንፎ መቐለ ከተማ ላይ ለመቀመጥ ማሰቡስ ራሱ በቀየሰው የ1969 ዓ.ም. ሕንፍሽፍሽ የትግል ሞራላቸው ተሰልበ፤ የመጣባቸው ነገር ምን እንደሆነ በቅጡ ሳይገነዘቡ ህይወታቸውን ለማዳን ከድርጅቱ የሸሹ፤ መሸሽ ሳይሳካላቸው የቀሩና የተጎዱ፤ ግራ እንደገባቸው ደርግ ፀረ-ህወሓት ሃይል አድርጎ የተጠቀመባቸውና ኋላም ወያኔ ናችሁ በማለት ራሱ ወህኒ ያጎራቸው፤ ከሕንፍሽፍሹ ጋር በተያያዘ ህይወታቸው ተበላሽቶ የቀሩ የአንደርታ ልጆች መራራ ታሪክ “የወጋ ቢረሳ የተወጋ አይረሳም” ነው። ከህወሓት ድል በኋላም በአንደርታ ህዝብ ላይ መረን የለቀቁ ቃላት ሲነገሩና አሰልሳይ የሆነ የኢኮሚ ቅጣት ሲደርስበት ቆየ። ጅራፍ ራሱ መትቶ ራሱ ሲጮህ! እንዳይታገል አደረጉት ስላልታገለ ቀጡት።

የ1969 ዓ.ም. ሕንፍሽፍሽአነሳስ ከኔ የበለጠ የሚያውቀው ሰው አለ ብየ አልገምትም፤ ግንባር ቀደም ተጠቂ የነበርኩት እኔ ስለነበርኩ። ከድርጅቱ ለቅቄ ከወጣሁ በኋላም አብሮኝ ለደርግ እጁን ከሰጠው የአንደርታ ተወላጅ የመቐለ ልጅዶር. ታደሰ አባዲ (ኒክሰን-ነፍስ ይማር) ጋር አንድ ላይ የ1969 ዓ.ም. ሕንፍሽፍሽ መሪዎች ተብለን “ተሰይመን” ስማችን በህወሓት ታሪክ ውስጥ ሰፍሮ ይገኛል። “የአባዩን ለእማየ ወስዶ ልክክ” የተባለው ይህ ነው። ህወሓትን ለማፍረስ ፍላጎቱ ቢኖረኝ ለደርግ እጄን ሰጥቼ ስገባ መሳሪያ ሳልይዝ መግባቴ ብቻ ሳይሆን መቐለ ከተማ ውስጥ ሲሰሩ የነበሩና በቅርብ የማውቃቸው የህወሃት አባላትን እንዳጋልጥ ስጠየቅ ትብብር አለማድረግ ምስክር ነው። ከሲድስት አመት በኋላ ፖሊስ አንድ ማስረጃ ሰነድ በማግኘቴ (ሰነዱ ትክክኛ ነበር) ከስ መስርቶብኝ ማአከላዊ ታሰርኩ። የተወነጀልኩት ከ1969 ዓ.ም. ጀምሮ የህወሓት ተልእኮ ስትፈፅም ነበር ተብየ ነው። የሞት ቅጣት ሊያስወስን

የሚችለው በእግዚአብሔር ሃይልና በህፃናት ልጆቹ አምላክ ድጋፍ አራት አመት ታስፎ ወጣሁ። “ሁለት ያጣ ጎምን” ማለት ይህ አይደል። ከዛ በኋላም ከህወሓት ነፃ ነው ብሎ የሚያምነኝ ስላልነበረ በሰራሁባቸው ቦታዎች ሁሉ አንድም ቀን ስላም አግኝቼ አላውቅም።

ነብሱን ይማራት ታላቅ ወንድሜ የሆነው ህንደያ አበራ ከ1967 ዓ.ም. ጀምሮ የህወሓት አባል በመሆን በሙሉ ልብ ሲያገለግል የነበረ የአንደርታ ተወላጅ ነው። በርሃ እያለ የትግል ሞራሉን የሚነኩ ብዙ ችግሮች እንዲጋጠሙት መረጃ አግኝቻለሁ። እንዴት እንደተፈጠረ አስካሁንም ባላወቅነው ምክንያት መቐለ ከተማ በደርግ ካድሬዎች እጅ ከገባ በኋላ ነባር አባል መሆኑን ብቻ ሳይሆን ክፍለህዝብ መኖሩንም ስለደረሱበት “ፈትተን እንድንለቅህ ከፈለግህ የምታውቀውን የህወሓት ምስጢር አንዲት ሳታስቀር ንገረን” እያሉ በቶርች እግሩን አበላሹት። እሱ ግን አሻፈረን ስላለ “ህወሓት ለዘላለም ትኑር” እያለ በካድሬዎች ጥይት ተደበደበ። እስካሁን ህወሓት ውስጥ ጠላት ይመስል የህንደያ አበራ ስም አይነሳም። አስገደ 7/ሰላሴ “ጋህዲ” በተባሉት መፅሃፍቼ “የተረሱ ጀግኖች” በሚል የህንደያ አበራን ስም አራት ቦታ ላይ አስፍርታል። ይህ እኔ የማውቀው፤ እኔ ራሴ እድሜ ልክ የተጎዳሁበትና ውድ ወንድሜን ያጣሁበት የ1969 ዓ.ም. ሕንፍሽፍሽ ስለነው። በስሜት በርሃ ከገባ በኋላ ግራ ተጋብቶ የተመለሰው የአንደርታ ወጣት የደረሰበትን የሞራል ስብራት ቤቱ ይቁጠረው። ሌላ በለኮሰው እሳት አንድ ወገን ተቃጣይ ሌላው ወገን ማቂ ሆነናል።

ለትግራይ ህዝብ ሰላምና አንድነት ስል የ1969 ዓ.ም. ሕንፍሽፍሽ እውነተኛ ታሪክን ቀብሬው ለመቅረት ወስኜ ነበር። ሆኖም ግን ዋናው ተዋናይ የነበረው ዶር. አረጋዊ ምንም እንዳልተፈጠረ ሆኖ በትግራይ ፖለቲካ ላይ መልሶ የመሪነት ሚና ለመጫወት ሲታገል የማይበት አይን ሊኖረኝ ስላልቻለ፤ በአንደርታ ህዝብ ላይም አጉል ንቀት እያንፀባረቀ ያለ መስሎም ስለታየኝ፤ ከአንደርታ በመጡ ታጋዮች የተመራ የ1969 ዓ.ም. ሕንፍሽፍሽ የሚባል ነገር እንዳልነበረ በማረጋገጥ እጆምራለሁ። የሕንፍሽፍሽ መሪዎች የተባልነው እኔና በቅፅል ስሙ ዶር. ታደሰ አባዲ (ኒክሰን) ሁለታችንም ያቀናበርነው ነገር እንዳልነበረና ከሌሎች የአንደርታ ተወላጅ ከሆኑ ታጋዮች ጋር ለማውራት እድሉ ሲኖረንም በሚፈፀመው አድልዎ ምሬት ከማሰማትና ግራ ከመጋባት በስተቀር ምንም አይነት የድርጅትና የአመፅ ምልክት እንዳልነበረ በእርግጠኝነት መናገር እችላለሁ። አንባቢ ቀጥሎ ከማቀርበው ትረካ ሊገነዘብ እንደሚችለው የ1969 ዓ.ም. ሕንፍሽፍሽ በዶር. አረጋዊ ድጋፊዎቹ የተቀናበረ ፀረ-አንደርታ ዘመቻ እንደሆነ በግልፅ ያመለክታል። የዚህን ትረካ እውነተኛነት ሊያረጋግጡ የሚችሉ በአገር ውስጥም በውጪ ሃገራትም ይገኛሉ። የዚህ ትረካ አላማው አሁን ትግራይ ውስጥ የሚታየው የአንደርታ ራስን ቀና የማድረግ አዝማሚያ በሌላ ተልእኮ እየተመነዘረ፤ ማለት ከአዲስ አበባው መንግስት ጋር በሚፈጠር ህወሃትን የማጥፋት ሽርክና ጋር በማያያዝ የቀለለውን ግን አደገኛውን መስመር ከመያዝ ይልቅ ጉዳዩን በበጎና በይቅርታ መንፈስ እያዩ ለአንድነት አብሮ መስራት ተመራጭ ስለመሰለኝ ነው። ለዚህ ደግሞ ዋናው መፍትሄ የሚሆነው ነገሩን ከቅርንጫፉ ሳይሆን ከስፋ በማየት ነው።

ትረካውን የምጀምረው ከአክሱም ነው። ደርግ በቀየሰው “እድገት በህብረት የእውቀትና የስራ ዘመቻ” ተመድቤ አክሱም የሄድኩት የካቲት 1/1967 ዓ.ም. ነበር። በሚገርምና ኋላም

የህይወቴን መስመር በወሰነው አጋጣሚ ታላቅ ወንድሜ ህንደያ አበራ አክሱም ከተማ ውስጥ እያስተማረ ነበር። ከተናኘን ጀምሮ ያስተዋልኩት ነገር ቢኖር እስከ ሶስት ወር ድረስ ቤቱን አላሳየኝም ነበር። ከስራ መልስ በየመጠጥ ቤቱ ስንገኝ ስለነበር ብዙም ትኩረት አልሰጠሁትም ነበር። በቅርቡ (የካቲት 11/ 1967) በይፋ የተመሰረተ ተጋድሎ ሓርነት ህዝቢ ትግራይ (ተሓህት) የሚባል ድርጅት እንዳለና የኔ ወንድምም በአካባቢው የማስተባባር፤ የምልመላ፤ የመረጃ ልውውጥና የፖለቲካ ፅሁፎች ስርጭት ላይ እንደተሰማራ ራሱ ነገረኝ። አንድ ቀን ባጋጣሚ የህወሓት በራሪ ፅሁፍ ከሱ ቤት ሲቀረፅ ባይኔ አይቻለሁ። የሰማሁት ነገር ለኔ ድንገተኛ ነገር አልነበረም። የወንድሜን ስሜት ቀደም ብየ አውቀው ነበር። በ1965 ዓ.ም. እኔ የቀኃሥ ዩኒቨርሲቲ አንደኛ አመት ተማሪ በነበርኩበት ወንድሜ ህንደያ አበራ ደቀመሓረ (ኤራትርያ) ከነበረበት የማስተማር ስራ ለቆ መጥቶ ስድስት ኪሎ ግቢ ውስጥ ተናኘን። ለምን ስራውን እንደተወ ስጠይቀው “ወደትግራይ አዛውሩኝ ብያቸው እምቢ ስላሉኝ በአሰብ አድርጌ ከሃገር ልወጣ ነው” ብሎ አስደነገጠኝ። አስተምሮ ለዩኒቨርሲቲ ያበቃኝ እሱ ነበረና ተደናገጥኩ። ስንለይ የተናገረው ትንቢት ግን እስካሁን ያስገርመኛል። እንዲህ አለ፡- “በአብርሃ ካስትል በኩል እየተኮሰን መቆለ ስንገባ ታያለህ”። ይህ አባባል ምን ማለት መሆኑ በወቅቱ ባይገባኝም በአሰብ በኩል መውጣት ስላልቻለ መቆለ ያለ ስራ ሁለት አመት ያህል ቆይቶ በ1967 ዓ.ም. መስከረም ወር ላይ በማስተማር ስራ አክሱም እንዲመደብ ማስደረጉ ለምን እንደሆነ ግልፅ ሆነልኝ።

በዛው አመት ብዙ አስገራሚ ክስተቶች ተፈጠሩ። ለመጀመሪያጊዜ በሽሪ የተካሄደው የህወሓት አፕሪል 27 አክሱም ሆነን ዜናውን ሰማን። ከዛ ቀጥሎም ክረምቱን ካለሁበት አክሱም ከተማ ውስጥ በህወሓት ከፍተኛ ወታደራዊ ዘመቻ ተካሄደ። ይህ ለሁላችንም እጅግ አስደናቂ ነገር ነበር። አሁን የህወሓት መመስረት ምንም የማያጠራጥር ሆነ። በሌላ አጋጣሚ በህወሓት አላማዎች ላይ አስቸጋሪ ምልክት ያየሁትም በዚህ አመት ሆነ። አጋጣሚው እንዲህ ነው፡- የ1967 ዓ.ም. የትንሳኤ በዓል ስናኩብር አብዛኛዎቹ የእድገት በህብረት ዘማቾች የአክሱም ሁለተኛ ደረጃ ተማሪዎች ነበሩና የንቡረአድ ቤት በሚባለው ዘመቻ ጣብያ ዘፈኑ (ጓይላው) ደምቆ ነበር። እኔም ያቅሜን ያህል እስክስታ ስሞክርየዘፈኑን ይዘት ልብ አላልኩትም ነበር። ቆሜ ሳዳምጥ ግጥሙ ለኔ የሚስደነግጥ ሆኖ አገኘሁት። እንዲህ ይል ነበር፡- “ትግራይ ዓደየ፤ አክሱም ሽረ ዓድዋ፤ ትግራይ ዓደየ፤ አክሱም ሽረ ዓድዋ”። ይህ ግጥም እሱ ብቻ የሚደጋገምና ሌላ ቀጣይ የሌለው መሆኑን ስረዳ ማብራሪ መፈለግ ነበረብኝ። ቀሪዎቹ አምስት አውራጃዎች ሰማቸው አይጠራም። የልጆቹ ልጅነትና ጅልነት ነው እንዳልል ይህ ልጅ የሚጫወትበት አሻንጉሊት አይደለም። ለዚህ የሚሆን ማብራሪ ላገኝ የምችለው ከወንድሜ ዘንድ ብቻ እንደሆነ ስለገባኝ ጊዜ ሳልሰጥ አገኘሁት። እሱ ብቻ ሳይሆን እኔንም በአባልነት መልምሎኝ ስለነበር የረገጥኩበት መሬት በሚገባ ማወቅ ነበረብኝና እንዲህ ብየ ጠየቅሁት፡- “ይህ ትግላችሁ እኛን አይጨምርምን?”። በህይወቱ እኔን እንደዚህ ሲቆጣኝ አይቼ አላውቅም። አላማው ሆዱ ውስጥ ከገባባት ሰው የሚጠበቅ ነበር። ከቁጣው በኋላ የሰጠኝ መልስ ግን በጣም አጭር ነበር። እንዲህ የሚል “ተዋቸው፤ እነሱ ልጆቻችን የሚያውቁት ነገር የለም”። ይቺ ጨስ ከስር የሆነች ትንሽ እሳት አታጣም ብየ ያሰብኩትን ብነግረው ቁጣው ይብስበታል ብየ ዝም አልኩኝ። ዘመቻ ጣብያውን ለቅቄ ቤተሰቤ ወዳለበት ወደ መቆለ ከተማ

ተጓዥኩኝና የከተማ የህወሓት መዋቅሮች ውስጥ መሳተፍ ጀመርኩ። ብዙም ሳልቆይ በፖሊስ ክትትል መጠናከር የተነሳ ወንድሜ መቐለ ከተማ መጥቶ ወደ በርሃ ሸኘኝ። “ካላሸነይ አቴ ምንሸረይ ወላዊሉ ሒዘኪ ናብ ዱረይ” ስወእ ተጋዳላይ ረምሃ ቀስቅስ

በአንድ ቀን ጉዞ ከመሪያ ጋር ሰብያ ስንደርስአብሮ አደግ፤ የትምህርት ቤት ጓደኛና የቅርብ ዘመድ ከሆኑት ከሆያብ (ሱራፊል ምሕረተአብ)፤ አባይ (አምሃ) ፀሃየና፤ ተካ ካሕሳይ (ነፍስ ይማር--ሴሮ ውጊያ ላይ የተሰዋ) ጋር ተገናኘን። ሁላችንም በፊተኛው አመት ዩኒቨርሲቲ ውስጥ ስንገናኝ ስለነበር፤ በተለይ አባይ ፀሃየ በዩኒቨርሲቲ የተማሪዎች እንቅስቃሴ ውስጥ ከማንኛውም የህወሓት አመራር የላቀ ሚና የነበረው በታጋሽነቱም ጭምር አደንቀው ስለነበር፤ እነዚህ ከፍተኛ የስራና የእድገት ተስፋ የነበራቸው ምሁራን ለትግል ብለው ያንን ብሩህ እድላቸውን በመሻር ከገጠርና ከገበሬዎች ጋር ተዋህደው ስላገኙትቸው አባቱን አስለቅሼ መምጣቱን አስረሳኝ። እነሱም የሚያለቅሱ አባቶችና እናቶች ነበሯቸውና። ሌሊቱን ከገበሬ ቤት አድረጎ በማለዳ ወደ ማሰልጠኛው ተጓዥን። ወረዳትላ የሚባለው የህወሓት ወታደራዊ ማሰልጠኛ እጅግ ሰበርባራ ከሆነው በኢሮብ ምድር ውስጥ የሚገኝ ነው። ዓሲምባ የሚገኘውም ከዚህ በቅርብ ርቀት ነው። ኢሮብ ውስጥ ድንጋይ ወርውረህ የምታደርስበት ቦታ ለመድረስ ስለታት ሊፈጅ ይችላል። ለዚህም ነበር በማለዳ ከተነሳሁበት ዕዳጋ ሐሙስ ከተማ ወረዳትላ ለመድረስ ድፍን ሁለት ቀን የፈጀብኝ። እዚህ ላይ ሁለተኛው በህወሓት አላማ ላይ ሌላ ጥቁር ነጥብ የጣለብኝ ነገር አጋጠመኝ። የሁለቱ ቀን ጉዞ በድካም ብቻ ያለፈ አልነበረም። ተወልዶ እስኪያድግ ድረስ መቐለ ፒያሳ ላይ ማውደልደል የለመደው እግሬን ለማለማመድ ሲባል ያለ ካልሲ ያ ምላጭ የሆነውን ኮንጎ ጫማ ለብሼ በዛ ሰበርባራ መሬት ሁለት ቀን ስለተጓዥኩበት ሁለቱ እግሮቼ ከፋኛ ተልጠውና በፍትረያ ብዛት ተበርቡረው እግሬ አብጠ መራማድ እያቃተኝ ነበር የደረስኩት። ከማሰልጠኛው ጥበቃ ላይ ስደርስ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ውስጥ ውድ ጓደኛየ የነበረው አረፋይኔ (ፀሃየ?) ላዛ ፀጉሩን ጎሬ አበጥሮ እየሳቀ ከተቀበለኝ በኋላ ያ ነጭ እግሬን እያየ “ይኸው ትግል እንዲህ ያደርጋል” ብሎ አሾፈብኝ። ከአባይ፤ ከሆያብና ከተካ ተጨማሪ አረፋይኔን በማግኘቴ የበለጠ የልብ ልብ ተሰማኝ።

ወረዳትላ ወጣገባነት የሚበዛበት በፍለጋ ሊገኝ የማይችል የሚመስል ድብቅ ስፍራ ነው። መከራን ለማለማመድ ሆን ተብሎ የተመረጠ ስፍራ ይመስላል። መሬቱ ከበለስ እሾህ ጋር አብሮ የተለወሰ አሸዋ ነው። ከበቆሎ በስተቀር ሌላ ምግብ የለም። ነጋ ጠባ የጥርስ ጠላት የሆነውን በአሸዋ የተቆላ በቆሎ መመገብ ነበር። ሰው እዛ ማሰልጠኛ ውስጥ ቆይቶ ብረት ሆኖ ካልወጣ የትም ሌላ ቦታ ሊሆን አይችልም። ስልጠናውን የጀመርኩት በማግስቱ ነበር፤ ትንሽ ልረፍ የሚባል ነገር የለም። አሰልጣኛችን የአየር ሃይል ባልደረባ የነበረው አሕፈሮም ነበር (ነፍስ ይማር--ጨዳ መስከበት ላይ የተሰዋ)። አሕፈሮም ከፍተኛ ችሎታ የነበረው አስደናቂ አሰልጣኝ ነበር። ከነከባድ ቁስሌ ስልጠና ከጀመርኩ ጀምሮ ሶስት ወር ስልጠናው እስከጨረሽን ድረስ የእግሬ ቁስል አልዳነም ነበር። ሶስት ወር ሙሉ በሮጥኩኝና በተንከባለልኩኝ ቁጥር እየተጋጠ እንዴት ይዳን? ከአካል ቁስሉ ይልቅ ያጋጠመኝ የአይምሮ ቁስል ነበር። ስልጠና ላይ ቁስሌ እየተነካካብኝ ድንገት ሰወድቅ “የርእሲ ኹናት” (የወረራ ስልት) ሰልፉን አበላሸው ነበር። ስልጠና ላይ መሞትም እንዳለ ባውቅም አሕፈሮም እኔ ላይ ሲያንገባርቅ የነበረው ስሜትና ሲናገራቸው የነበሩት ቃላት ከስልጠናው መንፈስ ወጣ ያሉ

ነበሩ። አሁንም ለዚህ ከአክሱም ቀጥሎ ያጋጠመኝ እንቅስቃሴ መልስ ለማግኘት ያነጋገርኩት ከእንደርታ (ግጀት) ለትግል የመጣውን ሰልጣኝ አብርሃ ገብረተክለን ነበር። አውራጃ እየመረጥኩ ሳይሆን ማንኛውንም ብዳይ መጠየቅ እንደነበረብኝ ይገባኛል። ሆኖም ግን በሆዴ የተፈጠረ ጥርጣሬ ስለነበረ በዘፈቀደ አንዱን ብጠይቅ ሌላ ጣጣ ውስጥ እንዳልገባ ስለፈራሁ ነበር። ጉዳዩን ሳነሳለት አብርሃ ያለኝ ነገር ውስጤን አናወጠው። አብርሃ ያለኝ እንዲህ ነበር፡- “እፍህን ዝጋ ዮሃንስ፤ ችግር አለ፤ ከእንደርታ የመጣውን ከልባቸው አልተቀበሉንም።። ከቆይታ በኋላ ግን ነገሮችን እያጋነን እንዳይሆን የሚል ስሜት አደረብኝና ነገሩን ትቼ ወደ ትግሉ ብቻ ማሰብ ቀጠልኩኝ። ከሶስት ወር በሁዋላ የዘለምበሳን አስፋልት አቋርጠን ገርሁ ስርናይ ለመድረስ የሃዘሞን ሜዳ (ኤሪትሪያ) አቋረጥን። እዚህ ላይ አንድ ታምር ተፈጠረ፤ ሶስት ወር ያመረቀዘው ቁስሌ ክው ብሎ ደረቀ። ሃዘሞ ሜዳ ላይ በምሽት እንደከዋከብት የሚያብላጩልጭ ፎስፎረስ እንዳለ ሌሊቱን እዛውሜዳ ላይ በማደራችን አስተውየዋለሁ። ጫማየ ክፍት ስለነበር ቁስሌን ያዳነልኝ እሱ መሆኑን ነገሩኝ።

ከዛ በኋላም በማያባራ እንቅስቃሴ ላይ ተጠመድን። ቁጥራችን እዚህ ግባ የሚባል ስላልነበረ፤ የመሳሪያችን አይነትም ደርግን ከልቡ ሊያስቀው የሚችል ጓንዴ፤ ካርባይን፤ ቺኮዝ፤ ግንፅል (ረሽ) ስለነበረ አንድ ቦታ ተቀምጠን ላለመታፈን ቀንም ለሊትም መንቀሳቀስ ሆነ። እግራችን ስጋ የለበሰ አጥንት ሳይሆን ከአረብ ብረት የተሰራ ይመስል ነበር፡- “እዚአቶም ኣታ እዚአቶም፤ ግንኤል ቤቶም ሸይጣን ጎረቤቶም፤ ተሸነፍኹ ዘይብል አምሁቶም” ብዙአየነ ዘገየ። ሴሮ ላይ ከሻቢያ ጋር በመተባበር የደርግ ሜካናይዝድ ብርጌድን በሙሉ ቀን ጦርነት ከመታገን በኋላ ጥራትያላቸው መሳርያዎች (ኤም 14) እንዲሁም ብዙ መጠን ያለው ስንቅ ተማረኮ ገርሁ ስርናይ ወስደን ስንከዝን ከቆየን በኋላ አንድ ምሽት የሙበረቅ ያህል ያስደነገጠን ዜና ሰማን። መርዶው የተነገረን በ“ድራር ለይቲ” አማካይነት ነበር። “ድራር ለይቲ” ማለት የሌሊት ኮድ ነው። ድንገተኛ ችግር ቢፈጠርና መቢታተን ቢመጣ ተጠራርቶ ለመገናኘት የሚጠቅም ነው። “ድራር ለይቲ” አይደገምም። በተለምዶ “ድራር ለይቲ” የትም ግንባር የተሰጠ ታጋዮች ስምን ይጠቀማል። ስለዚህ የመረጃ ዘዴም ጭምር ነበር። በዛ ምሽት በድራር ለይቲ የሰማናቸው ስሞች ግን ተገደን የገባንበት ለሁለት አመታት የዘለቀ ውጊያ ምክንያት የሆኑ ነበሩ። ክስተቱ ሁሉም የህወሓት ሃይሎች ረዥሙን የአድያቦቆይታ ያስጀመረ ነበር። የዛ ምሽት “ድራር ለይቲ” ስሉል-ሰናይ የሚል ነበር። የመጀመሪያው የህወሓት አመራር የነበረውና በመደበኛ ስሙ ገሰስ አየለ ሲባል የነበረው የፓርላማ አባል ነበር ነው። ይህ በትግራይ ውስጥ በጣም ታዋቂ የነበረ ሰው በዓዲ ነብሪኢድ ሲቪል የማደራጀት ስራ ሲሰራ በጠራናፊት (ኢዲዩ) ሃይሎች ተረሽነ። ህወሓት ለዚህ ድፍረት ምላሽ ለመስጠት ወደ አድያቦ ጉዞ ተጀመረ። የጠራናፊት ሃይሎች ብዙዎቹ ከጠመንጃ ጋር የኖሩ ስለሆኑ ህወሓትን “የተማሪዎች ስብስብ” እያሉ ይንቋት ነበር፤ ንቀታቸው ንቀት ብቻ ሆኖ ቀረ እንጂ። ሁለተኛው ከስሉል ጋር በጠራናፊት የተገደለው ሙሉጌታ ካሕሳይ የሚል መደበኛ ስም የነበረው ነበር። ከሱ ጋር አፄ ዮሃንስ ሃይስኩል 9ኛ አንድ ክፍል አብረን ተምረናል፤ ንቁና በትምህርቱም ጎበዝ ነበር። ለሱ እንደ ትግል ጓድ ብቻ ሳይሆን በግሌ እንደ ጓደኛም ተጨማሪ ኃዘን ተሰምቶኝ ነበር።

ከገርሁ ስርናይ አድያቦ ለመድረስ ከአስር ቀናት በላይ ፈጅቶብናል። የአዲግራት አድዋ አውራ መንገድ ካቋረጥን በኋላ በዕዳጋ ዓርቢ-ማይቅነጣል-ዳጌው-ወርዒ-አዴት-ሰለክላካ-ሰመማ

አድርገን ዓዲ ዳዕሮ ገባን። በየደረሰንበት ከፖሊሶችና ከታጣቂዎች ጋር አነስተኛ ግጭቶች ከመኖራቸው በስተቀር የጎላ እንቅፋት አላጋጠመንም። ወደ አድያቦ የተደረገው ዙርያ ጥምጥም መንገድ ከጠራናፊት ደፊጣ ለመዳን የተደረገ ነው ብዬ ተርጉሜዋለሁ። ምንም እንኳን ከፍተኛ የድካም ስሜት ቢኖርም ዓዲ ዳዕሮ ላይ አረፍት አልተደረገም። ከከተማዋ ወደ ዓዲ ነብሪኢድ መውጫ ላይ የህወሓት ሃይል መሸጎ ካደረገ በኋላ ሲነጋጋ ዓዲ ነብሪኢድ ውስጥ መሸጎ ከነበረው የጠራናፊት ሃይል ላይ ተኩስ ተከፍቶ በአጭር ጊዜ ውስጥ በበርካታ ምርኮ ተጠናቀቀ። ለጠራናፊት ምርኮኞች ማቆያ ጊዜያዊ ቤቶች ስለተመደቡ የደህንነት ሃላፊ ከነበረው ከዶር. ሃይሉ ነጠበ (አለምሰገድ መንገሻ/ሌኒን የሚል የቅፅል ስም አፄ የሃንስ ሃይስኩል እያለን ያወጣንለት) ጋር አብራ እንድሰራ ተመደብኩ። ዶር. ሃይሉ ነጠበ የ1967 ዓ.ም. ነባር ታጋይ ነው። ሄዶ የማይደክምና በንቃቱና ቆራጥነቱ የሚታወቅ ነበር። ይህ የኔ ምደባ ግን በሰላም ነው ብዬ ለማመን ተቸግራ ነበር። ሃይሉ ነጠበ አብረን የተማርን ጓደኞች መሆናችን እንዳለ ሆኖ እኔ በማውቀው ጉዳይ ከዋናው የህወሓት አመራር አባልነት መወገዱን ሰምቻለሁ። ገና አክሱም እያለሁ የኔ ወንድም ህንደያ አበራ አክሱም ከተማ እያለ ከበርሃ ከሚመጣው ዶር. ሃይሉ ነጠበ ጋር የዘወትር ግንኙነት እንደነበራቸው ራሱ ነግሮኛል። የተራባ ወረቀት በአህያ እየጫነ እንደሚያመጣለትና አሱም ተቀብሎ በሻንጣ አድዋና ሽሬ እየሄደ ለመዋቅራቱ ያቀብል እንደነበረ አጫውቶኛል። ከእለታት ባነዱ ቀን በ1967 ዓ.ም. አጋማሽ በኋላ ይመስለኛል ዶር ሃይሉ ከትውልድ ቦታው ተንቤን ለድርጅቱ ስራ በሄደበት መውጫ አጥቶ እንደተከበበ መረጃ ደረሰኝ ብሎ ወንድሜ በጭንቀት ውስጥ ሆኖ አወራኝ። በምን ሁኔታ ከከበባው እንዳመለጠ ያወቅሁት ነገር ባይኖርም ወደ ሜዳ ከተመለሰ በኋላ “በስራ ምክንያት ተከባ ሳይሆን ለግል ጉዳዩ ነበር ቆይታውን ያራዘመው” በሚል የዲሲፕሊን ክስ ከአመራር እንደወረደ ሰምቻለሁ። ዶር. ሃይሉ ነጠበን የአስረኛ ጠባቂ ሆኖ ሳገኘው ቅስሜ ተሰበረ። ሁለት ሳምንት አብረን በቆየንበት ጊዜ ስለ አመራሩና ሌሎች ሁኔታዎች በሰፊው ለማውራት እድል አግኝቻለሁ። ምንም ችላ ለማለት ብዋክርም የሚገጥመኝና የምሰማው ነገር ባመዛኙ የውስጥ ስጋቴን የሚያጠናክር እንጂ የሚያላላ ሊሆንልኝ አልቻለም።

ከዓዲ ነብሪኢድ ድል በኋላ ከጠራናፊት (ኢዲዩ) ጋር በርካታ ቀላልና ከባድ ውጊያዎች ተካሂደዋል። እኔ ሜዳ እስከ ነበርኩበት ጊዜ እንደ ጨዋመስከበት ያለ ከባድና ጎጂ ጦርነት ግን አላጋጠመም። ጨዋመስከበት ሽራሮን አልፎ ወደ ተከዘ ወንዝ አቅጣጫ የምትገኝ መንደር ናት። የኢዲዩ ሰራዊት ከሱዳን ባገኘው ዘመናዊ መሳሪያ ተጠናክሮ ስለመጣ ይህን ለማዳከምና ለመምታት በሃይለ ፖርት ሱዳን የሚመራ ሃይል መንጠብጠብ በሚባል መንደር ላይ ከበባ ሲያደርግ አደረ። ሌላ ሁለት ጋንታ በዋልታ (ዮሃንስ) የተመራ ምናልባት በሚል ጨዋመስከበት የነበሩ አዳራሽ ህድሞዎችን ሌሊቱን ሙሉ ከበ አደረ። ሲነጋጋ ያልታሰበ ነገር ተፈጠረ። ከወልታ ጎን ቆሜ ስለነበረ ከኢዲዩ ጦር መሪዎች አንዱ ከጠባቂ ጋር ሆኖ ከኛ በቅርብ ርቀት ሲጸዳዳ እያየን ሳቃችንን ሳንጨርስ ከህድሞዎቹ አቅጣጫ ካቅም በላይ የሆነ የሲሞኖፍና የመችረየስ ተኩስ ተከፈተብን። ለካ የኢዲዩ ሙሉ ሃይል ያደረገው ጨዋመስከበት ከፊታችን ካሉት ህድሞዎች እንጂ ዋናው የህወሓት ሃይል ከተመደበበት መንጠብጠብ መንደር ውስጥ አልነበረም። ከመንጠብጠብ የአርፕጂ አስጀማሪ ተኩስ ሲጠብቅ የነበረው ዋልታ (ስዉእ-ነፍስ ይማር) ሃይለኛና ፋታ የማይሰጥ ጥይት ሲዘንብብን ከያገኘነው ድንጋይ ስር ሆነን እንድንጠብቅ ትእዛዝ ሰጠን። በዚህ ጥይት በሚዘንብበት ቀወጢ መሃል ሃይለ ፖርት ሱዳን

በዝናብ የሚሄድ ይመስል በቁም ቀጥ ብሎ መጣ። በቅርብ ያገኘንን ወደ ህድሞው አጥር ለማስጠጋት ትእዛዝ ሰጠንና ተጠጋ።። ሃይለ ፖርት ሱዳንን በሚመለከት በ1969 ሕንፍሽፍሽ ጋር የተያያዙ አባይት ጉዳዮች ስላሉ ወደኋላ በወሳኝነት እመለስባቸዋለሁ። አሁን ግን ስለሃይሌ ፖርት ሱዳን በመጠኑ ልግለፅ። ሃይሌ የመቐለ ተወላጅ ሲሆን በልጅነቱ ፖርት ሱዳን ሄዶ ወደብ ላይ ሲሰራ ከቆየ በኋላ ለትግል ከሻዕቢያ ጋር ተቀላቀለ። ህወሓት ከመፈጠሯ በፊት በሻዕቢያ የተወሰነ ደረጃ የጦር መሪነት መደብ ይዞ ሲያገለግል ቆይቷል። ወደ ህወሓት በገዛ ፍላጎቱ ሲዛወር ሻዕቢያ ፈቃደኛ እንዳልነበረ ሲወራ ነበር፤ የሚያጠኑትን ስላወቁ ይሆናል። ሃይሌ ተወንጫፊ ተብላ ስትጠራ የነበረችውን የህወሓት ሃይል 11 ሲመራ የወታደራዊ አመራር ብቃቱ እጅግ የተደነቀ ነበር። ምንም እንኳ እነሱ፤ ዓድቃን፤ ሳሞራና፤ ሐየሎም በተለያ መደብ ሲሰሩ ቢቆዩም ሃይለ ፖርት ሱዳን በታጋዩ ዘንድ የነበረው ዝና ከፍ ያለ ነበር። ለታጋዮች የሚያደርገው እንክብካቤም ሌላ የሚታወቅበት ባህርይ ነበር። ጨዳመስከበት ላይ ይህ ሁሉ ጥይት እየዘነበበት ቆሞ አመራር ሲሰጥ በውጊያው መጨረሻ ላይ ጭንቅላቱ ላይ በመጠኑ የጨረፈችውን ጥይት ብቻ ነበር ያስተናገደው። ሱዳን ሳለ ጥይት የማያስመታ መተት አስርቶ ነው የሚሉት በርካታ ነበሩ።

የጨዳመስከበት ጦርነት በመበላሸቱና ከኋላም ከፊትም ይተኮሱበት ስለነበር ለመከበባችን ምንም ጥርጣሬ አልነበረንም። በዚህ ጦርነት ሙሴ የተሰየ ሲሆን ከመስዋቱ ከአምስት ደቂቃ በፊት ሙሴና ግደይ ዘራፀዮን ሆነው ውጊውን መልክ ለማስያዝ ሁለቱም ሽጉጥ ይዘው እኔና ኒክሰን ወደ መሽግንበት የካብ አጥር በመምጣት ወደ በረቱ እንድንገባ አዘዙንና እነሱም አኛን አልፈው ኢዲዩ ወደመሽግበት ወደ ህድሞው ቤት አቅጣጫ ሄዱ። ባንተያይም ነገሩ የጨበጣ ውጊያ ይመስል ነበር። ከጥቂት ደቂቃዎች በኋላ ግደይ ዘራፀዮን ለብቻው (ያለ ሙሴ) ከህድሞው ተመልሶ መጣና በጥድፊያ ስሜት “ስለተከበብን በያቅጣጫው እየተከሳችሁ ውጡ” ብሎ ስላዘዘን በስርአት ለማፈገፈግ ስንሞክር ከፊቱ የነበረው ኒክሰን በጥይት ተመትቶ ወደቀ። ጥይቱ የኒክሰንን የጥይት በርሳ በሰቶ ስለገባ አሳት ፈጠረ፤ እኔም ጠመንጃየን ወደጎን ወርውሬ እሳቱን ከላይ ላይ በእጄ እየደበደብኩ ለማጥፋት ስሞክር ተሳካልኝ። ኒክሰንን ወደ ሽራሮ በሰው አሸክመን ከላክን በኋላ እኛ አረፍት እንድናደርግ ተነገረንና ሌላ ሃይል ተተክቶ ውጊያውን ቀጠለ። ኒክሰን ላይ የተነሳው እሳት በማጥፋቱ ወደኋላ ያስገኘልኝን ህይወት አድን የሆነ ብድር ምለሳ ወደ ኋላ እመለስበታለሁ። የሙሴ መስዋት፤ የሃይለ ፖርት ሱዳን ነገር፤ የኒክሰን የጥይት ቃጠሎ መጥፋት ለዚህ ለ1969 ሕንፍሽፍሽ ገለፃ ጠቃሚ ግብአቶቹ ናቸው። ከጨዳመስከበት ማግስትም ተከዘ ሸለቆ ገብተን የኢዲዩን ካምፕ አጥቅተን ተመልሰናል። በመልሳችንም ሽራሮ በኢዲዩ ተጠቅታ ጠብቃናለች።

በዛኞቹ ወራት በአንዱ ዓዲ ነበሪኢድ መሰል ከምትባለው መንደር አድረጎ ቁርስ ሲዘጋጅ አኔና ኒክሰን ህድሞዎቹ አኛቶች ላይ ዋርድያ ወጥተን ነበር። በዛን ሰአት ነበር በኢዲዩ ድንገተኛ ውጊያ የተከፈተብን። እኔና ኒክሰን ከህድሞዎቹ አናቶች ዘለን ስንወርድ ሃይል 11 ሲመራ የነበረው ሃይሌ ፖርት ሱዳን በከፍተኛ ፍጥነትና ጥበብ ሰራዊቱን ቦታ ቦታ ሲያስይዝ ደረሰን። እኔም በቀኝ ክንፍና የጥቃቱ ጫና በበዛበት አቅጣጫ ተመደብኩ። የመትረየስ ቡድንም የተመደበው በዚህ አቅጣጫ ነበር። በዚህ ጦርነት አንድ ችግር ተከሰተ። ረምሃ ቀስቅስ የእንደርታ ተወላጅ ነው። የመጀመሪያው የህወሓት ኪነት ድምፃዊ ከመሆኑ በተጨማሪ በሃይለ ፖርት ሱዳን የምትመራው የሃይል 11 የመትረየስ ቡድን አባል ነበር። ወደ ተሰዋበት ዓዲ

ነብርኢድ መሰል ከመንቀሳቀሳችን በፊት ሸራሮ ላይ አንድ ጅምር ህንፃ መስኮት ላይ ተቀምጦ እኔን ጠራኝ። እንዲህም አለኝ፡- “የሦንስ አድያቦኮ አፈራችን ናት።” አባባሉ ግልፅ ቢሆንም ምን መነሻ አድርጎ እንዲህ አይነት ትንቢት እንደተናገረ እስካሁንም አልገባኝም። ዓዲ ነብርኢድ መሰል ምሽግ ውስጥ ሆነን ስንዋጋ የኤሮብ ተወላጅ የሆነ ከረምሃ ጋር የመትረየስ ቡድን አባል የነበረ ታጋይ እኔ ወደነበርኩበት ምሽግ መትረየሱን ይዞ መጣ። ምሽጉን ትቶ ለምን ወደኔ እንደመጣ ስላልገባኝ ትክ ብየ ሳየው አይኑ እንባ አዝሏል። ምነው ስለው ረምሃ እንደተሰዋ አረዳኝ። ሃያ ስድስት ከጠላት ጦር ሲገደል ከሃይል 11 የተሰዋው ረምሃ ብቻ ነበር። አጥብቄ በመጠየቅ የተረዳሁት ነገር ቢኖር ረምሃ የተመታው ከፊት ሳይሆን ከኋላ እንደነበር ነው። ምን አየተፈጠረ እንደሆነ ለመረዳት ያለ አምላክ ሃይል የሚቻል አልነበረም። የረምሃ ቀስቅስ አሟሟት ሁኔታ ሁላችንም የአይምሮ ረብሻ ፈጠረብን። የትግል ሰሜታችን ከግለት ወደ ግራ መጋባት መሸጋገር ጀመረ።

ከአድያቦ ሳንወጣ አንድ ቀን ዓዲ ዳዕሮ ውስጥ እያለን የሆነው ነገር በ1969 ዓ.ም. ሕንፍሽፍሽ የዶር አረጋዊ ሚና ምን እንደነበር ለመጀመሪያ ግልፅ የሆነበት አጋጣሚን ፈጠረ። ከአዲዩ ጋር ሲደረግ የነበረው ተከታታይ ጦርነት ጋብ ካለ በኋላም አራቱም ሃይሎች (11፣ 21፣ 31 እና 41) አድያቦ ላይ እንደተከማቹ ብዙ ወራት አለፉ። ውሱን ስፍራ ላይ መከማቻታቸው ለደህንነታቸውም አደገኛ ቢሆንም ዋናው የህወሓት አላማ የሆነው የትግራይ ህዝብን ከዳር እስከዳር በህወሓት አላማዎች ስር የማደራጀት ስራ እንዲጓተት አድርጎታል። ስለዚህ አራቱ ሃይሎች በአራቱም የትግራይ መአዘናት ተሰማርተው እንዲሰሩ ሲወሰን ሃይሌ ፖርት ሱዳን የሚመራት ሃይል 11 የደቡብ ሃይል ተብላ ተመደበች። እንደ አጋጣሚ ይሁን ሆነ ተብሎ በዚች ሃይል የነበሩት ታጋዮች ከደቡብ የመጡት በርከት ይሉ ነበር። ደቡብ ማለት እንደርታና ራያ መሆኑ ነበር። በዚች ሃይል ውስጥ የነበሩ የአዲግራትና የተምቤን ታጋዮችም በአመራሩ ላይ ቅሬታ እያስተናገዱ ስለመጡ የውስጥ መቋሰሉ እየጨመረ መጥቶ ነበር። ሃይል 11 ደቡብ ሃይል ተብላ ከተመደበች በኋላ ወደ ተመደበችበት ቦታ ሄዳ እስከዛ ድረስ የህወሓትን ምንነት አያውቅ የነበረው የእንደርታና የራያን ህዝብ እንደማንቃትና ማደራጀት አድያቦ ተጎልታ ቀረች። አሁን ትእግስታቸውን የጨረሱ የሃይል 11 (ደቡብ) አባላት ወደ ምድብ ቦታቸው የመሄድ ፈቃድ እንዲሰጣቸው የሚል ጥያቄ በሃይለ ፖርት ሱዳን በኩል ለዶር. አረጋዊ በይፋ እንዲቀርብ ወሰኑ።

ይህ የሆነው ዓዲ ዳዕሮ በነበርንበት ወቅት ነው። በጥቂት ቀናት ውስጥ ለጥያቄያችን መልስ እንደመጣ ሃይለ ፖርት ሱዳን ነግሮን የሃይል 11 (ደቡብ) አባላት አንድ ሰፊ ቤት ገብተን ተሰበሰብን። ሃይለ ፖርት ሱዳን የተናደደ መሆኑ በዛ ጥቁር ፊቱ ላይ ይታወቅበታል። “ከበሪሁ የመጣላችሁ መልስ ስሙ” ብሎ ማንበብ ጀመረ። መልሱ በስድብና ማስፈራሪያ የተሞላ ነበር። አንድ የታጠቀ ሃይልን መሳደብ ምን ይባላል? ለአላማ ብሎ የመጣ እንጂ የሱ አሸከር የሆነ ማንም አልነበረም። አሁንም እያደረገ እንዳለው እድሜ የማይሸረው የዶር. አረጋዊ የመጣለትን የመናገር አባዜ ነበር ህወሓትን ለችግር የዳረጋት። በሪሁ እንዲህ ብሎ ሃይል ሙሉ ታጋይን ተሳደበ፡- “ጎጠኞች”። የሃይል 11 ታጋይ ሁሉ ቅስሙ ተሰበረ። ሃይለ ፖርት ሱዳን ብስጭቱን መቻል አቃተው። እንደርታና ራያ ሄደን የህወሓትን አላማዎች



ለህዝቡ እናስተምር ማለት ጎጠኝነቱ ምኑ ላይ ነው? ዓድዋና ሽፌ-አድያቦ በቆየንባቸው ብዙ ወራት ህዝቡን ስናስተምር መቆየታችን ይታወቃል። ልዩነቱ ምንድን ነው? ችግሩ ከኛ በኩል በአውራጃዊነት ስሜት የተከሰተ አመፅ ቢጤ ለማስመሰል የተወጣነ ሊሆን ይችላል የሚል ግምት አሳድሮብናል። ይህን ስድብ ከሰማን በኋላም ቢሆን ህወሓትን ለመፈታተን የተደረገ ነገር አልነበረም። በአመራሩ (ዶር. አረጋዊ) እየታየ የነበረውን አፍራሽ ተግባር በሚገባ የተረዳው “ሱሳን ሸሞንተን” በሚል ቅፅል ስም የሚታወቀው የአድዋ ልጅ የሆነ የጋንታ መሪ በአንድ ወቅት የተናገረውን ልጥቀስ። “ሱሳን ሸሞንተን” የሚል የቅፅል (የበርሃ) ስም የወጣለት በሆነ ነገር ሲገረም በተለምዶ “አረ ሱሳን ሸሞንተን” ይል ስለነበር ነው። ይህ ታጋይ ቆራጥና ባህሪዬ ለሁላችንም የተመቸ ነበር። ኮሽ ሲል የእንግሊዝ መትረየሱን ይዞ ቀድሞ ገዢ መሬት የሚይዘው እሱ ነበር። አንድ ቀን በድካም ምክንያት ብረት ትክክለኛ ላይ አጋድሜ በመያዝ ከባድ ወታደራዊ ቅጣት ተቀጣሁ። ቅጣቱን ጨርሼ ለወሬ ሱሳን ሸሞንተን አጠገብ ሄጄ ስቆመጥ ቅጣቱ አላሰፈላጊ እንደነበር ያስተዋለው ሱሳን ሸሞንተን በድርጊቱ እንዳዘነ አየሁ። ቀጥሎ የተናገረው ግን ታሪካዊ ነበር። ሱሳን ሸሞንተን እንዲህ አለ፡- “አታ ብሽም ደቂ ዓድዋንዶ ምስ ኩሉ ከባእሱና”። ትርጉሙ “በአድዋ ልጆች ስም ከሁሉም ጋር ሊያጣሉን ነው”። ሱሳን ሸሞንተን በህይወት ይኑር አይኑር አላውቅም ከአንደርታ ታጋዮች ውጪ ችግሩ ቀድሞ የገባው ግን አሱ ነበር።

እነዚህ ብቅጥልቅ የሚሉት ግን ደብዛዛም ቢሆን አንድ አይነት ስእል እየሰጡ ያሉት ከስተቶች ወዴት እንደሚያመሩ ለማየት በትእግስት ከመጠበቅ በስተቀር አማራጭ አልነበረንም። በ1969 ዓ.ም. የመጀመሪያው አጋማሽ ላይ ዓድዋ ከተማን ለማጥቃት በወጣው እቅድ መሰረት ትኩረት የማበላሸት ወታደራዊ ታክቲክ ለመጫወት ያህል ከገረሁ ስርናይ እስከ ተምቤን ወርቂ እምባ ድረስ የሸማኔ ዙር ስናደርግ በነበረበት ጊዜ እንቲጮ ከተማ ውስጥ እያለን እጅግ የሚዘገንን ዜና ሰማሁ። ከመቐለ የመጣው ግርማይ ኪዳኑ አኔን ለብቻየ ገለል አድርጎ እንዲህ አለኝ፡- “በሪሁ (አረጋዊ) ሰባት ከመቐለና ከተምቤን የመጡትን ልጆች ትጥቃቸውን አስወርዶ በአዚ ረሸናቸው”። ይህን ዜና የሚሸከም ጭንቅላት አልነበረኝም። ነገሮች እየለየላቸው እንደመጣ ገባኝ። የተነገረኝ የግድያ ዜና ግን ለማመን እጅግ የሚከብድ ነበር። አምኜ የተቀበልኩት ከብዙ ወራት በኋላ ኒክሰን ህወሓትን ሰንለቅ ይህ ጉዳይ ለመልቀቃችን እንደ በቂ ምክንያት አድርጎ ስለ ደገመልኝ ነው። ኒክሰን እንዲህ አለኝ “አረጋዊ እኛንም አይለቀንም፤ ዞር ብንልለት ይሻላል”። ይህ የግድያ ወሬ ውስጥ ለውስጥ በህወሓት ውስጥ በሰፊው ተሰራጭቶ ነበር። ከአንደርታ በመጡ ታጋዮች ዘንድ ሽብር ነገስ። አንዳንዶቹ ግን እንዳይፈረጁ በመፍራት በጎ በጎውን በመናገር ላይ ተጠምደው ነበር። ዶር. አረጋዊ አርምጃውን ቀጠለ። የጎን ውጋቱ ናት ብሎ ያሰባትን በሃይለ ፖርት ሱዳን የምትመራው ሃይል 11 (ደቡብ) ወደ ተመደበችበት ደቡብሳትሄድ ባጭር ተቀጨች። ሃይሏ ተበትና ሌላ ሃይል 55 የሚባል ተፈጠረና ሃይለ ፖርት ሱዳን እንዲመራት ተደረገች። ለክትትል እንደምታመች ሆና የተዋቀረች ይመስለኛል። እኔም በአጋጣሚ ይሁን በብልሃት ከሃይለ ፖርት ሱዳን ጋር ደረሰኝ። በዚህ ጊዜ ነበር የተፈበረከው ሕንፍሽፍሽ የት እየተመረተ እንደሆነ ግልፅ የሆነው።

የመቐለ ልጅ ስለሆነ ሳይሆን ሃይለ ፖርት ሱዳንን በጀግንነቱ፤ በጦር አመራሩ፤ በተግባቢነቱና ለታጋዮች መልካም አሳቢነቱ አይንቀውና እውደው ነበር። በዓድዋ አፕሬሽንም ህይወቴን አትረፏል። ዓድዋ ብሎኩ የነበረባል ጦር አባላትን ስናጠቃ ወደአጥሩ በጣም ተጠግቼ ስለነበርና የያዘኩት ካርባይንም አልሰራልኝ ስላለች ልከብ ብሎ መሆኔን ከርቀት የተመለከተው ሃይለ የማውቀውን ምልክት በመስጠት በዘዴ የኔ ጋንታ ወደ መሸገቸበት እንዳፈገፍግ አግዘኛል። አንድ ቀን ሃይለ የሚመራት አዲሷ ኃይል 55 ነበሉት (እምባስነይቲ) ከተማ ገባችና ሃይለ እንደተለመደው የሃይሷን ቋቋባላጽ ቦታ ቦታ ካስያዘ በኋላ እኔን ጠራኝ። ለወታደራዊ ትእዛዝ መሰሎኝ “ሰጥ በል” ብዬ ብጠጋው እጄን ይዞ ራቅ ወዳለ ቦታ መራመድ ጀመረ። የሚወደኝ መሆኑን ባውቅም የሃይል አዛዥና ተራ ታጋይ እጅ ለእጅ ተያይዘው “ዎክ” ማድረጋችን እንቆቆልሽ ሆነብኝ። ከጥቂት ደቂቃዎች ዝምታ በኋላ ለእድሜ ልክ የሚሆን የነገር ስንቅ አቀበለኝ። “ብዛይ ዮሃንስ” አለኝ “የህወሓት አመራር ትግሉን ጥየ እንድጠፋ እየገፋፋኝ ነው፤ እኔ ግን የሚፈጠረው ይፈጠራል እንጂ ንቅንቅ አልልም”። መብረቅ የመታኝ ያህል ደነዘዝኩ። ከዛ በቀላሉ የማይተካ የህወሓት ታማኝና ብርቱ አገልጋይ አፍ እየወጣ መሆኑን ማመን አልቻልኩም። እንዲያውም እኔን እየሰለለኝ ያለ ሆኖ ተሰማኝ። ግን ከማመን በስተቀር ምርጫ አልነበረኝም። የሚመራት ሃይል “ነጠኛ” ተብላ ስትሰደብና አሱም ሲባላጭ በማየቴ አሱን ላለማመን በቂ ምክንያት አልነበረኝም። አሁን ለየለት። ሃይለ ፖርት ሱዳን ህወሓትን መርጦ የተከበረበትን ሻዕቢያን ጥሎ የመጣ ነው። በበርካታ አውደ ውጊያዎች ህወሓትን የታደገ ምርጥ የጦር መሪ ነበር። ሃይለ ይህን ጉድ ከነገረኝ በኋላ መልስም አልሰጠሁትም፤ በሃሳብ ብዛት ካጠገቡ አልነበርኩም። እጅግ የከበደ፤ ማንኛችንም ያልገባን ነገር እየመጣ መሆኑ ታዩኝ። ሃይለ ህወሓትን ጥሎ እንዲከበልል የተፈለገው ለምን እንደሆነ በርካታ መላምቶች አሰብኩ። ያጠፋ ታጋይ ተገቢው እርምጃ ይወስዳል እንጂ እንዴት በወቅቱ እንደ ከባድ ወንጀል ተወስዶ በሞት የሚያስቀጣውን እርምጃ እንዲውስድ ይገፋፋል? ከመላምቶቼ ሁሉ ጉልህ ሆኖ የታየኝ የስራ አስፈጻሚ ምርጫን የሚመለከተው ነበር። ሙሴ ጭዓመስከበት ከተሰየ በሁዋላ የሱ ቦታ አልተተካም ነበር። ለዛ ቦታ ይመጥናል ተብሎ በታጋዮች ዘንድ በስፋት ስሙ ሲነሳ የነበረው ሃይለ ፖርት ሱዳን ነበር። ዶር. አረጋዊ ይችን ማሰናከል ነበረበት። እስካሁን ቦታየው አዝማሚያ ብቃት ቢኖራቸውም አመራር ውስጥ እንዲገቡ የማይፈለጉ ነበሩ ማለት ነው። አመራሩን የሚኒስትርነት እንጂ የመስዋእትነት ቦታ መሆኑን ያሰቡት አይመስልም። “መሰብ ሰርቼ ላጤ አበርክቼ” አለች ተስፈኛዋ አማውራ።

ከዚህ የሃይለ መረጃ በኋላ ፊት ከሰማኝቸው መረጃዎች ጋር ተደምር፤ በህወሓት አመራር (ዶር. አረጋዊ) ላይ የነበረኝ እምነት ተሸርሽሮ አልቆ ነበር። ዶር. አረጋዊ በኔ ላይ ያለው አመለካከት ምን እንደሆነ ለማወቅ ብዙ ጥረት አድርጌአለሁ። አንድ ቀን ግን ፍቅር ይሁን ጥላቻ መለየት ያልቻልኩበት ክስተት ተፈጠረ። ወርዲ የተከዘ ገባር ወንዝ የሚፈስበት አፅናፍ ድረስ የተዘረጋ በርሃማ ሸለቆ ነው። ይህ በርሃ የሸፍቶች መናሃሪያ ሆኖ የኖረ ሲሆን ህወሓት በአካባቢው መዘዋወር ከጀመረችበት ጊዜ ጀምሮ ግን ነገሮች ስርአት እየያዙ መጥተው ነበር። ሙሉ የሚባል ሸፍታ ግን ሰላሳ ጭፍሮች ይዞ ስላስቸገረ በህወሓት በኩል ሰላማዊ ኑሮ እንዲኖር የተደረገለትን ጥሪ የሚነግሩት ሽማግሌዎች ወደሱ ተልከው ነበር። ሽማግሌዎቹ ለመልስ የተቀጠሩበትን ቀን ስላዘገዩ ዶር. አረጋዊ ከሁለት ታጋዮች ጋር ወደ ሽማግሌዎቹ

መኖርያ እኔን ላከኝ። የተላከሁበት ሰአት ወርዲ በርሃ ውስጥ ደርሶ ለመመለስ እንደሚመሸ የታወቀ ነበር። በጨለማ ስንመለስ ተኩስ ተከፈተብንና የተኩስ መልስ ሰጠን። ከጥቂት ቆይታ በኋላ በወታደራዊ ጥንቃቄ ወደ ሰፈር መንገድ ስንጀምር ዶር. አረጋዊ በጨለማ ሰሜን እየጠራ መጣ። ካጠገቡ ስደርስ የተፈጠረውን ስነግረው ራሱ ክላሽንኩቭ ይዞ ወደ ተተኮሰበት ሄደ። ይህ ለኔ ምስጢር ሆኑብኝ። የህወሓት መሪ ለእርዳታ ሌሎች ታጋዮችን መላክ እየቻለ ራሱ እየጠመ መምጣቱ እስካሁንም ድረስ ያልገባኝ ምስጢር ሆኖ ቀረ። በአረጋዊ ጉዳይ በጎ በጎውን ለማሰብ ይቸግረኛል። ቀደም ባሉት ወራት ከሸራሮ ወደ ዓዲ ሃገራይ ከሁለት ታጋዮች ጋር ተልኬ ምንም ሳንሰራ መንገድ ላይ ጥሻ ውስጥ አድረን ተመልሰናል። ህወሓት ውስጥ አንድ ዘዴ ነበረ። የመኩብል እድል መፍጠርና ከተጠቀመበት አርምጃ መውሰድ። የሸራሮውንም ሆነ የወርዲው ተልእኮ ከዚህ ፈተና አኳያ ጋር አገናዝበዋለሁ። ብዙ ነገር እያየሁና እየሰማሁ ድርጅቱን ጥየ የመሄድ ሃሳብ ግን አልነበረኝም፤ ከአደጋ ለማምለጥ ብየ እስጋደረግሁት ቀን ድረስ።

ሕነፍሽፍሽን ለማስጀመር ዝግጅቱ የተጠናቀቀ ይመስላል። የሚጀመርበት ሰብብ ብቻ ገና ነው። እኔን በማሰር ለመጀመር የታቀደ መሆኑን ያወቅሁት ግን ባልታሰበ ሰአት ነው። ኢሮብና ጋንታ አፈሹም አካባቢ ሽፍቶች ህብረተሰቡን እያስቸገሩ መሆናቸው ለህወሓት ጥቆማ ስለደረሰ የነበርኩባት ሃይል ሶስት ጋንታዎች ለየብቻ አሰሳ ላይ ተሰማራን። የኛ ጋንታ መሪ ለጊዜው ባለመኖሩ (ለየሃንስ በህይወት መኖር አምላክ ያበጀው ይመስላል) ጋንታውን ሲመራ የነበረው ኒክሰን ነበር። ይህ የሽፍቶች አሰሳ ታሪካዊቷ ማርያም ጉንዳጉንዲ ወደ ምትገኝበት ጥልቅ ሸለቆ ድረስ ወሰደን። አዛ በነበርንበት ሰአት ታሪክን የቀየረ ከስተት ተፈጠረ። ሰብያ ከሚገኘው የህወሓት የደህንነት ማእከል (ማእከላይ ሓለቀ ሳውራ) የተላከ አንድ ገበሬ ለኒክሰን የሆነ መልእክት ሰጥቶት ይመለሳል። እኔ ይህንንከሩቅ ቆሜ እየተከታተልኩት ነበረ። አብሮ አደጌና የሰፈሬ ልጅ ጓደኛየ የነበረው የሁለተኛ አመት የኒቨርሲቲ ተማሪ ኒክሰን (ዶር. ታደሰ አባዲ) መልእክቱን ከተቀበለ ብዙም ሳይቆይ ከሩቁ ጠራኝና መናገር የፈለገው ነገር እንደጠፋበት ዝም አለ። ከፊቱ ጭንቀት ይነበባል፤ ከባድ ጭንቀት። አቅም ሲያገኝ ነገሩን ተነፈሰው። “መልእክተኛ እንደመጣ አይተሃል?” እኔም “አዎ” ብየ መለስኩ። “መልእክቱ የሚለው ይቺ ጋንታ ወደ ማእከላዊ ደህንነት (ማእከላይ ሓለቀ ሳውራ) ሰብያ መጥታ ሪፖርት እንድታደርግ” ይላል አለኝ። እኔም መልእክቱ ያልተለመደ ስለሆነብኝ “ለምንድነው ጋንታ ያህል ነገር ደህንነት ድረስ ሄዳ ሪፖርት የምታደርገው?” ብየ ጠየቅሁት። አሱም “ከጋንታዎ ሰው ማስቀረት ስለፈለጉ መሰለኝ” አለኝ። እኔም በማያገባኝ ገብቼ በድፍረት የሚቀጥለውን ጥያቄ ጠየቅሁ። “ሊያሰሩ የሚፈልጉት ማንን ይሆን?” ኒክሰን ያስጨከቀውን ነገር በፍጥነት አወጣው። “አሁን የተፈለግኸው አንተ ነህ” ብሎ አቅጩን ነገረኝ። እሱቲ አሰቡት፤ መልእክቱን የተቀበለው ኒክሰንን ባይሆን ኖሮ! የሃንስ ለምን የመጀመሪያ ታሳሪ እንደምሆን አልገባኝም። ግን ወዲያው ራሴን ከተበተንኩበት አሰባሰብኩና እንዲህ ብየ መለስኩለት። “ኒክሰን ወንድሜ እኔ ውድቤን በቅንነት እያገለገልኩ ነው፤ ምንም የሰራሁት ጥፋት የለም፤ አሁን ይህን ሰምቼ ከማርያም ጉንዳ ጉንዲ ሸለቆ ውስጥ እንደወፍ በርሬ አልሄድም፤ የፈለጋቸውን ማድረግ ይችላሉ፤ እኔ የሞትኩት የሚያጠራጥር ነገር እየሰማሁ በእምነት ወደ ትግል ሜዳ የገባሁ ቀን ነው።” አዚህ ላይ ንግግራችን አበቃና ስለመጣብኝ ከፉ እግ እያሰብኩ

ዋልኩኝ። በጊዜ ከማርያም ጉንዳጉንዲ ወጥተን ለማንም ግልፅ አላማ ወደ ስራዎት መንድር ወጣን። ኒክሶን ጋንታውን እየመራ ያለበት አካሄድ ባይገባኝም ስራዎት ግን አዲግራት ለነበረው የደርግ መድፈኛ ጦር አመቺ የሆነች ቦታ ነበረች። አስከ አዲግራት ድረስ ለጥ ያለ ሜዳ በመሆኑ ጦሩ መረጃ ካገኘ ጋንታችን ላይ ጥቃት ለመፈፀም ቀላል ነበር። ስራዎት ለአዲግራት ብቻ ሳይሆን ወደ መቐለ አቅጣጫ ለመጓዝም አመቺ ነበረች። ኒክሶን ማድረግ ስለሰበው የማውቀው ነገር ስላልነበረ ለምን ስራዎትገብተን እንዳደርን መገመት አልቻልኩም።

አደገኛ ቦታ ሲታደር ሁለት ዋርዲያ ስለሚመደብ እኔና አንድ የራያ ልጅ ተመደብን። አሁን ሁሉም ነገር በጃችን ነው። አሱም በአመራሩ ላይ ብዙ ቅሬታ የነበረው ታጋይ ስለነበር ሌሊት የጥበቃ ተራችን ሳይበቃ ለመጥፋት ወሰንን። በማግስቱ የምታሰር መሆኔ የተነገረኝ ሰው ያመጣሁት ተለዋጭ ሃሳብ ግን የኔን የመኖር ተስፋ የሚያጨልም ነበር። የራያውን ታጋይ እንዲህ ብየአሳመንኩት፡-“እኔ ሳልሄድ ብቀር ሞት እየተደገሰልኝ ነው፤ ሆኖም ግን አሁን እየጠበቅን ያለነው ቤት ሳይሆን አኛን አምነው የተኙት ወንድሞቻችንን ነው፤ ያለጠባቂ ከአዲግራት የመጣ ጦር ሊፈጃቸው ይችላል፤ ስለዚህ እኛ እንኖራለን ብለን የአድሜ ልክ ፀፀት አንግዛ፤ አምላክ ያውቅልናል።” በዚህ በመተማመናችን ተራችንን ጨርሰን ለቀጣዩ አስረከብንና ተኛን። ህወሓትን ለማጥፋት አሲረሃል ተብሎ በማግስቱ አስር፤ ቁም ስቅልና ሞት የሚጠብቀው ሰው አይነት ሆኜ አይደለም በዛ ወድቅት ሌሊት ላለመክዳት የወሰንኩት። ሴረኛማ ይህን አጋጣሚ መጠቀሙ አይቀርም። የህወሓትን ታገዮችን ለማዳን ብሎ ራሱን ለመስዋእትነት አይቀርብም። እንደማይነጋ የለም ነጋ። ቀጥሎ የሆነው ግን አግዚአብሄር ሌሊት ያን ውሳኔ ስወስን እያየ እንደነበር ተገነዘብኩ። እግዚአብሄር አለ ብየ እርግጠኛ የሆንኩት በዛ ቀን ጧት ነበር። የተከሰተው አስገራሚ ነገር እንዲህ ነበር።

ኒክሶን ጋንታዎን ሰልፍ ካሰያዘ በኋላ አኔን ከሰልፋ እንድወጣና የያዘኩት ኤም 2 ግማሽ አውቶማቲክ ጠመንጃ ለአንዱ ታጋይ እንድሰጥ ትእዛዝ ሰጠኝ፤ ኒክሶን ራሱም የያዘውን ሲሞኖፍ አውቶማቲክ ለሌላ ታጋይ አስረከቦ የሃይል ውህደት ወደሚደረግበት ወደ ዛገምበሳ እንድትገዙ ለጋንታዎ ትእዛዝ ሰጠ። ቀጥሎ እኔና ኒክሶን ብቻ ቀረን። ያኔ በነበረው ወታደራዊ ዲሲፕሊን ለምን እንደዛ ታደርጋላችሁ ብሎ መጠየቅ የለም። ኒክሶን ይህ ድራማ ሲሰራ ለምን እንደሆነ አልገባኝም። ትንሽ አብረን ከተራመድን በኋላ ህወሓትን ጥለን አብረን መሄድ እንዳለብን ነገረኝ። ይህን የሚያደርግበት በሁለት ምክንያት መሆኑን ነገረኝ፡- አንደኛ በሪሁ ሰባት የመቐለና የተምቤን ልጆች መረሸኑና ሁለተኛው ደግሞ ኒክሶን ጨዳመስከበት ውጊያ ላይ ከላዩ ላይ አሳት አጥፍቼ ህይወቱን ስላዳንኩት አሱም አሁን ከመጣብኝ ሞት ሊያድነኝ ዝግጁ መሆኑ። አሁን ሁሉም ነገር ገባኝ። ስለኔ መታሰር መልእክት ከደረሰው ሰአት ጀምሮ እኔን ለማዳን ውሳኔ እንደወሰነ ተረዳሁ። ወታደራዊ አመቺነት ወደሌለው ወደ ስራዎት የሄድንበት ምስጢርም ተከሰተልኝ። አስካሁን ድርስ ደስተኛ የምሆንበት ነገር ቢኖር በኔና በኒክሶን መኩብለል የጋንታዎ አባል ታጋዮች ምንም ጉዳት ሳይደርስባቸው ከሃይል ጋር መቀላቀላቸው ነበር። ከሜዳ ከተመለስኩ በኋላ ከዛ ጋር የተያያዙ የእድሜ ልክ ችግሮች ቢያጋጥሙኝም እኔ ከመንዳቴ በስተቀር በህወሓት ላይ ያሰብኩት የፈፀምኩት ምንም አይነት ክፉ ነገር ስላልነበረ ህሊናዩ ንፁህ ሆኖ ይኖራል። በርካታ የማውቃቸውና የምወዳቸው በሕይወት ተመልሰው በአይነ ስጋ ስላየኋቸውም በጣም ደስተኛ ነኝ።

የኔና የኒክሰን ከህወሓት መልቀቅ በቀላሉ የታየ ክስተት አልሆነም። ከኛ በኋላ የለቀቀ አንድ ታጋይ እንደነገረን ዶር. አረጋዊና ሌላ አመራር አባል የኛን መኩብላል ዜና ሲነገራቸው “ከእጃችን ነው ያመለጡት” የሚል ቁጭት አሰምተዋል፤ ለምን? ምነ አጠፋን? በህወሓት ላይ በእንደርታ ታጋዮች የተቀናበረ አመፅ ነበረ ከተባለ አኛ እንዴት ሳናውቀው እንቀራለን? መቸም በወቅቱ እኔም ሆንኩኝ ኒክሰን ለእንደርታ ታጋዮች እንደ ኢሚንት የምንቆጥር አልነበርንም። የአመፁ አኛ የማናውቀው ሌላ ቢሆን ኖሮ የነዶር. አረጋዊ ጦር ወደኛ አይዘርም ነበር። እኛ ደግሞ ይህንን አይነት ሴራ በህልምም ቢሆን አላሰብነውም። የ1969 ዓ.ም. ሕንፍሽፍሽ እንደርታን ከትግሉ ውጭ ለማድረግ ከኩይሳ የተፈጠረ ተራራ ነው። የኔና የኒክሰን መቸለ ከተማ መግባት ከዛ በፊት ያልታየ ክስተት ስለነበረ የከተማው የህወሓት መዋቅር አባላት ዘንድ ድንጋጤን ፈጥሮ ነበር። እነዚህ ቅን አባላት ለምን እንደተመለሰን አጥብቀው ሲጠይቁን ሰነበቱ። ሰዉ ሁሉ አልገባውም፤ አኛስ ቢሆን መቼ ገባን! የኔና የኒክሰን ህወሓትን መልቀቅ ተከትሎ ሃይለ ፖርት ሱዳንና ሃይሉ ነጠባ በዝ ወሰደው እንዳሰሯቸው ሰማን። የተፈለገው ይህ ነበር! በታመሰ ባህር ውስጥ አሳ ማጥመድ። ከዛ ተከትሎም “የማጥራት ዘመቻ” በሰፊው ተካሄደ፤ ስጋት ያደረባቸው የእንደርታና የሌሎች አውራጃ ታጋዮች ህወሓትን በጎርፍ መልክ ስለለቀቁ የ1969 ሕፍሽፍሽ ተብሎ ስም ወጣለት ስሙ እንጂ ባለስሙ ግን የትም አልነበረም።

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**The Unbreakable Moral: Tegarū also sing in time of adversity**  
January 03-2021

It is the typical display of the indestructibility of the moral of Tegarū that can be seen in the picture taken by Nariman El-Mofty/AP, where refugee children sing and dance inside a tent run by UNICEF in Umm Rakouba refugee camp. The Amhara wrong, as they always are, about Tegarū have this proverb intended to belittle: "When God desires to hear songs, He fills the Tegarū belly". Tegarū like gold shine brighter with burning. They are like red-hot charcoal that continues to fume after it is deeply buried by pile of ash. Meles Zenawi, the great Tigrayan sage and political leader has once described the Tigrayan character in time of adversity. He recalled the 1984-85 drought and the dignified manner the hungry Tigrayans behaved on the relief food distribution queues.

Whether or not Tegarū are poorly or heavily armed the biggest weapon in their arsenal is what they call "habo or nihh" (h has a

guttural sound). Number one in the priority list of targets for the enemies of Tigray is this; but it is never hit and never dies before the bearer. Throughout the centuries, 19th to 21st, Menilik, Haileselassie and Mengistu have done their best to kill the moral of Tegarü because they knew that is where the impregnable fortress of Tegarü, in their war of self defence, is located. They have succeeded to kill them, starve them, displace them, impoverish them, but failed to deny them their potential to rise again and again. The aforementioned enemies and the current Tripartite invaders as well, have thought Tigray is dead everytime they claim military victory by an unequal force. They are oblivious to the survival instinct that is in every Tigrayan DNA.

Coming back to the Tigrayan songs, what is not much known to non-Tigrayans is that the songs have a magical power of tranquilizing you in time of pain, energize you during battle, and exhilarate you in time of joy. That is the reason why, unlike the Amhara, Tegarü do not have special war songs or war dances of any significance. The master key to Tegarü moral is their song. Songs cannot be killed!! A final reminder to enemies of Tegarü is the songs do the magic only when sung by real Tegarü. Tigrigna songs used by the enemy to influence Tegarü to its side lose their potency and become like crying with a drum. Those children who are singing in the Umm Rakouba camps are the future generation of Tegarü who are aware of who sent them there. They are singing to tell their enemy that they will never be broken and will return home in triumph however much it takes. And nothing will ever be the same!\*\*\*\*\*

**"አንቲዐናካ ሽጉርቲ ይብላኝ" በላ እዲታት መቐለ**

**February 08-2021**

ናይ መቐለ ፅዋ እዩ፣ "ፈጊኤናኝ" ኢልኩም ኣምብብዎ። እዙ ምስላ ከምዙ ናይ ሎምዘበን ወራዱና ዘሎ ጉብአም ኣቲ መውራዲ ጉብአ እናሰሓቐን እናደረፈን ዘፅንትን ዘብባሳብሰን ዘሎ "በላኤ ነፍስ ወስጋ" ስርሑ እንተይወደአስ "ደበስ ክንጉብርን ክነተስክረኩም መዲና ኣሎና" ዝብል ሕንከት ዘይፈልጥ ጉዳም ንምግላፅ ኣዲታት መቐለ ዝመሰለኦ እዩ። እቲ ዝፈግኦ ሰብ ደምካ ክፈሰስ እናራኣዩ፣ ወዲቐካ ዓፅረሞት ሒዙካውን ካልእ ሰብ እንተዘይርኢውዎ ሞትካውን ይኸጉሶ እዩ፣ ከጥፋካንድዩ ፈጊኡካ። እንተፈትዩካ ዳኣ ሕውፍ ኣቢሉን ድዩ ዝሰዕመካ! ፍቕሪ መዓስ ጠፊኡና። ዘቢጡ ዝገዝእና እምበር ኣፍቂሩ ዘመሓድረና ረኺብና ኣይንፈልጥን፣ ኣኹሱም ምስደኸመትና ኣብዝኣተናዩ ንሕስዩ ዘይብሎም ዓዲ!

ሽጉርቲ ፍጋእ ባክቴርያ ከይዓስልዎ ዝከላኸል ፈውሲ እዩ። እቲ ናይ ፈጋኢ ሕንከት ምስኣን ዝለመድናዩን ዝሰልከዩናን ስለዝኾነ ናብቲ ሽጉርቲ ንሳገርሞ፣ እቲ ፍጋእ ብሽጉርቲ ጥራይ ይሓውዶ? እዩ እቲ ሕቶ። ፍጋእ ከም እቲ እምንን ብድሕሪ እቲ እምንን ዘሎ ግን ዝትንፍስ እምንን ይወሰን። እቲ ፍጋእ ብፀፀር እንኾይኑ ዋላ ሽጉርቲውን ኣየድልዮን። መገዲ ዓፅዮም እኸልን ኣባጊዕን ዝኸትሩ ዝነበሩኩ መስሓቕ ትግራይ ኮይኖም ተረፎም እምበር መንዶ ንሳቶም ከምዝሓሰቡዎ ጠምዩ እዩ? ዓይኒ ስኒ ዘይብል ማርሞ ሰንዳዎይን ከንድ ዕትር ዝኸውን ደንጎላን ግን ብህፁፅ ናብ ሆስፒታል ከይድካ ኣብ ቤት መጥባሕቲ ኣምላክኻ ምልማን እዩ። ህይወትካ ምስተረፈ ግን የዐሪኻ ከይሓወኻ እቲ ክቐትለካ ሃቂኑ ደንጎላ ዝደርበዩን "ቦሎ፣ ድገሞ፣ ሰልሶ፣ ገና ኣይመተን" ዝብሉ ዝነበሩ ጎረባብትኻ፣ ግዱሽ ግን ናትካ ዘይኮነ ሰብ ናብ ሆስፒታል ወሲዱ ህይወትካ ምስ ኣትረፎ ከይትኸሰም ወይከኣ ሕነኻ ከይትፈዲ ካብ ኩሉ ሰብ ቐዲሙም ናብ ሆስፒታል መዲኣም ክጥይቁክኻሞ። "እንታይ ዝበለ ስሑት መዓልቲ እዩ፣ ናይ ሸይጣን ነገር" እናበሉ ኣፍ ካብ ኣፍ እናተቐባበሉ ክግረሙ ክትሰምዕ፣ ግሉኮስ ፈንጢሕካዶ ነዘም መላገፅቲ ክትወቐ ኣይትለዓልን? ካብታ ደንጎላ ዝኸፍኣት እዚኣ እዩ። እታ ደንጎላስ ኣካልኻ እያ ጎዳኣ፣ እዚኣኩ ኣንጎልኻ እያ እተባላሹ። ናብ ሓዊ ጋዝ ቡቲንካ ምብራፅ ማለት እዩ።

ኣንታ እቶም ብኣድራጋ ዝተቐተሉ ዕጥቂ ዘይብሎም ንፁሃት ኣሸሓት፣ እተን ንሓዳር ከይበፅሓ፣ ምስ ሓዳረን ዘለዎ፣ ዓለም ዝገደፋ መነኮሳት ብዓሰርተ-ዕሰራ ናይ ሰብ መልክፅ ዘለዎም እንስሳት ገዳም ስተገሰሳ፣ ንክልተ ኣሸሓት ዓመት ዝተዓቀበ ክበር ሃይማኖታዊ ሓድግታት ክበርስ፣ ውልቀሰባት ፋርኬታ ከይተረፈ ክዝመቱን፣ ብኸንደይ ገዕፅ ዝተፈረደ ትካላት ክዓንዎ፣ ሕጊ ዘይምልከቶ ዓርሞ ዝጠሓሰ ሸሮ ሰራዊት ኣምሓራ ኣብ ግዝኣት ትግራይ ኣትዩ፣ ብዓል ዋና ሶጊጉ መሬት ዝማናጠል፣ ኣርባተ መንግስታት ተዛሪዮም ትግራይ ከጥፍኡ ሃቂናም፣ ህዝብን ዓድን ካብ ዓለም ፈልዮም፣ ማይን መግብን መብራህትን መራኽብን ኸሊኦም ክሳብ ዘፅንትዎ ዓለም ከይሰምዕ ክር ኣቢሎም ዝዓፀዉ፣ ክልተ ፅሉላት እዮም ከይበሃልኳ ምልእቲ ኢትዮጵያ ኣይራእኹን ኣይሰማዕኹን ምሓሽ፣ "በልዎም፣ ከዮንሳእርሩ ሰርም ቦቕስም" ዝብሉ ዝነበሩ ቃለ

ክርስቶስን፣ ቃለ መሳመድን ዘራኸሱ ሸርካታት ሸይጣን ኣብዙ ምስኪን፣ ውፋይ ህዝቢ ትግራይ ተላዒሎም።

"ወይከ ፈተኸ"፣ ብትዕግስቲ፣ ብውሕልልና፣ ኣርሒቅኻ ብምርኣይ፣ ዝግበር ዘሎ ቻልሲ፣ እቶም ደንጎላ ዝደርበዩ ብዘይሓሰቡዎን ዘየስተንተኑዎን ኩነታት ትግራይ ብዓለማ ርእሰ ዜና ክትኸውን ምስተገዘቡን፣ እቶም ጀጋኑና ዝብልዎም ናብ ዘይወጹዎ ፀገም ብምእታዎምን፣ ነቶም ኣቋብዕ ፈለስቲ ገይሮም "ድፋእ" ዝብሉ ዝነበሩውን ናይ ውርደቶም መዓልቲ ምቕራብ ምስ ረኣዩ ያንኪ ከምዝብልዎ "ሴቭ ዩር ኣስ" ኮይናቶም እዮም ንህዝቢ ትግራይ ከም ቐልዓ "ብኮረመለ" ክቕሸሹ ዝዳለዉ ዘለዉ። ኣነ ምርዳእ ዝኣበየኒ 4.5 ሚልዮን ህዝቢ ኣጥሚኻ ሰላም ዝብል ጭርሖ ፀርፊ ድዩ ደርፊ? መቐለ ፅብቕቲ ንምብገሕ እንተኾይኑ እንታይ ክትራኡላ፣ ኣፋሕሺኹምዎ! ዝኾነ ኾይኑ ህዝቢ ትግራይ እናቃፀልኩም ማይ ኣይትኸዓዉሉ። ዝገደደ ክቐብፀኩም እምበር ህዝቢ ትግራይስ እቲ ትምህርቲ ደኣ ከቢድዎምበር ከምዛ ዝባን ኢዱ ፈሊጡኩም እዩ። እንድሕር ዘይትገድፍዎ ከመይ ገይሩ ክገድፈኩም? ዓይኑ ዘይርኢ ሰብ ክትቀትሉ እናረኣየ ከመይ ገይሩ እዩ ከም ሰብ ክቕፅረኩም?

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**Soft-Targets: The Predicament of non-TPLF member  
Tigrayans in Ethiopia outside Tigray**  
January 23-2019

“Soft-targets” are people and things that are unprotected or vulnerable and “hard-targets” are those that are protected from attack. In the history of conflicts the enemies are more inclined towards attacking innocent non-combatants such as children, women, and the elderly rather than face the enemy head on in a hardware battle. The latter incurs huge cost in the loss of life, material and finance; whereas, the former doesn’t. However, winning wars requires the physical degradation or elimination of the enemy combatants along with their hardware capacity to revive. The main reason why soft-targets are preferred is because it is believed that killing, raping, displacing, jailing, and torturing of the family members of the enemy combatants and destroying their residences and field crops would demoralize them and drain their fighting energy.



Contrary to expectations soft-targeting would make the enemy combatants more defiant and the targeted communities more rebellious. Soft-targeting has, more often than not, brought exacerbation of conflicts rather than diminish them. Every time US troops hit civilian targets in the Torabora (Afghanistan) the Taliban will enjoy hundreds of recruits overnight. The sisters and brothers of stone-throwing Palestinian kids, and the children of mothers buried under concrete debris due to Israeli bombardment of civilian quarters in Gaza will no doubt happily be suicide bombers at a too early age.

During the Monarchy Eritrean war of independence was a low key struggle restricted to the remote peripheries. Soft-targeting was rare in those years. So Eritreans were least interested to disrupt their buzzing economic life. There was widespread “Jolly-Jackism” in Asmara among the youth as an indicator of relative ease in everyday life. When military rule dawned in Asmara and laid its heavy hand on the economy and the youth the “happy-go-lucky” Asmaran-youth were scattered into the Sahel hills. The unsuspecting youth in Asmara were terrorized, among other things, by the campaign of strangulating them, using metal wire individually, by the secret service. However, the Military never succeeded to prevent the liberation of Eritrea by razing villages to the ground. Hard-targeting was being debilitated by the ill-advised soft-targeting because the latter was boosting the capacity of the hard-targets.

Whatever triggered the Hawzien carnage it hastened the downhill journey of military rule in Tigray. The mass arrest, all over Ethiopia, of hundreds of innocent Tigrayans from all walks of life also contributed to its failure to defeat the hard-target: TPLF guerrilla army. Sometimes soft-targeting was so brutal that the victims joined the combatants even if they hated them. Mothers who were forced to dance over the dead body of their beloved sons and daughters would force or advise the rest of their kids and everyone else to join the struggle. Who would want to sleep with a bitter enemy just for the sake of self-preservation?

The commanders of the occupation army of Minilik II never suspected that several generations later the decedents of the Oromo victims of soft-targeting would build a huge provocative statue. While committing the atrocities none of them were thinking that their actions would put their grand- and great grand-children in harm's way. The grand- and great grand-children of the imprudent musketeers are paying the inter-generational debt grudgingly. Many similar things are still going on installing time bomb for the future. In a big meeting, chaired by a member of the OPDO leadership four years ago, I expressed my objections to the killing of demonstrators in Ambo. I said this exactly: "Blood breeds blood; we have to mind the long term repercussions not how we solve everyday problems". This warning was not heeded may be because it came from a political "nonentity". What happened after that is everyone's knowledge. Similar measures were taken in Ambo, and elsewhere in Oromia, in the second and the third time, which brought the "Gini out of the bottle". The excuse for the soft-targeting in Ambo and elsewhere was that the rioting was being remote-controlled by the armed opposition.

Another form of soft-targeting, which often does not involve violence, but may be more potent than violence, is psychological harassment and social marginalization of groups of people who are alleged to be associated with the enemy. At the beginning of World War II Japanese air force attacked US marine-base, at Pearl Harbor, triggering war with the USA. The US public and the government directed their anger not only to the Japanese Imperial Government but also to the Japanese US citizens and residents. Many were deported to Japan. In history the victims are referred to as the "Japanese scapegoats". What the deportees might have done in Japan is to join the Japanese imperial army and kill and maim fellow American citizens in the battles of the Pacific. The Tutsi liberation led by Paul Kagame was in the bush, when the Hutu majority massacred nearly a million non-combatant Tutsis. However, this did

not prevent the few thousand Tutsi liberators to control the Rwandan government for the last 25 years.

In Ethiopia, after the TPLF victory over the Military government in 1991, the soft-targeting of Tigrayans continued in a different way. Many outside Tigray hated the TPLF for different but interrelated reasons: its role in facilitating the separation of Eritrea from Ethiopia, rendering the latter landlocked; a carryover of the rivalry between Shewan/Amhara and Tigrayan nobility for the crown in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries; for the alleged domination of the Ethiopian economy; the feeling of revenge in the minds of the tens of thousands of former officials and functionaries of the defunct Military regime; for allegedly putting the unity of Ethiopia in jeopardy by dividing it into linguistic regional states; and for creating a Political Front, leading a coalition government, wherein it is believed to have a lion's share of the decision making. The point here is not proving or disproving the allegations on TPLF. Provable, non-provable notwithstanding the issue here is who is being affected. There have been many incidents of hard-targeting the TPLF after it controlled political power in Addis Ababa; but the most successful arena for the formidable anti-TPLF alliance has been soft-targeting. However, I argue that, until the TPLF officials were removed from political power by a silent coup a few months ago (an unusual form of hard-targeting) TPLF did not feel the prick of the soft-targeting of ordinary Tigrayans in different regions and cities of Ethiopia outside Tigray for their alleged association and benefit sharing with TPLF's domination of the Ethiopian economy, politics, military, and security service.

This is atypical to the fundamental attributes of soft-targeting. The conventional thinking for soft-targeting is to sap the morale of the enemy party or combatant because the soft-targets are indispensable to the enemy party or combatants socially and psychologically. There is a huge difference between the soft-target on behalf of the TPLF during the armed struggle and after victory where in the latter the TPLF members have become self-sufficient in terms of their

food, personal security, shelter, finance, recruits, etc. They became no more reliant on the people of Tigray as they started to live their own lives all over Ethiopia, but more in Addis Ababa. After victory, something was creeping into the mentalities of the TPLF members and supporters. There evolved a shift from seeking assistance from every Tigrayan soul to being selective. It started with the utter neglect of thousands of fighters who were demobilized on meager means for living. Once a firm economic and political foothold became established the alliance and benefit sharing was not only selective from among Tigrayans but also was extended to non-Tigrayans. The Tigrayan-TPLF alliance became conditional. The conditions were both political and economic. The political aspect involved being a member of the TPLF and/or an ardent and visible supporter. The economic side had to do with mutual reinforcement of personal and group enrichment. There was a joke in the streets of Addis Ababa: A Tigrayan businessman from Mercato requested for a loan from one of the Tigrayan owned banks; he was denied. This businessman had a trick up in one of his sleeves. He asked a fellow Gurage businessman to help him. The Gurage businessman called the bank officials and asked them to provide the loan to the Tigrayan businessman, which they did pronto! This may be a joke; but it hints what the life of hundreds of thousands of Tigrayans outside Tigray who are not associated with TPLF.

The game the TPLF opposition plays seems to be tacitly approved by the TPLF itself. The opposition, but at the same time beneficiaries from partnership with TPLF members and supporters, in the bureaucracy and in business, enjoy the liberty of harassing, intimidating unattached Tigrayans, denying them of hiring and promotion opportunities, barring them from access to business opportunities, etc. Complaining to the TPLF officials at any level is a futile attempt to solve their problem, which has come due their alleged membership or support for the TPLF. The tormentors know very well that those people they are tormenting are not TPLF members, not even supporters. This is the most convenient and least

costly weapon in their arsenal to defeat their Tigrayan competitors. They know very well these Tigrayans are never defended by the TPLF. They sometimes complain to the TPLF about the Tigrayans who are allegedly disturbing them. Here we have soft-targets who are undefended by their “fellows” because of whom they are being targeted. The TPLF narrative has been those who would help TPLF to stay in political and economic power are no more ordinary Tigrayans but the elites of other groups. This was an ill-informed narrative because the TPLF was using the non-Tigrayan elite to stay in power at the same time the non-Tigrayan elite was using the TPLF itself to overthrow it! Gradually uprooting the TPLF by systematically and gradually lulling it away from its Tigrayan mass-base using its own tacit support. I heard once a Ministry of Education story about the AMDM minister and the Tigrayan vice minister (RIP). When the vice minister was unable to work with the minister because of her frequent harassment he complained to the former Tigrayan prime minister (RIP). The reaction of the latter was unexpected but “trendy”. He told the vice minister in black and white: “resign if you don’t conform!”

The same minister was tormenting a Tigrayan dean and later vice president of Bahir Dar University, without any fear of retaliation from TPLF, for just protecting federal budget from misuse as is expected of him. These are very few cases that I personally came across. Hundreds of similar cases have combined to dethrone the TPLF. It has only itself to blame. It was only during the twilight of the power of the TPLF that its voices started to be heard about the displaced Tigrayans. Even that came after a lot of public pressure. The mass displacement was not an event; it was a process. It was long years of neglect of the predicament of non-member Tigrayans in different parts of Ethiopia who were being disabled for alleged collaboration with TPLF. Ironically, the accusers have been more collaborative to the TPLF than the ordinary Tigrayans who scratched to make a living in different corners of Ethiopia. They had considered their residential regions as home! There is an Amharic

saying “*Balebetuyaqelelew amole bale edaayqbelewm*”; meaning if a bar of salt is rendered valueless by the owner a debtor will not accept it as a form of repayment. Even if the dismantling the TPLF is completed by the “friendly” opposition the soft-targeting has still continued, this time on all Tigrayans regardless of whether they are TPLF members or not. Is there a tough guy to fear and trick it into destroying itself now? Not at all! The job is done! For the TPLF, this is its own making; but for the ordinary Tigrayans the soft-targeting has continued unabated. It is undeserved now; and it was undeserved before. I appeal to all Ethiopians to include Tigrayans in the National building effort without bearing any grudges. We have a much bigger future than a smaller past and present! Politics is much smaller than people. Let us collaborate to make the former still much smaller!

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**Organized and experienced people are more potent than artillery” Dr. Debretsion**

January 10-2019

At this time of political insanity it is the cool-headed leaders who are critically needed. When a mad man comes running towards you and you also run towards him with equal fury the logical result is you both clash and die or be injured. What the sane person should do is to keep calm, use his brain, and think of a method to subdue the mad man without hurting himself.

I really admire the patience and wisdom by which Dr. Debretsion is handling the political "hot-potato". What he needs most to succeed in this is the full cooperation of the people of Tigray including opposition politicians. Tigray is in a situation it has never experienced before. The litmus test for being a Tigrayan in any walk of life and in any part of the world is to help Tigray pass through the bad days with dignity.

As Dr. Debretsion rightly put it the most critical possession any nation can have is its people. Why did Germany and Japan rise so soon from the ashes of bombardment by so many superpowers? Everything was in ruins except their most important resource: their people! Then within a few years both became economic and technological superpowers.

While adequately but quietly preparing for any eventuality the people of Tigray must noisily engage in economic development which is insurance for future security. Being politically strong without being economically strong is like being a balloon; single prick of a pin can blow it into tiny pieces. Being economically strong will make you politically strong without working hard for it. It does not matter how many you are. Many of the most prosperous, as a result, feared and respected nations of the world have small population sizes. In hindsight, it was really unwise to think that the political power of TPLF would endure long enough by the enrichment of a few while millions of Tigrayans still remained poor. I don't mean Tigrayans have to be economically strong so that they can rule Ethiopia. NO! This is not the intention that 60,000 Tigrayans perished for. The intension was to help Ethiopian nations and nationalities to rule themselves. What I am trying to say is if Tigray has had economic strength every political charlatan wouldn't have salivated on the face of its people. Why do we think the entire Spain is very busy preventing Catalonia-Barcelona from separating while many are expressing their happiness to see Tigray go? Catalonia though small in size is an economic powerhouse of Spain. The latter cannot afford to lose it. In Ethiopia, added to the senseless hatred, Tigray's minimal economic contribution to the National GDP seems to have become a convenient soft weapon to torment the people Tigray. Many take the pleasure to say "We don't need to invade them; continue to harass them in every direction and by every means, and then they will separate. If they do they will perish on their own".

Putin the Great did not start challenging the economically and militarily superior west as soon as he came to power. He had to provide enough bread for the disgraced Russians. He knew that it was the West that tricked Soviet leaders into disintegration and poverty. He also knew that he will have ample time in the future to shame the West by bringing up Russia into economic and technological prominence. That is what he accomplished already. Now Russia has become a formidable superpower under Vladimir Putin. How did Putin achieve this? By building strong fortresses to defend Russia; at the same time building mammoth economic and technological capacity behind the fortresses. I am full of hope that Dr. Debretsion will be the "Putin of Tigray".

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**The Ashenda Nostalgia**  
August 19-2020

"ይዓዎይ ስየይዳየ..." It is moving; you feel your eyes bulging filled with blinding tears. In your tears you see the beautiful girls jumping and running with joy. Three days free from household drudgery; three days of liberation. The girls are celebrating St. Mary the symbol of womanhood and motherhood. At the same time they are celebrating long endured culture of beauty and arts. This day is also an opportunity for the cherubs to shoot their tiny arrows deep into the hearts of the young girls and their male admireres: "አከት፡ ከ፡! አደዋኒ፡ ከ፡! ካሐልኒ፡ ከ፡! ሰአልኒ፡ ከ፡! ብዓል ፈረስ፡ ከ፡! ከወሰደኒ፡ ከ፡!".

From as early age as five years I was following my three sisters: Sendayo, Kiros, and Birhan who become possessed by the spirit of Ashenda and don't want to talk about anything else. We the Endaba Ananya kids, like other kids elsewhere in the then tiny town of Mekelle, used to follow the girls of our neighborhood with a harmonica like piece cut out from the stem of false banana. The piece



is slit in the middle and when you blow it it gives the sound of a whistle. It was only a traditional gesture; otherwise five-year olds cannot provide any protection to the girls. In fact, there is no need for protection because the girls are the most empowered in the three thrilling days. They can say anything to anyone who does not pay attention, dance to their tunes, and give the customary gifts to them. If we take the admiration side, the girls praise those young men who please them as: "ወርቁ ሰዓቱ ስየ ቆመቱ" and when they move away they sing: "ወይናየ ወይናየ ወይናየ ሸገ፣ ሰቲ መዓንጣኸስ ለይሰተየ ማይ".

Elder sisters and mothers, who have had their memorable days of Ashenda would surrender their silver and/ or gold neckless and earnings to their younger sisters to wear it for three days: "እንኪ ድሪ፣ ኩትቻዶለዎየ".

Ashenda gave me both happy and sad memories. For the good memories what I described above may be somewhat sufficient. The sad memories follow: I remember, the peak year for Ashenda in Mekelle before it was weakened by Military rule was the last I experienced in person. It was in the summer of 1974 when the University was closed and we came back home. I and my beloved childhood friend Zeselassie Samuel posed for a photo with the Ashenda girls, the then Municipality and the square in front of it; and the graceful Chom'a hill as a background. Since then my trips to Mekelle never coincided with Ashenda. Four years later Zeselassie was shot and his body thrown on to the square, which we used as a background for our last photo. Now the square is named after him. Every time I think of Ashenda it reminds me with bitterness of that brutal death of that jovial young man. One day, after reasoning out with myself that Ashenda did not kill Zeselassie I planned a trip to Mekelle to join the Ashenda fairies after 40 years. As I was preparing for the trip to what I missed for decades another tragedy struck: The death of Meles was announced! I did not care about the Ashenda I missed, how can I be? I felt hopeless for this Country because Meles was skillfully pressing the right buttons from among the hundreds of buttons in the puzzling maze of leading this complex Nation. May

people may disagree with me; but when it comes to Meles I would agree to disagree that he, whom I have known since his years of academic distinction at HSIU, is just irreplaceable! For us, this week is a time for celebration of culture enshrined in Ashenda and also a time of mourning for the genius: "ተስካር ሓውኸስ ላበላፊኸይ ላነባዕኸይ እዩ: Happy Ashenda; RIP our brother Meles Zenawi.

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### **My eldest sister and her hometown Mekelle**

December 21-2020

*(My eldest suister has survived the war again-Phone call on Decemebr 30/2022)*

My nephew called from Mekelle as soon as the telephone lines resumed working and informed us about our eldest sister, who has now turned 80 that she had a health emergency after sunset, and they were unable to take her to the hospital or buy some first aid drugs from pharmacy. For an entire month we were stressed out by fear that they may die of hunger or shrapnel wounds; whichever comes first. The news of her illness, but not death, was far from being good news. If she does not get treatment it is all the same. The news here is not that she was seriously ill but that she could not go to a health facility in the second largest city of Ethiopia. The dusk to dawn curfew in the City does not allow movement be it to a hospital or to a shop. My nephew and my youngest sister who live in the same house in the center of Mekelle were scared to open the gate. They were weeping and helplessly waiting for devine intervention to save her life. Miraculously my sister recovered. There was no one else in the compound she lived in since the Italians left in 1940-41. We are scared to death that if that emergency happens again that will be her last. For God's sake, did she deserve this? No! The story does not end here; there is much more.

The long life of my sister is punctuated by invasions which affected her family. She was born in 1940-41 when the Italians left Ethiopia. Our parents named her “Birhane Ethiopia”. They had a sufficient

reason for this. Just five years before her birth her grandfather and uncles were killed by Italians, their house burnt, and their cattle slaughtered. Our mother gave birth to her first child still in deep grief about the loss of everything. For "Birhane Ethiopia" it took only three years to realize that invaders come not only from outside but also from inside. What she experienced when she was only four years old, before the tears of her (our) mother had the chance to dry, was another death and destruction less than a hundred meters from her home. She heard the deafening noise of explosion and people crying while she was playing in the neighborhood. She witnessed the arial bombardment of Mekelle's central market and the death and injury of hundreds of women and children. From the tragic story her mother told her, when she asked: "Why are you crying all the time?", she may have suspected that the Italians who murdered her grandpa and uncles may have come back. She soon realized that those who were running around brutalizing innocent people in the streets of Mekelle were not whites but armed Ethiopians whose name she happily bears. As a child she lost the sense of liberation, which is implied in her name: "Birhane Ethiopia". She might have asked as a confused child why the Italians and Ethiopians do the same thing. Although none of her family members died from the bombardment and the subsequent invasion of Mekelle after the failure of the Weyane Rebellion, invading soldiers have ill-treated her (our) mother in her own house; she was pregnant with her second child (\*The male child was killed by the Derg for his involvement with TPLF). The soldiers have also stripped her (our) father naked and knocked him down by the butt of their guns when they found him returning to his home. My sister grew up in the same house until the Derg left Mekelle on its own but turned to bomb it. Her (our) mother had died at an early age of 56 burdened by the lifelong grief of her father's and brothers' brutal murder by the Italians. When the Derg's jets started bombing Mekelle my three sisters were in their residential compound attending to our father who was close to 80. He had a chronic stomach ulcer, and he was worried about my sisters' safety. They had refused to leave him as many residents of

Mekelle were flocking to Dessie. He was stressed about his children and died of bleeding ulcer within the week of arial bombardment. Our sisters and my father too were jumping into the hole they dug as air raid shelter. They were horrifying days for these innocent family members of mine.

My eldest sister saw the second arial bombardment of Mekelle by the same internal forces from the same direction. By the way, "Ethiopia" was removed from her name and the adjective remained. In fact, this was not out of hate, but it was too long. Despite the brutalities from their own side Mekellians like my family never bore grudges. They felt that it was not the Amhara people but their rulers who were committing the atrocities. The patience and forgiveness were harmfully endless! My poor sister was still living in the same house when she experienced the third aerial bombardment of Mekelle in less than 10 years of the second. This time it was from Eritrean air force. Innocent school children were killed. My immediate elder sister was a nurse in Mekelle Hospital and had to deal with the horrors of injured and dead children. My sister died of sudden illness a few weeks after that. She might have been overwhelmed by the carnage and the blood that she saw. At the same time, she was looking for her son who was missing during the mayhem. My eldest sister saw the death of her (our) father a week after the bombardment of Mekelle by the Derg and also saw the death of her (our) beloved sister in the immediate aftermath of Aider bombing.

My eldest sister might have believed that the tragedies have come to an end and that she will die blissfully when the almighty says it is enough. Unfortunately, she experienced the fourth bombardment of Mekelle and the curfew which almost killed her. Invasions took her grandfather's, her uncles', her brother's, her father's and her sister's lives. It was on the verge of taking hers too. This is the story of my eldest sister from the beginning to near end of her life. This is the story of Tigrayans. Why? This must end forever at all costs!!!\*\*\*\*\*

# CLUSTER 15

## Tigray Looking Ahead



- TIGRAY: The Holy Land, I long for You!
- Will Tigray Trust Ethiopians and Eritreans Ever Again?
- War and Peace in Tigray
- My take on a Referendum in Tigray
- A Wise Mix of Carrot and Stick Solutions to Mekelle's Gang...
- The Need for State Intervention in the Regional Urban...
- The Tyranny of Food Habits: A Key Challenge to Food Security...
- The failed business as usual: Supply side water management...
- Passion for Development in Tigray: Can it be sustained?
- Tigray be pragmatic and rally behind the peace process

There is some hope that peace will prevail in Tigray. There is a huge task of postwar restoration. There are a number of things that the restoration followed by sustainable development has to take into consideration: Its relationships with the rest of Ethiopia and its neighbor Eritrea, its political status, preventing future wars, internal law and order, its urban system, water and food security management, and the paradigm for development.

## **TIGRAY: The Holy Land, I long for You!**

Novemeber, 2020

In the direction of the Morning Star,  
Craving for you from too...too...too far.

Homeless in a big house, Foodless in a banquet,  
Friendless in a crowd, criminal in a Kangaroo court.  
I feel lonely, away from you, in a place I wrongly called my own,  
I am demonized, I am ostracized, for working hard til dawn.  
Always suspected, frequently jailed, not for what I do but for what I am,  
Living like an antelope in the wilderness where the wolves roam.

I dream about your mountains Semayata, Gerealta, Alequa, Tsebet,  
The grand Tekezze binds you from Waja, Mai-kenetal to Wolkait.

You are close to God and Allah from the beginning of time,  
The blessed domiciles of the almighty in Axum and Wukro they rhym.  
I feel hungry for himbasha and thlo, I feel thirsty for duquwa and mes,  
The wisdom of ayatantna in my head and the beauty of Tegarü in my  
tears.

Your greatness spans to Rome, Egypt, Persia and Indus,  
The Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean can witness.  
Every piece of your land is strewn with relics soft and hard,  
Heroes for battle, scholars for development you are endowed.

Mourn not; rejoice, beat the drum, and dance to the tune of awris;  
The time is close at hand to see the bright days of bliss.

## **Will Tigray Trust Ethiopians and Eritreans Ever Again?**

November 15, 2022

When I saw in Nairobi that civil and military leaders of Tigray and Ethiopia were at ease with each other, seemingly chatting informally, and having a coffee rendezvous I was stunned for a moment, felt a few minutes of discomfort, and spent the rest of the time trying to make out what was going on in the minds of the Tigray delegates. However much bitter I feel about it I did not allow myself to draw similarities with the fun comrade Napoleon was having with Mr. Jones of Manor farm in the Farm House: For the last two years there are some images that have been cutting out flesh from my body. I am not talking about the snapshots and videos of bombed homes and civilians in them, the horror scenes of Tegarú burning alive, the cruelty of throwing youngsters off the cliff, and the floating bodies of young Tegarú on the Tekeze River.

The feelings I have been having about these gruesome images has been immeasurable; but what I am referring to now are the pre-war photos and videos of handshakes, exchange of warm smiles, and other body languages between Abiy Ahmed and Debretsion Gebremichael. I did not dislike the photos and videos before the war started; I had some vague hope of peace and reconciliation coming soon. After the start of the war in Tigray and the brutalities that followed the photos and videos became my frequent irritants and I could never get used to them. The PP and PFDJ activists were posting them on social media with the intention of mentally torturing Tegarú. To my utter dismay, even Tigray-friendly channels were flashing the same images for reasons that they only know. After all the carnage in Tigray, some Tegarú media outlets were seemingly nostalgic about the images of deceptive rapprochement before the war.

I don't want to engage in unhelpful hasty generalizations but in many cases it comes close to the truth with the disconcerting frequency its repeats itself. This is the inherent forgetfulness of

Tegaru however harshly they were treated in the past. I am not against forgiveness; that is God's advice for us enabling harmonious social life. What if the offender misreads the repeated forgiveness as a weakness and never hesitates to strike again more severely than before? 'It needs two to tango' says the English wisdom. Peace is always a pair; never a singleton. There is a fascinating but educative story of cats and mice among the Enderta society of Tigray. Mice became tired of running away from cats to avoid predation. The former decided to convince the cats to stop chasing them and marry them instead. For the cats this was a windfall; they can have their delicious meals without effort. Some of the wiser mice knew that the decision of the congress of mice was a disaster for the micedom. Instead of proposing cancellation of the wedding ceremony the wise mice suggested an exit strategy in case the wedding party of cats turns violent on the mice 'in-love'. Plan B proposed by the suspicious mice was to dig holes to jump into as soon as the cats start snarling. The rest of the mice were full of enthusiasm and trust so much that they failed to listen to the warnings of wise mice. The wise mice did not join them in their folly and dug their own escape holes. As predicted by the wise mice the wedding party of cats started to jump at the mice and the wise mice retreated into their holes as the unsuspecting mice wailed: "*Ata tewedaena tewedaena ye*" (the cats are finishing us). The wise mice safe in their holes sung back: "*Eleb (gezmi) bezihuna do tebeleken ye*" (Has the dowry become too much for you?").

There have been several experiences of betrayal of trust on Tegaru through the ages. Ras Mengesha Yohannes surrendered to Menilik peacefully; he failed to listen to Ras Alula's warning about the fate that could befall on him if he does not declare the Ethiopian throne for himself. He became the ash, a son of the fire, as the Amharic saying goes and surrendered to the arch enemy of his father. Who expects Menilik will spare him except his foolish self? The lack of wisdom became generational. Ras Seyoum, the son of Ras Mengesha Yohannes, surrendered his rebellious son Aba Yilak Kasa



to Haile Selassie and had him slaughtered. Even in a peaceful relationship always put the safety belt on. The British say “Love thy neighbor but don’t pull down thy hedge”. Among many other such Tegarau victims the most recent are generals Seare, Gezae, and Wedi Necho. Who expects to outsmart political killings when Seyoum, Abay, and Asmelash were unable to?

I am not denying the importance of the Pretoria and Nairobi peace agreements. I am old and learned enough to know that a bad peace is better than a good war. The people of Tigray have suffered more than enough in the hands of stubborn enemies who have no sympathy for human misery. As if they are in a different planet, they deny basic necessities to entire millions and spend their days happily gardening, attending wedding parties, and playing soccer. As the whole world cries for justice the chief of justice pretends to be running a paradise state. It has been lunacy beyond comprehension that could test the expertise of even the giant of psychoanalysis: Sigmund Freud. The struggle of the TDF has become just like the way Hercules fought the Hydra in Greek Mythology. Hercules attempted to cut off the heads of the beast but every time one was cut off, two more would grow back in its place. Hercules in the end succeeded to kill the monster with Athena’s Golden Sword; but remember this is just a myth. The TDF are humans with no regular supply of weapons and ammunition, going hungry and thirsty for days and weeks, little room for maneuver as they are encircled 360 degrees by massive armies with endless supplies of troops and weapons, a responsibility heavy on their shoulders of saving the lives of millions besieged and starving in Tigray but little time left for that. It is in this situation that you choose the better evil: “*Meqnay tsebuq eyu wala hade semunye*” (RIP my dear friend Kiros Alemayehu).

I am not warning against the peace agreement per se; my deep concern is about the mood Tegarau are in about it. Some are naively celebrating to the extent of believing that they will live with their “former” enemies happily ever after. This includes my own

daughter, who lit a candle and danced to a Tigrigna tune in celebration a few minutes after the Pretoria agreement was signed and announced. Others are so adamant that they are not ready to give even a tiny bit of concession to gain as much as is possible given the unmanageable nature of the adversaries. Neither the former nor the latter moods are helpful to the Tigray situation. The formula should lie somewhere between the two extremes. Adopting “the-wise-mice-strategy” is the best option for Tegarù at this critical point in the history of Tigray. Unlike the long years before, this is the most defining moment for Tegarù. It is a historic crossroad the decision on which one to take is going to affect generations of Tegarù to come negatively or positively. Previous decisions of our fathers and forefathers have brought us to this misfortune. We don’t dare to curse out forefathers; we just have to avoid doing the same thing or worse! We are better positioned in terms of knowledge and skills than they were. We must use our resources for best effect. Tigray is unmatched in Ethiopia and beyond in terms of the human resource it possesses. With a unity of steel and enough awareness of the overt and covert bad intentions of its enemies Tigray will have little difficulties getting what it wants.

The “the-wise-mice-strategy” is defined by the title of this article: Will Tigray Trust Ethiopians and Eritreans Ever Again? Science fiction stories are told about how a human being turns into a giant eagle and flies off to another planet with a single press of a button. What we are dealing with as Tegarù is not a science fiction; I wish it were. The enemies are so determined to finish us off so much that they were the same, they are the same, and will remain the same (in all tenses) in this regard. Who is fooling around believing that the Professors, Archbishops, Deacons, Pastors, Business Tycoons, Generals, Party Officials, and ordinary citizens in Ethiopia, Eritrea, and in the Diaspora, who were breathless for two years condemning Tegarù into eternal hell, are capable of changing their nature as soon as the Pretoria-Nairobi agreements are signed?

When kind Tegar hearts hear those who in the last two years were preaching genocide, reverse gear and talk noisily about how much they love Tegar and condemn what is being done on them, they shower them with a lot of praise and become deeply grateful to them. Inadvertently such Tegar are no doubt preparing themselves for the next cycle of what I would dub as ‘Tigricide’ at any opportune time in the long or short term. Even after the Agreements Daniel Kibret is still spitting poison about Tigray. The irony is the Agreement prohibits such hate speeches. The Deacon does not fear penalties because he knows perfectly well what the Peace Agreement is designed to achieve given his proximity to the political core in Ethiopia. Unable to hide the real intentions behind the Peace Agreement the chief signatory from the Ethiopian side and the communication officer of the executive branch are releasing messy press statements which confuse even the enthusiasts of the Agreement. It is a customary human behavior that if people have hidden intentions different from the content of agreements declared in public they become incoherent. This is how you detect a wolf in sheep skin; when you expect it to bleat it hauls.

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<p style="text-align: center;"><b>War and Peace in Tigray</b> December 29-2022</p>
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It is hard to describe the mood Tegar all over the world are in as the “peace-process” unfolds. While the “peace-process” is dragging its feet Tegar have strangely stopped walking! One way to describe the vibes Tegar find themselves these days is similar to that of the football fans in the World Cup. The latter empty their pockets to be in the Qatar stadiums or conveniently locate themselves in the front seat to watch live broadcast of the matches. The fans support one or the other team, jump, yell, curse, cry, fist-fight, and empty bottle after bottle of beer or soda, as the ball rolls across the field, players struggle, and skillfully try to get it into the net. Ninety plus minutes

are spent with tense nerves; and then the end of the match comes suddenly like a bolt from the blues. The adrenalin which reached its peak during the noisy drama, for 90 minutes, plunges down leaving the fans exhausted and unable to talk or walk. Is this situation of the fans acceptable? Yes, of course. After all, football is just a kind of entertainment; which could exhaust you though pleasantly. The goal of football match is just the match; it is not a means but an end in itself.

War has never been or could never be a form of entertainment; the Tigray War is not far from this truth. I don't deny that rulers and ordinary Romans were enjoying the fighting and mutual murder of gladiators to cheer their depressions away. Like football matches the combat-to-kill in the Colosseum was an end in itself. As the clouds of war were gathering in the clear skies of Tigray Alula Solomon is quoted to have said (I am not sure he said it) "War is a traditional game in Tigray". If these were really his words he may have said them out of good intentions to tell the enemies that Tigray is ready to defend itself if attacked. Otherwise, the denotative meaning of his statement puts Tigray in an awkward position as to the reason why Tigray fights wars. The derogatory adjective-"warlike"- may be applied by those who would like to belittle the freedom struggle of the people of Tigray through the ages. In fact, such remarks were rife in the anti-Tigray media during and before the war: "TPLF/Tigray cannot live without fighting" etc.

I prefer to think that the Tigray wars have always been means to an end rather than ends in themselves. Tigrayans are essentially peace loving people. However, here is something in that society that perplexes even the casual observer. Every time a war comes to an end in Tigray, the general mood returns to status quo ante in such a way as if nothing of significance has happened. In wars men and women of all ages die or are injured; livelihoods are destroyed. This is the most unfortunate part of life on this Planet. People are destined to die a natural death. God has forbidden death of men and women in the hands of other men and women. Internal and external wars

throughout the centuries have degraded the natural and human resources of Tigray to the extent that it is reduced to a minority in spite of its ancient origin. Here are a couple of questions to ponder: Is it out of love for war or out of love for peace that one very easily and completely replaces the other in Tigray? Is it possible to get used to alternating war and peace so much that a clean break from one and the other becomes so easy?

All the wars in Tigray of the past have not been the same in terms of intensity and loss of life and property: the Egyptian-Tigrayan wars, the Mahdi-Tigrayan wars, the Italo-Tigrayan wars, the feudal internecine wars, the Derg-Tigrayan wars, and the Eri-Tigrayan wars. However, the sum total has devastated Tigray and deeply impoverished it. In spite of what generations of Tigrayans went through all these wars have just become too distant memories few Tigrayans would like to talk and/or write about. It's a paradox that Tigray is full of history but lacks a corresponding historiography. This is not

by accident; it is the logical outcome of the propensity of Tigrayans to very easily make a clean break with the immediate as much as with the distant past. Erasing memories of tragic wars from the mind may sound like a healthy attitude. However, forgiving and forgetting without attending to whether or not the key causes of previous wars have died out is a cordial invitation of another deadly surprise. Such pervasive laxity in the Tigrayan cultural value system has been fueling the relapse of wars in Tigray after an interval of a generation or less. <http://aigaforum.com/article2021/Four-Campaigns-against-Tigray.htm>

Dr. Haile of Dedebit Media is the most perceptive of all Tigrayan media leaders in this regard. For several month now he never failed to mention and stress what he considers to be the most glaring weakness of Tigrayans that has been exposing them to repeated attacks and invasions by the rulers from Arat-Kilo. Laxity, which Haile refers to as “*Sheleltenet*” has brought Tigrayans the mother of

all wars in Tigray in the last two years. He is worried as much as I am that the laxity among Tigrayans inside and outside Tigray is reappearing as the semblance of peace prevails after the devastating war in Tigray. Tigrayans seem to have become voluntarily stuck in the century old vicious cycle of peace- laxity-war. Haile did not stop at combatting laxity in the aftermath of war as a chronic Tigrayan ailment; he is repeatedly proposing comprehensive documentation of the details of the war, in print and electronic media, by Tigrayan scholars for the generations of Tigrayan to come.

As a matter of fact many other media men and women and the guests they hosted have been sharing their worries about (*mzehehal*) the rapidly receding wave of enthusiasm that had engulfed the world before the peace deal. One of the mothers of Tigray Mama Ajobnesh was interviewed on Stalin Gebreselassie's Zara Media. She was unequivocal when she stated: "We have to make sure that none of our children pay such sacrifices after us". In Tigray, this is something which is more easily said than done. Documentation for the next generation about what happened and how it happened, how it started and how it ended is helpful but not as much as deeds. The defense of the next generation starts in this generation. A proactive current generation facilitates for the effective self-preservation and the successful realization of the aspirations of the next generation. That is why Mama Ajobnesh has hammered the point home by focusing on what we have to do now rather than what the following generation needs to do to sustain itself.

For me, who has been spending several hours a day, in front of Tigrayan YouTube channels for the last two years, the situation is unmistakable. Since the signing of the peace deal there is a sudden and precipitous decline in the number, frequency, and robustness of the news and analyses on the Tigrayan- friendly media. Some have surprisingly gone wild with their reporting of the events related to the peace process as if it is the aftermath of a wedding party. Others have become too fervid with the bits of things happening here and there related to the deliberately slowed down implementation of the

peace deal. Cheering one or two trucks arriving in several days or weeks, rushing to report that a very weak telephone signal has started in the areas controlled by the ENDF, breaking the news in several channels of a power-on that turns into a power-off the next day. They keep us busy with trivialities and watch us with disdain as we rejoice childishly for the resumption of basic services as a privilege or favor rather than as a constitutional right.

The Tigray War was (is) a means to an end for all sides in the war. None of them have been fighting just for the sake of it. Out of frustration and failure to explain why Eritrea is so deeply involved in the Tigray War some Tigrayan analysts as well as ordinary people attribute it to the warlike predisposition of the ruling party in Eritrea. This does not hold much water. Closer to the war as a means to an end thesis is the perpetuation of the dictatorship in Eritrea by deliberately keeping able bodied Eritreans very busy in the Tigray War. Isaias's personal vendetta on the TPLF is another goal of the Eritrean leader. Isaias's goal to destroy TPLF and weaken Tigray has brought Eritrea into an alliance with the Amhara Forces who have occupied Western Tigray blocking access for Tigray to the Sudan. Isaias's ambition to reign supreme over Ethiopia's economy has been obstructed for three decades by the TPLF. This is motive enough for Isaias Afeworki of Eritrea to desire the destruction of the TPLF. The latter had succeeded to isolate Eritrea from the World and turn it into a global pariah. Most of these reasons for involvement in the war from the Eritrean side last as long as Isaias stays in power.

The most intractable reason for the involvement of Eritrea in the Tigray War has a much broader political and social base than the mere perpetuation of Isaias in the Asmara palace. Eritrean nationalism as opposed to Tigray nationalism has more sinister and deep seated long term objective. The attainment of the goal of exterminating and displacing Tigrayans, annex and incorporate their land into Eritrea and Amhara, is thought to be best done through the use of violence at a massive scale. Eritrea is a prime mover of the triple-alliance which includes Prosperity Party-ENDF and the

Amhara irregulars. The pact of the three is a marriage of convenience the only thing it has in common is the bitter hate for TPLF and by extension the people of Tigray. The PP-ENDF has a political agenda which could not be resolved by peaceful means. The leader of the PP and commander in chief of the ENDF has insatiable appetite for power as a dictator, which is challenged most strongly by TPLF. Hence, the main reason for the PP-ENDF to wage a war in Tigray is more straightforward than the other two.

The Amhara militia is the military wing of a broad-based confederation of notable individuals and Amhara nationalist groups who have vowed to restore the unitary administrative geography of Ethiopia and the imperial system by changing the Federal constitution and ending the Federal administrative arrangement. Since restoring unitary system in the Ethiopian multi-ethnic context means resorting the tyranny of the center over the rest of the peoples of Ethiopia it is not acceptable to the majority who are already enjoying a degree of self-rule enabling them to manage their own regional and local affairs. That is why this political creed resorts to violence than peaceful political discourse. The militant creed for the restoration of the defunct imperial system, which considers the Amhara to be the melting pot of the rest of 80 nations and nationalities of Ethiopia, has at least two strategic fronts to attain its goal. One is to hit Federalism at its heart. TPLF and Tigray are considered to be the bastions of Federalism and if destroyed would trigger a domino effect of defeat and surrender by the rest of the nations and nationalities of Ethiopia.

The second front is more of a Plan-B but is being run alongside Plan-A. If restoring the Amhara-led imperial system is not restored to its fullest extent expected, the Amhara regional state claims and expands to adjacent territories in Tigray (Western and Southern Tigray), Oromia (Wellega) and Benishangul (Metekel). In both Plan-A and Plan-B Tigray is a target. Reinforcing Amhara ambitions in Plan-A and Plan-B is taking the status of the Amhara to the pinnacles of history, religion, and culture. Ethiopia is wrongly presented to the



world as if it is 3000 years old in its current geographic extent. Although historical evidences abound that Ethiopia evolved as a loose amalgamation of formerly independent Adal and Harar Sultanates in the East and Northeast; the Kingdom of Abyssinia in the north, central and northwest; Oromos ruled by the Gada system in the south, west, central, and east; and multitudes of large and small communities in the south and southwest.

This historical fact is obscured by the partisan historiography, which centers on the supremacy of the Amhara culture and history as the Ethiopian mainstream others are obliged to melt into. Promotion for tourism in Ethiopia has played a damaging role in the process of introducing Ethiopia and its natural and cultural treasures to the world. It has systematically and imperceptibly been building on the centrality of the Amhara in Ethiopian tourism so much that few tourists know what belong to who else. The Amhara-led quest for restoration of the imperial system has since a long time ago opened another front of confiscation of historical, cultural, and religious treasures in which the Amhara claim of 3000 years of long history, hub of Christianity and Islam, and origin of the ancient Geez alphabet. All these are located in Tigray. This has not enabled Amhara to fully control the historical and cultural “proofs” of its supremacy. Without them Amhara can trace its history only to the “restoration of the Solomonic dynasty” and the tumultuous 800 years that followed. In desperation resulting from the feeling of loss the Amhara elite is determined to take the bull by the horns and destroy Tigray in order to disown it of its historical upper hand.

For Tigray, war is a means to an end in the sense that it wages war only with the lofty and time-honored goal of defending itself. For the allied invaders war is a means to an end to deny Tigray the ownership of a rich and long history, to obstruct its quest for a more elevated level of self-rule, and to degrade its status as a center of influence and experience for freedom loving people throughout Ethiopia. I am not going to describe the two-year Tigray War because I can't manage to cover even a single episode of it in this

article. Those of you who have been following it closely know its magnitude and intensity. To cut a long story short, Tigray has effectively defended itself. It may have lost some battles but it has won the war. Tigray is hurt severely; it has lost about ten percent of its civilian population not to mention the destruction of its economy and socio-cultural life. Since the goal of the enemy was to destroy Tigray 100 percent it can be concluded with a high level of certainty that the war of aggression has aborted. Some PP- and PFDJ-friendly media have been lauding the peace agreement as the outcome of the victory of the allied invaders and the surrender of Tigray. They are entitled to their opinion, but that is not the whole truth. Behind the noisy claim of victory lies the reality about how the war ended.

It is not only the war but also the “peace-process” that is used as Plan-B to continue pushing for the ultimate goals by other less costly means. Is peace a better way of attaining goals? There is no doubt about it! However, the success of one side over the other depends on which side is using peace as an end and which is using it a means. Let’s do some serious screening here. The members of the tripartite-unholy-alliance are divided on the peace process. Eritrean and Amhara forces have abandoned the PP- ENDF because they wanted to pursue Plan-A (war) regardless of the disastrous failure they may face in the end. They are on a suicidal mission determined to destroy Tigray as a social and political unit. For PP-ENDF war has become a rocky path though not a dead end. As PP-ENDF is celebrating the peace plan it should be sheer nativity to believe that it has abandoned its core objectives in this war. It has opened a new front where gun-fire and airstrikes can’t help as much.

In war the defending side will respond to gun-fire with gun-fire; but in peace, if the defending side is enjoying the peace for its own sake, it is likely to be manipulated by the side which is using peace as a cost effective means towards the predetermined end. When the war ends for the defending side and is replaced by peace as an end in itself everything that happened during the war is most likely to be wiped out from memories. The living victims live happily or sadly

ever after; the dead will be remembered as martyrs, grand monuments built for them; of course only when the victors allow it. The goals of the defenders and the offenders are both short-term and long-term. When tactics switch from war to peace defenders who take peace for its own sake may gain in the short-term but face destructive losses in their long-term goals. The reverse is true for the offenders who take peace as a means not as an end.

They may compromise the short-term goals but win the long-term. The million dollar question at this point is: **Is the peace deal an end in itself for Tigray?** My answer to this question is based on my perception of how the peace deal is being received by the people of Tigray in general and the Tigray elite in particular. My keen observation on a wide array of media outlets led me to the unfavorable conclusion that the peace seems to have been taken as an end in itself in Tigray and outside Tigray. Let me explain my highly debatable conclusion. The alternative and desirable scenario is that the people of Tigray in general and the Tigray elite in particular are vigilant about their long-term goals and they are using the peace as means to that end, but also reaping the short-term benefits from the peace process. It would be a consolation for all Tegararu that stand for peace as a means to an end and expect the current peace deal to fit the realization of the long-term goals. It is not certain for how long the ceasefire will hold; and the shaky peace will stagger.

Tigray is the receiving end of the war and the peace. It in no way has a decisive role in the realization and continuity of both. The PP-Government unpredictably juggles the peace and war to the utter confusion of the Tigray side of the peace deal. In the last two years before the Pretoria agreement there were unilateral or bilateral ceasefires which were abused by the PP-Government to prolong the deadly siege on Tigray as a silent extermination scheme which has become a cost-effective killing machine. That is why I say any proposal for peace from the PP side is just another declaration of war devoid of cannon fire. Every air strike may kill 19 to 20, but in every

passing day under the siege hundreds and thousands may die for lack of food and health care.

The peacetime is used for the same end as war; but it is also used as an opportunity to rearm and train for the next cycle of violent extermination following the series of defeats and losses it suffered in the hands of the TDF. During peace it is only the siege that kills; but during war it is the synergy of both armed conflict and the siege that become doubly destructive. In addition, with every passing day under the siege Tigray forces are most likely to be weakened as food reserves run out putting them in militarily disadvantaged position vis-a-vis the adequately supplied allied forces. This far, in the last two years, alternating peace and war, is the same in practice as alternating war and war. It is not only the recharge in terms of arming and training that puts the PP-Government in a better position during the peacetime.

Why is Tigray so euphoric about the peace this time? Why has it become so intensely enthusiastic to the point that the reaction is interpreted or misunderstood as peace taken as an end in itself? The answer is straight forward. Previous ceasefires or peace were more deadly than the violent wars that customarily followed them. Thousands were dying under the increasingly tightening siege. So for the people of Tigray in the last two years peace happened to be more horrifying than the death from gunfire. This time the peace deal has come with the promise of lifting the siege and allowing unfettered access to humanitarian aid and the resumption of basic services. For people who have seen power and communication blackout, unable to withdraw savings, and starving to death in an unprecedented siege for two years until this very day the passion for peace that is accompanied by the decision to lift the siege is understandable.

Keep in mind that access to humanitarian assistance and basic services is a citizenship right protected by law and cannot be abused as a bargaining chip. During war, particular internal ones, it is a fact

of life proved by ample experience around the globe that governments are the first to break their own laws to the misery of defenseless citizens. The world watches with stupor as thousands of victims of war are gunned down and starved to death anaesthetized by diplomatic protocols lacking human face. That was how a tenth of the population of Tigray perished while The UN chief and the White House bosses were concerned for the dying but at the same time protected the murderous incumbents from the fury of the dying and starving millions in Tigray. Who would dare to blame brutalized ordinary Tigrayans and their leaders for wearing a cheerful grin in the company of those who legalized, financed, blessed, facilitated, and even directly participated in the genocidal war and silent killing fields.

I thanked God for not putting me in the shoes of Tsadkan, Tadesse, Getachew, Debretsion, Wendimu, and Lady Monjorino. The lethal concert of the rattles of machinegun fire, the roars of tank cannons, the deafening explosions from the blues, the hunger and thirst, the weather and the lack of sleep, all are more likely to be endured than the sick drama in Pretoria, in Nairobi, and in Mekelle, of smiling, embracing, and thanking those the people and the leaders of Tigray consider as mortal enemies. Is it too much to say this? In view of the doomsday scenario public officials and religious leaders helped to build in Tigray these are the most merciful of the words in the dictionary. It was a treasure for face reading research the focuses of the camera lenses recoded for the history books on the Tigray War. If that is the only cost the leaders have to pay to please the delegates of the PP on three or more occasions it is worth paying given the greater agenda of the starving and ailing millions suffering for no crime at all.

Smiles no smiles, embraces no embraces, thanks no thanks, complaints no complaints the attitudes of those who designed and realized the Tigray War on the people of Tigray and their leaders remains unaltered. Habitual killers kiss you on the forehead, smile like a lovely child before they put a bullet hole on your forehead. The

only reason Tigray could trust the allied forces and their enigmatic leaders is if and only if the peace process is more important for them than it is for Tigray. For nearly two months since the signing of the Pretoria agreement the behavior of PP-officials remotely looks like a genuine interest in the peace process. My hypothesis is that they are sniffing for an opportunity in the peace process to that can help them to attain their goals on TPLF and Tigray without being caught red-handed by the international community. They kept on fooling the international community by the deceptive news about the resumption of services.

They open banks without a coin in their safes and expect the people of Tigray to replenish them. As if the weaponized hunger and the blockade on services is not enough the callous officials seem to be having fun with the starving and ailing people Tigray. They have nothing to fear. For one thing they are Godless! The international community has become cruel enough to choose Tigray as a sacrificial lamb to save Ethiopia. They are using the licensed impunity to do what their hearts desire. Is this game called “peace-deal” going to transform from a ghost to bone and flesh? For how long are the people of Tigray going to continue to be humiliated by mediocre who turned seniors in the wilderness of Ethiopian politics? I heard the archbishop of Tigray attributing all the disaster to the undue distance kept by the faithful with the almighty God. Face to face with those who turned Tigray into an economic and social ruin the archbishop has felt intimidated by the thought of openly incriminating the perpetrators.

A closer look at the way the implementation of the peace deal is being run reveals that at its kernel is not the resumption of basic services or unfettered humanitarian assistance or the restoration of the territorial integrity of the state of Tigray or the withdrawal of Eritrean forces from Tigray, but disarming the TDF! This could be the whole truth about the peace deal. This may be what the superpowers whispered to Ethiopian officials. If the international community fears to mention the name of Eritrea in spite of the fact

that Eritrea has been committing widespread crimes against humanity in Tigray to this very minute, if euphemism has become not for the “passed away” but for the criminals how is the human species expecting to last into the next century without devouring itself? When it is becoming increasingly obvious that disarming the TDF, indoctrinating the troops and render them irrelevant, and leaving Tigray defenseless is the central goal of the peace-deal it is unmistakable that the peace deal is hitting at the belly of the cherished ideals of Tigray to be protected for posterity. This is why I stress the people of Tigray and the political elite seem to be compromising the long-term goals of Tigray for the short-term or immediate needs.

I can consider the peace deal as a perfect and permanent end of hostilities only if long-term dreams and aspirations of the Tigray Nation are harmonized with the solutions to the acute social, economic, and political problems Tigray got stuck in over the short-term. By the peace deal is Tigray is going to be like Croatia and Slovenia which have joined the community of European states with vibrant economies; or like Catalonia, Quebec, and Scotland distinguished political, social, economic and administrative units within Spain, Canada, and the United Kingdom respectively; or is Tigray destined to be like Biafra as the great man of literature Chinua Achebe lamented about in his book entitled: “There was a Country”. Is Tigray going to be another test tube in Obasanjo’s African laboratory for political chemistry testifying to the failure of self-determination in the hands of tyranny?

Is the fate of Tigray going to be similar to that of the great nation of the Vikings who conquered Europe but perished in the big and small kingdoms of the time? Are we aspiring to be like Israel, which after the loss of six million miraculously rose to the status of a de facto world power? We can also willingly go down on the path of insignificance taken by Somaliland if we are too hot blooded about what we need to do to shape out future. It is the historical responsibility of the current generation of the Tigrayan economic,

academic, and political elite to shape the future of Tigray without succumbing to “temporariness personality disorder”. I would choose to adopt the hydrological analogy of flash-flood and base-flow to hammer my big point home.

Anyone who has been to a desert would notice that Wadis are everywhere. They are wide and very shallow water courses without water flowing in them permanently. Every time the characteristically brief and torrential rainfall in desert areas occurs there will be a lot of flood in the valleys. That is known as flash-flood. The flow of water is so strong that it rolls large rocks along its course and is impassible for the locals; though this lasts only for a few minutes to an hour. The flash-flood disappears and not even a drop of water is visible in the valley bottom. In the more humid areas or in dry areas where rivers flow from more humid upper courses the flow of water in the valleys is more or less stable throughout the year including in the dry seasons. Such a flow is known as base-flow. A river draws its base-flow from the reservoir of groundwater which is endlessly recharged and discharged probably for eternity. Which one of the two is Tigrayan society more like? I heard you; you have answered the question: Flash-flood of course!

What I notice around these days, in which the peace deal has become like a bombshell blasting the unity of Tigrayans, is the lack of wisdom in the wise; the lack of energy in the strong, and the lack of the future in the prophets. Who can believe that the Tigrayan tsunami in the last two years, which had engulfed the entire world has just been reduced into a ripple? What was driving us? Just sheer adrenalin or sustainable political objective? The quest for Hager-Tigray and the innovative cultural expressions accompanying it have reached a zenith in the last two years. The bravery of the Tigrayan Church, the songs about our aspirations and dreams of a prosperous Hager-Tigray became thrilling and nostalgic. This is not to mention the emergence of the TDF, disarmed or not, has become a tradition of self- defense in the Tigrayan culture. No one imagined that Tigrayans will be scattered so easily like the seemingly sturdy



billiard balls by a single hit. There is a strange paralysis which can be used by the ever-alert enemy to push us apart and render our beloved homeland into a shell of its former self. I don't mean to insult my dear countrymen and women but it does not harm to admit that Tigrayans are not marching forward methodically. Actions seem to be driven by herd mentality in which the crowd jointly decides the fight or the flight. There is a need to create a creed of ideological leadership which is permanently shapes and reshapes our destiny as a nation which evolved from a great civilization.

Beware of vultures waiting to snatch your gains which they worked hard to destroy. Now the battle lines seem to have been drawn. Tigray is messed up by invading forces who have vowed to destroy it: the central authority which is interested in submission and control, and by political parties in Tigray and in Addis Ababa who are prepared to fish in the troubled waters of Tigray politics. The old ways are over. Tigray has to move along a paradigm shift befitting its stormy path in the last two years. We should never attempt to put our new wine in old bottles. Things have changed in a way they have never been before. It does not matter where we may find ourselves. Whether circumstances would force us to stay not remain in Ethiopia; or we go stark free joining the community of world states; or the Red Sea would be our future is immaterial.

Regardless of where or what we would be the Tigray Nation State should first be created in our hearts. This should be followed by building a robust economy and society that is resilient and sustainable. This is how we can avoid any possibility of a repeat of what happened to us in the last two years. For the last two years we complained and lamented and sought attention and sympathy for what we think are our significant contributions to the history, economy and society of Ethiopia. We are begging without being listened to be recognized for building Ethiopia into what it is now. This has to stop and stop for good. We must seek our reward not from Ethiopia but from Tigray if we build it to the level of a world

class state. This requires hard work and perseverance, which honestly speaking Tigrayans have a great weakness with.

No nation rises and prospers without sacrifice. I don't mean losing your life for it. Tigray has had more than its share of that kind of sacrifice; but it was used for the service of others. What Tigray needs is much more of economic and technological heroes and less and less of military heroes. The dependence of nations on military power is not sustainable; economic and technological power is. This complex and difficult transition must be passed with great deal of patience and wisdom. We Tigrayans find ourselves at a critical juncture in history which will test us all for success or failure.

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### **My take on a Referendum in Tigray**

August 06-2021

Referendum was never in the vocabulary of Tigray until the ill-advised invasion of Tigray, which unleashed the satanic forces of destruction on the peace loving and law-abiding people of Tigray. It does not mean there were no previous invasions of Tigray. They happened several times before although at comparatively lower scale. Every despot at Arat-Kilo had its share of brutality in Tigray as if the vows to leadership position in Ethiopia included an unwritten statement: "I (Menilik, Haileselassie, Mengistu, Abiy) solemnly swear to weaken or destroy Tigray for the sake of safeguarding Ethiopia". Previous invasions; discrimination, name-calling; and marginalization of Tegararu anywhere in Ethiopia, as if they are unwanted intruders into Ethiopia, was waved by Tegararu as nothing more than a worthless brew of fear and envy. The unflinching confidence in Tegararu about the fact that they form the historical and religious core of the unfortunately misbehaving state of Ethiopia, gave them the false confidence as true Ethiopians. They believed that no one in Ethiopia can claim to be "more Catholic than the Pope" when it comes to the protection of and care for Ethiopia.

That has been the basic reason why Tegarū never contemplated separation from Ethiopia as an option to avoid the persistent and age-old attack on their lives, livelihoods, and honor.

Generations came and passed; but the venomous attitudes on Tegarū intensified rather than ebbed. Although Tegarū have never been distracted, by the tormentors, from doing their best for Ethiopia, with the passage of time they have grown into a mood of incomprehension about why all this evil is happening only to them. In a century since Menilik there was no time when Tegarū were not considered as "ants in the pant" of Ethiopian rulers. The years when Tegarū felt physically safe, though not free from verbal attacks, were the 27 years of TPLF-EPRDF tenure at Arat-Kilo. As soon as TPLF was removed from Arat-Kilo the Ethiopian skies came tumbling down on Tegarū with an unprecedented magnitude. The culmination was the barbaric allied invasion of Tigray, the genocide that ensued, and the widespread ethnic cleansing elsewhere in Ethiopia. What can be logically concluded from what happened is that Tegarū cannot feel secure in the absence of Tegarū rulers at Arat-Kilo. It has become a fact derived from the bitter experiences of Tegarū that Ethiopia has grown unsafe for them. If everytime a non-Tigrayan leader grabs power in Ethiopia and posts a billboard in the minds of Ethiopians which states: "Tigray must perish for Ethiopia to flourish", what is the hope of Tegarū in Ethiopia? Over a million Tegarū have established their lives and businesses in all corners of Ethiopia. They have trusted Ethiopia and Ethiopians for so long to embrace them as brothers and sisters. They hoped that Ethiopians would accept them as equals in politics, in economic and social life. As it is the right of any other Ethiopian, Tegarū felt that their ascent to political power and tenure at Arat-Kilo is their right as citizens. Unfortunately, the idea of Tegarū at the Arat-Kilo palace has become like a capital crime. What is propagated in Ethiopia in the last few months is "if Tegarū find their way to Arat-Kilo that will mark the end of Ethiopia". Adding fuel to the fire is the reference by Ethiopia's top leaders to Tegarū as "weeds and cancerous tissues" to

be destroyed. Worse still is the strange expectation that Tegarū must die quietly without trying to defend themselves for Ethiopia to survive. Such a vile humor is motivating Tegarū to defend themselves with vigour and bravery that dumbfounded the World. When the armed invasion was miraculously repelled another more difficult invasion is launched with hunger as a weapon.

What are Tegarū expected to feel at this point in time where Ethiopians have not only failed them but seem to be glad to see them all dead. Haven't Tegarū fought much more than is expected of any citizen to be Ethiopians and to be embraced as Ethiopians? What more can they do to be accepted like all others as Ethiopians? Without divine intervention there seems to be little left at the disposal of Tegarū to help them be an integral part of the Ethiopian mainstream without losing their identity and surrendering self-rule they sacrificed themselves for. The invasion, destruction, and the direct and indirect genocide on Tigray has become the last straw on the back of Tigray. Tegarū see their future in Ethiopia as bleak. The only option left for Tegarū is to keep a safe distance from Ethiopia and live-in peace even if they go hungry. Tegarū cannot bear the heavy burden of dishonor that is laid upon them with impunity. Although Ethiopians are whining about the "bad things that happened in Tigray" after nine months of deafening silence, it is clear to Tegarū why they suddenly found their tongue now and not before. Endorsement by Tegarū of such sick apologies when defeat has come upon the enemies is a recipe for the next disaster on Tigray. This time they will succeed to destroy it.

Referendum is thick in the Tigray air. Political and military leaders of Tigray are mentioning it in their speeches or interviews without details. Some of them don't use the word referendum directly but prefer to say: "The future of Tigray shall be decided by the people". Some acrid politicians in Ethiopia are expecting a declaration of independence by Tigray once TDF's military victory is complete. They wish to get rid of the "cancer" so easily and live happily ever after. These fools have to be told that Tigray may be independent at

some future date, but it has no plan to run away now. It has a lot of housekeeping to do, a lot of dirty dishes to wash and a lot of garbage to dump! Without such acts of sanitation Tigray cannot have a healthy meal for now and in the future. Tigray is told in black and white, in the last three years and more boldly now, that it can remain a part of Ethiopia only as a political non-entity. The lesson Tigray learnt has been extremely costly because of its previous resistance to loud and clear messages. Professor Tronvoll said the military tactics of the TDF must find themselves in the textbooks of military schools. This is quite a learned observation; but that is not all! Tigray's law-abiding culture must also be a lesson for the world to help it guide its actions. Tigray is too civilized to be guided by the Laws of Hammurabi: "an eye for an eye". It is swallowing its anger and acting lawfully when dealing with POW and civilians in spite of the cruelties that were done to it.

The same lawfulness holds true in the decision-making process for determining the future of Tigray. For best effect, the rule of the game must be adhered to in the referendum to decide on Tigray's future. If in the referendum a "Yes" majority goes for independence, there are a number of big and small chores to be attended to. The most glaring among these are: recognition by world states and membership to the United Nations. African Union and EGAD membership is a matter of convenience to be decided at a later date. If world states are to recognize Tigray as an independent state, they have to get the consent of a government in Ethiopia. This is a seriously taken diplomatic protocol. Many world states that could possibly and beneficially recognize Tigray as an independent state have embassy-level diplomatic ties with Ethiopia. It would be a gross interference into the internal affairs of Ethiopia if those states recognize Tigray without Ethiopia's permission. The same is true to UN membership of Tigray. Without such recognition by Ethiopia direct foreign investment, direct flight, direct loans and development assistance, and other needs of Tigray to stand firm as a new state are not possible. Tigray with an independence-vote either chooses the path

Eritrea and South Sudan took or the manner by which Somaliland remained just a lame de-facto state. With such bitter enmity with Ethiopia how is it possible to get Ethiopia's consent for Tigray to be diplomatically viable? The only way is to do the referendum based on the Constitutional provision

Tigray cannot force itself out of Ethiopia and suffer as an unviable state. We are not planning to runaway and hide in some dark cave. I am sure we are not trying to please our enemies by failing to be any meaningful state. With certainty we are not trying to jump from the frying pan into the fire! Science knows no measure to what happened in Tigray. If we are to prevent similar calamities in the future, we have to be sober and think of the future generations of Tigray who should not be exposed to such danger. The referendum should be based on the relevant article of the constitution, namely Article 39. If the referendum is based on the basis of this article Ethiopia will have the obligation to recognize the result of the referendum. This implies that it permits Tigray to be recognized by world states and its membership in the UN. An inevitable question arises as to how this is to be realized when the existing leadership ruling Ethiopia has compromised the constitution and wants it to be banned in some way. Tigray has already suggested a way by putting the "Setting up of a transitional government", as a precondition for cease fire, replacing the existing leadership which has lost its direction when it comes to maintaining a constitutional order in Ethiopia. Any next transitional arrangement in Ethiopia can only be set up based on the existing constitution. The constitution cannot be changed by a transitional government. It requires the decision of the national and regional councils (Article 105-2). Given the popularity of the federal arrangement among regional states it is highly unlikely that the constitution will be significantly modified. The entire legal process to hold a referendum may last for a few years, in view of the three years required between the regional council decision and the referendum. There is a lot of work to be done to rehabilitate Tigray

in the meantime, which is indispensable whatever the result of the referendum will be.

In the current political and military mood in Ethiopia Tigray would need to be patient for the long haul. It should be slow and steady like the tortoise to win the race into a bright future. If the stubbornness of the political forces in Ethiopia continues Ethiopia would disintegrate and Tigray needs no referendum. Independence will not be a matter of choice but a self-evident reality. Independence resulting from disintegration like that of Yugoslavia and Soviet Union does not require an internal due process to get recognition by world states and the UN. Tigray does not pray or work for the disintegration of Ethiopia; but it has no reason to try to prevent it from happening either. Tigray relegated to the status of a "step-daughter" will not fret for the unity of Ethiopia; but it is less interested to get its independence from the ruins. If Tigray goes for independence, it must prefer to have neighbors as trading partners. For Tigray, failed states as neighbors are more of a curse than a blessing.

Referendum must be conducted with the voters having a complete knowledge of what they are doing. Referendum on the fate of nation states is in most cases irreversible. Political agitation appealing to emotions is misleading. Since one generation is deciding as valid for future generations as well, scenarios as far into the future as possible must be built in order to minimize regrets. Political parties may have different (opposing) options for the people to choose from. This is what normally happens; but it should be the people who have to choose beyond party political stand points. Both options- Union and Independence- are most likely to result in later regrets if they are done in a hurry and due to myopia in party politics. It is most preferred to hold inter-party dialogue and reach some consensus about such a matter of great importance.

There is blanket criticism on cessation as a reaction against oppression in a particular political context. Although it is often said

small is beautiful, portable, and manageable, it is more complex in societies than in miniaturized computers such as palm tops. It does not mean smaller states are better than larger ones: Luxemburg is more efficient than France or USA is not like comparing a lap-top and a mainframe. Some say larger states are more viable than small states; but it all depends. Isn't Hong Kong more viable than many much larger states? Aren't there large states like Russia that are more viable than small states like Djibouti? In his interview with Betelehem Dr. Aregawi Berhe, a staunch advocate of the unitary system, reduced the huge issue of secession to a worthless reduction in size on both sides. He thinks that a bigger state is more viable than a smaller one. He may be right in one context and wrong in another context. Secession is a political issue not a matter for geometry. It is what leads to secession that matters not how big or small a political unit is. He was commenting on the quest for the independence of Tigray, and he put it as follows: "If Tigray secedes it will be small; so would Ethiopia be smaller. This implies that secession of Tigray is a disadvantage for both. This could be true only if there is any magic ingredient in their sizes that determines their fate as separate states. Aregawi rightly says that "if people are oppressed, they are likely to rebel". What he failed to admit is that secession is one of the outlets from oppression regardless of the sizes of political units. He is of the conviction that fighting the oppressive system and ending its rule is more rational than secession. Aregawi argues that problems that led to secession are not solved after secession. He cites examples like Eritrea and South Sudan whose problems worsened after secession. Rejecting secession completely he blames the advocates of secession as "selfish elite, who don't believe in dialogue and who have lost hope in regular politics". We don't deny that there could be politicians who would go for secession in spite of the fact that other options are available and feasible. They may advocate secession for their own benefits rather than as a last resort solution to the problems of the people they lead. However, in Tigray, it is the opposite. The elite would benefit more by other solutions than the secession of Tigray. The economic elite of Tigray is concentrated in



Addis Ababa so much that secession as a solution for the Tigray-problem is just a matter of great sacrifice on the part of the elite. So, if secession is the only solution to the problem it would be a solution advocated by ordinary Tegaruu who have always been the targets of brutality from Arat-Kilo rulers. This is the reason why we must leave the decision to the-should-be well-informed Tigray populace.

When we think of secession as a solution for Tigray the issue of nearly a million Tegaruu elsewhere in Ethiopia is often not given due attention. This economically important section of Tegaruu does not have a single handle to be picked up and be taken to Tigray in one stroke. It is economically and socially so deeply rooted that moving this group of Tigray and settling it without drastically harming it can be managed only by God himself. Eritrea was supported into secession by Ethiopia; but this did not prevent the disorganized deportation of Eritreans from Ethiopia with their businesses and careers wrecked.

No one can guarantee that this will not happen to Tegaruu in Ethiopia once Tigray declares independence. This issue cannot be postponed as trivial; foresight in this regard is crucial. This is too important to be left to fate! The economic power, the permanence of their businesses and careers, and the degree of social integration of Tegaruu in Ethiopia is much greater than that of the Eritreans was. The reason is, Tegaruu lived relaxed as Ethiopians in Ethiopia, but Eritreans never did that. I am not arguing against secession; I am trying to think of a painless divorce if that is to be the only feasible option for Tigray. In the study of mineralogy one of the characteristics of minerals is cleavage. Cleavage is how neatly minerals break. The atomic structure determines where minerals break. The line of weak atomic bondage is where the minerals break neatly. When Tigray breaks up from Ethiopia its geographical boundary with the rest of Ethiopia may break neatly but Tegaruu are elsewhere in Ethiopia too. Hence, it is clear that the break with Ethiopia will be a nasty break if it leaves the rest of Tegaruu in Ethiopia to their fate. When we observe with utter dismay that

Ethiopians are trying to harass, disturb, and even attempt to deport without the independence of Tigray in sight, it is hard to imagine the tragedy that would unfold on Tegar in Addis Ababa and other cities in Ethiopia when the first news of the referendum for independence of Tigray breaks. It is unfortunate that those who designed the constitution have not thought about this critical issue. The most to bother about the problem must have been Tegar law makers; maybe they never dreamt that a time will come when they will come face to face with this challenge for Tigray, more than other Tegar regions would do. Article 39 does not provide for those million Tegar who would be left trapped and most probably harmed in the rest of Ethiopia. If Tigray chooses independence the fate of Tegar and their businesses must be important subjects for negotiations.

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**A Wise Mix of Carrot and Stick Solutions to Mekelle's Gang  
Crime Problem**

February 14-2019

Rapid urbanization particularly that which involves urban primacy, is a challenge as much as it is an opportunity. Accelerated growth of a capital city at a rate several times higher than those next in the rank order tends to feed itself like a rolling ball of snow with flow of migrants, skills, investment draining the other medium and small towns of a region. As the agglomeration economies allow the largest city to grow even larger another negative trends begins to set in. This comes in the forms of urbanization diseconomies, wherein the advantages of the concentration of investment and wealth enjoying the favorable benefit/cost ratio, are offset by overcrowding, rise in the cost of living, anti-migrant attitudes, crimes, and deepening inequalities. Urban crimes are not always outcomes of economic and social marginalization. Affluence itself can also breed bad guys in the night streets with more lethal weapons than the empty pocket gangs can afford.

Until the February 1974 revolution Mekelle was a tranquil town, small enough for everyone to know everyone else. Social sanctions on deviant behavior were more effective than the laws the police and the courts could enforce. As young boys, whenever we tease unwilling girls in any part of the town our actions never fail to reach the ears of our parents. On the eve of the 1974 Ethiopian revolution something strange happened in Mekelle.

Until this day I have no idea who or what triggered it. None of us, who claimed to be well informed about what transpires in the town, had the chance to nip it in the bud. In the middle of the serenity that prevailed for three decades after the British Bombers rocked Yohannes IV's Capital, killing and mutilating innocent buyers and sellers on the "Monday Market", a violent contingent of hooligans haunted the town. The gang of youth terrorized Mekelle on the eve of the 1974 revolution. The gang named itself as "China-group". The gang used chili sprays and metal chains to attack their victims. It was alleged that the police were collaborating. The people of Mekelle were forced to take the law into their own hands. They informally appointed the most feared, but also the most loved guy in town, Seltan Michael (RIP), to command a group of vigilantes dubbed "ayokhum nayna". The vigilante group succeeded to defeat the China group. Now the law prevailed following public action and one member of the China group, who happened to be in my neighborhood, "Wedi Bashay" was sentenced to one year in prison for using chili spray on his victim's eyes.

After the Military takeover and the unfortunate division of the youth in Mekelle along political lines-Tpliftes and Dergists- the violence in Mekelle took an entirely different form. The Dergists used the state security apparatus to kill and torture their own friends. The lovely town was polluted by the blood of its jovial youngsters.

Mekellians like Zeselassie Samuel were tortured, killed and thrown on the streets by their own friends, who only a few years back

happily shared a table in one of the few cafes in town. Mekelle was changed forever.

Now it is a sprawling and diverse metropolis, which is almost the second largest city in Ethiopia. Although the deep rift among the youth and the wounds inflicted during the brutal Military regime may not have healed fully, the causes of the current gang violence may have roots other than can be explained as a carryover of the Derg era.

There could be at least three reasons for the gang crime in Mekelle that has become worrisome. One possible cause is a perception of marginalization and maladministration by individuals or groups who are considered to be "non-natives" of the City. Well, this is a complex issue. A City as big as Mekelle cannot remain as homogeneous as it was as a small town in the 1960s. The only solution to this is good governance which manages diversity without resorting to political or sub-regional partisanship. The situation is very similar to the Oromos around Addis Ababa. It has to be handled carefully as there is no "magic wand" to solve it in one stroke.

The second possible cause is invisible hands intending to mess up the peace and weaken the resolve of the people in the Regional Capital. I cannot speculate without adequate evidence who could be behind this. However, there seems to be sufficient motivation to do it. The solution to this is not carrot but stick. Those paid sellouts should be dealt with severely by the security apparatus as Daniel Girmay suggested. As the security apparatus may not be effective the public should also think of looking for a vigilante commander like Seltan Michael to take its security into its own hands.

The tragic part of this kind of politically induced gang violence is causing double suffering to the people. Tigrayans are being marginalized, brutalized, and chased out from their longtime residences in other regions. Their only hope for themselves and their children has unfortunately become to return to "Cannan". If Cannan

become no better than Egypt, they will have to act, and act decisively, to deal with the devil's messengers.

The third possible cause of the gang crime could be economic marginalization or poverty due to unemployment. This is just hunger and anger! And the solution is carrot not stick. Those administrative and public bodies dealing with the problem must exercise extreme caution to distinguish the three categories. Undifferentiating actions are more harmful than the gang violence itself. If the first and the third categories could be resolved peacefully, those gang members in these categories could help in resolving the second category. Otherwise, the existence of the two groups will serve as a camouflage for the notorious second category.

The third possible category is a logical outcome of inequality that follows the maldistribution of wealth. If a Nation counts its success based on how much wealth is created rather where the wealth is concentrated it would simply be playing with a time bomb. When the greater part of the youth is unemployed, uncertain about where to get the next meal, but sons and daughters of the affluent (hard earned or stolen) are living lavishly under the very eyes of the impoverished youth in the streets, no one should expect them to take their predicament lightly as "God-given". They would resort to violence because they feel death is much better. Of course, only as a temporary first step this group has to be legally controlled. Soon enough government and the public bodies have to collaborate and work hard to bridge the economic gap in society. Otherwise, affluent groups will be forced to protect themselves by building their own secret army wreaking havoc to stability, thus, rendering society ungovernable.

Although I have no full knowledge of the origin, my wise guess about why the Palermo Mafia evolved is relative poverty in Southern Italy as compared to the relative affluence in the North. The anti-Mafia squad of the Carabinieri is engaged in a wild-goose chase of the Mafia who breed like mosquitoes with every rising Sun.

President Duterte of the Philippines thinks he is doing the right thing by killing drug-addicts. He will never live to finish them all because the more he kills the more drug addicts there will be; as poverty breeds drug addicts at a much faster pace. Duterte has to deal with the root of the problem rather than act like a trigger-happy cowboy.

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**The Need for State Intervention in the Regional Urban System of Tigray**

March 27-2019

Grave concern has been aired since recently about the rapid, but spontaneous, urban growth in Tigray; particularly the excessive primacy of Mekelle City. Social and economic ills have also been reported which require not only short-term crisis management but also structural changes enabling sustainable management of the urban system of the Region. Urbanization in Tigray has its own unique features. No urban system in the world is exactly the same. The natural, economic, social-cultural, and political drivers of urban growth vary in time and space. Although the basic features may be similar, the drivers and consequences of Urbanization during the Axumite age are not exactly the same as what we are experiencing in our time. The drivers and consequences of urbanization in Asia are not the same as in Ethiopia; neither are the drivers and consequences the same in all regions of Ethiopia. This clearly implies that every region has to share the common features of all urban systems nationally and globally, but should also take its own uniqueness seriously and plan for a sustainable urban system of its own.

The Regional state of Tigray has to avoid the two extremes of the urban development intervention spectrum. One end is leaving urbanization to take its own course, unregulated, as the liberalist political economy dictates. The other end is to assume that all urbanization is the same and use text book or “universal” urban-

system planning blue prints or acquire “best practice” from selected countries or regions or hiring urban planning expert from overseas. Given the uniqueness of regions “best practice” is ‘own practice’ based on knowledge generated by specialized urban systems research.

Urbanization is the future of our planet. Already more than half of the world population is living in urban areas. By the middle of this Century, three-quarters of the world population is projected to reside in cities. Not the absolute magnitude but the rate of growth is projected to be much higher in Africa and Asia. Although the degree of urbanization in Ethiopia is low by world standards, even by African standards, the rate of urbanization is among the highest. In Tigray the level of urbanization had been below the National average before 1991. After 1991 the degree of urbanization in Tigray has exceeded the National average, and the gap is widening. This implies that the rate of urbanization in Tigray has been accelerating in the last three decades. This is the most troublesome part of the urbanization story. Rate of urbanization more than the degree of urbanization puts a more difficult challenge to the proper management of the urban system. If the proportion of people living in urban areas is increasing more rapidly than the growth of the capacity to provide services and jobs it can result in social, economic and even political crisis which increases in magnitude by every passing day. If yesterday’s problem is not solved it will be two added with today’s. If the two today’s problems are not solved they will be three tomorrow. In fact, as a cumulative effect is more than the sum of the daily problems yesterday will be several times better than tomorrow.

The drivers of urbanization in Tigray have been varying throughout the history of Tigray. The Axumite period of urbanization was the earliest urbanization not only for Tigray but also for the whole of Ethiopia and sub-Saharan Africa. Axumite urban system stretched from north central Tigray to the Red Sea coast. It is possible to extend the history of urbanization back to the D’mt (Yeha), but

significant relics of urbanization have not been found in the locality. At least two drivers can be identified that have resulted in the evolution of the Axumite urban phenomenon. The first is, mediating or coordinating trade between the hinterland of Axum, the African (Ethiopian) interior and the Middle East and beyond through the port of Adulis. The second is the cities as centers of power for organizing conquests and empire building. Axumite urbanization was spontaneous; but it flourished for over a thousand years. For however long Axumite urbanization spanned the decline was precipitous. There were external and international reasons for the decline. The external factor was beyond the power of the Axumite “urban managers” to prevent. It was the expansion of Islam and the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East and the Red Sea shutting off the Axumites from their empire building and external trade outlets. The internal factor was the depletion of resources in the hinterlands of the Axumite urban system which were used imprudently. To start with an urban system uses its local resources for its basic survival. The external resources are acquired only after the urban system gathers strength in due course of time from the increased resource availability from its surrounding areas. Historically, urbanization is the outcome of surplus production in rural areas which creates centers of non-agricultural activities: cities. Blinded by the glories of trade and empire building Axumites did not notice that they were ‘cutting the branch they sat on’. For urban areas to flourish income from outside is vital; but for them to survive availability and sustainability of local resources are crucial.

During the years after the Axumite age, which can be referred to as the Middle Ages urban phenomena in Tigray had a similar feature to that of Europe of the same period. In Europe urban areas served as the residences of kings and warlords, in which their respective armies are encamped before the frequent internecine wars for dominance are waged. The rest of the population of the urban areas were traders, artisans, servants, slaves for the palace and officials at various levels. The longevity of the urban areas depends on how



strongly they are defended from attack by opponents. In Tigray there were warlords with fiefdoms like Shire, Agame, Enderta, Adwa, Tembien, etc. With sometimes expanding at other times shrinking sizes. The victory of a warlord over another is followed by the growth and the decline of their capitals respectively. The urban centers, most of them not much larger than villages, were populated largely by part-time troops of the warlords (drawn from the surrounding peasantry), artisans, traders, slaves, and servants at all levels of the hierarchy of the nobility. With the rise of Yohannes IV the rise and fall of tiny capitals of the sub-regional warlords was replaced by the Dominance of Mekelle. The trend remained unchanged until this very day and is likely to continue into the near future.

Urban phenomena in Tigray, during the Derg, were even more complex than it has ever been. There were at least three interlaced features that characterized the urban centers: 1. Urban centers, whose population growth was contributed to by climate refugees, due to the two major droughts in the Region; 2. Towns that served as command centers for the anti-weyane war in the Region; and 3. Liberated areas under TPLF administration, which served as command and logistic centers for the insurgency. There was a tendency for the first category to overlap with the rest of the two categories. The second and the third categories exchanged their functions following the alternating victory of the Derg and the TPLF forces.

A new era of urbanization dawned in Tigray with the defeat of the Derg in the hands of the TPLF forces. There is no question about the role peace plays in accelerating the process of urbanization, driven largely by economic factors. This was a phenomenon never seen in Tigray. The peace that prevailed in Tigray since 1991 has never been experienced since the downfall of the Axumite kingdom. Economic drivers of urbanization that characterized the Axumite are shared by the last three decades of urbanization in Tigray. At least seven attributes can be identified: 1. Urban economies that are tied to

Addis Ababa and other urban areas for export and import trade; 2. Urban economies reliant on income from remittance from sources within Ethiopia and overseas; 3. Urban economies based on income from tourism; 4. Urban economies engaged in inter-urban exchange within the Region; 5. Urban economies generating income from industrial and service investment; 6. Urban economies dependent on budgetary allocation for the bureaucracy (salaries and organizational expenses); and 7. Urban economies subsisting on intra-urban service provision.

In the course of free competition between the urban centers of Tigray and in a situation of absence of regulation of the rank-size relationships and regular hierarchical growth, Mekelle has emerged as a victor and dwarfed others in the Regional urban system. Of course, this is what normally happens in a free competition. The city, which possesses initial advantages for a jump start will have the chance to accelerate its growth at the expense of others. Mekelle has become a primate city nearly three times the population of the next city: Adigrat. Mekelle has about one-fifth of the entire urban population of Tigray. Actually, the initial trigger of Mekelle's urban primacy was not winning in the free competition. The TPLF-led government of Tigray concentrated its attention on the Capital of the Region in terms of investment and service provision. I don't want to speculate that the peripheral vision of TPLF leadership on urban centers of Tigray other than Mekelle was motivated by personal interest of the decision makers. Somebody can bring me in a bottle if it is a myth or in chains if it is true as the Pharaoh of Egypt told his son Ramses. I prefer to think that the imbalance between the growth of Mekelle and the rest of the medium and small urban centers is created as a result of the hope for a "trickle-down effect" to be realized. In urban-regional planning one of the approaches is to concentrate investment in one growth center (growth pole), usually an administrative capital for the ease of regulatory follow up, expecting development to spread out into the other urban centers after a certain stage of economic maturity is attained. Once the

largest city gets this intimal advantage it can attain a much greater momentum to accelerate on its own beyond the reach of the urban centers next in the rank order.

Once a city starts to grow it enjoys the advantage of “agglomeration economies”. The flow of investment attracts other investments to benefit from forward and backward linkages. The economy of scale for the provision of services further accelerates the concentration. Skilled labour is drawn to the primate city from the medium and small towns denying them of any chance to compete with the largest city. This kind of growth is known as "snow-ball effect". Compact a handful of soft snow into a small ball and roll it over the snow on the ground. By the time the snow-ball stops rolling, it has become much larger. As it rolls it collects snow; as it collects snow it becomes larger; as it becomes larger its surface area becomes wider and collects much more snow than it did before. The centripetal forces attracting everything around to the center are expected to be replaced by centrifugal forces, that spread out investment into the medium and smaller towns, does not occur early enough. The centripetal forces of concentration continue out of control until they grind to a halt because of a negative process that starts to reveal itself, after a climax of the agglomeration economies is reached. As concentration turns to congestion, in which populations and services fail to match, the cost incurred by overcrowding, mal-distribution of income creates homelessness, food insecurity, maladministration, corruption, and widespread crime resulting in a 'diseconomies of scale'. The initial government trigger, the agglomeration economies that followed, and the diseconomies of scale that is revealing itself have all been manifested in Mekelle City.

There is widespread self-deception among leaders of the Region and ordinary people alike. This is also true to the general public in the rest of Ethiopia. There are some popular criteria that are in use to conceptualize and evaluate urban growth. The criteria do not even include the conventional and common urban growth indicator: population size. Aesthetic criterion has become so often

used to evaluate urban growth so much that people become deaf to the prime movers of urban growth: economic factors. Many people prefer to take the number of street-lining high-rise buildings, length of asphalted or cobble-stoned roads, and the extent of sprawl into the rural fringe, as indicators of urban growth. When these superficials become key criteria few can notice the huge difference between Mekelle, Adigrat, and Axum. All have "beautiful high-rise buildings, asphalted roads everywhere and their surface areas have grown". The real cause of growth or decline of urban centers lies not in the beauty of buildings and streets but in the urban economic geography. It is what sustains the cities that matters most than how they look. A town with "hidmos" and dusty streets could fare much better than a beautiful "ghost-town" lacking economic vibrancy. Any visitor who has spent a day or two in Mekelle would come back to Addis Ababa and tell his friends about "the unbelievable growth/development of Mekelle". His evaluation is merely based on the number of high-rise buildings he may have counted.

In the study of urban economic geography there are two "economic souls" of any urban center: city-forming or basic activities and city-serving or non-basic activities. The two, not mutually exclusive categories, are analogous to two systems of the human body. The basic like the digestive system which gets food for the body from outside and the circulatory system which distributes the food to all parts of the body. Urban centers grow if there are production and service activities which bring income from outside the city. A non-basic activity serves the urban centers by circulating the income brought in by the basic activity. If there is a factory that produces textiles and sells to customers outside the city it gets new income for the city. A shop-keeper sells household necessities to the employees of the factory distributing the income the factory got from outside. If an urban center cannot earn income from outside it cannot survive on city-serving activities alone. Axum declined because it became deficient of income from external sources: trade and conquest. Some urban centers could survive kept alive by government budgetary

support like a patient surviving by life support machine. The support could even include food aid to keep town residents alive. Such urban centers could be breeding grounds for youth activism or crime and drug abuse as a result of widespread unemployment.

In the analysis of urban economy people fail to notice the greater importance of a shoe-shiner, in one of the street corners of Axum, than a beautiful 5- story building stacked by offices, cafes, restaurants, and garment shops. What all these inside the building do is circulating the income brought by other basic activities. I say the shoe-shiner is better because he shines shoes for tourists and people that have come from outside of town. Of course, if the shops and restaurants in the building could have customers coming from outside the city they could also be basic activities at the same time

In order to end the dangerous spontaneity of the growth and decline of urban centers in Tigray it is crucial to look into the nature of the urban economies of each urban center and also analyze the hierarchy of the structure of the urban system in the Region. The nature of urbanization does not allow all urban centers in a region to be equal demographically and economically. There will be a tendency for a hierarchy where few urban centers are at the top and more next.... The regional demographic and economic hierarchy of urban centers normally takes the shape of a pyramid. This is important for efficient resource use and the attainment of the economy of scale. It is not necessary to work for bringing Adigrat or Shire to the level of Mekelle. It is neither advisable to keep Mekelle high in the skies above the other towns. A balanced hierarchy has to be attained in the Regional urban system based on economy of scale considerations, capacity for service provision, and natural, financial and human resources locally available.

I propose that the urban centers of Tigray be vertically categorized as: 1.one Regional metropolis (Mekelle) at the top of the hierarchy, with the highest level economic functions; 2. Major urban centers (Adigrat, Shire, Axum, etc.); 3.Medium urban centers (Maychew,

Abiyiadi, etc.); 4. Small towns (Hiwane, Bizet) and 5. Very small or "rural" towns closely associated with rural livelihoods. The classification can start with demography (population size hierarchy) but should not end there. The economic base of each urban center must be documented by way of detailed economic census. With demographic and economic base data at hand the levels will be determined. Of course, the level for a particular town may not remain forever. There could be upward and downward mobility in the urban hierarchy based on performance in a particular level. The hierarchical categories are more cooperative than competitive.

Intervention into the hierarchy ensures that: 1. Each urban center possesses adequate number of basic activities that could bring in income to sustain a healthy social and economic life at that particular level in the hierarchy. There could be special cases where some urban centers, low in the hierarchy, could have a five-star tourist hotel (high income basic or city-forming activity). This could be due to the special function of that urban center as a resort-town or tourist destination. Such special cases should be addressed in the planning, implementation, and regulation of intervention in the urban system. Maintaining a balanced hierarchy in the urban system of Tigray has a great deal of implication to the system of investment permit. The system has to be organized or designed in such a way that investments having different levels are distributed to the various levels depending on the economy of scale needed for the particular production or service investment. For instance car manufacturing investment cannot happen at all levels; not even in the category of major towns. At the current level the economy of scale may support car manufacturing at the level of the Regional metropolis. If a meat canning factory is in Mekelle instead of in Alamata or Sheraro, if all simple agricultural tools producing shops are located in Mekelle or in Adigrat, when they should be in the lower urban levels close enough to the rural consumer the balance is destroyed followed by a harmful demographic shift involving overpopulation of Mekelle and the depopulation of the other urban centers. The imbalance is often

followed by political instability, which is less affordable to the Regional government than mainstreaming the maintenance of a balanced urban hierarchy in the Regional planning system.

I know, this is more easily said than done. There are at least two challenges: 1. in a free market economy regimentation of private investment to fit the desired balance in the urban hierarchy is not possible. The whims and wills, besides the cost effectiveness, guide the location preferences for investment. It could be through strong system of incentives and putting adequate infrastructure in place that investors may be encouraged to locate where government wants them to do so; 2. the Regional government may at times be guided by National level planning which may create imbalance when implemented at regional levels. The selection of locations for industrial parks results more skew than balance. For instance, the selection of regional capitals (Mekelle for instance) prioritizing them for industrial park location aggravates urban primacy or concentration wrecking the desirable balance of the Regional urban hierarchy. To resolve this, National planning requirement and the need for a balanced Regional investment location have to be skillfully integrated. Where is such a skill located? It is located in a research institute that collects a myriad of urban economic and social data regularly, devise ways and means of structuring and restructuring the Regional urban system by tracking the shifts in the demography and economy of the various levels of the urban hierarchy.

The major sticking point for the Regional urban planning is how urban planning is perceived. There are two perspectives to urban analysis: 1. 'Urban as an area', and 2. 'Urban as a point'. 'Urban as an area' means the internal physical, economic, and social structure of a particular urban center; whereas, 'urban as a point' means the distribution of urban centers throughout a particular region. To illustrate the concepts better take two sets of maps: one a Regional map of Tigray, and the other, the map of Mekelle. On the map of Tigray you can see the towns are represented by dots of different

sizes according to their relative importance or population sizes. This map is intended to show how the urban centers are located (arranged) relative to each other by size or importance categories. The other map shows the street patterns and the arrangement of buildings inside a particular town. Urban planning focuses much more on the 'urban as an area' rather than on the 'urban as a point'. We often hear of master plans for each urban center in the Region rather than a master plan for all urban centers constituting a single and interacting hierarchical urban system. If a separate master plan for a particular urban center is not collated with a regional master plan for the urban system it is considered as 'half-baked'. If for instance Mekelle launches a master plan, the design of which depended only on projected demographic, social, and economic data from within the City, and is soon overwhelmed by job seeking migrants from Adigrat, Tembien, Shire, Korem, My Tsemri, etc? This was not in the master plan! Since provision of services, housing, and others was planned only for projected changes based on existing situation in Mekelle at the time of planning, the surprise cannot be accommodated. This inevitably leads to crisis. Had a Regional master plan been done before the Mekelle master plan, how much population could shift from Addigrat or May Tsemri to Mekelle may have been predicted. Based on such information Mekelle could have designed its master plan with a contingency to cater for the immigration. Every urban center has to design its master plan vis-a-vis other urban centers in the Region. Otherwise, it will have to live with lifelong surprises rendering costly master plans useless. How many times has Mekelle planned its potable water supply for "so many people, for so many years"! After one or two years, earlier than the projected service adequacy, alarm bells start to ring: "There is no water enough for the residents"!!

There are disparate government offices for the 'urban as a point' and for the 'urban as an area'. The bureau of urban development is tasked with the 'urban as a point' while the municipalities, which jealously guard their autonomy, are tasked with the "'urban as an area",



preparing master plans for their respective cities. The bureau collects some population data for the urban areas and assigns ranks or categories of urban areas for the Region; and is also involved or assists in urban design for 'urban as an area'.

Tigray could only be an urban civilization. Agriculture as a dominant way of life is too much to ask for the Region. Tigray is located close to the Sahel zone: in the frontline of expansion of the Sahara Desert. Its current climate ranges from semi-arid to dry-sub humid. These are moisture regimes that make up the "dry lands". The experience of Israel has shown that desert areas can be converted into irrigated fields with the use of high-tech methods. Although the extensive re-greening in Tigray could be a good reason for hope that enough groundwater resources can be recharged for water efficient irrigation this can be devoted for insuring food security. Hence, urban-based economies are expected to attract more and more people into the urban areas. Proactive planning for the inevitable trend is wisdom of the highest level. Reactive response to urban problems has always been destructive.

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<p style="text-align: center;"><b>The Tyranny of Food Habits: A Key Challenge to Food Security in Tigray</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">April 22-2019</p>
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There are a few relevant sayings pertaining to the might of habit on human behavior for which change is long overdue: "Old habits die hard"; "Habit is second nature", etc. The most enduring of all human habits is food habit. It evolves through time, in particular natural, social, and economic contexts, reinforced and protected by a number of tenacious cultural values. The cultural values jealously guarding the tastes for particular food menu of societies persist regardless of the fact that the natural, social, and economic relevance of many of the food items in the traditional menu is lost a long time ago.

One of the key components in the definition of food security is availability of the culturally/traditionally prescribed food items via production and marketing systems. People produce their own food or buy food from the market. For food security both are the same; but only if stability and sustainability of the food production and marketing systems are ensured. In fact this is an ideal situation where a few lucky ones like in the USA enjoy. It is possible for the food production systems to be weak or absent while the food marketing system remains strong enough to ensure food security. Many of the Arab countries in desert environments belong to this category. There are a huge number of countries and regions in the developing world who suffer from deficiency both in the food production and marketing systems

One of such regions is Tigray. The food production system and the selection of food crops to be grown in the various agro ecologies of the Region were put in place several centuries ago in environmental, social, and economic settings different from that of today. It may be safe to assume that Tigray has had favorable climatic-hydrologic and edaphic conditions for the growing of sufficient quantities of the cereals like teff, wheat, barley, sorgoum, maize and finger millet; pulses like peas and beans; and a diversity of fruits and vegetables which constitute the staple diets. As the environmental conditions changed through time by increasing aridity and human-induced soil degradation, the sustainability of the food production systems is adversely affected and unable to adequately feed the rapidly growing population of the Region. The deterioration of the Regional food production system, greater in magnitude and spatial coverage in the eastern two-third in contrast to the western third of the Region, has had its deleterious effect on the standard of living of the people, above all their dignity. Surviving on relief food is the most dishonorable thing to happen to any human being. Most affected by the severe shortfall in the Regional food production are the urban dwellers of the region whoes lives are hinged in the rural economy through a local and regional systems of food marketing.

As the local and Regional food production of certain key staple food crops and animal food products declined there have been at least three responses: 1. Improving food production through intervention using new and appropriate crop and animal breeding techniques; 2. Ever rising prices of food products, particularly of the most popular ones; and 3. Resorting to inter-regional food trade to bridge the gap between the demand and supply for food.

I. Targeting the food production system through intervention and agricultural research takes us some distance in ensuring the availability component of food security; but this has its limits. Hybrid crops that can grow successfully on degraded soils and that need shorter growing season and less water to grow and mature may solve the problem arising from the impact of environmental change on food production. However, the advantages of genetic modification involved in crop and animal breeding may be offset by the adverse long term environmental and human health impacts. Although the technological intervention approach to enhance food production is too beneficial to be abandoned out of fear of damage to environmental sustainability and human health it should not be used to rigidly maintain the status quo although the reasons for it are long gone. It is counterproductive to stick to food habits that evolved in a food production system based on favorable environmental conditions of the past. This is desynchronization which may be psychologically rewarding but economically and environmentally penalizing. In a drought-prone and predominantly dry land environment in Tigray there should be second thoughts about consuming large quantities of beef particularly in the urban areas. Beef production takes huge quantities of water than the same kilogram weight of goats, chicken, bees and vegetables. If there can be a shift from the consumption of the water guzzling beef production to other water saving food production systems it is possible to spare more water for the environment and for drinking. More water left for the environment means cyclically better hydrology for various purposes. At some point in time during the

Derg there was a very interesting but apparently funny slogan or motto: "Exchange your coffee addiction for foreign exchange". That means the less coffee Ethiopians drink the more there will be for export. The worthless and unhealthy fancy of consuming "kurt siga", "gored gored", etc. can be reduced or stopped in favor of enhancing environmental health. The most popular cereal among Ethiopian highlanders, particularly among urbanites, is teff. Most people cannot imagine of life without teff enjerra. The problem is teff is not grown everywhere and in large enough quantities as there is demand for it. As its price rises astronomically people resort to adulterating it with other cereals in an increasing percentage rather than abandoning teff enjerra. Scandalous teff merchants are taking advantage of their customers' die hard habit of consuming teff enjerra on regular basis by adulterating teff enjerra with dangerous substances like gypsum powder. Teff has become more a regional emblem than a staple food in Gojjam so much that one Gojjame friend of mine was angry with me about one of my recommendations in my Master's Thesis. I did my MA thesis on urban food marketing in 1993 G.C. I conducted a price trend analysis of teff and concluded that teff is a "rocket"! My recommendation for urban consumers goes like this: "We don't eat teff as the main food. The main food is the wat. Since we are using teff enjerra to hold the wat and put it in our mouth we are using it as a spoon. This is just an ages old habit that can be changed. If we try to get used to eating our wat with spoon then there is no need for teff enjerra. We are spending thousands on teff when we can buy spoons for less and save money for other more nutritious food like fruits and vegetables. (More emphasis added). One of most severe social sticky points in the Eritrean separation from Ethiopia has been the availability of teff. Eritreans are mocked as "pasta eaters"; but they have been paying thousands of Nakfa to get teff through illegal border crossings as if it is blood for emergency transfusion. This is the incomprehensible power of the habit of teff consumption.

II. It is a rule of thumb in Economics that as supply decreases contrasted by increasing demand for some good or service the price rises to create a balance in the economy by penalizing the have nots. People who cannot cope with rising prices withdraw from the market for that particular good and are expected to behave rationally by substituting the product or service by cheaper or affordable ones. This is known as 'price elastic demand'. This is consumer behavior associated with substitutable products like TV for instance. When the price of TV rises beyond affordability some take Radio as a substitute with a low enough price. They can get music and news from it but sacrifice images. Sometimes consumer demand may not flinch however high the price becomes. This is known as 'price inelastic demand'. This type of demand occurs with products that cannot be substituted. As the price of drinking water rises sky high no shift is made to other substitutes. There are no substitutes for drinking water! When a liter of water becomes 100 you buy, 1000 you still buy 1 Million you buy, and so on as long as you have the money. If you don't have 1 million you drop dead with thirst no substitute at affordable price. Buying drinking water at any price is economically rational behavior because drinking water is a matter of life or death. There are cases where price inelastic demand may be economically irrational behavior. Buying drugs for endlessly higher prices cannot be economically rationalized because drugs unlike water are unessential for human life. Therefore buying them at rising price is consumer behavior controlled by addiction (habit) which is difficult to get out from. The power of habit reinforced by deep-seated cultural values guiding social approval and disapproval of particular behavioral patterns make people mental prisoners of their respective societies. Somebody could face insults for frequenting "dabo and shiro wat" instead of "Teff enjerra and siga wat". Of course, besides the social approval teff enjerra and siga are more palatable than others. However, this is very far from being a sufficient reason for the demand of teff and siga to be price inelastic. Shifting to other even more nutritious, cheaper, and more environment friendly food products like vegetables, fruits, eggs,

honey and beles helps save money. In a virtuous cycle of saving and investment the standards of living of Tigrayans can be enhanced. Healthy societies fed with nutritious alternative foods form a hard working and innovative labor force. If the people of Tigray are to be food secure they have to learn to live within their means by abandoning the habit of consuming unaffordable food items simply because they cannot break their long endured habits in the face of glaring current realities.

III. In many cases, particularly for Tigray, the local or Regional food markets may not have enough of the key food crops and animal products like teff, wheat, barley and larger livestock. The list includes onions, red chili, and several types of spices. These are shipped from markets outside Tigray from a few to several hundred kilometers of distance. Depending on distant food markets for food security is risky even for the more stable developed nations. Cleopatra of ancient Egypt controlled the mighty Roman Empire not much by her beauty but because as the main supplier of food grain to the Empire it can starve it into surrender whenever she wanted to. Tigray purchases a long list of food products, notably teff, from the Amhara lands of Gondar, Gojjam and Wello. It also buys a myriad of manufactured food products, especially for its growing urban population, from the National Capital a thousand kilometers away. If there is a perennial peace and stability in Ethiopia, love and respect among all the people, it would be economically rational in terms of the principle of "comparative advantage" to produce wherever there is a maximum benefit/cost ratio for a product and exchange in the National market. Producing all of one's own food regardless of the cost of production is not economic wisdom. Self sufficiency becomes a strategic move when dependence for food security on insecure sources becomes ill-advised. Whatever their reasons for doing so Tigray saw with embitterment that its long endured inter-regional food trade could so easily be wrecked with impunity by hate-motivated groups of riotous Amhara youth at any day and time of their preference. The food security of Tigray cannot rely on such

sources who never hesitate to use the food market as a war arsenal to subjugate the people of Tigray.

If it is not possible to produce enough of those food products for the Region no more time should be wasted to end the tyranny of the habits of consuming them and substitute them by other food products which lessen the vulnerability of the people. The people of Tigray are obliged to fine-tune their desynchronized food habits to the political, social, economic, and environmental realities of the time they are living in. That is how they can be safe and free!

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**The failed business as usual: Supply side water management in Mekelle**

April 02-2020

As entire Ethiopia fights tooth and nail with the Corona pandemic it has to be borne in mind that life is going to continue after whatever the cost of the spread of the virus might be. What this pandemic is showing us clearly and unmistakably is that water is our saviour. If we are forced to realize that water saves us then we must also realize that we have to save it. Water cannot save us if we don't save it first. Water guzzling cultures are not good survivors. Corona is neither the first nor the last communicable disease that vitally needs water to deal with it. When the health personnel in Tigray wanted to show how hands should be washed as protection from Corona no water could be available. This is a worse case scenario if not the worst.

World has moved away from the pipe and concrete approach to water management as demand grows by leaps and bounds, while sources dwindle and disappear. Of all nature securities water security comes even before food security. In a drought situation people die of thirst before they do of hunger. This puts water in the spotlight of human survival and continuity of its civilization. The great ancient beginnings of the Anthropocene were mainly river valley civilizations: Mesopotamia, Lower Nile and Indus Valley.

Although water is such a vital resource in societies it has never been duly treated. Water is taken for granted, a gift of God! Even during the 1972-3 drought in Ethiopia one of the verses in Tilahun's song was "...Why they (the victims) cannot even get God's water..." This implies that water is just about God little to do with how humans manage it. God created the resource and engineers supply it. This is the only hydro-philosophy that has dominated the die hard supply management approach. The management of water saving is induced by the perception of the plenty and scarcity of water at the time of extraction not proactively long before it. The Arabs say the value of water is known only when the well dries up. Until then people have a natural tendency to be extravagant about water without any sense of foresight. People might have heard that 70 percent of our Planet's surface is covered by water. So, why fret while sitting on plenty? Unfortunately not everyone is aware of the fact that the available freshwater is only less than two percent of the total. The rest is saline water unusable for most human daily needs. Even two percent is not distributed evenly throughout the globe. Depending on the geology; nature of the surface terrain and climate how much water is available at a particular point in the regional and local water cycles varies from place to place. Hence there are water plenty and water deficit areas considering the natural availability. However, this should not mean those with high quantity of water availability are water secure while those with lesser natural availability are not. Humans have reached such a stage of water use where multiple uses of water factored by the magnitude of demand (population and economic activities) have become more decisive in determining water security than natural availability alone. The concept of water scarcity bears economic meaning in the sense that it is not the ratio of people to natural water availability, like M3/person, but the intensity of water use of the economy.

There is a possibility that the humid Addis Ababa may experience more water scarcity than the arid Khartoum. The conventional thinking is that Addis Ababa is not expected to conserve water



because it is assumed to be sitting on a huge underground "tanker". The problem of water in Addis Ababa is perceived to be inefficiency of the AAWSA, Why? The AAWSA staffed with water engineers are busy trying to cater for the ever rising demand for water through the endless search for water sources, harness and distribute them. As the pace between water demand and supply becomes Malthusian, where the former rises geometrically and the latter arithmetically; and as the loans for new and more and more distant supply sources plunge city administrations into debt crisis, few are asking new questions. The water users and suppliers are locked in a vicious spiral of demand-supply-more demand -more supply. With every new demand it is the supply that is interrogated not the demand itself. The new paradigm about water management is interrogating demand as well, even more so. The supply side management sphere, rife with engineers and hydrologists, while trivializing the role of social science, supply every demand without pausing to ask "What are the users doing with the water supplied to them? The supply side management provides new water supply estimated to least say for 20 years for 200,000 people. It has been a normal part of life for water engineers to be surprised by water shortage in a matter of only five years. The calculation of the water engineers is based on 20 or 40 or 60 liters/per person/ day taking previous average uses or experiences from other countries. The pitfall lies here. Average water use has little meaning for societies that have a huge difference in their lifestyles induced by varying levels of the standard of living.

Changes in lifestyles and economic use of water are not normally accounted for in water supply planning. It is only through the joint actions of hydro-social and water engineering that the core issue of water supply and demand can more effectively be addressed. Addis Ababa water supply planning did not proactively address the vast condominium project, the proliferating real estate, and the flood of private house constructions and the implications for changes in water use lifestyles in the new homes. The hundreds of thousands of new houses almost invariably use flush toilets, shower and/or bath

tubs, gardening hoses, carwash; some have swimming pools, etc. These were luxuries affordable to fewer people before. There is clear "water rush" which unlike the gold rush depletes finances rather than augument them. In view of the speed of the expansion of modern homes no doubt the demand for water would sky rocket. Since this is beyond the means for the AAWSA Addis Ababa is facing deep water crisis.

This is the story of the Capital which is shared by Mekele in the north. Most of the introduction is already done in the preceding paragraphs. As in Addis Ababa and elsewhere in the world Mekele is well on the beaten track of water management where there is a painful relationship between supply and demand fiercely gazing at each other. Mekele is semi desert to dry subhumid with a mean annual rainfall of around 500 millimeters. The rainfall variability is high and drought recurs with increasing magnitude and duration. The city lies close to the Afar lowlands: a desertification front line. Adding to its natural water shortage is its surface geology where Agula Shale covers the city and its surrounding in a large radius. The shale is not a good groundwater aquifer. So it is needless to state that Mekele has a severe natural water shortage. This did not prevent Mekele in its early years from supporting forests on the lower slopes of Chom'a, Adi Welel, and Dayesus hills east of the city. The then rich aquifer of Aynalem had its water table above the surface that the resulting wetlands were impassable. The tributary streams, like Illaa, Bubu, Enda-Medhane Alem flowing northwest to join Geba had some base flow throughout the year. There were several high productivity springs like May KuwaKhuwat, May Shembeko, Sewhi Negus. Sewhi Illala in Gembela was large perennial grassland.

As drought recurred, as the slopes of the Mekele watershed degraded, as the Derg war dragged for too long, and as population increased with implications for more water extraction and fuel wood supply the discharge and recharge balance was tilted in favour of the former. The streams either lost base flow or dwindled, dust increased accelerating water demand for bathing and laundry, the high wind

speed is dehydrating accelerating moisture loss from ground surface, plants and even human skin. Dry skins and weight losses became common, overflowing septic tanks and lack of proper water based sanitation posed human health hazards.

Mekele was not ready for the roaring expansion that occurred in a matter of two decades from a small regional administrative town into a huge economic hub of northern Ethiopia with nearly 400,000. The incompatibility of demographic and physical growth and the resource needs of the city is more glaring in the water sector. The question is how does the philosophy of the City's water authority address the combined natural water shortage and economic water scarcity? My question was answered when I found myself in a workshop in Mekele last summer where I attended the Water group session. I realized that I was the only one from the water social science (a rare species) and I realized that I was in deep trouble with water engineers and hydrologists that filled the room. When I became tired of the usual talk I in almost every workshop on water management I attended in Ethiopia and abroad, about what technologies can be used to detect, dig out and supply water, I had to jump in. I was trying to add some sense to the purely pipe and concrete dominated debates by stressing that water supply plans have to be accompanied by instilling water conservation ethic among the users before extravagance become a bad and unchangeable habit. The participants were mad at me except Dr. Tewodros (the water bureau chief) who perfectly got my point. He tried his best to tell the chair and the participants that we cannot take only one side of the water management picture. Informally, one of the water engineers challenged me in my hotel waving my view as luxury when farmers in Tigray have no water they cannot think of saving it. It is clear that we were talking past each other. Fortunately I am used to it. Let me tell you. Had Addis Ababa learnt about conservation when Minilik gave its first tapped water instead of playing with the flowing water the following generations could have benefited from a water supply seasoned with conservation ethic for

sustainability of the economy and society. Now Mekele is waiting for the 8 -billion birr mega water project. Is this truly a mega supply for a mega city? I hate to be a prophet but Mekele may face water shortage soon after completion if it does not support the supply with conservation. Roof water harvesting can be imposed by regional proclamation as it is done in India or on incentive basis as in USA, Germany and Australia. The roof harvested water can be used for non-potable purposes. I boldly underline the need for conservation rather than waiting for phase II Giba Dam. So soon after the first loan the next can be obtained only from the "Bank of the Devil".

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**Passion for Development in Tigray: Can it be sustained?**

August 20-2019

I don't think there is any sober mind that does not believe that the only way for the future of Tigray is embarking on sustainable development. It is the only pill that cures all political, social, and economic ills. Everyone agrees that it is long overdue. Many of the predicaments that the people of the Region are suffering from could have been significantly avoided with an economically strong Tigray. No one dares to tell Catalonia to go to hell every time it holds referendums to secede. However, there is no more any need to lament about the lost opportunities. The people of Tigray have existed for 3000 years. Thirty years of imprudence on the part of the leadership will have to be vigorously and effectively compensated. Not much is lost because Tigray is yet to exist for another 3000 years and more. The thirty years of "volcanic" dormancy may be considered as an accumulation of energy for the series of strong eruptions to build mountains that last into eternity.

Unless I am to be convinced that whatever triggered the eruption what we need is that the eruption has started anyway, I am not comfortable with the fact that what seems to have triggered the eruption is a small pocket of accumulated gas. In the geological

metaphor I am using the eruption will certainly subside too soon if the motive force cannot be sustained for long enough. We got to have parameters that can more accurately gauge how long lasting and productive the enthusiasm for the development of Tigray is. One has to go beyond the sensational media reports, the fervor expressed by the scholars, and young and veteran politicians in the conferences and panel discussions. The last thing I would like to be is a pessimist in this regard, but the history of cyclic boom and bust of enthusiasm about development in Tigray has taught us a brutal lesson: to be skeptical!

The key trigger of the current upsurge of passion for development of Tigray, I could be corrected if I get it wrong, is the recent development in Ethiopian politics. For the last three years all Ethiopian political odds are directed at the people of Tigray and the TPLF, a founding and key member of the still ruling (?) coalition. Ethiopian politics entered into uncharted and stormy seas in a sailboat. In spite of the lack of agreement in everything else the “change-agents” have a clear and unmistakable consensus: A rebel Region known as Tigray that has to be punished by all means available. Under such threat it is natural for any human society to try to protect itself by withdrawing into itself. This is an instinct not a political move. The tortoise shrinks under its shell so does the silk worm which grows a cocoon around itself. As the tortoise shrinks into its shell the first idea that sparks in its brain is how to feed itself in the duration of threat. Depending on how long the threat is going to last it will devise strategies to survive for as long. When it comes to human societies it is the academic, political and economic elite that take the lion’s share of devising such strategies.

There are times when the elites do not need a trigger to embark on such efforts for development; but many times they do. If the efforts for development are to be sustainable the motive force will have to be enduring. In the case at hand for Tigray there is a trigger which we have no idea for how long it is going to last. We don’t pray that the threat continues to serve us as a positive inducement to keep us

together and be zealous for development. The threat should help only as a trigger for the chain reaction which does not need a trigger anymore once the chain reaction starts. The enthusiasm and the actions to bring about development in Tigray may consider the threat as a blessing in a bad guise to trigger the chain reaction which does not need the threat anymore. Once the threat subsides or disappears Tigray will have to be riding happily on the irreversible path to development.

The skepticism on the threat as a trigger is useful because it helps to consciously and systematically manipulate the threat in a way that ends its importance and its replacement by other motivators that have a more positive and lasting effect. Threat can be a rallying cry temporarily rather than permanently. It is counter productive and could create disillusionment if the threats of encirclement, deportation, invasion, etc. are perpetually used as motivators. Threat as a motivator is useful as in the case of Tigray where its political, economic, and academic elites have been by and large self-serving and inattentive to the economic lot of the people of Tigray. Once the threat subsides, it better be, it is the devoted that get going not the threatened that are no more! The motivators for the devoted are ending poverty and ensuring sustainable development in Tigray, in the absence of motivating threats, as a safety shield to prevent future threats.

I know all beginnings are difficult; but key principles should not be compromised however nascent any effort is. The compilation of road map for development, the identification of innovative pathways for development, and narrowing down development paradigms to regional and local peculiarities requires the participation of all stakeholders regardless of their academic status. It is appreciable that the initiative for the identification of pathways to sustainable development in Tigray has come from a global society of Tigrayan scholars. Somebody has to pull the trigger of course! Initiative almost always comes from individuals to groups of citizens. However, the processing of what is started by the button-click of the

scholars should not be done only by the scholars. That development must be participatory in order to be sustainable has by now become commonsense knowledge. A farmer does not need a degree to know what it needs to have and how to get it. Debating about development pathways or options requires a practical union with reality on the farm field and city streets. The role of scholars lies in articulating the needs and means of attaining them identified by the grassroots. It is not possible to realize sustainable development if the elite consider the grassroots stakeholders as located on the receiving end of the wisdom of development scholars. Grassroots do not need to know the difference between neoliberalism and revolutionary democracy. Their life is not improved by incomprehensible and abstract philosophical debates.

Worse still was the fact that those that were considered to be the deliverers of the people of Tigray from poverty to economic and social progress were the scholars in the diaspora. I don't bear grudges on the diaspora. I admire their initiative; but if their wisdom only is taken as the most reliable solution to the problems of the development in Tigray, the entire effort is going in a totally wrong direction. The role of the diaspora, scholar or otherwise, is huge in the development of Tigray in terms of providing state-of-the-art expertise and also their participation in the investment sphere as they possess a critical source of hard cash. I don't think trying to please the diaspora is appropriate. They did not come to Tigray to be praised and admired, but rather because it is their historical obligation to do so! The Regional government should not have gone out of its way to create an unwanted chasm between the "invited" local scholars and the "celebrated" diaspora.

The discussions in the various group sessions and in the plenary have clearly shown that the Regional government should have done the other way round: celebrated local scholars and invited diaspora scholars. The facilitators in the various presentations and group discussions were disrespectful to the local scholars that came voluntarily and packed the halls. The limited chances to ask,

comment, etc. were selectively given to the diaspora. This has clearly created discomfort and regret in some of the invited local scholars. Many felt humiliated and unwelcome. The climax of the ill advised focus of attention on the diaspora scholars was what was written on the posters spread ubiquitously throughout the City: “Diaspora Union for the existence and security of Tigray”. Every time I see it I read it as if I saw it for the first time. I was thinking of the tens of thousands of ordinary Tigrayans who perished, and those now who are spending hot days and chilly nights in trenches to protect Tigray. Of course, they don’t have hard cash but they have their lives to give willingly. The Regional Government has to make sure that this is not repeated. It will deplete the ranks of the enthusiasts for the development of Tigray.

Another major problem that has to be addressed is the way the Conference was conducted. Quo Vadis means “Where to?”. This implies that no one person or group has the complete answer to the question. This question was asked because the business as usual of development in Tigray was not working, and some other new pathways to sustainable development have to be identified, debated, selected, and tested. It is when the track you chose takes you nowhere that you ask the question “where to from here”. You don’t ask if you know the answer. If you don’t have a scientific formula to calculate and come up with a solution set what you do is brainstorm. By joint construction of reality, that is how you emerge with a possible option or pathway. It is the synergy of ideas crystallized from several novels, old, even odd propositions and options.

The conferences and group discussions were so customary that most participants were just listeners and spectators. Bureau chiefs or other officials present what is being done in the Region. It was no different from what is presented as a report in Regional or zonal councils. The facilitators in the plenaries and the 14 group sessions, who seem to be determined to make their respective session as “peaceful” as possible discouraged digressions and interrupted the flow ideas regardless of their usefulness. The entire goal seemed to use the time



right not the right ideas. The way the sessions were conducted looked like a teacher-centered classroom in which the interaction was between a participant and the facilitator. There was no chance to talk laterally to one another between participants. It was typical of a thesis defense session where the candidates fire every bullet in his/her arsenal to abort the questions and comments forwarded by the examiners.

I returned my head drooping because the days I spent were not as productive as I thought they were going to be. Inviting so many scholars with a lot of new ideas, but turning them into audiences of the reports of the beaten track modus-operandi of bureau activities was demoralizing. The whole idea was to provide additional inputs from scholars to Regional sectoral bureaus who have the liberty to take it or throw it. I wrote this commentary article as a constructive criticism. Tigray cannot afford to fail this time. It will be a disaster to its future. TPLF should go for an unforgettable history by loosening its grip where it should never be: Development!

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<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Tigray be Pragmatic and Rally behind the Peace Process</b> January 12-2023</p>
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As a Tigrayan who has been following up the War and the politics underlying it, for the last four years, the peace deal and the difficult peace process that ensued has provided me with a sufficient reason to examine the usual ways we Tegararu have used through the years. I was highly skeptical of the peace deal because our experiences in the last two years are more than enough to distrust anything that appears to be a peace proposal. We have had several calls for peace and we have got used to them as smoke screens blown by the enemy to prepare for another war. **What is planned on us does not change because it is engraved on a steel-tablet at the Arat-Kilo Palace.**

By way of changing the ways we do things, as opposed to how we habitually do the things we do, we can reduce or eliminate the adverse impacts the evil Plan will have on us.

However hard we try we cannot change the Plan because although the leadership, implementing the Plan, is located at Arat-Kilo the Plan belongs to elites and ordinary people of Ethiopia alike. They possess it and guard it jealously. What they are doing to Tegar is not driven by a passing bad mood. Like untreated syphilis that is inherited from ancestors the “anti-Tigray” disease will be passed to future generations as well. With every return of the behavior of Tegar back to business as usual, after every destruction inflicted on Tigray, the destruction will certainly happen to the next generation of Tegar as well. **‘Anti-Tigrayanism’** and the Plan to eliminate Tegar is a pervasive public ailment that is so chronic that it has no cure. Tegar were at Arat-Kilo for three decades; but they were unable to cure it. Did they try? No they didn’t! To the contrary, they inadvertently increased its economic and military capacity to destroy the unsuspecting Tegar leaders themselves and to destroy Tegar at large.

Whatever methods or approaches we change to deal with this age old problem **the golden formula for Tegar must be never trust now and forever!** The goal of the Tiger is to hunt, kill, and eat the antelope. However hard the antelope tries to be kind to the Tiger, and gazes at the Tiger with its beautiful eyes the Tiger is not impressed. So, either the antelope has to change its tactics to evade the attention of the Tiger or be able to escape from its attack. It is not the Tiger’s fault if the antelope stands in front of the Tiger and smiles at it with the hope of the Tiger letting the antelope free to go. Has any of our nice behaviors towards our killers, after every destruction they inflicted on us, worked? None of them! By nice behavior, we have been preparing them for the

next harm on us because we don't prepare ourselves to defend ourselves; but they do to attack us.

Our post-destruction bad behavior is not limited only to turning into being honest friends with our killers. We also help them more by destroying ourselves in the sense that we busy ourselves by degrading our future capacities to defend ourselves. Take for instance, how business people (merchants) in Tigray became more vicious enemies of the people than the killers, rapists, and the looters; how the good for nothings have been robbing city residents who are in misery locked from the world; how local administrators and party cadres have been harshly treating the people; and how corruption spread throughout Tigray in the middle of a siege. With such terrible double experience I am not optimistic that the people of Tigray will be ready for similar sacrifices they paid in the last two years, in the future.

Now I hear that the youth in Mekelle have resumed their drinking spree in the same way as the pre-war years. and how happy many people in Tigray have become while the dead millions are still fresh corpses. We took no time to hold national mourning for the dead, a lowered Tigray flag for a week, and wearing black for a month or so, showing the world that we are hurt a lot. **With this irresponsible mood who in Tigray is going to stand firm to demand justice for the dead and for the raped? Who would be psychologically prepared for the next inevitable attack on Tegarü when opportunities arise to do so?** As a bit of compensation I was very happy when the Tigray Orthodox Church stood firm in its decision to distance itself from the genocidal counterpart in Addis Ababa. This should give Tegarü a great deal of hope because nations are built around religious institutions. This decision of the Tigray Orthodox Church can serve as a rallying pillar for the Tigray Nationhood.

I still believe that even **a quarter of the peace deal is useful for us, although we know the remaining three-quarter is full of political dirt.** Although we deserve all of it because they did not bring us to the negotiating table but we forced them into it, they are too many, but Tigray is alone. The loss we suffered is enormous. The destruction of physical and social infrastructure is replaceable; but the 800,000 to 1 million Tegararu we lost are not. These are not just six or seven digits. Each one of them are so dear to us, to their moms, to their dads, to their brothers and sisters, to their friends and neighbors. Our grief knows no bounds. When we ask ourselves why this was done on us, there is no logical answer to it. If they have no logical reason to destroy us now they will still continue to have no logical reason in the future too.

The only logical reason for our destruction lies in ourselves. Tigray and the enemy are using different kinds of weapons. **Tigray is using virtue to its disadvantage and the enemy is using vice to its advantage.** My personal observation on the post peace-deal period is that the Tigray side seems to be genuine about the implementation. As the Ethiopian and Eritrean side pose a huge number of obstacles, including rampant killings and looting in the areas the TDF withdrew on the basis of the agreement, there is little crippling propaganda in Tigrayan media that can counter the deliberate obstacles to the peace deal. The “Stop negative reporting” in the peace deal is taken seriously only by the Tigray side while the enemy side is engaged in a concerted campaign to destroy Tigrayan unity, moral, and fighting spirit. Whatever little benefit Tigray can get from the peace deal is being lost because of the apparent fatigue on the Tigray side. When virtue did not work Tegararu have become too weak to pick up vice. Tegararu have kept on speaking formally and carefully as per the “protocol” where no protocol exists.

It started with the Prime Minister who travelled to Araba Minch and told his eager supporters that his side won. None of the Tigray officials reacted to this destructive propaganda formally. The world of Machiavellian politics applauds what Abiy did, and laughs at the silence of Tigray officials. Many things happened from the enemy side that were not officially and strongly reacted to in the meantime. The next propaganda de-coup-grace on Tigray is still on going. Only a few talk about it but it is intended to effectively divide Tegarü right to the bottom. The news that Tigray leaders will join the PP government apparatus is not as simple and negligible as the news of a car accident without injury. This is the implementation of the anti-Tigray Plan in progress in the name of peace. Tigray leaders have nothing to hide from the people of Tigray who suffered so much with them and /or for them.

There has been a deleterious tradition among the Tigray leadership to neglect propaganda from the enemy side as ‘not deserving reaction’. Too proud to respond to ‘silly things’ or too foolish not to react to seemingly simple things but with significantly bad consequences? The news that Debretsion and Getachew will join the PP ministerial cabinet is news or views as big as Mount Everest. A news that implies back to square one for TPLF at Arat-Kilo cannot be neglected. If it is true then it can only be one of the two: a tactic for Tigray leaders to follow up the peace process and the future of Tigray in person at Arat-Kilo rather than by the ineffective remote control from Mekelle. This can be reluctantly acceptable if only if Tigray leaders at Arat-Kilo are empowered enough to do their job for Tigray. I personally think this is no less than a miracle if it happens for real. Following my instincts, I don’t think this can happen.

The second possibility is Tigray leaders will move to Arat-Kilo and melt in the pot forever leaving Tigray to the manipulation by

PP, Amhara and Eritrea. Tigray leaders at Arat-Kilo would be obliged to help genociders to go stark free or face the consequences of refusal. It is time for Tigray leaders to tell Tegarū what their intentions are. Tigray leaders cannot be on their own any more. The people of Tigray have paid too much and have the right to decide about the status or the future of the leaders. The longer the delay with providing information the greater will be the feeling of being betrayed and the division among the people.

Sticking to the rules, Tigray is still not responding fully to Birhanu Jula's strange statement to ISAT. The host is a notorious anti-Tigrayan. I don't really understand why the chief of staff preferred to be hosted by this genocidal media if he is serious about the peace deal. Is he wrong? He is not! The peace deal for him is not about peace deal it is about continuing the war by less costly means. It is for Tegarū the peace deal has become a peace deal not as a change of means to move to our ultimate goal. We seem to be forgetting and saying some silly stories that Birhanu Jula is kind and sympathetic to Tegarū. Is he? Some Tegarū wanted to free Birhanu Jula from blame for what he said in the interview by attributing his outrageous revelations as put on his lips by other PP officials. Birhanu is doing his job; we are not!

Birhanu Jula accused Seyoum Mesfin (RIP) for pushing for the Tigray War. God have mercy on Birhanu Jula! **Who opposed the War as much as Seyoum Mesfin did?** He warned that if war starts in Tigray it could engulf the region. Seye Abraha warned Ethiopians too about the War early enough. Birhanu Jula is on a serious mission on Esat. He is appeasing the living TPLF leaders and putting the blame on a dead man who cannot defend himself. By so doing he is trying to comfort TPLF leaders leading them tactically (or with hidden coercion) to partner with him against the human rights commission. **With the peace deal as a convenient pause in the war Ethiopia, Amhara, and Eritrea**

**are doing a better job than they could have done if the fighting had continued.** Tigray is absolutely loyal to the peace deal, sitting and waiting for Arat-Kilo to do its side of the implementation quickly enough. Arat-Kilo and Adi-Halo will do their best to procrastinate and even deny the items in the agreement by systematically diminishing the bargaining power of Tigray in the implementation of the peace deal. I am entitled to my opinion to believe that none of the monitoring team, USA, and AU would hesitate to make Tigray a sacrificial lamb.

We accept the peace deal because life has to continue **for some length of time.** BUT HOW? Life continued after Woyane with so many people lost. Life continued after the Derg with the loss of 60,000 lives and 100,000 disabilities. Our losses have increased ten-fold this time. What next? Another ten-fold means Tigray will be wiped out from the face of the Earth. The most critical question is why are our sufferings repeating and our losses rising at a geometric rate? The answer is very simple: **THERE IS SOMETHING WE ARE UNABLE TO CHANGE!** We attributed the failure of the first Woyane to the absence of a political party to lead the people. TPLF was founded with this in mind. The party achieved what the first Woyane fell short of accomplishing. Was the second Woyane an everlasting success? Far from it! The victory of the second Woyane could not exceed three decades. The subsequent or the consequent two-year Tigray War has plunged Tigray down to the level of the Stone Age.

TPLF and politicians of Tigray were convinced that the solution to Ethiopia's problems lies at the core of the solution to the problems of Tigray. So the best brains of Tigray sat at Arat Kilo "solving" the problem of Tigray by solving the problem of Ethiopia! The political leaders of Tigray lived in a paradox. The armed struggle started in Tigray because the problems of Tigray were unique and can be solved by focusing on Tigray alone. In a

fatal denial the problems of Tigray became similar to the problems of any other part of Ethiopia. That was why Tigray was left to go on its own without full attention from its sons and daughters in Addis Ababa who claim to have fought to solve its unique problems. The irony was why the struggle to solve the problems of Ethiopia should happen in Tigray, devour the lives and livelihoods of hundreds of thousands of Tegar, and be told to go to hell after thirty years.

No one is grateful to Tigray for saving Ethiopia from the Derg after paying so much of sacrifices. Ethiopians even considered the TPLF years as years darker than that of the Derg's. Tegar have been unable to realize the terrible things they have been doing to themselves. The particular philosophy that the Tigray elite holds dear has been having a boomerang effect on Tigray. The stubborn Tegar are still lamenting about the thankless Ethiopians for what TPLF did to build a robust economy and a strong defense capability. What is that we Tegar could not understand while it is a commonsense knowledge for the rest of Ethiopia? Why are our sweets turning bitter and our loves turning into hates? Where is it we have gone wrong and everything we step on explodes? The answer lies in Tegar's long held philosophy of political life. The best way I can describe Tegar's philosophy of political life is that we are more deeply idealist than we are pragmatist.

Let me elaborate the two concepts. Idealism emphasizes on theories, principles, morals, virtues, righteousness, and the universality of justice; whereas, in pragmatism the focus is on results, straightforward practicality, and dealing with problems in a way that beneficial outcomes are achieved. No doubts, in being pragmatist some of the pillars of our moral values may be compromised. However painful this may seem to be we are obliged to play by the rules of the universal political game. When your opponent is pointing a gun at you it is silly to point back the



Cross at him. When someone is collaborating with his own arch enemy to kill you it is self-destructive to waste your time and energy wondering and cursing why your enemy is collaborating with his own enemy against you.

Tegaru were disgusted when Oromos formed the Oromara alliance with their age old enemy. Why? Because they think that is not the ‘most heroic thing to do’ or not the “most moralistic thing to do”. A typical Tigrayan would say: “Amhara have massacred their ancestors. Why would the Oromos forge such an alliance now?” The truth Tegaru did not get it right is that the enemy in 2018 (not in 1900) for the Oromos is TPLF. They cannot afford to have one old enemy and one new enemy at the same time because they think morality does not allow alliance with any one of the two. Did the Oromos succeed in their pragmatist approach? Yes they did! They neutralized TPLF, which they could never have done on their own without the collaboration of the Amhara. Did the Amhara continue to be friends of the Oromos? No they didn’t!

The Oromos have consolidated, thanks to their pragmatism of temporarily befriending the Amhara. Now the two former allies are at each other’s throat. The Amhara are crying foul; but who in Oromia cares? The Oromos have grown to be smart Machiavellians. Well, cheating in exams is not fair; but in politics it is the best modus operandi. Tegaru are unable to learn this lesson; they have become very poor students in this regard. Christianity has come in the direction of Tigray does not mean that Tegaru have to be monks and nuns when it comes to politics. They have to be the most notorious Machiavellian in the current Ethiopian politics if they don’t want to see another millions of their people dead and the very existence of Tigray threatened.

The idealism of Tegaru politicians have had several expressions. They wanted to be virtuous by building a defense force of

Ethiopia having the right demographic ratio. They sent tens of thousands of former Tegadelti into a life of poverty. Did Ethiopians thank them for that? They never did! Ethiopians saw not the number of Oromo or Amhara soldiers but the number of Tegarù generals. In spite of this, Tegarù politicians took the comfort of thinking for themselves that they are right and the rest of Ethiopians are wrong. They thought they were doing the right thing for its own sake! Aren't they idealist fools? They definitely are! Tegarù politicians sitting tightly at Arat-Kilo were absolutely sure that Ethiopians love them, and would protect them, because they gave self-rule to the nations and nationalities. When the nations and nationalities, they expected to be grateful, took up arms and marched to Tigray to finish them off, while those Tegarù who were chased out of the Army (for balance) took up arms to save them, they learnt a very costly lesson that idealism is their biggest killer.

Aboy Sebhat was sitting in Addis Ababa when he argued on EthioForum that TPLF still stands for Eritrean independence even if Eritrean leaders hate to see that happen. In terms of universal morality and justice his point of argument is absolutely valid. Beyond the idealism that does not hold firm ground in Ethiopian politics he was putting all Tegarù in a very bad position as enemies of Ethiopia. How do you expect Ethiopians to think about your idealism of "Freedom for the people of Eritrea" when they are losing outlet to the sea and become the most populous landlocked state in the world? Tegarù politicians couldn't even be the most mediocre of pragmatists. See what their theories, principles, moralities, and virtues did to Tigray. While they wanted to rule Ethiopia in peace and stability; they were protecting the interest of Eritrea against the strategic interest of Ethiopia.

That is not all. The naivety in politics among Tegarù politicians went too far in the sense that they worked hard to protect Ethiopia from Eritrean economic domination and then the Badme war! Who won the battle but lost the war? Tigray did! While Ethiopians and Eritreans continued to court each other behind the back of TPLF, Tegarù politicians were fighting among themselves on the issue of Eritrea and Ethiopia. In the year 2000 Tegarù politicians were fighting among themselves for moral supremacy to the advantage of their EPRDF partners who were waiting for this moment to end the TPLF (Tigray) domination. Did the EPRDF partners sympathize with TPLF as a brotherly party? No! This is politics! They preferred to be pragmatic and take the power for themselves than remain grateful to the TPLF for getting them to Arat Kilo in an armed escort.

Eritrean air force hit Ayder not Mercato! Ethiopian politicians were being trained and armed in Eritrea against the TPLF government in Addis Ababa. Tegarù politicians continued with their sweet dreams that ‘Eritreans are grateful to Tegarù for helping them out in Sahil’. They think their comradeship will be rewarded. Tegarù politicians considered Eritrean politicians as political nuns and monks as much as they are. They were convinced that “Eritreans are our brothers and sisters, and would never try to harm us in alliance the Amhara who are their mortal enemies”. Was it possible to pacify Eritreans for Tigray by solving the border problem in time and for good? No! Eritreans had a much bigger but ugly picture in their relations with Tigray. Eritrea did not like that Tigray is leading a federal system considered by the Eritrean government to be a bad example for Eritrea. Tigray frustrating Eritrean ambition in Ethiopia and the Horn is also among the many other reasons that turned Eritrean troops into beasts in the Tigray where their fellow Tigrigna speaking people live. So for Eritreans as much as other people pragmatism is preferred to idealism.

Why are the UAE, China, and Turkey supplying drones to Ethiopia although they know this action is an indirect participation in genocide? Ordinary Turks know how part of the money they use to buy cars, to go the Mosques and pray to Allah for blessing, comes from. The blood of innocent Tegar is in every dollar earned in Turkey. These people live with this bitter truth regardless. I am not advocating for cruelty as pragmatism. I am reminding people how far pragmatism can go. I limit my pragmatism to political maneuvering to safeguard your people as opposed to sheer idealism that compromises the long-term goals of the nation you represent. Now let me come to the current peace process between Tigray and Ethiopia and give some background to it in light of my idealism versus pragmatism thesis.

Many blame the TPLF for sticking to the fundamental principle of the constitution, stick to its democratic ideals of holding timely election, protect its pride and dignity as a founder of the Federation, and appeal to the Ethiopians and the world to rally behind the federal system which gave Ethiopians the right to self-determination. It was expected to be pragmatist enough to join the Prosperity Party and settle the extremely explosive political atmosphere peacefully although many of the ideals TPLF stood for may have been compromised. However much I favor pragmatism over idealism, to survive and thrive in this world of vice, I don't share the idea of TPLF joining PP. I opposed it then; I oppose it now. We all know the Tigray War had much deeper and unavoidable roots than the pretexts of holding election and failure of TPLF to join the Prosperity Party. On the driver's seat for the war, which brought the PP and Eritrea to its side was (is) the Amhara Imperial ambition that was not born in 2018.

I brought the argument in favor of pragmatism to serve us frame our side of the benefit we get from the peace process. Bygones are Bygones. We cannot undo the deleterious outcomes of our

idealism in the past. We can only try to moderate their adverse impacts on our future decisions and actions. Now is what belongs to us, and we have to be very careful in handling it with care. Tigray cannot afford to repeat any more mistakes it has been making in the past. The most glaring of all mistakes Tigray did is in deciding who its enemies and who its friends are at any particular point in time.

**If the idealism of honor is allowed to reign supreme at the cost of the reality of an inevitable doom the pragmatism of going for what is achievable is a wise tentative decision. This does not imply that your ultimate goal is abandoned. The peace deal is expected to be a one step back for a two steps forward. Tegararu have the right to be very angry at their leaders only if the peace deal is a dead end street not a change of lane. I applaud the peace process only and only because I trust it is a way the tough gets going when the going gets tough. This does not mean the stubborn gets going; it means the flexible gets going.**

Grasses grow into grasshood and trees grow into treehood. These are the end goals of these two natural phenomena. As they grow peacefully, busily producing their food by photosynthesis; a storm that does not care about them but its only goal is destruction, comes in their direction. They try to withstand but the storm becomes too overwhelming. Should they doggedly face the storm to the last and risk destruction because they are absolutely loyal to nature's dictates that they have to stand erect all the time and grow tall? Who survives the storm? The grass or the tree? The tree will be uprooted because it remains rigid; whereas, the grass survives because it bends. Once the strong wind calms down the grass will stand erect because the grass did not allow the storm to apply its full force on it. Of course, bending has a cost. There could be some damage to plant tissues in the grass due to some

impact of the storm. No pain, No gain. Focusing on the end goal is the most effective anesthesia that helps to endure painful transitions.

Pragmatism means maximizing your benefits but also tolerating serious losses. **Of course, the losses should not be lost. If they are, the gains will be lost soon too!** The losses are just shelved in order to join the gains at a later convenient date. This philosophy of advantageousness has been used over Tigray several times in history by the Amhara rulers. Wasn't Menilik a pragmatist when he allied with Italy against his own Ethiopian king and conspired to kill him? Christian though he was didn't Menilik confer with the Moslem fundamentalist Mahdists against Yohannes? Didn't Menilik cede Bahre Negash to Italians and his descendants used this former colony to devastate Tigray?

Lidetu could not hide his fury at what he perceived to be an alliance between Oromo politicians and Tigray seemingly embodied in the peace deal. He blamed Tegarau with harsh terminology for blaming the Amhara for what happened in Tigray and for not negatively mentioning the name of even a single Oromo in connection with the Tigray War. I considered Lidetu to be a rational man although I know the imperial virus is in his blood. We tolerated him and probably respected him, but he didn't do the same in return. He decided to prove his loyalty to the Amhara imperialist cause in the wrong way by lashing out at Tegarau, threatening to call names. He is right! He acted pragmatically by supporting Tigray first; and when the time came for him he became pragmatic again and abandoned Tigray in favor of the Amhara. Can Tegarau be like him? Switching at the right time? I know we have difficulties but no choice is left for us!

Lidetu did not hesitate even for a moment before he said "Tigray must ally with the Amhara against the Oromo politicians". He considered us like big fools! In fact, that is how he knows us! We

should not blame him; we must blame ourselves. That was what we taught Ethiopians about ourselves. Lidetu even dared to say “More Amhara spoke against the war in Tigray than Oromos.” He may tell millions of Tegar, who had no idea who was saying what because they were in total communication darkness. However, he cannot tell me this because in the last two years, as long as I spent hours in front of the TV screen, what I heard and what I saw is Amhara scholars, Amhara officer, Amhara officials, Amhara archbishops, Amhara politicians, Amhara businessmen and women, Amhara activists, Amhara You tubers, Amhara diaspora, and Amhara media outlets were calling for genocide and the total destruction of Tigray.

The reason why so many panicked about the peace deal is because they never saw in their dreams that Tigray will go pragmatist shading its earlier idealism which the enemy camp was using against it. Although we have given and we are still giving too much for the peace deal to work, the enemy camp is trying its best to create or innovate propaganda apparatus to confuse Tigray into abandoning the peace deal. We are far from worshipping the peace deal. That was not what we died for. We are using it only to reduce if not eliminate the possibility of more death. The greatest success in the peace deal is that it created a lot of mess in the enemy camp. They had wrongly predicted that Tigray will die out adhering stubbornly to its old idealist ways. They were not prepared for this. The question is: Are we using the peace deal as a means or as an end? Trend in the last few weeks appears to be in favor of the latter. Pragmatist takes peace as a means and idealist takes it as an end. **Tigray cannot afford to be idealist.** It has paid too much on that already. It neither regrets nor repeats.

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I'm still a soldier, fighting with my pen  
and paper for peace till the day I cease.

Emmanuel Jal



**Yohannes Aberra Ayele**  
PhD, Associate Professor