



Qeerroo fi qaarree oromoo: Unarmed young oromo force that save Ethiopia from disintegration

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Abstract

Qeerroo fi Qaarree from the whole parts of Oromia region emerged to stop mass massacre, arrest, forced expulsion, land grabbing and marginalization of Oromo people through strong peaceful struggle in Oromia region since 2014 G.C. Here the study is about Qeerroo and Qaarree (youth Male and female) bitter struggle against TPLF, achievement that overthrew TPLF, and foundation of transitional government and the complexes since the transition period. Both primary and secondary source of data were used to strong based evidence. Interview with selected prominent/figure Qeerroo and Qaarree who have organized the protest movements including in depth focus group discussion were employed. Besides, documents, news and features from private and government legal websites were used as secondary source of data. Further to get necessary information from both aforementioned sources of data, researcher own observation and document analysis were employed as data gathering tools. A qualitative approach was used to analyse the gathered data. Lastly Qeerroo and Qaarree (youth Male and female) have conceptual political meaning than the literal one. Qeerroo and Qaarree bitter struggle movement within five years is a cause for transitional government and saved Ethiopia from disintegration. In this regard, social media plays a great role to organize Qeerroo and Qaarree (unarmed young force) peaceful struggle. The complex is the transitional government led by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed failed to keep what his government promised. Rather his government becomes the second tyrant TPLF, because arrest, mass massacre, marginalization among Oromo's by Abiy Ahmed divisive and hateful speech, abduction and rape by military wing continues. Southern and Western parts of Oromia fall under unconstitutional command post for about years.

Keywords: Qeerroo, Qaarree, politics transition, protest and Ethiopia

1. Introduction

Though the Oromo nation constitutes the largest ethnonation in East Africa, they are treated as an oppressed minority in Ethiopia^[1] For the Oromo the nature of the colonial rule is manifested by ethnonational oppression through state violence, forced assimilation or nationalization and ethnonational impoverishment^[2]. The Amhara ruling elites undermined Oromo national identity and unity on the grounds that the development Oromo nationalism would lead to the disintegration of Ethiopian empire^[3]. The Amhara attitude was nourished by the specter of the disintegration of their empire for, without the resource of Oromia Ethiopia cannot exist as a viable state^[4]. For the Oromo elite the claim of national identity was the claim to equality of treatment among the people of Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa and for this a good number of prominent individuals sacrificed their lives^[5]. And today thousands of Oromo are quite prepared to sacrifice their lives for the recognition of and the restoration of their national rights. Massive destruction of Oromo was carried out by three successive Ethiopian rulers, i.e., Emperors Tewodros, Yohannes IV and Menelik II. And the foundation of modern Ethiopian empire was built up on the demise of Oromo power and the destruction of their lives and their property. Even though the struggle for recognition and restoration or generally saving Oromo's and their land begun through establishing association and front which mean Macha Tulama Association and

Oromo Liberation Front the role of students especially university students was highly unforgettable in the history of Oromo movements. Since 2014 G.C. there was strong protest by organized Oromo students at different educational level against tyranny TPLF (Tigray Peoples Liberation Front) led EPRDF (Ethiopia People's Revolutionary Democratic Front) government of Ethiopia. Land grabbing by the name of large scale project majorly owned by Tigrayan and Amharan in Oromia particularly resourceful land near to capital city (Finfinne), integrated master plan of Finfinne (Addis Ababa) which aimed to expand Finfinne largely to the surrounding Oromo farmers land, thousands of extra judicial killings and several disappearances of civilian opponents of the TPLF, and thousands of civilians imprisoned, tortured and raped in secret detention centers were triggering causes of the protest. The result of technology like social media played as medium of informing and organizing protest movements, the youth male and female called "Qeerroo fi Qaarree in Afaan Oromoo language as actor with Oromo bloggers and activists play a crucial role. Therefore this paper is about role and achievements of Qeerroo and Qaarree in the pre transitional period and things on going in opposite (complexes) to their achievement particularly in the west (Wellega) and southern (Borena and Guji) part of Oromia.

¹ Azlan Tajuddin, Ethnonational oppression and international apathy: Comparing the struggles of the Oromo in Ethiopia and the Moro in the Philippines, Journal of Oromo Studies Association, Vol 14 (2007), p 15

² Id, p 17

³ Mohammed Hassen, The Matcha-Tulama association and the development of Oromo nationalism

⁴ Id

⁵ Olana Zoga, Gezatena Gezot and Matcha-Tulama Association (1993), p 75-77

2. Methods and Materials

The descriptive qualitative research design employed to discuss Qeerroo and Qaarree achievements and things going on opposite to their achievements. Both primary and secondary source of data were used to have strong evidence. The primary sources of data are interview with selected prominent/figure Qeerroo and Qaarree to in depth focus group discussion. In addition, documents, news and features from private and government legible websites were used as secondary source of data. Further to get necessary information from both aforementioned sources of data, researcher own observation and document analysis were employed as data gathering tools. A qualitative approach was used to analyse the gathered data.

3. Oromia and Oromo

Here I want to brief Oromia and Oromo particularly her resources, and the tragedy done by Abyssinian colonist. Oromia was an oasis luxuriant with large trees and known for its opulent and dark greenery used to shoot up from the soil ^[6]. De Salviac also notes the greenery and the shade delight the eyes all over and the landscape richness and a variety which make it like a garden without boundary ^[7]. Healthful climate, uniform and temperate, fertility of the soil, beauty of the inhabitants, the security in which their houses seem to be situated, makes one dream of remaining in such a beautiful country. Bulatovich applied to Oromia the phrase “flowing in milk and honey” to indicate its abundance of wealth in cattle and honey ^[8]. The Abyssinian colonists devastated the forests by pulling from it the laths for their houses and made campfires or firewood for their dwellings. The great destructors of trees, others accused them of exercising their barbarity against the forests for the sole pleasure of ravaging ^[9].

Politically, Oromo people are the source of democracy. Gadaa system is essentially an indigenous democratic socio-political organization of the Oromo people. Gadaa has been considered as a democratic and just system than other forms of governance in the region. It governs the life of every Oromo from birth to death. It is also an example of a traditional African form of democracy ^[10]. However, the Oromo people have been denied equal access to participate in the political and economic arena of the country. The Oromo people systematically and forcefully marginalized from the political arena since the imperial monarchy. Several opposition political organizations represent the Oromo people were also labeled and attacked by the name terrorist group. However, the Abyssinian colonialists, in an effort to stifle the Oromo national freedom struggle, have never succeeded to fulfill their colonial ambitions: total control of the Oromo nation and the destruction of its culture, history and gadaa democratic system. The struggle is gaining momentum due to the past and present generations of Oromo people's determination and willingness to sacrifice for freedom, peace, social progress and the dignity of Oromo nation. Recently to fulfill criminal genocide program, the head of the fascist regime, Meles Zenawi, officially made a decree in the year 2003 in his party's journal “Hizbawi

Adara” as follow: in order to have a lasting solution to our problems, we have to break narrow nationalists in Oromia, to smash them in a very decisive manner, we must be in a position to eliminate all narrow nationalists. This type of war declaration to eradicate the Oromo population of over 40 million people is equal to Nazi Germany's extermination policy. Clearly, this declaration of eradication war on Oromo people shows that Meles Zenawi of Tigray is emerging as true Nazi of the horn of Africa. It was under the orchestrated guise of development that the apartheid racist regime of Meles Zenawi began to speed up the process of extermination and ethnic cleansing that was designed to exterminate Oromo's and takes full control of Oromo land.

For the Oromo people, nothing is more important than standing up and defending the mother land, their cultural heritage, historical treasures and dignity. It is irrefutable fact that Oromia has always defended by its legendary traditional leaders, historic warriors, heroic national figures, liberation fighters and dedicated nationals. They made ultimate sacrifice, like millions of other Oromo martyrs who laid down their lives for the liberation of their nation and people, in hopes that their bloodshed inspires their descendants and current Oromo generation to keep the freedom struggle going until the objective has been reached.

When Meles Zenawi declared to eradicate the Oromo people from their country, Oromia, the fascist tyrant not only planned to reduce the Oromo population in number and Oromia in size but to destroy the people and the nation once and for all. And to achieve this he used traitorous Oromo's through Oromo Peoples Democratic Organization (OPDO). Oromo Qeerroo and Qaarree, and patriotic nationalists are now part and parcel of the ongoing bitter freedom struggle.

4. “Qeerroo fi Qaarree”

Under this section I discuss what the term Qeerroo and Qaarree is, which is Afaan Oromoo term and its equivalent term in English “Youth male and female” respectively. According to gadaa age grades this Qeerroo (youth male) probable include Foollee (Gaammee xixiqoo) their age from 16-19, and Qondaala (Gaammee gurguddoo) their age from 17-24 ^[11]. The gadaa system organizes Oromo social life around a series of generation grades that assign obligations as well as rights to all the males in the societies. Based on this Foollee (Gaammee xixiqoo) is naming ceremony at home or Nura shrine in Liben if Ilmaan Jaarsaa or Ilmaan Korma respectively ^[12]. The role of Foollee is to look after small stock around ollaa and perform light work ^[13]. And Qondaala called intensification of the second stage and their role to take livestock further away from ollaa and begin drawing water from Eelaa can go long distance to hunt and perform heavy work ^[14].

Even though Qaarree (female) are culturally not motivated to participate on political issues and burdened to keep in house activities, Qaarree discredited the negative cultural perception towards females being undergone or covert forces fighters in the Oromo protest movements. Qeerroo and Qaarree of the gadaa

⁶ De Salviac, Martial; *An Ancient People, Great African Nation* (2005), p 21-22, Translated by Ayalew Kano

⁷ De Salviac, p 20-21

⁸ Bulatovich Alexander, *Ethiopia through Russia Eyes: Country in Transition*. Translated by Richard Seltzer; Lawrenceville, NJ. The Red Sea Press (2000), p 21

⁹ De Salviac, p 20

¹⁰ Tadesse Beriso, *The Oromo Gada System: Why Considered Democratic? : A Bilingual Journal of Institute of Oromo Studies (IOS)*. Jimma University

¹¹ Dessalegn Chemed, *Indigenous system of conflict resolution in Oromia, Ethiopia* (2004), p 151

¹² Id

¹³ Id

¹⁴ Id

system emerged from Oromo ethnic group to resist the TPLF cruel activities, guard their society and Oromo land. Qeerroo and Qaarree become more powerful after strong struggles and achievements made in pre transition period. Majority of Qeerroo and Qaarree are students from elementary, secondary, technical and vocation, colleges, and university and unemployed youth due to ill treatment of TPLF corrupted system. This day Qeerroo and Qaarree perceived as liberation front from any marginalization on Oromo people. In addition politicians, activists, civil servants agitated and coordinated the protest movements.

5. “Qeerroo fi Qaarree” Historical Bitter Struggle against Tyrant TPLF.

The horrific cold blooded massacre of Oromo students in Ambo in April 14, 2014 aroused anger and outrage across the entire Oromo society that galvanized Oromo to protest and demonstrate throughout Oromia. In a short period of time, the condition in Oromia become ripe for the mass uprising as nationwide protests and civil disobedience engulfed all corners of Oromia. Qeerroo and Qaarree, conscious nationalists, and all communities fearlessly continued protesting against tyrant TPLF regime brutal oppression, massacres, senseless killings, imprisonments, torture, and humiliation, forcing the Oromo people to finally decide that they'd had enough. In this regard, social media as primarily medium to share information and organize protest movements, and popular activists Jawar Mohamed as captain of Qeerroo fi Qaarree energetic struggle made undeniable contributions.

To fight was the only means to stop the carnage and free themselves from genocidal occupation. The decision spawned completely new direction of the ongoing national struggle, out of which the current Oromo revolution was born in Ginchi town, central Oromia on November 12, 2015. On this historic day, the fascist regime dispatched its notorious security forces within an order to evict Ginchi community and that the Chilimo forest was to be cleared. It was sold to foreign investors which in reality show colonial occupation. Up on their arrival, the land robbers were met with stubborn resistance from the local community and protesting students who decide to fight and were able to ward off the invaders, but at great cost. During the incident, two students were killed heroically defending Oromo land and many sustained injuries at the hands of Agazi murder squad. The courage, determination and the successful uprising of Oromo's in Ginchi, the epicenter of the Oromo revolution. This is place where the fire of the revolution was ignited but the war between the TPLF and the Oromo people continuous ferociously burn to this very day.

Majority of Qeerroo and Qaarree protest movements took place in Ambo city, the capital of west Shewa zone. This is due to the fact that both private and government higher education found in Ambo city.¹⁵ From the start, it has been a mass revolution in which the entire Oromo population has risen up from corner to corner with a sustained unity against the genocide wars perpetuated by TPLF, making it irreversible. As a result, today our people wherever they are, increasingly cementing their national unity, share a common ideal and are working hard for the liberation of their nation. The historic role played by the

brave, courageous and determined Oromo “Qeerroo fi Qaarree”, patriotic nationalists and conscious public figures will remain as pillars of the revolution in the national liberation struggle ahead. They ignited the flame of the fight for freedom through which the people who are suffering under the most barbaric and genocidal regime are able to see the benefit in aligning ideals with action. The essence of Oromo struggle for national freedom is not only to serve their own struggle; it also serves the fundamental interests of all people within the Ethiopia Empire. For the last four years of the revolutionary struggle, the Oromo people, the Qeerroo and Qaarree in particular, through their extra ordinary courage, determination, disciplined actions and sacrifices have uplifted the Oromo struggle for freedom, helping to garner global recognition to the just Oromo cause. More importantly, the Oromo revolution has inspired all occupied and oppressed nations and people throughout the world as courageous and brilliant example stand up against the well-armed fascist regime. The major triggering factor for Qeerroo and Qaarree protest is the issue of land grabbing in Oromia region through different deceiving strategies. For instance, the issue of an integrated regional development plans for Finfinnee (Addis Ababa) and the surrounding Oromia region was a systematic land grabbing strategy of which evicted thousands of Oromo farmers from their own land. In fact land and identity was main source of struggle in the political history of Ethiopia, and not fully addressed by previous and current government.

The announcement of master plan in April 2014 in Ethiopia media led to major demonstrations throughout the Oromia region mainly by Oromo Qeerroo and Qaarree. The protest started out peacefully, but once the security force moved in violence occurred against unarmed protesters. In fact, the master plan for Finfinnee (Addis Ababa) serves as initial trigger, but was not the underlying cause of the widespread protests. Proof of this premise lies in the continuation of the protests after TPLF led government officially suspended the master plan in January 2016^[16]. Thereafter, demonstrations quickly spread across the face of Oromia and the Oromo Diaspora. From east to west, north to south and especially in the central zones of Oromia, protesters led by young people collectively referred to as “Qeerroo and Qaarree” were composed largely of students, farmers, and supportive towns people^[17].

From the time of 2014-2019 G.C. large number of Oromo Qeerroo and Qaarree were arrested and killed. More than 6000 Qeerroo and Qaarree were killed by massacre TPLF military force. To provide some mass killing under taken by massacre TPLF, on April 14, 2014, about seventy four precious Ambo (West Shewa) young students' lives have been slaughtered at the hands of merciless fascist apartheid regime. On October 2, 2016, massacre TPLF committed wholesale slaughter of over 800 Oromo's at Bishoftu Irreechaa annual thanks giving celebration, where gathered to celebrate their holiday. At Bishoftu Irreechaa massacre, the victims ranged from very old men to young women and right down to under aged children were included, one of the most genocidal murders in history of the country.

Riots in Oromia particularly escalated following government violence at Bishoftu Irreechaa festival. The TPLF led government

¹⁵ Daandii, Q. (2014). A chronological summary of Oromia student movement led by Qeerroo Bilisummaa: November 2013- November 2014. Retrieved from <http://finfinnetribune.com>

¹⁶ Bonnie K. Holcomb and Peri M. Klemm, The matter of land is a matter of life” Dubbiin Lafaa, Dubbiin Lafeeti”: Examining cultural messages in Oromo protest song, “Ka'i Qeerroo” Journal of Oromo Studies Association, Vol 25 (2018), p 64

¹⁷ Id, p 65

violent response to the Oromo protest also prompted populations in other regions like Konso, Quemant and Surma to demonstrate their solidarity with Oromo protesters^[18]. Finally declaration of unprecedented state of emergency on October 8, 2016, the government cemented its commitment to repression than dialogue. From the beginning of 2017, large numbers of the Oromo community have risen up against a marked increase in

attacks and human rights violations in Oromia by state and paramilitary forces, such as the liyu police. In the same year, at various international sporting events, several Ethiopian athletes have protested tyrant TPLF led government inability to embrace ethnic and religious diversity, by refusing to wave the current Ethiopia flag to celebrate victories.



Fig 1: This is “Qeerroo and Qaarree” protest against massacre TPLF and those shot to death during protest.

Finally the fascist genocide TPLF projects of mass massacres, mass murders, torture, incarceration, and tens of millions of mass removals from their ancestral lands never saved TPLF from falling down. TPLF eliminated from Oromia mainly by heroic Qeerroo and Qaarree. The fascist genocide TPLF failed to understand that people who struggle for freedom, national rights and human dignity cannot be reversed with military might, political maneuvers, deceptions, or martial law. Our fallen heroes and heroines have set the objective of this nation that the patriotic Qubee generations are not only embracing, but have taken over with the determination to fulfill. For the past four years from 2014 onward, the heroic Qeerroo and Qaarree, and patriotic nationalists have recorded many historic and irreversible victories at higher price that finally eliminated and cleared the fascist genocide TPLF from Oromia land including the seat of the federal government and the center of Oromia, which mean Finfinnee (Addis Ababa). And this was achieved because of the Qeerroo and Qaarree, and patriotic Oromo nationalist movement was very organized, united and conscious.

6. Maneuvering to Cling to Power Vs Responding to Challenging and Complex Issues.

The bitter and uninterrupted struggle of Qeerroo and Qaarree forced the existing TPLF led government to make necessary reforms. That mean civilian coup d'état political transition made by the actor's resistance or public protest and boycotts to make necessary political shifts through reformation of TPLF led organs

of government or overthrew the existing government, electing a transition prime minister and legislative body and laying the groundwork for a meaningful political transition. Accordingly, Qeerroo and Qaarree bring the contemporary political transition in Ethiopia. They initially emerged to stop the marginalization of Oromo people using social media as a major channel of informing, and organizing several protest movements. Qeerroo fi Qaarree become more powerful vis-à-vis the incumbent TPLF led government lastly after five years well organized and strong protest movements. The power of Qeerroo and Qaarree shook the country political economy and this followed by new transitional government Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed was appointed. A lot has happened since Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed come to power and brought some optimism and hope to millions of people living in the Ethiopian empire. He traveled abroad and wooed the Diaspora; and he invited exiled opposition political parties to return to the country and work peacefully and compete in a fair and free elections. He was also openly admitted that the government he was part of was terrorizing citizens, and that they were torturing and killing political prisoners. However, he presented himself as a reformist and promised fundamental changes in governing and expanding the political space. Following this the exiled opposition political parties returned home to hero's welcome by their respective supporters. The Oromo liberation front is one of them (OLF). It was only nine month ago that political prisoners were freed and hope and optimism filed the air of the country especially Oromia region

¹⁸ Margaux Pinaud (Research analyst) at the armed conflict location and event data project (ACLED, accessed on 9 November 2019)

who suffered a lot by successive system which comes from the north for a centuries. Now nine months later, we are back to square one, reports of arrest, abduction and rape of Oromo by the country military wing especially in the western (Wellega) and southern (Borena and Guji) part of Oromia. It is about year that western (Wellega) and southern (Borena and Guji) part of Oromia failed under command post led by head of transition government Abiy Ahmed. The western and southern part of Oromia fall into command post is unconstitutionally and unjust.

It is unconstitutionally because as provide under the country constitution, it is the mandate of council of minister of the federal government to decree state of emergency, and house of people representative to approve or not approve the decree ^[19]. Instead the western (Wellega) and southern (Borena and Guji) part of Oromia falls under command post by the only order of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed. And it was unjust because of mass arrest of Oromo youth and teenagers, abduction and rape of Oromo instead of protecting their security and safety.



Fig 2: Qaarree and Qeerroo protest at Hora Finfinnee against transitional government led by Abiy Ahmed for removal of unconstitutional command post.

Qaarree (cried) and Qeerroo protest at Hora Finfinnee annual Irreechaa thanks giving celebration, because of massacre and arrest, abduction, and rape of Oromo being suspected of supporters or members of Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), in western Oromia under unconstitutional command post, by Ethiopian military led by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed. At the same time they were protesting for the Abiy Ahmed government to clear out the military (unconstitutional command post) deployed in Western and

Southern Oromia. Arresting and killing continues under the transitional government led by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed of Ethiopia. Amnesty international said that, since Abiy took office, there have been several waves of mass arrest of Oromo especially in the west and southern part of Oromia. And detainees were not charged or taken to court. This show as transitional government led by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed is not reformist but a dictator talking reform to buy time to get a good grip on power.

Table 1: List of some Oromo arrested in the capital city Finfinnee (Addis Ababa) being suspected of supporters or members of Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) under the reign of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed.

No.	Name	Place of Arrest
1	Adem Jemal	Bale
2	Darara Guyo	Borena
3	Hamsalu Kasahun	East Shewa
4	Abdisa Gutata	East Wellega
5	Abubakr Nure	East Wellega
6	Ashebir Bari	East Wellega
7	Abebe Mamo	East Wellega (Age >75)
8	Abdi Bogale	East Wellega
9	Amanuel Beketa	East Wellega
10	Beyena Ruda (Pro.)	East Wellega
11	Bikila Amanu	East Wellega
12	Bikila Gerba	East Wellega
13	Chernet Tefera	East Wellega
14	Dandii Garboshe	East Wellega
15	Firomsa Bekele	East Wellega
16	Firew Bekele	East Wellega

¹⁹ Article 93 (1) (a)& (2) of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Constitution Proclamation No 1/1987

17	Gadisa Nagasa	East Wellega
18	Gadisa Daniel	East Wellega
19	Getahun Tamena	East Wellega
20	Melka Wirtu	East Wellega
21	Tsadig Kelifa	East Wellega
22	Getachew Bekele	Finfinnee (Addis Ababa)
23	Girma Bekele	Finfinnee (Addis Ababa)
24	Gemechu Ayana	Finfinnee (Addis Ababa)
25	Tarku Abdisa	Finfinnee (Addis Ababa)
26	Gada Rooba	Guji
27	Lammesa Takele	Horro Guduru Wellega
28	Abshiru Kedir	Kellem Wellega
29	Abdi Diriba	Kellem Wellega
30	Biyya Ulfina	Kellem Wellega
31	Bikila Dame	Kellem Wellega
32	Bulchinsa Belay	Kellem Wellega
33	Dawit Mulu	Kellem Wellega
34	Dame Bacha	Kellem Wellega
35	Dorombos Chuko	Kellem Wellega
36	Ebissa Diriba	Kellem Wellega
38	Eferem Iyasu	Kellem Wellega
39	Fedesa Kebede	Kellem Wellega
40	Feyera Mekonin	Kellem Wellega
41	Fikiru Dase	Kellem Wellega
42	Gemechu Hailu	Kellem Wellega
43	Kejela Dessa	Kellem Wellega
44	Lelisa Fikadu	Kellem Wellega
45	Lelisa Raaga	Kellem Wellega
46	Mathewos Embalu	Kellem Wellega
47	Segni Paulos	Kellem Wellega
48	Tekalign Merdasa	Kellem Wellega
49	Tolera Aga	Kellem Wellega
50	Ungula Bekele	Kellem Wellega
51	Usman Hasen	Kellem Wellega
52	Wagari Bedesa	Kellem Wellega
53	Yadesa Yosef	Kellem Wellega
54	Adugna Kesso	North Shewa
55	Lelisa Gudeta	North Shewa
56	Yaddesa Getachew	North Shewa
57	Ararsa Bacha	South West Shewa
58	Ejo Fixe	South West Shewa
59	Kebede Hixata	South West Shewa
60	Kuma Dendena	South West Shewa
61	Olana Belema	South West Shewa
63	Marga Guta	South West Shewa
64	Yomif Sexu	South West Shewa
65	Zerhun Adugna	South West Shewa
66	Hassan Ali	Wallo
67	Mohammed Abdela	Wallo
68	Chala Usmael	West Harargeh
68	Aana Bayissa	West Shewa
69	Abdi Kumsa	West Shewa
70	Abu Lemma	West Shewa
71	Chala Bayissa	West Shewa
72	Dereje Degefa	West Shewa
73	Felemeta Girma	West Shewa
74	Felemeta Merga	West Shewa
75	Fereja Getachew	West Shewa
76	Kayo Fufa	West Shewa
77	Kisi Kituma	West Shewa
78	Lelisa Tolosa	West Shewa
78	Mesfin Belete	West Shewa
79	Misgana Xafa	West Shewa
80	Moa Abdisa	West Shewa

81	Abdi Dafa	West Wellega
82	Abubakr Abdela	West Wellega
83	Amanuel Ejigu	West Wellega
84	Bilisuma Kinfie	West Wellega
85	Burka Kumera	West Wellega
86	Dawit Shiramu	West Wellega
87	Gada Bulti	West Wellega
88	Kelifa Abdul feta	West Wellega
89	Mohammed Isa	West Wellega
90	Robera Ayana	West Wellega
91	Wedajo Melkamu	West Wellega

Source: https://www.facebook.com/hashtag/tarree_hidhamtota_siyaasa

Here the arrest of Oromo who are big agent of this change shows as Abiy Ahmed government is blind spot to Oromo people's plight for justice and democracy.



Fig 3: Colonel Gemechu Ayana

Colonel Gemechu Ayana, commander of the 8th mechanized force joined OLF from Ethiopian army on 15 September 2006. Up on the invitation of opposition parties by Abiy Ahmed government colonel Gemechu returned to home with his organization Oromo Liberation Front (OLF). But after few months of hope and optimism, Colonel Gemechu was arrested by the transitional government led by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed. And not charged before courts of law. The arrest and torture of Oromo under the reign of Abiy Ahmed is for the fear that they may choose Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) if democratic election held. Abiy Ahmed government completely failed to live its promise of reform and change of laws and institutions owned for long time by tyrant TPLF led government. Now they turn to be part two tyrant TPLF led EPRDF government than working against. They ignored people's opportunities that have been through a lot of trauma for generation instead they give priority for themselves and their political party. Now the OPDO/ODP leaders are doing for survival of their party and positions. Because they are using their political capital to sustain themselves than finding peaceful way to move forward, make peace and implement the agreement they concluded with Oromo Liberation Front (OLF). The move for Medemer and Merger of alliance party to EPDRF by Abiy Ahmed clearly indicates as they are deceptively working hard to cling to power. Medemer and Merger of alliance party to EPRDF is neither vision nor strategy. The other is their hateful and divisive speech by Abiy Ahmed and Amharan higher officials against Oromo and other minority group has brought the country to the brink of civil war. The arrest

and mass massacre by Abiy Ahmed and Amharan higher official including Amhara National Movement not only restricted to Oromia but also to other area mainly minority groups. For instance mass massacre of more than 250 minority Gumuz children, women and men by Amharan armed militia, mass massacre of minority Kimant children, women and men by Amhara special force under the direct order of higher Amharan officials, and the same heinous done in Omo valley. From the time of transition Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed and Amharan higher officials has not passed a single day without uttering a divisive or downright hateful statement that demeans subaltern groups, and emboldens supremacists and bigots (here the supremacist and bigots were/are those from Amhara and they don't want even to recognizes and respect equality of all in this country). They engaged only in selective empathy/outrage for their political ends. The Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed as head of the biggest political body (i.e. the executive body), and those higher Amharan officials holding political office failed as nonpartisan and impartial entity, to organize a national convention to seek lasting solutions for the multitude of the crisis the country are facing today. Because of this the majority of Ethiopia peoples especially the Oromo nation believes the transition is off track and backsliding towards an authoritarian system of government. Ironically, it is still the oppressed people of southern Ethiopia mainly the Oromo nation that are paying the ultimate sacrifice to salvage the country, almost as if to save Ethiopia from itself.

Conclusion

Oromo nation was under the colony of the Amhara and Tigray for centuries, and the foundation of modern Ethiopian empire built up on the demise of Oromo power and the destruction of their lives and their property. So Oromo fought tragedy of the north for getting back their identity and property especially land. To achieve this Oromo scholar, elites, farmers, activist, politicians, students from primary to higher learning institute, and Oromo political party or organizations bitterly participated at different time and place. Qeerroo and Qaarree Oromo for the last five years bitterly struggled against the genocide wars perpetuated by TPLF (Tigray Peoples Liberation Front). They are youngsters and unarmed, fighters of freedom and independence. Their struggle against tyrant TPLF for national freedom is not only to serve their own struggle, it also serve the fundamental interest of all Ethiopian peoples. Qeerroo and Qaarree Oromo revolution inspired all occupied and oppressed nations and peoples throughout the world as courageous and brilliant example stand up against the well armed fascist regime. The major initial triggering factors for Qeerroo and Qaarree protest were the issue

of land grabbing (Finfinnee (Addis Ababa) integrated master plan), eviction and displacement of thousands of Oromo peasant farmers in the territory of Oromia. Because of this struggle thousands of Oromo's were arrested and massacred by fascist TPLF. From 2014-2018 about more than 6000 Qeerroo and Qaarree were massacred by tyrant TPLF. But massacre, mass murders, torture and arrest never saved TPLF. TPLF led government was failed and replaced by team Lemma from within the EPRDF because they played by side of Qeerroo and Qaarree against TPLF. Then Abiy Ahmed was elected as transition Prime Minister by which he presented himself as reformist and promised fundamental changes in governing and expanding political space. Based on the promise some positive measures were taken by Abiy Ahmed, but not lasted for long time. For instance Abiy government failed to implement the agreement made with OLF. Instead his government comes to be second tyrant TPLF as mass arrest, mass murders or killings, abduction and rape continued especially in the West (Wellega) and Southern (Borena and Guji) part of Oromia. The Western and Southern Oromia fall under unconstitutional command post led by Abiy Ahmed. Abiy Ahmed and his government not reformist but dictator talking reform to buy time to get a good grip on power. He used divisive and hateful speeches than solving the fundamental problems the peoples were asking for long time. The bitter struggle of Qeerroo and Qaarree Oromo overthrew tyrant TPLF led government and saved Ethiopia from disintegration through appointing new transitional government. But Abiy Ahmed divisive and downright hateful speeches that demeans the largest Oromo nation on one side and embolden supremacist and bigots clearly shows as the Qeerroo and Qaarree revolution is hijacked.

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