

THE OROMO IN EXILE: CREATING KNOWLEDGE AND PROMOTING SOCIAL JUSTICE

Although it has been impossible to freely study, write, and publish on the issues of the Oromo people in the Ethiopian Empire because of political repression, activist Oromo scholars in the Diaspora have been engaging in the development critical Oromo scholarship to address the political, economic, cultural and social problems of this down-trodden people for almost two decades. As a member of the Oromo Diaspora, I have been participating in and observing the development of Oromo scholarship. Successive Ethiopian governments have been targeting for imprisonment or elimination activist Oromos suspecting their participation in the Oromo national movement for national self-determination, statehood, and multinational democracy. In this paper, I focus on four major issues: First, I introduce the Oromo people and their gross human rights violations by the Ethiopian colonial state. Second, I explore the issues of the Oromo national struggle, my involvement in this struggle, my intellectual journey that has been shaped by this struggle and my commitment for social justice in the unjust capitalist world system. Third, I identify and explore the processes through which the Oromo Diaspora emerged and how the Oromo activist scholars in this group have struggled to dismantle the monopoly of knowledge production and dissemination by the Ethiopian elite and Ethiopianist scholars through developing an alternative knowledge for liberation and social justice. Fourth, I explain the significance of understanding the contradictions between Ethiopian and Oromo studies as the former represents the knowledge for domination and exploitation and the later the knowledge for liberation and social justice. Specifically, I explain why it is challenging to promote justice for indigenous peoples like the Oromo who do not have states in the unjust and corrupt capitalist world system.

The Oromo: From Freedom to Victimization

The Oromo people are best known for their former egalitarian and democratic social system known as *gadaa* and their military organization that enabled them to emerge as one of the strongest ethnonations in the Horn of Africa between the 12th and mid-19th centuries.¹ *Gadaa* was a form of constitutional government; it was also a social system. Politically it was practiced through the election of political leaders; corrupt leaders would be removed from power through *buqisu*, or recall before their official tenure. The rule of law was the central guiding principle of the Oromo government. Oromo women had a parallel institution known as *siqqee*. This institution promoted gender equality in Oromo society. Generally speaking, under the administration of the *gadaa* system the Oromo people were sovereign and free and no other society could practice their authority over them.

Gadaa closely connected social and political structures. Male Oromos were organized according to age and generation for both social and political activities. The *Gadaa* government was based on democratic principles: the *Abba Boku* was an elected “chairman” who presided over the assembly, and the *Abba Dula* (the defense minister) was one of the leading figures in the government. The *Abba Boku* presided over the national assembly and proclaimed the laws, and the *Abba Dula* was the leader of the army. A council known as *Shanee* or *Salgee* and retired *gadaa* officials also assisted the *Abba Boku* in running the government. *Gadaa* laws were passed by the *Chaffee* or *Gumii* (national assembly) and implemented by elected officials. This assembly is called *Chafee* or *Gumii Gayo* (multitude of assembly), and held every eight years. Representative of different sectors of Oromo society and interested individuals participated in this assembly.

All *gadaa* officials were elected for eight years by universal adult male suffrage; the main criteria for election to office included bravery, knowledge, honesty, demonstrated ability and courage. The *gadaa* government worked on local, regional, and central levels. The political philosophy of the *gadaa* system was manifested in three main principles of checks and balances created to avoid subordination and exploitation: periodic succession of eight years, balanced opposition between different sectors, and power sharing between higher and lower political organs. The *gadaa* government was based on popular democracy and equal representation for adult males. This government had independent executive, legislative, and judicial branches for balancing and checking the power of political leaders to avoid corruption and misuse of power. Some elements of *gadaa* are still practiced in southern and others regions of Oromia (the Oromo country). The *gadaa* system was the pillar of Oromo culture and civilization, and it helped Oromos develop democratic political, economic, social, and religious institutions for many centuries. Furthermore, through its military organization, the system enabled Oromos to defend themselves against enemies who were competing with them for land, water, and power for many centuries. This system partially destroyed by the Ethiopian colonial system during the last decades of the 19th century as we shall see below.

Today Oromos are engaged in a national liberation movement under the leadership of the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) to achieve their national self-determination and to restore Oromo democracy. Most Oromos support this liberation organization and its army, the Oromo Liberation Army. There are many Oromo organizations in North America, Europe, the Middle East, Australia, and Africa that support the Oromo national movement. The Oromo people are struggling for self-determination and the opportunity to reinvent a state that will reflect the *gadaa* system of popular and representative democracy. The Oromo call their nation and country Oromia. They also struggle to construct a multinational democratic state from the union of free nations on the principles of mutual solidarity, egalitarian democratic principles, and social justice by dismantling racial and other forms of social hierarchies.²

The Oromo are one of the largest ethnonations in Africa with a population estimated at about 40 million people in Ethiopia alone. In the Horn of Africa, they are estimated at 50 million. The Oromo also live in Kenya and Somalia. Oromia, the Oromo country, is located within the Ethiopian Empire and covers an area of 600,000 sq km (232,000 sq mi). During the last decades of the 19th century, the Oromo people were colonized and mainly incorporated into Abyssinia/Ethiopia and lost their sovereignty and independent institutional and cultural development. Great Britain, France, and Italy supported the Ethiopian colonization of the Oromo nation. The Ethiopian colonial state has maintained its domination of Oromia through the support of successive hegemonic power such as Great Britain, the USA, and the former USSR. Currently, the West and China support the Tigrayan-led Ethiopian regime despite the fact that this regime engages in state terrorism and gross human rights violations.³

Oromia is considered the richest region of the Horn of Africa because of its agricultural and natural resources. It is considered by many to be the “bread basket” of the Horn. Agricultural resources including barley, wheat, sorghum, xxafii (a grain), maize, coffee, oil seeds, *chat* (stimulant leaf), oranges, and cattle are abundant in Oromia. Oromia is also rich in gold, silver, platinum, marble, uranium, nickel, natural gas, and other minerals. It has several large and small rivers that are necessary for agriculture and to produce hydroelectric power. Today the resources of Oromia are exploited by the Tigrayan-led Ethiopian government and its domestic and international supporters. The nominal state of Oromia is still a colony of Ethiopia. The Oromo

people are mercilessly brutalized and removed from their ancestral lands and exposed to recurrent famines, absolute poverty, ignorance, and diseases.

There are millions of Oromo refugees in Africa, the Middle East, North America, Australia, Europe and other parts of the world. Particularly, the number of Oromo refugees has increased since 1992, when the Tigrayan-led Ethiopian government started its terrorism and genocidal massacres on Oromo society. The Ethiopian colonial terrorism and genocide that started during the last decades of the 19th century still continue in the 21st century. Ethiopia, former Abyssinia, terrorized and committed genocide on the Oromo people during the Scramble for Africa with the help of European imperial powers and the modern weapons they received from them.⁴ During Ethiopian colonial expansion “the charming Oromo land, [would] be ploughed by the iron and the fire; flooded with blood and the orgy of pillage.”⁵ Calling this event as “the theatre of a great massacre,” Martial De Salviac states,

The conduct of Abyssinian armies invading a land is simply barbaric. They contrive a sudden irruption, more often at night. At daybreak, the fire begins; surprised men in the huts or in the fields are three quarter massacred and horribly mutilated; the women and the children and many men are reduced to captivity; the soldiers lead the frightened herds toward the camp, take away the grain and the flour which they load on the shoulders of their prisoners spurred on by blows of the whip, destroy the harvest, then, gluttoned with booty and intoxicated with blood, go to walk a bit further from the devastation. That is what they call ‘civilizing a land.’⁶

The Oromo oral story also testifies that Ethiopians/Abyssinians destroyed and looted the resources of Oromia, and committed genocide on the Oromo people through massacre, slavery, depopulation, cutting hands, famine, and diseases during and after the colonization of Oromia. Recognizing this tragedy, “the Oromo said: ‘It is *Waaqa* [God] ... who has subjected us to the Amhara.’”⁷ According to Martial De Salviac, “With equal arms, the Abyssinia [would] never [conquer] an inch of land. With the power of firearms imported from Europe, Menelik [Abyssinian warlord] began a murderous revenge.”⁸ The colonization of Oromia involved human tragedy and destruction: “The Abyssinian, in bloody raids, operated by surprise, mowed down without pity, in the country of the Oromo population, a mournful harvest of slaves for which the Muslims were thirsty and whom they bought at very high price. An Oromo child [boy] would cost up to 800 francs in Cairo; an Oromo girl would well be worth two thousand francs in Constantinople”⁹

The Ethiopian government massacred half of the Oromo population (five million out of ten million) and their leadership during its colonial expansion.¹⁰ According to Alexander Bulatovich (2000: 68-69), “The dreadful annihilation of more than half of the population during the conquest took away from the Gallas [Oromos] all possibilities of thinking about any sort of uprising Without a doubt, the Galla, with their least five million population, occupying the best land, all speaking one language, could represent a tremendous force if united.” The destruction of Oromo lives, institutions, and Oromian natural beauty were aspects of Ethiopian colonial terrorism. The surviving Oromos who used to enjoy an egalitarian democracy were forced to face genocide, state terrorism, political repression, and an impoverished life. Bulatovich explains about the *gada* administration and notes that “the peaceful free way of life, which could have become the ideal for philosophers and writers of the eighteenth century, if they had known it, was completely changed. Their peaceful way of life is broken; freedom is lost; and the independent, freedom loving Gallas find themselves under the severe authority of the

Abyssinian conquerors.”¹¹

Ethiopian colonialists also destroyed Oromo natural resources and the beauty of Oromia. Oromia was “an oasis luxuriant with large trees” and known for its “opulent and dark greenery used to shoot up from the soil.”¹² De Salviac also notes that “the greenery and the shade delight the eyes all over and give the landscape richness and a variety which make it like *a garden without boundary*. 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.”¹³ The Abyssinian colonialists devastated “the forests by pulling from it the laths for their houses and [made] campfires or firewood for their dwellings [They were] the great destructors of trees, others [accused] them of exercising their barbarity against the forests for the sole pleasure of ravaging.”¹⁴ Bulatovich applied to Oromia the phrase “flowing in milk and honey”¹⁵ to indicate its abundant wealth in cattle and honey.

The Ethiopian colonial state gradually established settler colonialism in Oromia and developed five major types of colonial institutions, namely, slavery, the colonial landholding system, the *nafoxanya-gabbar* system (semi-slavery), the Oromo collaborative class, and garrison and non-garrison cities. It introduced the process of forced recruitment of labor via slavery and the *nafoxanya-gabbar* (semi-slavery) system.¹⁶ The colonial state expropriated almost all Oromo lands and divided up the Oromo among colonial officials and soldiers and their collaborators to force them to produce agricultural commodities and food for local consumption and an international market. The Oromo farmers were reduced to serfs or slaves or semi-slaves and coerced to work without remuneration for the settlers, intermediaries, and the colonial state for certain days every week. Whenever they failed to provide free labor or pay taxes or tributes, the settlers enslaved their children or wives.

The colonial terrorism that started during the reign of Menelik has continued under successive Ethiopian governments. The Haile Selassie government continued the policies of Menelik until it was overthrown by the popular revolt of 1974. The Haile Selassie government terrorized the Oromo of Raya-Azabo, Wallo, Hararghe, Bale and other regions because of their political and cultural resistance to the Amhara-Tigray domination. It also imprisoned, tortured or hanged prominent Oromo leaders including Mamo Mazamir and Haile Mariam Gamada who organized and led the Macca-Tuulama Self-Help Association in the early 1960s. The military regime that emerged in 1974 under the leadership Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam continued state terrorism, dictatorship, and Ethiopian colonial policies. Currently, the Meles regime is continuing similar colonial policies and practices in Oromia and other places.

When Oromo activists and the people started to resist the military regime, it intensified its state terrorism. The Military regime (derg) and its supporters committed massive human rights violations in the name of the so-called Revolution. According to Norman J. Singer,

Those killed in the first three months of the campaign of the ‘Red Revolutionary Terror’ . . . numbered around 4000-5000 [in Finfinnee (Addis Ababa) alone], the killings continued in March 1978, spreading to the rest of the country Those detained for political instruction numbered from 30,000 upwards Torture methods emphasized in the Red Terror . . . included severe beating on the head, soles of the feet . . . and shoulders, with the victim hung by the wrists or suspended by wrists and feet from a horizontal bar . . . ; sexual torture of boys and girls, including pushing bottles or red-hot iron bars into girls’ vaginas; and other cruel methods.¹⁷

The derg continued its mass imprisonments and killings. In 1980, one Oromo source mentioned that "the Oromo constitutes the majority of the more than two million prisoners that glut Ethiopia's jails today."¹⁸ In the 1980s, thousands of Oromo nationalists were murdered or imprisoned; the regime also terrorized other elements of Oromo society. According to Gunnar Hasselblatt, the military government

Repeatedly held mass shooting among the Oromo population, hoping to break the free, independent Oromo spirit. Sometimes a hundred, sometimes two hundred men were shot on this raised dry field . . . and were buried with bulldozers. Over years this procedure was repeated several times. When the method did not work and the Oromo population could not be forced into submission, other methods were used. The victims were made to lie down with their heads on stone, and their skulls were smashed with another stone. The . . . government . . . tried everything to consolidate its reign of terror and exploitation of Oromia When the Oromo movement could not be quenched by shooting or by the smashing of skulls, [the government] came up with a new idea. Men's testicles were smashed between a hammer and an anvil. Three men tortured and maimed in this way are still living.¹⁹

As mentioned above, Ethiopia has maintained its oppressive and repressive structures on the Oromo by the assistance of successive global powers, namely, Great Britain, the United States, former Soviet Union as well as and China.²⁰ As the former USSR supported the Mengistu regime, the US, powerful European countries and China are supporting the Tigrayan-led Ethiopian government. Since 1992, the Tigrayan authoritarian-terrorist regime²¹ has controlled the Oromo and denied them the freedom of expression, association, organization, the media, and all forms of communication and information networks. This government has been focusing on brutally attacking the Oromo national movement led by the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) and on robbing the economic resources of Oromia in order to enrich the Tigrayan elites and their collaborators and to specifically develop the Tigrayan region. To achieve its political and economic objectives, the regime primarily uses its puppet organization known as the Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO) which was created and is today controlled by the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF); the OPDO is led by Tigrayan cadres, elements of Oromo speaking colonial settlers, and opportunistic Oromos who would do anything in exchange for luxurious lifestyles.

The minority Tigrayan-led Ethiopian government is attempting to give a final solution for a large political problem that has existed for several centuries—the relationship between the Oromos and their Amhara-Tigrayan colonizers. As we know from history, the policy of targeting and exterminating indigenous peoples exists in different parts of the world, and it has been an integral practice of the racialized capitalist world system since the 16th century. While claiming to promote Christian civilization, modernity, and commerce, European colonialists exterminated indigenous peoples in the Americas, Australia, Asia, and Africa over a period of several centuries in order to transfer their homelands and resources to European colonial settlers and their descendants. Specifically, the plans and actions that King Leopold of Belgium had for the Congo or Andrew Jackson of the United States for the Cherokees or colonial Germany for the Herero and Nama peoples in South West Africa (Namibia)²² are very similar to the grand plan and action the Meles government has for the Oromo nation.

The Meles regime is now completing the forced removal of Oromos from the areas surrounding Finfinnee (Addis Ababa).²³ Furthermore, by evicting the Oromo farmers from their homelands with nominal or without compensation, the Meles regime has already leased several millions of hectares of Oromo lands to so-called investors from China, Djibouti, Saudi Arabia, India, Malaysia, Nigeria, as well as from Europe.²⁴ If the policy of land expropriation is allowed to continue Tigrayans, Chinese, Djiboutians, Indians, Malaysians, Nigerians, Arabs and Europeans will soon replace the Oromo people. Meles never sold or leased Tigrayan lands, but has expanded modern agricultural development in his homeland, Tigray. When the Oromo are facing abject poverty and hunger, Tigrayan elite who depended on international food aid in the 1980s for their survival, are rich and powerful today. The Meles regime also sells Oromo minerals and other natural resources while evicting and impoverishing the Oromo people. Whenever the Oromo resist, the regime mercilessly brutalizes and/or kills them.

The political and military leaders of the Meles government are literally gangsters and robbers; they use state power to expropriate state corporations and lands in the name of privatization—all with the blessing of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. In achieving its political and economic objectives, the Meles regime has been engaging in political repression, state terrorism, genocidal massacres, and gross human rights violations in Oromia and other regional states. Since the Oromo people have been resisting to Tigrayan colonial policies, they have been targeted by the Meles regime; they have been attacked and terrorized because of their economic resources, their acceptance of the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) as their national leadership, and their refusal to submit to the orders of Tigrayan authorities and their collaborators.

This regime has banned independent Oromo organizations including the OLF and declared war on those organizations and the Oromo people. It even outlawed Oromo journalists and other writers and closed down Oromo newspapers. As Mohammed Hassen asserts, “The attack on the free press has literally killed the few publications in the Oromo language in the Latin alphabet. The death of Oromo publications . . . has been a fatal blow to the flowering of Oromo literature and the standardization of the Oromo language itself. The Oromo magazines that have disappeared include *Gada*, *Biftu*, *Madda Walaabuu*, *Odaa*, and the *Urjii* magazine . . . Since 2002, there has not been a single newspaper or magazine that has expressed the legitimate political opinions of the Oromo in Ethiopia.”²⁵ Almost all Oromo journalists are either in prison or killed, or in exile. The regime also banned Oromo musical groups and all professional associations.

Expanding their political repression, regional authorities formed quasi-government institutions known as *gott* and *garee* to maintain tighter political control over Oromia; they “imposed these new structures on . . . [rural] communities More disturbing, regional authorities are using the *gott* and *garee* to monitor the speech and personal lives of the rural population, to restrict and control the movements of residents, and to enforce farmers’ attendance at ‘meetings’ that are thinly disguised OPDO political rallies.”²⁶ Generally speaking, the Meles government has continued to eliminate or imprison politically conscious and self-respecting Oromos. Today, thousands of Oromos are in official and secret prisons simply because of their nationality and their resistance to injustice. After jailed and released from prison after six years, Seye Abraha, the former Defense Minister of the regime who had previously participated in the massacring and imprisoning thousands of Oromos, testified on January 5, 2008, to his audience in the state of Virginia in the U. S. that “esir betu Oromigna yinager,” (“the prison speaks

Oromiffa [the Oromo language]”) and also noted that “about 99% of the prisoners in Qaliti are Oromos.”²⁷

The Tigrayan state bureaucrats believe that Oromo intellectuals, businessmen and women, conscious Oromo farmers, students, and community and religious leaders are their enemies, and, hence, should be eliminated through terrorism and genocide.²⁸ State terrorism is associated with issues of control over territory and resources and the construction of political and ideological domination.²⁹ State terrorism manifests itself as lethal violence in the form of war, assassination, murder, castration, burying alive, throwing off cliffs, hanging, torture, rape, poisoning, forcing people to submission by intimidation, beating, and disarmament of citizens.³⁰ The methods of killing include burning, bombing, the cutting of throats or arteries in the neck, strangulation, shooting, and the burying of people up to their necks in the ground. The agents and militia of Meles have burned houses and entire villages, exterminating thousands of Oromo men, women, and children. Government agents also killed prominent thousands Oromo activists through torture or by poisoning.

The Meles regime also practices different forms of torture on imprisoned Oromos and others. Former prisoners have testified that their arms and legs were tied tightly together on their backs and their naked bodies were whipped; large containers or bottles filled with water were fixed to their testicles, or if they were women, bottles or poles were pushed into their vaginas.³¹ There were prisoners who were locked up in empty steel barrels and tormented with heat in the tropical sun during the day and with cold at night.³² There were also prisoners who were forced into pits so that fire could be made on top of them.³³ The cadres, soldiers, and officials of the regime have frequently raped Oromo girls and women to demoralize them and their communities and to show how Tigrayan rulers and their collaborators wielded limitless power. As Bruna Fossati, Lydia Namarra and Peter Niggli report, “in prison women are often humiliated and mistreated in the most brutal fashion. Torturers ram poles or bottles into their vaginas, connect electrodes to the lips of their vulva, or the victims are dragged into the forest and gang-raped by interrogation officers.”³⁴

Ethiopian soldiers have collected young Oromo girls and women into concentration camps and gang raped them in front of their relatives, fathers, brothers, and husbands to humiliate them and the Oromo people. State-sanctioned rape is a form of terrorism. The use of sexual violence is also a tactic of genocide that a dominant ethnonational group practices in order to destroy a subordinate ethnonational group. What Catherine MacKinnon says about ethnic cleansing in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina applies to the sexual abuse of Oromo women by the Tigrayan-led regime: “It is also rape unto death, rape as massacre, rape to kill and to make the victims wish they were dead. It is rape as an instrument of forced exile, rape to make you leave your home and never want to go back. It is rape to be seen and heard and watched and told to others: rape as spectacle. It is rape to drive a wedge through a community, to shatter a society, to destroy a people. It is rape as genocide.”³⁵

The Tigrayan-led regime has used various mechanisms in repressing, controlling and destroying the Oromo people. It has imprisoned or killed thousands of Oromo women and men. Its agents have murdered prominent community leaders and left their corpses for hyenas by denying them burial to impose terror on the Oromo people. Furthermore, relatives of the murdered Oromos are not allowed to cry publicly to express their grievances, a once cultural practice.³⁶ For instance, in 2007, the Meles militia killed twenty Oromos and left their corpses for hyenas on the mountain of Suufi in Eastern Oromia.³⁷ According to *Human Rights Watch*, “Since 1992, security forces have imprisoned thousands of Oromo on charges of plotting armed

insurrection on behalf of the OLF. Such accusations have regularly been used as a transparent pretext to imprison individuals who publicly question government policies or actions. Security forces have tortured many detainees and subjected them to continuing harassment and abuse for years after their release. That harassment in turn has often destroyed victims' ability to earn a livelihood and isolated them from their communities."³⁸

The Meles regime has even targeted Oromia's environment and its animals. According to Mohammed Hassen,

Oromo men, women, children, animals, and even the Oromo environment are all targets of the TPLF's tyranny. In cases where Oromo pastoralists were suspected of harboring OLF guerrilla fighters, TPLF soldiers punished them by destroying or confiscating their cattle or by poisoning the wells from which the cattle drank. On many occasions Oromo farmers, suspected of feeding OLF fighters, saw their farms burned to the ground and the defenseless members of their households brutally murdered. In 2000, when the TPLF government suspected OLF guerrillas of hiding in the forests of Oromia, its agents set fires that caused catastrophic environmental destruction in Oromia and other states in southern Ethiopia.³⁹

In addition to such environmental destruction and the murdering and raping of Oromos, the Meles regime has engaged in the genocidal massacres of Oromos. This regime has engaged in such crimes with little or no opposition from Western powers, particularly the United States. All these crimes against humanity are committed in the name of democracy and development. Article II of the United Nations Convention defines genocide as "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group."⁴⁰

Kurt Jonassohn also explains genocide as the planned destruction of any economic, political or social group.⁴¹ According to Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonassohn, "GENOCIDE is a form of one-sided mass killing in which a state or other authority intends to destroy a group, as that and membership in it are defined by the perpetrator."⁴² Chalk and Jonassohn identify two major types of genocide:⁴³ the first type is used to colonize and maintain an empire by terrorizing people perceived to be real or potential enemies. In this case, the main purpose of practicing genocide is to acquire land and other valuable resources. Then the maintenance of colonial domination by state elites requires the establishment of a cultural and ideological hegemony that can be practiced through genocidal massacres. By destroying elements of a population that resists colonial domination, hegemony can be established on the surviving population. This is the second type of genocide; this form of genocide is called ideological genocide. Jonassohn notes that ideological genocide develops "in nation-states where ethnic groups develop chauvinistic ideas about their superiority and exclusiveness."⁴⁴

The Tigrayan-led government sees Oromia as part of its empire, controls all of Oromia's resources, and attacks the Oromo since it perceives them as its potential or real enemies. It engages in genocide as Chalk and Jonassohn explain above with the intention of destroying the part of the Oromo nation composed of nationalists and leaders. Tigrayan state leaders are claiming to promote political ideologies such as "revolutionary democracy" and "federalism," while at gunpoint attempting to legitimize Tigrayan ethnocracy and state power. They deny that they engage in massive human rights violations by claiming that they are democrats and revolutionaries; the Tigrayan-led government destroys the records of its political crimes. Jonassohn's description of a conspiracy of "collective denial" of genocide is applicable to the denial of the occurrence of genocide in the Ethiopian Empire. According to Jonassohn, "There

are many reasons for this: (a) in many societies such materials are not written down, or are destroyed rather than preserved in archives; (b) many perpetrators have recourse to elaborate means of hiding the truth, controlling access to information, and spreading carefully contrived disinformation; and (c) historically, most genocides were not reported because . . . there appears to have existed a sort of conspiracy of ‘collective denial’ whereby the disappearance of a people did not seem to require comment or even mention.”⁴⁵

While the Tigrayan-led regime attempts to eliminate Oromo leaders through genocide in order to deny the Oromo their own political leadership, it prepares Tigrayan children for positions of leadership by providing them access to better education. This regime also limits educational opportunities to Oromo children to maintain racial/ethnic division of labor. Although it is impossible to know exactly at this time how many Oromos have been murdered by the Meles government, Mohammed Hassen estimates that between 1992 and 2001, about 50,000 killings and 16,000 disappearances (euphemism for secret killings) took place in Oromia; he also notes that 90 percent of the killings were not reported.⁴⁶ The Meles government hides its criminal activities and “does not keep written records of its extrajudicial executions and prolonged detention of political prisoners.”⁴⁷ Furthermore, the massive killings and genocide committed on the Sheko, Mezhenger, Sidama, Annuak, and Ogaden Somali peoples have shocked some sections of the international community.⁴⁸ According to the Associated Press, Meles Zenawi and his followers are possible targets of the International Criminal Court (ICC) as are many leaders of African countries.⁴⁹

The president of Genocide Watch, Gregory Stanton, wrote on March 23, 2009, an open letter to the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights admiring the action that the ICC took in issuing a warrant for the arrest of President Omar al-Bashir of the Sudan and calling upon them to investigate the crimes Meles and his government have committed and still are committing against humanity in the Horn of Africa:

The action that the International Criminal Court has taken in this situation has restored hope to peace and justice loving people, affirming that international human rights law not only exists on paper, but in reality. It also sends an important message to perpetrators throughout the world that impunity for their crimes is not assured forever; which may be a primary reason that one of the first leaders to defend Omar al-Bashir and condemn the warrant was Prime Minister Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia, whose government has also been implicated in a pattern of widespread perpetration of serious human rights atrocities in Ethiopia and in Somalia. He and those within his government may be keenly aware of their own vulnerability to similar actions by the ICC in the future that could upend a deeply entrenched system of government-supported impunity that has protected perpetrators from any accountability.⁵⁰

Stanton demonstrates in this letter how the Meles government has committed heinous crimes by being involved “in the inciting, the empowerment or the perpetration of crimes against humanity, war crimes and even genocide, often justified by them as ‘counter-insurgency.’” He also states that the Meles government organized Ethiopian National Defense Forces and civilian militia groups to ruthlessly massacre 424 persons from the Annuak people in Gambella on December 2003 in order to suppress opposition and to “exclude them from any involvement in the drilling for oil on their indigenous land.” According to Stanton, as militia groups chanted “Today is the day for killing Annuak,” both the military and militias used machetes, axes and

guns to kill the unarmed victims, frequently raping the women while chanting, “Now there will be no more Annuak children.”

Reports from Amnesty International, the U.S. State Department, and the Human Rights Watch have been continuing to list Zenawi’s government extensive record of chilling crimes against the politically and economically oppressed peoples such as the Oromo. The Meles regime recently passed the so-called anti-terrorism law to legalize its crimes against humanity and to legally intensify its own repressive and terrorist activities. Ethiopia’s anti-terrorism “law could provide the Ethiopian government with a potent instrument to crack down on political dissent, including peaceful political demonstrations and public criticisms of government policy that are deemed supportive of armed opposition activity.”⁵¹ Generally speaking, the policies and practices of the Meles regime have forced millions of Oromos to become political refugees in Asia, Europe, Australia, and North America.

The alliance of the West with this regime has frightened neighboring countries such as Djibouti, Kenya, Sudan, and Yemen, and turned them against the Oromo struggle and Oromo refugees. Using the leverage of Western countries, the Meles regime has pressured neighboring governments to return or expel Oromo refugees from their countries. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) has even failed to provide reasonable protection for thousands of Oromo refugees in Djibouti, Kenya, Sudan, Somalia, and Yemen. For example, on December 21 and 22, 2000, while five thousand Oromo refugees were refouled to Ethiopia, the UNHCR office in Djibouti denied any violation of its mandate had occurred.⁵² Between 2000 and 2004, hundreds of Oromo refugees were forced to return to Ethiopia from Djibouti to face imprisonment or death.⁵³ “The continuing refoulement of refugees from Djibouti,” notes the Oromia Support Group, “especially the large scale refoulement of December 2000 and the 28 associated deaths by asphyxiation and shooting, should be publicly acknowledged by UNHCR and the Djibouti government.”⁵⁴ Furthermore, the security agents of Ethiopia and neighboring countries still capture thousands of Oromo refugees and return them to Ethiopia.

By crossing borders and entering Somalia and Kenya, agents of the Ethiopian regime assassinated prominent Oromo leaders. And still today, the regime is killing prominent Oromos in Kenya and Somalia. Just in 2007 and 2008, Ethiopian security forces assassinated Oromos in Somalia and Kenya. One human rights organization notes that on February 5, 2008, the combined security forces of Ethiopia and Puntland, Somalia, bombed two hotels and consequently murdered 65 Oromo refugees and seriously injured more than 100 people.⁵⁵ In 2009, the regime killed four Oromos by poisoning their food in Puntland.⁵⁶ When it comes to the Oromo, international organizations do not pay attention even if terrorist attacks occur and international laws are broken.

The Oromo are being denied sanctuary in neighboring countries and are also even being denied the right to be refugees to some degree. Since some Oromo refugees are not welcomed by neighboring countries and international organizations, there are thousands of ‘internal’ Oromo refugees in Oromia and Ethiopia. Fleeing from Ethiopian state terrorism, these internal refugees hide in the bushes and remote villages. Suspecting that these internal refugees support the Oromo national struggle, the regime attempts to control their movements and the movement of other Oromos. Like other Oromo activist-scholars, I have been studying and exposing such crimes committed on the Oromo people.

The Oromo National Movement and my Involvement

Colonized by and absorbed into Ethiopia in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the Oromo were removed from the global community by the Abyssinian system of political slavery. Oromia was denied a “status as a nation among the community of nations.”⁵ The Ethiopians established a settler colonial structure in Oromia, erased the cultural identity and the language of the Oromo from public life and the historical record, and isolated Oromos from one another. Ethiopia became “the intermediary representative in the outside world for all the peoples contained within the empire. When the Oromo political system with its overarching integrative republican mechanism of public assemblies was officially dismantled and replaced by centralized Ethiopian administrative policies in Oromia, the isolation of the Oromo peoples was complete.”⁶

Because Ethiopia imposed its rule on the Oromo and maintained a colonial relationship with them, the Oromo never recognized the legitimacy of Ethiopian suzerainty and never assumed an Ethiopian identity for themselves. The effort to force an Ethiopian identity and culture upon the Oromo succeeded only in assimilating a few Oromos who attended the few colonial schools in Oromia. The majority of the Oromo did not receive formal education and remained largely unaffected by the assimilationist efforts. The Ethiopian colonial government in any case did not encourage structural assimilation or a policy of allowing its colonial subjects access to political opportunity, cultural and economic resources, education, or any resource or activity it deemed incompatible with its colonial interests.

Although marginalized, most Oromos kept their *Oromummaa* or Oromoness at the risk of being relegated to second-class citizenship within the Ethiopian colonial state. Disaffected, the Oromo continued to resist Ethiopian settler colonialism and to fight to regain their freedom and independence. Resistance sometimes took the form of local uprisings, including instances in which Ethiopian colonial settlers were expelled from Oromo areas.⁷ By the 1960s, Oromo resistance to the imposition of Ethiopian settler colonial rule had assumed the form of reform nationalism, a movement whose purpose was to demand for the Oromo accommodation and fair treatment as Ethiopian citizens.⁸ However, it took a while for Oromo nationalism to develop and mature. Several factors contributed to the slow development of Oromo nationalism. The Ethiopian colonial state and its institutions impeded the development of an autonomous Oromo leadership by co-opting the submissive elements and liquidating the nationalist ones.

Ethiopian state officials actively suppressed Oromo institutions, distorted Oromo history, and stunted the development of the Oromo language and culture. Denied access to formal education, the Oromo remained without formally trained and culturally grounded intellectuals. Only a handful of Oromos were fortunate enough to receive formal education, an experience that opened their eyes to the abysmal situation of the lives of their kin. One such fortunate Oromo was Onesimos Nasib, a slave lad from western Oromia who was trained in Sweden as a Christian missionary. In the first half the twentieth century, Onesimos and his assistants, Aster Ganno, Lydia Dimbo, and Feben (Hirphee) Abba Magaal, as well as the Islamic religious scholar Sheik Bakri Saphalo, pioneered the production of written literature in Afaan Oromoo and tried to introduce literacy to Oromo society. The Ethiopian colonial government and the Orthodox Church suppressed the efforts of these scholars and thwarted the emergence of Oromo national consciousness.

In addition, after achieving independence in 1960, Somalia worked hard to Somalize some Oromos, in its irredentist ambition to annex a part of Oromia to Somalia. Compressed between Ethiopia, which saw it as a major threat to Ethiopian territorial integrity, and Somalia, which regarded it as an obstacle to the realization of the dream of Greater Somalia, Oromo

nationalism remained an idea in the minds of a few Oromos.⁹ By the late 1960s, with the emergence a few Oromo intellectuals, the cumulative experiences of resistance and the politicized collective and individual grievances of the Oromo had begun to be transformed into an ideology of nationalism. The process was assisted by the migration of many Oromos from rural areas to cities and the emergence of a small conscious Oromo intelligentsia.

Paradoxically, the collective consciousness of the Oromo or Oromo nationalism was kindled among the Oromo elite, who had been educated to be co-opted by the Ethiopian ruling class. Barred by the Ethiopian Constitution from establishing a political organization, the nascent Oromo educated class, in 1963, formed the Maccaa-Tuulama Self-Help Association (MTSHA) in Finfinnee (Addis Ababa), the capital city of the Ethiopian Empire. The association was on record as stating that its objective was to formulate programs to solve economic, social, and educational problems in Oromo society, but the very act of its founding was construed by the Ethiopians as an expression of the collective grievances of the Oromo people. Even though MTSHA was scrupulous in declaring that its objective was to contribute to the state's effort to improve the social and economic welfare of the Oromo and other Ethiopians, the members of the Ethiopian ruling elite were not convinced that the association did not have a subversive political agenda.

A campaign of defaming MTSHA subsequently got underway, as its members were harassed, denied treatment equal to that of other Ethiopian bureaucrats and civil servants, and frequently accused of disloyalty to the state. On one occasion, Aklilu Habte Wold, then the Ethiopian prime minister, confided to Brigadier General Taddasa Biru the government's undeclared policy to deny educational and professional opportunities to the Oromo. The general was an Ethiopianized Oromo who later joined the association because of this event. In 1966, the stunned general attempted unsuccessfully to assassinate Emperor Haile Sellassie and take over state power. Haile Sellassie's government was alarmed by this daring action and by the level of Oromo discontent and political consciousness. In 1967, MTSHA was banned, some of its leaders executed, and others imprisoned.

Oromo cultural groups, such as the Affran Qallo and the Biftu Ganamo musical bands, were accused of being conveyers of devious political messages and disbanded. Between 1968 and 1970, the Bale Oromo armed struggle, which had started in the early 1960s, was brutally suppressed by government forces with technical assistance from Great Britain, the United States, and Israel. The severity and speed with which the government reacted to the attempted assassination of Haile Sellassie made it plain to Oromo nationalists that their demands for social and economic justice would never be attained by reforming the Ethiopian state. Oromo nationalism was subsequently forced to go underground. With the suppression of Oromo reform nationalism, some Oromo nationalists fled to Somalia, the Middle East, and elsewhere to continue the struggle in exile. Others remained in Ethiopia. The continued denial of individual, civil, and collective rights and the suppression of Oromo organizations and movements forced Oromo leaders who remained in Ethiopia to press on with the Oromo struggle clandestinely.

In the late 1960s and the early 1970s, they established an underground political movement and expanded their influence by organizing different political circles in different sectors of Oromo society, including students, professionals, workers, farmers, and soldiers. Using political pamphlets that they produced and distributed secretly, they framed the Oromo question as a colonial question and, by doing this, defined the future direction of the Oromo national movement. By the early 1970s, Oromo reform nationalism had been transformed into a revolutionary nationalism that had as its goal the dismantling of Ethiopian settler colonialism and

the establishment of an independent state or an autonomous region within a federated, multinational, democratic society.

My political orientation and activism started in the early 1970s, when I joined the Haile Selassie I University (presently called Addis Ababa University) and recruited to an underground Oromo national movement. In this process that I learned how my people were suffering under Ethiopian settler colonialism by studying Oromo history and culture. During this period, I also studied the experiences of other colonized peoples and how they struggled to liberate themselves. What I was learning in the university and what I was studying in the Oromo underground movement were contradictory. It was then that I realized that there are two forms of knowledge in a social world: One is knowledge for domination and oppression and the other is knowledge for liberation and social justice. I will come back to these issues below.

In 1973, the Oromo who had fled to foreign countries and received military training returned to Oromia to initiate an armed struggle under the leadership of Elemo Qilixu in eastern Oromia. In 1974, this group and the revolutionary nationalists who had remained in Ethiopia announced the creation of the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) to spearhead the Oromo struggle. Soon, the OLF began to challenge Ethiopian colonial domination ideologically, intellectually, politically, and militarily. In response, the Ethiopian state initiated counterinsurgency operations against Oromo nationalists and the Oromo people. In the late 1970s and the 1980s, the OLF encountered difficulties as it sought to accelerate the pace of the struggle. International support was hard to come by, and acquiring bases from which to launch guerrilla attacks proved difficult. Ethiopia's relentless attacks and Somalia's challenge to Oromo nationalism, coupled with internal disagreement within the OLF leadership, stunted the growth of revolutionary Oromo nationalism, which had begun to develop quickly in the mid-1970s. In one incident in 1979, almost all the members of the OLF executive committee were wiped out on their way to an important organizational meeting in Somalia.

Oromo nationalists and veteran leaders like Tadassa Biru and Hailu Ragassa were killed in 1976. In 1980, the military regime of Mengistu Haile Mariam rounded up and murdered high-ranking OLF leaders and several hundred activists. Because of all these factors, the Oromo movement could not play a direct, leading role in the fall of the military regime in May 1991. With the demise of this regime, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), led by the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF), came to power with the support and endorsement of the U.S. government. A Transitional Government, composed of the EPDRF and various liberation fronts, the most prominent of which was the OLF, was formed to pave the way for the eventual establishment of an all-inclusive, democratic government in Ethiopia. During the early phases of the transitional period in 1991 and 1992, Oromo nationalism was transformed from an elite movement to a mass movement.

The development of the Oromo national movement representing the largest ethnonational group in Ethiopia was viewed by the TPLF as a major roadblock to the march toward the establishment of Tigrayan hegemony. In an effort to remove the obstacle, the TPLF-led ethnocratic Ethiopian government labeled Oromo nationalists, businessmen, and intellectuals as "narrow nationalists" and "enemies of the Ethiopian Revolution" and began a systematic effort to destroy Oromo nationalism altogether.¹⁰ As explained above, thousands of Oromos were killed, imprisoned, and robbed of their property. Several prominent Oromo journalists and intellectuals were imprisoned illegally and many were killed. Even a relief organization that served the Oromo, the Oromo Relief Association (ORA), was outlawed and expelled from neighboring countries.¹¹ Despite the challenges to the Oromo people and their national

movement, the OLF and other Oromo organizations continued the Oromo national struggle for self-determination.

The Emergence of the Oromo Diaspora and the Oromo Struggle

The intensification of the national struggle, as expected, brought Ethiopian state terrorism down on Oromos. These conditions have forced thousands of Oromos to seek protection in the West and join the African Diaspora groups that came before them. In addition, the process of globalization that started in the sixteenth century is characterized at the present stage by a revolution in information, communications, and transportation technologies that have reduced the relevance of national boundaries, eliminated barriers to global investment, and allowed the easy movement of capital, information, technology, and labor. In the 1980s and increasingly in the 1990s, these global changes and structures, combined with oppressive conditions in the Ethiopian Empire, forced hundreds of thousands of Oromos out of their homeland and made them refugees in foreign lands. The dispersal of Oromos has now produced nascent Oromo Diaspora communities worldwide. Noting this phenomenon, Bonnie Holcomb commented: “[A]fter a century of separation from one another, Oromos have come together in the world beyond Oromia where communication was unrestricted.”¹²

In the 1970s and 1980s, the Ethiopian military regime declared an all-out war against “narrow nationalist” and “secessionist” enemies of the revolution. With the support of the former Soviet Union, the regime attacked Oromo nationalists with unprecedented fury. Massive human rights violations were committed as political and religious persecution was unleashed and schemes of forced resettlement and villagization, a political project of creating peasant hamlets on government-selected sites, were carried out. The combined effect of these policies and attacks, summary executions, and political persecution caused the exodus of hundreds of thousands of Oromos, who migrated to neighboring countries.¹³ In the 1990s, the TPLF-dominated government of Ethiopia continued the long-standing persecution of the Oromo people and their independent political and civil organizations, this time with assistance from the West, particularly the United States. Oromo nationalist journalists, businessmen and businesswomen, intellectuals, teachers, students, farmers, artists, and civil servants were killed, imprisoned, or “disappeared” without trace.

Ethiopian state terrorism “drove millions of people to abandon their homes to escape conscription, starvation, and certain death by seeking refuge beyond the borders of the empire.”¹⁴ In this process, about half a million Oromos were scattered around the world. Today there are about 50,000 Oromos in North America, the majority of whom immigrated to the United States and Canada as refugees. A few others came as tourists and students but decided to remain for political or personal reasons. Among the latter group, some began organizing Oromo Diaspora associations in order to expand the support base for Oromo nationalism and the struggle for national liberation.¹⁵ Their ideas came to fruition in 1974 when 11 Oromos came together to form the Union of Oromos in North America (UONA).¹⁶ More Oromos joined UONA during its second congress in the following year.¹⁷ Promoting the Oromo national movement and openly advocating *Oromummaa* (Oromo culture, identity, and nationalism), OLF-affiliated organizations such as the UONA, the Union of Oromo Students in Europe (UOSE), and later the Oromo Studies Association (OSA), the Oromo Relief Association (ORA), Oromo community organizations, Oromo support groups, and Oromo Christian and Muslim communities sprang up in the West and in other parts of the world.

The base of the Oromo Diaspora community has been expanding recently in both number and diversity. The new wave of arrivals brought women and children, farmers, traders, Muslims and traditional religionists, and persons of less urbanized, relatively less privileged, and consequently less “Ethiopianized” background and experience.¹⁸ Living outside the control of Ethiopia, the Oromo Diaspora community quickly became engaged in building organizations that reflect *Oromummaa* and promote the Oromo struggle for self-determination, self-expression, and self-sufficiency both in Oromia and abroad. Although they are concentrated in big cities like Washington, DC, Minneapolis, Atlanta, Seattle, Toronto, and Ottawa, the members of the Oromo Diaspora community are scattered over most North American cities. They have raised the voice of the Oromo people in the First World.

My own life and intellectual development are intertwined with the creation of the Oromo Diaspora community and its efforts to produce knowledge for liberation and to promote social justice. As a member of this community, I have participated in producing Oromo-centric knowledge for promoting social justice for the Oromo people. In 1985 while I was engaging in graduate studies I joined UONA, and between 1987 and 1988 I served as the editor of *Waldhansso: Journal of the Union of Oromos in North America*. I was also a member of a group within UONA that gradually created the Oromo Studies Association (OSA) in North America. My membership in UONA and OSA and my leadership roles in these organizations in various capacities enabled me to closely observe and study Oromo Diaspora associations and organizations. I served as the president of OSA and the editor of *The Journal Oromo Studies Association*. This journal has become a global intellectual forum for producing and dissemination Oromo-centric scholarship.

My intellectual activism and development has been intertwined with the Oromo national struggle. While I was a graduate student between 1985 and 1989, my research was totally focused on Oromo studies. Since the Oromo were not known to the world at that time, it was not easy to convince my professors to research and write on Oromo society. When I requested Terry Hopkins, a famous expert on studies of the modern world system at the State University of New York, Binghamton, to be the director of my dissertation, he advised me to write on South of Africa rather than on the Oromo which he thought that they did not yet achieve people-hood. He advised me that it was not good for my professional advancement to write on such obscure people. When he observed that I was very angry because of his insensitive comments, he apologized and agreed to direct my dissertation.

My main goal of pursuing graduate education was to develop my intellectual knowledge that would equip me to engage in Oromo studies to produce an Oromo-centric knowledge in order to challenge Ethiopian knowledge elites and their Ethiopianist collaborators who distorted Oromo history, culture, and identity and to promote social justice for the Oromo people. My involvement in the Oromo national movement in Oromia developed in me such commitment. Gradually I started to write and publish on Oromo society and to develop an emergent Oromo studies with other Oromo scholars in the Diaspora. The emergent Oromo studies have struggled to replace Ethiopian colonial history by a history of liberation, and to refute historical myths that have been produced to justify Ethiopian colonialism.

The Contradiction between Ethiopian and Oromo Studies

The Ethiopian knowledge elites and their global supporters have treated the Oromo as historical objects because their powerlessness. These elites with the support of the Ethiopian state produced “official history” that completely denied a historical space for the Oromo and other

colonized peoples. The Oromo name was erased from history and replaced by the Galla which connoted savage, cruel, orderless, destructive, slave, barbaric, inferior, uncultured, and ignorant. As R. M. Rahman notes, “domination of masses by elites is rooted not only in the polarization of control over the means of material production but also over the means of knowledge production, including control over social power to determine what is useful knowledge.”⁵⁷ With their colonization and incorporation into Ethiopia, the Oromo could not develop independent institutions that would allow them to produce and disseminate their historical knowledge freely. However, in the Diaspora a few Oromo intellectuals have overcome this shortcoming by creating OSA and developing the emergent Oromo studies since the late 1980s.

Racist and negative views about the Oromo have prevented most Ethiopian and Ethiopianist scholars from understanding Oromo history and culture. Tesema Ta’a asserts that “old written records on the Oromo reflect some elements of racist ideology and have tremendous influence on some of the scholars of modern Ethiopian history who have, for one reason or another, not been able to detach themselves from the archaic and wrong views about the Oromo.”⁵⁸ While Ethiopian elites and their supporters continue to support the Ethiopian version of history, Oromo scholars have realized the necessity of a plurality of centers in knowledge production and dissemination. A few innovative scholars have recognized the importance of looking at a society from different cultural centers and have developed the emergent Oromo studies. The emergent Oromo studies indicate that the Oromo are transforming their one hundred years of historical defeat to victory through intellectual, political, and armed struggle because of the emergence of an Oromo educated class that started to develop an Oromo national consciousness.

However, Oromo scholars and others who have interest in Oromo studies have been discouraged or prohibited by the Ethiopian state from studying Oromo culture and history. Consequently, Oromo studies have been developing in Europe and North America. Some of the Oromo and Oromia scholars in the Diaspora have committed themselves to serious scholarship and their works are becoming stepping stones in the writing of the social and cultural of the Oromo people. Contemporary publications on Oromo cultural and social history challenge a top-down paradigm to historiography and make the Oromo subjects rather than objects of history. “Situated knowledges require that the object of knowledge be pictured as an actor and agent, not a screen or a ground or a resource,” D. J. Haraway writes, “never finally as slave to the master that closes off the dialectic in his unique agency and authorship of ‘objective’ knowledge.”⁵⁹ Oromo studies as liberation knowledge recognize an Oromo agency and promote social justice.

In the capitalist world system, indigenous peoples who do not have states cannot fully develop their institutions, including educational one, and promote social justice for their societies. Therefore, to promote their human rights that are enshrined in the U. N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights and U. N. International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, colonized peoples like the Oromo must intensify their national struggle to achieve national self-determination, statehood, and democratic governance. The Diaspora communities such as that of the Oromo can only play supporting roles to the national movement of the colonized indigenous peoples around the world. Through colonial expansion and incorporation, global capitalism brought together various population groups in a political unit called the nation-state. In this state, the dominant or colonizing ethnonations either destroyed or absorbed subordinate ethnonations through structural assimilation or created a system that perpetuated exploitation and oppression by establishing racist policies and by denying structural assimilation and civil equality.

The dominated peoples like the Oromo struggle against the states that have suppressed cultural diversity and intensified oppression and exploitation in the name of common citizenship and cultural universalism. The practice of destroying ethnocultural diversity through forced assimilation to create a “national culture” became the main goal of territorial or state nationalism. However, wherever there was no structural assimilation, ethnonationalism has opposed forced cultural assimilation and remained a strong political force in international politics. The subjugated peoples whose history and culture were condemned to death by state nationalism sought cultural diversity. But the demand for cultural diversity became incompatible with official or state nationalism. That is why the ethnonational and cultural movements of the Irish, Welsh, and Scots are reemerging in Great Britain; similarly, the Basques, Catalonians, Occitanians, and Corsicans are challenging the myths forged by the French Revolution in France and Spain. There are similar conditions in other European countries, Asia, Africa, Australia, and in the Americas.

The colonization of a human group denies dignity that is associated with freedom of development, free expression, self-worthiness, self-respect, worldviews, and choices, and facilitates economic exploitation and underdevelopment; colonialism impedes the development of productive forces in the colonized society. Oppressed nationalism emerges to change the nature of the existing oppressive state or to create a new state. Human groups, territorial or cultural, with the emergence of large-scale and long-term social changes invented or refashioned their respective states to deal with complex issues. Despite the fact that the modern states and their interstate structures were recent inventions, state elites and their supporters portray them as something “natural” that cannot be changed or modified. Since global political structures change constantly with socioeconomic and large-scale changes, the “modern” state is not the final form of political structure. Since the subjugated ethnonational groups are denied cultural and economic development and access to state power, they develop a collective national consciousness to challenge the dominant ethnonations.

The subjugated peoples struggle to oppose subordination, poverty, and underdevelopment. Oppressed ethnonational movements have gained legitimacy because they base their struggles on the grievances of a collective memory to regain economic, political, and cultural rights by rejecting subordination and cultural assimilation. The breaking down of the Soviet and Yugoslavian empires into several nation-states, the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa, the division of Czechoslovakia into Czech and Slovakia, and the liberation of Eritrea in 1991 in Africa prove the relevance of territorial or ethnonationalism and the principle of national self-determination. Since most state structures are buttressed on racial/ethnonational stratification, class and gender hierarchies, they are undemocratic for the oppressed classes and social groups. The colonized indigenous peoples are not against structural integration and unification if they include equality, justice, and representative or multinational democracy. However, they oppose cultural assimilation at the cost of their cultural, economic and political rights; they have been struggling for these rights since the emergence of the state. The unjust and corrupt capitalist world system practically ignores the human rights of the indigenous peoples like the Oromo who do not have states.

Conclusion

For the first time since their colonization and incorporation into Ethiopia, starting in the late 1980s, Oromo activist intellectuals who live in exile and other international scholars created and developed OSA, an independent institution that freely research, publish, and disseminate Oromo-

centric knowledge to the world. In this effort, its journal called *the Journal of Oromo Studies* plays a central role. Describing the significance of creating and developing such an alternative institution, John Gaventa argues that “fundamental questions must be raised about what knowledge is produced, by whom, for whose interests and toward what end. Such arguments begin to demand the creation of an alternative organization science—one that is not only for the people but is created with them and by them as well.”⁶⁰ Similarly, scholars who built OSA have engaged in critical scholarship and they have published books and refereed journals and exposed the criminality of the Ethiopian colonial state and the deficiencies of Ethiopian studies that objectified Oromo society.

By continuing to expand Oromo studies in the Diaspora and to challenge those scholars who have downplayed the Oromo struggle, culture, and civilization, Oromo and Oromia scholars have enhanced the growing awareness of the Oromo problem. The free production of Oromo knowledge and the Oromo struggle for national self-determination are fundamental human rights issues. Therefore, intellectuals who are involved in Oromo and Ethiopian studies must debate openly and honestly to transform their scholarship, and to suggest ways through which conflicts can be democratically and fairly resolved in the Ethiopian Empire. The building of democracy of knowledge is the first step toward this goal. The emergent Oromo historical and cultural studies in the Diaspora started to have a serious impact on Oromo and Ethiopian studies. Scholars who are engaged in Oromo studies have effectively identified some of the deficiencies in Ethiopian studies and the gross human rights violations of the Oromo in Ethiopia. They have challenged the fallacy of the mainstream stream Ethiopian paradigm and built the new paradigm of Oromo social and cultural history. This new paradigm has already transformed the colonized Oromo from objects to subjects of history by breaking the Ethiopian studies’ monopoly of knowledge production and dissemination.

The efforts activist Oromo scholars have been parts and parcels of the Oromo struggle for national self-determination: to regain their political freedom and rebuild independent institutions. These scholars have become the spokespersons of the Oromo nation on global level. Although these scholars have produced Oromo-centric knowledge that has become the foundation of the Oromo national self-determination, this achievement in the Diaspora can only fully benefit the Oromo masses in the Ethiopian Empire if the Oromo national movement fulfills its political objectives in Oromia. So the Oromo activist scholars in the Diaspora have historical obligations and ethical and moral responsibilities to continue to disseminate the liberation and Oromo-centric knowledge that they produce among the Oromo wherever they live so that they can use it in building their movements, associations, institutions, and organizations to empower and liberate themselves in order to protect their own human rights in the unjust and corrupt capitalist world system. Furthermore, the Oromo-centric knowledge is helping to refine and adapt some elements of *gadaa* principles in developing *Oromummaa* (Oromo national culture, identity and nationalism) for achieving national self-determination, statehood, and democratic governance. The Oromo liberation knowledge is also helping in developing national and global *Oromummaa* based on *gadaa* principles. While this form of knowledge helps in developing *Oromummaa* in Oromo society, it also enables the Oromo people to develop global *Oromummaa* to build a global mutual solidarity based on the principles of equality and reciprocity with forces that struggle for protection of human rights and for promotion of social justice by dismantling all forms of hierarchies based on ethnonation, gender, class, etc.

Notes

¹ For further explanation, see Asafa Jalata, *Oromia & Ethiopia*, 2nd edition, (Lawrenceville: The Red Sea Press, 2005); Asmarom Lagessee, *Oromo Democracy*, (Lawrenceville, 2006).

² See Asafa Jalata, *Contending Nationalisms of Oromia and Ethiopia*, (Binghamton, NY: Global Publishing at Binghamton University, 2010).

³ See, the current reports of Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, Genocide Watch, and other human rights organizations.

⁴ Bonnie Holcomb and Sisai Ibssa, *The Invention of Ethiopia*, (Trenton: The Red Sea Press, 1990); Asafa Jalata, *Oromia & Ethiopia*, (Denver: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993).

⁵ Martial De Salviac, *An Ancient People, Great African Nation*, trans by Ayalew Kano (East Lansing, Michigan, 2005, [1901]), p. 349.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹⁰ De Salviac, *ibid.*, pp. 6-8, 278; Alexander Bulatovich, *Ethiopia through Russian Eyes: Country in Transition*, translated by Richard Seltzer, (Lawrenceville, NJ: The Red Sea Press, 2000), pp. 68-68.

¹¹ Alexander Bulatovich, *ibid.*, p. 68.

¹² De Salviac, *ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

¹³ De Salviac, *ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁵ Bulatovich, *ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁶ The Ethiopian settlers continued to depopulate Oromia through slave trade until the 1930s when the Italian fascists abolished slavery to recruit adequate labor for their agricultural plantations in the Horn of Africa. The *nafoxanya-gabbar* system was also abolished during this time through the same process. Bonnie Holcomb and Sisai Ibssa, *ibid.*, p. 135.

¹⁷ Singer, Norman J. 1978. "Ethiopia: Human Rights, 1948-1978," *Proceeding of the First International Conference on Ethiopian Studies*. April 13-16, pp. 672-673.

¹⁸ The Oromo Relief Association, 1980, p. 30

¹⁹ Gunnar Hasselblatt, "After Fourteen Years: Return to Addis Ababa—and to a Free Oromia," December 1991-January 1992," A Travel Diary, Berlin, pp. 17-19.

²⁰ See Asafa Jalata, *Fighting Against the Injustice of the State and Globalization*.

²¹ The Ethiopian state has been authoritarian to Amhara and Tigrayan communities; it has been terrorist regime to the colonized peoples like Oromo because it has been ruling by practicing state-terrorism and massive human rights violations.

²² In his book *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*, Adam Hochschild (1998) vividly explains how King Leopold II of Belgium terrorized the people of Congo by dispossessing their lands and reducing them to semi-slaves in order to force them to collect ivory and harvest wild rubber. While claiming to develop the Congo Free States and to promote a humanitarian cause, King Leopold II established policies that resulted in the destruction of more than five million Africans by murder, diseases, and hunger. His Force Publique Officers led by a few Belgians and staffed by the natives committed horrendous crimes against humanity by burning villages, hanging, torturing, raping, flogging, and mutilating in order to terrorize the people and force them to work for the king. This organization is similar to the organization of Meles Zenawi called the OPDO that imposes a reign of terror on the Oromo people. Similarly, in his book, *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur*, Ben Kiernan (2007) explains how it took four centuries to decimate the indigenous peoples of the Americas through war, genocide, terrorism, diseases, and removal. He particularly discusses how the president of the United States, Andrew Jackson, destroyed the Cherokee Nation by removing them from their homelands and sending them to reservations. Jackson and his supporters and white settlers created civil war among the leadership of the Cherokee and made them to fight one another. In *The Trail of Tears and Indian Removal*, Amy H. Sturgis (2007) explores how the United States practiced racial or ethnic cleansing on the Cherokee nation. When the Cherokee people were removed from Georgia between 1838 and 1839, about eight hundred Cherokee perished, and they arrived in Oklahoma without any children and only a few elders. When the Herero and Nama peoples of Namibia resisted Germany colonialism, the German soldiers and settlers developed a plan to carry out a shoot-to-kill policy. They conducted extrajudicial killings, established concentration camps, and employed forced labor and death camps. The German colonial governor expressed the plan of Germany: "15 years from now, there will not be much left of the natives" (quoted in Kiernan, 2007: 381). This plan was implemented between 1904 and 1905 when the majority of Herero and Nama were exterminated. For further discussion, see Edwin Herbert, *Small Wars and Skirmishes 1902—18*, (Nottingham, Great Britain: Foundry Books, 2003).

²³ See for example, Kenate Worku, "The Expansion of Addis Ababa and its Impact on the Surrounding Areas: A Preliminary Study of the Nefas Silk Lafto District," *The Journal of Oromo Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 2, July 2008, pp. 97-131.

- ²⁴ Tamrat G. Giorgis (2009: 1), Addis Fortune staff writer, explains in the following: "A new global trend is rising whereby companies from emerging economies grab vast land in poor host nations to grow and export cereals and grains to their home countries. It has happened here in Bako [, Oromia,], where people from India have been granted tens of thousands of hectares of land for commercial farming. The locals however, are unhappy." Giorgis, Tamrat G. "A Stranger Comes to Town." *Addis Fortune*. Vol. 10, no. 486. August 23, 2009. p. 1.
< <http://www.addisfortune.com/Vol%2010%20No%20486%20Archive/agenda.htm>>. While the Indian company Karuturi Global LTD has invested 4.3 billion dollars to lease 765,000 hectares of farmland from the Ethiopian government, peasant farmers have lost the lands they once farmed for subsistence to foreign investors and a land-expropriating government. Giorgis notes that Olivier De Schutter, a UN rapporteur, explained the central problem in this phenomenon: "'frequently, they [farmers] do not have property titles to the land upon which they depend for their survival and well-being. They do not have possibilities of legal recourse in the event of expropriation'." Besides India, various other foreign investors have been seizing subsistence farmable land: Olusegun Obasanjo, the former president of Nigeria, just purchased 20,000 sqm of land in Oromia, the region known as the breadbasket of Ethiopia, to invest in tourism and hotels; Ismael Omar Guelleh, president of Djibouti, purchased 10,000 sqm of land in Bishoftu, Oromia, ("Debre Zeit") to build "a holiday home" and 3,000 hectares in Bale, Oromia, for agriculture production; and Egypt made a multimillion-dollar agricultural investment in 20,000 hectares of land. What is critical to note here is that these lands are in Oromia, the land of the Oromos—the primary political targets of the government. See O'Kadameri, Billie. "Indian Company Acquires 765, 000 hectares of land in Ethiopia." *Ethiopian Review*. November 2009. < <http://www.ethiopianreview.com/content/11418>>. Giorgis, Tamrat. "A Stranger Comes to Town." *Addis Fortune*. Vol. 10, No. 486. August 23, 2009. p. 3. <<http://www.addisfortune.com/Vol%2010%20No%20486%20Archive/agenda.htm>>.
"World Leaders are Taking Notice of Land in Debre Zeit." *Capital*. Vol. 12. No. 577. <http://www.capitalethiopia.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=12046:global-village&catid=12:local-news&Itemid=4>. What does this prioritization of foreign economic investments over the land rights of Oromo farmers mean for the hunger and malnutrition crises? With the WHO estimating in September 2009 that 6.2 million people in Ethiopia were in urgent need of food assistance, the subsistence farmers who lost their farms to government land expropriation and foreign investors are likely to join or have already joined this 6.2 million. Furthermore, what remains unanswered or unverified by documentation is where the money paid by investors is ending up. While the WHO makes such chilling projections about the hunger crisis, Ethiopian news and opinion journal *Ethiopian Review* announced in December 2009 that Prime Minister Meles Zenawi had amassed a net worth of \$1.2 billion making him the "11th richest head of government in the world." Although it is quite difficult to currently prove from where Zenawi accumulated such wealth, there should be a serious concern as to how the leader of one of the poorest and most hungry countries in the world has been able to attain such prosperity. See "Ethiopia: Emergency and Humanitarian Action." Weekly update: September 13, 2009. World Health Organization. <http://www.who.int/hac/crises/eth/sitreps/13september2009/en/index.html>>.
"Editing War over Ethiopian Dictator's Net Worth." *Ethiopian Review*. <<http://www.ethiopianreview.com/content/11785>>.
²⁵ Mohammed Hassen, "Conquest, Tyranny, and Ethnocide against the Oromo," *Northeast African Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 2002, p. 31.
²⁶ *Human Rights Watch*, May 2005, Vol. 17, No. 7 (A), p. 2.
²⁷ Seye Abraha was a founder and former political bureau member of the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front. He was a chauvinist Tigrayan who did not hide his negative attitudes about the Oromos and the OLF, when he was the Defense Minister of Ethiopia; See "The Prison speaks Oromiffa," *Ethiopian Review*, January 17, 2008. Seye was jailed in Qaliti prison.
²⁸ See Hizbawi Adera, a TPLF/EPRDF Political Pamphlet, December 1996-February 1997, Vol. 4, No. 7.
²⁹ Annamarie Oliverio explains two essential features of state terrorism: "First, the state reinforces the use of violence as a viable, effective, mitigating factor for managing conflict; second, such a view is reinforced by culturally constructed and socially organized processes, expressed through symbolic forms, and related in complex ways to present social interests. Within increasing economic and environmental globalization, gender politics, and the resurgence of nationalities within territorial boundaries, the discourse of terrorism, as a practice of statecraft, is crucial to the construction of political boundaries. As such, terrorism is invoked in the art of statecraft when multiple, often conflicting versions of the past are produced and, at particular historical moments, become sites of intense struggles" Annamarie Oliverio, "The State of Injustice," *ibid*, p. 52.
³⁰ See Sue Pollock, "Ethiopia-Human Tragedy in the Making: Democracy or Dictatorship?" *The Oromia Support Group*, 1996; Sue Pollock, "Politics and Conflict: Participation and Self-determination in *Ethiopia: Conquest and the Quest for Freedom and Democracy*, edited by Seyoum Y. Hameso, T. Trueman, and T. E. Erena, (London: TSC Publications, 1997), pp. 81-110; Trevor Trueman, "Democracy or dictatorship," in *Ethiopia*, *ibid*, pp. 141-150; See U.S. Department of State, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, 1991-2007; *Amnesty International*, *Human Rights Watch/Africa*, 1991-2007; *The Oromia Support Group*, 1997).
³¹ See *Amnesty International*, *Human Rights Watch/Africa*, 1997; *Survival International*, 1995; *The Oromia Support Group*, 1997 series; Trevor Trueman, "Genocide against the Oromo People of Ethiopia? Western Influence," Paper Presented at the 44th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Houston, Texas, November 14-18, 2001.
³² *Ibid*.
³³ *Ibid*.
³⁴ Bruna Fossati, L. Namarra, and Peter Niggli, *The New Rulers of Ethiopia and the Persecution of the Oromo: Reports from the Oromo Refugees in Djibouti*, (Dokumentation, Evangelischer Pressedienst Frankfurt am, 1996, p. 10.
³⁵ Catharine MacKinnon, "Rape, Genocide, and Women's Human Rights," *Harvard Women's Law*, Journal 17, 1994, pp. 11-12.

³⁶ For example, the wife of Ahmed Mohamed Kuree, a seventy year-old elderly farmer, expressed on February 21, 2007, on the Voice of America, Afaan Oromo Program the following:³⁶ “We found his prayer beads, his clothes and a single bone of his which the hyenas had left behind after devouring the rest of his body, and we took those items home. What is more, after we got home, they [government agents] condemned us for going to Gaara Suufii and for mourning. For fear of repercussions, we have not offered the customary prayer for my husband by reading from the Qur’an. Justice has not been served. That is where we are today.”

³⁷ Ahmed Mohamed Kuree was one of these Oromos. Another Oromo, Ayisha Ali, a fourteen year-old teenager, was also killed and eaten by hyenas. Her mother said on the Voice of America, Afaan Oromo Program the following: “After we heard the rumor about the old man [Ahmed Mohamed Kuree] I followed his family to Gaara Suufii [in search of my daughter]. There we found her skirt, sweater, underwear and her hair, braided . . . That was all we found of my daughter’s remains.” Ayisha was probably raped before she was killed.

³⁸ Human Rights Watch, 2005, pp. 1-2.

³⁹ Mohammed Hassen, “Conquest, Tyranny, and Ethnocide against the Oromo,” pp.37-38.

⁴⁰ Quoted in Kurt Jonassohn, *Genocide and Gross Human Rights Violations: In Comparative Perspective*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers), 1998, p. 9.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonassohn, *History and Sociology of Genocide: Analyses and Case Studies*, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990, p. 23.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Kurt Jonassohn, *ibid*, p. 23.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 11.

⁴⁶ Mohammed Hassen “Is Genocide Against the Oromo in Ethiopia Possible,” *Paper Presented at the Fourth International Biennial Conference of the Association of Genocide Scholars*, Radisson Hotel, Minneapolis, Minnesota, June 10, 2001.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 30.

⁴⁸ In 2002, when the Sheko and Mezhenger peoples demanded their rights, the regime killed between 128 and 1,000 people. Nobody knows exactly how many people were killed since the government and the victims give different numbers. Similarly, on June 21, 2002, between 39 and 100 Sidamas were killed when government soldiers fired at 7,000 peaceful demonstrators in Hawas (Awash). Again government forces and colonial settlers committed genocidal massacres on the Annuak people of Gambella in December 2003 and beginning 2004; they killed 424 people and displaced about 50, 000 people. Currently, the regime is engaged in genocidal massacres, imprisonment, and massive human rights violations in Ogadenia and Oromia.

⁴⁹ Associate Press, 2009, p. 1.

⁵⁰ Stanton, George. 2009. “An Open Letter to the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights,” Website: www.genocidewatch.org, accessed on April 1, 2009.

⁵¹ Human Rights Watch, “An Analysis of Ethiopia’s Draft Anti-Terrorism Law,” updated June 30, 2009, p. 1.

⁵² *The Oromia Support Group*, “Press Release,” December 2002, no. 38, p. 17.

⁵³ *Ibid*, July 2003, no. 39, pp. 16-18.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, December 2002, no. 38, pp. 18-20; July 2003, no. 39, pp. 18-19.

⁵⁵ http://www.humanrightsleague.com/press_Releases.html, 2008

⁵⁶ See Human Rights League of the Horn of Africa, “Refugees Poisoned to Death in Puntland, Somalia,” December 19, 2009.

⁵⁷ M. A. Rahman, “The Theoretical Standpoint of PAR [Participatory Action-Research],” in *Action and Knowledge: Breaking the Monopoly with Participatory Action-Research*, edited by Orlando Fals-Borda and M. A. Rahman, (New York: Apex Press, 1993), p. 14.

⁵⁸ Tesema Ta’a, *The Oromo of Wollega: A Historical Survey to 1991*, (M. A. Thesis: Addis Ababa University, 1980), pp. 98-99.

⁵⁹ D. J. Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*, (New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 198.

⁶⁰ John Gaventa, “Toward a Knowledge Democracy: Viewpoints on Participatory Research in North America,” in *Action and Knowledge: Breaking the Monopoly with Participatory Action Research*, edited by Orlando Fals-Borda and M. A. Rahman, (New York: Apex Press, 1993), P. 131.