For your files: The June 2009 analysis of Ethiopia's condition provided to an Ethiopian email network.

I want to underscore the contribution of Professor Seyoum's Amharic piece, which I forwarded yesterday <a href="http://www.ethiolion.com/Pdf/060709">http://www.ethiolion.com/Pdf/060709</a> Hige Mengist.pdf. Whereas many are aware of Article 39 of the TPLF "Kitab" (so-called constitution), several have not understood the full import of Article 8 which denies sovereignty to individuals as Ethiopians or Ethiopia as a nation. Instead Article 8 defines sovereignty of the "Kilil" (now called states) and the inhabitants of the "Kilil," Ethiopia being merely a collection of 9 sovereign "Kilil." Since the so-called elected leaders of many of the "kilil" are individuals hand picked by the TPLF, the TPLF is essentially the sovereign entity of the collage that the TPLF identifies as Ethiopia.

A comprehension of the TPLF denial of sovereignty to Ethiopia as a nation or to Ethiopians as citizens of Ethiopia would explain why the TPLF goes through the charade of stating that it is the authorities of the pertinent "kilil" who have permitted entering into Long-term leases of land with external countries such as Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States [see the Amharic piece by Professor Alemayehu - <a href="http://www.ethioforum.org/wp/pdf/at 16">http://www.ethioforum.org/wp/pdf/at 16</a> june al mariam.pdf] and Indian and other entrepreneurs. Clearly, it is because of Article 8 that the TPLF finds it necessary to state that it was the regional authorities who permitted entering into contract. The deception regarding the leases is endless. As underscored by Professor Alemayehu land leased to the German Flora Ecopower is 13,000 hectares while TPLF's Investment Promotion Agency has reported only 3,800 hectares were leased. Why is the TPLF under-reporting of amount of land leased to aliens? Moreover, why does the TPLF perpetrates the untruth that the leased lands were previously unused by Ethiopians?

Muslim strongmen of the Arabian Peninsula had relocated to coastal regions and slowly to the hinterland through purchase of lands and had played destabilizing roles throughout Ethiopian long history. The role taken by Egypt as surrogate to the Ottoman Empire and because of its interest to control the source the Nile continues to confound Ethiopia. In the era of the scramble for Africa, sultans of Ethiopian islands and coastal regions sold or leased lands to private firms and individuals and subsequently to governments of France, Britain, and Italy, former colonizers of Africa. The TPLF serves as sultanates who sold parts of Ethiopia.

HG: 6/17/09

-----

"What is the strategy to rescue our country? Can she be rescued?"

Professor Getatchew Haile: June 18

## Dear Professor Getatchew

As always you focus our attention to the way out. And indeed, Ethiopia shall prevail. Yet, before expounding on the way out, it would behoove us to know where we are at, and to do so by separating noises from voices. The recent articles by Professors Seyoum and Alemayehu quoted in this line of discourse have served as voices. I recognize at least two other pieces to the puzzle of our whereabouts that ought to be explored further. I want to touch upon one of them here by referring to an Amharic piece that dealt with

comments on a book by Professor Gebru (http://www.ethiomedia.com/adroit/gebru\_tareke\_review.pdf)

Significant in the comments are Professor Gebru'a assertion that poor leadership offered by the Derg and the dislike of the Derg by Ethiopians were the reasons that brought about the downfall of the Derg, but that the reasons for the Derg's downfall were not strategies or abilities of the EPLF and TPLF. Professor Gebru's assertion is valid. Paramount in the assertion is that it is Ethiopians who determine the fate of Ethiopia.

Another point in the comments is on how the inhabitants of Tigrey supported the TPLF. Professor Gebru's book purportedly asserted that it was through ["behayel en be belTabelTenet - በሕኃይልን በብልጣብልጥት"] coercion, bribery and deception that TPLF garnered their support and not because the people admired it or because the TPLF is democratic. That view led to a retort by a certain General Tsadikan who observed that if support were to be garnered by "behayel en be belTabelTenet "the EPRP (of which Gebru was reportedly a member) and others should have been the victors. Tsadqan's observation is valid, because coercion, bribery and deception alone won't garner support. The part of Professor Gebru's observation which asserts that the support of the TPLF by inhabitants of Tigrey is not because the TPLF is democratic is also valid.

## HG 6/19/2009

## Dear all,

In his famous June 4/2009 speech at Cairo President Obama acknowledged how the US overthrew a duly elected leader of Iran in 1953. Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh was deposed in 1953 because he nationalized a British owned oil company in 1951. That action to overthrow a democratically elected president of Iran taken by orders of President Eisenhower has its effects to this day. It was quite refreshing to hear President Obama acknowledge past wrong actions pursued by the USA. However, those actions spawn relationships such as supporting Iraq during the Iraq – Iran war, though eventually the USA invaded Iraq, which then Senator Obama had opposed. As president, Mr. Obama vowed to remove US occupation forces from Iraq and has ordered implementation of the same. Yet, bad relationships are difficult to heel rapidly. The draconian suppression of peaceful opponents to the unverified reelection of Mr. Ahmadnijad after the June 2009 Iranian election angers all freedom loving people. Ethiopians are particularly angered by the even worse treatment taken by the TPLF regime against peaceful opponents in the May 2005 elections of Ethiopia.

Powerful nations impose their will in the affairs of others, and such actions are sources of serious problems to those countries. In 1895, pursuant to the first Sino-Japanese war Taiwan became a Japanese colony. In 1945, after a defeat by the USA, Japan was ordered to surrender its troops in Taiwan to the forces of the Kuomintang, a nationalist party that escaped from rulers of mainland China. Though mainland China is becoming a military power regaining control over its former island, Taiwan, has been tough to do. Likewise,

coastal regions of Ethiopia have brought problems to the hinterland, and the EPLF and TPLF are to be viewed in the context of that complexity.

In 1889, Italy gave the name Eritrea to northern Ethiopia, which it forcibly occupied. The history leading to the Italian occupation is quite complex. In the main it had to do with a bogus claim by the Ottoman Empire of which Egypt was a vassal state. Subsequently, Egypt ascended to prominence and its Khedive borrowed huge sums of money from British and French companies to open the Suez Canal and to wage war and colonize the African regions adjoining the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. Egypt had hoped that its conquests would help it expand its control over commerce across the area. However, its conquering armies were defeated by the Mahdi in the Sudan and by Ethiopians in Ethiopia. Consequently, Egypt was impoverished and ended up being a British colony, though the quest to control the waters of the Nile endured with or without Britain at the helm. Meanwhile, European Christian missionaries were scouting areas to purchase from warlords in Ethiopia for the benefit of European companies and governments. Aseb was bought by an Italian company and later by the Italian government. By 1884 France had purchased Abuko, which it called Djibouti, and Britain gave Massawa to Italy in 1885. Italy ascended to the plateau and occupied a highland region in addition to coastal areas, and Ethiopia was denied access to the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. After the Italians were defeated in 1941, Britain governed Eritrea until 1952. Through brilliant diplomacy by Emperor Haile Selassie foreign rule over Eritrea was removed and Eritrea was federated to Ethiopia, and it later became a province of Ethiopia. In 1974 Haile Selassie was deposed and replaced by the Derg. The Derg became an allay of communists. Ethiopians disliked the brutal Derg. The USA and other western nations disliked the Derg. Eventually they supported the EPLF and TPLF and the Derg was ousted in 1991, after the USA helped relocate the Derg leader to Zimbabwe. Shortly thereafter the west supported the secession of Eritrea from the rest of Ethiopia. Also, the so-called donor countries provide funds directly to the budget of the TPLF government, up to 40% of the budget by 2004, and they also provide diplomatic support to the TPLF, which mismanages the affairs of landlocked Ethiopia.

To add injury to injustice, pursuant to September 11, 2001 Al-Qaeda's attacks at New York and Washington DC the USA declared a so-called war on terror. The most terrorizing regime, the TPLF over Ethiopia, knew how to peddle itself as a force arrayed against terror. For that reason the TPLF became a darling of the west.

The important point is to know how the west along with Egypt and other Arab countries are forces that Ethiopia has to contend with. As pointed out in comments on the book by Professor Gebru, mentioned above, the EPLF and TPLF armies did not defeat the Derg either because of their abilities or strategies. Rather, the TPLF and EPLF served as pawns to forces that are arrayed against Ethiopia. These parties denied Ethiopians from enjoying the fruits of victory garnered by removing the hated Derg.

The oppressive international environment to the Ethiopian nation appears to be relaxing under the politics of change promised by President Obama. Unfortunately for Ethiopia the fascist TPLF works to deny Ethiopia from any forms of benefits. Worse there is no

credible opposition group that could accumulate goodwill or help from forces of change. The inquiry is how could Ethiopians organize and bring about credible opposition to the TPLF.

## HG:6/29/2009

Dear all.

The way out from TPLF fascism is simple.

Don't fall for the "complexity" argument or accept vague answers. Politics is complex, but the only thing that matters here is whether the governance of Ethiopia by the TPLF will continue to bring further destruction of Ethiopia.

Everything hinges on one question. If the TPLF is not a significant destructive force, then complaints about the loss of maritime properties and a sea outlet for Ethiopia, the ceding of boarder lands to the Sudan, the long-term leasing of fertile plots of Ethiopian farmland land to aliens, and the denial of sovereignty to individuals as Ethiopian citizens and to Ethiopia as a nation are all a waste of time and resources. All of them diverted attention from what ever else we should better do.

However, the destructiveness of fascist TPLF leaves no room for being a skeptic to its opponent movement. The only argument left is to find the capacity of the opponent movement to bring about change. That capacity is easy to achieve since all that it takes for all the opponents is to work against the TPLF but not against each other. Indeed there will be those who would spend time and resources bad mouthing members of the opposition. Such acts are merely parts of the "complexity" of politics, which should not deter us for focusing on the prize. The more the opponents form a united front opposed to the TPLF, while the component groups still maintain their internal identities, the better.

HG: 6/29/2009

Semi joro yallew yisma!

Professor Getatchew Haile: June 30/2009/

=====