



JIMMA UNIVERSITY  
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Institute of **Oromoo** Studies



**IOS**

## The 4<sup>th</sup> International Oromoo Studies Conference 18-19 July 2019

### Book of Abstracts

**Grand Theme:** *Oromia State Formation and Socio-economic and Political Order in Ethiopia and the Horn*

***The 4<sup>th</sup> International Oromoo Studies Conference***

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**IOS, Jimma University and NOS, UK 18-19 July 2019**

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**The 4<sup>th</sup> International Oromoo Studies  
Conference**

**Institute of Oromoo Studies (IOS), Jimma  
University**

**&**

**The Network of Oromo Studies (NOS), UK  
18-19 April 2019**

**Jimma, Oromiyaa, Ethiopia**

**Kora Idil-addunyaa Qorannoo Oromoo 4<sup>ffaa</sup>**

**Dhaabbata Qorannoo Oromoo (DhQO), Yunivarsiitii Jimmaa  
-fi**

**Neetwoorkii Qorannoo Oromoo (NQO), UK**

**Adoolessa 11-12/2011  
Jimma, Oromiyaa, Itoophiyaa**

**Book of Abstracts**

**Theme:**

***Oromia State Formation and Socio-economic and Political Order in Ethiopia and the Horn***

**Ijoo**

**Ijoo: Hundeeffama Mootummaa Oromiyaa, Adeemsa Hawaas-Dinagdeefi  
Siyaasa Itoophiyaafi Gaanfa Afrikaa**

# **The 4<sup>th</sup> International Oromoo Studies Conference**

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## **4<sup>th</sup> International Oromoo Studies Conference**

### **Organizing Committees**

The Institutes extened their gratitude to the organizing committees for their devotion in making the event real.

#### **1. Steering Committee**

##### **Major activity:**

- monitoring the overall progress of the Conference

| <b>No.</b> | <b>Name</b>         | <b>Role</b>  | <b>No.</b> | <b>Name</b>          | <b>Role</b> |
|------------|---------------------|--------------|------------|----------------------|-------------|
| 1          | Dr. Jemal A/Fita    | Chair Person | 8          | Dr. Tashoomaa Egeree | Miseensa    |
| 2          | Dr. Tsige Ketema    | Member       | 9          | Dr. Ashenafi Belay   | Member      |
| 3          | Mr. Kora Tushune    | Member       | 10         | Mr. Sifan Koriche    | Member      |
| 4          | Dr. Adula Bekele    | Member       | 11         | Dr. Teklu Gemechu    | Member      |
| 5          | Dr. Gizaw Tasisa    | Member       | 12         | Mrs. Umi Abdulkadir  | Member      |
| 6          | Dr. Temesgen Mereba | Member       | 13         | Dr. Alemu Hailu      | Member      |
| 7          | Dr. Teshome Egere   | Secretary    | 14         | Dr. Wase Berhanu     | Member      |

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### **2. Scientific and Editorial Committee**

#### **Major Activity:**

- Identifying the major themes of the symposium
- Announcing call for papers
- Editing and selecting abstracts
- Publishing book of abstracts
- Compiling and publishing proceedings

| <b>No.</b> | <b>Name</b>           | <b>Role</b>  | <b>No.</b> | <b>Name</b>              | <b>Role</b> |
|------------|-----------------------|--------------|------------|--------------------------|-------------|
| 1          | Dr. Tsige Ketema      | Chair Person | 11         | Mr. Abdurehaman Fentahun | Member      |
| 2          | Dr. Adula Bekele      | Member       | 12         | Mr. Abyiot Desta         | Member      |
| 3          | Dr. Melkamu Dumessa   | Co-chair     | 13         | Dr. Elfineh Beriso       | Member      |
| 4          | Prof. Kitessa Hundera | Member       | 14         | Dr. Teferi Degneh        | Member      |
| 5          | Dr. Jira Mekonnen     | Member       | 15         | Dr. Abera Degefa         | Member      |
| 6          | Dr. Ketebo Abdiyo     | Member       | 16         | Dr. Amayu Godesso        | Member      |
| 7          | Dr. Kenate Worku      | Member       | 17         | Dr. Dereje Fufa          | Member      |
| 8          | Dr. Alemayehu Fekede  | Secretary    | 18         | Mr. Edao Boru            | Member      |
| 9          | Dr. Getachew Abashu   | Member       | 19         | Dr. Desalegn Chalichisa  | Member      |
| 10         | Dr. Deressa Debu      | Member       |            |                          |             |

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### **3. Fund Raising Committee**

**Major activity:**

- Soliciting funds and sponsors
- Facilitating the design of IOS building

| <b>No.</b> | <b>Name</b>          | <b>Role</b>  | <b>No.</b> | <b>Name</b>           | <b>Role</b> |
|------------|----------------------|--------------|------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| 1          | Mr. Kora Tushune     | Chair Person | <b>5</b>   | Dr. Yemaneberhan Kele | Member      |
| 2          | Dr. Kenenisa Lemi    | Co-chair     | <b>6</b>   | Dr. Teklu Tafese      | Member      |
| 3          | Dr. Fekadu Fufa      | Member       | <b>7</b>   | Mr. Manaye Abera      | Member      |
| 3          | Dr. Gemechis File    | Member       | <b>8</b>   | Mr. Gosaye Fida       | Member      |
| 4          | Dr. Teshome N. Begna | Member       |            |                       |             |
| 5          | Mr. Kora Tushune     | Chair Person |            |                       |             |

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### **4. Logistic Committee**

#### **Major activities:**

- Facilitate the purchase of promotional materials
- Facilitate purchase of Stationeries: note book & pen
- Facilitate per diem other payments

| <b>No.</b> | <b>Name</b>            | <b>Role</b>  | <b>No.</b> | <b>Name</b>         | <b>Role</b> |
|------------|------------------------|--------------|------------|---------------------|-------------|
| 1          | Dr. Temesgen Mereba    | Chair Person | 5          | Mr. Zegeye Bekele   | Member      |
| 2          | Mr. Berhanu Megerssa   | Member       | 6          | Mr. Fasika Mengistu | Member      |
| 3          | Mr. Amanuel Chali      | Member       | 7          | Mr. Mesfin Abebe    | Member      |
| 4          | Mr. Yeshitila G/Tsadik | Member       | 8          | Mr. Abebe Haile     | Member      |

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### **5. Public Relation Committee**

#### **Major activities:**

- Dispatching invitation papers to invited from other universities
- Dispatching invitation papers to invited guests and participants from federal, Oromia regional and other bureaus
- Inviting journalists
- Preparation of honorarium for participants
- Preparation Banner
- Serve as master of the ceremony
- Preparation of budges
- Purchase of Promotional items
- Others related to public relations

| <b>No.</b> | <b>Name</b>            | <b>Role</b>  | <b>No.</b> | <b>Name</b>         | <b>Role</b> |
|------------|------------------------|--------------|------------|---------------------|-------------|
| 1          | Dr. Ashenafi Belay     | Chair Person | 7          | Mr. Tarekegn Wondin | Member      |
| 2          | Mr. Ermias Admasu      | Member       | 8          | Mr. Gemechis Teshon | Member      |
| 3          | Mr. Abdrahman Fantahun | Member       | 9          | Mr. Mezemir Seifu   | Member      |

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### **6. Hospitality Committee**

#### **Major activities:**

- facilitate transport service for guests
- facilitate coffee, tea, cookies, water, food(lunch, dinner) services on the date of the conference
- distribute materials for the participants
- reserve hotels for guests
- facilitate audio visual services
- post banners
- other related services

| <b>No.</b> | <b>Name</b>         | <b>Role</b>  | <b>No.</b> | <b>Name</b>               | <b>Role</b> |
|------------|---------------------|--------------|------------|---------------------------|-------------|
| 1          | Dr. Teklu Gemechu   | Chair person | 10         | Mr. Chimdi Wakuma         | Member      |
| 2          | Dr. Sultan Suleman  | Member       | 11         | Mr. Chala Diriba          | Member      |
| 3          | Dr. Alemitu Oli     | Member       | 12         | Mr. Abebe Haile           | Member      |
| 4          | Dr. Worku Jima      | Member       | 13         | Comader Kalid<br>A/ Temam | Member      |
| 5          | Dr. Desalegn Beyene | Member       | 14         | Mr. Tijani Abdella        | Member      |
| 6          | Dr. Tadesse Regassa | Member       | 15         | Mr. Demelash<br>Abebayehu | Member      |
| 7          | Dr. Dheressa Dhebu  | Member       | 16         | Mr. Etafa Oljira          | Member      |



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### **7. Cultural Events Organizing Committee**

#### **Major Objectives:**

- facilitate the purchase of cultural dresses
- facilitate the preparation of cultural foods for guests
- monitor and facilitate distribution of materials for the participants

| <b>No.</b> | <b>Name</b>           | <b>Role</b> | <b>No.</b> | <b>Name</b>            | <b>Role</b> |
|------------|-----------------------|-------------|------------|------------------------|-------------|
| 1          | Mrs. Umi Abdulkadir   | Chair       | 8          | Miss Fasika Tefera     | Member      |
| 2          | Mr. Abdulkerim A/Garo | Member      | 9          | Miss Asefu Chaluma     | Member      |
| 3          | Mrs. Eriste Akewak    | Member      | 10         | Miss Zenebech Mengistu | Member      |
| 4          | Miss Jemila Adem      | Member      | 11         | Miss Alemi Chemedda    | Member      |
| 5          | Mr. Kamil Mohammed    | Member      | 12         | Mrs. Likitu Bekele     | Member      |
| 6          | Mr. Ayehu Bacha       | Member      | 13         | Mr. Tena Alemayehu     | Member      |
| 7          | Mrs. Chaltu Awol      | Member      |            | Mr. Abdulmalik Musa    | Member      |

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| <b>Theme 1: State Formation</b>                       |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| <b>No.</b>  | <b>Titles</b>  | <b>Presenters</b>                          |
| 1   | The Mayhem of Federation and Disintegration in Making and Remaking of States within the Horn of Africa   | Mr. Solomon Emiru                          |
| 2   | Worrisome Exodus of the Oromos From Finfinnee: Can Reversing The Direction of Exodus Redeem Historical Wrong?  | Mr. Wakgari Dulume                         |
| 3   | Towards National Unity and Reason of State in Ethiopia: Beyond Egoistic Ethno-Nationalism  | Mr. Eyasu Berento                          |
| 4   | The Horn After Meles: Towards Regional Responsibility for Regional Democracy and Beyond  | Mr. Zelalem Tesfaye                        |
| 5   | Biyya, Lafaafi Oromoo: Xiyyeeffannaan Oromoo Tuulamaafi Finfinnee  | Tilahun Telila (PhD)                       |
| 6   | The long journey of re-emerging Oromia state from colonial rule  | Alemayehu Kumsa (Ph.D)                     |
| <b>Theme 2: The Politics of Language</b>              |  |  |
| 1   | Making Afaan Oromoo Federal Working Language: a Response to Questions of Almost Half of Ethiopian Population through Language Policy                           | Mr. Wakgari Dulume                         |
| 2   | The Adverse Effects of Monolingualism in a Multilingual Society: Looking at the Status of Afaan Oromoo from Political Power perspective                        | Aberra Degefa (PhD)                        |
| 3   | Language without a standard dialect: How far would it go?  | Feda Negesse (PhD)                         |
| 4   | Attitudes to Ethiopian Language Policy and Practice  | Mr. Eebbaa Elfneh & Elfneh U. Bariso (PhD) |
| 5   | The Power of Afaan Oromoo vs. Ethiopia's repressive language policy: An evolutionary Africology perspective  | Dereje Tadesse (PhD)                       |
| 6   | Politics of Language in Ethiopia: Language Shift in Conurbation  | Mr. Gutema Yadesa H(Y)eyyi (PhD C)         |
| 7   | A Philosophical Exposition of the Nexus between Language and Identity in the Contemporary Ethiopia   | Mr. Getahun Dana                           |
| <b>Theme 3: Socio-political/Historical conditions</b> |  |  |
| 1   | The Root and Immediate Causes of Oromoo Protest in Ethiopia: Current Real Politics   | Mr. Shimellis Hailu                        |
| 2   | Responsiveness of Ethiopian Education Policy to Oromoo Cultural Values: Reflection on Pedagogic Principles and Strategies in the Contemporary Education Policy | Endalew Fufa (PhD)                         |
| 3   | Mapping the Contemporary Political Landscape in Ethiopia: Actors and Discourses  | Mr. Abdi Zenebe                            |
| 4   | The Historical Implication of the Building of the Memorial Monument of 'Harma Mura and Harka Mura' of Anole  | Mr. Beshir Edeo                            |

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| 6                           | Oromoo Nationalism & Its Relations with Environmental Changes in Oromia  | Dheressa Dhebu (PhD)                                      |
| 7                           | The State of Political Confusion in the Contemporary Ethiopia Political Transition Period: The Case of ‘ <i>Qeerroofi Qarree</i> ’                             | Mr. Mulualem Daba   |
| 8                           | Xiinxala Ergaafi Yoomessa Baacoo Siyaasa Oromoo Keessatti  | Filee Jaallataa (PhD)                                     |
| <b>Other Related Topics</b> |  |   |
| 1                           | Afaan Oromoo akka afaan ababiitti barsiisuu keessatti kitaabota LAGIM  | Alemu Hailu , PhD   |
| 2                           | A comparative linguistic study between Oromoo and Nubian languages   | Nasir Ali Osman Satti (PhD)                               |
| 3                           | Jijjiirama Waldahiinsi Afaanii Xinsaga, Jechootafi Caasluga Afaan Oromoo irratti fide (Contact - induced change in Oromoo phonology, lexicon and morphosyntax) | Mr. Abebe Keno  |
| 4                           | The Arsi Dilemma in the Gadaa Revival Movement : Analysis on a Case of Political Struggle in Dhadhachaa-Koolaa, Western Arsi                                   | Dr.Chikage Oba-Smidt ( Lookoo Duubaa)                     |
| 5                           | Sababoota Afaan Oromoo Dubbachuu Dadhabuu Daa’imman Oromoo Magaalaatti Dhalatani: Magaalaa Adaamaa akka Fakkeenyaatti Fudhachuun                               | Mr. Iftiyoom Waaqgaarii                                   |
| 6                           | Dubartootaa fi Afoola Oromoo: Mil’uu Haala Qabatamaa Oromoo Salaalee   | <b>Mrs. Hurrume Daggafaa</b>                              |
| 7                           | <i>Gadaa’s</i> Gender Construct Setup and Some Symbolic Oromoo Women in Pre-20 <sup>th</sup> Century Historical Accounts                                       | Mr. Ginbar Nagara   |
| 8                           | An analysis of stakeholders’ conflict management and resolution strategies at Nech Sar National Park and Shakiso gold mining in Southern Ethiopia              | Ms. Jaalannee Sarah Elfneh and Elfneh Udessa Bariso (PhD) |

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## **1. Background to the Conference**

The great late 19<sup>th</sup> century carve-up of Africa that laid down the territorial grid that eventually resulted in today's structure of African states likewise took place in the Horn, but characteristically did so in a way significantly different from that in the rest of the continent, and left behind it a pattern of state formation that differed not only in the internal character of the resulting political units, but in the dynamics of relations between them. Clapham(2017) takes Ethiopia's Menelik conquest and empire formation as example for this. He observes that "The result was to create an empire significantly different from the European empires being established in Africa at the same time. Nonetheless, an internal colonialism was in some ways more problematic than an external one" (p.33).

Contemporary arguments reveal that the presence of a large and powerful state at the centre of a region has been every bit as likely to prove a destabilizing element as stabilizing one. US in the Americas, imperial and Soviet in central Europe and Asia, or China in East Asia readily acquire a hegemonic or even imperialist attitude towards their neighbors that arouses intense resentment, conflict and destabilization. Ethiopia provides indeed [a] classic case of such attitude (ibid p.180). This destabilized disposition symbolizes the Horn a conflict zone, in most cases internal political conflict.

The failure of subsequent regimes of the Horn to halt these political conflicts prompted the subjects to seek self-determination, and a means to this end was the establishment of different liberation fronts and political organizations. Besides these are popular movements and upheavals against the Ethiopian government, which have brought about the current and ongoing reforms. In line with this reform, all political organizations have been invited to take part in the country's politics peacefully. Such a political goodwill has not resulted in cessation of conflicts, neither has peace prevailed in the country and elsewhere in the region. State and private media reports are contradicting to each other on the same issue and sometimes to themselves. There is bewilderment or a vacuum as to how democracy, equality and peace can be achieved.

Research papers, which examine the impacts of prolonged political conflicts on social, economic, political and cultural development in the Horn of Africa in general, and Oromia are selected for the conference. A critical analysis of the roles of international stakeholders (actors)

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such as AU, UN, EU, and global superpowers such as the US and Russia (USSR, formerly), and government institutions, social and business organizations in addressing any harmful or enduring conflict resolution and state formation, and suggestions on a sustainable way forward will be explored.

## **2. Objectives of the conference**

The conference aims at bringing together leading academics, researchers and other interested to exchange and share their research findings on all aspects of state formation in Oromia, Ethiopia and the Horn; Oromoo nationalism, the world ideological and policy challenges and opportunities. The objectives of the conference are:

- To examine the trajectories of state formation in the Horn and their impact on the current state of the art;
- To explore state formation in terms of socio-political conditions in Oromia, Ethiopia and implications for the Horn of Africa;
- To analyze the consequences of global and regional geopolitical and economic issues for peace and stability in the Horn of Africa;
- To examine the past, present s and future scenarios of the politics of language in Ethiopia and the Horn with specific reference to Afaan Oromoo;
- To construct or deconstruct the connection between state formation and the dynamics of conflicts in the Horn, and
- To devise solutions that serve as workable recommendations as the way forward.

## **3. Conference outcomes**

It is believed that the conference is an opportunity for the academics, political organizations, businessmen and politicians to come together and discuss theoretically and pragmatically on issues pertaining to the conference theme. Thus, it is expected that the conference will demonstrate:

- [an enhanced] Common understanding on state formation of Oromia, Ethiopia and the Horn and its impacts on the current socio-political situation;
- Contribution to devising feasible strategies of developing Afaan Oromoo
- [An enhanced] understanding of the role of businesspersons, government, and non-government organizations, international organizations, and politicians in state formation and conflict resolution in the Horn; and
- Feasible strategies to bring together Oromoo Studies efforts.

**Welcoming Speech**

**Dr. Tsige Ketema, Vice President for Research and Community Service**

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**Dear Excellences,**

**Honored Guests,**

**Distinguished Guests,**

**Jimma University Community,**

**Ladies and Gentlemen,**

I am honored and indeed privileged to make a welcoming remark on the occasion of the 4<sup>th</sup> International Oromoo Studies Conference at Jimma University jointly organized by Institute of Oromoo studies at Jimma University and the Network of Oromoo Studies based in London, UK.

To our distinguished speakers and representatives who have come from all over the world, I bid you a very warm welcome to Jimma and Jimma University. I am indeed honored to have you here with us. We have a number of participants gathered here today from different continents, making our conference a truly international one.

Research is a key to forward solutions to the felt needs and problems and crises in the nation. The results and deliberation of research output in a research conference play a vital role to accelerate the pace of economic development and through forwarding solutions to the felt problems of the society. The Oromoo studies conference deals with the socio-economic and political issues of Oromoo people in the horn of Africa. It is a multidisciplinary studies conference used as a venue to discuss and deliberate on the issues of Oromoo socio-economic, cultural and political issues in Ethiopia and suggest way forward to the national development endeavor through understanding the existing Oromoo and Ethiopia conflict in a scientific and academic debate as a policy output for national and regional government. Scientific understanding of the Oromoo and Ethiopia political conflict and the quest for Oromia state formation and the socio economic order in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa play a great role to provide sustainable political surgery for the situations of the Horn political crises. It can also be a



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political remediation in creating stability, peace and development of Horn of Africa and possible regional integration through political and socio economic transformations.

**Dear conference participants,**

Jimma University, Institute of Oromoo Studies (IOS) has been organizing a series of International Oromoo studies conferences for the last four years under different pertinent and timely themes. All the past International Oromoo Studies Conferences were very fruitful in bringing researchers, policy makers and stakeholder from different corners to discuss in detail on issues considered as the themes of the conferences. The themes include **Oromoo Knowledge System** which was addressed in the first International Conference; **Gadaa: The Indigenous Knowledge System of the Oromoo** which was addressed immediately after Gadaa is recognized as the world intangible heritage. As per one of the very objective of the establishment of the institute, the third theme, **Afaan Oromoo, Arts, Custom and History: Opportunities and Challenges** was co-organized with Wollega University last year. Our effort did not stop collaborating with the institutions in the country but we managed to go as far as the United Kingdom. Thanks to our sister institution there, Network of Oromoo Studies (NOS), this year's conference is organized jointly with NOS on a grand-theme: **Oromia State Formation Socio-economic and Political Order in Ethiopia and the Horn**. On this conference many papers will be discussed on Oromia state formation and the socio-economic and political order in Oromia, Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa. This conference is timely and it marks the contribution of multidisciplinary Oromoo studies for the constructive and peaceful dialogue for seeking solutions to the political and socio-economic problems of Oromoo people, Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa.

The grand theme of this year's conference, ***Oromia State Formation and Socio-economic and Political Order in Ethiopia and the Horn***, is particularly important as socio-political issues in the Horn of Africa are settled hardly ever. Scholarship on the Horn provides only conflicting explanatory schemes. Despite ample literature, there is little agreement regarding the variables that may explain the Horn. It is, therefore, natural for intellectual debate to continue ever as well. Differences in conceptions and understanding start with what may constitute the Horn as a global region. But more seriously, ideas saturate deeply around, among other things, how the individual states of the Horn have been constituted; how the attributes of their statehood is shaping conflict

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and cooperation; and how the dynamics the region is experiencing implicate for peace, stability, and development.

### **Dear Participants of the conference,**

This year's conference is organized jointly by Jimma University and the Network of Oromoo Studies based in London, UK. This forum is an academic arena that creates an opportunity for Jimma University staffs and scholars from different parts of the world to share their research outputs. Accordingly 81 research papers were received out of which 32 papers were chosen based on the grand-theme and sub-themes. The papers which are going to be presented here are contributed from different parts of the globe. Moreover, the platform brought the Diaspora Oromoo studies back home for the first time and confirmed the reunion of the Oromoo scholars from inland and Diaspora on one venue irrespective of their ideological differences.

### **Dear Participants**

#### **Ladies and Gentlemen,**

In this two day conference, I hope that the central idea of the conference will be efficiently addressed in due course of the conference and the way forwards will be set at the end. I Hope that the conference will create a platform where scholars exchange their views and deliberate on Oromoo state formation, and the socio economic and political order in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa. It will become a forum where scholars and erudite experts in political sciences and governance suggest way forward to create peace, stability and solve conflict in order to create nation building endeavor in Ethiopia and regional integration and economic development. What is more, the conference also discusses on the politics of language and its role in shaping identity and having its own share in state formation more specifically Afaan Oromoo. That is to mean the historical account Afaan Oromoo and Oromoo literature went through as it is a timely issue especially in the making of Afaan Oromoo the Federal working language. The conference also creates an opportunity for the participants to create links on how to work together in the future with scholars at home and abroad.

Finally, I would like to say again welcome to this joint consultative and deliberative Oromoo studies conference. With this brief welcoming remark, may I call upon, president of Jimma University to officially open the conference with opening address.

**Thank you!**

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### **Opening Speech**

**Dr. Jemal Abafita, President of Jimma University**

Dear Excellencies

Distinguished Scholars,

Our Guests from abroad and different parts of Oromia and Ethiopia

Jimma Zone and Jimma Town Community

Jimma University Community

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Firstly, on behalf of Jimma University and my own behalf, I would like to extend my warmest welcome to you all. Welcome to Jimma University. Welcome to the event of the 4<sup>th</sup> International Oromoo Studies Conference.

To our distinguished guests from abroad, who traveled miles to be with us today, and to those who came to Jimma from the various corners of Oromia and Ethiopia, I would like to say welcome to Jimma, the historic town of King Abajifar, the land of origin of coffee, and indeed the town of hospitality.

***Ashamaa, Anaa dhufu, Baga nagayaan dhuftan!***

It is an honor to welcome you all to this grand event of the 4<sup>th</sup> International Oromoo Studies Conference organized collaboratively by *The Institute of Oromoo Studies (IOS)* in our University and *The Network of Oromoo Studies (NOS)* based in UK. It is now the 4<sup>th</sup> time Jimma University is organizing such an event that brings together seasoned scholars and stakeholders committed to the pursuit of Oromoo scholarship. The time at which this year's conference is conducted signifies a better context where we can openly debate on what matters most in the life of our people. Thanks to the brave souls who paid the utmost price to bring this relative peace and freedom we breath today, so that we are able to listen to each other, share views and chart the future of our nation together.

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### **Dear Participants,**

The situation was different a couple of years back. We dearly remember the ecstasy we felt when we inaugurated the Institute at the 1<sup>st</sup> International Conference just four years back, but we also cannot forget the troubles we had to go through to get it done. Now many things have changed that we are able to call a spade a spade, as the saying goes. Yet we believe there are miles to walk to see the desired fruits for our people. I believe the conferences such as this are the platforms where we form synergy to shorten the time and distance we have to travel to arrive at the aspired destiny.

### **Ladies and gentlemen,**

Jimma University is committed to the pursuit of Oromoo scholarship. We believe the unfathomable wisdom of the people should be brought to pragmatic use. And it is our conviction that the coordinated effort we all make will take us to the heights we all desire and deserve. But we also believe that the fragmentation we used to and are still forced to dwell in in the various aspects of our life takes us nowhere, except to confusion and powerlessness. One way we can avoid the bad consequences of fragmentation is to establish and strengthen institutions that foster synergy amongst us, and that work on enabling us see the big picture. It was with this objective that Jimma University started to invest on Oromoo scholarship through establishing departments targeted at producing students equipped with the right skills, and the Institute of Oromoo Studies destined to grow into a hub of Oromoo Studies.

### **Dear participants,**

As one of the distinguished higher learning institutions in the nation, with a peculiar philosophy of community-based education, I believe, Jimma University has put an indelible mark in nurturing Oromoo scholarship. You can imagine the number of graduates the departments of Afaan Oromoo and Literature, and Oromo Folklore and Cultural Studies produced in the last almost two decades.

In its last four years journey, the IOS has also significantly contributed to the goal I have mentioned earlier. More than anything else the institute inspired the establishment of centers in the various higher learning institutions in the region. The First International Conference held in May 2016 deliberated on the grand theme of “Oromoo Knowledge Systems and Practices” a year before the registration of Gadaa as an intangible cultural heritage of humanity. The conference was a foreteller of what had happened a year later as the majority of the papers presented at the

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historic event was of Gadaa. In June 2017, the Institute held its Second International Conference on the theme “*Gadaa: The Indigenous Knowledge System of the Oromoo*”. By then the focus was on the daring activities expected of institutions in the post UNESCO Gadaa inscription period. The discussions at the conference were impactful that we saw a huge movement in the revival of Gadaa centers in many parts of Oromia including Jimma Zone—where we saw the revival of Gadaa at Odaa Hullee.

It was at the Second International conference that we also launched Gadaa Journal. I am glad today that we have Gadaa Scholar, Professor Asmarom Leggesse amongst us. Back in 2017, when we were organizing the 2<sup>nd</sup> International Conference, we exerted our utmost effort to bring him to Jimma University. But our efforts ended up in vain as the then political situation did not allow us. By then our two nations were not in a mood to engage in such exciting humanely relation. We had also difficulty in inviting Oromo seasoned scholars whom many of us knew through their works, not in person. But today, we are in the same hall with Professor Mekuria Bulcha, Professor Mohammed Hassen and Bonnie Holcomb who worked hard in laying the foundation for establishment of OSA. Thanks to the brave souls again that the wall that separated us was dismantled and the bridge that connects us rebuilt. Ladies and gentlemen, may I kindly ask you to join me in welcoming our distinguished guests with a round of applause?

The efforts made at the 2<sup>nd</sup> International conference led to a new chapter of networking that led to the co-organization of the 3<sup>rd</sup> International Conference with Wollega University in April 2018. This conference deliberated on Afaan Oromoo, Oromoo Arts, Custom and History. It brought together Abbaa Gadaas, distinguished Oromoo scholars, seasoned Oromoo Artists and Writers, stakeholders from various offices and academics. The joint venture has now drawn another collaborative effort that we are organizing the 4<sup>th</sup> International conference in collaboration with The Network of Oromoo Studies based in UK. We are glad with the journey so far, and are aiming for a better collaboration and synergy in this regard. Who knows, we will be organizing our 5<sup>th</sup> International Oromoo Studies Conference with Oromo Studies Association (OSA) in the upcoming year. We are happy OSA is coming home and conducting this year’s conference in Oromia, Finfinnee.

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**Ladies and Gentlemen,**

The theme of the 4<sup>th</sup> International Conference “*Oromia State Formation and Socio-economic and Political Order in Ethiopia and the Horn*” is timely that we are in a critical situation that needs charting a clear better future for our nation. The Institutions we have must help us sit at a table, debate and share views to design what is best for our people. We need to bring lessons from history and critically read current context so as to plan our better tomorrow. I believe, this platform will be used for this purpose in the upcoming two days. The papers presented and the discussions at the plenary and split sessions will be used as an input for further actions by the concerned bodies.

I wish you all a fruitful two days conference time. And with these remarks I declare the workshop is officially opened.

**Horaa Bulaa!**

## **Lead Papers on the 4<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Oromoo Studies**

### **1. Ethiopia: State Formation and the Popular Struggles for Change**

Merera Gudina, Ph.D

Professor of Political Science, Addis Ababa University

#### **Abstract**

State formation in Ethiopia goes back for millennia. However, the country took the present shape in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – where multitudes of peoples were forcefully brought into the expanding empire-state. The manner in which the empire-state had been created and the unequal relationship thereof have led to a crisis of major proportion, which in turn has led to the rise of competing ethnic nationalisms in the country. To be sure, the role of midwife for the creation of the modern empire-state was played by the interplay of three forces and factors: regional, religious and ethnic. In terms of region, it was the Shewan elite who provided the political and military leadership where the Orthodox Church gave both the spiritual blessing and the guiding ideology for the empire-making project while the regional and the religious factors were further cemented by the ethnic factor with the rise of the Amhara elite to a position of dominance in the process of the empire building, which promoted the Amhara culture and language as the core value of the State. The trinity of the regional, religious and ethnic factors continued to play an important role in the subsequent evolution of the multi-ethnic and multi-religious Ethiopian polity in much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the process, the victorious Shewan Amhara elite have made tremendous efforts to consolidate its political, military and cultural domination over the defeated elites and their respective masses under a motto of a unifying culture and language. The bloody military interlude from 1974 – 1991 further compounded the project of creating ‘one Ethiopia nation’ while the coming of the EPRDF could not make easier the birth pang of a democratic Ethiopia. This study makes a fresh look at the creation of the Ethiopian empire-state and its subsequent evolution so as to suggest a way forward in light of the on-going changes in the country.

## **2. The Politics of Language, Nation-Building and State Formation in Ethiopia**

Mekuria Bulcha, PhD,  
Professor Emeritus, Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden

### **Abstract**

Since language is an important element in both the recognition and redistribution aspects of justice, it constitutes a major fault line in multination states. In many multination states where linguistic suppression was imposed in the pretext of nation-building, it has been a cause or part of the cause for political and armed conflict. The suppression of a language by a state not only denies the identity of its speakers, but also compromises their participation, and indeed competition in employment and education. In pre-1991 Ethiopia, where the school, the law court, and the church had constituted a monolingual habitus, those who did not speak Amharic were not considered for employment even as cleaners or guards by the state and its institutions. Furthermore, in the ethnic hierarchy that had characterized the pre-1974 imperial Ethiopia, knowledge of Amharic has been a condition not only for employment, but also indicator of the social status of its speakers. Consequently, used as an instrument of domination, discrimination and humiliation, the issue of language has been the locus of conflict in the politics of the Ethiopian state. In the past, its rulers had suppressed the languages of their non-Amhara subjects in the name of nation-building. However, the intensity of suppression depended on the collective political weight of the speakers of the given language. Here, political weight denotes demographic size and political consciousness. Needless to point out that with its about forty million speakers Afaan Oromoo had been a primary target for suppression. This paper explores the centrality of language in the unity of the Oromoo people, the making of Oromoo national identity and development of Oromoo nationalism. It describes briefly a vernacular mobilization that was instigated by Oromoo literacy in the beginning of the twentieth century and its suppression by the rulers of the Ethiopian state and its institutions. Furthermore, the paper describes the current status of Afaan Oromoo, and analyzes the politicization of its development by opponents of the qubee script. Finally, it suggests the way forward in the development of Afaan Oromoo and expected contribution from Oromoo scholars, universities and research institutions for such an endeavor.



### **3. Successive Policies That Retarded the Development of Written Oromoo Literature and What Educated Oromoos Did to Counter Those Policies**

Mohammed Hassen, PhD  
Professor of History  
Georgia State University, USA

#### **Abstract**

I genuinely believe that the development of written literature in many Ethiopian languages will enrich the cultural and spiritual well-being of all the people of Ethiopia. It is important to develop literature based on respect for the rights of citizens, their cultures, histories and languages. It is also time to develop literature of celebration of human dignity of all Ethiopian people, their unity in diversity, literature of tolerance and respects, promoting a pluralistic, free society and democratic political culture.

It has been said that literature in both oral and written form is the ultimate beauty of any language, a measure of its richness and depth, the mark of its maturity to meet the spiritual as well as the day-to-day needs of its speakers. Literature in any language is a mirror which reflects the view of a given people's universe and their place in that universe. It is also the treasure house of any society's history. To deprive any people from developing their written literature is a crime of ethnocide that is undermining a people's language and identity without physically destroying those people.

Of the many Ethiopian languages, it was the Oromoo language that was the most disparaged for a long time, least studied and banned from being used for teaching, preaching, writing and broadcasting up to the 1974. The paper will attempt to extensively discuss successive policies that retarded the development of written Oromoo literature. It also shows what few educated Oromoo, both Christians and Muslims were able to achieve under extremely difficult circumstance for cultivating literature in Oromoo language either collectively or individually.

The paper also explores the impact of the transformation of the Latin alphabet into Qubee Afaan Oromoo in 1991, which within few years revolutionized production of literature in the Oromoo language. The speed with which that language established itself as rapidly growing language of education and government services in Oromia, appear to have inspired strong opposition against the use of Qubee for writing in Afaan Oromoo.

Additionally, the paper looks at the argument of those who oppose the use of Latin alphabet for the Oromoo language, on three grounds. First, it appears that those who oppose Qubee perceive it as a threat to the supremacy of Amharic language on the Ethiopian political landscape. This is at best, a misplaced fear and, at worst, an attempt to prevent the development of written Oromoo literature. This is because the development of literature in the Oromoo language does not pose any threat for the undisputed importance Amharic language in Ethiopia. The reason for this is obvious. Amharic is one of the most developed languages in Africa, with impressive literature, with its own unique writing system, and it is gradually making itself the lingua franca and the national language of Ethiopia. The real threat to Amharic is the narrow vision

that does not allow the flowering of languages other than Amharic itself.

The second argument of those who oppose the use of Latin alphabet for Oromoo language is that they see it as a threat to territorial integrity of Ethiopia. Like other Ethiopians, the Oromoo have profound commitment for maintaining territorial integrity of Ethiopia. There is no country in the world that collapsed because its people use different writing systems. It is not the use of Latin alphabet that poses a threat to territorial integrity of Ethiopia, rather it is the denial of basic democratic rights of people for developing their language that usually leads to conflict. What will guarantee the territorial integrity of Ethiopia will be a democratic political culture that is based on the rule of law and respect for citizens political and cultural rights, including the right for developing their languages.

Third, the opposition for the use of Latin alphabet for the Oromoo language is related to the assumption that literature in the Oromoo language symbolizes an Oromoo identity that is separate from that of other Ethiopians. For those who still believe that to be an Ethiopian, “one has to cease to be an Oromoo” is an old ideology of by gone times. One can be an Oromoo and a proud Ethiopian, like the Amhara, the Sidama, the Somali and the Tigreyans and other Ethiopians. Oromoo identity is a treasure that must be harnessed for developing democratic political culture in Ethiopia. In short, the paper argues that literature in the Oromoo language, “brings salutary happiness” for the Oromoo people, while restoring pride, self-respect and dignity for my generation that was taught nothing positive about the Oromoo in the Ethiopian school system up to the early 1970s.

**Papers on State Formation**

**4. The Mayhem of Federation and Disintegration in Making and Remaking of States within the Horn of Africa**

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The Horn of Africa has been engulfed in devastating and prolonged wars and conflicts since the colonial era. For this reason, the Horn Africa is globally known as a center of crisis. Currently this region has never introduced its own political ideology to establish viable states. As result of this, there are a number of Political Parties, Liberation Fronts, and Terrorist Groups moving within the Horn of Africa to form a state either through federation or through disintegration. Nevertheless, building a viable and democratic state has remained a dream in this region until today. Particularly the Horn of Africa has been suffering from the main contending political forces including the force of federation, unification, disintegration and extremism in their ideology of state formation. Accordingly the main objective of this study is to critically analyzing the prevailing political and legal challenges in order to form viable states within the Horn of Africa. To achieve its objective, this study has employed a legal oriented methodology. Mainly critical legal and document analyzes, historical interpretations of the Horn politics, as well as, the practical observations in this region has utilized as a method of study. The finding of this study illustrate that within the Horn of Africa, neither federation nor disintegration is successful as a mode of state formation. Hence, due to the mayhem of competing ideologies like federation/unification, disintegration/secession and terrorism; the making or remaking of a viable and democratic state remains a paradox in the Horn of Africa.

**Keywords:** The Horn of Africa, Federation, Disintegration, State

**5. Worrisome Exodus Of The Oromoos From Finfinnee; Can Reversing The Direction Of Exodus Redeem Historical Wrong?**

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Historically, geographically and legally Finfinnee is the land of Oromoo. Following Menelik's decision to make Finfinnee (Addis Ababa) a permanent capital of Ethiopian empire, tens of thousands of Oromoos; including some Oromoo tribes/clans such as Gullallee, Galaan and Ekkaa to name few were massively uprooted from their homeland [Finfinnee] who moved to South and West. The exodus has been continuing since then. It is against this backdrop "A WORRISOME EXODUS OF THE OROMOOS FROM FINFINNEE; CAN REVERSING THE DIRECTION OF EXODUS REDEEM HISTORICAL WRONG?" came to being in order to assess the establishment of Finfinnee and the historical wrongs done to the Oromoos/indigenous to the land prior its establishment. The article is based on the review of literature and interview with key informant like Abbaa Gadaas. Accordingly, relevant literatures with regard to Finfinnee, protection of indigenous people/societies and many other relevant literatures were assessed. The finding claims, exodus of the Oromoos from Finfinnee resulted in dominance of settlers over indigenous people to the land [Finfinnee] making the Oromoo minority in the region. Reversing the direction of Oromoo exodus from Finfinnee to Finfinnee could possibly redeem historical injustice on indigenous Oromoo clans established their living on Finfinnee. Government of Oromia National Regional State and Addis Ababa city government need to work on re-establishing and protecting historically affected indigenous Oromoos by Addis establishment as well as its expansion.

**Key Words:** Finfinnee, Oromoo Exodus, Historical Wrong, Reversing Exodus Direction

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**6. Towards National Unity and Reason of State in Ethiopia: Beyond Egoistic Ethno-Nationalism**

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In contemporary Ethiopia, ethnic nationalism is one of the determining forces of political reforms. The “ethnic based” federalism tested for the past two decades has its successes and failures. Egoistic ethno-nationalism is one of the pressing challenges of state stability, national unity in Ethiopia. Social unrest and internal displacements are manifestations of problematic ethnocentrism in Ethiopia. This article is a philosophical reflection using qualitative research method from critical social perspective. The general objective is to lay philosophical foundations for liberal nationalism, human rights and national unity as a reason of state in Ethiopia. After characterization of reason of state in Ethiopian tradition, it articulates the ways by which the different ethno based nationalities can contribute to the establishment of democratic political community under Ethiopian unity. Any nationalism in contemporary Ethiopia is expected to be liberal by its adherence to two interrelated norms of democracy: the right to self-preservation of “one’s own” interests and the duty of respecting the rights of “others” through the reconciliation between one’s ethno-national identity and Ethiopian identity. The foundation for such “liberal nationalism” should be the basic principles of humanity and political norms of reason of state. Such grand political project can be materialized through sustained dialogue between the generations (via rational interpretation of history) and between different culture traits (via intercultural philosophy and hermeneutics). It is this grand task that is presented in front of activists, political elites, scholars, and the elderly in Ethiopia. Those, whose thought and practice can determine the fate of future Ethiopians, are demanded to consult the time tested indigenous knowledge systems (e.g. the Gada Democracy, and different cultures of peace in the different religious and cultural alcoves of Ethiopia), and the legal and political philosophies of the global culture along with the ethical use of media and technology.

**Key Words:** Culture of Peace, Egoistic Ethno-nationalism, “Ethiopianism”, National Consensus, Reason of State

## **7. The Horn After Meles: Towards Regional Responsibility for Regional Democracy and Beyond**

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Satate's illegitimate use of force and lack of responsibility undermines not only domestic democracy but also regional democracy and beyond. Especially, when super powers deploy ill-defined agendas such as the 'global war on terror' (GWOt) and support undemocratic regimes for their interests, it counterfeits democracy and sustains humanitarian crisis worldwide. This paper evaluates critically the national, regional and global political implication of the proxy war Ethiopia fought in Somalia since 2007 on behalf of the US embracing the discourse on the GWOt. Although the then Ethiopian regime bolstered its military power, and the US have succeeded in 'policing Somalia' through Ethiopia democracy was effectively put into a coffin in the former and the ultimate dividend for the ordinary citizens of the Horn of Africa is hunger, violence, and death.. The purpose of this paper is to critically analyse what holds for Somalia in particular and for the region in general after the late Meles Zenawi. The author holds that regional responsibility for regional democracy as an antidote to the so-called GWOt is a viable policy to domesticate democracy, peace and development in the Horn. This paper finds that the Somalis are the victims to warlord thugs and deploying a military force in a country already fragile, hunger stricken and politically divided is tantamount to adding fuel on a fire already blazing. Second, under the current political climate in Ethiopia, it would no more be viable to close eyes to regional problems and trading lives of peoples for Western agendas. Thus, after Meles, the Horn's political formula should be re-engineered based on African values such mutual trust, responsibility and democracy – in which the Oromoo ethos would have a lot to enrich.

**Key Terms:** Ethiopia, Regional Democracy, Global War on Terror, Somalia.

## **8. Biyya, Lafaafi Oromoo: Xiyyeeffannaan Oromoo Tuulamaafi Finfinnee**

Tilahun Telila Beji (PhD)

Yunvarsiitii Finfinnee, Muummee Afaan Oromoo, Ogbarruufi Fookloorii

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“Biyyaa”fi ‘Biyyee’n waa’ee lafaati. Biyyis, laftis abbaa akka qabdu, namaan “biyyi kee eessa?” yoo jedhan, lafti abbaa, abbaanis biyya akka himatu ni muul’ata. Bu’uurri moggaasa, “Biyya Oromoo (Oromiyaa<sup>1</sup>)s kanuma. Akkaataa warra ‘mallattoo, keesumaayyuu “namni akkamiin mallattoo (symbol) uumataa?” jedhaniin biyyifi abbaan biyyaa beekkumsa dhalootaa dabarsan walirraa ijaaran jedhu. Oromoon Tuulamaa eebba keesatti, “...Biyya Tuulma Sadeenii, biyya Tulluu Saddeetanii, Biyya Hora Ja’anii” yoo jedhu, gara biyyaan eenyu akka ta’e ofibsu isaatu calaqqisa. Bu’uuruma kanaafi kanaan walqabataniin, akkamiin beekumsi Oromoo lafaan walqabatee ijaarame? Bara Oromoon buqqa’efi buqqa’aa jiru, keesumaayyuu Finfinneefi naannosheetti, beekumsi kun maal ta’e? Bara Lafti *Investimeentiif* barbaadamaa jirtu kanattiifi, magaallaan babal’ataa jiranitti, gara biraan Ormi Finfinneera bubbulle bara ‘kan kooti” jechaa jiruuttifi Oromoonis ‘Waan koo” jechuuf laafaa jirutti, egereen beekkumsa Oromoo (eenyummaasaa) maal ta’uu akka danda’u, qabu mala dhahuuf qorannoo gaggeeffameedha. Ragaan qorannoo kanaaf ooles, aloolaa dirreerra tooftaa daawwannaan durfamee, afgaaffifi marii gareen deeggaramee kan walitti qabamee yemmuu ta’u, qaaccessi isaas, akkaataa beekumsi dur itti ijaarame soquuf, xiinxalli mala ijaarsa mallatoolee hojiira oolera. Haaluma kanaa, ijaaramnifi beekumsi eenyummaa Oromoo ijaaree, lafaan akka walqabatu muul’ateera. Xiinxala taasifameen, “Lafti Oromoof; amma Waaqaati. Beekumsi kun, yoo ijaaramu, safuun lafaaf qabamu, amma Waaqaa qabamu akka ta’eefi uumama mootummaan Itoophiyaan walqabatee, hariiroon ‘safuu waliif qabuu, beekumsa waliinis tiksuu- laafaa dhufuun isaa argameera. Kanarraa ka’uun , ‘biyya Oromoo caalbaasiin gurguruun- wanti hingurguramne- lafti, akka ilaalcha Oromootti ‘akeeka Waaqaa kan taate gurgurtaaf dhiyaachuun adeemsa keesa Bulchitoonni Oromoo waan muuxatan ta’e muul’ateera. Maddi rakkoo kanaa bu’aa walittibu’iinsa aadaa Oromoofi akkataa ijaarama biyya ta’unsaa wanta tilmaamamu ta’ullee, fuulduraaf imaammani lafaa haala Oromoofi beekkumsa isaa hinbuqisneen bocamuu akka qabu yaboo qorannoon kun dhiyeessudha. Beekkumsi lafaan walqabates, gara giddugalawwan Qorannoo Aadaa Oromoo jiraniifi qorattootaan, ‘Archive’ ta’u akka qabu yaada dabalataan dhiyaatudha. Hawwiin guddina siyaasa Oromoo, diinagdeefi hawwaasummaa Oromoof, biyyafi addunyaaf qabnuufi isaanillee nuuf qaban, yoo jiraate karaa ilaalachafi beekumsa Oromoon dur ijaare bu’uu godhateen ta’ee, dhalooni amma imaanaa warrasaafi hawwii dhaloota boruu walsimsiisuuf tattaafachuu qabaan yaboo eerameedha

**Jechoota Ijoo:** Biyya, Oromoo, Lafa

<sup>1</sup> *Biyya + Oromoo* .... Orom- + - iyya; Oromiyaa akka ta’e Tamanaa Bitimaa ( 19...) kitaaba *Dictionary of Oromoo Technical Terms*) jedhu keessatti eerera. Moggaasni kun haala knaan yoo ta’e, maqaan “Oromiyaa” jedhu yeroo afaan Ingliziin barraa’u, “Oromia” wanti ta’uf bu’uura beekkumsa dhuftee kanaa qabaachuun isaa shakkii uuma.

Gara biraatiin ittifayyadama afaanii keessatti, “Bulchiisa Mootummaa Naannoo Oromiyaa” jechuunis bu’uura kana wanta qabate hinfakkatu. Kunis, yoo hiikamu, ‘Bulchiinsa Mootummaa Naannoo Biyya Oromoo” kan jedhu wanta kennuuf, hiikni, bulchiisni Mootummaa Naanawa biyya Oromoo jiraachuu isaa malee bulchiisni , Oromiyaa jiraachuu hineru.

## **9. The Long Journey of Re-emerging Oromia State from Colonial Rule**

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The change of political landscape of Africa at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century brought many of the Horn of African nations under the colonial rule of Abyssinia. This paper in its first part discusses theoretical background of different types of state formation, comparatively review the state formation and development of various political cultures in the Horn of Africa. The paper illuminates the Eastern Cushitic indigenous democratic culture and the Semitic authoritarian monarchical political culture. It analyses the history of colonial rule of different empires of Africa, to understand the real picture of Abyssinian-Ethiopian way of administration of its conquered peoples and compare it with others. The bitter struggle of the colonial nations destroyed two different colonial governments (1974 & 1991) but after 1991 the empire only changed its upper layer of its face as a Federal state. The paper brings several conditions to form workable federal state: (1) There should be a sufficient amount of mutual sympathy among the populations to form federation; (2) The federation binds them always to fight on the same side; and if they have such feelings toward one another, or such diversity of feeling toward their neighbours that they would generally prefer to fight on opposite sides, the federal tie is neither likely to be of long duration, nor to be well observed while it subsists; (3) The sympathies to live together in one federal state such as similar languages, cultures, and above all, of political institutions, as conducing most of the feeling of identity of political interest, which means the existence of a political culture that is at least predisposed toward federalism- a political culture that rest upon some basic commitment to power-sharing; (4) Equal recognition of nations, who need to build federal state; (5) Those nations, who are not fitted or not disposed to live under the same internal government may find better to federate with others to protect themselves from external enemies or to prevent wars among themselves. Looking at these reasons for the need of building federal state, I argue that, there is no theoretical basis for the formation of workable Federal state of colonizers and colonized nations in Ethiopia.

**Key Words:** Federation, Ethiopia, Oromia, colonialism, political culture.



**Papers on Politics of Language**

**10. Making Afaan Oromoo Federal Working Language: a Response to Questions of Almost Half of Ethiopian Population through Language Policy**

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Ethiopia is a mosaic country with a number of ethno-linguistic groups speaking nearly 80 languages. Multilingualism and multiculturalism therefore is typical feature of Ethiopian federalism. Among all these languages, only one language (Amharic) is legally recognized as federal working language of Ethiopia. In multilingual federal states however, choosing only one language as federal working language is uncommon. On one hand, demand for making Afaan Oromoo federal working language is and has been at the center of Oromoo politics. On the other hand, following reformist government [Prime Minister Abiy Ahmad (PhD)]'s coming to power, Ethiopia is proving its strategic role to the Horn of Africa hereby (HoA) by stabilizing the region. In the process of playing this key role, language is crucial issue. On the basis of number of speakers in the East Africa, Afaan Oromoo is the 3rd most spoken language. To maintain and further influence the people of the horn in peace making process, utilizing such dominant language is important and upgrading the status of Afaan Oromoo at home is timely and viable. The research is based on literature review that includes document investigation, experience of multilingual federal states on language policy. The article urges Ethiopian government to make Afaan Oromoo additional federal working language as a part of responding to demands of almost half of total population of the country. Moreover, making it additional federal working language is reaching more population in the HoA.

**Key Words:** Afaan Oromoo, Federal Language, Horn of Africa, Language Policy

**11. The Adverse Effects of Monolingualism in a Multilingual Society: Looking at the Status of Afaan Oromoo from Political Power perspective**

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Ethnolinguistic pluralism has been the defining feature of Ethiopia since the establishment of the Empire by the end of the 19th Century. The successive regimes have pursued assimilationist policy and thus imposed the language spoken by the ethnic group from which the ruling elite were drawn. Monolingualism was pursued as a strategy to build a nation state out of the multilingual Empire. Hence, those who assumed political power had the power to make decisions regarding the language to be used by the State and the public institutions throughout the Empire. The political power they controlled became instrumental in imposing their language on others and controlling resources. The State power has given them political, economic and cultural and even spiritual dominance over all the people brought under their subjugation. This shows the role political dominance has in establishing and maintaining language dominance. This article looks at the role control of political power has played in bringing about Amharic language dominance. The effects this hegemony of Amharic language on other languages, particularly Afaan Oromoo will be explored from power- relation perspective. In a multilingual society, proficiency in a State preferred language will enable a person access to power, opportunity and material resources, language carries an enormous political, social and economic power. As language is a vital instrument of communication, if a person is unable to speak a state preferred language, the person is isolated from important social dealings like accessing those services provided by public institutions. In such setting, inability to communicate in a state-preferred language can lead to social exclusion. Although Monolingualism at the Regional levels has been changed under the current FDRE Constitution, the same Monolingualism is being pursued at the Federal level. The paper will look at the adverse effects the maintenance of Monolingualism will have on Afaan Oromoo. The paper advocates for multilingualism where more languages will be given the working language statuses at the Federal level so as to remove the ongoing linguistic injustice.

**Key Words:** Ethiopia, Afaan Oromoo, multilingualism, monolingualism

## **12. Language without a standard dialect: How far would it go?**

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This paper presents some useful arguments regarding the present and the future status of Oromoo. The attempt to use Oromoo as a written language began in the early time but Oromoo became a written language with its own official Latin-based script after the downfall of the Derg regime. Since then, the language has attained a good sociolinguistic status serving as an official language of the Oromia Federal State, and a medium of communication in schools, universities, media and other domains. Unsatisfied with its current status, the speakers of the language demand that it should be used as a federal working language together with Amharic. The demand may be justifiable from sociolinguistic standpoints as it has the largest number of native speakers in the country and likely in the Horn. Again, it could be claimed functionally capable having served the same purpose at the level of a local state. Nonetheless, this paper argues that a language without a standard dialect is hardly claimed sociolinguistically fit to serve as a working language at the level of the federal government. It further contends that if the language was, by coercion or consensus, promoted to the desired status without having a standard dialect, it would be marginally functional, or nonfunctional, with its status remaining merely nominal. Therefore, it strongly maintains that if the linguistic demand of the speakers is to be met, the language must undergo a rigorous standardization process to create at least a ‘quasi-standard’ dialect, which will provisionally serve the desired purpose. Unfortunately, a standardization of that sort may not take place easily and smoothly; and the paper will discuss these challenges and put forward some sociolinguistic recommendations.

**Key Words:** Language, standard dialect, standardization

### **13. Attitudes to Ethiopian Language Policy and Practice**

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Language learning and use are affected by numerous factors including attitudes and motivation to the target languages. Gardner (1985) puts forward that attitude is ‘the sum total of human’s incitements and feelings, bias or prejudice, threats, fear, preliminary feelings and condemnations regarding any indicated topic’. Brown (2007) defines attitude as a set of beliefs that a learner holds toward the target language whether it is important, interesting, boring, and so forth. Thus attitudes are among key sociolinguistic considerations while studying and also choosing language for various purposes – work, instruction or mass-media communication. The crucial role of attitudes can be noticed in all kinds of situations, e.g., influencing decisions, actions, choices of services and products to buy up to what political candidates to vote, the job to apply for, school where to send the children to or how to interact with other people (Ianos 2014). This paper examines the current attitudes to Ethiopia language policy and practices. The study seeks to tackle questions such as: “What types of attitudes do people have on the current Ethiopian language policy and practices at the federal as well as local levels? “What perceptions exist in relation to the impacts of the current language policy on Ethiopian unity, national development, education and mass-media at the federal and local levels?” The study has also examined views on the different roles that various languages (Afaan Oromoo, Amharic, English, Sidama, Somali, Tigrinya and other vernaculars) can play. In a quest for answers to its research questions, this critical interpretivist research has conducted a mixed methods study comprising 23 semi-structured one-to-one interviews with people from Ethiopia to elicit their views on the current language policy and practices. A judgement sampling strategy was applied to select the research participants. So far, furthermore, 210 copies of a survey questionnaire have been completed to establish how widely the views emerged during the interviews are held.

**Key Words:** Attitudes, Ethiopia, Language Policy, Practice

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**14. The Power of Afaan Oromoo vs. Ethiopia's Repressive Language Policy: An Evolutionary Africology Perspective**

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Early Egyptologists had to first study Afaan Oromoo in order to understand Ancient Egyptian or Kemet hieroglyphics. Similarly, early Assyriologists had to study Afaan Oromoo in order to understand Babylonian cuneiform writing system. They were convinced that Afaan Oromoo was not only the lingua franca of Africa up until 19th century AD, but was possibly the language of the Ancient Egyptian, Ancient Nile Valley or possibly even of Hittite from which Indo-European languages emerged as offshoot. But, how come that Afaan Oromoo is reduced today to even below the regional, Oromiya, level in its status? Adopting an Africologist and evolutionary linguistics perspective, this study shall exploit classical and contemporary archives and explore the historical, epistemological, literary, theological and relational power of Afaan Oromoo in explaining world's pre-history, classical era and modern Africa. It shall also attempt to explain how and why the modern and contemporary draconian policy of Ethiopian states suppresses this language in the light of African colonial history. The importance of this to Oromoo and African historians, linguists and policy makers is highlighted.

**Key Words:** Afaan Oromoo, Ethiopia, language policy, Power, repressive

## **15. Politics of Language in Ethiopia: Language Shift in Conurbation**

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Ethiopia is a multifarious diversified country. In view of this, there is an evident linguistic diversity in the separate geopolitics, central and southern parts of Ethiopian major urban areas. This research paper started with a nature of politics of language in Ethiopia among urban multilingual and hosting communities of Finfinne and its suburbs. Thus the aim of this survey research is to examine conditions and major factors that contributing to language shift in the urban areas. Language is an unsettled instrument in the course of political territory followed by migration through conurbation atlas fault lines. Conurbation is the fusion of pre-existing cities. Ethiopia, particularly Oromia Special Zone Surrounding Finfinne (OSZSF) the suburb of Finfinne city has been receiving multilingual society from all directions because of rapid urbanization. However, the researcher argued that urbanization and its consequences are against linguistic diversity in the absence of assuring social identities which breathe in the language especially for hosting community, though globalization has some positive outcomes for democratic society. Amharic has been the language of the politically dominant ethnic group in Ethiopia for many hundreds of years and the language of the emperor, of the state, of the orthodox church and the language of education whereas Oromoo the largest and the language of hosting community and other Ethiopian languages were banned in every domains and even in public speeches in the country. Even currently, Oromoo, the largest language and ethnic group in Ethiopia represent so much less number in the urban areas show that, urbanization and resettlement policy in Ethiopia rejected language and other rights of the hosting communities. Also nowadays, Finfinne and the surrounding cities is a melting pot where, of course, Amharic language is the only still dominant even in the speech communities of the OSZSF. All Ethiopian languages have no cities so Amharic removes them. The data were collected from five major Finfinne city outlets Burayu, Galan, Laga Tafo-Laga Dadhi, Sebata and Sululta urban communities through questionnaire, interview and observation. Analyzed data reveals that, there is a pronounced language shift in OSZSF from all Ethiopian languages to Amharic. Results also show that, the major factors that contributing to language shift in the Oromoo speech community living adjacent to Finfinne city are: past political determination, the current rejection of using regional language in private schools, uncontrolled internal migrations, religious institutions, urban expansion, and demographic differences. This study also found out that urban populations have rejected the use of regional language in favour of using Amharic in different domains. Finally, the study proved that linguistic homogeneity will be assured after third generation, in the absence of reversing shift, language recovery, revitalization and maintenance in conurbation that followed by national identity construction defect lines

**Key Words: Conurbation, Ethiopia, Politics of Language, Language Shift**

## **16. A Philosophical Exposition of the Nexus between Language and Identity in the Contemporary Ethiopia**

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Ethiopia has over the years faced several social, economic and political challenges. There are many divisive issues that pose challenge to the continued existence of the state. Linguistic issues have been one of the most divisive issues that the country faced over the past fifty years. There are two irreconcilable claims entertained by scholars with regard to the question of whether the country's political structure should run along linguistic lines. On the one hand, there are those who argue that since language is such a divisive issue, the governing structure of the public sphere should not be informed by linguistic issues. The government, in other words, should treat language as a private matter on a par with religion. On the other hand, there are those writers who reject this claim on the ground that the state cannot help supporting one or more languages to become widely spoken language/languages if it is to function well. So, they argue that the state should provide the same support for the other languages that are not going to be selected to function as national language/languages. The idea is that since the well-functioning of the state depends, partly on, the choice that it makes to make one or more languages of the land the national ones, it cannot justifiably withhold support from other languages that are not going to be candidates for the choice for one reason or another. In short, they insist that the state's structure can justifiably run along ethnic lines and linguistic issue can inform the functioning of the state. I argue in this paper that this later view can be rationally defended.

**Key words:** Language, Identity, Multi-Ethnic State, National Language

**Papers on Socio-political/Historical Conditions**

**17. The Root and Immediate Causes of Oromoo Protest in Ethiopia: Current Real Politics**

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The modern Oromoo nationalism commenced with the formation of Mecha-Tulema self-help association in the 1960s. Since then the Oromoo elites, professionals and youths struggle for equal treatment of Oromoo in Ethiopian polity. The aim of this paper is therefore to investigate the root and immediate causes of the Oromoo protest and its current status. To do so the study used discourse analysis approach. The study based on secondary sources like books, journal articles, government and non-governmental organization reports, media outlet, discussion on social media, activists blogs and official documents. Using this, the finding show that the root causes of Oromoo protest is threefold; social exclusion, economic exploitation and political alienation. The regime established its own version of Ethiopian society by trying to create its own new knowledge like Oromoo is narrow-minded which spread fear in the minds of other nations and nationalities in the country. By controlling all economic activities, the regime exploited Oromoo economy. Also, it alienated Oromoo elites from politics and disseminate propaganda that narratethere is no elite from Oromoo who is capable to rule Ethiopia and Oromoo is running for secession. Through this process, the TPLF led government expands its hegemony while the Oromoo youth struggle against this hegemonic power-counter hegemony. Nevertheless, the immediate causes of the current Oromoo protest is what Professor Ezkiel called as 'L3'- Land, Leadership and Language. Thus, it is possible to conclude that the Oromoo protest had three root causes accompanied with three immediate causes derived from the root causes. Therefore, to realize democratic transition in Ethiopia the root and immediate causes of the Oromoo protest should be solved permanently.

**Key words:** Oromoo Protest, root causes of protest, immediate causes of the protest, economic exploitation, political alienation, social exclusion



**18. Responsiveness of Ethiopian Education Policy to Oromoo Cultural Values:  
Reflection on Pedagogic Principles and Strategies in the Contemporary  
Education Policy**

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Education is an instrument of social development which takes its rooting in the cradle culture, and works for the improvement of the host society on a mutually transformative basis. In that, social development through education is marked by cultural progresses which pertain to economic, political and other values deemed essential for the existence and progress of a certain society. Theoretical underpinnings underline that, culturally responsive education connects students' cultural knowledge, prior experiences, and performance styles to academic knowledge and intellectual tools in ways that legitimize what students already know such that, they can keep learning and developing by taking their cultural and social values as bases for development. In this case, students' cultural knowledge and experiences are posited as preliminary issues backed up by performance styles, which should be aligned with academic knowledge and intellectual tools. The place of Ethiopian education in entertaining Oromoo cultural values did not seem to have been researched in a way it can be enriching indigenous practices. This review critically assesses the contemporary Ethiopian Education policy in building Oromoo cultural values by looking into documents related with the inception and development of modern education in the country. The paper also shades light on political movements so far held to emancipate Oromoo philosophy, both cultural and political, to capitalize on the identity of the people, and indicates possible breakthroughs for the illumination of the path for peacemaking and productivity in the nation by giving due space for Oromoo view of unity with diversity.

**Key Words:** Responsiveness, Education Policy, Oromoo, Cultural Values, Pedagogic Principles

## **19. Mapping the Contemporary Political Landscape in Ethiopia: Actors and Discourses**

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By drawing upon agent and discourse level of analysis, this paper argues that most of the prominent political groups in Ethiopia today lack empirically oriented political programs and the discourse these groups entertain demonstrate major disconnect with the needs and aspirations of the people. The discourse of politics in Ethiopia is, largely, set by the political elites that control political parties, media agencies and activists. These actors set normative agenda and mobilize the people according to their vision, which are often confined to the divisive discourses of ethno-nationalism and nationalism. The qualitative data collected in the two cities of Addis Ababa and Bahir Dar show that there is negligible attempt by political groups to consult the people and develop discourses in empirically rooted manner. The dominant discourses set by the political groups in the two cities are identity obsessed and anachronistic. The paper argue that the source of tension and conflict in this transitional period in some parts of Ethiopia is the acrimonious nature of political discourse that came out of the political atmosphere that resisted to diversify the discourse of politics in Ethiopia.

**Key Words:** Actors, Discourses, Ethiopia, Political Landscape

## **20. The Historical Implication of the Building of the Memorial Monument of 'Harma Mura and Harka Mura' of Anole**

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The years (1881-887) were historical in which the Arsi Oromoo fought with traditional army against the warriors of Minelik supported by modern army. The objective of this study was to historicize implications of the monument of 'Anole'. Interview, FGD, Media reports, historical document reviews were used as data collection tools. Findings reveal the Arsi Oromoo solidly struggled not to be colonized and lost their culture on their own land. For fear that Arsi people may regenerate and fight him again and depose Menilik, in 1887 at 'Anole', Arsi people were called to come in the name of 'meeting', by the order of the Ras Darge, in which males were urged to cut off their right hand (Harka Mura), females were urged to cut off their right breast (Harma Mura). Therefore, it was a deliberated revenge of the 1886 Azule battle in which the Arsi people defeated the army of the shoan king that was made against Arsi-Oromoo at a chosen place called 'Anole'. In memory of such "alive killing", the monument of Anole was built to teach the current generation not to repeat such ill deeds. Thus, the lesson to be learned was that the measures taken against Arsi Oromoo were historically 'inhuman act against human'. Thus, the current generation shouldn't entertain in such ill deeds and 'no more revenge again' but 'Madamar'. The study recommends let know history of yesterday and learn from mistakes and do for better-future.

**Key Words:** Harma-Harka-Mura, Anole, historical paradoxes, reconcile, historical implications

**21. The Coup Plot of Brigadier General Taddasa Birru: Oromoo Attempt to Take Political Power in November 1966**

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The purpose of this paper is to examine the Oromoo coup plot initiated by General Taddasa Birru to change the Imperial regime through the assassination of Emperor Haile Selassie on November 2, 1966. Political oppositions against the Imperial regime have been documented by different scholars in their works. However, even though it failed like other preceding coup plots in Ethiopia, the coup plot of General Taddasa remains undocumented and unstudied. This paper attempts to fill the perceived gap in the Ethiopian historiography. The paper discusses the causes, the plan, and the reasons for the failure of the plot that had the intention to establish a system of government that would treat the Oromoo with equality and recognize their identity. The finding shows that before half a century ago, the Oromoo leaders had aspired to take real political power in Ethiopia in order to address the grievances of their own people and to ensure their equality within the Ethiopian state. Lack of real power has remained the main cause for the exploitation and suppression of the numerically dominant Oromoo. This study is based on the critical examination of 'The Trial Document of the Leaders of the MTSHA'. This document contains the testimonies of witnesses when the plotters were brought to court following the failure of the plot. Moreover, eye-witness accounts of those individuals who took part in the plot are carefully analyzed. In addition to both sources, the available secondary sources are also examined and both oral and written sources are cross-checked for authenticity.

**Key words:** General Taddasa Birru, Coup d'état, Oromoo, MTSHA, Imperial regime, Haile Selassie

## **22. Oromoo Nationalism & Its Relations with Environmental Changes in Oromia**

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Environmental concerns play catalytic roles in the generation of national movements, whose ultimate goal is to regain the power to define people's relation with their environment according to their cultural values and material needs. The critical environmental issues have been part of the overall struggle for Oromoo self-determination. However, although several scholars have hitherto treated the united self-esteem of Oromooness (Oromummaa), its contributing factors and its indispensable effect on socio-psychological makeup for combating ecological havoc have not been dealt with properly. The intention of this paper is to expose the injustices and prejudices committed and perpetrated by the exploitative, oppressive, and suppressive Abyssinian cum Ethiopian regimes against the Oromoo favoring net extraction of Oromoo natural resources that led to environmental hazards for more than a century. The paper tries to identify indignations that can be felt and conflicts that can arise when state's agents with feelings of superiority, actively misrecognize and physically destruct ethnic solidarity symbols such as common origin, shared territory, language, culture and historicity. Using authentic oral testimonies and written literature, this paper attempts to analyze the causes, processes, successes and failures of the Oromoo unity or tokkummaa together with its vigilance for environment as the struggle for ecological protection went hand in hand with the fight for freedom. It is anticipated that this study can increase the understanding of pan-Oromoo movement and its desire for the revival of the wide-ranging Oromoo indigenous system i.e. Gadaa that has nurtured the harmonious relations and other sundry virtues conducive for environmental sustainability.

**Key words:** Oromoo Nationalism, Environmental Changes, Oromummaa

### **23. The State of Political Confusion in the Contemporary Ethiopia Political Transition Period: The Case of ‘Qeerroofi Qarree’**

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The issue of Qeerroo fi Qarree (youth Male and Female Oromoo) is one of political discourse in the current Ethiopia transition period. The main objective of this study is to review and describe Qeerroo fi Qarree struggle movements in the pre-transition period, and changes and uncertainties took place since the transition period in Ethiopia. Social movement and political process theories are employed as the major theoretical frameworks. Qeerroo fi Qarree of west shewa zone were selected purposively due to they are usually an epicenter of Oromoo protest movements. Both primary and secondary data were used to get necessary information. Accordingly, six public figure Qeerroo fi Qarree who have organized the protest movements, three higher officials from West Shewa Zone Administration, Government Communication and Police offices, three informants from ruling and opposition parties (Oromoo Federalist Congress party, Oromoo Liberation Front and Oromoo Democratic Party), and one political science expert were purposively selected to get firsthand information. Besides, documents from both government and private reliable online sources were used as secondary source of data. In-depth-interview, document analysis and researcher own observations were used as tools to gather necessary information. The qualitatively analyzed finding revealed that Qeerroo fi Qarree are the engine of current political juncture and have conceptual political meaning than a literal one. They brought the current transition and achieved great missions through well-organized and strong protest movements, and businesses and service boycotts. However, Qeerroo fi Qarree of west shewa zone have still doubt on the transition success due to local and national problems. The absence of clear transition roadmap, heightened ethnic-border based violence and ununiformed top-bottom reformations are nationwide problems. Lack of political awareness, absence of fully renewed relationship between Qeerroo fi Qarree and Oromoo Democratic Party, lack of confidence on opposition parties competency are local problems make Qeerroo fi Qarree of west shewa zone hesitant about the current transition and expected changes in post-transition period. Clear transition political roadmap, unspontaneous discussion and pragmatic reformations should be needed to clarify Qeerroo fi Qarree confusions and ensure democratic transition.

**Key Words:** Qeerroo, Qarree, Politics, Transition, Protest

## **24. Xiinxala Ergaafi Yoomessa Baacoo Siyaasa Oromoo Keessatti**

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Kaayyoon qorannoo kanaa Ergaafi Yoomessa Baacoowwan Siyaasa Oromoo Keessatti Taphataman Xiinxaluu irratti kan xiyyeeffatedha. Bareeffamoonni adda addaa akka ibsanitti namoota hedduu biratti baacoon bashannansuudhaafi yeroo ittii dabarfachuudhaaf akka taphatamutti ilaalama. Haatahu malee, baacoon gosoota afseenaa (oral narrative) keessaa tokko tahe namoonni, mormii, miiraafi fedhii isaanii kallattiidhaan yookaan alkallattiidhaan karaa ittii ibsataniifi ergaa waliif dabarsanidha. Fiixaan bahiinsa qorannoo kanaatiifi malleen qorannoo hojiirra oolan: odeffannoon qorannoo kanaa afgaaffiidhaan namoota adda addaa tapha baacoo beekan irraa baacoowwan kudha tokkoofi “Face book” (FB) irraa ammoo baacoowan shan, walumaa galatti baaacoowwan kudha jaha kanneen walitti qabamanidha. Baacoowwan siyaasa Oromoo irratti xiyyeeffatanii walitti qabaan kunniinis yeroodhaan, baroota darban 10 keessa kanneen taphataman yommuu tahu, kunis yeroo kana keessatti siyaasni Oromoo/Itoophiyaa sadarkaa olaanaa irra gahuu isaatiin kan ka’e baacoowwan adda addaa ergaa mormii hooggantoota siyaasa Oromoo irratti qaban kanneen ibsan akka tahan adda bahee jira. Odeffannoon walitti qabaman kunniin akka ibsanitti, baacoowwan sochii siyaasa Oromoo wajjin walqabatani baacaman badiiwwan Oromoofi Oromiyaa irratti karaa hooggantoota paartilee siyaasaa adda addaa irratti raawwatan, aangoon siyaasa Itoophiyaa namoota muraasa (miseensota paartii Siyaasaa TPLF) harka akka ture, hooggantoonni mootummaa naannoo Oomiyas tahe naannoolee biroo hedduun isaanii siyaasa biyyaa kana keessatti murteessoo akka hintaane, adda bahee jira. Karaa biraa, aangawoonni muraasni kanneen Oromoo tahan hanga dandahaniin mirga Oromoo kabachiisuufi qabeenya Oromiyaa qisaasa irraa baraaruu irratti onnee guutuudhaan kanneen hojjetan akka turan, akkasumas, keessumaa Oromootni muraasni biyya alaa taa’anii (political activists) siyaasa biyya Itoophiyaa hordofaa jiran bilchina cimaa akka qaban, kanas namoonni adda addaa miiraafi hawwii isaanii kallattiifi alkallattiidhaan baacootiin ibsamachaa akka turan xiinxala ragaa qorannoo baacoo kana irraa adda bahee jira. Argannoon qorannoo kanaa akka ibsutti, baroota 10 darban keessa siyaasa Oromoo keessatti olaantummaa seeraa akka hinturre, mirgi uumamaafi dimokiraasii namoota muraasa harka akka ture, seerriifi heerri motummaa federaalaas tahe naannoo Oromiyaa olaantummaa paartii tokkoon hoogganamaa akka ture, garuu kanuma keessaa ammoo namoonni muraasni eenyummaa isaaniif quuqamanii boquu gadi qabatani alkallattiidhaan sirna olaantummaa namaa (rule of man) mormaa, qeeqaa, namoota biroo irratti kakaasaa akka turan yommuu tahu, baacoowwan kunniinis miiraafi fedhii uummataa ibsuudhaan jijjiirama siyaasa yeroo amma calaqqisaa jiru kan keessatti shoora mata isaa qabaachaa akka ture ragaalee kanneen irraa hubachuun nidandahama.

**Jechoota Ijoo:** Baacoo, Olaantummaa, Siyaasa

**Papers on other Related Topics**

**25. Afaan Oromoo Akka Afaan Ababbiitti Barsiisuu Keessatti Kitaabota LAGIM**

Alamuu Hayiluu, PhD)

-fi

Abbabaa Qanoo

Yunivarsitii Finfiinnee

Afaan Oromoo seenaa barreeffama isaa keessatti qubee Arabaa, qubee Saabaa, fi kan biroos bu'ureeffatee barreeffamaa turee jira. Keessumattuu baroota 1970 eegalee qubee Laatinii bu'ureeffatee tartiiba ABCDn barreeffamaa turuun isaa nibeekkama. Jidduutti garuu, baroota 2006 fi 2007 tartiibni qubee ABCD gara LAGIMtti (tartiiba qubee kitaabota Afaan Oromoo Kutaa 1 hanga 8f baroota 2006 fi 2007 maxxanfaman keessatti dhimma itti bahame) jijjiiramtee kitaabonni barnootaa kutaalee 1 hanga 8 ittiin maxxanfame, manneen barnootaa keessattis hojiirra oole. Kitaabota kanneen heera fi seera Mootummaa Ferderaala Itoophiyaa fi (1987 EC) kan Mootummaa Naannoo Oromiyaa (Revised Constitution 2005 EC) cabsuun aangoo isaatin ala kan qopheessee maxxansiise Ministeera Barnootaa Ferderaala Itoophiyaati. Jijjiiramoota baay'ee kitaabota kanneen keessatti ta'an keessaa kan qubeen walqabatan: tartiiba qubee, baay'ina qubee, akkasumas maqaa qubeeti. Jijjiirama godhaman kannenis karaa barattootan mormiin niqunname. Mormiichattis aansun gareen qorattoota 11 of keessaa qabu of ijaaree qorannoo geggeessen jijjiiramni qubeerratti ta'e dhimma seera fi heera biyyattii fi Naannoo Oromiyaa kan cabse akkasumas haala baruu fi barsiisuu afaan Oromoo kan duubatti deebisu ta'uu isaa qorannoo isaan agarsiise. Argannoo qorannoo kanaarrattis hundaa'un Kaabineen Naannoo Oromiyaa kitaabilee sunniin guyyaa murtii sanirraa eegalee akka ittiin hinbaratame murteesse. Haa ta'u malee, kitaabileen sunniin Kaabinee Mootummaa Oromiyaatin haqamuu baatee utuu jiraatee miidhaa inni afaan Oromoo fi aadaa Oromoorratti fiduu malu qorannoon gadi fageenyan irratti taasifame hinjiru. Kanaafuu qorannoon kun kitaabota LAGIM muuxannoo addunyaarra jiru, keessattuu afaanota qubee Laatinii bu'ureeffatan (kan akka afaan Jarman, afaan Faransaayi, afaan Ispeen, afaan Xaaliyaanii) waliin wal bira qabuun akkasumas yaadhiddama afaan ababbii barsiisutiin qaacessee argannoo isaa dhiheessa. Akka bu'aa qorannoo kanaatti qubeen afaan Oromoo LAGIM keessatti hojiirra oolee ture maalummaa afaan Oromoorratti kan hinbu'uureffanne; sababa kanaafis barattoota ittiin baratan akkasumas barsiisota ittiin barsiisan kan burjaajessu; haaluma kanaan isaa afaan Oromoo kan afaan biraarratti hirkisu ta'uu isaatu hubatame.

**Jechoota furtuu:** afaan abababbii, afaan barsiisuu, jijjiirama afaan waldahuu (contact-induced change)



## **26. A Comparative Linguistic Study Between Oromoo and Nubian Languages**

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The present work aims to investigate the relationship between Oromoo and Dongolawi Nubian languages. It claims a possible genetic relationship between the two languages. As regards the data analysis method, the researcher has employed the historical - comparative linguistic method and sought to apply Grimm's law. The researcher, in addition, used terms of cultural significance, place – names and kinship terms to support the relationship between the two languages. Concerning the data collection method, the data under analysis is collected from various sources; written sources like published and unpublished works. The researcher also elicited data from native speakers of Oromoo. For the results, the study found that there is a genetic similarity between Oromoo and Dongolawi languages. We recommend that Afro-Asiatic languages be re-examined in the light of the results concluded by the current study. We also recommend further investigations to be conducted between Nubian languages and languages of Horn of Africa.

**Keywords:** Nubian, Oromoo, Dongolawi, Comparative, Genetic

**27. Jijjiirama Waldahiinsi Afaanii Xinsaga, Jechoota fi Caasluga Afaan Oromoorratti fide (Contact - induced change in Oromoo phonology, Lexicon and morphosyntax)**

Abbabaa Qanoo  
Yunivarsitii Finfinnee

Seenaa keessatti afaan lama ykn lamaa ol sababa adda addaatin waldahuu (waltuquu) danda'u. Akka qorattoonni addaa addaa ibsanitti waldeenyi afaanii ammoo afaanota adeemsicha keessatti hirmaatan hunda, muraasa, ykn tokkorratti jijjiirama xinsagaa, jechootaa, akkasumas caasluga uuma. Qorattoonni tokko tokko jijjiiramni haala kanaan afaanirratti mul'atu caasaa fi jechoota afaanichaa xaxamaarraa gara salphaatti fida jedhanii kan morman yoo ta'u qorattoonni baay'en ammoo yaada kana nimormu. Afaan Oromoo seenaa isaa yeroo dheeraa keessatti adeemsa akkasii dabarsee jira. Haa ta'u malee sababa adeemsa kanaatin jijjiirama (dhiibbaa) afaanicharratti mul'atu qorannoon geggeeffame hinjiru ykn qorataan kun argachuu hindandeenye. Waraqaan qorannoo tun, waldahiinsa afaan Oromoo afaanota biroo waliin godhaa turee fi taasisaa jiru keessatti jijjiirama xinsaga, jechaa fi xinhima afaan Oromoorraatti mul'ate agarsiisa. Jijjiiramni waldahinsa kanaan dhufes xinsaga, caasluga fi jechoota afaanichaa xaxamaa godhemoo nisalphase gaafilee jedhanis deebisuu yaala. Qorannichaaf kan oolu odeeffannoon (data) gaazexaa Bariisaa bara 1987 fi 2010 (lamaan keessayuu maxxansa lama lama) maxxanfaman fuula Oduu isaanirra fudhatame. Itti aansun jechoonni fi caaslugoonni odeeffannoo keessatti mul'atan loogota Afaan Oromoo keessaa dhufan moo afaan biroorraa dhufan kan jedhu niqoratame. Akka qorannoo kanaan argametti xinsagni, jechoonni fi caaslugni maxxansoota kanneen keessatti mul'atan utuu loogota afaan Oromoo keessaa dhufuu danda'anuu afaan Amaaraa fi afaan Ingilizii (afaanota biyya kana keessatti ol'aantummaa tajaajilaa qaban) keessaa dhufan. Jechoonni fi caaslugni ergisaan afaan Oromootti galan kunneenis isaan loogota afaan Oromoo keessa jiran caalaa salphaa ta'anii hinmul'atan.

**Jechoota Furtuu:** waldahiinsa afaanii, unka hirkataa, unka dhaabbataa, ergisaa, salphaa, xaxamaa, madaquu

**28. Sababoota Afaan Oromoo Dubbachuu Dadhabuu Daa'imman Oromoo  
Magaalaatti Dhalatani: Magaalaa Adaamaa akka Fakkeenyatti  
Fudhachuun**

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Qorannoon kun, sababoota Afaan Oromoo dubbachuu dadhabuu daa'imman Oromoo Bulchiinsa Magaalaa Adaamaa addaa baasuu irratti kan kaayyeffatedha. Kaayyoo kana fiixa baasuuf, qorannoo kana keessatti tooftaa qorannoo akkamtaatti dhimma bahuun hojjatame. Ragaalee qorannichaaf barbaachisu odeeffakennitoota 28 waajjiraalee mootummaa magaalicha keessa jiran 4, Dhaabbata OBN dabalatee, akkasumas maatii Oromoota daa'imman isaanii Afaan Oromoo dubbachuu hin dandeenye irraa mala afgaaffiifi marii garee xiyyeeffannoon walitti qabame. Ragaan kunis, mala qaaccessa akkamtaa fayyadamuun, yaad-rimee garaa garaa jalatti qooduun tooftaa addeessuun qaaceffame. Argannoowwan qorannichaa irraa hubachuun akka danda'amu, sababoota Afaan Oromoo dubbachuu dadhabuu daa'imman Oromoo Bulchiinsa Magaalaa Adaamaa keessaa, ilaalcha gad'aanaa maatiin daa'imman kanaatiifi saboonni biroo magaalicha keessa jiraatan afaanichaaf qaban, tajaajila xiqqaa Afaan Oromoo sochii diinagdee magaalichaa keessatti qabu, rakkoo guddistoota da'immaniifi manneen tursiisa/oolmaa daa'immaniin walqabatu, manneen barumsaa dhuunfaafi manneen amantaa magaalicha keessa jiran hedduun Afaan Oromoo fayyadamuu dhabuu akkasumas tajaajilli Afaan Oromoo kennu Naannoo Oromiyaa qofa keessatti daanga'uun sababoota gurguddoo akka ta'an adda ba'eera. Rakkoolee kanneen furuuf, imaammanniifi labsiileen itti fayyadama afaanii jiran seeraan hojjiirra akka oolan gochuu, Afaan Oromoo manneen barnootaafi manneen amantaa keessatti akka tajaajilu gochuu, ummata Oromoo diinagdee magaalaa keessatti baldhinaan hirmaachisuun akkasumas Afaan Oromoo afaan hojii Mootummaa Federaalaa akka ta'u cichanii hojjechuun akka yaadota furmaataatti kaa'ame jira.

**Jechoota Ijoo:** Afaan Oromoo, Adaamaa, sababoota afaan dubbachuu dadhabuu

**29. Dubartootaa fi Afoola Oromoo: Mil'uu Haala Qabatamaa Oromoo Salaalee**

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Kaayyoon qorannoo kanaa dubartootaa fi afoola Oromoo mil'uu haala qabatamaa Oromoo Salaalee xiinxaluudha. Afoolli Oromoo gaheen dubartoonni karaa siyaasaa, diinagdee, hawaasummaa fi aadaatiin qaban akkamitti akka ibsaman, dubartoonnis gahee isaanii adda durummaan ibsachuu fi dhiirota waliin walqixa hirmaachuu irratti hangam akka qooda fudhatan xiinxaluuf akka ka'umsaatti itti gargaaramuun qorannoon kun gaggeeffameera. Qorannoo kana gaggeessuuf mala qorannoo akkamtaatti kan dhimma bahamee fi meeshaalee funaansa ragaalee gaaffii barreeffamaa, gaaffii afaanii fi marii garee fayyadamuun dhiirotaa fi dubartoota godinichaa afoola Oromoo irratti beekkumsa qaban 28 irraa odeeffannoon funaanameera. Argannoon qorannoo kanaa afoolli gahee dubartoonni hawaasa keessatti qaban karaa gaariin ibsaman kan jiru yommuu ta'u; Karaa biraatiin ammoo yeroo dheeraaf dubartoonni akka waan siyaasa, diinagdee, hawaasummaa fi aadaa keessatti gahee hin qabneetti fi gaheen isaanii bahee hin mul'anneetti ibsamaa tureera. Kana malees, dubartoonnis gahee isaan kallattii garaagaraan hawaasa keessatti qaban adda durummaan ibsachuu fi dhiirota waliin walqixa hirmaachuu irratti hanqinni kan jiruu fi qabatamaanis kan mul'atu ta'uudha. Yaboon qorannoo kanaa afoolli gahee dubartootaa karaa sirrii ta'een ibsu itti fufuun jajjabeeffamuu qaba. Haa ta'u malee afoolli akka waan dubartoonni kallattii garaagaraan beekkumsa, dandeettii, gahumsaa fi hubannoo cimaa ta'e hin qabneetti ibsamu ilaalcha hawaasaa keessaa hafuu qaba. Kana malees dubartoonnis qixa kamiiniyyuu dhiirotaa waliin hirmaannaa fi gahee wal qixa ta'e taasisuu akka qaban hubachuun barbaachisaadha. Hawaasnis sadarkaa kamittiyyuu gahee dubartootaan ala jijjiiramni akka hin jirre hubachuun kallattii hundaan dubartoota jajjabeessuun gaheen dubartootaa akka mul'atu taasisuu qaba.

**Jechoota Furtuu:** Dubartoota, Afoola Oromoo, Oromoo Salaalee,

**30. *Gadaa's* Gender Construct Setup and Some Symbolic Oromoo Women in Pre-20<sup>th</sup> Century Historical Accounts**

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Apart from universalistic feminism perspective which insists on female's worldwide subordination, studies concentrated on diverse worldview, socio-cultural, historical factors, etc. explicit the complications at gender to agree on preconceived conclusion. Likewise, studies on part of the Oromoo which have admitted female-male unequal level inclusions in *gadaa* age-grades and its subsequent adverse effects simultaneously explicit feminine centered institutions and relative better women's status under *gadaa* system of governance than Ethiopia state politics. However, the extent to which *gadaa* is being renowned as democratic, historic and inclusive of female in some aspects there is limited or distorted information about *gadaa's* gender construct setup and women at public. *Gadaa* recognized female and male represented to corresponding realms of life, separate in their assignation point and thereby understood from their placement viewpoint than where unrepresented as a predicament of feminism approach. This study is aimed to reveal female from *gadaa's* gender construct vantage point and Oromoo women whom *gadaa* importantly raised to the public in the period as a showcase. The study was conducted through undertaking qualitative research approach of narrative, descriptive and analytical approaches. Findings of the study indicated, beyond what and how it appears in mainstream literatures, in view of *gadaa* gender is a grand perspective through which male to protection and female to reproduction fundamental realms formed foundational to *gadaa* itself around every others spin. This is to say *gadaa* bounds itself to female-male steered dynamics, established on shared and separate gendered notion of age-grades, classes and power configuration determining labor division, prerogatives and duties. In subsequent, how extent female's posture in age-grades was differently elaborated from male, gender construct setup of *gadaa* based historical data articulated some symbolic class women who enabled and guided their society to transit hard times. The paper recommends that the more studies conducted the greater females/women optimistic experiences which will supplement contemporary efforts of women's empowerment.

**Key Terms:** *gadaa*, gender, women, female

**31. The Arsi Dilemma in the Gadaa Revival Movement : Analysis on A Case of Political Struggle in Dhadhachaa-Koolaa, Western Arsi**

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I will focus on the gadaa revival movements among the Arsi. It is a dominant discourse that the gadaa system of the Arsi has not worked since the Menelik conquest. In the case of Baale, it is truth that the gadaa system has not worked totally during 20th century. Even people in Baale forgot about memories of the gadaa. On the other hand, there are several areas especially in Western Arsi where people kept the gadaa traditions and memories. In recent years, mainly the Arsi elders started to act for reviving the gadaa system in Baale, Western and Eastern Arsi. In this paper, first, I will describe the gadaa system of the Arsi based on local knowledge from the Arsi elders who have practiced the gadaa rituals and kept memories about the gadaa. Second, I will show how the gadaa revival movements are going on in Baale and Western Arsi until now. Third, I will focus on describing and analyzing a case of the gadaa revival movements in Dodola, Western Arsi. In Dodola area, two clans started to struggle for reviving the gadaa. Both clans are insisting on succession to an important political position of the Arsi gadaa system, called abbaa-bokuu. Both clans never admit each other`s claiming. While analyzing this political struggle, I will reveal a dilemma between the clan complex and the ideal of gadaa system among the Arsi. As a conclusion, I will point out the clan complex becomes a grate disturbance of the gadaa revival movements among the Arsi.

**Key Terms:** Arsi Dilemma, Gadaa Revival, Political Struggle, Dhadhachaa-Koolaa

**32. An analysis of stakeholders' conflict management and resolution strategies at Nech Sar National Park and Shakiso gold mining in Southern Ethiopia**

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Failure to prevent or effectively manage conflicts concerning environmental conservation initiatives and mining businesses can be attributable to the nature of strategies applied. This paper scrutinises the strengths and weaknesses of strategies used by stakeholders to manage and resolve conflicts linked to the conservation of Nech Sar National Park and Laga Dambi mining in Southern Ethiopia. The Nech Sar National Park conservation conflict involved the Ethiopian government and around 10,000 local Guji Oromoo people and other ethnic groups who were forcibly evicted from the park and resettled to give the land to Africa Parks Foundation (APF), an International NGO, for ecotourism in 2004 (Debelo 2012). The top-down approach of Ethiopian government saw the community as a threat to conservation of the park (Biressu 2009; Woyesa 2016). "Before the state intervention through conservation program, the Guji lived with the wildlife in mutually complementary manner" (Debelo 2011:51). Through a fierce local resistance and significant voicing of concern by international human rights groups the plan was abandoned after incurring substantial costs to all stakeholders. Consequently, APF withdrew from Ethiopia in 2008. The Laga Dambi mining plant has been run by Midroc Plc since 1997. The plant experienced reoccurring conflicts with the Guji Oromoo community due to complaints over environmental/air pollution, food insecurity (crop damage), loss of landscape/aesthetic degradation, soil contamination, soil erosion, deforestation and loss of vegetation cover near the plant. The residents claim that the mining plant has contributed to surface water and ground water pollution (chemical, biological) or depletion and other negative environmental impacts (EnvJustice 2018). The local people claim that the pollution caused by gold mining has had disastrous consequences for human health. The local community protests culminated in the suspension of the plant's operation since May 2018. This qualitative research study will draw lessons from how the conflicts in Nech Sar National Park and Laga Dambi Gold mining plant have been managed and the resolutions sought. Based on the findings from one-to-one and focus group interviews as well as relevant literature, recommendations will be forwarded for consideration by macro and micro level stakeholders - the Ethiopian government, conservation agencies, mining companies such as Midroc and local communities.

**Key words:** protected area management, biodiversity, displacement, injustice, poverty, gold mining, conflict management and resolutions.