

First things first: the urgent removal of PM Hailemariam Desalegn...

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First things first: the urgent removal of PM Hailemariam Desalegn, and firming up the unity of OPDO and ANDM Ethiopia is in a political turmoil. The continued supremacy of the TPLF and its die-hard supporters in every sphere of the Ethiopian society is eroding the Ethiopians culture and way of life. The man at the helm of power should primarily be accountable for what is wrong in the country. This man, Hailemariam Desalegn, should have resigned from his job in good spirit long time ago. The imbalance of power within EPRDF (composed of four parties – TPLF, SEPDM, ANDM and OPDO) is costing Ethiopians their security and economic rights, and above all their God given freedom to decide about their humanly rights. The military and security apparatus today is completely within the hands of the TPLF although this party represents only 6% of the population. OPDO, ANDM and SEPDM that represent the vast majority have little role within EPRDF on decision making matters since each of the four parties have equal representation. At the individual party level, ANDM and OPDO have the vote to pass legally any political decisions bypassing TPLF and SEPDM. But because they are imprisoned under the EPRDF's unbalanced representation, they cannot win any political decisions. Three bottlenecks for this are 1) SEPDM is forced to block support TPLF through PM Hailemariam. 2) TPLF can buy few ANDM and OPDO executive members in various ways and 3) most importantly the military and security apparatus is used as a frightening tool to suppress free-thinking within EPRDF. TPLF especially neutralized ANDM from political power. ANDM has virtually no representation at the power echelon of the military and security apparatus for the last 27 years. As a result of this injustice, actions made by the military are compromising the lives of the Amahars, Oromos and other ethnic groups. Every time unarmed and innocent people protest injustice and bad governance, balteweledede anjetu indilu, the TPLF military and security power are killing them immediately. This is a daily happening and continues to happen as long as the TPLF continues to control the military and security forces. Unlike some in the private media, I do not propose to disband EPRDF Parliament, EPRDF meetings or EPRDF constitution because we have many things to do ahead. What can be archived from boycotting? Boycott is the politics of the past. I would rather advise OPDO and ANDM to keep their parliaments seats and use it for change. Walking away from EPRDF is not as easy as we think from outside since Ethiopia is not a democracy. I would rather advise the OPDO and ANDM to keep participating in the meetings but focus on the relevant agendas, and stay on point and deliberate fast. As a result of these deliberations, six reforms should

happen in Ethiopia now for democracy and the rule of law to function. ANDM and OPDO should demand them. They should argue that these reforms be part of the deep tehadisso. 1) First and foremost, the Ethiopian president should call a vote of no confidence, and the Ethiopian parliament should immediately convene and vote out PM Hailemariam. The Ethiopian parliament is the highest power under the Ethiopian constitution. A new prime minister is the answer for the current crisis in Ethiopia. Over 500,000 Oromos have been displaced under the leadership of PM Hailemariam, and president Abdi of Somali region. Mr. Lemma Megersa helplessly sat down watching this crime because PM Hailemariam is not doing his job, and that the security and military apparatus of EPRDF controlled by TPLF closely works with the Somali region's president, ABDI. PM Hailemariam, in his capacity as PM, had ample time and power to change the power distribution of the Ethiopian military and security structure. He has the power to hold President Abdi accountable for what is happening. Hailemariam failed to see the different ethnic groups of Ethiopia as equals. If he cannot do his job as prime minister why stay as prime minister? Some say PM Hailemariam has no power and is not to blame for things happening in Ethiopia. This is foolish idea. The PM has a full power to dictate events under the Ethiopian constitution. If he is not exercising his powers, he is a willing participant for all crimes against Ethiopians. Infact PM Hailemariam is openly on the side of anti-democracy forces. Listen to his Thursday (January 4, 2018) press release where he denounced the the brotherly meeting between OPDO and ANDM. 2) The parliament should also take action against President Abdi of Somali region. He should be purged and held accountable for the displacement of half a million Oromos, unheard in the Ethiopian history. As leader of the Somali region, he failed to safe guard the citizen rights and hence should be removed from leadership; should he found guilty of this gross human right violation, he should be sent to jail. ANDM and OPDO parliamentarian should also demote the EPRDF lolie parliamentary officials who hesitate to table matters for discussions, and delay or waver to following up collective decisions. 3) Representation in the central committee of EPRDF should reflect their representation in the parliament. Two smaller parties, TPLF and SEPDM cannot have equal votes on decision- making matters within EPRDF. OPDO and ANDM should demand this. 4) Adequate representation should be given to OPDO and ANDM within the military, police, security and correctional prisons structure that reflect their parliamentary representation. Therefore, Chief of Staff, Security, Police and Correctional prisons' Heads positions should go to ANDM and OPDO. OPDO and ANDM parliamentarians should pass sweeping legislation with regard to this, and should quickly act on laws that curb the violation of the rights of the Amaras, Oromos and other Ethiopians. 5) TPLF latest strategy to draw discord between the Amaras and Oromos or between OPDO and ANDM is the new announcement to discuss the rights of Oromia administration in Addis Ababa. ANDM and OPDO or their officials in the council of ministers must unequivocally tell TPLF that this is not an issue to discuss now when Ethiopia has other important matters to settle. This was an issue left untouched for the last 22 years and is by no means an issue to

solve now. I am heartened that OPDO vetoed the issue off the table, and told the TPLF that they do not want to add complications to the existing problems of the country, and that they will discuss about it at the time of their choice after solving urgent matters. Ethiopians did not demand now who Addis Abeba belongs to. Ethiopians demanded that Ethnic Oromos, Amaras and Addis Abebans should not be evicted from their ancestral lands to enrich others. This is an issue to be discussed now. 6) The unity of OPDO and ANDM should be firmed up, and both organization should reach their fellow members, educate their foot-soldiers through various ways to rally behind them, and alert them to be ready for every eventuality. That is how they stand TPLF-led EPRDF. Whereas they can be made minority within EPRDF as a result of TPLF bullying, they can maintain their majority status as soon as they meet their people and work with the parliament representatives. Their chief ammunition is truth, the constitution, the parliament and the people they represent. TPLF and die-hard supporters never had fairness or truth. Their dream is enriching themselves at the expenses of the rest of Ethiopians. They do not want to compete in the open market through hard work. Conclusions: The removal of PM Hailemariam and the reorganization of the military, security, police, courts and correctional prisons agencies are urgent tasks we should not give any less priority in Ethiopia. Ethiopians have suffered tremendously through these TPLF oppressive machineries. The ongoing killings, imprisonments and hijacking of Oromos and Amaras in different parts of Ethiopia, and the complete breakdown of law and order around courts and correctional prison facilities is a reflection of the TPLF supremacy within EPRDF. Ethiopia has seen two revolutions. The third revolution is on the way. This would-be revolution is best accomplished through OPDO and ANDM. They have good organizations and can gain the support of the foot soldiers of the military in time of difficulty. The two parties have enough representation in parliament to control power legally using the Ethiopian constitution. This makes the transition possibly bloodless and less risky. Important now is that all Ethiopians including regional state police forces watch out disruptive forces, and rally firmly behind these two organizations. Ethiopia does not need other transitional government. The two parties can form a government that serves as a transitional government. If these two organizations hold power, they would not go back to the days of the TPLF dictatorship; for one thing they have mass base, and secondly they have learnt from the peoples' uprising that dictatorship is not the answer in today's Ethiopia. Whereas ANDM and OPDO should stay with EPRDF, it is a wise step to form one coalition and be part of EPRDF rather than join EPRDF individually. OPDO and ANDM should explain the position of hodam Oromos and Amaras that sided with TPLF's EPRDF meeting. The struggle requires sidelining TPLF sell-outs. Finally, Ethiopian political pundits should let Lemma and Gedu make decisions by themselves. There are so many irregularities within EPRDF to fix. It is not time now to talk about disbanding parliament. It is not even time now to talk about widening the democratic space, cancelling the charities and anti-terror laws, and so many illusions we want to happen now. Ethiopians should be objective about the reality on the ground, avoid emotional mindset, remain focused on the current

struggle and refrain from disseminating articles, etc. that retard the momentum. Lemma and Gedu are not going to create miracles by themselves overnight. The so called Amara and Oromo dominated TPLF military is still killing Amaras and Oromos, judges are still throwing them into lengthy imprisonment. The correctional prisons are torturing Amaras and Oromos, including urinating and defecating on them. This shows Lemma and Gedu do not have the tools to stop injustice. But miracles can be done if the Ethiopian people rally in union and continue the struggle which Lemma/Gedu et al. are now in support of. Therefore targeting TPLF vital economic interests and depriving TPLF parasites of economic benefits within Oromo and Amara regions without having to confront the TPLF security is the first step to crushing the TPLF economy that feeds the instruments of oppression. The last two years struggle by the Oromos and Amaras has put the economy in shamble and TPLF has understood it cannot rule in the old way. That they expressed interest to release political prisoners is a welcome sign, and we do not need to see this good will with the usual scepticism although some doubt is not without merit. Let us remain focused on replacing the TPLF key generals using the parliament, our keros and fanos.