



## Enlightenment: Genocide is a process and Ethiopians undeniably travelled the journey of murder and zenithal displacement [All under the Woyane sequential regimes]

### Preamble

Armed conflict has other effects, as well. One of the conceptual breakthroughs in the study of genocide and mass atrocity has been the recognition that high-level elites commit such violence for strategic reasons. Leaders want to keep power; they want to defeat their enemies; they want to implement their goals. In war, the strategic incentives to use violence increase. In war, parties to a conflict resort to violence to defeat their enemies. The idea of attacking and killing civilians becomes easier for armed groups to imagine and justify in war rather than in peace, even if such violence is not acceptable within the international laws of war. Also, the capacity to inflict violence increases during war. Genocide and mass atrocity involve a range of different perpetrators. But consistently they involve armed actors—armies, police, paramilitaries, and militias—and war provides a rationale for mobilizing, equipping, empowering, and deploying those armed actors.

Instability and conflict arguably, the strongest macro-level predictor of the onset of genocide and mass killing is the presence of large-scale instability. Instability can take a number of forms. The type of instability most consistently associated with genocide and mass atrocity is armed conflict, followed by an “adverse regime change,” such as a coup or revolution. Most cases of genocide and mass atrocity take place during war or after some major regime change. That is true for historical cases, such as the Armenian genocide, the Holocaust, and the genocide of the Herero in German Southwest Africa. It is also true for contemporary cases of genocide and mass atrocity, such as the events in Bosnia, Rwanda, Darfur, Sri Lanka, Libya, Syria, and Ethiopia.

The Rwandan government that set the killings in motion deliberately mobilized civilians to carry out the violence. Civilians formed bands that searched homes, neighborhoods, and fields; they manned makeshift roadblocks; they raided churches, schools, government offices, and other locations where Tutsi civilians had congregated; they committed sexual violence against Tutsi girls and women; and they provided information, stole property, and performed a range of nonlethal acts that nonetheless contributed to the overall attempt to destroy the Tutsi community.

### Ethnocentrism: The historical, political, and social foundations

History has stripped Ethiopia’s people of the dignity of building their nations on their own indigenous values, institutions, and heritage. The modern Ethiopian state is the product of Western neoliberals, not Ethiopia. Is it possible to consolidate the framework of the modern Ethiopian state while giving recognition and maximum utility to the component elements of ethnicities, cultures, and aspirations for democratization? Traditionally, Ethiopian societies and even states functioned through an elaborate system based on the family, the lineage, the clan, the tribe, and ultimately a confederation of groups with ethnic, cultural, and linguistic characteristics in common. These were the units of social, economic, and political organizations and inter-communal relations.

We hear about the experiences of non-oromo citizens who are facing a surge in hate crimes, the disparate impacts on Ethiopian in terms of the rates of forced displacement, death, rape and about how renegades and the charlatan prosperous party are using the crisis to engage in ethnic cleansing, starvation, and fear mongering. But the panelists don’t focus so much on the incidents themselves as on the structures that have created the conditions for these forms of hate and one-ethnic hegemony to emerge with such force. The Querro activists (the expansionists) This conversation is straight from late 1800s, early 1900s, eugenic ideology. But to vivify them, to stoke them, to energize them in the present, purposefully, as a political strategy

## Why do perpetrators perpetrate?

Individuals take part in mass, systematic violence for diverse reasons. Genocide and mass atrocities typically are large-scale processes, involving many perpetrators who have different objectives and often multiple motivations. One individual may commit violence because he wants to protect his job; another to loot; another because he hates members of the victim group; and another because his friend, neighbor, or local official encouraged him to do so. All or some of those motivations may be present in an individual simultaneously, or they may be operative over time. “Becoming evil” occurs in increments as individuals, step by step, cross various moral thresholds. Further, practice makes perfect: routinization facilitates performing harmful acts (just as people doing “good” tend to begin with small acts of kindness). Equally important, Staub explains how perpetrators come to believe that what they are doing is right. Doing one thing and thinking something else causes too much psychological stress for people (cognitive dissonance). Eventually the two must be reconciled, either by coming to believe that what one is doing is right or by stopping doing what one cannot justify:

- Power of the situation
- Obedience and identification with leaders
- Role playing
- Indoctrination
- Peer pressure and coercion
  - Fear
- Greed and opportunity

### Prior hatreds

Another commonly held belief is that those who commit horrific acts of violence have high levels of prior hatred. According to this argument, the driver of genocide and mass atrocities is a widespread, deep prejudice or animosity directed against the victim group in a society. Under this assumption, Germans, for example, were deeply antisemitic. Rwandan Hutus were deeply distrustful of Tutsis. Sudanese Arabs considered non-Arabs inferior and slave-like.

Ethnic-cleansing	Behavioral indicators	Perpetrators
Large-scale instability	Deep-seated hatreds: One of the early theories about genocide and mass atrocities concerns the role of deep, inter-group hatred and distrust.	OLF TPLF
Armed conflict	Government capacity: condone violence, mobilize and organize violence	Eritrean regime
Transformative or exclusionary ideology	Authoritarianism	High-level authorities: bystanders” and facilitators
Prior discrimination or violence against a particular group	Economic causes	Mid-level actors and low-level actors

In such environments, leaders and citizens are more willing to entertain and justify acts of violence to protect themselves and what they value. Those observations are not meant to excuse inexcusable behavior but rather to understand why such violence is typically committed during periods of acute instability.

## Perpetrator motivations

The quantitative literature clearly demonstrates that poor countries, especially those with high infant mortality rates, are more likely to experience episodes of mass killing. The main explanation is that when fighting insurgencies, the governments that lack bureaucratic and military capacity are more likely to target civilians en masse because they cannot discriminate rebel from civilian and because they lack confidence in their fighting capacity. Recent cases lend some support to the theory: During the past three decades, a number of mass atrocities have occurred in very low-income countries, such as in Rwanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Sudan. However, the rule is not hard and fast. The former Yugoslavia, Libya, Ethiopia, and Syria are middle-income countries.

Systematic Violence In addition to who is being targeted, a related question concerns whether the violence is systematic. The systematic nature of violence can be difficult to determine, but some questions include the following:

- Does evidence exist of civilian targeting in multiple locations and on multiple days or weeks?
- Is the violence sustained? Is violence being reported not only in multiple places but also across multiple days?
- Does a pattern seem to be emerging in the way the violence is executed?

Those would be pieces of evidence that support the belief that the violence is systematic. Multiagency Coordination Given that mass atrocities typically require the participation of a range of actors—including police, paramilitaries, soldiers, civilian authorities, and others—another key question to ask in the early days is whether evidence exists of collaboration between different agencies to commit violence. Does evidence exist of joint attacks? Does evidence indicate that authorities seem to be condoning the violence? By contrast, are the authorities punishing those who committed violence.

### Atrocity Prevention at an International Level: Responsibility to Protect (R2P)

In a 2009 report titled “Implementing the Responsibility to Protect,” the secretary general specified that R2P was not antithetical to sovereignty; rather, the doctrine was designed to help states succeed with their responsibilities.<sup>158</sup> To that end, the report specified three specific pillars of R2P. The first pillar concerns the “protection responsibilities of the state,” affirming the state as the “bedrock” for protecting populations from atrocities. The second pillar concerns “international assistance and capacity-building,” and it calls upon the United Nations, Member States, regional organizations, NGOs, and others to help states develop the indigenous capacity to protect their populations from atrocities. The third pillar concerns the need to launch a “timely and decisive response” from the international community if the first two pillars are insufficient—measures that could, but do not necessarily, entail the use of force.

#### Three Pillars of R2P are:

1. *Every state has the responsibility to protect its populations from mass atrocities.*
2. *The international community has the responsibility to assist states in fulfilling this mandate.*
3. *If a state is failing to protect its populations, the international community must be prepared to take appropriate and decisive collective action in accordance with the United Nations Charter in order to protect populations.*

Note that the policy field of atrocity prevention, a consistent distinction is made between prevention and response. Prevention refers to actions that decrease the likelihood of atrocities before those atrocities occur. The objective is to take action that eliminates or reduces the intensity of the causes of genocide and other forms of mass atrocity.

### Poverty, overproduction and local disintegration

- Harsh economic measures have resulted in the gradual disintegration of the Welfare state
- Because of the large accumulation of public debts in Western countries, the financial elites have been given the power to dictate government’s economic and social policy

- This economic restructuring has made the divide between different social and ethnic groups even deeper. More ever, it has increased the potential capacity of the economic system and expanded levels of production without reducing poverty significantly.
- In developing countries, entire branches of industry producing for the internal market are driven into bankruptcy on the orders of the world bank and IMF.

### **One-size-shoe-fits-all shortcuts have never worked anywhere and fundamental policy quest**

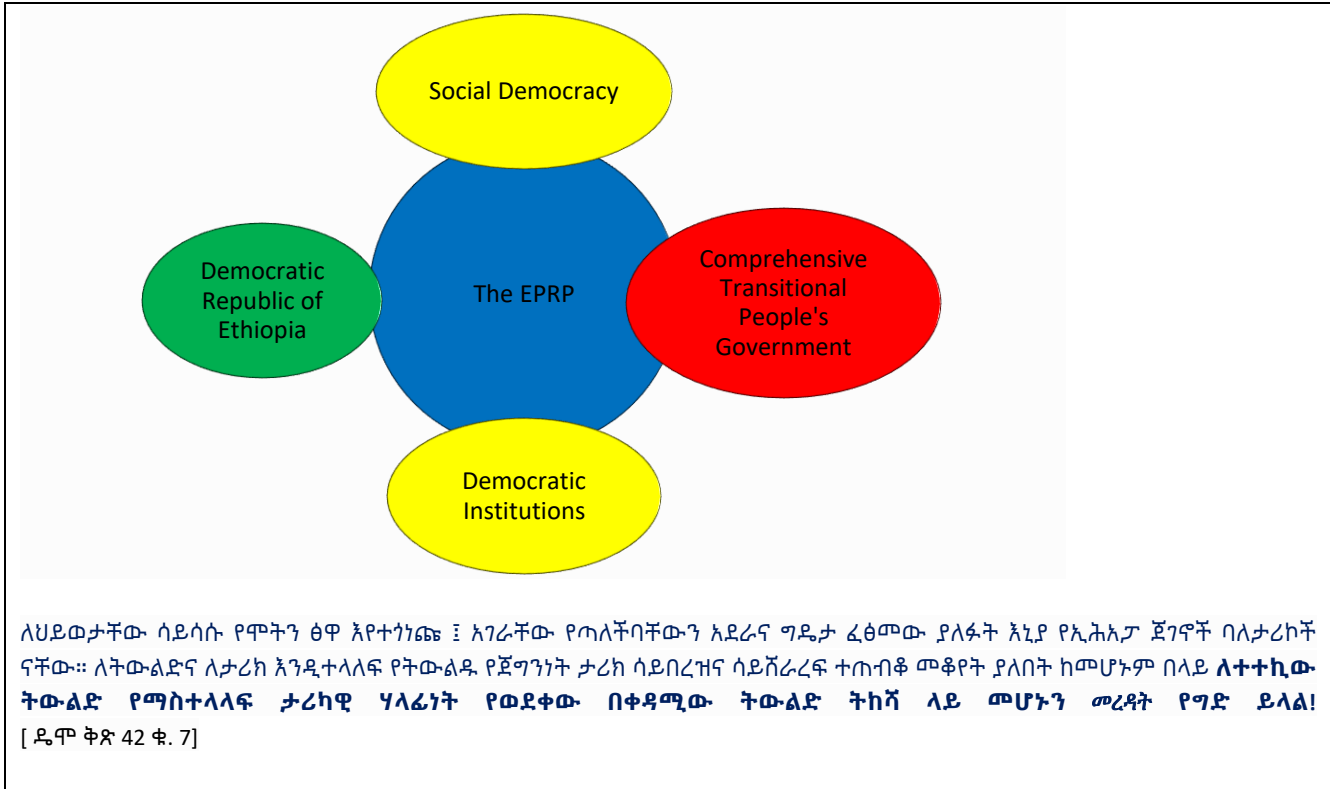
- a. Fundamental policy quest:
- b. how can we enhance the incentives of elites to support inclusive long-term how far shoud we approach 'fragile states differently from non-frag e states?
- c. how should we approach problems of violence and security, particularly in how can states become more equitable and inclusive?
- d. how can we help citizens build more effective states?
- e. how can states deliver better public services?
- f. how can taxation promote state-building?
- g. What forms of governance really deliver economic growth?

The evidence suggests that:

- A pre-requisite always to the political settlement is that political elites have to have a critical thinking strategy that resolves the contradiction erupted among citizens in an inclusive way-based on the majority needs.
- They should be recognizant of rationalist epistemology to deliver sustainable development with understanding how effective, accountable public authority evolves through a political process of bargaining between elites, as well as between the state and organised groups in society.
- Elites and concerned citizens must recognise that such political settlements always matter, underpinning the state and state-society relations, while exclusionary politics threaten political stability.
- Overarching political parties must properly understand history and informal institutions –they need to tackle the perverse incentives that globalisation may have created

Political settlement means a common understanding, usually between elites, that their best interests or beliefs are served by a particular way of organising political power.

Governments can become more inclusive, and therefore more stable. States that are accountable only to some groups or that don't regard some members of society as 'citizens' create inequalities that can fuel conflict. When citizens actively participate in society through local associations and movements outside the state, there are benefits to both state and society. Delivering development involves working with the political dynamics of poverty reduction. It does this by addressing social justice and extremes of inequality as 'bottom-up' as well as 'top-down' political, social and economic processes that sustain effective states, efficient markets and vibrant societies.



**Supreme power belongs inherently to people [People's democratic government NOT ethnically structured government]**

Good governance and accountability are principles whose application is essential to a country achieving genuine democracy and development. Democracy is more than just a set of specific government institutions; it rests upon a well - understood group of values, attitudes, and practices - all of which may take different forms and expressions among cultures and societies around the world. Democracies rest upon fundamental principles, not uniform practices. In a democracy, government is only one thread in the social fabric of many and varied public and private institutions, legal forums, political parties, organizations, and associations. This diversity is called **pluralism**, and it assumes that the many organized groups and institutions in a democratic society do not depend upon government for their existence, legitimacy, or authority. As long as competition exists and is fair, no single interest can gain too much power; one interest will always be held in check by the other interests. Advocates contend that pluralism is the best system for a representative democracy because pluralism protects citizens from too great a centralization of power and allows all the diverse interests within a society to be expressed. Democracy depends upon a literate, knowledgeable citizenry whose access to information enables it to participate as fully as possible in the public life of society and to criticize unwise or oppressive government officials or policies. Citizens and their elected representatives recognize that democracy depends upon the widest possible access to uncensored ideas, data, and opinions. For a free people to govern themselves, they must be free to express themselves - openly, publicly, and repeatedly - in speech and in writing. **A constitution, which states government is fundamental obligations and the limitations on state power, is a vital institution for any democracy.**

**Provisional/interim people's democratic government as a framework of contingent democratic institution**

To promote democracy in Ethiopia, political parties must be democratic themselves. If parties do not practice and honor democratic values in their internal affairs, then they are unlikely to do so when they win elections and begin to govern. Legitimate political power originates with citizens and flows from the citizens to the government, that is from the ground-up. Moreover, the power of a democratic government is limited by a **constitutionally** defined framework of laws and practices that protect social and political freedoms. Taken together, it may be substantiated that the aforementioned principles and behaviors

represent a democratic ideal. Furthermore, the degree to which they are honored and practiced is the degree to which a society can be called democratic. To seed democracy in a country, like Ethiopia, that is ruled by authoritarian ruling system for centuries (**the system of ruling fall within the general models of one-party systems, personal dictatorships, military, and mono-ethnic regimes**), it demands a strong and radical revolutionary approach, not limiting itself to the constitutional concept of democratic institutions (the executive, the legislature, and the judiciary) but also **encompassing the contributions of civil society organizations, political parties, and the cross-cutting issue of independent media**.

Transitions from authoritarian ruling regime to democratic state can happen when this transition emanates directly from the **grass root** in which all are involved with the goal of moving toward a more **democratic society**: the provisional democratic government that is inclusive of all citizens irrespective of ethnic diversities, culture, religion, and gender. Radical social revolutionaries and anti-colonial/anti-neoliberal elites argue that that transitions from the ground-up, that includes public sectors, lawyers, trade unions, women associations, youth associations, political parties, farmer associations, etc., are more promising in terms of their ability to deliver democracy, because they tend to be more specific about their time frame, procedural steps, and overall strategy for transition to happen. **The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP), understanding the frame of democratic institution had to have the progeny of democracy that may evolve toward people's democratic state, has been reiterating for years such people's provisional democratic government during the transition phase to democracy as a sole objective reality**. To achieve a successful democratic state (as the west had attained the democracy, they enjoy today two hundred years ago), Provisional people's democratic government is an obligatory condition for its apical bud to flourish. Radical social revolutionaries and citizens **believe** that where authoritarian governments have continually suppressed the evolution of an enabling environment for centuries, the transition process must start from below—by the people: the *terra firma* of the provisional democratic people's government. Only this **all-inclusive people's transitional model** will be able to act as vehicle for representation, accountability, and consensus formation that will predict a democratically unified Ethiopia. **National colloquium** must have been convened as a result of citizen and elite pressures for public dialogue about the democratization process before the neo-liberal queerro-Abiy hijacked the social revolutionary victory over the TPLF oligarchy.

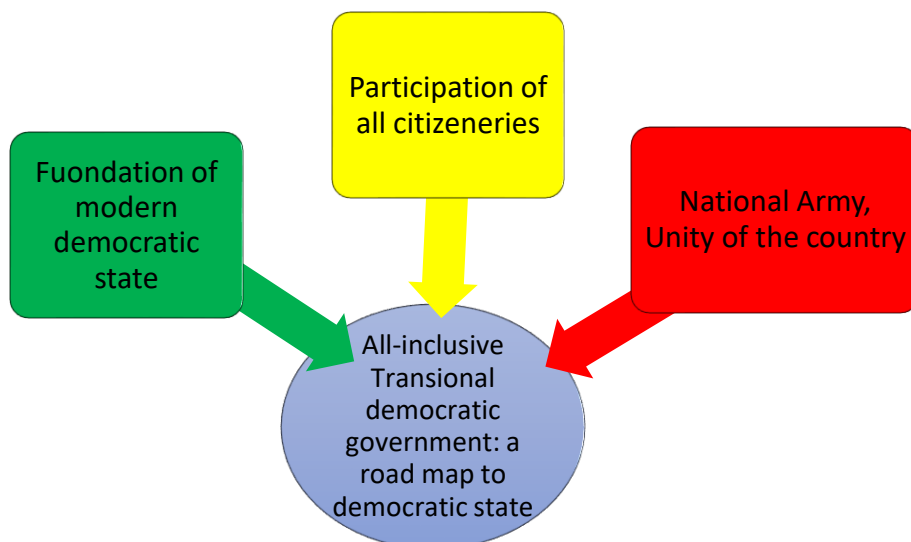
All-inclusive provisional democratic government be best considered and understood as opportunities to define and classify issues, establish accountability, and mobilize a broad cross-section of popular constituencies. The national conferences within the transitional democratic government have to produce either constitutional review or a new constitution. The know everything narrow ethnic monger Queerro-Abiy doesn't know that he is incompetent but divisive and mercenary. The engineering course that entitled him his charlatan doctorate reaffirms that equilibrium condition exists in classical physics if the configuration of any system tends to remain stable. **How are you going to balance equity and liberty for all citizen when your OLF structure deliberately kills and displaces the citizens from their dwelling area?** This Woyane apical bud has tended to encourage **personality cult** by having his portrait prominently and extensively displayed, assuming folk titles, and encouraging the use of slogans: "**MEDDEMER and LOVE THE CRIMINALS**." In Ethiopia today, **only the people's democratic provisional government** can be suggestive of there should be coalition building, bargaining, and seizing of the rewards of power by the civilian, which normally is what civilian politicians elsewhere in the world have to do in order to gain and keep power. Proponents of such all-inclusive provisional government must advocate that ethnic groups should be considered as integral parts of civil society and their strengths be recognized as an opportunity to solidify it. Moreover, it must find ways to deal with diversity among various ethnic groups, by managing ethnicity and recognizing the rights of individuals to promote their ethnicity in equal par-considering the primordial ethnic value and historical cultural sharing: **Ethiopians have the shared natural culture of defending their motherland from neocolonialists and neoliberalists in unison, irrespective of their ethnic diversity**. One must be recognizant of the opinion that multiethnic societies do not necessarily result in violence or exclusion of conflict, there is a fluid interaction among ethnic groups, through marriage and the marketplace. Provisional government must allow institutions to work and must allow citizens to exercise their rights, to live in accordance with their religious beliefs and cultural values, without interference. The framework of the institution should identify certain prerequisites for an enabling environment, which include a legal order based on human rights, societal awareness of the instrumental and intrinsic values of democracy, a competent state, a committed minority, courage, and a culture of tolerance.

In order to help the transition process along transition, the EPRP argues that society as a whole need to be aware of the instrumental and intrinsic values of democracy: political education at the grass roots level about democracy should be mandatory in the processes of its evolutionary growth. If we intend to structure institutional democracy, the participation of the overwhelming majorities (the peasants, laborers, and women) have to be sought by genuine politicians, and not bought by

present manipulators and imposters: running dogs of the Arab Emirates and Chinese's looters. Political parties, lawyers, and all elites must understand what the masses know, because they sometimes lack the ability to articulate their interests and injustices inflicted on them: revolutionary parties must encourage people to go out and demonstrate, to show their opinion regarding issues, citizens must eliminate the culture of fear. **The provisional people's democratic government must be a state capable of assisting in the transition from authoritarian/reptilian rule to democratically structured institution in which all human beings are treated fairly with dignity and respect.** It is only in this context, reciprocity between state and society—between governors and the governed, between those who exercise political leadership in society and those who are led, between those who exercise authority and those who are the subjects of this authority—are identified as a significant element of democracy. The motto is "**democracy depends on governments that grow out of one's societies, not imported from faux pas' neoliberal democracy.**" The public must fully participate in the affairs of state, with the state protecting their rights to be recognized. Moreover, the value of the role of citizens and civil society is to organize and articulate the interests of local communities and the grass roots to the highest levels—even bringing about the change of laws—by serving as effective pressure groups: from the ground-up public power.

### Have a high opinion of or pay tribute to Martyrs!

Finally, it is taboo/act of wickedness not to bring the heroic memories and the historical legacies of the 60th/70th martyrs as our own reflection. The Martyrs (EPRP) expounded a vision of new democratic citizenries who would/will work for the good of society rather than for personal profit, a notion they embodied through their own hard work. They have been regarded as martyred heroes by generations of social democrats and the overwhelming majorities: they are the founders of the first human right party, EPRP, that mobilized the entire Ethiopian citizenries', from coast to coast, to fight against tyrannical regimes for democratic state. They were clever, dedicated, determined, and wanted to remain in the revolutionary course and die fighting as martyrs, they are the founders of the first human right party, the EPRP, that mobilized the entire Ethiopian citizenries', from coast to coast, to fight against tyrannical regimes for democratic state. The process of transition to democracy in Ethiopia will probably be long and painful, as at this time the trend is observed in its processes. The plain truth is that much success will depend on the qualities of leadership and dedicated revolutionaries at all levels operating during the transitional phase to democracy. The EPRP calls for inclusive approach that reaches out to all sectors of and movements in the transition of the aristocratic system to democratic that all citizens to engage them in dialogue on democracy, including women, minorities, indigenous peoples, adolescents and young people, displaced persons, vulnerable and disadvantaged communities, and other poor, excluded or marginalized group. Democratization, furthermore, is neither linear nor irreversible and thus both state institutions and citizens must monitor and maintain oversight of this process.



### Comprehensive Transitional People's democratic government is universal panacea! [The Martyrs]

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*Some opportunist and infantile elites are resisting the establishment of **all-inclusive provisional democratic government**: they didn't understand this form of transition state is the seed of genuine democratic state. Currently, the ignoramus and muddle-headed elites, pumped by their imperial colonizer's divisive strategies, are echoing what the dictator is promulgating: "**I am the transition.**" It is hocus-pocus manifesto of his predecessors-the junta and the Woyane regimes. **Transitional people's democratic government is not a theory, but rather a framework within which any correct various paradigms of democracy just fit: the democratic people's government where justice, equality, freedom, and humanity prevail, and all of these are grounded in these frameworks. It is the law of nature and society which cannot be derivable from any human construct ideologies-as any human being is born free.***