It is not unusual for Tigrean and Eritreans to blame Menelik for the colonization of Eritrea by Italians. Surprisingly among those who criticized Menelik and condemned him for allowing Eritrea to fall into the hands of Italian colonialists are Tigregna speakers such as Blatta Gebre Egziabeher. This was an Ethiopian from the Eritrean highlands who loyally served as official of the colonial Italian government in Eritrea and was only disillusioned by Italian colonial rule at a later date (after he tasted the bitterness of colonialism) and subsequently tried to blame Menelik for Eritrea’s fate as a colony of Italy. Although Blatta Gebre Egziabeher’s Ethiopian nationalist fervor was unmistakable as could be judged from his letter to Menelik, it was too late to be of any good in saving Eritrea from the scourge of colonialism. The colonialisation of Eritrea was partly self-inflicted given the predisposition of its local elites in collaborating with Ethiopia’s sworn enemies of that period such as the Turks, Egyptians, Italians and the British. One thing that Tigrean and Eritrean ethnonationalists have failed to do is to be introspective and learn to accept responsibility for their own role in what had come to pass as the colonization of Eritrea.

Externalization of one’s failures and blaming every failure on others are things that psychologically belong to the realm of a child’s experiential world that is replete with existential threats as opposed to the world of a mature individual. A mature person can resort to introspection to look inwards and recognize his own mistakes and assume the corresponding responsibility deriving thereof. A child on the other hand misses the faculty of introspection and locates all the causes of his problems outside himself. A child needs external actors whom he can blame for his own failures. In this respect ethnonationalists are like the immature child who lacks the faculty of introspection that enables one to engage him/herself in a soul-searching self-reflection by way of understanding his/her own contribution to his/her problems. Introspection allows one to look into oneself and understand one’s own problems and responsibilities deriving from such introspection. Unfortunately Eritrean and Tigrean ethnonationalists have not learned to act as responsible adults in admitting the mistakes committed by their ancestors in the process that led to the colonization of Eritrea that they falsely ascribe to Menelik. To illustrate such a faulty thought process of an ethnonationalist, we quote the following account of Aregawi Berhe – the current European bureau chief of the Ethiopian Democratic Coalition) who has scribbled down the following nauseating and baseless statement about Menelik he and his Tigrean lot loathe so much.

We reproduce Aregawi’s baseless accusation hereafter:

“Menelik’s idea to divide and weaken the north was accomplished by giving half of Tigrai proper to be colonized by Italy. The defeat of the Italians at Adua gave Menelik immense power over his potential rivals, particularly the Tigraian nobility under Mengesha Yohannes and Alula Aba Nega. Menelik had the opportunity to divide and weaken Tigrai. His army was let loose to devastate as much as the colonial army did. The people remember this period as Zebene Shoa which means the era under Shoa 22”.

22 - Aregawi Berhe, Origins and Development of the National Movement in Tigrai, 1993
Such a statement can only be a figment of a hateful ethnonationalist who oozes a sentiment of hatred against Menelik and all Ethiopian rulers that hail from the Amhara ethnic group. Such allegations of Tigrean ethnonationalists and myth spinners like Aregawi fail to take into account the collaborationist role highland Tigrigna speakers have played in the process that turned Mereb Mellash into the Eritrean colony as we knew it later.

Tecola, the other Tigrean ethnicist has the following to say:

“Contrary to what some modern historians and politicians have attempted to tell us, Menelik II was not a nation builder but an opportunistic predatory empire builder. With his insatiable appetite for political intrigue and his desire to subjugate and oppress weak communities and people, Menilik did more harm against the building of Ethiopia into a modern “nation” than any Ethiopian emperor before or after him.”\(^23\)

Let us see what Ras Alula the ruler of Mereb Mellash (present day Eritrea) who was a contemporary of Menelik was doing in what is now Eritrea in January 1882. We quote from Haggai Erlich’s book, which contains the following account about the predatory campaigns of Ras Alula in what is now called Eritrea.

“Around 15 February, Alula pillaged for two days in the Ad-Tamaryam and Bedjuk countries and returned to Addi Taklay with 7000 to 8000 sheep and goats, almost as many cattle, and some 15000 Thalers (Maria Theresa dollars)”\(^24\).

Not surprisingly such predatory campaigns of Tigreans escape the notice of Tigrean ethnonationalists like Tecola for whom only Amharas happen to be the sole repositories of vice and evil in the whole of Ethiopia. While calling Menelik a predator, Tecola shies away from applying this word to describe what Alula did to the lowlanders of Mereb Melash.

Tecola describes Menilik’s mischief in the following way:

“Menilik’s scheme was brilliant but immoral, by stalling and not bringing troops to the aid of the warring emperor Yohannes, Menilik was hoping Yohannes would be either killed in battle or irrecoverably weakened. Either way, Meneilik was deceitfully positioning himself and his co-conspirators from Gojjam to a political and military strategy which would allow them, at an appropriate time, the chance to pounce upon the war weary army of emperor Yohannes and ultimately control


\(^24\) Haggai Erlich, Ras Alula and the Scramble for Africa, a Political Biography: Ethiopia & Eritrea, 1875-1897
Ethiopia. After the death of Yohannes IV and a number of Tigrean generals and warlords at Metema, Menilik was able to manipulate and exploit the weakened Tigrean warlords and the leaderless army, and succeeded in snatching the crown from the heirs of emperor Yohannes.25"

I think the above statement requires no further commentary as it is ethnically bent perspective on history is so evident.

Does Tecola Oppose TPLF’s Ethnicist Policy or is he just a Disgruntled Ethnicist?

Tecola writes the following in his book: “People like Kassu Illala, Dawit Yohannes and a few others are consummate opportunists whose contribution to the struggle is too sparse to warrant the kinds of responsibility and privilege heaped on them, bypassing deserving veterans (read Tigreans like Tecola Hagos) of the struggle26“.

If you remember colonel Goshu Wolde’s letter of resignation when he took leave of the Dergue government, his problem with the Dergue was not so much related to his opposition to Dergue’s destructive policies as his frustration by Mengistu’s more trusted cronies such as captain Legesse Asfw. Drawing a parallel between Goshu’s disenchantment with Mengistu’s regime and Tecola’s frustration with the TPLF becomes irresistible. This is borne by the fact that Tecola’s resentment of TPLF emanates from the fact that non-Tigrean such as Kassu Ilala and Dawit Yohannes (Tecola’s relative), whom Tecola castigates as opportunists of the 11th hour, have come to assume political positions which they do not deserve. For Tecola TPLF’s hard won victory is something which was won with the sweat and blood of Tigreans and accordingly should not be abused by non-Tigreans like Dawit and Kassu who joined TPLF at the 11th hour. Tecola has nowhere questioned the very ethnicist policies of the TPLF regime that have:

1 – Bantustanized Ethiopia on ethnic lines in a manner which the noted Ethiopian human rights activist professor Mesfin Wolde Mariam28 has dubbed worse than the Italian fascist policy of divide et empera (divide and rule policy) that was promoted between 1935-1941

2 – benefited and economically and socially empowered Tigreans at the expense of 95% of the non-Tigrean population of Ethiopia by transferring resources from areas south of Tigrai into Tigrai.


28 - Mesfin Wolde Mariam, Ye Kihidet Kulkulet (written in Amharic and published in 2004

29 - Assefa Negash, Pillage of Ethiopia, 1996
3 - unleashed inter-ethnic animosities and conflicts that have claimed tens of thousands of lives in southern Ethiopia (Guji-Deressa, Afar-Oromo, Oromo-Amhara, Oromo-Somali, the Gambella conflict, etc).

4 – led to ethnic cleansings that have taken place in the name of structural readjustment program by dismissing more than 120,000 non-Tigreans who have been working in various government-owned farms, factories (most of which have been bought by TPLF owned business organizations like TDA, the Tigrean Endowment Fund, etc).

5 – Tecola has not questioned the illegality of TPLF’s territorial redefinition of Ethiopia which has resulted in the forceful annexation of a third of the fertile lands of Gondar and parts of Wello to Tigrai and its subsequent effort to populate these annexed lands with Tigrean settlers from Tigrai in what amounts to a forced demographic change with far reaching effects for the future coexistence of the Amhara and Tigrean people.

Until and unless Tigrean ethnonationalists like Tecola, Aregawi, Gebru Asrat, Seye Abraha and all of their followers who currently cry foul about TPLF on such mediums like Tigrai net, Deki Alula, etc admit that that the ethnicist policies of TPLF have fragmented Ethiopia and unjustifiably benefited minority Tigreans (5%) at the expense of non-Tigreans (95% of the Ethiopian population) and oppose the ethnic politics which launched Ethiopia on the current process of fragmentation and mutual hostility, the very future coexistence of Tigreans and non-Tigreans in a country called Ethiopia becomes doubtful. However judging by the content of the draft program publicized in December 2004 by the anti-Meles faction representing former TPLF leaders such as Gebru Asrat, there is no sign of any shift from ethnic politics in spite of the rhetorical claim by Gebru Asrat (and other Tigrean ethnicists) that Ethiopia should have a sea outlet through the Red sea. Such posturing would fool no one. Isn’t it true that the sweat and blood of Tigryans were spilled to liberate Eritrea by fighting a proxy war on the side of EPLF and against Ethiopia? Does Tecola think Ethiopians will ever forget and forgive the treachery of TPLF and its supporters in undermining Ethiopia in their proxy war on behalf of Eritreans? Fighting a dictatorial regime like Mengistu to replace it by a deomocratic political and legal order that empowers all Ethiopians is one thing, but fighting to destroy the very foundations of the Ethiopian identity by fragmenting Ethiopia into mutually exclusive ethnic enclosures in the name of ethnic democracy is an act of treasonable proportion which no self respecting nation and people can live with for long.

**Tecola’s double standards & disingenuous attempt to rubbish AAPO & Professor Asrat Woldeyes**

In his effort to cast aspersion on Professor Asrat whom he could not accuse as being of feudal background, the Tigrean ethnicist Tecola has the following to say:
“He (Professor Asrat) is accused of acquiescence or at worst, collaboration for not disclosing or questioning the mysterious death of the emperor in 1975 at the hands of the military junta.”

Had Tecola whose knowledge of things like all ethnonationalist is based on hearsay and fabrication read Professor John H. Spencer’s book, he could have taken note of the following truth. The following words by professor John H. Spencer attest to professor Asrat’s courageous and unflinching stand when it comes to telling the truth even when faced by a brutal military regime like that of the Dergue. Professor John H. Spencer’s account on the brave conduct of professor Asrat reads as follows:

“The circumstances of his death are a mystery as is the disposition of his final remains, effected without an autopsy. The Derge announced that Haile Selassie had been found dead in bed and that it had immediately summoned the former Emperor’s physician, Dr. Asrat Woldeyes. With considerable courage, the doctor publicly denied any such summons. He had been at home all day and no such call had ever reached him.”

Speaking about the AAPO, the Tigrean ethnonationalist Tecola Hagos was preaching the following sermon to the APPO leaders:

“The problem with the All Amhara People’s Organization (AAPO) is not its lack of support but rather the narrowness and limited ambition of its program. The organization can pose a challenge and possibly win it if expands its program to a national program, and drops the term Amhara from its name.”

It is rather ironic to hear such lectures from a Tigrean ethnicist like Tecola who served as TPLF’s senior advisor while his cherished ethnicist organization TPLF was demonizing Amharas and exhorting non-Amharas to rise up against Amharas. The continuous demonization process to which Amharas have been subjected during and after the July 1, 1991 conference, prepared the ground for the mayhem and massacre that was later perpetrated by the OLF and OPDO forces, which were armed by the TPLF regime. These destructive fascistic forces were given carte blanche by TPLF to uproot Amharas, desecrate their churches, massacre monks and priests as had happened in Arba Gugu, Assebot monastery, etc. Has Tecola any regrets about what the government led by his


31 - Ethiopia at Bay”: A Personal Account of Haile Selassie Years, 1987


beloved organization the TPLF did to these people? Does he realize what these atrocities would mean for the future co-existence of followers of TPLF and the Amhara people who were allowed to be massacred by fascistic forces encouraged and armed by the TPLF? Time will tell this.

One only needs to refer to the incessant media barrage against Amharas that culminated in the mayhem of thousands of Amharas and displacement of tens of thousands others in areas like Bedeno, Wellega, Arsi Neghele, etc. Tecola Hagos, who was admonishing Professor Asrat to drop the name Amhara from AAPO, has always been proud of what his ethnic comrade-in-arms of TPLF have done in organizing themselves as liberators of the Tigrean people. But Professor Asrat’s AAPO which has never accepted group right and fragmentation of the country on ethnic lines nor agreed to the territorial redefinition of Ethiopian map on ethnic or linguistic lines, was being lectured by Tecola on the virtues of broadening the ethnic constituency of AAPO. Tecola should be reminded that he may act as a pious person but cannot preach a sermon with his pen while harboring evil against others.

One cannot help but be surprised by Tecola’s assertion that his grandfather and cousins were killed by Italian fascists while resisting Italian invaders (1936-1941). Ethiopian patriots fought against fragmentation and ethnicization policy which fascist Italy tried to impose on Ethiopia in order to facilitate its colonial rule. How does Tecola reconcile the patriotic role of his relatives with his own role as a fanatic former senior TPLF cadre of an ethnocentric Tigrean regime which, since May 1991, has embarked on a process of Bantustanization or fragmentation of Ethiopia a la Mussolini by breaking up Ethiopia into ethnic enclosures and fanning ethnic hatred as can be gleaned from what transpired in areas south of Ethiopia (Gambella, Amhara/Oromo, Guji/Derassa, Somali/Oromo, Afar/Oromo, etc? Was that not exactly what Mussolini did in his effort to impose Pax Italiana by fanning ethnic and religious hatred to ensconce itself in power? Is the Pax Tigigna (the policy of fragmenting Ethiopia on ethnic lines), which TPLF imposed in May 1991 and was legalized by the July 1, 1991 Charter and of which Tecola was an enthusiastic supporter while he was working as a senior foreign ministry advisor in TPLF’s government any different from Pax Italiana? As one of the top TPLF cadres in TPLF’s government, Tecola presided over an ethnicist government which fanned ethnic cleansing in areas like Bedeno, Arba Gugu, Wellega, Limmu, Arsi Negele, etc. Does he or all other disgruntled former TPLF cadres like Tecola, Gebru Asrat, Seye, etc take responsibility for what transpired in these places?

Actually what Tecola is resenting most, like many other disgruntled former TPLF cadres who currently oppose Meles but not any of TPLF’s ethnicist and pro-Tigrean policies in

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34 - Not surprisingly, the Tigrean patriarch who heads the Ethiopian Orthodox church has not said anything when churches were desecrated and priests and monks were slain.

35 - For a historical parallel between TPLF’s ethnic politics and fascist Italy’s policy in Ethiopia between 1935-1941, I refer the reader to Alberto Sbacchi’s book entitled : Ethiopia Under Mussolini – Fascism and the Colonial Experience, 1985
Ethiopia, is the fact that non-Tigrean “individuals like Dawit Yohannes are allegedly using “the blood and sweat of young Tigrean freedom fighters, to fulfill their political ambitions”36.

The Anti-Amhara Campaign – TPLF vs. Fascist Mussolini of Italy

Oromo’s oppression under Amhara domination became the central theme of Italian propaganda and of de-Amharanization campaign. In Oromo-Sidama a number of Amhara place names were replaced by Oromos and Italian names37. Drawing a historical parallel between the policies of the TPLF and Italian fascist policies is irresistible as can be gleaned from TPLF’s effort to efface anything connected with Amharic names. One has to just mention how the names of patriots like Haile Mariam Mamo38- a fiery patriotic figure who lost his life fighting Italian fascists in central Ethiopia (Shoa). The name of Haile Mariam Mamo39 was deliberately obliterated after the name of the hospital bearing his name was changed in Nazareth on the order of the incumbent Tigrean government. How many of us know how the Tigrean regime and the Somali ethnonationalists it encouraged demolished the monument of the great Ethiopian patriot Dejazmatch Afework Wolde Seymayat, hero of Korahe in the Ogaden? Dejazmatch Afework’s monument in Jijiga town was demolished by Somali ethnonationalist with the tacit encouragement of the incumbent Tigrean regime. Should one forget for a second the attempt by TPLF and the OLF thugs who tried to demolish Menelik’s monument in Addis Abeba in 1992? Fortunately they could not realize that for fear of a great backlash that such an effort would have caused.


37 - Alberto Sbacchi, Ethiopia Under Mussolini – Fascism and the Colonial Experience, 1985

38 - Haile Mariam Mammo was a selfless patriot from northern Shoa about whom the following song was sung by Ethiopians:

39  - For a well documented account of Halie Mariam Mamo’s patriotic exploits in central Ethiopia (Shoa), I refer readers to Anthony Mockler’s book entitled: Haile Selassies’s War, first published in 1984
“To facilitate the conquest of Ethiopia the Italians were concerned to foment internal discord and warfare and counted especially on the revolt of the non-Amhara populations such as the Oromo and the Muslims ⁴⁰”.

Compare this with the incessant inflammatory campaigns, which have been waged against the Amhara people by TPLF in order to drum up anti-Amhara hysteria among the non-Amhara population of Ethiopia. TPLF’s monopolistically controlled media within Ethiopia and the media its supporters have been controlling outside Ethiopia such as the now defunct “Ethiopia Commentator”, “Ethiopian Times” and currently the various electronic mediums owned by TPLF supporters (including those who now support the discredited TPLF leaders) media continue to misrepresent the Amharas in a manner which is reminiscent of fascist Italy’s anti-Amhara campaign between 1935-1941.

Mussolini’s fascist general Graziani said the following about the Amharas in 1937:

“Although they (Amharas) might seem submissive, they in reality lay in ambush ready to act at a favorable moment”.

Similar warnings were given about the Amhara by the now discredited former TPLF strong man Seye Abraham who in 1992 was warning his fanatic Tigraean followers to be vigilant about the allegedly grave danger Professor Asrat Woldeyes was posing to Tigreans. Seye did not stop at just warning about the danger being posed by Professor Asrat to the apartheid system TPLF has established with the sole aim of promoting the exclusive interest of Tigreans at the expense of non-Tigreans. He and his beloved organization TPLF threw professor Asrat in prison on the basis of concocted charges. Professor Asrat was a courageous man who was not given to hemming and hawing. He was finally made to suffer and die in prison on the orders of Tigrean hate-mongers such as Seye (Tecola’s hero) in a manner, which is reminiscent of the death of professor Asrat’s patriotic father by Italian fascists and their Tigrean and Eritrean askaris. Although the main thrust of TPLF’s ethnicist policy is directed against the Amharas, other non-Tigrean ethnic groups (save for Tigreans and Adaars) have not been spared the scourge of TPLF’s divisive and ethnic cleansing policy as can be gleaned from the deaths of tens of thousands of people in consequence of the ethnic conflicts that were fanned by the Tigrean government in areas south of Tigray.

The Pillage of Gojjam by the Rapacious Army of Emperor Yohannes (August 1888 to February 1889)

Let us give you an example of the devastation wrought by emperor Yohannes’s army, which deliberately ravaged and laid waste to Gojjam in the 1880’s as a revenge for the alleged conspiracy (against emperor Yohannes) of king Teklehaimanot of Gojjam (whom Tecola dubs co-conspirator) with king Menelik of Shoa. In what follows we quote folk songs, which were composed 117 years ago to give expression to this deliberate

⁴⁰ - Alberto Sbacchi, Fascism and the Colonial Experience, 1985
destruction, which has escaped the attention of hateful Tigrean ethnonationalists like Tecola Hagos, Aregawi Berhe and others. These hatemongering ethnonationalists, who were brought up by their parents being fed on the dire diet of anti-Amhara anecdotes, have closed their eyes to what their own ancestors have done to the Amharas they dub perpetrators of national oppression.

English version of the above couplets read as follows:

The oxen are taken and slaughtered by the soldier
The cow is taken and slaughtered by the soldier
The grain is looted and eaten by the hungry
The clothes are looted and worn by the rugged (the unclad)
Just a word is left now your majesty !!!!
Plunder our stomach so that we can sleep in peace!!!!

Precisely a year after emperor Yohannes’s army had ravaged Gojjam, most people had nothing to give their children, not even a piece of bread (qurash injera). The intensity of the famine is expressed by the following tragic poem which shows “parents” inability to provide food for their children”. Here follows the Amharic couplet and the English translation which the people of Gojjam coined to express their anguish at the invading Tigrean army of emperor Yohannes.

“July and August have passed by my gate
Just like my enemy, so unlike my friend
And I have nothing to offer my child
Though he begged me for food”

Emperor Yohannes’s soldiers ate up almost everything they lay their hand on. The following couplet, which has been coined by the people of Goojjam express, the pain felt by them during that critical period in their history.

41 - Abdussamed H. Mohammed, Emperor Yohannes’s campaigns in Gojjam August 1888 to February 1889

42 - Abdussamed H. Mohammed, Emperor Yohannes’s campaigns in Gojjam August 1888 to February 1889
We mourned the death of our cattle  
We mourned the plunder of our crops  
Yet we still have another mourning  
To worry about our children and the emptiness of our dough pots. 43.

In spite of the above atrocities they have endured, the people of Gojjam have neither considered Yohannes an alien enemy nor have they said that the descendents of Yohannes should be held responsible for his misdeeds. Unlike the ancestors of Tigrean ethnonationalists, the people of Gojjame have not cultivated anti-Tigrean feelings by feeding their children on the dire diet of hatred (for Amharas). The Amharas, unlike the Tigrean ancestors of the likes of Tecola, Meles, Aregawi and all those Tigrean ethnicists who subscribe to TPLF’s ideology of hate have not instructed their children about the alleged “historical wounds” they sustained under emperor Yohannes. The people of Gojjam have not taught their children to hate Tigreans for the mistakes Yohannes has committed more than 100 years ago. Amharas have not taught their children to remember the atrocities which were perpetrated by tens of thousands of Eritrean, and Tigrean mercenaries who chose to ally themselves with Mussolini’s fascist army. Mussolini’s fascist forces particularly targeted Amharas during their 5-year long occupation of Ethiopia between 1935-1941 during. At this time at least 730,000 44 Ethiopians lost their lives as a result of Italian bombings and massacres. Many of the present day ethnonationalists would have been embarrassed if one was to get into the business of calculating what percentage of these 730000 (seven hundred thirty thousands) Ethiopians belonged to the Amhara ethnic group (which bore a disproportionate burden in terms of the Italian fascist assault directed against patriots and civilians) which is today pilloried by Tigrean, Oromo, Eritrean, Somali, Southern ethnonationalists for all the ills of Ethiopia.

43 - Abdussamed H. Mohammed, Emperor Yohannes’s campaigns in Gojjam August 1888 to February 1889

44 - Sylvia Pankhurst, Italy’s War Crimes in Ethiopia, Evidence for the War Crimes Commission