

---

## REPORT 71      20 November 2025

---

### Human Rights Abuses in Ethiopia

---

#### Contents

##### Introduction

Ambassador to Canada claims asylum in USA	p.3
UAE exports violence in exchange for gold: TAKE ACTION ON SUDAN	p.3
Prospect of proxy war in Tigray	p.3
Students protest again	p.3
UN Human Rights Council Report on Ethiopia	p.4
HRLHA Statement to UN Human Rights Council	p.4
OSG Statement to 59 <sup>th</sup> Session UN Human Rights Council	p.4
Coalition Statement on resettlement of Palestinians in Ethiopia	p.4
Taye Danda'a Exposes Misrule in Ethiopia (Summary)	p.5

##### Killings and other abuses

Finfinnee and Shaggar City	p.8
North Showa	p.9
West Showa	p.10
Southwest Showa	p.14
East Showa	p.14
Wollo and Amhara Region	p.16
Arsi and West Arsi	p.19
Hararge and Bale	p.23
Eviction of farmers from Bale Mountains National Park	p.27
Wallega: Horo Guduru and East Wallega	p.28
Qellem and West Wallega, Illubabor, Buno Bedele and Jimma	p.35
Guji and Borana	p.43
Attacks on Oromo by Somali Region Forces	p.46
Tigray Region	p.50
Afar Region	p.51
Benishangul-Gumuz Region	p.51

##### Refugees

Kenya	p.52
Djibouti	p.53
Yemen	p.55
Somaliland and Puntland	p.55
Unheard Grief: The History of Oromo Refugees in Somaliland	p.58
Taye Danda'a Exposes Misrule in Ethiopia (Full Version)	p.64

## **Abbreviations**

ENDF	Ethiopian National Defence Force
EPRDF	Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
OLA	Oromo Liberation Army
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
ONM	Oromo National Media, incorporating Qeerroo Bilisummaa Oromoo and OLA
OSG	Oromia Support Group
TPLF	Tigrayan Peoples Liberation Front
UNHCR	UN High Commissioner for Refugees

## **OSG total recorded killings of Oromo civilians**

OSG has now documented the killing of 7,070 Oromo civilians by Ethiopian government forces. This represents only a small fraction of the real total, almost certainly under 20% and possibly much less.

### *Media Contact*

Dr Trevor Trueman +44 (0)7852 448337, [osg@talktalk.net](mailto:osg@talktalk.net)

## Introduction

### Ambassador to Canada and former minister claim asylum in USA

Ethiopia's former Deputy Prime Minister and Ambassador to Canada since 2018, Aster Mamo, and Bertukan Ayano, former State Minister of Foreign Affairs (also Ambassador to Canada from 2003-2017), were reported by *Borkena* on 29 October to be seeking political asylum in the United States.<sup>1</sup>

### UAE exports violence in exchange for gold: TAKE ACTION ON SUDAN

The United Arab Emirates is hoarding gold from Sudan and Ethiopia and fuelling conflicts in both countries in return. UAE has been bankrolling Abiy Ahmed's vanity urban development projects and funding his deployment of drones which have been killing civilians in Tigray, Amhara and Oromia regions. UAE appears to be intent on controlling trade across the Red Sea and to be securing future supplies of gold and grain from the Horn of Africa.

*DWAfrica* wrote in early November that UAE imports more gold from Africa than any other country and is the second largest global importer after Switzerland. Gold imports to UAE rose 18% to 748 tonnes in 2024. There was a 70% rise in gold from Sudan. UAE was labelled by a Swiss NGO as 'a global hub for gold of dubious origin.'<sup>2</sup> See p.50, Tigray.

A massive rise of gold exports from Ethiopia, mainly Tigray, occurred from 1.3 tonnes in 2020 to 15 tonnes in 2021. As noted by Jawar Mohammed, this was when hundreds of thousands of lives were being lost in the Tigray war.<sup>3</sup>

The funding by UAE of the Rapid Support Forces in their genocidal campaign in Darfur has led to their 'sportswashing' partnership with the National Basketball Association in the USA in an attempt to save its reputation and prevent international opprobrium. A petition to the NBA to withdraw its sponsorship by UAE has been launched and is available to sign at <http://www.speakoutonsudan.org/>.

OSG encourages readers to sign this petition and to follow suggested actions by Amnesty International USA to encourage the US Government to help prevent the ongoing genocide in Sudan. Suggested actions are available on the Amnesty website at <https://www.amnestyusa.org/campaigns/speak-out-on-sudan/>.

### Prospect of proxy war in Tigray

Eritrea and Tigray support the Sudan Armed Forces whereas Abiy Ahmed is backed by the UAE which supplies weapons to the Rapid Support Forces. Bellicose rhetoric about Ethiopia's 'existential' need for a Red Sea port, military preparations, the stockpiling of food, exodus of youth and a run on banks in Mekele may indicate another war between Ethiopia and Eritrea; to be fought in Tigray, potentially drawing in other international forces.

### Students protest again

Oromo students were reported to have taken to the streets to demonstrate against the Prosperity Party government's decision that graduates give one year's teaching after completing a three-year course. Demonstrations were reported from universities in Finfinnee, Ambo (West Showa), Salale (North Showa), Bula Hora (West Guji), Metu (Illubabor), Dinsho (East Hararge), Arsi, Gambella and more places on 17 November (W1 and ONM).

---

<sup>1</sup> <https://borkena.com/2025/10/29/two-ethiopian-government-officials-reportedly-seeking-asylum-in-the-us/>

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=10108365848853633&set=pcb.10108365863843593>

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/215693/posts/10108365863843593/?rdid=XE5lXhBGkaXuIGLc>

## **UN Human Rights Council Report on Ethiopia**

On 9 September, the 60<sup>th</sup> Session of the Human Rights Council issued its conclusions from the 4<sup>th</sup> cycle of the Universal Periodic Review of human rights in Ethiopia.<sup>4</sup> OSG and OSG Australia contributed to this process.<sup>5</sup> The Human Rights Council concluded:

‘We remain concerned about the challenging human rights situation in Ethiopia, including constraints on the rights to freedom of expression, peaceful assembly and association less than a year before the elections in 2026. We regret the closure of civic space in Ethiopia, including recent intimidation and suspension of civil society organisations as well as intimidation of independent media and journalists, . . . we take note of the concerns expressed by civil society on the proposed amendments to the civil society law. . . .’

We continue to be alarmed by the high number of human rights violations and abuses by both state and non-state actors . . . We are gravely concerned by the significant increase in grave violations against children, including the killing and maiming of children, sexual violence against children and the abduction of children . . .

We call on the Government of Ethiopia and all other actors to take concrete action to end ongoing human rights violations and abuses in areas of conflict, including in Amhara, Oromia, and Tigray. Killings and injuries of civilians, torture, ill-treatment, enforced disappearances, arbitrary arrests and detentions, attacks on civic infrastructure as well as extreme levels of sexual and gender-based violence by different actors must stop. . . .’

## **Human Rights League of the Horn of Africa statement to UN Human Rights Council**

Human Rights League of the Horn of Africa (HRLHA) continues to present written statements to the Human Rights Council. The statement presented to the last session, September to October 2025, is available on the UN website.<sup>6</sup>

As well as summarising human rights abuses since 2018, HRLHA note the lack of cooperation from Ethiopia with UN mechanisms, denying access to Working Groups and Special Rapporteurs. HRLHA complained about the premature termination of the Independent Commission of Human Rights Experts on Ethiopia (ICHREE).

## **OSG Statement to 59<sup>th</sup> Session of Human Rights Council**

OSG Australia successfully presented a written statement by OSG to the 59<sup>th</sup> Session of the HRC, which is available on the OSG website.<sup>7</sup> The material in the statement is drawn from OSG reports 68-70.

## **Coalition of Oromo Advocacy and Human Rights Groups statement re Proposal for Resettlement of Palestinians in Ethiopia**

Although preposterous, the possibility of resettling Palestinians from Gaza in Ethiopia, was given serious consideration by Ethiopian and US Governments. The Coalition of Oromo Advocacy and Human Rights Groups issued a statement pointing out the absurdity and immorality of the suggestion.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/un-geneva/joint-statement-hrc60-general-debate-item-2-joint-statement-human-rights-situation-ethiopia\\_en?s=62](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/un-geneva/joint-statement-hrc60-general-debate-item-2-joint-statement-human-rights-situation-ethiopia_en?s=62)

<sup>5</sup> <https://oromiasupport.org/wp-content/uploads/simple-file-list/Combined-UPR-Submissions-2024.pdf>

<sup>6</sup> <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/60/NGO/260>

<sup>7</sup> <https://oromiasupport.org/wp-content/uploads/simple-file-list/OSG-Australia-Statement-to-UNHRC-59th-Session-June-2025.pdf>

<sup>8</sup> [https://oromiasupport.org/wp-content/uploads/simple-file-list/Coalition-Statement\\_-2-September-2025\\_-Resettling-Palestinians-in-Ethiopia\\_-A-Recipe-for-Disaster.pdf](https://oromiasupport.org/wp-content/uploads/simple-file-list/Coalition-Statement_-2-September-2025_-Resettling-Palestinians-in-Ethiopia_-A-Recipe-for-Disaster.pdf)

## Taye Danda'a Exposes Misrule in Ethiopia

Outspoken former minister Taye Danda'a was re-arrested on 2 June 2025, after he recorded a long four-part interview in Afaan Oromo with *Horn Conversation* host Etana Habte. This was posted online on 10 June.<sup>9</sup>

In this recorded conversation, Taye is highly critical of the Ethiopian government and, in particular, of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed. See pp.64-70 for more detail.



After periods of detention (2004-2007 and 2009-2016) as an Oromo student activist, Taye was most recently detained for almost one year, charged with 'posting propaganda messages in support of anti-peace forces' after being sacked as Minister of Peace on 11 December 2023.

On 2 June 2025, Taye was detained on the same charges, this time with the backing of the Federal Supreme Court.

### Qeerroo: 'But the victory was handed over to an unreliable person – Abiy'

Taye was emphatic about the success of the Qeerroo movement. He said, 'The regime that had built its infrastructure for the last 27 years deep within the people was removed from power by the Qeerroo movement. There is no doubt about that. . . .'

In 2016, 'the Oromo youth – the Qeerroo – rose up together and brought historic change. It was a remarkable achievement, not only for Ethiopia but for Africa. They succeeded without weapons, facing a heavily armed government, and even the OPDO, created by the TPLF, awakened to contribute to the movement. The Oromo kept its unity across region, religion, and class.'

OPDO regional forces were ordered not to fire on protestors but protect them from federal forces 'they trained 230,000 militias who were directed by Lemma to keep the peace.'

'But the victory was handed over to an unreliable person – Abiy.' The success of the Qeerroo movement was hijacked by Abiy Ahmed.

### Turning Points

Like almost all Oromo and their friends across the world, Taye had high hopes for Abiy Ahmed at the beginning. He believed Abiy was a 'gift to the Oromo people'.

'All the great values men aspire to were contained in that first speech. . . . However, later on, we were unhappy to find out that everything that was stated in that speech was a lie and a deception.'

A most significant turning point was the killing of the Karrayyuu Abba Gadaas in December 2021. This sacrilegious killing was initially blamed by the government on OLA, which was a 'clear, black and white lie' to Taye. Prior to that he believed the government was not responsible for executions and destruction of property, but thought these were the actions of 'other groups.'

Another turning point for Taye was the government's sabotage of the second round of peace talks with OLA, using propaganda attacks, reversing previous agreements on OLA demands

---

<sup>9</sup> Part 1: <https://www.youtube.com/live/rqeRiMOktU8>; Part 2: <https://www.youtube.com/live/NBlnvJo80uo>; Part 3: <https://www.youtube.com/live/eRv50Kei14E> Part 4: <https://www.youtube.com/live/K0Ox29qCAJc> The interviews were translated from Afaan Oromo by Dr Ebiissa Regassa (Parts 1-3) and Dr Muluneh Oli (Part 4). A paginated transcript of all combined interviews is used for page references, noted in brackets in the text. Part 1: pp.1-18. Part 2: pp.18-33. Part 3: pp.33-53. Part 4: pp.54-59.

and being ‘only interested in co-opting individual members.’ Abiy’s sanctioning of looting (see below) was a third factor in changing Taye’s opinion of him.

**‘The country had become the property of one man’**

‘ . . . and now we realize the real reason the Prosperity Party was formed was to amass power in a single individual. This was to ensure the rule of a single man. The country had become the property of one man.’

**Human Rights Abuse: ‘Safuu has been broken;’ Killings and Looting Ordered by Abiy**

Taye gave evidence of detention without trial, extrajudicial killings and torture in detention, interference with the judiciary, and punishment of families and friends of detainees.

Taye regretted that ‘the Oromo moral code – Safuu – has been broken. Not only women but also men are being raped. Fathers are executed in front of their families. Wives are raped in front of their husbands. Respected elders, including Abba Gadaas, are killed. The bodies of dead men are placed on donkeys and paraded in markets. Corpses are left unburied to be eaten by wild animals.’

**‘Don’t waste your time bringing the Shane group to prison; eliminate or kill them; in public if you can.’**

Abiy Ahmed 2015 EC

‘The dignity of the Oromo people, which was once revered, has been eroded’.

‘Fekadu Tesema [then Head of Prosperity Party Office in Oromia], in my presence, said that family members of Shane should be imprisoned. If a son or a family member is part of the OLA, all of their family members should be imprisoned. This was stated by a high-ranking party official.’ It is a war crime and close to ethnic cleansing, Taye said.

**‘Loot enough that you can raise your child.’**

Abiy Ahmed 2013 EC

Taye reported that Abiy said at a party meeting in 2015 EC (2022/3) ‘Don’t waste your time bringing the Shane group to prison; eliminate or kill them; in public if you can.’

Abiy announced in 2013 EC (2020/2021) ‘in an open meeting in the presence of over 2,500 people’ that looting by government forces was allowed ‘Loot enough that you can raise your child’ Abiy ordered.

**‘This government does not serve Oromo interests’**

Taye stated ‘the biggest enemy that is working hard against Oromos is none-other than Abiy.’

‘What is the point of calling it an Oromo government if Oromo mothers are burned alive in their homes, if their houses are destroyed without compensation – worse than during the TPLF era? Farmers who once sold their produce freely now sell to the state at unfairly reduced prices. The so-called “Oromo government” has overseen the destruction of the unity built through Oromo blood. For me, what matters is justice and equality, not who sits at the top.’

‘In reality, Oromos were suffering – burned alive, executed, heavily taxed – yet portrayed as if they were running an apartheid system.’

**Misrule: Abiy Ahmed ‘On a different planet’**

Taye described confusion and chaos in government, non-adherence to constitutional guidelines, lack of clear programs and agendas, no consistency and no debate of ‘proper issues,’ ‘creating chaos and confusion among party members.’

Taye said that Abiy ‘speaks about things removed from reality – dreams and intangible things.’ ‘He’s basically on a different planet.’

Regarding party self-assessment, Abiy told him ‘This is the culture of the TPLF. We do not need to do this. Just follow me. Just listen to me.’

At party meetings, Taye raised issues such as the ‘tremendous economic devastation,’ innocent people being killed and homes being burned down, but ‘no one really paid attention or cared to listen to me.’ When he asked for attention to be paid to the instability and economic turmoil, Abiy said it was only ‘the propaganda of the diaspora’ and ‘warned everyone to ignore it.’

**‘ . . . in this country there are a lot of unproductive youth.  
We can wage war for twenty years; we have enough bodies.’**

### **Abiy’s ‘Grand Plan’**

Taye quoted from *Irkab ina Member*, a book published by Abiy Ahmed long before his *Medemer* was published in October 2019, a passage which he regretted not having noted earlier: ‘Fill the person with whatever he wants to hear and then drive him to the direction that you want; once you lead him there, leave him to rot’ (p.30). Thus was the published advice of the PM.

Taye recalled the assassination of Haachalu Hundesa on 29 June 2020 and the mass detentions, including opposition leaders, which followed; part of Abiy’s ‘Grand Plan’, as he later realised.

### **Abiy Needs War: ‘We have enough bodies’**

‘The definitive conclusion is that Abiy does not want peace.’

‘Abiy wants to perpetuate conflict.’ He ‘can’t exist without war’ to deflect Ethiopia’s population from questioning the government’s economic policies and record, Taye reflected.

He recounted that Abiy boasted of having deliberately manipulated the TPLF into precipitating the war in November 2020 and ‘in this country there are a lot of unproductive youth. We can wage war for twenty years; we have enough bodies.’

### **Final Words**

‘The propaganda claiming that this government represents the Oromo must be exposed. The Oromo have never faced such hardship as today. Other nations and nationalities must understand this.

In particular, the relationship between Oromos and Amharas needs rebuilding. At the beginning of the change, there was cooperation, but later, suspicion and hostility were deliberately sown between them. Abiy abandoned the country for his own ego. What harms one harms all.

If cooperation is based on equality and fraternity, Ethiopia is not a poor country – it can prosper. The foundation should be mutual support among nations and nationalities.’

### **Taye’s present insecurity**

At the time of writing (27 October 2025), the former government minister is being held with common criminals in Kilinto maximum security prison in Addis Ababa. He has been moved from Zone 5 to Zone 1 and, more recently, to Zone 2 in the prison.

His life is at risk in detention.



## Finfinnee and Shaggar city

### Killings

An ONM report on 29 July on detention conditions in the 3<sup>rd</sup> District, Burayu city, Finfinnee Special Zone (see below), included the **death of two political prisoners** around the end of April. The detainees were from Salale town, North Showa, but were not named by ONM.

**Dhibbaa Boolee Margaa** (right), a young man originally from Rifeenti Caabir, Horo Bulluq district in Horo Guduru, was killed on or just before 1 August by government militiamen. He was robbed and his body dumped in the Malka Gafarsa area of Burayu city, where it was partly eaten by wild animals before being discovered one week later (ONM and W1).



**Indala Borane** was killed by local militia in Burqaa Waayyuu village in Furi (Muudaa Furi) township, Shaggar city, on 4 August. The killing was ordered by local ENDF and Prosperity Party cadres in response to Indale's complaints about land-grabbing by the government. He was taken from his home in the evening and summarily executed (ONM).

A singer, reported only as '**Eyoel**' (right), was killed by government forces around Burayu High School, Finfinnee Special Zone, on 12 October (W1).



### Detention, overcrowding, beating and rape

On 29 July, ONM reported 'More than 250 political prisoners in the 3<sup>rd</sup> district of Burayu city administration are being tortured for terms ranging from one year and five months to four years.'

The police chief, Commissioner Shitto, her deputy, Commander Baay'isa, the third in-charge, Inspector Tashee and Commander Nagaash, jointly locked political prisoners in a cramped cell, accusing them of working for OLA. Two political prisoners died around the end of April (see above).

ONM wrote 'There are more than 20 girls among the political prisoners, who are being carried to the toilet, unable to cope with the crimes of rape, severe fever and severe beatings.'

Arrests intensified in and around the capital in August and around Ethiopian New Year in September according to W1 and ONM. On 8 September, ONM wrote 'the city police, federal police, plain-clothed security men and others are deployed to arrest and search civilians from the streets and vehicles.' Oromo, Tigrayans and Amhara were all included and accused of having links to regional opposition forces.

**'There are more than 20 girls among the political prisoners, who are being carried to the toilet, unable to cope with the crimes of rape, severe fever and severe beatings.'**

Arrests were reported to be particularly common in the Askoo area of Finfinnee and in predominantly Oromo towns in Shaggar city – Burayu, Sabata, Galan, Sululta and others.

On 20 September, ONM reported the detention and mistreatment for over four months of women in Holata, northwest of Finfinnee, in the Special Zone. These women were from Ada'a Berga, Meta Robi, Meta Walqixe and Abuna districts of West Showa.



W1 reported on 5 October that at least 36 were arrested at Bishoftu and at least 12 in Finfinnee during Irreecha celebrations.

### **Injury and disappearance**

Included in the many who were injured during these waves of arrests is artist, Chala Bultume (right), reported by W1 as injured on 8 August.



Tsegaye Gutata (left), was taken to Furi police station in Finfinnee on 12 October but his location was not known when W1 reported on 16 October.

Gelana Garomsa (right) a software engineer who graduated from Addis Ababa University, was arrested from the Ashewa Meda area of Finfinnee before the Irreecha festival and was reported by W1 to have disappeared in custody on 25 October. His family does not know if he has been killed or taken as a forced conscript.



### **Violence and confinement to 'dark cells' in Abba Samuel**

Political prisoners in the federal prison in Caffee Tumaa, 'Abba Samuel' prison compound, in Galan in the south of the Finfinnee Special Zone, were reportedly attacked on 4 September. At least eight Oromo prisoners were physically attacked by other prisoners and included:

Toleeraa Dajanee

Xilahun Getaachoo

Sanyii Baacaa

Shaashoo Ambassaa

Abraham Gabbisaa

Addisuu Fayyee

Following the violence, at least 22 detainees were 'thrown into a dark room' and went missing from their cells on 4 September, including:

Xilahun Getachew Goffa

Tamirat Tolasaa

Jamal Nasraddin

Jamal (Usman) Kadir

Mallas Kabbab

Bashaada Ayyaano

Darajje Asaffa

Mulalem Tamir

David Solomon

## **North Showa**

### **Killings**

W1 reported the killing of 67 year-old **Kebede Alelign**, 51 year-old **Mantabi Dino** and **Hareg Aynalem** in Hidhabu Abote district, on 7 Aug.

**Ayelu Asfew** (right) aged 57, was shot dead on 8 October, or shortly before, in Doyo village, 'Gida Gango' district, because two of her sons were OLA members (W1).

**Nuguse Walelegn** was reported killed in Hidhabu Abote district, on 18 October (W1).



### **Rape**

Three young girls who were collecting straw for their families in Dhaayee Willincoo village, Kuyu district, were abducted by ENDF soldiers, raped and injured, on 21 July. Ganzabee Dirribaa Sanbataa, Fanose Shallama Talamma and Burtukee Dhaqqabaa Damisee were all severely beaten. Ganzabee was seriously injured.

## Detention, destruction and looting

The detention of large numbers of civilians in Wara Jarso district was reported by W1 in late June and in late July. OSG coverage of ONM reports of attacks and abuses in North Showa was limited to those occurring between late August and late September – only a quarter of the period since OSG Report 70.

Following fighting between ENDF and OLA nearby, attacks on farmers in Hidhabu Abote, reported on 30 August, and on 'Guatsion' near the border with Amhara Region, reported on 4 September, left sheep and cattle killed in their fields, as shown below (W1).



Many were reported detained, including mothers of young families, when ENDF soldiers attacked Wara Jarso on 22 September. At least 28 quintals of corn were burnt and destroyed.

## Forced conscription

Desperate poverty and unemployment are forcing youngsters to join national and local security forces in order for them and their families to survive. Nonetheless, they do so under duress, often after being detained against their will. W1 reported arrests and forced conscription in North Showa districts of Salale, Fiche, Hidhabu Abote and Wara Jarso on 28 August.

ONM reported that 'force, money and deception' were being used in schools, churches, pool halls and markets. Despite these efforts, only 127 out of a planned total of 2,850 from North Showa had been recruited by 21 September. Only 34 from Wara Jarso and 49 from Gerar Jarso had been registered.

## Beating of Waaqeffattoota

Followers of the traditional monotheist Oromo religion, Waaqeffannaa, (the Waaqeffattoota Amanticha), were among villagers across Kuyu district who were attacked by ENDF soldiers in August.

Soldiers entered the *Galma*, the Waaqeffannaa Worship Hall, in Darroo Willincoo village on 10 August, and severely beat the peaceful worshippers without provocation. Four were named by ONM.

## West Showa

### Killings

Security forces attacked Dhoqonuu village, Abuna Gindeberet district, on 15 June, burning and looting properties. **Abdataa Shaashee** was shot dead 'without any crime' (ONM).

The elderly head of a large family in Odaa Kormaa village, Bako Tibe district, **Calchisaa Cimdeessaa**, was shot dead in his home by ENDF on 16 June. He was falsely accused of hosting OLA fighters (ONM).

**Ambassaa Gaarradoo** and **Darajee Gaarradoo**, brothers with their own families in Deebisaa Agasaa village, Ada Berga district, were taken from their homes by government security forces on 23 June and ‘shot dead like animals’ (ONM).

**Chala Teshome**, aged 15, and **Jaanoo Abera**, aged 70, were killed by security forces while walking on the road in their village, Goro Dhokonu, Abuna district, on or immediately before 30 June (W1).

**Adugna Mengistu** was killed at an unspecified place in Ilu Galan district on 8 July (W1).

**Abdii Misgaanuu Barii**, a 12<sup>th</sup> grade student who had just passed university entrance exams, was killed in Qarree Dobi village, Abuna district, on 10 July, accused of links with OLA (ONM).

Also in Abuna Gindeberet district, government soldiers shot dead a youth named **Warquu Laggasaa** in Ginci town on 18 July. They withheld his body from his family (ONM).

**Hingaabbuu Irree Damissee**, a 14 year-old boy, was taken with his mother and brothers and beaten behind the village school in Erer Taarar, Abuna district, on 27 July. He was then taken into custody, where he died. His father, a member of the local government militia was visiting the Abuna Gindeberet district police station on government business, and was unable to prevent the killing of his son in police custody (ONM).

In its report on the killings by Fano forces in Nono district on 19 October, *Addis Standard* referred to the **killing of sixteen civilians**, including a six-month old baby in the Qondala locality of Nono district at an unspecified date in July.<sup>10</sup>

On 30 July, W1 reported the killing by government forces of **nine men** at one time in Hilu Muxe village, Ada’a Berga district.

**Dejene Mokonen**, 45 (near right)

**Tamire Dejene**, 15 (mid right)

**Alemu Dejene** 35 (far right)

**Bayisa Ketema**, 60

**Hidecha Wake**, 65

**Dabalu Wagi** 18

**Abbu Tiksee**, 19

**Fikru Girma**, 36

**Dame Hunde**, 25



Informants W1 and W2 wrote of the cruel killing of **Jamba Abebe** (left and below) on 14 August in Ginci town, Dandi district. He was born and raised in the district and joined OLA, but he returned home and had handed in his weapons when he was arrested and detained. Jamba and his friends broke



out of prison. Security chief, Mekonen Bakala, shot and wounded Jamba as he was fleeing. ‘When he reached Jamba, he shot him dead where he was lying wounded.’

His family attempted to bury his body but were prevented by security forces. Jamba’s remains

<sup>10</sup> <https://addisstandard.com/attack-in-west-shewa-kills-over-25-including-children-residents-blame-fano/>



were exposed for four days, until 18 August, before burial. He had by then been partly eaten by wild animals.

On 14 September, three civilians were reportedly killed in Gindeberet district (W1):

**Bulti Negash**

**Soresa Wayessa and**

**Gemechis**

Many were detained at the same time as these killings.

**Fufa Debsu** and his wife, **Ayantu Jaleta**, were reported on 27 September to have been killed by government forces in Dano district (W1).



Local residents told *Addis Standard* that **29 residents** of Allo Dinki village, Nono district, were killed and another two unaccounted for after Fano ‘fighters’ attacked at 8.00 pm on 19 October. Women and children were among the dead after militants went from house to house indiscriminately ‘killing elders, children and pregnant women, without sparing anyone.’<sup>11</sup>

Entire families, Christians and Muslims alike, were wiped out. The assailants attacked with bladed weapons before opening fire with guns.

The Fano group which is most likely to be responsible for this and other mass atrocities in Nono and other districts of West Shewa, is ‘Government Fano’, a clandestine yet centrally-funded and equipped group, established solely for the purpose of committing atrocities against Oromo which are blamed on Amhara soldiers.<sup>12</sup> The militants crossed into West Shewa from Abishgee district, Gurage zone, which shares a short border (see map, above left).



Students in Ginci, the biggest town in Dandi district, protested against the attacks on 23 October (above, W1).

### **Militiaman killed by ENDF**

W1 and ONM reported that two rounds of armed clashes between ENDF and regional militia in Bake Qalate town and in Garbi Gole village, Abuna district, in mid-July, left four militiamen and one ENDF soldier dead. Ayala Caala, a militiaman in Bake Qalate, was among the dead. Many others were seriously wounded.

### **Detention of young girls**

Among numerous reports of arbitrary detention, the following two examples stand out because of the age of the detainees. One girl aged 13 and another of a similar age in her 9<sup>th</sup> grade at school were both detained in separate districts on 21 October. Boongee Badhaasa, 13, together with Mrs Xaphany Lata and Lalisa Asafa, in Amartii Gibee village, Bako Tibe district, were taken from a vehicle when returning home from Bako Tibe town. 9<sup>th</sup> grade student, Derartu Mosisa (above left), was a student in Asgori, between Ginci and Ambo (W1).



<sup>11</sup> <https://addisstandard.com/attack-in-west-shewa-kills-over-25-including-children-residents-blame-fano/>

<sup>12</sup> See pp.4-5, OSG Report 68, <https://oromiasupport.org/wp-content/uploads/simple-file-list/OSG-Report-68-7-January-2025.pdf>

### **Detention, looting and destruction**

Within a period of less than three weeks in September, there were ten ONM reports of other abuses occurring in Abuna, Bako Tibe, Meta Robe, Meta Walqixe and Dandi districts.

Babies, two-year-old infants and ten-year-old children were among those detained on spurious charges of supporting OLA. W1 wrote on 21 October that disabled people in Bako Tibe district were being particularly targeted as OLA suspects, accused of sustaining battle injuries to cause their disabilities.

As elsewhere, families of OLA members were detained as hostages for their return. One example is the detention of Mrs Buzunesh Tuuri, her husband Caleb Oljirra and their five-month-old baby, in the village of Odaa Gudayya, Bako Tibe district, on 20 September, 'in the name of "your son is a member of the OLF".'

The disappearance of detainees, even for short periods now, may be ominous, given the propensity of government forces to summarily execute young men and women. Thus, the disappearance of ten-year-old Shashoo Tolasaa from Warabo village, Meta Robi district, on 31 August is a cause for concern. Adults, including the boy's father, were taken to a military camp but Shashoo's location is not known.

The village and the neighbouring village of Warqee Waleensuu were subjected to looting of large numbers of cattle, sheep and donkeys and the burning of many properties (ONM).

A similar fate was met by Odaa Gudayyaa village, Bako Tibe district, on 2 September. Looting and robbing of livestock was accompanied by detention of families, including Zawudee Tasfaayee and her two-year-old child in the district police station (ONM).

Destruction is not limited to homes and livestock. Maize crops are being deliberately destroyed. Cadres insist on other crops being grown, which cannot hide OLA fighters. Large areas of maize were razed on 2 September in Meta Walqixe district (ONM).

### **Extortion, coercion and corruption**

Money is demanded ostensibly to buy guns for government forces. Rural women have been detained when visiting urban centres in Bako Tibe district and told they will be held until their husbands bring 100,000 birr, 'the price of a gun' (ONM).

Students in West Showa were among those being forced to deposit 1,400 birr in Siinqee Bank in order to register in September. Visitors to the market in Gabaa Qidamee, Abuna district, were charged 150 birr 'without a receipt.' In Guto Somboo, 2,000 birr was demanded from each person who refused to provide labour 'to build the village office.'

In Jaldu district, residents of Caancoo Qabana'a village were threatened and beaten for refusing to join local militia. In Taliila Katta village of the same district, residents were reported on 19 February to have been beaten and fined 500 birr for 'not turning on electric lights in their compounds in the evening' (ONM).

### **'Government Shanee (OLA)': 'Jaal, Jaal!'**

A group of government forces masquerading as OLA forces; the so-called 'Government Shanee' or 'Government OLA,' was reported operating in Dandi district in mid-September.

The clandestine group, wearing wigs of braided hair and ostentatiously calling each other 'Jaal, jaal!' [comrade in Afaan Oromo], terrorised unarmed communities in Galessa, Dansaa Shonnoo and Katikatta Waranbuchi villages, going from house to house at night 'committing looting and rape' according to ONM.

## Southwest Showa

### Killing

**Mrs Bashu Debele** (right), from Bacaki village, Sodo Dachi district, was reported by W1 on 29 June to have been killed in ‘Tare city’.

**Dajane Hunde** was reported killed shortly thereafter in Riqate, Bacho district (W1).



### Detention, destruction, looting, school closures

W1 and ONM reported arbitrary detention, looting and burning by ENDF in Tulu Bolo, Bacho, Sadeen Sodo and Tole districts. Not only homes and farms but schools were put to the torch: in an attack on Golole and Tamsa villages in Tole district in mid-August, homes were destroyed, cattle looted or killed and the primary school, the teacher’s home and all the books were burnt by ENDF. Detainees were being ‘tortured at the district police station’ (ONM).

Homes belonging to families of OLA members were particularly likely to be razed, at least in Tole and Bacho districts, according to ONM.

### Militia and ENDF conflict

Killings and detention of militia members by ENDF was reported by ONM from Tumme and Yaayyaa villages in Tole district on 15 November. They were in conflict about sharing out the spoils of exploitation and looting, according to ONM.

## East Showa

### Killings

On 12 June, a member of government anti-riot forces, **Arabuu Qajeelaa**, Muummee Kosooroo village, Liban Cuqqaalaa district, was shot dead by ENDF officers in Warra Jaarsaa village ‘at Ashuffee’ because he complained of abuses ‘against the people’ (ONM).

**Tolaa Ashamii**, a young man in Waldaa Qal’inaa village, Dugda district, was shot dead by ENDF on 17 June (ONM).

Father of two, **Badhoo Dagaagaa**, was shot dead on 21 June. Another 15 villagers from Lafesa Garmaji, Bora district, were reported by ONM to have been detained in Afare military camp two days earlier.

On 24 June, ENDF killed **Fareessaa Ida’oo**, a youngster in Shuubii Gamoo village, Dugda district. Next day, another young man, **Tolaa Guutaa**, was shot dead while walking near his home in Waldaa Maqdallaa village in the same district (ONM). He was ‘not involved in politics’ but was engaged in his own business.

**Raggaasaa Gammadaa**, a young man in the Biyo Dima area of Dooni town, Bosat district, was accused of ‘having OLA weapons’ shot in the back and killed as he ran in fear, outside his father’s house on 20 July (ONM).

Two young men were killed and another two disappeared in Dugda district on 30 July at the hands of ENDF. **Fitala Gada**, from Walda Qalina village, and **Siido Galan**, from Tuchii Sumayyan village were killed. Siido’s brother, Dabala Galan, and his wife, Dammo Nabi, were arrested and disappeared in detention (ONM).

According to *Borkena.com*, **Teklu Hailemichael**, 97, **Minda Hailemichael**, 86, and 39 year-old Ethiopian Orthodox Deacon, **Genene Negarge**, were slaughtered with machetes and knives in Gimbuchi district on 28 August.<sup>13</sup>

On 18 September, **Milkeessoo Tujjaa**, a young man in Doyo Laman village, Bora district, was summarily executed by ENDF (ONM).

**Tolaa Foollee**, was killed in Waldaa Maqdalaa village, Dugda district, two months after Tolaa Guutaa (see above), on 24 September (ONM).

**Dambal Bariso**, right, brother of Minister Dr Tola Bariso, was reportedly killed in Meqi town, on 16 November (W1).



### **Other abuses**

There were 15 reports of abuses other than killings from ONM between 14 August and 21 September. Arbitrary detention, beating, looting and destruction of property was reported from Bosat, Fantale, Bora, Dugda, Liban Cuqala and Adama districts. ONM wrote of a spate of attacks and arrests over the middle two weeks of September, especially in Bora and Dugda districts.

### **Detention, looting, burning and displacement**

Looting of cattle and property accompanied arrests in most districts. For example, on 25 August, over 100 cattle were driven away from the area of Jirimee Bora village, Bora district, and at least 30 from Burqaa Dambal village, Dugda district.

A 70 year-old was among detained residents of Burqaa Dambal village. While Prosperity Party cadres looted their homes and farms of items including pesticides and spraying equipment, the villagers were being held in Meqi police station (ONM). ONM described the looting as being ‘in place of taxes.’

The violence of the ENDF attack on Walda Qal’ina village, Dugda district, on 1 September left two young men with serious stab wounds and another ‘between life and death’ after being shot in the head (ONM). They were attacked when they could not provide information about OLA.

As in other areas, homes of families of OLA members are particularly targeted for burning and looting but accusations are indiscriminate. The home, with all contents, of respected farmer, Nura Badhaso, was destroyed on 9 September in Haroorsa Qalbootii village, in Adama city district (Adamii Tulluu Jiddoo and Kombolcha district).

ONM reported the theft also of money in some incidents. In Siifaa Battee village, Bosat district, 10,000 birr was taken from a mother of two on 15 September. More than 55,000 birr and the contents of whole shops were taken from Agamsa Roggichaa village, Liban Cuqulaa district, on 17 September (ONM). At least seven villagers were abducted and detained.

At Ethiopian New Year, the government party village leader of Gidara village, Waqo Darge, detained local militia members and took 15 cows from the villagers. These were slaughtered in the New Year celebrations (ONM).

Looting of livestock was part of the ENDF search and destroy operations in Dheebittii, Haroo Qarsaa and other villages in Fantale district on 19 September. ONM reported that a large military presence in the district was threatening the people in many villages and displacing large numbers.

---

<sup>13</sup> <https://borkena.com/2025/08/29/three-civilians-reportedly-killed-in-the-oromia-region-of-ethiopia/>



Several months previously, on 25 July, ONM wrote that displaced people in Fantale district were already in dire straits, complaining they could not access grazing land or tend their crops. Ever an indication of abject poverty, cholera had claimed the lives of ten in the previous week.

### **Extortion, coercion and forced conscription**

New Year celebrations cost the residents of Maqi town, Dugda district, dear on 26 August. Each was ordered to pay 2,000 birr to pay for cultural clothes and animals for slaughter. Threats of beating and detention and accusations of involvement with OLA enforced payment. ONM reported there was laughter when Prosperity Party cadres announced at a public meeting that they had ‘destroyed’ OLA.

There were reports of the forced conscription of youngsters from villages in Dugda district on 11 September, including Walda Qal’ina, which had been subjected to several attacks in preceding weeks and months (see above). Parents of those who later escaped from the military camp were reportedly beaten.

Earlier, on 6 September, eight people from Alaagaa Duree town in Jaju district of Arsi zone were detained near Nura Asee village, Bosat district, where they had travelled to attend a funeral. They were surrounded by security forces when they went shopping in a nearby town and forcibly conscripted. They were transferred to Dooni town, where they were joined by forced conscripts from there and from Siifaa Battee village, before being taken to Hoolan Citi town. They were taken as forced conscripts ‘without their consent or motivation’ (ONM).

ONM wrote that in Adama city, youths take over the streets at night, when they are less likely to be snatched.

## **Wollo and Amhara Region**

### **Killings by ENDF and Fano**

The Ethiopian Human Rights Commission, in a report of incidents from June 2024 to May 2025, which was translated and published by Daily News Egypt: Africa,<sup>14</sup> wrote of the following incidents in Amhara Region:

**Five civilians** executed by ENDF, Wanjela kebele, Awii zone, 12 June 2024

**Three detained Fano members** executed in Adet, North Gojjam, 24 June 2024

‘On July 22, Fano fighters abducted 17 people from South Mecha, **killing four** and releasing the rest for ransom.’

‘September 7, 2024 – At least **11 civilians** killed by federal forces near Azezo Zeda Health Center, Gondar.

September 18, 2024 – **Two secondary school teachers** abducted and executed in Sinan District, East Gojjam.

October 3, 2024 – Military shelling in Kimir Dingay, South Gondar, **killed two civilians** and injured two children.

March 11, 2025 – Fano ambush **killed three government officials** in South Wollo.

---

<sup>14</sup> <https://africa.dailynewsegyp.com/ehrc-amhara-clashes-between-government-forces-and-fano-claim-high-civilian-toll/>

March 20, 2025 – Fano fighters stormed Merawi, **killing six civilians** including four teachers.’

Massacres, targeted killings and large numbers of displaced were reported from North and East Gojjam, North and South Gondar, and North and South Wollo. There were ‘systematic abuses driven by vengeance, mistrust, and the breakdown of law and order.’

**Tamee Baabuluu**, an Oromo farmer in Caaboo village, Bure district, was killed by Fano militants and his body dumped at Laga Migira, on 19 June (ONM). Another farmer, Gudata Biru, was shot and wounded.

Encouraged by the head of Bal’aa village, Hassan Hinsaa, residents began digging up land claimed by their Caffaa neighbours to be their grazing land in Artuma Furse district. Conflict erupted when Mirgane and Caffa’oo people fired on each other at a place called Qoxam on 18 July. **Seven were killed** and many wounded (ONM). The names of five who died were:

**Hassan Mohammed Nuru**

**Ahmed Hussein Adam**

**Hussein Adame**

**Hussein Bate**

**Ahmed Adam**

The Governor of Dawa Caffa district, Wollo, **Ahmed Ali Abba Afro**, was shot dead as he entered Kemise town ‘from Shakla town’ on 31 July (ONM). His deputy, Abdu Jamal Mahammad Sani, was badly beaten and hospitalised.

The ‘father of the village’ Laga Ifaat Abba Dula, in Jille Dhumuga district, an elderly man named **Arbiyeen**, a resident of Balcii village, was killed by Afar ‘shifta’ while building a temporary shelter for his cattle, which he was moving from Balcii to Gumaddaa (ONM).

**Sayo Hiddawwe** (right), a civilian farmer and resident of Wara Wayu village, Bate district, Wollo, was reported by W1 to have been killed on 10 August.



Ethiopian Red Cross staff member, **Honelegn Fantahun**, was abducted near Cheneqe, 15 km from Debark town, North Gondar, on 14 August and severely beaten, with two colleagues. He died of his injuries on 15 August (ONM).

**Hassan Usee Umaree**, a farmer in Balcii, Jille Dhumuga district, was killed by Afar shifta on 17 September. Residents told ONM they were being ‘killed, looted and displaced’ by ENDF, Afar shiftas and Fano insurgents.



Drone strikes on Woldia city and Sanka, 10-20 km to the west in Guba Lafto district, Wollo, left at least **six dead** on 27 September. In three rounds of strikes on Woldia, at least **two died**, according to APA news.<sup>15</sup> At least **four**

were killed in Sanka hospital (shown above) according to *Addis Standard*,<sup>16</sup> including a

<sup>15</sup> <https://apanews.net/ethiopian-defense-force-carries-out-drone-strikes-in-two-locations-of-amhara-region/>

<sup>16</sup> <https://addisstandard.com/drone-strike-on-health-post-in-north-wollo-kills-four-civilians-including-pregnant-woman-over-ten-injured/>

pregnant woman attending a clinic and three parents tending their in-patient children. Ten were injured (W1). The strikes occurred shortly after ENDF battlefield losses.

*Addis Standard* also reported that previously **over 100 civilians were killed** in a drone strike near a school in Gedeb, East Gojjam, on 17 April, and **four, including three children, died** when several homes were destroyed in a strike on Jibgodo, South Wollo, on 14 February.

ONM reported that on 11 November, **Hussein Hassan**, a resident of Garbootaa village, Artuma Furse district, was shot dead and his body left on the road. A resident of nearby Wanbee village, Yesuf Umar, was seriously injured. Heavily armed Fano forces were blamed but whether these were ‘Government Fano’ or not is unknown.

### **Other abuses**

In the space of four weeks, from mid- September to mid-October, OSG received eight reports from ONM of detention, beatings, disappearance, extortion, looting and shortage of medical supplies in Wollo, especially in Artuma Furse and Jille Dhumuga districts, but also in Wara Wayu and Urungu villages in Bate district.

Elderly people in their 80s were among those detained in villages such as Tarree Awwara. Local party cadres have used armed militias to turn communities against each other and several families have been forced by hate and hostility to desert their properties.

**‘ . . . the militias . . . sitting at the entrance of Qiciicoo town at Hara 05 village . . . beating and looting civilians without any investigation . . . charging people who sell camels and cattle in the name of tax.’**

A wave of arrests in Qiciicoo town, Artuma Furse district, began on 18 September and included Halima Mahamad, a young girl of Boru Muka village. She was not held at the prison but at ‘a PP militia house saying they will take her to Caffa Robit prison the next day’ (ONM). There are justifiable concerns for her safety.

Government militiamen in Artuma Furse district are ‘standing at the entrances of the towns in the name of searches, forcibly arresting and raping girls, arresting and beating them without any legal investigation The residents of the area are suffering from lack of access in the evenings and mornings’ (ONM). sources added.

Market traders in Qiciicoo are being robbed. For example, people selling ‘camels, cattle, goats, and sheep’ are ordered to hand over their takings. A woman selling two cows for 40,000 birr, was ordered to pay 20,000 ‘while she was crying’ to local Tarree Awwara village cadre, Goda Maloo (ONM, 21 September).

‘On the same day, the militias . . . sitting at the entrance of Qiciicoo town at Hara 05 village . . . beating and looting civilians without any investigation . . . charging people who sell camels and cattle in the name of tax.’

Sums of 1,500 up to 20,000 birr were obtained at gunpoint from residents of Guyatu village, Artuma Furse district.

The Hara 05 village governor ‘is forcing a poor mother to pay Rs 100-200 per cut brick as tax and is making the poor mother cry every day’ (ONM).

In Kemise town, a shortage of medicines has brought claims of discrimination against Oromo patients not having access to medication and a thriving black market for the rich. Lives of pregnant women, children and elderly were reportedly being lost due to shortages (ONM).

## Arsi and West Arsi

A number of killings in Arsi and West Arsi were reported by three sources since the publication of OSG Report 70. Among the hundreds of reports received of other abuses – detentions, beatings, looting, burning of property, extortion and deliberate impoverishment of rural civilians, only a selection of ONM reports – those received between 17 August and 21 September were analysed in depth.

### Killings

**Muktar Abdi Mohammed**, a young man living in the Cabbii Qaammee area of Jijjigaa village, Shanan Kolu district, Arsi, was taken from his family home on 14 June and shot dead on the street, falsely accused of having links with OLA (ONM).

On 7 July, **Adam Suufaa** was taken from his home in Jeenaa Hululi village, Roobee Diida'a district, Arsi. He was then taken from jail and shot dead at its entrance (ONM).

On 20 July, **Magarsaa Gammadaa Nagayo**, a young man from Guuzaa Qonibee village in Bosat district of East Showa, was shot dead by ENDF when visiting relatives in Kolobaa Hawaas village, Siree district, Arsi.

**Dabalaa Gadaa Malkaa** was taken from the same village on the same day and disappeared in custody (ONM).

**Abdullah Amin** and **Ibroo Elemoo**, farmers in the Gorannoo area of Laftoo Rifeensoo village, Shanan Kolu district, Arsi, were shot dead by soldiers and their bodies left in their fields on 22 July, apparently in reprisal against engagement with OLA (ONM).

An elderly woman, the mother of eight children, **Halliman Aman**, was shot dead by ENDF in the Badoo area of Dambaqaa Iftuu village, Martii district, Arsi, on 4 August 4 at 11:00 pm. ONM also reported that in Marti district, there was widespread looting, eviction and prevention of farmers attending to their land so they could not sow crops.

W1 reported on 11 August that two days previously, on 9 August, in Jena Gedemsa village, Robe district, Arsi, three farmers who were not involved in politics were ‘**killed in one place**’:

**Haji Bismahu Shee Bahimud**  
**Husen Qaasoo Awuni**  
**Jemal Aman Manze**

Jawar Mohammed wrote on social media a report which was corroborated by W1 on 29 August, that **Hussein Siraj** (right), a farmer from Sudee district, Arsi, was taken by ENDF soldiers from his home and summarily executed. His family were forced to leave his body to be eaten by wild animals.

ONM reported that one child was killed and two others injured when they were playing with a land-mine in Teroo Dastaa village, Doodoota district, Arsi, on 13 September. **Hawwii Muusaa** died and her brothers, Ibraahim and Aamiin Muusaa were injured.

A well-respected local community leader and family head, **Mahammad Amin**, who had been ‘contacted by the regime many times’ because of his pride in being an Oromo, from Cabbii Qaammee village, Shanan Kolu district, was killed by ENDF on 17 September (ONM). ‘Mr. Mahammed was not a criminal but the soldiers shot and killed him without asking any questions just because he was an Oromo, the residents added.’ Soldiers came from the city and were ‘beating the community and looting their properties.’



ONM reported on 22 September that a mother of six, **Mrs Halima Matoo Odaa**, who worked 'day and night' to care for her children, was shot dead and thrown on the street in Daroo Labuu district, West Hararge, when on her way to Machaara town to enter Shanan Kolu district, Arsi, on 19 September. She was originally from Odaa Gurraachaa in Hancaar district, West Hararge, but was living in Cabbii Qaammee village, Shanan Kolu district when killed. Residents told ONM that she begged not to be killed because of her six children but she was shot anyway.

On 18 October, W1 reported the killing by government forces of **Sirkalem Hussen** in Adapa, West Arsi.

According to a report by APA News on 29 October,<sup>17</sup> 25 followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church had been killed in incidents in Arsi throughout October, including five members of one family who were killed on 28 October in 'Honqolo Wabe (Siltana) district.' The reports were unconfirmed and the assailants, equipped with knives and guns, were not identified.

Two youths were taken from their homes in Maccituu Lamaanii village, Honqolo Wabe district, Arsi, on 28 October and killed by government forces on the instructions of the local security chief, Abdullah Waqo, according to ONM. The bodies of **Xahir Buna Faju** and **Musxafa Abdurro Kadir** were 'dumped on the village road.'

**Ten civilians** in Arsi and West Arsi were killed by government forces during the night of 6 November (W1).

The following were killed in Munessa district, Arsi:

**Edaso Ogaatoo Shufo** (near right) father of 12, and

**Gamadii Kedir** (far right) in Lakicha village

Brothers **Kalil** and **Kamil Gabi Xafa**, and **Hirkiso Gishe**, in Gujicha village

**Qorichoo Hiifoo** and **Abdisaa Qumbi**, Adare

Awandallaa village

In Heban district, West Arsi:

**Abdurahman Qumbi**, **Abdurro Hajicha** and **Buliye**

**Wako**. At least Abdurahman and Abdurro were from Arganda Shalo village.



ONM reported other killings in Munessa district, Arsi, on 10 and 11 November. Two residents of Daamuu Dhimbibbaa village, **Hirphaa Gammachuu Fayyisaa** and **Taammiraat Tasammaa Dammaa** were taken from their homes in the early hours of the morning on 10 November and shot dead.

Next day, on 11 November, **Fayyisoo Gurree Kennaa**, the head of a large family, was killed and many beaten in Gujicha village at a place known as Hulluqo. Also that day, **Kiddoo Lataa Barisoo** was taken from his home in Caffaa Tajii, Coophaa village, and shot dead. Soldiers told villagers they would return to kill 'more than 74' others whom they had listed for execution.

## Rape

A 12 year-old girl, Caaltuu Gurdee Quuqaa, was raped by soldiers in her home in Bulchaanaa, Heeban Laaqicha village, Muneessaa district, Arsi, on 27 July. When the alarm was raised by neighbours, soldiers opened fire to drive residents from their homes. The young girl, a grade three student, was seriously injured (ONM).

---

<sup>17</sup> <https://apanews.net/over-25-civilians-massacred-in-oromia-ethiopian-church-group/>



## **Government abuses – a selection: detention, destruction, extortion**

Apart from the detention of five farming men and woman in West Arsi, reported by W1 on 11 August, all the other incidents which follow were reported by ONM between 17 August and 21 September.

The farmers detained in Negele district, West Arsi, on 11 August were named by W1:

Ali Ahmedin, 71

Sulxan Mohamed, 63

Kelil Jibril, 39

Mrs Fantaye Nuguse, 42

Warababo Hunduma, 32

‘All of them are farmers but they are accused of giving food for OLA.’

Only two reported incidents involved Fano forces (see end of section). All of the other abuses reported below were committed by Ethiopian government security forces.

Between 17 August and 21 September, there were 31 ONM reports of abuses in Arsi and West Arsi zones. Almost all included detention and beating of civilians, mostly together with other forms of violence against persons or property, committed with the intention of driving Oromo from their land; ‘drying out the ocean to kill the fish,’ to deny support to OLA.

Abuses were reported from 13 districts; three in West Arsi (Negele, Awashoo and Shashemane) and 12 in Arsi. The five Arsi districts from which most abuses were reported were, in decreasing order, Shanan Kolu, Martii, Siree, Sirka and Sudee.

Violence in one form or another was common to every report and took the form of random beating of villagers, firing on playing children (wounding two, in Shanan Kolu), firing on farmers on their way to market (also in Shanan Kolu), the killing and wounding of children by a land-mine (Doodoot district, see above), the burning of homes and eviction from homes and farms, the looting and slaughter of cattle and the burning of crops.

In a bout of attacks on Gallabee Amajaa and Elellee Walaanii villages, Sirkaa district, in mid-September, there was beating, detention of villagers and the burning of properties. Among the cattle taken away was the only ox owned by an elderly woman named Zaarishuu.

Some villages were subjected to repeated attacks. For example, ENDF soldiers torched five homes in Aleeluu Gazalaa, Siree district, on 26 August and another 18 homes in the same village on 3 September. Hundreds of homes have been destroyed and thousands made homeless.

ONM wrote on 20 September that villagers from Cabbii Qaammee and Laaftoo Rifeenso in Shanan Kolu district were ‘suffering from the sun and the rain’ and living in ‘very difficult conditions’ after ENDF looted their villages and burnt them to the ground.

### **Detention**

Arbitrary detention was reported in all districts, including that of parents, siblings and children of OLA fighters, as hostages for their return, and of any villager accused of feeding or helping OLA members. Sometimes, when villages are ransacked by government forces, the elderly who remain behind are detained.

The detainees included farmers who were imprisoned after being tricked into attending a ‘community meeting’ in Martii district, Arsi, on 13 September, four of whom were named by ONM.

The elderly and young children are among those detained. Thirty children were reported on 17 September to have been detained in Doyee, Abbaasaa Gorobaa village, Martii district, threatened with being killed if they did not reveal where OLA were camped or if their parents did not return. One of these was only five years old.

A 90 year-old was among three close relatives of a suspected OLF or OLA member, who were detained in Alchee police station, Awashoo district, West Arsi, on 29 August.

### **Extortion, deprivation**

When naming long-term detainees in Sudee district police station, including many children, on 18 September, ONM reported that sums of 30-50,000 birr were being paid to secure their release from detention. This is only one of many ways by which money is taken.

Punitive and arbitrary ‘taxes’ continue to be charged for spurious reasons, ostensibly for constructing village offices, supporting the ENDF, arming local government militia etc. Residents of Daraba town and surrounding villages in Sudee district were each charged 1,500 birr to replace ‘lost village construction fees’ and 500 birr ‘for refusing to work for local militia.’ In Siree district, 1,200 birr was taken for inauguration of a village office; in Sudee district, 370 birr was demanded of each resident in Darrabba town and surrounding villages for building a ‘home for poor widows’, for a second time, one month after officials pocketed the first collection.

Students in the Awashoo district of Shashemane city, West Arsi, were forced to deposit 1,400 birr at Siinqee Bank and produce a receipt from the bank in order to register. When they asked why, they were told ‘it doesn’t matter for you’ (ONM).

Every transaction, including those of market and street vendors, shoe-shine boys, shopkeepers and restaurants, is liable to attract a ‘tax’. Cash and goods were reported looted or stolen by soldiers and militia from homes, shops and street stalls.

Community facilities are being sold off for personal gain. Land owned by the Youth Association and used by local youths, including for horse-riding and training, in Limmuu Lamaanii village, Honqooloo Waabee district, Arsi, is being sold by the local officials for their own benefit.

### **Fano attacks: injuries and kidnapping in Gunaa district, July; and in Martii district, September**

Fano Amhara insurgents (probably ‘Government Fano’, see p.8) injured two civilians and kidnapped six others in Gunaa district, Arsi, on 18 July, according to ONM. Young men, Kadir Ibrahim and Abu Adam, were admitted to hospital in Adama after the attack.

The insurgents took six people from their homes in the Solee area of Jaawwii village in Gunaa district. After severe beating, they were taken and held in ‘Maskoobee village of Moollamee Qarsaa’ in Martii district, Arsi, where they were threatened. Their subsequent fate was not reported.

Fano fighters attacked nearby Moollamee Saqaa village, Marti district, Arsi, ‘in the middle of the night’ on 28 September (ONM). They attacked the residents with ‘sharp objects,’ injuring several, and burnt properties to the ground. At least five were admitted to hospital.



## Hararge and Bale

### Killings and attacks

**Two unnamed youths** from Machara town, Daro Labu district, West Hararge, were reported to have been killed on 18 June by ONM, but no further details were given.

**Tsedik Yusuf** (right), a civilian from Gora, Ciro Lalu Gudo, West Hararge, was reported to have been killed in the afternoon of 3 July (W1).

**Bakalcha Seifu**, a young man in Qobbo town, East Hararge, was ‘shot and killed at night without any question’ on 21 July (ONM).



**Dina Mohammed**, aged 28, was taken from his home in Sheikh Adam area of Nole village, Ciro district, West Hararge, in the early morning of 28 July, killed and his body dumped on the street at 8.00 pm (ONM and W1). Residents told ONM he was a married businessman without any political affiliation.

**Obsa Mume Abdi**, 25, described as being politically independent and of good character, had married only a few months before being shot dead by ENDF in the morning of 28 July and dumped on the street in the Lugo area of his village, Laga Dama, Ciro district, West Hararge (ONM).

His father, Mume Abdi, in his fifties, was threatened and severely beaten.

A wave of killings and destruction in Ciro district, West Hararge, was reported by ONM on 18 September to have taken place in the previous few days. The following were taken from their homes and killed:

**Hassan Sani Umar** from Masjiida village

**Ali Mahamad Sayed** from Jiillee village

**Abdullah Muummee Musa** from Faro village

**Ali Ibrahim Yusuf** from Usman village

**Yasin Abdullah Shurree** from Sheikh Adam village

Muhammed Ali Abdi, Sheikh Adam village, was wounded and at least 18 were detained from the villages named above and from Nole village.

Many properties were burned down, including those belonging to six named by ONM.

On 25 September, a 12 year-old girl, **Caalee Jamaal Umar**, was shot dead by government soldiers in Reere village, Ciro district, West Hararge. She had been detained in 2024, despite her young age (ONM).



Caalee’s body was dumped on the street along with the body of **Sufiyan Mume**, a 30 year-old from Nole village, Ciro district. Families were denied access to the bodies.

**Falmii Adam** (right) was reported killed on 22 October while in police custody in Asebot district, West Hararge (W1).



**Aliyi Ziyad** (left), a young man in Gumbi Bordode district, West Hararge, died shortly after being shot by government security forces during the night of 31 October (W1).

**Six young men** were summarily executed in Danse village, Habro district, West Hararge, on or shortly before 16 November. They were named by W1:

**Nure Abdurahman**

**Dursa Mohammed**

**Najjib Hussen  
Nasir Hamido**

**Muktar Mohammed  
Zeyni**

### **Rape**

ONM reported on 26 July that mother of six, Riyana Abdurrama, of Uru Butu village, Jarso district, East Hararge, was 'raped by a member of the government security forces.' Her husband had been detained and forcibly conscripted to the ENDF, leaving his family penniless.

### **Shooting and beating**

Three farmers in Gola Buba village, Gamachis district, West Hararge, were shot at with live ammunition by government militia when they attempted to work their land in early July (ONM, 9 July). One was severely injured in his leg.

Youth, Urji Mohammed Hassoo, was beaten by local government militia in his family home in Fugug, Daro Labu district, West Hararge on 28 August. He is shown right while his headwound is being sutured.

Ana Muktar, a farmer in Goro Wado, Bedeno district, East Hararge, was so severely beaten that 'he was between life and death' on 13 September because he had resisted being bullied by militia members (ONM).



### **Detainees starving**

ONM reported on 25 July that political prisoners in Dire Dawa, East Hararge, were complaining of severe food shortages since May. Food is for sale in the compound but prisoners who are held there *incommunicado* have no visitors to give them money to buy it. Prisoners say they are dying in overcrowded unsanitary conditions due to lack of food and washing facilities.

### **Burning, looting and robbery**

Burning and looting of properties by ENDF hit West Hararge in September. Killings, beating and arrests accompanied the attacks (see above).

All the houses and household items 'without exception' in the Soolee area of Sheikh Adam village, Ciyo district, were destroyed by fire at the beginning of September (ONM). Stocks of grain, animals and the entire contents of a shop were taken by government forces, before fires were set.

In the Usman Musa area of Sheikh Adam village, more than 200 robbed the fields of crops (ONM). 'They also entered public houses and removed the pots and took the food that the people put up for their children and ate it. They also went to the community houses one by one and threatened the people to provide them with jimaa [*qat*], cigarettes and coffee.'

### **Detention**

A wave of arbitrary detentions accompanied the attacks on villages, especially in Shanan Dhugo and Ciyo districts in West Hararge, in late August and September.

In Shanan Dhugo district on 25 August, a teacher and another young man were detained in Gabbis village and two were detained in Waldaya police station. Three more farmers were taken from nearby Sheikh Adam village, Ciyo district, within the next few days and seven more a week or so later.

Three more farmers were detained in Haqaan Jiraataa village, Shanan Dhugo district, on 6 September. They were accused of being OLA supporters because they could not pay militias the amounts they demanded for guns (see below).

ONM named five among more than 100 villagers from Goro Wado detained on 14 September in Bedeno district, East Hararge, for 'refusing to pay taxes on time.' Arrests were also reported from Deder district, East Hararge.

More arrests were reported from Anchar, West Hararge, on 28 October (W1).

One of the numerous reports of detention received from ONM and W1, is that of Usman Aliyi ( below right) in Deder, East Hararge. He was reported by W1 on 15 November to have been detained because his adult sons have joined OLA.



A detainee is watched over by a militia member in Waltaha village prison, Meta district, East Hararge (W1, 30 September)

### Disappearance

A secondary school teacher named Mohammed Umar Ibrahim was taken from his house in Mi'esso district, West Hararge, at 8.00 pm on 15 September, badly beaten and taken away by security forces. His family have been unable to locate him and fear he has been extrajudicially killed. ONM wrote 'There are many people who have been kidnapped and have become food for wild animals due to lack of burial during the current regime.'



### Extortion, taxes and corruption

Government militia continue to levy an impossible tax burden on the population. Refusal or inability to pay results in intimidation, beating and /or detention.

Residents of Baraka village, Shanan Dhugo district, West Hararge, told ONM 'They demand money from us every day. We don't have anything to eat or live on. We don't know who to appeal to for solutions. **So please be our voice and spread our problems to other nations.**'

ONM reported on 19 September that the people in rural and urban areas of Deder district, East Hararge, are 'being tortured' 'in the name of taxes, support for the armed forces . . . , militias, buses, Red Cross, school registration fees and others' and are being arrested for non-payment. Land taxes have been increased so some are paying 5.000-20,000 birr. People 'are being forced to pay all kinds of payments.'

'Moreover, the cadres of these districts are taking large sums of money from the families of these people' who are forced who send their children to Saudi Arabia 'to improve their lives.'

From only one month of reports from ONM, between 28 August and 26 September, the following examples of extortion were reported:

1,000-5,000 birr from each resident of Ifaa Jiruu village, Habro district, West Hararge, as 'support for the Imperial Defence Force,' 28 August;

10,000-100,000 birr from traders in Ifaa Jiruu – 'community taxes' 28 August;

20,000 birr was demanded for the release of Sufiyan Ahmed Umare, detained while shopping in Kata town, Shanan Dhugo district, West Hararge, 28 August;

10,000 birr from residents if Haqaan Jirata village, Shanan Dhugo district, West Hararge, 'to buy guns,' 31 August, and another 2,000 birr for the same reason on 6 September (when three farmers were beaten and thrown in jail);

1,500-2,000 birr per hectare of agricultural land was agreed to be levied on all districts of Eastern Bale on 5 September, despite the tax recommended by the Oromia Revenue Bureau being 400 birr per hectare;

500-800 birr per person in Baraka village, Shanan Dhugo district, as nonspecific ‘anonymous’ payments, 18 September;

25,000 birr from each farmer and driver in Gabbis village, Shanan Dhugo district, ‘in the name of tax’ 21 September.

### **Corruption: Local cadres profit from fertiliser sales**

Throughout Eastern Bale, and particularly problematic in Gindhir district, government officials are obtaining fertiliser at 8,500 birr but selling it on to farmers for 11,000 birr, keeping the profit for themselves, according to ONM on 8 September. This is the time of the year to sow late crops, so fertiliser is crucial.

### **Coercion to attend four-day propaganda meeting**

Farmers in Sambati village, Burqaa Diimtuu district, West Hararge, were forced to attend a ‘prosperity party forum’ lasting four days, beginning 2 September (ONM).

Militiamen went from house to house, demanding that ‘everyone they found at home, regardless of gender,’ attend the meetings. The indoctrination process involved teaching the necessity of Ethiopia having access to the Red Sea, singing the praises of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam and rebooting the list of Ethiopia’s enemies, with the changes of allegiances since the end of the Tigray War in 2022.

People who were suspected of ‘having ties’ to OLF/OLA were subjected to ridicule and insults, and were excluded from the meetings, although those who did not attend were fined.

### **Forced conscription, land taxes**



Zakir Yusuf (left) from Qobbo Wadalo village, Hararge, recently graduated from Rift Valley University. Zakir was taken from his home as a forced conscript to ENDF on or shortly before 5 September (W1).

ONM reported on 26 September that force and imposed economic hardship were driving ENDF recruitment, at least in Jaarso district, East Hararge, where ‘the imperial forces are tracking youths and young men in all villages . . . , detaining them with guns and recruiting them to the army.’

Jaarso residents told ONM ‘while the Oromo people are being killed and displaced by the Somali forces, these Bilxiginna [wicked] forces are looting their youths and extorting Rs 8,000-10,000 per 20 meters of land under the pretext of taxes.’

Poverty is driving conscription; and emigration, especially to Saudi Arabia.

### **Teachers unemployed, certificates delayed four years**

In a significant indication of the collapse in public services in Ethiopia, teachers who should have completed their courses at Dire Dawa University four years ago, have still not been given their qualifying certificates.

They complained to ONM on 19 September that their cohorts in ‘Haramaya, Oda Bultum, Arsi, Dembi Dollo and other universities’ had qualified and had been receiving salaries for four years. However, the teachers in Dire Dawa, ‘despite being hungry, struggling up and down, leaving our families and children behind’ have been denied their certificates and therefore employment.



## Eviction of famers from Bale Mountains National Park

Oromo farmers have been living in Bale Mountains National Park for ‘generations and generations’ but are now being forced from their land, according to a former resident of West Arsi.

Mohammed Wabe, an Oromo community leader in Manchester, UK, with whom OSG worked in Kakuma refugee camp in Northwest Kenya in 2010 (see OSG Report 47), wrote on 21 August about the eviction of farmers from traditional farming land in West Arsi and Bale, which falls within the Bale Mountains National Park.

When the park was established in 1971, there were ‘few permanent settlers in the area’ according to the park website.<sup>18</sup> However, less than one century earlier, according to the same website, the area was ‘probably quite populated’ in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century until a rinderpest epidemic in the early 1890s killed most of the cattle. The website did not refer to the depopulation which accompanied the conquest by Menelik II.



The population was recovering before the park was established, initially as Dinsho National Park. Again as acknowledged on its website, there was an established community at Rira (shown left), within the northern limits of the park, at its inception. Rira had its own police station, school, health centre and its own

municipal budget before the park was established.

Mohammed Wabe wrote that the lifestyle of those living within the park depends heavily on livestock, farming and honey production.

He reported that there had been no research or public consultation, no discussion with community leaders, about the designation of their land as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2023, nor of their forced relocation to poorer areas, evictions and the threat of more.

Their community leaders are being arrested.

Mohammed Wabe sent copies of video recordings showing a large public gathering at which residents, believed to be at Rira, voiced objections to evictions, and empty public buildings in an abandoned village (see right and below).



Research in 2011, estimated approximately 3,700 households (and a projected population of 25,900) in the park, numbers described as increasing exponentially by the park website. The

---

<sup>18</sup> <https://balemountains.org/the-park/history/>

number of households reported by Mohammed Wabe to be affected was much higher, almost 5,000 households.

Either evicted already or threatened with imminent eviction were over 3,630 from five kebeles in Adaba district, West Arsi alone (3,000 from Weege, 300 Maqali, 130 Qoomaa, 120 Wosha and unknown numbers from Rira).

There were unknown numbers from Dalo Mana and Harana Buluk districts in Eastern Bale, and from Disho district West Bale. Another 1,200 households were known to be affected in Goba district, West Bale.

There is clearly a balance to be struck between the people and the rare species which inhabit the park. Most of the people in the park were born there but many more are moving in.

The Bale Mountains National Park is the largest Afro-Alpine area in existence and home to Mountain Nyala and the Ethiopian Wolf, both endangered endemic species. There are 2,500-3,000 Mountain Nyala in the park, out of a total population of under 4,000.

The largest population of the Ethiopian Wolf (Red Fox or Simien Fox – *Canis Simensis*), between 120 and 160 individuals, is in the park. It is one of seven isolated enclaves in the Ethiopian highlands which hold only about 440 individuals in total, according to the African Wildlife Foundation.<sup>19</sup> Its population has declined 30% since 2008.

Habitat loss due to overgrazing and agriculture by an increasing number of farmers has been used to justify the expulsions and threatened expulsions from the park. However, the rare Red Fox hunts alone, mainly for rodents, and has been said to thrive in relation to humans.

## Wallega

‘Certain aspects of the war in Tigray have been exaggerated. In fact, when compared to the conflict we waged in Wallega, the intensity of the war in Tigray was significantly lower.’

Abiy Ahmed addressing House of Representatives 28 October 2025.



PM Abiy Ahmed stated in parliament on 28 October (see textbox above) that his war in Wallega was more intense than his war in Tigray.<sup>20</sup> Between 600,000 and 1,000,000 died as a result of the war in Tigray from 2020-2022. His war in Oromia has continued unabated since December 2018.

## Horo Guduru and East Wallega

ONM, 14 September: ‘Over the past two weeks, Oromia has witnessed a surge in violent attacks and abuses by Prosperity Party (PP) forces and allied Amhara Fano militia. Reports from multiple districts indicate widespread destruction, arbitrary detentions, looting, and killings targeting Oromo civilians, often under the pretext of suppressing support for the Oromo Liberation Army.’

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.awf.org/wildlife-conservation/ethiopian-wolf>

<sup>20</sup> The 9 sec. clip was kindly translated from the original Amharic by Dr Muluneh Oli, Belgium.  
<https://www.facebook.com/100004080734542/posts/3913542908791695/?rdid=74ln467ltqHQU4nI#>

## Killings in one village

W1 relayed information from one village in Gida Ayana district, East Wallega. In the village of Sapheera, **eight residents have been killed** within a two-year period by government forces masquerading as OLA ('Government Shane' under the command of Faqada Abdissa) or by 'Government Fano,' a secret group dedicated to committing atrocities against Oromo civilians, funded and equipped by central government (see pp.4-5, OSG Report 68).<sup>21</sup>

2014 EC (September 2021 – September 2022):

**Fiqaaduu Tasarra**, 47, beaten to death by 'Government Shane'

2015 EC (September 2022 – September 2023):

**Tasfayee Oljirraa**, 45, shot by 'Government Fano'

**Aagaa Dabalo**, 39, decapitated by 'Government Shane'

**Maamushaa Taadalee**, 23, shot by 'Government Fano'

2016 EC (September 2023 – September 2024)

**Gamadaa Wajjiraa**, 43, shot by 'Government Shane'

**Eebbaa** and **Galanaa Gamadaa** (sons of above), 19 and 17, shot by 'Government Shane'

**Nagaroo Garadoo**, 49, shot by 'Government Shane'

## Killings and rape by ENDF

**Dhugaasa Qalbeessa**, a farmer in Goosanii Baabboo village, Wama Hagalo district, East Wallega, was taken from his home at night on 13 June, shot dead and dumped on the street. Next day, on 14 June, **Taye Guuttata**, another farmer from Goosanii Baabboo, was taken from the district police station where he was being held, shot and dumped 'in a similar manner.' (ONM)

The farmers were killed because they were accused of having ties to OLA/OLF but other villagers told they had 'no political affiliation.'

W1 and ONM reported the killing by government security forces of **Gemechu Temesgen Bultum** (father of three, right) on 24 June. He lived in Babo Kuwe village, Sibu Sire district, East Wallega, but was taken to Jalale village in the same district before being killed.



On 8 July, **Regassa Anuma** and **Wakjedha Belete** were reportedly killed by security forces in Horo Guduru zone, and **Girma Muleta** was killed in Bilo Boshe district, East Wallega, but no further details were available (W1).

**Dabalaa Beenyaa**, a popular local figure without any known political connection, from Babbo Beenya village, Wayu Tuqa district, East Wallega, was shot dead by ENDF in the Facaasee area on 20 July (ONM).

**Raajii Tashomaa** was fetching vegetables from Qorke village, Abbay Coman district, Horo Guduru, for his family and was with friends on 20 July when ENDF accused him of taking food to OLA and opened fire. He was shot dead and his body was left on the road (ONM).

**Ebisa Tamasgeen**, a popular young man without political interest, was shot dead by ENDF on 3 August in Sibu Sire district, East Wallega (ONM). Two youths who were detained on the same day in Sibu Sire had not been located by the time of reporting.

---

<sup>21</sup> <https://oromiasupport.org/wp-content/uploads/simple-file-list/OSG-Report-68-7-January-2025.pdf>





**Busha Wirtu Lata** (left), aged only 15, was reported by W1 to have been killed by ENDF in Gida Ayana district, East Wallega, on 10 August.

W1 also reported the killing of two young men on Sunday 7 September in Jalale village, Geba Jimata district. **Chala Fita** and **Jara Bulti** were taken by security forces from the Mekane Yesus Church and executed later in front of the public (W1).

Farmer, **Baqqana Qalbeessa**, from the area of Boobee in Oda Buluq village, Horo Buluq district, Horo Guduru, was killed, and his wife, Aragguu Fantahun, **raped** on 14 September. Although he was accused of being connected to OLA/OLF, he was killed only because security forces wanted to rape his wife, according to ONM.

On 18 October, W1 reported the killing by government forces of **Firaol Biranu** in Gida Ayana district, East Wallega.

**Nimona Yadeta** (left) freshly graduated from Nekemte University, East Wallega, was reported on 23 October to have been arrested and killed by government security forces (W1).



**Abdoo Mitikkuu** (right) father of two, Bariso village, Haro Limu district, East Wallega, was shot dead in his own house on Friday night, 24 October (W1).

**Ashenafi Aga**, from Alemgena village, Guto Gida district, East Wallega, was killed on 28 October (W1).



On 2 November, during a period of intense fighting between the ENDF and 'the Oromo people', four villagers in Wasti, KIRAMU district, East Wallega, were reported killed (W1):

**Ayana Fayisa**

**Kafale Defersha**

**Tesfaye Kafale** (son of above)

**Amsalu Bisea**

At least another four were admitted to hospital with wounds:

Dereje Dessale

Adisu Tegenyi

Asmera Temesgen

Takalu Adeba

**Adugna Warku Amanu** (right), a recent economics graduate from Wallega University in Nekemte, East Wallega, was reported on 7 November to have been killed the previous evening (W1).



**Dereje Abdissa** (right), a health worker at Limu Hospital, Haro Limu district, East Wallega, was reported killed by 'Government Fano' on 14 November (W1).

**Five civilians** in KIRAMU district, East Wallega, were reportedly killed by 'Government Fano' on 27 November (W1):

**Soressa Farada**, a young man

**Takala Olani**, teacher

**Olkeba Oljira**, aged 61



**Gemechu Mellesa**, a young man  
**Moti Oljira**, housewife

### **Other abuses**

Of the several hundred reports from ONM concerning abuses other than killing, all those between 25 August and 26 September are included in this next section but the majority of reports of abuses before and after those dates, other than killing and rape, are not included.

The instances reported below are therefore only a small selection of abuses such as detention, beating, threatening, looting and burning by government forces in Horo Guduru and East Wallega.

### **Rape and hostage detention (ENDF)**

ONM reported on 5 August that family members of OLA fighters were being detained in Dadu town, Ababo Guduru district, Horo Guduru, and held hostage for the return of their sons. Parents have been told they will not be released until their sons return.

Residents told ONM that unmarried girls and married women were being raped in their homes while their fathers and husbands were in detention.

Jomora Mokonnen (right), from Boxi village, Abbay Coman district, Horo Guduru, was reported by W1 on 16 August to have been in detention for one year, because two of her children are in OLA.

Residents of Wal-Qixxee village, Amuru district, Horo Guduru, told ONM that on 12 September, marauding ENDF troops came to the village when celebrating Ethiopian New Year. They ‘looted the people . . . and raped the girls and mothers of the area.’



### **Detention and beating by ENDF**

Spurious allegations of links to OLA/OLF have been used to justify detention and beating of civilians in:

Qajeelaa village, Guto Gida district, East Wallega, 19 June (8<sup>th</sup> grade child detained);

Qeejjoo village, Gobu Sayo district, East Wallega, 19 July;

Gambeela Tarree village, Gobu Sayo district, East Wallega, 25 August (including a respected elder);

Abile Igguu village and Saqala town, Horo Bulluq, district, Horo Guduru, 2 September;

Tokkuma Tsige village and Sasiga town, Sasiga district, East Wallega, 2 and 23 September;

Shaakii, Gaarii village, Guto Gida district, East Wallega, 8 September;

Shambu township, Horo Guduru, 10-17 September;

Sidan Barkale village, Amuru district, Horo Guduru, 14 September;

Gudata Dobi village, Jimma Rare district, Horo Guduru, 15 September;

Gambeela Tarree village, Gobu Sayo district, East Wallega, 15 September (including 11 year-old Yaa'iqoob Gizawu);

Waachaa village, Nekemte city, East Wallega, 16 September (including 5<sup>th</sup> grade student, Habtamu Abdisa);

Waamaa Kuraa village, Jimma Arjoo district, East Wallega, 17 September;

Abbillee Igguu village, Horo Bulluq district, Horo Guduru, 24 September;

Koye Konchii village, Bonaya Boshee district, East Wallega, 25 September (at least 15, including a mother and baby, beaten and detained for not attending a political meeting: the village office is a ‘makeshift detention and torture centre’);

Nekemte city, East Wallega, 10 October (W1);

Kiramu town, Kiramu district, East Wallega, 24 October (including city high school teacher Elias Nigusu Kumsa, right, reportedly injured by torture, W1).



ONM wrote regarding detentions in Horo Bulluq district on 24 September. After the detainees were beaten in the barracks they were threatened ‘If any of you establish relations with the OLA/OLF in the future, we will shoot you without asking any questions.’

### **Education cost increase**

Registration fees for primary and secondary schools in Horo Bulluq district, Horo Guduru, were increased by the district administration and fees of 250 and 212 birr were quoted by ONM. Families ‘are sitting quietly without anything to pay for and register, not even to buy notebooks with.’

### **Injuries by ENDF**

Magarsaa Iddoosaa, youth, Birbisa Waajjaa village, Ebantu district, East Wallega, shot and wounded, ‘between life and death’ 14 July;  
‘Gadissa’, a guard at the Sena Hotel, Nekemte, E. Wallega, shot and injured, 26 July.

### **Suicide**

Tamiru Nagaraa, a farmer in Gosanii Baabboo village, Wama Hagalo district, East Wallega, was reported by ONM on 10 July, to have taken his own life in the previous week because he was ‘tired of the threats, arrests, beatings and heavy looting by the imperial soldiers.’ The farmer killed himself, not because he had done anything wrong but ‘he could not bear the torture and brutal acts committed against him by [government forces] from top to bottom.’

### **Looting and rape**

There were only two reports of looting within the four weeks in which all ONM reports were scrutinised. A farmer named Gobena Fayisa, in Doyo district, Horo Guduru was robbed of all his possessions by security forces on 29 August. Fourteen cows, 2000 kg of teff, an unstated number of sheep and 270,000 birr were taken from his home and farm (W1).

On 15 September, six cows were stolen by ENDF from three brothers in Shonkoora Guddisaa village, Sasiga district, East Wallega (ONM).

ONM reported on 22 September that security forces in Sibu Sire district, East Wallega, were ‘committing serious crimes.’ ENDF soldiers, local police and militia were all involved in forcing young women to be married and forcing married women to live in military camps away from their children.

### **Forced conscription**

‘Many’ youngsters, including five named by ONM, were taken from Burqaa Xaaloo village, Sibu Sire District, East Wallega, as forced conscripts for military training on 21 September.

### **Killings and attacks by Fano**

As reported previously,<sup>22</sup> at least the majority of killings attributed to Fano forces are due to the action of clandestine government forces which masquerade as Fano in order to drive a wedge between Oromo and Amhara communities.

---

<sup>22</sup> See pp.4-5, OSG Report 68, <https://oromiasupport.org/wp-content/uploads/simple-file-list/OSG-Report-68-7-January-2025.pdf>

Attacks on Oromo communities were especially prevalent in early and mid-September. Heavy fighting between OLA and Fano forces in Horo Guduru was reported by W1 during the night of 28 September.

The first attack during the reporting period was on 10 June, when Fano militants attacked Homa Galesa village, Abee Dongoro district, Horo Guduru, **killing Sheikh Muzammir Maamad** in the Falmi area of the village, and driving the residents away from the six sections of the village.

Fano insurgents stole at least 52 cows when they attacked Ashuu Kusaye village in Kiramu district, East Wallega, at about the same time.

On 21 June, Fano forces attacked Angar Gute, Gida Ayana district, East Wallega, killed **Tasfa Dhaba, Fayissa Booboo** and **'Shuumaa'**, and **two other** unidentified persons. They were 'arrested that evening, taken away, tied their hands together like animals and brutally killed and dumped' (ONM).

ONM wrote that the 'militants, who are based in Dichoo Mountain with the support of the government, have repeatedly kidnapped the Oromo community and demanded large sums of money, shooting and dumping those who failed to pay the money.'

**Gaddafa Bongaasee**, was taken from his home in Siree Dorroo village, Kiramu district, East Wallega by Fano militants on 22 June and 'brutally killed' (ONM).

**Jambo Girma** and **Thomas Reta** (right), were drivers who set off from Gebete town in Horo Guduru to Finfinnee on 3 July, when they were stopped by Fano forces and killed.



In a second attack within a month on Homa Galesa village, Abee Dongoro district, on 1 July, Fano militants looted 3 hectares of coffee and qat crops, cattle, quantities of corn and 'all household items.'

They looted all the household items from Mrs. Kadijja Qasim, the villagers added. On the same day, Fano soldiers fired on civilians from Oddoo Boxii village in Lookoo area of the same district and wounded farmer Abdisa Margaa in his arm (ONM).

A third attack by Fano on Homa Galesa village, Abee Dongoro, on 15 July, resulted in the killing of a farmer, **Shambal Girma** and the wounding of his father, Girma. The assailants drove away livestock belonging to two other farmers in the village.

ONM claim that the district governor is accepting bribes to allow the clearance of Oromo farmers by Fano militia so that Amhara settlers can occupy their land.

Fano soldiers shot dead a government local militia member, **Magarsa Asaffa**, 5<sup>th</sup> Village, Guto Gida district, East Wallega, on 19 July, causing residents to flee to Nekemte city and Ukkee town (ONM).

Attacks by Fano continued in Abee Dongoro district, Horo Guduru. **Benkuu Beenyaa** was shot dead in his home in Boorgee village on 20 July. His wife and two children were killed by Fano last year (ONM).

On 24 July, Fano forces killed an elderly man, **Ayano Mengistu**, in Wasti village, Kiramu district, East Wallega. ONM reported that Fano operate from villages in the district and 'are repeatedly looting, killing and detaining the Oromo people and demanding large sums of money' (ONM).



Five more civilians were killed by Fano on 31 July in Andode Dicho village, Gida Ayana, East Wallega (ONM):

**Tasfayee Dhugasa**

**Kamal Ittana**

**Nuguse Muluu**

**Balay Taye and**

**Amaaree**

According to residents speaking to ONM, the Fano forces are linked to ENDF in the area, as reported previously by OSG.

Another five were killed in Gida Ayana district, on 16 August, when Fano attacked Dalasa Bakanisa village. They were killed on the road on their way to market (W1):

**Asaanaa Bayyanaa**

**Carraa Silashii**

**Dassee jiraataa**

**Habtaamu Dhaabaa**

**Nagaash Shiferraa**

In an attack on Tullu Moti village, Abee Dongoro district, Horo Guduru, reported by ONM on 28 August, **Tolasaa Dabaloo**, 24, was killed and his 40 sheep were driven away by Fano. They broke into community houses and looted them.

ONM and W1 both reported that **over thirty, including children, were killed** when Fano attacked Homa Galesa village **for the fourth time** (see above), and two other villages in Abee Dongoro district on 29 August. More than 50 were missing according to later reports by ONM. W1 reported that the village of Homa Galesa had been settled by Oromo from Arsi about 15 years previously.

Twenty of those killed were named by W1 and ONM:

**Mrs. Nafisa Ali**

**Mrs. Hayati**

**Sheikh Bashir**

**Sheikh Abdulkadir with his child**

**Abdurazzaq with his child**

**Mahammed-Jamal Ahmed**

**Jamal Farah**

**Abraham Hassan**

**Hassan Bakhar**

**Ali Tashaba**

**Ahmad**

**Juwaar**

**Abdulsalam Adam**

**Midhexa**

**Najjash**

**Amansissa**

**Abraham Beta**

**Ahmed Yusuf**

**Ali Ahmed**

Many more were said to be wounded and to be in critical condition in Nekemte hospital. The Oromia Regional government made no comment on the attack. Residents reported that they made repeated requests for protection by government forces before this latest and most fatal attack, but they were ignored.

The image shown right of cattle being driven away by Fano forces was sent by W1 on 7 September:

Some of the victims are shown below (W1):



W1 sent these images of those displaced from the area on 6 September:



They report on social media that they are without food or water.

The attacks continued. Youth, **Garree Tarrafaa**, was abducted by Fano in Agamsa town, Amuru district, on 17 September and shot in the leg. ONM reported he was in Agamsa hospital.

ONM wrote that Fano ‘operated in villages such as: Illaamuu, Gurraa, Dinkii, Jarmammee Dabbii, Oofii, Shakkitaa and Goda on September 17 and forcibly looted three thousand birr and some quintals of grain.’

On 19 September, in an attack on Lugo town in Guto Gida district, East Wallega, **a five-year old boy, Miikii Habtamu Sambato**, and the head of the town ‘land administration’ and father of two, **Girma**, were shot and killed by Fano. The Governor, Taraqenye Fayisa, was shot in the leg.

On Sunday 26 October, Fano forces abducted members of the congregation and Rev. Ababe Nemera (right) from the Mekane Yesus church in Anger Aleltu, East Wallega (W1).



### **Gumuz militants in East Wallega**

ONM reported that on 13 June, farmer Magarsa Yadata was shot and wounded by Gumuz militants in Keenaaf village, Guto Gida district, East Wallega, while working on his farm.

## **Qellem and West Wallega, Illubabor, Buno Bedele and Jimma**

**‘When compared to the conflict we waged in Wallega, the intensity of the war in Tigray was significantly lower’**

Abiy Ahmed, 28 October 2025 (See p.28)

### **Killings**

**Nasir Qalbeessa**, father of two, was taken from his home in Mootee, Lalo Noru village, Begi district, West Wallega, at 3.00 pm on 14 June, accused of having links to OLA and shot dead (ONM).

**Abdurhamaan Adam Danu**, father of six, in Tobbii Daallee Maaxoo village, Begi district, was singled out at a ‘public forum’ and summarily shot dead on 15 June, because his son had joined OLA (ONM). Local residents described him as being ‘non-political.’

On 18 June, a young woman named **Darartu** (right), in Haro Dima village, Begi district, West Wallega, was shot in the back and killed when running away from soldiers who had attempted to rape her, while she was collecting cattle. She was a singer at the local Evangelical Church of Mekane Yesus and was politically inactive (W1 and ONM).



Brothers, **Gammachuu Sheekii Xurunaa** and **Kamisoo Sheekii Xurunaa**, were taken by government forces from their shop in Tobbi Daallee Maacoo village, Begi district, on 18 June and beaten to death with sticks.

**Abarra Barkeessaa**, father of nine in his 70s, a popular local figure without any known political affiliation, was shot dead in Gaanqaa Icoo village, Gaawoo Qeebbee district, Qellem Wallega by ENDF on 19 June (ONM).

On 21 June, the following three civilians were killed in Shura, Lalistu Lophi village, Begi district (ONM):

**Suleemaan Kumarraa**

**Raamatallaa Abdullaahii**

**Tashoomaa Buraayyuu**

**Bashaa Mangashaa**, a young father, was shot dead at the door of his home in Taasiyoo Molee village, Lalo Asebi district, West Wallega, at 1.00 am on 21 or 22 June (W1).

Young father, **Abdissa Maajoree**, was taken from his home in Amuru Abbaa, Lalo Asebi district, West Wallega, at 8.00 pm on 22 June. With hands tied behind his back, he was taken to nearby Dini village, where he was shot dead and ‘dumped on the spot’ (ONM).

Two civilians were shot dead in Jogee Badhaasoo village, Gaawoo Qeebbee district, Qellem Wallega, on 24 June (ONM):

**Shariif Raagaa**

**Gammachuu Tsaggaa**

Gammachuu, a native of Gurii Maariyaamii village in Liiban area of the district, was a university student who recently moved into his family home.

**Hiikaa Shifarraa**, a young man from Buukee-Goorii village, Lata Sibu district, West Wallega, was taken from his home in the morning of 27 June, ‘tortured in the military camp from morning to evening’ and then executed (ONM).

Four killings of civilians were reported by W1 to have taken place in Illubabor zone on 27 June. **Jemal Aliyi** and **Milkessa Indalu** were killed in Gobe village. **Gete Olkeba** and **Wagari Fekadu** were killed in Bena village, both in Karimu district.

**Lami Negassa** and **Wakjira Duguma**, two youths playing pool in Haro Biru, Nejo district, West Wallega, were taken from the pool hall by members of the security forces and shot dead on 1 July (W1).

**Fayisa Waktola** (right), a preacher in the Mekane Yesus Church and father of one child, with no political affiliation, was killed on 3 July in Jarso Damota village, Lalo Asebi district, West Wallega.



**Siraj Jaanoo Olaanaa** (left), father of three, from Malka Ebicha village, Babo Gambel district, West Wallega, was taken to the nearby Dilla military camp on 9 July and shot dead (W1 and ONM).

**Sultan Raggasa** was taken from his home in Babo Tobara village, Mana Sibu district, West Wallega, to Mandi town on 9 July and executed ‘in front of the community’ (W1 and ONM). His family ‘is being tortured at Mandi police station.’

**Degaga Beekuma** was also reported by W1 to have been killed in West Wallega on 8 July, but no further details were given.



**‘Deksisa’** also from Tobara village in Babo Gambel district, West Wallega, was reported killed around 9 July (W1).

**Wayessa Umeta** was killed in Kutala Kusi village, Babo Gambel district, a few days before being reported by W1 on 12 July.

**Atomsa Waqayo** and **Indale Adugna** were arrested from their homes in Birbir village, Nole Kaba district, West Wallega, on 11 July. They were taken from prison later that day and summarily executed (W1).

At night on 12 July, **Efrem Beyene** and **Danno Fekadu** (right), Kara Wayu, Mana Sibu district, West Wallega, were taken from prison and shot dead (W1).

**Darartu Gadisa**, the newly-wed bride of Tamasgeen, having moved to Lalo Udo village, Yamalogi Walal district, Qellem Wallega, less than one month previously, was shot dead in her house in the early hours of 19 July by government soldiers.



**Two young children** were shot dead in Nopha town, Bilo Nopha district, Illubabor, shortly before W1 reported the incident on 22 July. The children (left), **Lelistu** and **Elias**, were killed because their father was suspected of having helped OLA fighters charge their mobile phones (W1 and ONM).

On 22 July, soldiers from Sertumi military camp in Anfilo district, West Wallega, went to the nearby village of Waba Eeba and **shot dead a fellow soldier** because he was suspected of having links to OLA, before returning to the camp (ONM).



**Izaddin Tamam** (left), a young man from Atiro village, Saka Cokorsa district, Jimma zone, was killed in Bodji Cokorsa town, West Wallega, on 24 July (W1).

Also on 24 July, farmer and father **Abdataa Bulchaa Iddoosaa** was killed in front of his family in Igguu Bochii village, Qiltu Kara district, West Wallega (ONM).

In reprisal after engagement with OLA, ENDF soldiers attacked Gebo Lalisa village, Mana Sibu district, West Wallega, on 26 July, and shot dead an innocent man named **Lammeessaa Haayiluu** (ONM).

Government soldiers took **Gammada Dhufeera** out of church in Caala Dabus village, Mana Sibu district, on 27 July, shot him dead and left him on the road (ONM). Another young man, Jabir Qajeela, like Gammada ‘exemplary in their community in Caala Dabus village’, was taken to the army camp and severely beaten so that he ‘was between life and death.’

**Sidik Mohammed Korsaa** and **Mikael Temesgen** (right) were taken from prison in Babo town, Babo Gambel district, West Wallega, on 1 August and shot dead. They were taken to Babo from Amballo Dilla



village and severely beaten earlier that day. Their bodies were left on the road in Babo town (W1 and ONM).

Government soldiers deployed from their bases in Homa and Lalo Asebi districts of West Wallega, fought with OLA on 2 August near Warago village ‘in Arsammaa’. Next day, the ENDF went to the village and shot dead 17 year-old **Isaiah Tsaggaayee Ittafaa** in front of his family (ONM).

**Aliyyii Mohammed Adam**, a youth in Inango Dambal village, Gimbi district, West Wallega, was ‘shot dead by three bullets’ on 4 August in the Kaajoo area. On the same day ENDF soldiers burned down the home of Umar Hussein in the same village.

Also on 4 August, **Yooseef Waaqgaarii** and **Lammii Abdiisaa**, youths in Gomboo village, Lalo Asebi district, West Wallega, were shot dead by government soldiers ‘without any reason’ (ONM).



Farmer **Gamta Ejeta** (left) from Bobine village, Bodji Dirmaji district, West Wallega, was shot dead by government forces during the night of 10 August (W1).

**Ayana Yadasa** (right), farmer and father of four, an Abba Gadaa in Bodji Dirmaji district, was killed by security forces on 14 August (W1 and ONM). ‘His hands were cut by knife’ according to W1, which presumably indicates that he died of blood loss after his wrist arteries were severed.



On 14 August, amid a worsening human rights situation in Gimbi district, West Wallega, a young man, **Abdii Yesuuf**, was shot and killed in Lalisa Yesus village by ENDF. Residents told ONM he was shot ‘without any question’ despite being politically inactive.



**Girosa Fedhesaa** (left) was executed in public by ENDF in Innataro village, Hurumu district, Illubabor, on or shortly before 16 August (W1).

An **unnamed medical doctor** in Gawo Kebe district, Qellem Wallega, was killed during the week before his death was reported by W1 on 18 August. His body, partly eaten by wild animals, is shown right.

**Latii Ayana** and **Lalisa Megersa**, youths from Figa Kobara in Bodji Cokorsa district were killed by ENDF in Kellayi village, in Lalo Asebi district, on 21 August (W1).



On 26 August, **Markos Tolasa**, was killed by ENDF in Dembi Dollo town, Qellem Wallega (W1).

In ‘late August’ **Mamadami Sheikh Abdurahman**, father of four, was killed in his house in Oggee village, Hurumu district, Illubabor (ONM).

**Mariqos Tottooba** moved from his birthplace, Kara Wayu village, Mana Sibu district, to Wand Dale village, Qiltu Kara district, West Wallega, to ‘improve his life’ and worked as a farmer. He was abducted from Wand Dale on 2 September, tortured for several hours and then killed. His body was dumped on the road (ONM).

**Kumarraa Bantii**, a farmer in Kara Dhaqe village, Mana Sibü district, West Wallega, was killed in the first week of September when ENDF attacked his village and looted his cattle (ONM).

**Amaanuel Naggasaa Atoomsaa**, a 17 year-old in Lalisa Komis village, Qiltu Kara district, was severely beaten and then killed by security forces on 7 September (ONM). His father, Naggasaa Atoomsaa, and neighbour Lallafaa Qabata were robbed of their cattle and taken to a military camp.



During the night of 13 September, **Girma Asfew** (left) was killed by government security forces in Dale village, Leta Sibü district, West Wallega (W1).

W1 also reported that two civilians, **Habtame Oli** and **Gonda Bore**, were killed in Homa district, West Wallega, on 14 September.

A 7<sup>th</sup> grade student, 17 year-old **Abdii Amaaree** died after being shot by government forces while playing pool with his friends on 14 September in Taabor village, Sayo district, Qellem Wallega (ONM).

Also on 14 September, 20 year-old **Gaddis Indaargee** was killed in Sombo Sadan Giittan village, Lata Sibü district, West Wallega, by a government militia man (named by ONM).

ONM and W1 reported that four residents of Talamso Dambi village, Qiltu Kara district, West Wallega, were shot dead on 15 September. **Asaffaa Taaddasaa**, **Bashaa Namarraa**, and **Sanyii Talaamsoo** were shot together 'at one point.' **Baajuraa Mangistuu**, a farmer and father of one, was killed late that evening. They were accused of having links with OLA, but other residents denied this to ONM.

**Abbuushaa Dagguu** (right), a 13 year-old in Qumbaabi village, Gidami district, Qellem Wallega, died on 17 September, six days after being severely beaten by government soldiers, when celebrating Ethiopian New Year (ONM and W1).



Three young men, **Mokonnin Moosisa**, **Faxxanee Abdataa** and **one other**, were accused of having links to OLA (which was denied by their neighbours) and shot dead in Didu Qocce village, Nole Kaba district, West Wallega, on 18 September (ONM).

**Eba Bulti** (left), a student in Nekemte, East Wallega, was killed in his family home in Bodji Cokorsa district, West Wallega, on 20 September (W1).

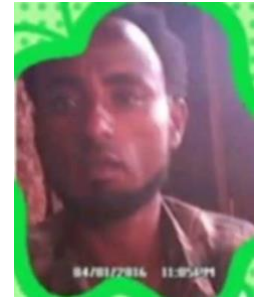
On 21 September, civilians **Dessaiegn Olkeba** and **Misganu Babisho** were killed by government forces in Walde village, Guliso district, West Wallega (W1).

A man, known only as **Asman**, who had been mentally ill for over 10 years, was killed in his home by government forces on 22 September, when they attacked the village of Lalo Noora, Begi district, West Wallega (ONM)



Father of three, **Balina Atomsa**, was shot dead in Gida Marami village, Nejo district, West Wallega, at night on 26 September. Two of his neighbours, martial arts teacher Gemechis Ayana and father of two Biranu Lelisa were shot and injured and were taken to hospital (W1).

**Alfaki Hasan** (right), from Alge Sachi district, Illubabor, was reported by W1 on 30 September to have been arrested, imprisoned, killed and his body thrown on the street.



**Two unnamed people** were killed and six injured when government security forces opened fire on a vehicle travelling from Nejo, West Wallega, towards Nekemte, East Wallega (reported by W1 on 3 October).



**Habtamu Kenesa Bekele** (left) was among four students from Ayino village, Dabo Hana district, Buno Bedele zone, who were sharing rented accommodation in Bedele city. The four were taken by security forces on or just before 7 October. Habtamu's body was found by the Dhidheessa river but the location of his brother, **Ephrem Kenessa Bekele**, and their friends **Wangelu Dereje Sutuma** and **Daniel Degefa Regassa**, are not known.

W1 reported on 9 October the killing by government forces of **Umar Aribu** (right) in Buko Qawwee village, Darimu district, Illubabor.



**Dasse Fikadu** (right), from Metos village, Haru district, West Wallega, was killed in his home by security forces on 14 October (W1).

On 19 October, **Hundesha Oluma**, a resident of Dila Gogola village, Guliso district, West Wallega, was arrested and killed. His neighbours, Adam Waltaji and Adunya Wako were arrested.

**Gemeda Abdet** and **Amanu Soorii** were killed by ENDF in Inamayi Sombo village, Lata Sibu district, West Wallega, during the night of 6 November (W1).



A young man named **Matiwos** was bathing in the river at Amuma Gorgisi village, Lata Sibu district, when he was shot dead by ENDF on 30 October. His body was taken to Gori town on a donkey and dumped near the school compound. When his relatives came on 31 October to take his remains for funeral preparations, his body had been taken (ONM).

## Rape

Three girls, Angatu Hika, Dirribee and Jiisee, were abducted from their homes in kebele 05, Dembi Dollo, Qellem Wallega, during the week preceding 18 June and raped (ONM). Angatu was later released but Dirribee and Jiisee remained captive at the time of reporting.

Government security forces in Akuku town, Yamalogi Walal district, Qellem Wallega, abducted a young girl named Dassinee Daraje and took Mrs Nuria Mohammed from her work place on 17 July and raped them both in Akuku military camp. Mrs Nuria Mohammed was raped by seven soldiers and sustained serious injuries for which she was taken to Aira hospital for treatment (ONM).

Two young sisters aged 12 and 15 years, Bilise and Ramatu Shibiru, were raped by government militia members in Inati Haro village, Hurumu district, Illubabor, on 4 August (ONM). The militia men then ‘inflicted heavy bodily injuries’ on the girls and discarded them in a field.

### **Rape and murder**

**Rahima Kadir**, a young woman who was within a week of getting married, from Coqorsa and Doyu villages, Alge Sache district, Illubabor, was abducted and raped by ENDF soldiers in early September. After being raped, she was shot dead and her body dumped in the forest, where she was found three days later. The incident was reported by ONM on 17 September.

### **Other abuses**

The current report includes all information from ONM about killings and rape since the publication of Report 70 on 24 June. However, for most of the intervening period, more than four months, information from ONM about other abuses is restricted to reports between 28 August and 26 September. Thus, the majority of abuses, other than killings and rape, are not included.

Nonetheless, OSG analysed over 33 reports of abuses from W1 and ONM in southwest Oromia. Over half of the reports were of abuses in 11 districts of West Wallega, with single references to another six districts in that zone. West Wallega districts of Bodji Dirmaji, Lata Sibu, Yubdo and Gimbi gave rise to the majority. Fewer incidents were reported from other zones. In Buno Bedele, there were eight incidents, four in Chawaka district. In Illubabor, six were reported, three from Darimu district. There were four reports from Qellem Wallega, two from Yamalogi Walal district, and three from Jimma, of which two were from Saka Coqorsa district.

### **Detention, beating, torture, abduction and disappearance**

Over two thirds of reports included information about the detention of civilians – farmers, teachers, nurses and others. Revered leaders, the Abba Gadaas, were among those detained. Villagers were taken off to prisons or military camps whenever ENDF came to their villages burning properties and looting livestock. The majority of abductions were accompanied by beating, often severe enough to be life-threatening.



Children as young as 12 and adults up to 80 years old are among the hundreds detained. Reports included known periods of detention lasting at least one year. Some, like teacher Roman Tesfaye Raga (right), disappeared in detention. She was taken from her home in Dembo Dollo, Qellem Wallega, on 9 October. Her location remains unknown.



Most reports claim that detainees are tortured in detention. OSG was asked by W1 to keep secret the identity of the detainee shown left, injured by whipping, in his fourth month of detention in West Wallega.

Detainees are accused of having links to OLA, especially feeding fighters. Commonly, parents or other relatives of OLA members are held hostage for their return.

Other abuses frequently occur at the same time as arrests. For example, when young woman Bisingee Faqqadaa was beaten and taken from her village of Kamba to a Guri Mariam military camp in Yamalogi Walal district of West Wallega, security forces robbed her



younger brother Qadamu of all his property and drove away all the cattle belonging to 8<sup>th</sup> grade student Xilahuun Dhaabaa.

In Darimu district, Illubabor, security forces ‘raided homes at night’ in villages ‘including Chaltee, Jarso, Tulama and Kusaye’, ‘looting money and livestock, while committing sexual assaults against civilians. Survivors said they were silenced under death threats’ (ONM, 21 September).

Detention and other abuses are most prevalent in areas where there has been fighting between ENDF and OLA. Families of fighters are at particular risk.

Prison conditions are life-threatening. For example, relatives of Mamadami Sheikh Abdurahman (killed in late August in Hurumu district, Illubabor – see above), his father and three brothers, were later reported to be among villagers ‘suffering from beatings, hunger, thirst and various diseases in prison for months’ (ONM). They were reportedly being denied visits from friends and family, preventing them getting food or money to buy food.

Wives of detainees are at risk of abduction. For example, Amina Tarafa was taken by the administrator of Imboro village, Darimu district, Illubabor, while her husband was in detention (ONM).

### **Robbery and looting**

Security forces rob and loot with impunity. For example, in Burqa Lomica village, Yamalogi district, Qellem Wallega, when Jacob Bayana and his sister, Ashunee, were beaten and detained for two months, their elderly parents, in their 80s, were beaten, threatened and robbed of all their livestock, which were then slaughtered at Dimbo military camp (ONM).

Other examples include the looting of 50 cattle from Daro Dimtu village, Bodji Dirmaji district, West Wallega, on 27 August; the stealing of cattle and 80,000 birr from villages in Mana Sibu district, West Wallega, on 5 September, during a spree of beatings and detention; and the theft of 18,900 birr, three solar panels, a mobile phone, clothes and household items from Malkamu Mekonnen in Ganqa Gitan village, Lata Sibu district, West Wallega, on 19 September (ONM).

A popular and relatively wealthy farmer in Nopha district, Illubabor, Hussein Ibrahim, was robbed of his coffee and qat farm, a large area of land and property worth over 4.5 million birr, in September by ‘armed men’ from Darimu district who sold or distributed the property to government supporters (ONM).

### **Extortion and coercion**

As well as money demanded for the release of prisoners, extortion in the form of various taxes and other demands continues. For example, residents in all the villages in Haru district, West Wallega, were each ordered to pay 1,500 – 15,000 birr to buy guns for local militia in August (ONM). In Duchi village, a total of 370,000 birr was taken from residents in one month.

Most reports from ONM were of money demanded to buy guns: 52,000 birr from small shopkeepers in Chawaka district, Buno Bedele, 29 August; money for ‘ten guns per village’ in Jimma zone, 21 September; 500 birr per person in Mako district, Buno Bedele, 21 September.

Families of OLA fighters were particularly hard hit in Saqa Coqorsa district of Jimma zone, where even ‘poor mothers’ were charged 200 birr and the less poor 2,000 birr (ONM 28 August).

Failure to pay results in beating and detention at least.

Forced conscription is another revenue stream, as before. For example, in Saqa Coqorsa district, Jimma zone, sums of 10-20,000 birr are being charged to release potential conscripts (ONM).

Other payments for building projects or ‘party membership’ continue to be levied (for example in Caffee Magartu village, Chawaka district, Buno Bedele). A new ruse has been to charge all students passing from 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> grade in September in Buno Bedele zone (ONM).

Exploitation in another form has been the forcing of residents of six villages in Dhidheesa district, Buno Bedele, to provide militia members with ‘whatever food or drink they want’ (ONM, 22 September).

### **Commerce and education**

Commercial activity is stunted or absent throughout southwest Oromia. In Begi district, as in several districts of West Wallega, the army presence ‘deployed from different camps to people’s homes every day . . . is preventing civilians from working’ (ONM, 6 September).

In Dabo district, Buno Bedele, villagers are prevented from visiting markets. Soldiers beat villagers attending the market in Tulama town and threatened to kill them if they ‘went to any town after this’ (ONM, 21 September).

Many schools have been closed in all parts of Oromia. The school in Ifa Bass Coree, Dabo district, was closed for most of 2025 and open only for a few months in 2024 in reprisal for the village being ‘occupied by OLA’ (ONM, 22 September).

### **Eviction for mining**

Residents of Gimbi and Ganji districts of West Wallega were reported on 17 June to have been evicted from their homes in Bulbul, Joogir and Guji villages, and their farmland taken by local Prosperity Party functionaries, ‘in the name of gold mining’ (ONM).

## **Guji and Borana**

### **Killings and destruction**

On 20 July, government soldiers **killed eight civilians** and wounded a young mother and her child in an area known as Boolee in Cari Saphaliisaa village, Bule Hora district, West Guji (ONM and W1). The names of those killed:

**Robe Hirbaye** (father of two siblings named immediately below)

**Bedatu Robe**

**Identu Robe**

**Bari Ansullo**

**Qaalo Mokonna**

**Mitiku Mogose**

**Balela Adola**

**Getu Galgalo**

Local informants told ONM that the villagers ‘were not political.’

At the time of the killings, 102 houses of residents were burnt down.

**Suye Quxala Belello** (right), the wife of an OLA Commander, was 8 months pregnant when she was shot dead in Sire Buqe village, Saba Boru district, Guji, during the night of 8 August (W1).



**Algaa Guyyoo Waataa**, a young man in Micica village, Abaya district, West Guji, was killed by government forces on 4 August. He had married recently and villagers told ONM that he was not politically active. Soldiers. Tormented his family by denying them access to his body for burial.



**Wako Boneyyaa** (left), a well-known Abba Gadaa in Suro Barguda district, West Guji, was killed by government security forces on or shortly before 22 August (W1).

A young man, **Bunoo Galgalo Dima**, and **three innocent unnamed civilians** were shot dead by government soldiers on 3 September in Suro Barguda district, apparently in reprisal for an earlier OLA attack on Makkala dam, Kormaa village, in the same district (ONM).



**Yared Ababe** (left), a driver, was shot dead by government forces in Didola village, Suro district, West Guji, on 8 September and his body thrown on the road (W1).

ONM reported that an elderly man, **Gobana Jaboo**, was shot dead 'without reason' in Dibbee Qongaa village, Galan district, West Guji, on 7 November. He was returning home after milking his cow. The security forces took his milk and drank it.

### **Detention, looting, burning**

W1 has continued to send information about detentions and other abuses but reports from ONM are limited to those between 26 August and 27 September.

### **Detention and looting**

Six talented young men, five of whom are pictured below, were taken to Negele Police Station in Borana zone a day or two before W1 reported their detention on 1 July. They were named:

Boru Konso Jaldesa  
Kalicha Dhengicha  
Nura Tache  
Huka Dhoko Boru  
Godana Dine Sako  
Isak Liban (not pictured)





On 26 August, ten residents of Shamoollee Odaa (Bonkittii) village, Galana district, West Guji, were detained because they were family members of suspected OLA fighters. Government forces took eleven cows belonging to three farmers (ONM).

Gemeda Jilo Bariso, a teacher in Rophi Magada village, Bule Hora district, West Guji, is shown left after being stripped and displayed on the street by government forces (W1, 1 September).

The detention of more family members of young men assumed to have joined OLA forces was reported by ONM on 6 September. Four villagers of Dibbee Qongaa in Galana district, West Guji, were named. These 'peaceful residents who were not involved in political affairs' were told they would not be released unless their sons returned home. They were beaten and had their livestock stolen.

An elderly couple, whose offspring included suspected OLA fighters, were reported detained on 10 September (W1). Adole Kundhe, aged 90, and his wife Sabo Jilo, shown right, were taken to prison from their home in Hardo village, Liban district, Borana.



Five were detained in Moyale, the town which straddles the Kenyan border in southern Borana, and named by W1 on 7 October:

Shoba Tari Huka (right)

Mohammed Abdikadir Woldee (right)

Roba Halakee Soraa (right)

Molu Halake Garsee

Guyyo Kana Waaqoo Dongoo



Another four, all teachers, were reported detained on 12 November in Meta Gefersa, Arero District, Borana:

Wako Kamme Jilo

Diidaa Galgaloo

Barsiisoo Lenso

Daabo Galmaa

## Burning and looting

According to reports from W1 and ONM, beginning on 6 July, there was a wave of killings and destruction in Abaya district, West Guji, which lasted four days. More than 102 homes were burned down in Dhoqicha village; the names of 33 of their owners were published by ONM on 13 July.

W1 sent photographic evidence of the burnt properties:







A second attack, in the nearby district of Galana, West Guji, occurred on 21 September. The villages of Hitu and Wodo were burnt to the ground and some of the owners were named by ONM in its report on 27 September.

At least 23 cattle were looted. Two were slaughtered and eaten on site by the soldiers after they burned the villages.

### Attack with bow and arrow

W1 reported on 29 October that a youth was injured, as shown right, in Bula Hora district, Guji by government forces.



## Attacks on Oromo by Somali Region forces

Government Somali Region forces have attacked Oromo civilians and have been driving them out of parts of East and West Hararge, West and Southeast Bale and South Borana zones of Oromia Region since July.

Oromo civilians in Hararge, Bale and Borana report being abandoned by federal forces as Somali Region soldiers, 'armed and fed' by the federal government, have been allowed to establish bases and erect flags as far west as Moyale, the main border town between Borana zone of Oromia Region and Kenya.

W1 sent a video clip of Somali Region troops on motorcycles entering Borana zone, Oromia Region, on 5 September, from which the images shown right were taken.



### Dire Dawa and East Hararge, July – August

**Ahmed Aliyi Adam** (left), father of ten, Guma village, Goro Gutu district, East Hararge, was killed by Somali Region forces on 5 August (ONM and W1). Three other civilians were wounded.

*Oromia Today*, in a report on 27 August,<sup>23</sup> referred to the killing of **Nasiya Ziyad**, a six-month pregnant mother of two, who was shot dead in her own home in Dire Dawa, East Hararge, in July, by Somali Region special forces.

### Cinaaksan, East Hararge, September

**More than six people were killed** and several others wounded in clashes between Somali Regional special forces (the Liyu Police) and Oromo residents in Cinaaksan district of East Hararge on 16 September, according to several sources including ONM.

<sup>23</sup> <https://oromia.today/a-time-bomb-buried-in-oromia-and-somali-regions/>



Civilians and their cattle, goats, sheep and donkeys were driven away and/or fled when Somali Region Special Forces attacked villages around Cinaaksan town, about 25 km northwest of Jijiga, Somali Region.

**‘They came not only to kill, but to take everything we have’ one resident told ONM ‘Our livestock: cattle, goats, sheep, donkeys, everything is being taken. And those who are supposed to protect Oromia are either silent or complicit.’**

According to ONM, several attacks occurred elsewhere across East Oromia, especially East and West Hararge, in early and mid-September. A video clip from Cinaaksan was relayed by E1 on 28 September. Images below, taken from the video, show five bodies and, a young man being led away with his arms tied behind his back. His fate is not known.



In the same video recording, frightened residents of Cinaaksan town are shown running from gunfire, then gathered in an open area watching their properties being destroyed from a distance. Finally, a large number of women are shown walking quickly to flee the area.





This is not the first time that Cinaaksan and East Hararge have been attacked by Somali Region Special Forces. In August 2024, an unknown number were killed by Liyu Police in Cinaaksan, including three named in OSG Report 67.<sup>24</sup> At least three others were wounded.

In December 2012, many were killed in similar attacks on villages in Mayu Mulluqe district, East Hararge.<sup>25</sup>

### West Hararge, June – August

Two drivers, **Jeylan Taha** and **Mohammed Ibro**, were killed by Somali Region forces in Bordode district, West Hararge, on 28 June (W1). Jeylan is shown right.



ONM reported on 20 July that there had been coordinated attacks by Somali Region forces on villages in Mi'esso and Doba districts of West Hararge, with at least **two killed** and one wounded in the previous week.

Another two farmers, **Abdi Abdullah Zakir** and **Bayan Abduraman Rashid**, were killed and another, Ahmed Abdi Yasin, was wounded by Liyu Police in Mi'esso district on 17 August (ONM).

### West Bale, July

**More than ten Oromo farmers** were killed by Somali Region forces before the end of July in Burqa village, Gurraa Dhaamolee district in West Bale. ONM named four of those killed: **Ali Yusuf, Siraj Kamal, Abdurhaman Waqo** and **Kamal Kadir**. The injured included several with bullet wounds and others with fractures from being beaten with sticks.

Thousands of camels, goats and cattle were looted.

### South Borana, July/August

Demonstrations lasting from 27 July to at least 6 August, in Moyale, Yabelo, Dubluq, Areero and other places in Borana zone protested the annexation of Oromo land by Somali Region and the hoisting of the Somali Region flag in Moyale on 26 July.

### Spurious claims from 2004, the attack in 2012

When the Liyu Police attacked Oromo communities in West Hararge in late 2012 (see above), their perceived justification was that they were retaking land lost to Oromia Region in a referendum in 2004. According to the article on the attacks in [The Gulele Post](#), which

<sup>24</sup> <https://oromiasupport.org/wp-content/uploads/simple-file-list/OSG-Report-67.pdf>

<sup>25</sup> <https://unpo.org/oromo-militia-attacks-villages-in-eastern-oromia/>

was relayed by the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organisation (UNPO),<sup>26</sup> 80% of the residents in the disputed areas voted to remain in Oromia Region.

The attacks in 2012, just like the recent attacks, were by well-armed regional forces, ostensibly under federal government control, against poorly-armed (if armed at all) civilian farmers.

### **Federal and Oromia government complicity**

Also in 2012, as in 2025, the attacks in Hararge coincided with Somali Region Liyu Police over-running Moyale. As reported by UNPO, federal government complicity may be inferred by the inactivity of federal forces. In 2012, the 4<sup>th</sup> Army Division was stationed two miles from Moyale and ‘watched silently as the militia overrun the police station and ransacked the town. Then the militia was allowed safe passage to retreat after looting and burning the town while administrators of the Borana province who protested against the army complacency were thrown to jail where they still remain.’ Thousands then fled to Kenya.

A decision by the ruling party council in Somali Region to restructure, creating two new zones, 14 districts and 25 kebeles, has emboldened Liyu Police to invade deep into Oromia, looting and killing in Borana, Bale and East Hararge.

Residents believe ‘this is not just inter-communal conflict: this is state-engineered aggression targeting Oromo land and lives.’

As noted by *Oromia Today* on 5 August,<sup>27</sup> ‘The annexation of Moyale is not a misunderstanding. It is not an error. It is a calculated, shameful act — one that exposes the OPDO/PP regime’s betrayal of Oromia in broad daylight.

The OPDO/PP regime’s betrayal of Oromia has taken a darker and more desperate turn. In a bold and unlawful move, the Somali regional parliament recently declared the annexation of Moyale town and adjacent Oromo districts — without legal basis, without consultation, and most damningly, without a word of protest from either the Oromia or the federal administration.’

The EPRDF regime deliberately instigated conflict between Somali and Oromia Regions. Somali Region President from 2010 to 2018, Abdi Mohamoud Omar, ‘Abdi Illey’, was detained in 2018 but was released from Jijiga prison in March 2024.

He was responsible for egregious crimes of the Liyu Police, which treated the people of Ogaden with indescribable cruelty (see, for example, accounts of refugees from Somali Region in OSG Report 49.<sup>28</sup>) He was responsible for abuses against ethnic minorities in Somali Region and precipitated the displacement of tens of thousands. His release was criticised by Human Rights Watch and described as ‘a setback to ending impunity for crimes involving senior officials.’<sup>29</sup>

The release of the former regional president is consistent not only with government tolerance of impunity for human rights abuse but also with government policy of once again instigating conflict between Oromo and Somali people.

---

<sup>26</sup> <https://unpo.org/oromo-militia-attacks-villages-in-eastern-omoria/>

<sup>27</sup> <https://oromia.today/the-sinister-dirty-game-of-the-pp-regime-with-moyale/>

<sup>28</sup> See pp.23-24 and 36. <https://oromiasupport.org/wp-content/uploads/simple-file-list/Report-49-South-Africa-June-2013-Sanctuary-at-a-price.pdf>

<sup>29</sup> <https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/03/15/ethiopia-releases-ex-politician-implicated-heinous-crimes>

## Tigray Region

Three were killed in Alamata, southern Tigray, on 8 August. In 02 kebele, the Adebabayu area of the town, two gunmen opened fire **killing two men** leaving a shop at about 8.00 pm. They then set fire to about 40 shops. Another person died in the fire. Some claimed TPLF fighters were responsible.<sup>30</sup>

**Naod Teklay**, a seven year-old boy, was kidnapped from Shire district, Tigray. His mother (working in South Sudan) is reported to have paid 600,000 birr to secure his release, being unable to pay the 1 million which was demanded. The boy was killed and his body found in Endabaguna, 'Enda Krecherat' locality, according to a report on 17 August.<sup>31</sup>

### Deplorable sexual violence; genocidal intent

The deplorable and widespread use of sexual violence by all forces involved in the 2020-2022 Tigray war has been widely reported but the ferocity and extent of sexual abuse as reported by *The Guardian* on 30 June,<sup>32</sup> and *New Humanitarian* on 31 July,<sup>33</sup> is almost beyond description.

The sinister hatred and genocidal intent of Eritrean forces was apparent not only by the metal and plastic objects being inserted by soldiers into the wombs of victims of gang-rape but by hand-written messages inside some of those objects, boasting of exacting revenge for the humiliation of the 1998-2000 Ethio-Eritrean war.

One message read 'Have you forgotten what you did to us in the 90s? We did not forget. From now on, no Tigrayan will give birth to another Tigrayan.' The objects were inserted to deliberately make women infertile and the victims were told they would never give birth again.

### UAE: It's all about the gold

The sinister hand of the United Arab Emirates is funding the Rapid Support Forces in Sudan, at least in part to gain access to Sudan's gold, and possibly grain.

A large proportion of the gold from Tigray (and therefore Ethiopia) is being mined by former TDF commanders and exported illegally to UAE, according to an investigation by *The Continent*.<sup>34</sup>

Although over one metric ton of gold went legally from Tigray to Ethiopia's Central Bank in the first ten months of the 2024/2025 financial year, at least three times that amount, about 36,600 kg – worth \$2.5 billion – was smuggled and sold in UAE in that period. Ethiopia's entire official gold sales were \$2 billion. Tigray's entire regional budget was \$100 million.

Disaffected members and commanders of TDF have taken over mines. They have established secure defences and use heavy mining machinery, according to the report. *The Continent* wrote 'What is happening now in Tigray looks a lot like the gold economy of Sudan, notably in Darfur and Kordofan.'

---

<sup>30</sup> <https://borkena.com/2025/09/11/alamata-ethiopia-three-killed-over-40-businesses-torched/>

<sup>31</sup> <https://borkena.com/2025/08/17/ethiopia-tigray-kidnapped-7-years-old-boy-killed-after-mother-pays-600000-birr-ransom/>

<sup>32</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2025/jun/30/sexual-violence-tigray-women-abuse-gang-rape-ethiopia-eritrea>

<sup>33</sup> <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/news/2025/07/31/silence-over-sexual-violence-ethiopia-enables-yet-more-abuse-says-report>

<sup>34</sup> [https://www.thecontinent.org/\\_files/ugd/287178\\_90c4e62a13e44b1e9b7dff356d2c4d08.pdf?index=true](https://www.thecontinent.org/_files/ugd/287178_90c4e62a13e44b1e9b7dff356d2c4d08.pdf?index=true)



According to *The Sentry*, in June,<sup>35</sup> Eritrean Defence Forces, still present in Tigray, were complicit in the illicit gold mining.

## **Afar Region**

### **Djibouti Drone strike**

According to *The Continent* (Issue 215, 27 September), drones from Djibouti killed eight civilians who had gathered at a funeral in Siyaru, in Afar Region of Ethiopia, on 30 January this year.

Three separate explosions killed eight, including three children, and wounded several others. Djibouti claimed the victims were terrorists. Ethiopia has not commented publicly. Published eye-witness accounts describe all the victims as civilians, not members of the Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy (FRUD).

### **Detention and beatings**

ONM reported on 13 July that regional security forces had been beating and detaining civilians since the defection of an Afar Region Special Forces Commander to Eritrea. Two youths, Mahammad Bella'aa and Alii Dattoo, were critically ill and receiving treatment after being beaten, in Asa'ita town, Cifra district.

## **Benishangul-Gumuz Region**

### **Killings, robbery, burning**

ONM reported the killing on 16 June of father of five **Tuulii Abbabaa** in the village of Gipo, Dibax district, Metekel zone. He was shot dead by government forces when on his way to buy fertiliser and his body left on the road.

In the same district, Abarraa Waaqjiraa, father of six, was taken from his fields in Geeshe village, detained and tortured in Galessa military camp. Meanwhile, Marga Olani was robbed of 70,000 birr and detained in the camp.

A government militiaman named **Iyyaasuu Darasuu** was killed by ENDF soldiers on the same day in Goongoo village, Bulan district, Metekel zone. Homes belonging to Adamu Kitila and Jira Bayisa in Goongoo were burnt to the ground with all their properties.

W1 reported on 1 August that three members of the Mao Komo community in Tongo city had been detained for over one month. Mao Komo district is a special district and not part of any of the zones of Benishangul-Gumuz Region.

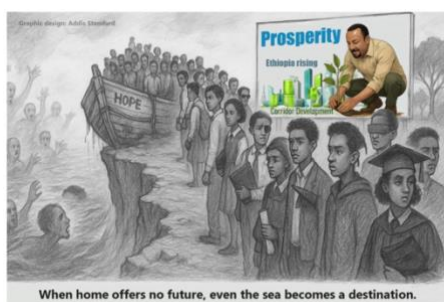
Large numbers were arrested in Asosa city, Asosa district, on 25 September, according to a report by ONM. More than 1,000 were gathered at the city police station, near the Bambu hotel, after being snatched from their work, 'rented accommodation, hotels, streets and other places' and had been held without food, clothing or shelter for three days when the report was made.

---

<sup>35</sup> <https://thesentry.org/reports/power-and-plunder/>



## Refugees



*Addis Standard* 8 August:  
**As we wrote a decade ago: this is not ‘get rich or die trying.’ This is ‘leave or die waiting.’ Ethiopia’s youth are not hopeless. They are choiceless. . . .**

*Addis Standard* wrote on 8 August about the exodus of youth from Ethiopia:

*This is not about reckless individual choices. It is about a system that has failed an entire generation. From the killing fields of Libya to the shark-infested waters off Yemen; from traffickers who extort and harvest organs, to Saudi border guards who open fire indiscriminately – Ethiopian youth are dying by the thousands. Not because they are thrill-seekers. Not because they are greedy. But because they see no other choice.*

## Kenya

### Oromo asylum-seekers must register now

In Nairobi on 24 October, the Milimani High Court heard the case against a directive from the Commissioner of the Department of Refugee Services (DRS) on 31 July which suspended the registration of new asylum-seekers from Ethiopia and Eritrea. The High Court set aside that decision at least until ruling on the case on 18 November.

Oromo and other asylum-seekers from Ethiopia and Eritrea are therefore allowed to register with DRS up to at least 18 November. **All unregistered Oromo asylum-seekers are strongly advised to register as soon as possible.**

**Registration is free.** *Pugna Malum*, a legal advice and human rights organisation, has received reports that up to \$300 US has been paid by some for registration. This is illegal and contravenes Kenyan anti-corruption law, which finds guilty all those who ask for bribes, those who pay bribes and those who facilitate the process.

**If fees for registration are demanded, asylum-seekers should contact OSG or *Pugna Malum* directly.**

### Increasing hardship in refugee camps

The reduction in food aid in Kakuma, Kalobeyi and Dadaab camps, which host the majority of Kenya’s 850,000 refugees, has been reported previously.<sup>36</sup> *The New Humanitarian* published research by Oxford University on 26 August,<sup>37</sup> which followed over 600 families in Kakuma camp.

When the study began in October 2022, every refugee in Kakuma received monthly assistance from the World Food Programme (WFP) to the value of about \$17 per month – about 50 cents per day. It covered 80% of minimal nutritional need. Two thirds were fully dependent on aid. Others who worked for an average of \$50 per month were hardly any better off, because of multiple dependants, healthcare and school fees.

<sup>36</sup> See OSG Report 69, p.43, <https://oromiasupport.org/wp-content/uploads/simple-file-list/OSG-Report-69-10-April-2025.pdf>

<sup>37</sup> <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/analysis/2025/08/26/ration-aid-cut-delivery-delays-kenyas-refugee-camps>

By mid-2023, aid was reduced to \$13/month. Half of surveyed families reduced meals to one or less per day and average calorie intake dropped below 2,000/day, less than half the US average. Health indicators deteriorated and there was a significant drop in economic activity throughout the camp.

In June 2025, WFP cut rations to the equivalent of only \$5 per person per month. ‘Hunger is now widespread.’ Two thirds of families now exist on one meal or less per day. In August, WFP restricted aid to those who were ‘vulnerable’. The most vulnerable were allocated £8 per month, with those who were slightly less vulnerable receiving \$4. One third receive no food aid at all.

Refugees demonstrated in March (OSG Report 70) and over 6,000 were reported to have departed from Kakuma in the first six months of 2025 due to aid shortages.<sup>38</sup>

### **Demonstrators killed**

At least 19 were killed in anti-government demonstrations on 25 June.<sup>39</sup> Over 500 were injured. Another 31 were killed and 500 were arrested in pro-democracy demonstrations on 7 July,<sup>40</sup> following which President William Ruto called for demonstrators to be ‘shot in the legs.’<sup>41</sup> Shops, businesses and some hospitals were closed.

## **Djibouti**

### **‘No budget’**

OSG’s Djibouti correspondent wrote on 2 July of increased hardship for asylum-seekers and refugees, since budget restrictions imposed on UNHCR because of under-funding. It remains the only UN body which is not centrally funded, having to persuade governments around the world to contribute to its annual budget.

In May, UNHCR and Djibouti immigration officials from ONARS, the Office National d’Assistance aux Réfugiés et Sinistrés, visited Ali Addeh and Holl Holl refugee camps and announced the reduction and stoppage of financial assistance, because there was ‘No budget’.

Cutbacks are especially felt by Oromo refugees, in particular the orphaned children and elderly in the camps. They expressed difficulty in accessing health care, food aid, safe drinking water and education for their children.

### **A tale of two cities and two fractured families**

OSG was informed on 3 October, by E1, a trusted correspondent with lived experience as a refugee in Hargeisa and Djibouti, of the hardship faced by two families of refugees, divided across the border between Somaliland and Djibouti.

In 2011, OSG visited Djibouti and Somaliland, interviewed refugees and published reports about their histories in Ethiopia and the conditions of their exile.<sup>42</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> <https://www.barrons.com/news/more-than-6-000-flee-kenya-refugee-camp-as-aid-shortages-worsen-un-75d3bdeb>

<sup>39</sup> <https://www.amnestykenya.org/lessons-for-kenyans-and-police-after-june-25th-bloody-protests/>

<sup>40</sup> <https://edition.cnn.com/2025/07/07/africa/kenya-police-prodemocracy-protests-intl>

<sup>41</sup> <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/kenyas-president-orders-police-shoot-violent-protesters-leg-2025-07-09/>

<sup>42</sup> See [Reports 47](#) and [48](#) on the [OSG website](#).

One of the 17 interviewees in Hargeisa was ‘Mulis’, a 38 year-old farmer from Chalanko, East Hararge,<sup>43</sup> whose real name was Mohammed Ibrahim (Munir). He and his wife, Sa’id Tullu, died in Ali Addeh refugee camp, in the Djibouti desert during the Covid-19 pandemic, leaving their children as orphans. They had moved there from Somaliland in early 2012.

Mohammed Aliyi had also been forced from Hargeisa but had been forced to leave his wife and young family when he was driven from Somaliland. He is now caring for the children of Mohammed Ibrahim (right), without any outside support or assistance from UNHCR.

The story of Mohammed Ibrahim (‘Mulis’) and Mohammed Aliyi illustrates how innocent people become refugees and how badly they are treated and cared for, including by UNHCR.



Mohammed Ibrahim was among 20-45,000 young Oromo detained after the OLF were forced from the transitional government in 1992. He had supported the OLF only when it was a legal party but was held in Hurso military camp for 15 months. From about 2000, he spent 2-3 years in Harar military camp and Garowa prison in East Hararge.

He was beaten and tortured in every place of detention, held in dark underground cells in Harar camp, forced to eat faeces, had his arms tied tightly behind his back (‘falantis’), shackled and cuffed for up to 15 hours/day and forced to spend two dark nights next to two dead bodies – typical torture techniques of the TPLF/EPRDF.

After a bribed release, he lived under severe restrictions in his village until threatened after complaining about high interest on government loans to buy seeds and the high prices farmers were forced to pay. He fled to Hargeisa in November 2003 after being called before kebele officials.

Although granted refugee status in 2007, Mohammed could not find work, like many male refugees. His wife worked for one or two days each week until three months before the interview. Until then they managed to feed their two and four year-old children but often went to bed hungry themselves.

Barred from employment by the government and denied any assistance from UNHCR, they became destitute and were evicted from their rented accommodation when unable to pay rent. His wife and children joined over 200 other refugees who began camping within the Social Welfare Centre compound in late October 2011.

In a vacant lot opposite the Social Welfare Centre, another 200-250 Oromo, mostly registered asylum-seekers, established a ragged informal camp because they could not afford to go elsewhere.

Less than one month after the interview, on 22 December 2011, a delegation of 20 refugee representatives, including two breast-feeding mothers and OSG correspondent E1, met the Somaliland Interior Minister and UNHCR officials to break the impasse. Mohammed Ibrahim and Mohammed Aliyi were among this delegation, which insisted on the right to work before agreeing to move from the centre or the camp opposite.

---

<sup>43</sup> ‘S8. Mulis’, p.59, OSG Report 47. <https://oromiasupport.org/wp-content/uploads/simple-file-list/Report-47-Somaliland-Feb-2012-Persecuted-in-Ethiopia-Hunted-in-Hargeisa.pdf>

The Minister ordered that the delegation be taken immediately to the border town of Wachale for detention and deportation back to Ethiopia. Images taken inside one of the two transport vehicles taking refugees to Wachale are shown right.



Possibly due to the intervention of ICRC, the delegates were released from detention but not sent over the border on 28 December. Instead, they travelled by bus to the Djibouti border at Loyada, where they were held from 12-16 January before being allowed across by Somaliland border guards. They were then held on the Djibouti side until 30 January, for interviews with UNHCR before being transferred to Ali Addeh camp. Two of the original group remain unaccounted for. UNHCR insisted that OSG pay for the refugees' accommodation in Loyada.

### Deaths in the desert

OSG was informed by its Djibouti correspondent on 6 July that two young girls, **Kuuri Mohammed Abdurahman** and **Dahabo Mohammed Abdalla**, had died in the Bada desert on 18 June, on their way to Djibouti.

They had travelled from Fadis district in East Hararge on foot. They are shown right with their elder sister, who survived to tell of their ordeal after losing their way in the desert.



## Yemen

Tragically, desperate poverty, conflict, lack of opportunity and the threat of forced conscription continues to drive youngsters and some families to seek opportunities outside of Ethiopia, despite the lethal risks and poor chance of success.

The latest tragedy, when at least 142 drowned off the Yemen coast on 3 August,<sup>44</sup> is no isolated incident. On 6 March, at least 181 (124 men and 57 women) perished in the water when four boats capsized in rough seas: at least another 558 drowned on Yemen's shores in 2024.<sup>45</sup>

IOM wrote that 60,000 arrived in Yemen in 2024 and that since 2014, over 3,400 had died on this eastern route, including 580 women and 100 children. Drowning killed 1,400.<sup>46</sup> IOM previously reported that possibly many more die in the desert trying to reach embarkation points in Djibouti, Somaliland and Puntland, than die crossing the Red Sea. (See OSG Reports 69 and 70.)

## Somaliland and Puntland

### Hate speech, mob attacks and deportations from Somaliland

OSG's long-standing correspondent from Hargeisa wrote on 1 September of a concerted social media campaign whipping up xenophobic violence, especially against Ethiopians,

<sup>44</sup> <https://addisstandard.com/editorial-ethiopias-youth-are-dying-to-leave-time-to-end-the-illusion-of-prosperity-and-face-reality/>

<sup>45</sup> <https://www.iom.int/news/over-180-migrants-feared-dead-after-shipwrecks-yemens-coast>

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*



particularly Oromo, which coincided with a three-day deportation campaign of unregistered migrants.

Another correspondent, ‘Abdi’ (see below) wrote on 26 August:

From yesterday, a new wave of oppression has begun. Oromo children, immigrants, students, doctors, women, and youth are being hunted. Attacked. Arrested. In just two days, more than eight buses full of our people were deported to Ethiopia. No protection. No justice. Just silence and pain.

Online rhetoric intensified after 28 August. On 31 August, youths attacked members of the refugee committee in Hargeisa. Six were attacked at 6.00 pm in the Toogdheer area of the capital by a mob which had organised via a Telegram group. Images taken from video clips taken that day are copied below.



### **Whipping of detainee in Puntland Migrant Detention Facility**

A 30 second video recording was posted on Facebook and the link sent to OSG via two sources in Kenya on 4 September.<sup>47</sup>

It shows a young Oromo surrounded by 20-30 others seated on the floor. The youth is being casually but repeatedly whipped, as he prances on his bound ankles and tries to protect his ankles with his hands, which are also bound.

The recording was reportedly taken inside a detention centre in Puntland.



### **Hargeisa: a refugee speaks**

‘Abdi’ wrote to OSG on several occasions since sending his article ‘Unhear Grief’ (see below) on 26 August.

On 1 September, he wrote: ‘For nearly a decade, Oromo refugees in Hargeisa have lived as if on the edge of fire. From 2014 to 2025, we have endured mockery, harassment, physical attacks, arbitrary arrests, and forced deportations to Ethiopia. Our children struggle to speak freely, to hear their language, to feel safe. We are treated not as human beings, but as burdens.’

‘Please help amplify our voices. Please help preserve our testimony.’

He wrote that Oromo were being targeted and traumatised by:

‘Physical Violence and Threats

- Beatings in public spaces, especially markets and transport hubs
- Stabbings and mob attacks, often ignored by local authorities

<sup>47</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/share/v/1MC6Q2wD2X/>



- Assassination attempts against outspoken Oromo individuals
- Arbitrary arrests without charge, followed by torture or forced deportation

#### Psychological Trauma and Fear

- Constant surveillance and intimidation by youth groups linked to officials
- Children afraid to speak Afaan Oromo in schools or public
- Families living in silence, fearing retaliation for any complaint
- Refugees suffering from PTSD, depression, and chronic anxiety without access to care

#### Institutional Neglect and Discrimination

- UNHCR offices dismiss Oromo cases as ‘economic migrants’
- Refugee status denied or delayed for Oromo applicants
- Deportations coordinated between Somaliland and Ethiopian authorities
- Oromo voices excluded from refugee leadership and decision-making spaces

#### Cultural Erasure and Language Suppression

- Afaan Oromo mocked or banned in schools and clinics
- Oromo names changed or mis-recorded in official documents
- Religious and cultural gatherings disrupted or subject to surveillance
- Oromo history and identity treated as foreign or threatening

#### Economic Marginalization

- Oromo refugees denied work permits or business licenses
- University degrees from Ethiopia not recognized
- Skilled professionals forced into manual labour or begging
- Aid distribution often bypasses Oromo neighbourhoods

#### Social Isolation and Xenophobia

- Labeled as ‘Ethiopians’ or ‘foreigners’ despite years in Somaliland
- Excluded from community events and local support networks
- Children bullied in schools; women harassed in clinics and markets
- Rumours spread that Oromo refugees are spies or criminals

#### Legal Vulnerability and Statelessness

- No legal protection against abuse or exploitation
- No pathway to citizenship or permanent residency
- Birth certificates denied to Oromo children born in Somaliland
- Legal complaints ignored or punished

#### Conclusion:

‘Oromo refugees in Somaliland are not just displaced—they are erased. We live in fear, but we refuse to be silent. Our suffering must be documented, our voices must be heard, and our dignity must be restored.

We are Oromo. We are survivors. And we will not be forgotten.’

Abdi was attacked twice within a period of one week in 2022 (right). He was stabbed by seven assailants and then, four days later, received multiple stab wounds and injuries from beating when set upon by 15 men. Police at Kotbor police station told him he was ‘harmed by his own countrymen’ and refused to help.

He wrote ‘I’ve been publicly humiliated by officials who confiscated my documents, photographed me without consent, and labelled me a militant.



Today I live unemployed, in constant fear, and without basic protection. My home was broken into; my computer and phone were stolen. Every knocked door, every shadow at dusk, feels like a threat to my life.'

## **Unheard Grief: The History of Oromo Refugees in Somaliland**

Abdi (see above) is the author of the following article which is an articulate and heart-felt description of life as a refugee in Hargeisa, Somaliland. However, his security may be compromised if he were known to have authored the following article.

He is a former Qeerroo detainee. OSG refers to him as 'Abdi' which is not his real name. Apart from his name, the following text is unedited by OSG.

The article ends with six short poems submitted by the author.

### **Summary**

Unheard Grief is a poetic and factual testimony of the Oromo refugee experience in Somaliland, written by 'Abdi' who lived in exile in Hargeisa from 2016 to 2025. The book traces the historical roots of Oromo displacement, exposing imperial violence, systemic Oromo-phobia, and the denial of identity. It documents the harsh realities of refugee life – housing struggles, educational exclusion, and the emotional toll of invisibility.

Through vivid storytelling, personal reflection, and cultural symbolism, the article celebrates acts of resistance: poetry, design, communal memory, and the preservation of Oromo heritage. It critiques the silence of global institutions, especially UNHCR, and calls for recognition, documentation, and solidarity.

More than a report, Unheard Grief is a voice rising from the margins – a declaration that the Oromo are not forgotten, not silent, and never erased.

'Abdi', Hargeisa, Somaliland, 26 August 2025

### **1. Introduction: A Grief That Echoes in Silence**

From 2016 to 2025, I lived in Hargeisa – not as a citizen, not as a guest, but as a refugee. In those nine years, I walked through shadows. I lived under constant fear, facing exclusion, insecurity, and the quiet violence of being unseen. My life was not simply hard – it was dark. Attacks came not only from the outside, but from the silence that surrounded us. The silence of institutions. The silence of neighbours. The silence of the world.

This article is born from that silence.

It is a testimony for the Oromo refugees whose grief has been buried beneath bureaucracy and denial. It is a document of survival, of truth, and of resistance. It is a call to witness what has long been ignored: the suffering of a people displaced, erased, and morally abandoned.

Among the many disappointments, UNHCR stands out – not as a protector, but as a breaker of hope. For many of us, it became a symbol of betrayal. Promises were made, but dignity was denied. We were not just forgotten – we were dismissed.

Yet even in the darkest corners, we carried light. Through poetry, memory, and quiet strength, we refused to vanish. I write this not only for myself, but for every Oromo soul who has endured exile in Somaliland. I write to reclaim our visibility, to honour our pain, and to demand recognition.

This is not just an article. It is a wound speaking. It is grief refusing to be unheard.

## 2. Historical Roots of Displacement

The displacement of the Oromo people is not a recent wound – it is a centuries-old scar carved by empire, denial, and silence. To understand why thousands of Oromo refugees now live in places like Hargeisa, we must first confront the long shadow of imperial violence and the deliberate erasure of Oromo identity.

For generations, the Oromo have been the largest ethnic group in Ethiopia, yet among the most marginalized. Their language, culture, and history were systematically suppressed under successive regimes that saw Oromo identity not as a richness, but as a threat. From the Abyssinian expansion in the late 19th century to the modern Ethiopian state, the Oromo were often portrayed as outsiders in their own land – uncivilized, rebellious, and disposable.

The Menelik II era marked a brutal turning point. Oromo lands were invaded, their people enslaved, and their names rewritten. The imperial narrative painted conquest as unity, and resistance as savagery. This legacy of domination continued through Haile Selassie's monarchy, where Amharic was imposed as the sole national language, and Oromo voices were silenced in schools, media, and governance.

The Derg regime brought Marxist slogans but no justice. Mass killings, forced relocations, and political imprisonment became tools of control. The Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) emerged as a voice of resistance, but its supporters were hunted, tortured, and exiled. Even after the fall of the Derg in 1991, the new federal system – while promising autonomy – delivered surveillance, division, and continued Oromo-phobia.

In recent decades, the situation worsened. Peaceful protests were met with bullets. Students, farmers, and artists were jailed or disappeared. The Qeerroo youth movement rose with courage, but paid in blood. Many fled – not for opportunity, but for survival. Somaliland became a refuge not by design, but by desperation.

## 3. Life in Exile: The Hargeisa Reality

In Hargeisa, exile is not a temporary condition – it becomes a way of breathing. For Oromo refugees, the city offers no welcome, only endurance. We live in the margins of a place that does not see us, surviving in silence while carrying the weight of a history that few dare to acknowledge.

**‘They say I am not Somali, not Ethiopian, not anything. So who am I?’**

14 year-old Oromo refugee in Hargeisa

Housing is the first humiliation. Most of us live in overcrowded compounds, rented at inflated prices by landlords who know we have no legal protection. The walls are thin, the roofs leak, and privacy is a luxury we cannot afford. Some sleep on mats laid over cracked cement floors. Others share single rooms with entire families. There is no comfort – only containment.

Education is a distant dream. Refugee children are often denied access to public schools, and private institutions are unaffordable. Even when allowed to attend, they face discrimination, language barriers, and the constant reminder that they do not belong. I have seen brilliant young minds dimmed by exclusion. One boy, age 14, told me: ‘They say I am not Somali, not Ethiopian, not anything. So who am I?’ His question still echoes in me.

Work is scarce and exploitative. Without documentation, we are forced into informal labour – washing cars, carrying bricks, selling vegetables on dusty roads. Employers cheat us, knowing we cannot complain. Women face even harsher realities, often working as domestic

labourers under abusive conditions. One mother whispered to me: ‘I clean their house, but they won’t let my daughter sit in their school.’

The emotional toll is immense. We live with constant fear – of arrest, of eviction, of being forgotten. The UNHCR, which should be our shield, has become a symbol of disappointment. Many of us have waited years for interviews, support, or resettlement, only to be met with silence. Their offices are guarded, their promises vague. For some, the hope they once offered has turned into heartbreak.

Yet in this darkness, we find ways to survive. Oromo proverbs become our medicine. ‘Dukkana keessa ifni ni dhalata’ – Light is born in darkness. We gather in secret to share stories, poems, and songs. We teach our children the language which others have tried to erase. We remember the names of those who died in silence, and we speak them aloud.

There is a quiet strength in our community. We celebrate weddings with borrowed chairs and homemade food. We mourn our dead with dignity, even when no one else mourns with us. We create art from scraps, hope from memory, and unity from pain.

One symbolic story stays with me. A young refugee artist carved a map of Oromia into a piece of discarded wood. He painted it with colours he mixed from crushed berries and charcoal. When I asked him why, he said: ‘Because even if they erase us here, I will not forget where I come from.’ That map now hangs in a hidden corner of a refugee shelter – a silent act of resistance.

Life in Hargeisa is not easy. It is exile layered with exclusion. But it is also a place where the Oromo spirit refuses to die. We are not just surviving – we are remembering, resisting, and reclaiming.

This chapter is not just a description. It is a mirror held up to a world that has looked away. It is a voice for those who have been silenced. And it is a promise: that even in exile, we remain whole.

#### **4. Systemic Silence and Global Neglect**

Silence is not just the absence of sound – it is a weapon. For Oromo refugees in Somaliland, silence has become a second exile. We are not only displaced from our homeland; we are erased from the global conversation. Our suffering is not documented, our names are not recorded, and our stories are not told. This silence is not accidental – it is systemic.

The media rarely speaks of us. International headlines cover conflicts, elections, and humanitarian crises, but the slow death of dignity in refugee camps like ours is ignored. We are not dramatic enough for the cameras, not politically convenient for the narratives. Even when Oromo voices rise in protest, they are often filtered through lenses that distort or dismiss our truth.

**‘I am not afraid of dying. I am afraid of dying without being known.’**

Political denial deepens the silence. In Ethiopia, the existence of systemic Oromo-phobia is denied or downplayed. In Somaliland, our presence is tolerated but not embraced. We are seen as temporary, as burdens, as outsiders. No official recognition means no legal protection.

Without documents, we are ghosts – unable to work legally, attend school freely, or access basic services. We live in limbo, where every day is a negotiation for survival.

NGOs and humanitarian organizations, including those mandated to protect refugees, often fail us. UNHCR, in particular, has become a symbol of broken promises. Interviews are



delayed for years, resettlement is rare, and support is minimal. Many refugees speak of being treated with indifference, as if their pain were routine. The very institutions meant to shield us have become part of the machinery of neglect.

This invisibility is dangerous. It allows abuse to go unchecked, exploitation to flourish, and trauma to deepen. When a people are undocumented, they are unprotected. When they are unrecognized, they are unremembered. And when they are unheard, they are vulnerable to being erased entirely.

**The very institutions meant to shield us have become part of the machinery of neglect.**

Silence also isolates. It separates us from allies, from justice, and from hope. It tells us that our suffering does not matter. It creates a psychological exile—a feeling that even if we survive, we do so alone. One refugee once told me: ‘I am not afraid of dying. I am afraid of dying without being known.’ That fear is real. It is the fear of vanishing without a trace.

But silence is not invincible. This book is an act of defiance. It is a voice rising from the margins, refusing to be quiet. It is a record of truth that demands to be heard. By naming the neglect, we challenge it. By documenting the grief, we honour it. And by speaking, we begin to break the silence.

The global community must listen—not out of pity, but out of responsibility. The Oromo refugee story is not a footnote. It is a chapter in the history of displacement, resistance, and survival. And it must be told.

## **5. Resistance and Cultural Survival**

Exile may strip away land, rights, and recognition – but it cannot erase identity. For Oromo refugees in Somaliland, resistance is not always loud. It lives in quiet acts of remembrance, in whispered poems, in the colours of a handmade design. It is survival with dignity. It is culture refusing to die.

In Hargeisa, where we are often invisible, we make ourselves seen through art. Poetry flows like water through our community – sometimes spoken in hushed gatherings, sometimes shared on social media, sometimes written in secret notebooks hidden from hostile eyes. These verses carry grief, but also pride. They name our pain, but they also name our ancestors. They remind us that we are not broken – we are buried seeds waiting to bloom. Storytelling is our inheritance. Elders tell tales of the Gadaa system, of heroic resistance, of journeys across deserts and borders. These stories are not just entertainment – they are maps of identity. They teach our children who they are, even when the world tells them otherwise. One grandmother told me: ‘If they won’t teach our history, we will teach it in our own voices.’ And so we do.

Design has become another form of resistance. I have spent years learning to shape letters, colours, and symbols into messages that speak truth. Through 3D paper-letter visuals and billboard-style graphics, I craft images that honour Oromo pride and challenge erasure. Each design is a protest. Each colour is chosen with care. Red for sacrifice. Green for growth. Black for truth. These are not just visuals – they are declarations.

Communal memory is our strongest shield. We remember those who died unnamed. We remember the villages we fled, the songs we sang, the proverbs that guided us. ‘Nama du’e maqaan isaa hin du’u’ – A person dies but his name does not. In exile, we speak those names aloud. We write them into poems. We paint them into murals. We carry them in our hearts.

Even in digital spaces, we resist. Social media becomes a battlefield of narratives. We challenge propaganda, correct misinformation, and amplify the voices of the silenced. I have used my platforms to share poetic tributes, historical truths, and strategic messages of unity. Each post is crafted with intention – to educate, to inspire, to protect.

But resistance is not without risk. In a place where truth-telling can be punished, we must balance visibility with safety. Many of us write under pseudonyms. We share testimonies through trusted allies. We encrypt our grief. Yet we do not stop. Because silence is more dangerous than exposure. Because invisibility is a slow death.

Oromo identity in exile is not static – it evolves. We blend tradition with innovation. We teach our children Afaan Oromo through lullabies and mobile apps. We celebrate Irreecha with homemade rituals. We wear cultural symbols alongside refugee ID cards. We are both ancient and modern, wounded and wise.

My own creative work is born from this tension. I write not just to express, but to testify. I design not just to decorate, but to declare. I advocate not just to be heard, but to make others visible. Every piece I create is a thread in the larger fabric of Oromo survival. It is my way of saying: We are here. We have always been here. And we will not be erased.

**Allies across the world: we need you. We need you to document our stories, to amplify our voices, and to challenge the silence that surrounds us.**

Resistance is not a moment – it is a way of life. Cultural survival is not passive – it is active, intentional, and sacred. In the face of exile, we choose to remember. We choose to create. We choose to speak.

And in doing so, we reclaim what was denied.

## **6. Conclusion: A Call to Witness and Action**

This article is not just a collection of memories – it is a call to conscience. The grief of Oromo refugees in Somaliland is not abstract. It is lived. It is ongoing. And it is unheard. For too long, our suffering has been buried beneath bureaucracy, ignored by media, and dismissed by institutions. We do not ask for pity. We ask for recognition.

To the Oromia Support Group (OSG), to scholars of truth, and to allies across the world: we need you. We need you to document our stories, to amplify our voices, and to challenge the silence that surrounds us. Every refugee testimony is a piece of history. Every act of survival is a form of resistance. But without witness, even truth can vanish.

We ask for support – not just financial, but moral and strategic. Help us build platforms where our voices can be heard without fear. Help us preserve our culture, our language, and our dignity. Help us ensure that the next generation of Oromo children in exile will not grow up nameless, voiceless, or forgotten.

We ask for documentation. Let our names be written. Let our grief be recorded. Let our resilience be archived. The world must know what happened here – not in vague terms, but in detail. Let this article be the beginning of a larger archive of Oromo displacement, survival, and resistance.

We ask for solidarity. Not just in words, but in action. Share our stories. Cite our truths. Include us in your research, your reports, your networks. Let the silence end with you. To those who read this: you now carry a piece of our story. Do not let it fade. Speak it. Share it. Stand with it. Because grief that is heard becomes strength. And strength that is shared becomes change.

We are Oromo. We are refugees. We are survivors.

‘Abdi’, Hargeisa, Somaliland, 26 August 2025

### *Hin Badne*

Hin badne, hin badnu, seenaa keenya keessa jiraanna.  
Biyya irraa buqqaanee, garuu garaa irraa hin buqqaane.  
Afaan keenya ni dubbatama, eenyummaa keenya ni mul’ata.  
Nu dhoksan, nu cal’isan, garuu nu hin dhabamsiisan.

A declaration of survival and cultural pride. Even in exile, the Oromo spirit remains unbroken.

### *Garaa Gubataa*

Garaa koo gubataa, sagalee koo dhorkataa,  
Garuu barruu koo ni darbaa, ni dhaga’ama.  
Dukkana keessa ifa ta’ee, dhugaa ta’ee,  
Oromoon hin cal’isu, Oromoon hin jilbeeffatu.

A poem of emotional fire – burning silence into speech, and pain into power.

### *Biyya Koo*

Biyya koo, biyya abbaa koo, biyya aayyoo koo,  
Bosonaa fi laga, seenaa fi aadaa,  
Si yaadachuun qalbii koo ni qabbaneessa,  
Si dhabuun onnee koo ni gubata.

A tribute to Oromia – land of ancestors, memory, and longing.

### *Dhugaa Hin Dhoksamtu*

Dhugaan ni dhokatti, garuu ni mul’atti,  
Yeroo dhufuu ishee hin dhoorkan, hin fashalsan.  
Barruun dhugaa, sagaleen dhugaa, onneen dhugaa,  
Hunduu ni kufa, garuu dhugaan ni ka’a.

A fierce reminder that truth always rises, even when silenced.

### *Aayyoo Koo*

Aayyoo koo, si yaadachuun onnee koo ni laafa,  
Si dhabuun garaa koo ni guba.  
Siin guddadhe, siin baradhe, siin jiraadha.  
Siin boona, siin yaada, siin kabaja.

A deeply personal ode to the mother figure – source of strength and love.

### *Hin Dhaga’amne, Garuu Hin Dhabamne – Closing Anthem*

Hin dhaga’amne, garuu hin dhabamne.  
Sagalee keenya barruu ta’e, seenaa keenya mallattoo ta’e.  
Oromoon ni jira, Oromoon ni dubbata.  
Biyya bahe, garuu enyummaa hin dhabne.

## Taye Danda'a Exposes Misrule in Ethiopia (Full Version)

A summary of Taye Danda'a's interview which was posted online eight days after his arrest in June is given on pp.4-6. The courageous, outspoken former minister in the Prosperity Party government of Abiy Ahmed, was re-arrested on 2 June 2025, hours after the Federal Supreme Court upheld charges of 'posting propaganda messages in support of anti-peace forces'; charges which had previously been dropped by Federal High Court Lideta branch, enabling his release six months previously.

Taye's re-arrest followed social media posts and a lengthy interview, divided into four parts, with Dr Etana Habte of the Oromo language program known as 'Horn Conversation.' In this interview, the former Minister of Peace was highly critical of the Ethiopian government and, in particular, of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed. The interview, in Afaan Oromo, which was posted online on 10 June 2025,<sup>48</sup> had been recorded a week or two previously.

Taye had already been arrested by the time the interview recording was posted. According to *Addis Standard*,<sup>49</sup> it was his online and social media activity which precipitated his arrest.

He was previously detained after being sacked as Minister of Peace on 11 December 2023 and held on the same propaganda charges for almost one year. Taye was released on 4 December 2024, only to be snatched at the gates of Kilinto Prison, and kept overnight by federal police and security forces before being released to his family the following morning.

### Early history

In 2003 Taye had led a group of 42 youngsters in a failed bid to join the OLF. He was disappointed by 'political fragmentation' and began supporting peaceful means to promote the Oromo struggle (p.11).



*Human Rights League for the Horn of Africa* reported his detention in 2009, when a 5th year law student at Addis Ababa University. He was detained alongside several other civilians, and held *incommunicado* in the notorious detention centre in Maikelawi.<sup>50</sup> He remained in detention until 2016.

Taye was an outstanding student who was due to graduate three days after his arrest. He had been offered a teaching post at the university. He was not a stranger to prison. He had previously been detained with Macha-Tulama Association members in early 2004 and had remained in detention for nearly three years, until released in late 2006/early 2007.

He was a key figure in the University's Afaan Oromo Club, an active member of the Union of Oromo Students and had been involved with the graduation ceremony and the yearly Oromo Students Graduation Bulletin (which was not allowed to be published). Taye is shown above in 2009, in front of the main university campus, from where he was taken that year.

---

<sup>48</sup> Part 1: <https://www.youtube.com/live/rqeRiMOktU8>; Part 2: <https://www.youtube.com/live/NBlnvJo80uo>; Part 3: <https://www.youtube.com/live/eRv50Kei14E> Part 4: <https://www.youtube.com/live/K0Ox29qCAJc> The interviews were translated from Afaan Oromo by Dr Ebiisa Regassa (Parts 1-3) and Dr Muluneh Oli (Part 4). A paginated transcript of all combined interviews is used for page references, noted in brackets in the text. Part 1: pp.1-18. Part 2: pp.18-33. Part 3: pp.33-53. Part 4: pp.54-59.

<sup>49</sup> <https://addisstandard.com/taye-dendea-arrested-from-his-residence-hours-after-court-reinstates-dropped-charges/>

<sup>50</sup> OSG Report 45, p.17. <https://oromiasupport.org/wp-content/uploads/simple-file-list/Report-45-March-2010.pdf>



According to the interview (p.5), Taye was detained in Zeway during the Master Plan protest of 2014 and not released until the Qeerroo protests had settled a little, in 2016. Encouraged by Bekele Gerba during this time, he increased his support for the peaceful struggle (p.5). Although he did not join in the Qeerroo street protests, he was an active participant on social media after his release in 2016 (p.6).

Taye came to the conclusion that change should be made from within the OPDO, because, as he argued, this was the only organisation with an administrative network present throughout Oromia. It controlled a police force and worked in Afaan Oromo. He and Milkessa Midhaga joined the OPDO in October 2017, in what they believed to have been a successful attempt to reform it from within (pp.6 and 10).

### **Qeerroo success**

Taye was emphatic about the success of the Qeerroo movement. He said, ‘The regime that had built its infrastructure for the last 27 years deep within the people was removed from power by the Qeerroo movement. There is no doubt about that. . . . people . . . are free now . . . because the Qeerroo movement removed the regime from power’ (p.7).

The movement succeeded for several reasons, he said. The elites, including in the diaspora, united and spoke with one voice. They had media access with the *Oromia Media Network (OMN)*, which united Oromo across regional and religious divides. There was strong and skillful leadership. Fourthly, the Oromo were able to form alliances with other nations and nationalities (p.8).

### **OPDO transformation and optimism**

Taye claimed that OPDO support was integral to the success of the Qeerroo movement.

‘When Lemma [*Megersa*] and Workineh took the leadership [*of OPDO*] they trained 230,000 militias who were directed by Lemma to keep the peace.’ They were ordered not to fire on the protestors but to protect them from federal forces (p.9).

The OPDO helped standardise Afaan Oromo, making communication easier across the region, empowering the Oromo struggle (p.9).

The change in leadership of the OPDO, ridding the organisation of old EPRDF cadres, enabled the transition and rebranding to the Oromo Democratic Party (p.9).

### **Turning Points**

Like almost all Oromo and their friends across the world, Taye had high hopes for Abiy Ahmed at the beginning. He believed Abiy was a ‘gift to the Oromo people’ whose ‘ideas would solve Ethiopia’s problems’ (p.32). But there were clear signs that he observed that ultimately served as pivot points, causing Taye to turn away from his previous regard for Abiy Ahmed.

‘All the great values men aspire to were contained in that first speech. . . . However, later on, we were unhappy to find out that everything that was stated in that speech was a lie and a deception’ (p.17).

‘If you remember, in one speech, he stated his mother had a vision when he was seven years old that he was going to be the king or the prime minister or leader of this nation. And we mistook that speech as him loving his mother and paying tribute to her. We didn’t look at it as an aspiration of dictatorship . . . It was actually saying that he is there by the grace of God and by his own will, not because of the Oromo protest or the years of struggle that were conducted. . . . All these are critical things that we missed and did not look at in depth’ (p.18).

Distracted by dealing with opposition from the experienced and well-connected TPLF, everyone ignored or chose to ignore worrying signs of authoritarianism from the Nobel Peace Laureate (p.18).

A most significant turning point was the killing of the Karrayyuu Abba Gadaas in December 2021. This sacrilegious killing was initially blamed by the government on OLA, which was a 'clear, black and white lie' to Taye. Prior to that he believed the government was not responsible for executions and destruction of property, but thought these were the actions of 'other groups' (p.41).

Another turning point for Taye was the government's sabotage of the second round of peace talks with OLA (p.41), using propaganda attacks, reversing previous agreements on OLA demands and being 'only interested in co-opting individual members.' (p.42).

Abiy's sanctioning of looting (p.50, see below) was a third factor in changing Taye's opinion of him.

Taye observed that in 2016, 'the Oromo youth — the Qeerroo — rose up together and brought historic change. It was a remarkable achievement, not only for Ethiopia but for Africa. They succeeded without weapons, facing a heavily armed government, and even the OPDO, created by the TPLF, awakened to contribute to the movement. The Oromo kept its unity across region, religion, and class' (p.56).

'But the victory was handed over to an unreliable person – Abiy' (p.56). The Qeerroo movement success was hijacked by Abiy Ahmed (p.8).

'There is an Oromo saying: 'Even a small coffee cup should not be handed to a child who can break it easily.' Taye asserted that is exactly what happened. The result of a long struggle was given to the wrong person, and the gains of the Oromo were hijacked. The unity built through sacrifice was shattered (p.56).

### **Dignity and Safuu**

Taye regretted that 'the Oromo moral code — Safuu — has been broken. Not only women but also men are being raped. Fathers are executed in front of their families. Wives are raped in front of their husbands. Respected elders, including Abba Gadaas, are killed. The bodies of dead men are placed on donkeys and paraded in markets. Corpses are left unburied to be eaten by wild animals' (pp.55-56).

'The dignity of the Oromo people, which was once revered, has been eroded' (p.43).

### **'The Property of One Man'**

'However, where things went wrong is not that the Prosperity Party was formed but the reason it was formed. We were misled about the true intention of the Prosperity Party's founding and why it was necessary. And now we realize the real reason the Prosperity Party was formed was to amass power in a single individual. This was to ensure the rule of a single man. The country had become the property of one man' (p.30).

### **Human Rights Blatantly Disregarded**

His student colleagues, Alemayehu Garba and Gadisa Hirpassa, were both killed while in custody in late 2006 (p.2). Taye witnessed evidence of torture in prison; removal of fingernails, breaking of legs and deaths after beating (p.4). He described prison conditions as 'truly terrible.' 'You don't receive proper health care and you are frequently beaten. Many lives have been lost due to this improper care' (p.1).

He gave personal testimony of detention without trial and lack of judicial independence. A police investigator in Maikelawi told him before a court hearing ‘Whether you admit it or not, you will definitely be sentenced to ten years.’ He told of deliberate and repeated delays to court hearings (p.2). When he was a State Minister he complained about the continued detention without trial of OLF leaders (p.37).

Family repercussions were worse than under the EPRDF. Only under the Prosperity Party has his detention been associated with financial punishment to his family and associates. His family was evicted from their home three days after his detention in December 2023 and bank accounts of 28 relatives and friends remained frozen for eight months (p.3).

### **Taye: ‘This government does not serve Oromo interests’**

Taye has never favoured ‘an Oromo government’ but is adamant that the current regime has never represented Oromo interests in any case. Indeed, he stated ‘the biggest enemy that is working hard against Oromos is none-other than Abiy’ (p.53).

‘What is the point of calling it an Oromo government if Oromo mothers are burned alive in their homes, if their houses are destroyed without compensation – worse than during the TPLF era? Farmers who once sold their produce freely now sell to the state at unfairly reduced prices. The so-called “Oromo government” has overseen the destruction of the unity built through Oromo blood. For me, what matters is justice and equality, not who sits at the top’ (p.55).

‘In reality, Oromos were suffering – burned alive, executed, heavily taxed – yet portrayed as if they were running an apartheid system’ (p.55).

### **Transition of power in the OPDO**

When the leadership of the OPDO changed from Muktar Kedir to Lemma Megersa, it had the full backing of the central committee (p.18), because of the party’s unpopularity due to civilian killings and widespread detention and beatings (p.20).

However, the handover of leadership to Abiy Ahmed was direct from Lemma Megersa. Such was the respect for Lemma and his belief and trust in Abiy, that this handover met no resistance. It was presented as a tactical move because, as a member of the federal parliament, Abiy was able to become Prime Minister, whereas Lemma was only a member of the Oromia Region parliament and therefore not allowed to stand (p19).

When Aba Dula Gameda was suggested as a candidate by the TPLF, Taye pointed out that negative media coverage ensured ‘there were no alternatives to Abiy’ (p.20).

In order to reassure party members about his handover to Abiy, Lemma called a press conference ‘stating that the leadership changed by agreement and was best for the country and the party’ (p.21).

### **Unconstitutional handling of ODP and Prosperity Party**

The dissolution of the ODP as part of creating the Prosperity Party was notified to party members and not discussed by the central committee, merely announced at a hastily convened and poorly attended emergency meeting in 2012 EC, 2019/2020 (p.25).

Meetings were held without the leadership; called by those without authority to do so, including Shimelis Abdissa; without reasonable debate of ‘proper issues,’ ‘creating chaos and confusion among party members’ (pp.27-28). Taye implied that no one was in the position to resist this direction.

Despite his efforts to encourage other parties to take part in the Covid-delayed election in 2021, he had to admit that one-party rule had transpired in Oromia Region (p.36).

### **Abiy Ahmed ‘On a different planet’ leading to chaotic government and economic waste**

Taye began to see that Abiy ‘speaks about things removed from reality – dreams and intangible things’ and said ‘He’s basically on a different planet’ (p.32).

There was no setting and sticking to policy programs or agendas for meetings nor any assessment of individuals or policies. Regarding party self-assessment, Abiy told him ‘This is the culture of the TPLF. We do not need to do this. Just follow me. Just listen to me’ (p.31).

Meetings were confused and without direction. Abiy seemed to be ‘disconnected from reality or the situation’ (p.31).

At party meetings, Taye raised issues such as the ‘tremendous economic devastation,’ innocent people being killed and homes being burned down, but ‘no one really paid attention or cared to listen to me.’ When he asked for attention to be paid to the instability and economic turmoil, Abiy said it was only ‘the propaganda of the diaspora’ and ‘warned everyone to ignore it’ (p.40).

But there has been economic mismanagement. Billions have been wasted in projects which have come to nothing – the Gadaa Bus, the Oda Bus, Kegna Beverage and others, Taye said (p.49).

### **Character of Abiy Ahmed**

Taye quoted from *Irkab ina Member*, the book published by Abiy Ahmed long before Abiy’s *Medemer* was published in October 2019, a passage which he regretted not having noted earlier: ‘Fill the person with whatever he wants to hear and then drive him to the direction that you want; once you lead him there, leave him to rot’ (p.30). Thus was the published advice of the PM.

### **Assassination of Haachalu Hundessa was planned and politically motivated**

The killing of Haachalu Hundessa on 29 June 2020 had a profound effect on Taye. He immediately suspected it was ‘part of a grand plan’ and believed the ‘prospect for democracy in Oromia was irreparably damaged with his death’. ‘The solidarity and unity that the Oromos had built up and that were getting stronger were severely damaged by his assassination’ (p.35).

Although Taye was Prosperity Party Oromia Office Publicity Director at the time, all information he received was filtered and doctored. Only later did he realise the assassination was ‘planned and had political motivations’ (p.35).

### **Denial of rights to OLA-OLF fighters: families detained; Abiy ordered killings**

‘I was with the ODP party at that time when Fekadu Tesema, in my presence, said that family members of Shane should be imprisoned. If a son or a family member is part of the OLA, all of their family members should be imprisoned. This was stated by a high-ranking party official’ (p.44). It is a war crime and close to ethnic cleansing, he said (p.45).

Taye reported that Abiy said at a party meeting in 2015 EC (2022/3) ‘Don’t waste your time bringing the Shane group to prison; eliminate or kill them; in public if you can’ (p.45).

Taye’s own democratic rights were ‘denied when as a member of parliament representing 50 million people, my microphone was shut off’ before his arrest in December 2023 (p.42).



## **Looting and corruption**

A major factor in Taye's disillusionment was when Abiy, in 2013 EC (2020/2021) stated in an open meeting that 'I will not say do not steal or loot.' He said, 'Loot enough that you can raise your child.' 'This was said in an open meeting in the presence of over 2,500 people. Correcting corruption is one of the pillars of things that we wanted to correct as a party, but this became an open disagreement with the party' (p.50).

## **Abiy needs war: 'We have enough bodies'**

'The definitive conclusion is that Abiy does not want peace' (p.40). 'Abiy wants to perpetuate conflict' (p.44).

Taye recounted that Abiy deliberately manipulated the TPLF into making its strike on a military site and store, which he then used to justify the war on Tigray in November 2020 (p.46), as he had planned (p.47).

Taye agreed with Getachew Reda's assessment of Abiy, that he 'can't exist without war' (p.47). Abiy once boasted in Taye's presence that 'in this country there are a lot of unproductive youth. We can wage war for twenty years; we have enough bodies' (p.48).

Without perpetual war, Ethiopia's population will question the government's economic policies and record, Taye said (p.48).

## **Taye: Attempts to fragment Oromo must be resisted**

'The fundamental thing is that if a true democracy is to emerge in this country – one that respects human rights – any price has to be paid to bring about these changes. If this doesn't happen, this country will never transform into a truly serious country' (p.4).

'To our people, I say this: Know your strength. United, we are powerful enough to confront any challenge. Don't listen to divisive voices. Any attempt to fragment Oromo unity must be resisted firmly' (p.58).

## **To Oromo in government: Say 'No' to illegal orders**

Taye acknowledged that for many Oromo who are committing abuses in Ethiopia, they 'do so under orders, not from conviction – they have families to feed' (p.57). However, he had a clear message to other Oromo. Apart from a few elites who send their children abroad, 'the rest – the true owners of this country – must, at some point, say 'No' (p.57).'

## **Taye's detention; Abdi Illey's release**

'And finally, when I spoke out, saying the Oromo people should not be orchestrated to kill each other, he removed me from the position. For my call to end bloodshed among Oromos, I guess he could not stomach that and removed me from my position.'

'On the other side, a person who was responsible for displacing over two million Oromos and killing thousands, Abdi Illey, was released from prison and is living in a mansion with full security details now' (p.53).

## **Final words: Oromo relationship with Amharas needs rebuilding**

Taye criticised Shimelis Abdissa, Oromia Region President, for having boasted after a trip to Amhara Region how 'we tricked and defeated the Amharas' (p.55).

Taye's final words of the interview were 'The propaganda claiming that this government represents the Oromo must be exposed. The Oromo have never faced such hardship as today. Other nations and nationalities must understand this.'

In particular, the relationship between Oromos and Amharas needs rebuilding. At the beginning of the change, there was cooperation, but later, suspicion and hostility were deliberately sown between them. Abiy abandoned the country for his own ego. What harms one harms all.

If cooperation is based on equality and fraternity, Ethiopia is not a poor country – it can prosper. The foundation should be mutual support among nations and nationalities’ (p.59).

### **Taye’s present insecurity**

At the time of writing (18 October 2025), the former government minister is being held with common criminals in Kilinto maximum security prison in Addis Ababa. He has been moved from Zone 5 to Zone 1 and, more recently, to Zone 2 in the prison.

His life is at risk in detention.