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የፌስቡክ ጸረ-አሕባሽ ቡድን

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የተመረጡ ጽሁፎች

Ethiopian Muslims Online Struggle

Selected Essays

ቅጽ-1

Volume-1

ጥንቅርና አርትኦት

የፌስቡክ ጸረ-አሕባሽ ቡድን

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ሰኔ 2004

June 2012

Say 'NO'
To
'አህባሽ'

ማውጫ

አርእስት ገጽ

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ምስጋና ሁሉ ለርሱ የተገባ ይሁን፡፡ የአላህ ሶላት (የአክብሮት እዝነት)፤ ሰላምና በረከቱ በመልእክተኛው፣ በቤተሰቦቻቸው፣ በባልደረቦቻቸውና እርሳቸውን በቅን ልቦና በተከተሉት ሁሉ ላይ ይሁን፡፡

የኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊሞችን እንዲወክልና ሀይማኖታዊ እንቅስቃሴዎቻቸውን እንዲያቀላጥፍ ተብሎ በሙስሊሙ ህዝብ ትግል የተቋቋመው **የኢትዮጵያ እስልምና ጉዳዮች ከፍተኛ ም/ቤት (መጅሊስ)** መሪዎች *"በሀገራችን ለሚታየው የጽንፈኝነት ችግር መድሃኒቱ አሕባሽ የሚባል ቡድን በሚያስተምረው ርዕዮት መጠመቅ ነው"* በሚል እሳቤ ሙስሊሙን ማሸበርና ማሸማቀቅ ከጀመሩ እነሆ አንድ ዓመት ሊሆነው ነው፡፡ በዚህ ጊዜ ውስጥ ብዙ ነገሮች ተከስተዋል፡፡ አሳዛኝና አሳፋሪ ኩነቶች ተመዝግበዋል፡፡ ሙስሊሞች ያለ አንዳች ማስረጃ "አሸባሪ" እና "ጽንፈኛ" እየተባሉ ወደ ዘብጢያ ተግዘዋል፡፡ መድረሳዎችና መስጂዶች የ"ጽንፈኞች መፈልፈያ" እየተባሉ ተዘግተዋል፡፡ የዩኒቨርሲቲ ተማሪዎች በየግቢያቸው ሀይማኖታዊ ግዴታዎቻቸውን እንዳይወጡ ከመደረጋቸውም በላይ በግለሰብ ቤት ተከራይተው በ"ጀመዓ" (ህብረት) እንዳይሰግዱም ተደርገዋል፡፡ በአሳሳ ከተማ *"በአሕባሽ ፍልስፍና አልጠመቅም"* ያለውን ሰላማዊ ሼኽ ፖሊሶች "ጂሀድ እየቀሰቀሰ ነው" በሚል የሀሰት ውንጀላ ወደ እስር ቤት ሊወስዱት ሲገፈታትሩት *"ሰውዬው ንጹህ በመሆኑ ልቀቁት!"* ብለው የተቃወሙ ንጹሀን ወገኖቻችን የጥይት እራት ሆነዋል፡፡ ከዚያም ወዲህ መከራና ፈተናው እንደቀጠለ ነው- በ*"ዘመቻ ጥምቀተ አሕባሽ" (Ahbashism Campaign)*!

ህዝበ ሙስሊሙ ሳይመርጣቸው "ፕሬዚዳንት"፣ "ሊቀመንበር"፣ "ሰብሳቢ"፣ "አለቃ"፣ "ምክትል"፣ "አስተባባሪ" ወዘተ... እየተባባሉ ሲሿሿሙ የነበሩት የመጅሊስ መሪዎች *"ዘመቻ ጥምቀተ አሕባሽ"*ን በተግባር ላይ ለማዋል የተነሱት *"ለሙስሊም ዑለማ ስለ ሀጉመንግስታችን ማስተማር አለብን"* ከሚሉት የፌዴራል ጉዳዮች ሚኒስቴር የስራ ሃላፊዎች ከተቀናጁ በኋላ ነበር፡፡ በየመድረኩ ሲሰራ የነበረው ግን "ህገ-መንግስት"ን የመናድ ስራ ሆኖ ተገኝቷል፡፡ በሀምሌ ወር 2003 በሀረር ከተማ ከተዘጋጀው የመጀመሪያ ዙር ስልጠና ጀምሮ የአሕባሽ ሊቃውንት *"ወሀቢያን አውግዙ፤ እገሌ የተባለው ሼኽ ካፊር መሆኑን አውጁ፣ አቂዳችሁን ለማስተካከል እንደገና ሸሀዳ ያዙ"* እያሉ የሚያወርዷቸው ትእዛዞች በሀገሪቱ ዑለማዎች እንዲፈጸሙ የመንግስት ሀላፊዎችና የጸጥታ ተቋማት ግልጽ አመራር ሲሰጡ ታይተዋል፡፡

ይሁን እንጂ የመጅሊስ አመራሮች ያሰቡት አልሆነላቸውም፡፡ በተራ ጮሌነት ሊሸነግሉት ከሚቃጡት ህዝበ ሙስሊም የገጠማቸው እምቢ ባይነት እነርሱ ያልጠበቁት ዓይነት ነው የሆነባቸው፡፡ ይባስ ብሎም በጥር ወር መግቢያ ላይ የተቀጣጠለውና በዓለም የመገናኛ ብዙሃን

የመነጋገሪያ አጀንዳ ለመሆን የበቃው ሰላማዊ ትዕይንት ብዙ ሚሊዮን ብር የፈሰሰበትን *"ዘመቻ ጥምቀተ ኦሕባሽ"* በአሸዋ ላይ የተገነባ ቤት እያደረገው ነው፡፡

የዘመቻው አስተባባሪዎች *"ኦሕባሽ ነባሩ እስልምና ነው እንጂ መጤ ሀይማኖት አይደለም፤ መጤዎቹ ሰለፊዎች ናቸው"* እያሉ ቢያምታቱም ህዝቡን ማማለል አልቻሉበትም፡፡ በጉያቸው ውስጥ ያቀፉትና መሀል ሰፋሪ ሆኖ አስጨናቂውን ጊዜ ለማሳለፍ የሚጥረው አማኝ እንኳ ሲከዳቸው እያየን ነው፡፡ ለዚህም ይመስላል የዘመቻው ጠንሳሾች በስልጣን ላይ ያሉትን የመጅሊስ ሹመኞች በሌላ ታማኝ ሀይል ለመተካት *"ምርጫ ይካሄዳል"* ከሚል ድንገተኛ የሽንገላ ውሳኔ ላይ የደረሱት፡፡ ሆኖም ህዝበ ሙስሊሙ በዚህ ሽንገላ በመረታት *"ዘመቻ ጥምቀተ ኦሕባሽ"*ን ለመመከት የገነባውን ህብረት፤ ወኔና ሰላማዊ ጨዋነት አፈር ድሜ ያስግጠዋል ተብሎ አይታሰብም፡፡ ኢንሻ አላህ!!

"ዘመቻ ጥምቀተ ኦሕባሽ" ቀጥሏል፡፡ ህዝበ ሙስሊሙም ትግሉን ቀጥሏል፡፡ የዚህ ግብ ግብ መጨረሻ ምን ሊሆን እንደሚችል አላህ ብቻ ነው የሚያውቀው፡፡ ሆኖም አላህ ሊንከባከበው ቃል የገባለትን ቀጥተኛውን ኢስላማዊ ጎዳና ለክለሳና ብረዛ እንዳማያጋልጠው በርሱ ላይ ሙሉ እምነት አለን፡፡ ጌታችን መጪውን ጊዜ የሰላምና የደስታ ያድርግልን!

አሚን!!

የፌሰ ቡክ ጸረ-ኦሕባሽ ቡድን

የአርታኢያኑ ማስታወሻ

ይህቺ ድርሳን የ*"ዘመቻ ጥምቀተ አሕባሽ"*ን የአንድ ዓመት ውጣ ውረድ አትዘግብም፡፡ሆኖም በመረጃ መረብ (ኢንተርኔት) ዘመቻውን ለማከሸፍ ሲደረግ የነበረው ርብርቦሽ ምን ይዘት እንደነበረው በመጠኑ የምታሳይ ልትሆን ትችላለች፡፡ በሌላ በኩል ዘመቻውን ሲፈጽሙና ሲያስፈጽሙ የነበሩት ወገኖች *"ጽንፈኛ ወሀቢያዎች በኢንተርኔትና በፓልቶክ እየተጠራሩ ሁከትና ሽብር ይቀሰቅሳሉ"* በሚል በሰላማዊ ዜጎች ላይ የሚያቀርቡት ክስ አንዳች መሰረት እንደሌለው በተገቢ ሁኔታ ልታስረዳ ትችላለች፡፡

በመጽሀፊቱ የቀረቡት ጽሁፎች በበርካታ ጸሀፊዎችና የፖለቲካ ተንታኞች የተደረሱ ናቸው፡፡ ብዙዎቹ ጽሁፎች ኢትዮጵያዊያን ሙስሊሞች በ*"ዘመቻ ጥምቀተ አሕባሽ"* ላይ ያላቸው ቅዋሜ ነጸብራቆች ናቸው፡፡ አንዳንድ የመንግስት አካላት የ"*ነባሩ እስልምና ምሳሌ ነው"* እያሉ የሚያንቆለጳጳሱትን የ"አሕባሽ" አንጃ አወቃቀርና ጥንተ ታሪክ የሚያስረዱ ሌሎች ጽሁፎችም ተካተዋል፡፡ "አሕባሽ" በዓለም ሙስሊሞች የተላለፈበትን ውግዘት የሚያስረዱ ፈትዋዎችም በመጽሀፊቱ እንዲያዙ ተደርገዋል፡፡ ሙስሊም ወጣቶች መረጃ በሚለዋወጡበት የፌስቡክ መረብ የተለቀቁ ፎቶግራፎችም በትንሹ ቀርበዋል፡፡ የመገናኛ ብዙሃን በኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊሞች ሰላማዊ ተቃውሞ ዙሪያ ካስተላለፏቸው ዘገባዎች አንዳንዶቹ ተመርጠው ገብተዋል፡፡

ይህች መጽሀፍ የመጀመሪያችን ናት፡፡ በቀጣይም *"የዘመቻ ጥምቀተ አሕባሽ"*ን አስጨናቂ ጉዞ በስፋት የሚዘግብ ድርሳን የማዘጋጀት እቅድ አለን፡፡ እቅዳችን ይሰምር ዘንድ ፈጣሪያችንን እንለምነዋለን፡፡ እርስዎም (እናንተም) የጥረታችን አጋዥ እንዲሆኑ (እንድትሆኑ) የአክብሮት ጥሪያችንን እናቀርባለን፡፡

ድል የኢስላም ነው!

አላሁ አክበር!!

የፌስ ቡክ ጸረ-አሕባሽ ቡድን

ክፍል አንድ

በኢትዮጵያዊያን ሙስሊም ወጣቶች የተጻፉ መጣጥፎች

Part One

Essays Writen by Ethiopian Muslim Youth

አሕባሽ ማንነው? ምንድነው? (አጠቃላይ ዳሰሳ)

ኡባህ አብዱሰላም ሰዒድ[1]

መስከረም 15/ 2004

አህባሽ የሚባለው አንጃ ከውጪ ሲታይ የሚከተሉት ገጽታዎች አሉት፡፡ [2]

1. "አሕባሽ" የኢትዮጵያ ተወላጅ በነበሩት *ሼኽ አብዱላሂ ሙሐመድ ዩሱፍ* (ወይም *ሼኽ አብዱላህ አል-ሐረሪ አል-ሐበሺ*) ጠንሳሽነት በሊባኖስ ዋና ከተማ ቤይሩት ውስጥ በ1983 ዓ.ል. የተመሰረተ ፖለቲካና ሀይማኖትን አንድ ላይ አጣምሮ የሚራመድ አንጃ (ጀመዓ) ነው፡፡
2. አንጃው በአረብኛ አጠራር *"ጀምዒያቱል መሻሪዒል ኼይሪያቱል ኢስላሚያ"* ይባላል፡፡ የእንግሊዝኛ ስሙ *"Association of Islamic Charitable Projects"* የሚል ነው፡፡[3]

3. "አሕባሽ" የአንጃው ተከታዮች በጋራ የሚጠሩበት የቡድን ስማቸው ነው፡፡ እያንዳንዱ የጀመዓው አባል *"ሐበሺይ"* ይባላል (ሴት ከሆነች *"ሐበሺያ"* ትባላለች)፡፡ በሀገራችን ውስጥ ያሉት የአንጃው ተከታዮች ግን "አሕባሽ" ከሚለው ስም ይልቅ "የሼኽ ጀመዓ ነኝ" ማለትን ይመርጣሉ፡፡
4. "አሕባሽ" የሚለው ቃል ምንጩ "ሐበሻ" የሚለው የሀገራችን የዐረብኛ ስም ነው፡፡ ይህም የአንጃው መስራች የተወለዱበትን ሀገር (ኢትዮጵያን) ያመለክታል፡፡ የጀመኣው አባላት ይህንን ስም ይወዱታል እንጂ አይቃወሙትም፡፡[4]

ስለዚህ እኛ የ"አሕባሽ" ተቃዋሚዎች ያወጣንላቸው ስም አድርጋችሁ እንዳታዩት ያስፈልጋል፡፡ (እውነቱን ለማወቅ አህባሾችን ራሳቸውን ጠይቋቸው፡፡ ዌብሳይቶቻቸውንና የፌስቡክ ቡድኖቻቸውን የሚጠሩበትንም ስም ተመልከቱ)፡፡

5. አንጃው በሄደበት ሀገር ሁሉ "መንግስታዊ ያልሆነ ማህበር" ተብሎ ነው የተመዘገበው፡፡[5] በመሆኑም ማህበራዊ አገልግሎት የሚሰጡ ተቋማትን (እንደ መድረሳና የጤና ክሊኒክ የመሳሰሉትን) ከፍቷል፡፡ በሀገራችን ውስጥ ግን እንዲህ አይነት ፕሮጀክቶችን የሰራ አይመስለኝም፡፡
6. "አሕባሽ"ን የመሰረቱት "ሼይኽ አብዱላህ አል-ሀረሪ"[6] ከሶስት አመታት በፊት ቢሞቱም እስካሁን ድረስ የአንጃው ከፍተኛ መንፈሳዊ መሪ ተደርገው ይታያሉ፡፡ በመሆኑም የጀመዓው

አባላት "ሼይኹና" ወይም "ሰይዱና" ይሏቸዋል፡፡ በቤታቸው ግድግዳና በሌሎችም ቦታዎች (በሞባይል ስልካቸውም ጭምር) የመሪያቸውን ፎቶ ያስቀምጣሉ፡፡

7. የአንጃው ዋና ማዕከል (Head Quarter) ያለው በሊባኖስ ዋና ከተማ ቤይሩት ውስጥ ነው፡፡ በተጨማሪም በሶሪያ፣ ዮርዳኖስ፣ ግብጽ፣ አሜሪካ፣ እንግሊዝ፣ ካናዳ፣ ጀርመን፣ ዴንማርክ፣ አውስትራሊያ ወዘተ… ቅርንጫፎች አሉት፡፡[7]
8. "አሕባሽ" በርካታ ተከታዮች ያሉትም እዚያው በሊባኖስ ሀገር ሲሆን በአሜሪካ፣ ካናዳና አውስትራሊያም ጠንካራ ጀመዓ እንደመሰረተ ይታወቃል፡፡ ይሁን እንጂ ወደ ሀገራችን ከገባ ከአስር ዓመታት በላይ ቢሆነውም ብዙ ተከታዮችን መመልመል አልቻለም፡፡ አብዛኛው ህዝብ አንጃው እዚህ መኖሩን እንኳ ያወቀው በቅርቡ ነው፡፡
9. አንጃው የሻፊዒይ መዝሀብ ተከታይ ነኝ ይላል፡፡ የዓቂዳ ትምህርቱም "አሽዐሪ" (ኢማም አቡል ሐሰን አል-አሽዐሪ ያስተማሩት መንገድ) እንደሆነ ያወሳል፡፡ የ"ሪፋዒያ" የሱፊ ጠሪቃ ተከታይ እንደሆነም ይገልጻል፡፡[8]
10. "አሕባሽ" በአለም አቀፍ ደረጃ የሚያሳትመው መጽሄት *"መናረል ሁዳ"* ይባላል፡፡ በቤይሩት ከተማ *"ሰውቱል ኒዳ አል-መዓሪፋ"* የሚባል ሬድዮ ጣቢያ አለው፡፡ በአለም ዙሪያ በርካታ የኢንተርኔት መረቦችንም ዘርግቷል፡፡ ከነዚህም መካከል www.aicp.org ዋነኛው ድረ-ገጽ (ዌብሳይት) ነው፡፡[9]
11. አንጃው ስብከቱን ለተከታዮቹ የሚያስተምርበት "መርከዝ" (ማእከል) አለው፡፡ በየመርከዙ የሚቀመጡ ሼይኾችንም በቤይሩት እያሰለጠነ በዓለም ዙሪያ ያሰራጫል፡፡ በመርከዙ ተምረው የሚወጡ ጎበዝ ተማሪዎችም ቤይሩት ሄደው የሚማሩበት የከፍተኛ ትምህርት እድል (scholarship) ይሰጣቸዋል፡፡
12. የአንጃው መንፈሳዊ ትምህርቶች በአብዛኛው የሚያተኩሩት በአቂዳ፤ "ፊቅህ" እና "ተሰውፍ" (Sufism) ላይ ነው፡፡ የትምህርት ቋንቋውም ዐረብኛ ነው፡፡
13. አንጃው ተከታዮቹን ከሚያስተምርባቸው የመማሪያ መጽሀፍት መካከል በስፋት የሚታወቁት ሁለት ናቸው፡፡
    13.1. ***"ሙኽተሰር አብዱላህ አል-ሀረሪ"***

    ሀ/. ይህ ጀማሪዎች የሚማሩበት መጽሀፍ ሲሆን የአቂዳ፤ ፊቅህ፤ ከላም (speculative theology) ትምህርቶችን አካቷል፡፡

    ለ/. መጽሀፉ የዛሬ 100 አመት ገደማ በአንድ የመናዊ ሼኽ እንደተጻፈ በመግቢያው ላይ ተጠቅሷል፡፡ "ሼኽ አብዱላህ የጻፉት ሸርሁን (ማብራሪያውን) ነው" ተብሎም ተጽፎበታል፡፡ ነገር ግን ከመጽሀፉ 70% በላይ የሚሆነው ክፍል የተያዘው በ"ሸርሁ" ነው፡፡

    ሐ/. መጽሀፉ በእንግሊዝኛና በአማርኛ ተተርጉሟል፡፡ የእንግሊዝኛው ትርጉም ቀለል ባለ አቀራረብ የተዘጋጀ ሲሆን አማርኛው ግን ልክ እንደ አረብኛው "የመጽሀፉ አዘጋጅ

እንደዚህ አሉ!" እያለ ነው ትምህርቱን የሚዘረዝረው፡፡ (የአረብኛው መጽሀፍ "ቃለል ሙአሊፉ" እያለ የሚሄድ የትረካ አቀራረብ አለው)፡፡

መ/. መጽሀፉ ላይ ላዩን ሲታይ እስላማዊ መንገድን የተከተለ ይመስላል፡፡ ነገር ግን በእስልምና ውስጥ የማይታወቁ አስገራሚ አቋሞች ይበዙበታል፡፡ ይህንን በትክክል የምትረዱትም ከዋናው ምንባብ ሳይሆን "ሸርህ" ተብለው ከቀረቡት አደገኛ ትንተናዎች ነው፡፡

ሠ/. ከሁሉም በላይ ደግሞ "ይህንን ያላለ ይከፍራል"፤ "በዚህ ያላመነ ከኢስላም ወጥቷል"፤ "ይህንን ያደረገ ካፊር ነው" የሚሉ አስፈሪ አባባሎች ስለሚበዙበት በትእግስት አንብቦ መጨረሱ ራሱ ከባድ ነው፡፡

13.2. ***"ቡግየቱ ጣሊብ"***

ሀ/. በዚህኛው መጽሀፍ የሚማሩት በትምህርት ከፍ ያሉ ተማሪዎች ናቸው፡፡ (ይህኛው መጽሀፍ በእንግሊዝኛና በአማርኛ ቋንቋዎች ስለመተርጎሙ አላውቅም)፡፡

ለ/. ቡግየቱ-ጣሊብ በስፋት ካልሆነ በስተቀር በይዘቱ ከሙኽተሰር ጋር አንድ ነው፡፡ ቢሆንም በሙኽተሰር ውስጥ የሌሉ በርካታ አስገራሚ ፈትዋዎች አሉበት፡፡

14. ይህ አንጃ

14.1. በአፈጣጠሩ፣ በእድገቱ፣ በእምነት ፍልስፍናውና በድርጊቶቹ በጣም ግራ የሚያጋባና አነጋጋሪ (controversial) የሆነ ነው፡፡

14.2. በጅምሩ ላይ ከሶሪያ ጋር ይቀራረብ ስለነበር በሶሪያ ተጽእኖ የሚመራ ይመስል ነበር፡፡ እስካሁን ድረስም ከሶሪያ መንግስት ጋር መልካም ግንኙነት አለው፡፡ ሌሎች ድርጊቶቹን ስናይ ግን *"አህባሽና ሶሪያ የጥቅም ግንኙት እንጂ የፍቅር ግንኙነት የላቸውም"* ማለታችን አይቀርም፡፡

14.3. መላው የሊባኖስ ህዝብ በሹክሹታ እንደሚያወራውና በኢንተርኔት እንደሚጻፈው ከሆነ አህባሽ የእስራኤል የስለላ ቡድን (ሞሳድ) በረቀቀ ዘዴ የሚያሸከረከረው ድርጅት ነው፡፡[10] በመሆኑም በሊባኖስ ውስጥ ጸረ-እስራኤል አቋም ያላቸውን ማህበራትና የፖለቲካ ቡድኖች በሙሉ "ጠብ አጫሪዎች ናችሁ" እያለ ይቃወማል፡፡ የፍልስጥኤም የነጻነት ጥያቄን በሚመለከትም "በሰላማዊ መንገድ ብቻ ነው መፈጸም ያለበት" የሚል ያልተብራራ አንቀጽ በፖለቲካ ማኒፌስቶው ላይ እንዳሰፈረ የዛሬ 15 አመት ገደማ ስለቡድኑ የጻፉት ኒዛር ሀምዛ እና ህሬር ዴክሜጂያን ይገልጻሉ፡፡[11]

14.4. በቅርቡ እነ ሀጋይ ኤርሊችን የመሳሰሉ ጽዮናዊያን *"አህባሽ የሚከተለው ለዘብተኛ ኢሰላማዊነት ለዓለም አስፈላጊ የሆነ የሰላም መድሀኒት ነው"* እያሉ መጻፋቸውም ከላይ የተባለውን ጥርጣሬ ወደ እውነታ ከፍ ያደርገዋል፡፡

14.5. ከሁሉም በላይ አህባሽ በአለም ዙሪያ ያሉ ሙስሊሞችን ያስደነገጠው በሶስት አቋሞቹ ነው፡፡

ሀ/. በቅድሚያ ከየት እንደተገኙ የማይታወቁ የእምነት ፍልስፍናዎቹን የማይቀበሉ ሙስሊሞችን በጅምላ "ካፊር ናቸው" በማለት ይፈርጃል፡፡

ለ/. በሁለተኛ ደረጃም ከምዕራባዊያን ጋር ቅጥ ያጣ የወዳጅነት ትስስር አለው፡፡ ሙስሊሙን እንደጠላት ለሚያዩት ምዕራባዊያን አህባሽ ውድ ልጃቸው ነው፡፡ በተለይ ከሴፕቴምበር 11/2001 ወዲህ ተፈላጊነቱ ጨምሯል፡፡

ሐ/. በሶስተኛ ደረጃም ሙስሊሞችን ለጥቃት የሚያሳድድ "ሙስሊም ነኝ" ባይ አንጃ መሆኑ በጣም እያነጋገረ ነው፡፡ አንጃው በይፋ ሲናገር "ጠላቶቼ ወህቢዎች ናቸው" ይላል፡፡ ይህ ግን የአንጃው የማስመሰያና የመከፋፈያ ስልት መሆኑን ቡድኑን በቅርበት የሚያውቁ ምሁራን ይገልጻሉ፡፡ "ጠላቶቹ መላው ሙስሊሞች ናቸው" በማለትም ያስረዳሉ፡፡

አህባሽ በጥቅሉ ሲታይ ይህንን ይመስላል፡፡

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1. ***ኡባህ አብዱሰላም ሰዒድ*** የምስራቅ አፍሪካ የእስልምና ታሪክ ተመራማሪ ናት፡፡
2. ይህ ጽሁፍ በቅድሚያ የተለቀቀው ፌስቡክ በተሰኘው ማህበራዊ ድረ-ገጽ ነው፡፡ በማስከተልም በተለያዩ ድረ-ገጾች ላይ ወጥቷል፡፡
3. Nizar Hamzeh and R. Hrair Dekmejian፡ *A Sufi Response to Political Islamism: Al-Ahbash of Lebanon*፡ 1996 Mustafa Kabha and Haggai Erlich፡ *Al-Ahbash and Wahhabiya: Interpretations of Islam*፡ 2006
4. Mustafa Kabha and Haggai Erlich፡ ibid: 2006 የአሕባሽ ድረ-ገጽ www.aicp.org
   መጅሊስና አንዳንድ የመንግስት ባለስልጣናት ከሰሞኑ "አሕባሽ" የሚባል ነገር የለም፤ ይህ ወሃቢዮች የሚያሰራጩት የፈጠራ ወሬ ነው" እያሉ ነው፡፡ ድርጅቱ ግን "አለሁ፤ አሕባሽ ነኝ" ይላል፡፡ ሁሉም የአንጃው ተከታዮች "አሕባሽ" በሚለው ስም ከልክ ያለፈ ደስታ እንደሚሰማቸው ይገልጻሉ፡፡ በቅርቡ አቡ ኢብራሂም አል-ሀረሪ የተባሉ የአሕባሽ ተከታይ ለዚህ የኡባህ አብዱሰላም ጽሁፍ መልስ ይሆናል ብለው ባሰራጩት የ37 ገጽ ድርሳን "እኛ አሕባሾች" የሚለውን አባባል ይደጋግሙታል፡፡
5. Nizar Hamzeh and R. Hrair Dekmejian፡ ibid: 1996 Mustafa Kabha and Haggai Erlich፡ ibid: 2006 የአሕባሽ ድረ-ገጽ www.aicp.org
6. አሕባሽን የመሰረቱት ሼክ አብዱላሂ አል-ሐረሪ የተወለዱት በ1910 ዓ.ል. ሐረር ከተማ ውስጥ ነው፡፡ እስከ ጉልምስና ዘመናቸው በኖው ሀገር ሲማሩና ሲያስተምሩ ከቆዩ በኋላ በ1948 ዓ.ል. ወደ መካከለኛው ምስራቅ ተሻገሩ፡፡ ለአንድ ዓመት ያህል በሶሪያ ዋና ከተማ በደማስቆ ቆዩ፡፡ ከዚያም በ1950

ዓ.ል. ወደ ሊባኖስ ዋና ከተማ ቤይሩት በመግባት እስከ ህይወታቸው ፍጻሜ ድረስ በዚያው ሀገር ኖሩ፡፡

Nizar Hamzeh and R. Hrair Dekmejian፡ ibid: 1996፡ Mustafa Kabha and Haggai Erlich፡ ibid: 2006

7. Mustafa Kabha and Haggai Erlich፡ ibid: 2006
8. Mustafa Kabha and Haggai Erlich፡ ibid: 2006 የኢትዮጵያ እስልምና ጉዳዮች ከፍተኛ ም/ቤት፤ *የሼኽ አብዱላሂ አል-ሀረሪይ እውነታዎች*፤ 2004 ገጽ 9-10
9. ስለአሕባሽ ብዙ የጻፉት Thomas Pierret እንደሚገልጹት የአንጃው የኢንተርኔት አጠቃቀም ከተከታዮቹ ቁጥር አንጻር ሲመዘን ጠላቶቹ ናቸው ከሚላቸው "ወሃቢዮች" በብዙ እጥፍ ይበልጣል፡፡ Thomas Pierret, "Internet in a Sectarian Islamic Context," *The International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World* 15 (2005):
10. Nizar Hamzeh and R. Hrair Dekmejian፡ ibid: 1996
11. Nizar Hamzeh and R. Hrair Dekmejian፡ ibid: 1996

የፍትሕ ጥያቄያችን ከግቡ እንዲደርስ

የፌስ ቡክ ጸረ-አሕባሽ ቡድን

መስከረም 1/ 2004

እኛ የኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊም ወጣቶች "አሕባሽ"ን የምንታገለው አንጃው ከኛ የተለየ አመለካከትና የእምነት ፍልስፍና ስለያዘ አይደለም፡፡ የትግላችን መነሾዎች

1. አንጃው የሀገራችን ሙስሊሞች ሁሉ የጋራ ተወካይና መንፈሳዊ መሪ መሆኑ የሚታመንለትን የኢትዮጵያ እስልምና ጉዳዮች ጠቅላይ ም/ቤት በሞኖፖል በመቆጣጠሩ በኑፋቄና በጥመት የተወገዘውን የእምነት ፍልስፍናውን በመላው ኢትዮጵያ የሚሰራጭበት እድል በመፈጠሩ
2. አንጃው ባለው የፅንፈኝነት ባህሪ ከርሱ ጋር የማይጣጣሙትን ሁሉ "ከፍራችኋል" (ከኢስላም ወጥታችኋል) እያለ በወንድማማቾች መካከል የጥላቻና የሽብር መርዝ ሲዘራ እንደነበረ በስፋት ስለሚታወቅና "ይህንን ድርጊት በሀገራችን መድገሙ አይቀርም" ብለን ስለሰጋን
3. አሜሪካ "የወሃቢያን እንቅስቃሴ ለመቆጣጠር" በሚል ሽፋን በሙስሊሞች ላይ ለከፈተችው ኢ-ፍትሐዊ ዘመቻ ይህን በኑፋቄና በጥመት የተወገዘ የ"አሕባሽ" አንጃ ፊታውራሪ አድርጋ ማሳለፏ በበቂ ማስረጃዎች በመረጋገጡ
4. የአንጃው ጽንፈኛ አመለካከቶች በሙስሊሙና በሌላ ሀይማኖት ተከታዮች መካከል ለረጅም ዘመናት ጸንቶ የቆየውን የመተባበርና የመቻቻል ባህል ያደፈርሳል ብለን ስለሰጋን እና ሌሎችም ምክንያቶች ናቸው፡፡

በመሆኑም ይህ አንጃ በእምነታችንና በሰላማችን ላይ የደቀነውን አደጋ ለመቀልበስ በምንችለው ሁሉ ለመታገል ቆርጠን ተነስተናል፡፡ ትግላችንን የምናካሄደው በህጋዊና ሰላማዊ መንገድ ብቻ ነው፡፡ ግባችንም በሀገራችን ህገ መንግስት የተረጋገጠልንን የእምነት ነጻነት መብታችንን ማስከበር ነው፡፡ በዚህ መሰረትም የሚከተሉት የትግል ስልቶችን መንደፍ አስፈላጊ ሆኖ ታይቶናል፡፡

1. መንግስታትን በሚመለከት

1.1. የኢትዮጵያ መንግስት አካላት (ባለስልጣኖችም ሆኑ ተቋማት) ስለ "አሕባሽ" ምንነት በቂ መረጃ ያላቸው አይመስለንም፡፡ የአንጃው የእምነት ፍልስፍና አጠቃላዩ የዓለም ሙስሊም ህብረተሰብ ከሚከተላቸው የእስልምና አስተምህሮዎች የቱን ያህል እንደሚራራቅ በደንብ አያዉቁትም፡፡ ስለዚህ "አሕባሽ" በብቸኝነት በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ትምህርቱን እንዲሰጥ መፍቀድ ማለት "እስከዛሬ ድረስ የምትከተሉትን እምነት ቀይሩ"

የማለት ያህል እንደሆነ ለሁሉም የመንግስት አካላት በምንችለው መንገድ ሁሉ ማሳወቅ አለብን፡፡

1.2. ከዓለም አቀፍ ፖሊሲ ትንተናው በመነሳት "አሕባሽ"ን ለኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊሞች መሪነት ለመረጠው የአሜሪካ መንግስት ትንተናው በተሳሳተ ግምገማ ላይ የተመሰረተ እንደሆነ በሚቻለው መንገድ ሁሉ ማሳወቅ አለብን፡፡ (ለምሳሌ የአሜሪካ መንግስት እንደሚለው የአክራሪነትና እና የጽንፈኝነት አመለካከቶች በሀገራችን ውስጥ መሰረት እንደሌላቸው ማሳወቅ አለብን)፡፡

1.3. "ሽብርተኝነት"ን ለመዋጋት መፍትሔው በቀድሞው የሊባኖስ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ግድያ ከተወነጀሉት የሽብር ግብረ-ሃይሎች አንዱ የሆነውን "አሕባሽ"ን ለኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊሞች መሪነት መምረጥ ሳይሆን ሽብርተኝነት በኢስላም ሃይማኖታዊ መሰረት እንደሌለው የሚያውቁትን ሙስሊሞች በጋራ ማንቀሳቀስ እንደሆነ ማስረዳት አለብን፡፡ (ኢስላምን አስታከው ድብቅ አጀንዳቸውን ማራመድ የሚፈልጉ ሃይሎች ካሉ ሙስሊሙ ራሱ ሊቆጣጠራቸው ይችላል)፡፡

2. አህባሾችን በተመለከተ

2.1. አህባሾች በአራት ክፍል እንደሚመደቡ መታወቅ አለበት፡፡ እነርሱም

ሀ/. ***ዓለም አቀፍ አህባሾች***፡- እነዚህኛዎቹ በሀገራችን ውስጥ በብዛት የሉም፡፡ ሆኖም በማእከሎቻቸው በአስተማሪነት ይመደባሉ፡፡ እነዚህ ሰዎች በእምነት ስም በሌላው አለም (በተለይ በሊባኖስ) የለመዱትን በመርዝ የተለወሰ የጥላቻ ትምህርት በሀገራችን እንዲያስፋፉ የሚፈቅድላቸው የህግ የለም፡፡ ሰላማዊ ስብከት እንጂ *"እገሌ ካፊር ነው በሉ"፤ ከወሃቢያ ጋር ቡና አትጠጡ፤ ምሳ አትብሉ፤ ትከፍራላችሁ"* እያሉ እንዲያስተምሩ የሚፈቅድላቸው የህግ አንቀጽ የለም፡፡ ስለዚህ የጥላቻ ዘመቻቸውን ማጋለጥና በህጋዊ መንገድ መታገል ይገባል፡፡ (እነ ዶ/ር ዛኪርን በ"ኩፍር" የወነጀሉት እነዚህ አለም አቀፍ አህባሾች ናቸው፡፡)

ለ/. ***በዜግነት ኢትዮጵያዊ የሆኑ ጽንፈኛ አህባሾች***፡- እነዚህኛዎቹን በኢስላማዊ አስተምህሮ እየተከራከሩ መመለሱ በእጅጉ ይከብዳል፡፡ ስለዚህ ብዙም ባናተኩርባቸው ይሻላል፡፡

ሐ/. ***ኢትዮጵያዊ የሆኑ ለዘብተኛ አህባሾች***፡- እነዚህኛዎቹ ከሌላው ሙስሊም ጋር ይቀራረባሉ፡፡ ከኛ ጋር በጀመአ በአንድ መስጊድ ሊሰግዱም ይችላሉ፡፡ (በ"ለ" የተጠቀሱት ግን ጁምዓ እንኳ ለብቻቸው ካልሆነ በስተቀር ከኛ ጋር አይሰግዱም)፡፡ ስለዚህ በዚህ ስር የሚጠቃለሉትን የአህባሽ ሰዎች እስከምንችለው ድረስ መምከርና ለመመለስ ጥረት ማድረግ ያስፈልጋል፡፡

መ/ ***"አኩራፊ አህባሾች"***፡- እነዚህኛዎቹ በኛው አያያዝ ተናደው ወደ አህባሽ የተጠጉ ናቸው፡፡ ለምሳሌ አንዳንድ የሀገራችን ሙስሊሞች ከባህል የወረሷቸውና በእስልምና ተቀባይነት የሌላቸው በርካታ ልማዶች ይታይባቸዋል፡፡ እነዚህን ወገኖች ዳዒዎች በለዘብታ ቃላት ማስተማር ሲገባቸው በከረረ ቃላትና ወቀሳ (አንዳንዴም በስድብ) ይወርዱባቸዋል ("ሙሽሪክ" ብሎ የሚወነጅላቸው ሰውም አለ)፡፡ በመሆኑም እነዚህ

ወገኖች ያኮርፉና ወደ "አህባሽ" ጎራ ይገባሉ፡፡ ስለዚህ ዳዒዎች ማስተካከል ያለባቸውን ግድፈቶች ማረምና ወገኖቻችንን ማስተማር አለባቸው፡፡

2.2. በማንኛውም ወቅት የአህባሽ ጎራ ተከታይ ከሆነ ሰው ጋር ከቃላትና ከጽሁፍ የዘለለ ክርክር ማድረግ የለብንም፡፡ (ለግጭት በሚጋብዝ ሁኔታ መከራከር አይገባንም)፡፡

2.3. የአህባሽ ተከታዮችን እራሳቸው ካልፈለጉ በስተቀር ከማህበራዊ ኑሮ ማግለል አይገባም፡፡

3. የሀገራችን ሙስሊሞችን በሚመለከት

3.1. የሀገራችን ህዝበ ሙስሊም ስለአህባሽ በቂ መረጃ እንዲያገኝ ማድረግ አለብን፡፡ ለዚህም አሁን ከጀመርነው የኢንተርኔት መስኮት በተጨማሪ ሌሎች መንገዶችንም መጠቀም አለብን፡፡

3.2. የሀገራችን ምሁራን በትግላችን እንዲሳተፉ መጋበዝ አለብን፡፡ (ለምሳሌ ከዚህ ቀደም "ተከፊር ወል-ሂጅራ" በተባለው ጠማማ ቡድን ላይ በርካታ መጽሀፍት እንደተጻፉት ሁሉ በአህባሽም ላይ ተመሳሳይ ድርሰቶች መጻፍ አለባቸው፡፡)

3.3. ታዋቂ ግለሰቦችም ድምጻቸውን ማሰማት እንዲችሉ መቀስቀስ ይገባል፡፡

3.4. የሙስሊም ጋዜጦቻችን የጀመሩትን አህባሽን የማጋለጥ ዘመቻ አጠናክረው ሊቀጥሉበት ይገባል፡፡

4. ከሀገራችን ውጭ ያለውን ህዝበ ሙስሊም በተመለከተ

4.1. በዲያስፖራ ያሉት ኢትዮጵያዊያን ሙስሊሞች በሰላማዊና ህጋዊ ትግላችን እንዲሳተፉ መቀስቀስ አለብን፡፡

4.2. ይህ ጉዳይ የኢትዮጵያዊያን ሙስሊሞች ጉዳይ በመሆኑ ሌሎች መንግስታትና የውጪ ሀገር ዜጎች በቀጥታ የሚሳተፉበት ምክንያት የለም፡፡ ሆኖም አህባሽ በዓለም ዙሪያ ተሰራጭቶ ሙስሊሞችን እየበጠበጠ ያለ ቡድን በመሆኑ ስለ አንጃው ድብቅ ታሪኮችና እንቅስቃሴዎች፤ ስለእምነት ፍልስፍናው መሰረቶች፤ ስለ ማሳሳቻ ስልቶቹ፤ የዓለም ሙስሊም ምሁራን የሰጧቸውን ፈትዋዎች፤ የአንጃውን እንቅስቃሴ ለመገደብ የወሰዷቸውን እርምጃዎች ወዘተ... በመሳሰሉት ላይ ሃሳባቸውን በማጋራት ለመተባበር ከፈለጉ በደስታ እንቀበላቸዋለን፡፡

አሕባሽ ሆይ! የሱስንዮስና የዮሀንስ ዘመን አልፏል!

ኡባህ አብዱሰላም ሰዒድ

መስከረም 4 / 2004

የኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ በጦርነትና በፍትጊያ የተሞላ ነው፡፡ ከነዚህ ጦርነቶች መካከል አብዛኛዎቹ በእብሪተኛ መሪዎች ቀስቃሽነት ነበር የተካሄዱት፡፡ ዓለም በስልጣኔ ጎዳና ወደ ፊት ሲገሰግስ የያኔዎቹ የኢትዮጵያ መሪዎች ግን "እኔ አውቅልሀለሁ" በሚል ጀብደኝነታቸው ህዝቡን እርስ በራሱ ያጫርሱት ነበር፡፡ አንዳንድ መሪዎችማ ህዝቡ የቀድሞ እምነቱን ትቶ እነርሱ የመረጡለትን ጎዳና እንዲከተል ለማስገደድ ሲሉ ህዝቡን ከፍተኛ እልቂት ባስከተሉ ጦርነቶች ውስጥ ሲዘፍቁት ኖረዋል፡፡ ነገር ግን እነርሱ የፈለጉት ሃይማኖትን የማስቀየር ፖሊሲ አልተሳካላቸውም፡፡ ይህንንም በሁለት ምሳሌዎች መግለጽ ይቻላል፡፡

1. ***አጼ ሱስንዮስ (ከ1605-1632)***፡- አጼ ሱስንዮስ ከምዕራብ አውሮፓ (ፖርቱጋልና ስፔን) በመጡት የካቶሊክ እምነት ሰባኪያን ተማርኮ ሃይማኖቱን ለወጠ፡፡ ሳይውል ሳያድርም በሀገሪቱ ውስጥ ያሉት ካህናት፤ ቀሳውስትና መላው የክርስቲያን ህዝብ የኦርቶዶክስ ሃይማኖቱን ትቶ ወደ ካቶሊክ እምነት እንዲገባ አዋጅ አስነገረ፡፡ ህዝቡ ግን ትዕዛዙን "አልቀበልም!" አለ፡፡ በነገሩ የተናደደው አጼም ፍላጎቱን በሃይል ለመፈጸም ተነሳ፡፡ መላው ሰራዊቱን በክርስቲያኑ ህዝብ ላይ አዘመተ፡፡ ህዝቡም ከሱስንዮስ ሰራዊት ጋር ተጋፈጠ፡፡ በሀገሪቱ ላይ የጦርነት እሳት ነደደ፡፡
   አጼ ሱስንዮስ ጀብደኝነት ባሳወረው ወኔው በጦርነቱ ገፋበት፡፡ ለ27 አመታት በዘለቀው የስልጣን ዘመኑ ምንም ሳይሰራበት ሀገሪቷን በጦርነት እሳት ሲለበልባት ቆየ፡፡ እርሱ የለኮሰው እሳት የቆመው አጼው "አለም በቃኝ" ብሎ ወደ ገዳም ሲገባና ልጁ ፋሲል በአባቱ ቦታ ንጉስ ተብሎ ሲሾም ነው፡፡
2. ***አጼ ዮሀንስ አራተኛ (ከ1870-1888)***፡- አጼ ዮሀንስ *"በአንድ ሀገር አንድ ሃይማኖት"* በሚለው ፖሊሲያቸው ይታወቃሉ፡፡ ይህንን ፖሊሲ በስራ ላይ ለማዋል ሲሉ ከታናሻቸው ከአጼ ምኒልክ ጋር እንኳ ተጣልተዋል (ምኒልክ በሃይማኖት ፖሊሲያቸው ጥሩ ባይባሉም ከአጼ ዮሀንስ ይሻላሉ)፡፡
   አጼ ዮሀንስ ፖሊሲያቸውን ለመተግበር ሲነሱ በቅድሚያ የመረጡት የወሎ ክፍለ ሀገርን ነው፡፡ በዚሁ መሰረት ለብዙ ምዕተ አመታት እምነታቸውን አስጠብቀው የቆዩት የወሎ ሙስሊሞች በአንድ ወር ውስጥ ክርስትና ካልተነሱ በሰይፍ እንደሚቀጡ አዋጅ ተነገረ፡፡ ወላዋዩና ሹመት ፈላጊው (እንደ ራስ ሚካኤል አይነቱ) የአጼውን ትእዛዝ ለመፈጸም ተሸቀዳደመ፡፡ አብዛኛው ህዝብ ግን እስልምናን በምንም ዋጋ እንደማይለውጥ ለአጼው ቁርጡን ነገራቸው፡፡ በነገሩ የተናደዱት አጼ ዮሀንስ የሸብርና የጦርነት ጅራፋቸውን በወሎ ህዝብ ላይ መዘዙ፡፡ ሙስሊሙ ህዝብ በሼኽ ጠለሃ ጃዕፈር፤ በአባ ዋጠው እና በሌሎችም ሙጃሂዶች ዙሪያ በመሰለፍ እብሪተኛውን አጼ ተጋፈጠ፡፡ የአጼው ጥቃት

እየባሰበት ሲሄድም ህዝቡ ለሃይማኖቱ ሲል ወደ ሀረር፤ ባሌ፤ ጅማ እና ጉራጌ ተሰደደ፡፡ ነገሩ አንጀቱን ያሳረረው ደግሞ ወደ ሱዳን እየተሰደደ ከኢማም አህመድ አልማህዲ ጦር ጋር ተቀላቀለ፡፡

አጼው በጦርነት ፖሊሲያቸው ገፉበት፡፡ ሆኖም ጦርነቱ ሃይማኖትን ሊያስለውጥ አልቻልም፡፡ እንዲያውም የርሳቸው ህይወት እንዲቀጠፍ ምክንያት ሆነ፡፡

ከላይ የጠቀስናቸው ሁለት ምሳሌዎች በርካታ ቁምነገሮችን ያስተምሩናል፡፡ ምሳሌዎቹን በትክክለኛ አእምሮ ያነበበ ሰው በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ እምነትን በግድ ለመጫን የሚደረግ ጥረት መጨረሻው ውድቀት እንደሆነ በደንብ ይገነዘባል፡፡

ዛሬ አለም በሰለጠነበትና ጭፍንነትና አጉል አክራሪነት አንድ እርምጃ እንኳ በማያራምዱበት ዘመን አህባሾች "አይናችሁን ጨፍኑ ላሞኛችሁ" ሊሉን መጥተዋል፡፡ ከኋላቸው በሚገፉቸው ስውር እጅ (አሜሪካ) እየታገዙ የመጅሊስን ስልጣን በመቆጣጠራቸው ብቻ ድል የሚቀናቸው እየመሰላቸው ነው፡፡ ህዝቡ ግን "እስከዛሬ የተከለተላችሁት እምነት ስህተት ስለሆነ በአዲስ መልክ ወደ እስልምና ግቡ" ሊሉት የመጡ መሆናቸውን በደንብ ያውቃል፡፡ የዓለም ህዝብ የሚያምንባቸውንና ለሃይማኖታቸው ከልባቸው ሲሰሩ የቆዩትን ኡለማ "ካፊር ናቸው" እያሉ በመሳደባቸው ብቻ ልቡ ቆስሏል፡፡

ስለዚህ አህባሾች የመጅሊስን ስልጣን ቀርቶ የሀገሪቱን ስልጣን ሙሉ በሙሉ ቢቆጣጠሩ እንኳ የሚለውጡት አማኝ ያለ አይመስለኝም፡፡ ይህ ህዝብ አያቶቹ ከነ አጼ ዮሐንስ ጋር እየተጋፈጡ የጠበቁትን እስልምና በተራ ጮሌነት ያስረክባል ብለው ገምተው ከሆነ በህልም አለም ውስጥ ነው ያሉትና ህዝቡ "ከህልማችሁ ንቁ!"ይላቸዋል፡፡ እውነታው ደግሞ በተግባር ይታያል፡፡ ድል የኢስላም ነው!! አላሁ አክበር!!

አሕባሽ ፤ ዴቪድ ሺን እና የኢትዮጵያዊያን ሙስሊሞች ስጋት

ኡባህ አብዱሰላም ሰዒድ

መስከረም 6 / 2004

የ"አህባሽ" ጀመዓ ለብዙዎቻችን ስጋት ከሆነባቸው ምክንያቶች አንዱ አንጃው አመለካከቱን በህዝቡ ውስጥ ለማስረጽ ሲል ከጸረ-እስላም ሃይሎች ጋር እንኳ አንድ ላይ ወግኖ ሙስሊሞችን ከመጉዳት ወደ ኋላ የማይል መሆኑ ነው፡፡ የአንጃውን የኋላ ታሪክ የሚያውቁ ወገኖች ይህንን በስፋት ሲዘረዝሩ ነበር፡፡ ለመሆኑ ይህ ጽንፈኛ አንጃ ወደ ኢትዮጵያ መጥቶ ሙስሊሞችን እንዲመራ ማን መረጠው?

ይህንን ጥያቄ መመለስ ይከብዳል፡፡ ሆኖም አንድ ነገር በእርግጠኛነት መናገር ይቻላል፡፡ የኢትዮጵያ መንግስት ይህንን ጉዳይ ለብቻው አልወሰነውም፡፡ ነገሩ የበርካቶች እጅ አለበት፡፡ ከሁሉም እጆች የሚተልቀው ደግሞ የአሜሪካ እጅ ይመስለኛል፡፡

አሜሪካ ከመስከረም 11/2011 ወዲህ በሽብር ላይ ጦርነት ከፍቻለሁ ትላለች፡፡ ቀንደኛ አሸባሪዎችን የሚፈለፍለውም "እስላማዊ አክራሪነት ነው" ባይ ነች፡፡ በአሜሪካ አመለካከት "የእስላማዊ አክራሪነት ምንጭ "ወሃቢያ" የሚባለው ቡድን ነው፡ ኢትዮጵያም ወሃቢያ እየተጠናከረ የመጣባት ሀገር ናት፡፡ ስለዚህ የወሃቢያን አክራሪ አቋም ለመቆጣጠር በርካታ ዘዴዎችን መጠቀም ያስፈልጋል፡፡ ከነዚህም ውስጥ አንዱ ከሙስሊሞች መካከል ከወሀቢያ ጋር ፈጽሞ የተቃረነ ትምህርትና የእምነት ፍልስፍና ያላቸውን ግለሰቦችና ቡድኖች ማጠናከርና በወሃቢያ ላይ የበላይ እንዲሆኑ መርዳት ነው፡፡" በዚህ ስሌት መሰረት ነው እንግዲህ "አህባሽ" በአለም አቀፍ ደረጃ የተመረጠልን፡፡ ለመሆኑ ይህንን ጥቆማ ለአሜሪካ የሰጠው ማን ነው?

ብዙዎች አህባሽን "ለኢትዮጵያ የመረጡት ፕሮፌሰር ሀጋይ ኤርሊች ናቸው" ይላሉ፡፡ እኔ ግን ሀጋይ ኤርሊችን ብቻ አልጠረጥርም፡፡ ከሀጋይ ኤርሊች ጋር በኢትዮጵያ የአሜሪካ አምባሳደር የነበሩትን ዴቪድ ሺንን እጥረጥራለሁ፡፡ ምክንያቱም ሃጋይ ኤርሊች ነገሩን በይፋ በማቀንቀን የመጀመሪያ ሰው ይሁኑ እንጂ አህባሽ በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ቢናጠከር ለኢትዮጵያም ሆነ ለአሜሪካ ጥቅም የሚበጅ እንደሆነ በፖሊሲ ደረጃ ሲሰብኩ የነበሩት ዲቪድ ሺን ነበሩ፡፡ ለዚህም አምባሳደር ዴቪድ ሺን በዲሴምበር 20/2004 ቤይሩት በሚገኘው የአሜሪካ ዩኒቨርሲቲ (American University of Beirut) ***"እስልምናና ግጭቶች በአፍሪካ ቀንድ"*** በሚል ርዕስ ያቀረቡት ጥናታዊ ጽሁፍ ግንባር ቀደም ሆኖ ይጠቀሳል፡፡[1]

አምባሳደር ዴቪድ ሺን ከዚያ በፊትም ሆነ በኋላ በአፍሪካ ቀንድ ጉዳዮች ላይ በርካታ የፖሊሲ ጥናቶችን አቅርበዋል፡፡ ይህ ጽሁፋቸው ግን ***"አህባሽ በአሜሪካ መንገድ ላይ ይለፍ"*** የሚለውን አረንጓዴ መብራት ያበራ እንደሆነ ከአቀራረቡ መረዳት ይቻላል፡፡

ዴቪድ ሺን ከሰባት ዓመት በፊት የተነፈሱት የፖሊሲ ሀሳብ በሙከራ ደረጃ በስራ ላይ ሲውል ቆይቷል፡፡ ለዚህም አንዳንድ መረጃዎችን ልስጣችሁ፡፡

1. የአሜሪካ ኤምባሲ ባለፉት ጥቂት ዓመታት ሲያዘጋጃቸው የነበሩት የረመዳን የኢፍጣር ፕሮግራሞች (በዚህ ፕሮግራም ላይ እንዲገኙ ሲጋበዙ የነበሩት እነማን ናቸው? እንዴትስ ነው የሚመረጡት?)
2. አሜሪካ በራሷ በጀት በባሌ የሚገኘውን የዲሬ ሼኽ ሁሴን መስጊድና የመቃብር ቦታ ማሳደሷ (አሜሪካ "ወሃቢያዎች ዲሬ ሼኽ ሁሴን የመሳሰሉትን ቀደምት መስጊዶችና የመቃብር ቦታዎች ማጥፋት ይፈልጋሉ፡፡ ስለዚህ "ሱፊዎች የሚጎበኟቸውን የመቃብር ቦታዎችና ሀድራዎች ማጠናከር ያስፈልጋል" ትላለች፡፡)
3. ባለፉት ሁለት ዓመታት በተካሄዱት የአካባቢ የመጅሊስ ምርጫዎች "ወሀቢያዎች" እስከ ቀበሌ ድረስ ባሉት ኮሚቴዎች እንዳይሳተፉ በሚል ሲሰሩ የነበሩት የምርጫ ቲያትሮች

ነገሩ ከፍተኛ ትኩረት ተሰጥቶት በትጋት ሲካሄድ ነበር፡፡ ይህንንም አምባሳደር ዶናልድ ያማሞቶ በጻፉትና ዊኪሊክስ በኢንተርኔት በለቀቀው የቴሌግራም ዘገባ በስፋት ነግረውናል፡፡[2]

የሚገርመው ነገር የትኛውም የአህባሽ ጀመዓ አባል ይህንን ጉዳይ የማያስተባብል መሆኑ ነው፡፡ እንደ አህባሾች አመለካከት "ወሀቢያ የተባለው ቡድን እስልምናን ለማጥፋት በሙሉ ሃይሉ የሚሰራ የሙናፊቆች ስብስብ ነው፡፡ ስለዚህ እርሱን በተቻለው መንገድ ሁሉ መታገል ያስፈልጋል፡፡" አህባሾች በቀጥታ የሚሉት ይህንን ነው፡፡

ያ ጀመዓ! "አህባሽ" ስለማንቀበለው ብቻ በተለመደው ጽንፈኛነቱ "ወሃቢያ ናችሁ!" ይለናል፡፡ አሁንማ "ባለቤቷን የተማመነች በግ ላቷን ውጪ ታሳድራለች" አይነት ነገር ሆኖብናል፡፡ አሜሪካንና መንግስትን ተጠግቶ እኛን ሊፈራ? አላህን ያልፈራ እኛን እንዴት ይፈራል? ከሰሞኑ ግር ግር እንደማየውማ "ወሃቢያ ናችሁ" በሚል የጸረ-አሸባሪነት ህግ የሚባለውን አሳሳቢ አዋጅ በሙስሊሞች ላይ እያስመዘዘ ወንድሞቻችንና እህቶቻችንን ለስቃይ እና ለእንግልት እንዳይዳርግ ያሰጋናል፡፡ ስለዚህ ስጋታችን "ስጋት" ብቻ ሆኖ እንዲቀር ትግላችንን ማጠናከር አለብን፡፡

ያ ጀመዓ! እኔ ይህንን ብያለሁ፡፡ እናንተስ ምን ትላላችሁ? አህባሽ "አህሉ ሱንና ወልጀመዓ" የሚለውን ስም በውሸት ደርቦ "ወሃቢያ ናችሁ" እያለ የፈለገውን ሊፈጽምና ሊያስፈጽም አሰፍስፏል፡፡እርሱን በመመከቱ ዙሪያ በጋራ እንወያይ፡፡ ሀቅን እስከያዝን ድረስ የአላህ እርዳታ ከኛ ጋር ነውና፡፡

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1. የዴቪድ ሺንን ጽሁፍ ከሚከተለው የድረ-ገጽ አድራሻ ማግኘት ይቻላል፡፡

http://www.ephrem.org/dehai_archive/2005/nov04-jan05/0562.html

2. አምባሳደር ያማሞቶ ከጻፏቸው ቴሌግራሞች መካከል አንደኛውን በሚከተለው አድራሻ መከፈት ይቻላል (የሌሎቹ አድራሻ በዚሁ መጽሀፍ መጨረሻ ላይ በተያያዘው አባሪ ውስጥ ይገኛል)፡፡ http://wikileaks.org/cable/2009/07/09ADDISABABA1674.html

አሕባሽና ጽዮናዊው Anti Defamation League

ኡባህ አብዱሰላም ሰዒድ

ጥቅምት 15/2004

"አህባሽ" በሙስሊሙ ዓለም አነጋገሪ የሆነበት አንደኛው ምክንያት *"አንጃው ለጽዮናዊያን ሀይለኛ ፍቅር አለው"* ተብሎ መነገሩ ነው፡፡ በርግጥም አህባሽ ከጽዮናዊያን ጋር ሞቅ ያለ ፍቅር እንዳለው የሚያስረዳው ትልቁ ነገር ድርጊቱ ነው፡፡ የአንጃው ጽሁፎች፤ ፕሮፓጋንዳዎችና ድርጊቶች በሙሉ ጽዮናዊያን በሚፈልጉት ስልት የተቃኘ ነው፡፡ ስብከቱ፣ ተረቱ፤ ውረፋው፤ ጥላቻው፤ ወዘተ... ያነጣጠረው በሙስሊሞች ላይ ነው፡፡ እንዲህ አይነቱ ባህሪ ነው የጽዮናዊያንን አንጀት የሚያርሰው፡፡

ሆኖም እስከዛሬ ድረስ ይህንን ጉዳይ በተሟላ ሁኔታ የሚያጠናክርልን ማስረጃ ለማግኘት ተስኖን ቆይቷል፡፡ ከሀገራችን ጉዳይ ጋር አያይዘን እንደ ትልቅ ማስረጃ የምናቀርበው የጽዮናዊውን ፕሮፌሰር የሀጋይ ኤርሊች ጽሁፎችን ነው፡፡ በርግጥም ሀጋይ ኤርሊች "አህባሽ"ን ለመሪነት ካጩልን ሰዎች መካከል ቀንደኛው ነው፡፡ ከዚያ ባለፈ ግን ነገሩን በእርግጠኝነት የምናስረዳበት ማስረጃ አልነበረንም፡፡

ዛሬ ግን ተሳክቶልናል። አልሐምዱሊላህ! የመጀመሪያው ትልቅ ማስረጃ ከእጃችን ገብቷል፡፡ ይህ ማስረጃ አህባሾች በፌስቡክ ቡድናቸውና በመርከዛቸው "ተረት ነው፤ አሉባልታ ነው፤ የጠላት ወሬ ነው!..." ወዘተ እያሉ በማጭበርበር ነገሮችን እንዲሸፋፍኑ እድል የማይሰጣቸው አይነት ነው፡፡ በዚህ በኩል ጥሩ ነው፡፡ በሌላ በኩል በኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊሞች የእምነት ነጻነት ላይ የተደቀነውን ታላቅ አደጋ የሚጠቁም በመሆኑ ከፍተኛ ስጋት ይቀሰቅሳል፡፡

ለማንኛውም ማስረጃውን እነግራችኋለሁ፡፡ ከዚያ በፊት አላህ ይህንን ውድና ጠቃሚ የሆነ ማስረጃ በእጃችን ላይ ስለጣለልን ምስጋናችን ይድረሰው እላለሁ፡፡ በማስከተልም ይህንን ውድ ማስረጃ ያመጡልንን "የጸረ-አህባሽ" ፌስቡክ ቡድን መስራች አባላትና መሪዎች "አላህ ምንዳቸውን ያብዛው፤ ከክፉ ነገር ይጠብቃቸው" ለማለት እወዳለሁ (እናንተም ዱዓ አድርጉላቸው)፡፡

የጸረ- ሰም ማጥፋት ሊግ (Anti-Defamation League)

እንደዚህ የሚባል ድርጅት ሰምታችሁ ታውቃላችሁ? እኔ ግን እስከ እሁድ ሌሊት (ጥቅምት 14/ 2004 ዓ.ል.) ድረስ በዚህ ስም የሚጠራ ድርጅት ስለመኖሩ በጭራሽ ሰምቼ አላውቅም፡፡ የሚገርመው ታዲያ ድርጅቱ በዓለም አቀፍ ደረጃ "ሰብአዊ መብትን እናስጠብቃለን" በሚል ስም ከተቋቋሙ ጥንታዊ ተቋማት ጋር የሚመደብ መሆኑ ነው፡፡ ከፍልስጥኤማዊያን ጥያቄ ጋር በተያያዘ በአል-ጀዚራና በሌሎችም ጣቢያዎች በየጊዜው አስፈሪ ዘገባዎች የሚቀርቡበት ድርጅት መሆኑም

ሌላ ነገር ነው፡፡ የድርጅቱ ዌብሳይት እልፍ አእላፍ የኢንተርኔት ተጠቃሚዎች ከሚያዘወትሯቸው ድረ-ገጾች መካከል የሚመደብ መሆኑም ሌላ የማላውቀው እንቆቅልሽ ነው፡፡ በአጭሩ "የኢንተርኔት ሱሰኛ ነኝ" እያልኩ ስጀነን ኖሬ እንዲህ ዓይነት ስመ-ገናና ድርጅት መኖሩን እንኳ አለማወቄ "በጣም ገና" ከሚባሉት ጀማሪዎች ጎራ ውስጥ የምመደብ መሆኑን አሳይቶኛል፡፡

"የጸረ-ስም ማጥፋት ሊግ" ዓላማው፣ ስያሜውና ድርጊቶቹ ሶስቱም ይለያያሉ፡፡ የድርጅቱን ዌብሳይት ስትከፍቱ ዓይናችሁ በቅድሚያ የሚያርፈው *"To stop the defamation of the Jewish people: To secure Justice and fair treatment for all"* ተብሎ በተጻፈው የድርጅቱ ዓላማ ማስተዋወቂያ ላይ ነው (በአማርኛ "በአይሁዶች ላይ የሚካሄደውን ስም ማጥፋት ማስቆም- ፍትሃዊነትና እኩልነትን ለሁሉም እንዲሆን ማረጋገጥ" እንደማለት ነው)፡፡ ይህንን መፈክር እንደ አላማ አድርጎ የሚጠቀመው የዚህ ድርጅት ዋነኛ ተግባር ግን "ጽዮናዊነትን ማጠናከርና የእስራኤልን ዘረኝነትና ተስፋፊነት በአለም ዙሪያ ማስተጋባት ነው"፡፡[1]

Anti-Defamation League (ADL) በ1913 በአሜሪካ ውስጥ የተቋቋመ አይሁዳዊ ተቋም ነው፡፡ በአሜሪካ የፖለቲካና የኢኮኖሚ ምህዋሮች ውስጥ ከፍተኛ ተጽእኖ ካላቸው ግዙፍ ተቋማት መካከልም አንዱ ነው፡፡ ሊጉ በአሜሪካ ውስጥ ካሉት ከሰላሳ በላይ ቅርንጫፎች በተጨማሪ አይሁዶች በሚበዙባቸው ሶስት ሀገራት ውስጥም (እስራኤል፤ ሩሲያና ኢጣሊያ) ውስጥ በይፋ ይንቀሳቀሳል፡፡

ADL "ዋነኛው ዓላማዬ አይሁዶችን ከጥላቻ መታደግ ነው" ይላል፡፡ የጥላቻ ጥቃቶች በሌሎች የብሄረሰብና የእምነት ቡድኖች ላይ እንዳይደርሱ ለመከላከል በሚል በርካታ እንቅስቃሴዎችንም እንደሚያደርግ ይገልጻል፡፡ ድርጅቱን ከ"ሀ" እስከ "ፐ" የሚያውቁ ወገኖች ግን የድርጅቱን መሰሪነት ነው የሚናገሩት፡፡ እኒህ ወገኖች እንደሚሉት "ADL" ፀረ-ሴማዊነትን (ጸረ-አይሁድ አስተሳሰብን) ለማጥፋት በሚል ሽፋን "ሴማዊነት"ን (የአይሁድ የበላይነትን) በሁሉም ህዝቦች ላይ ለመጫን ሌት ተቀን የሚሰራ ጽዮናዊ ድርጅት ነው፡፡ በተለይ በእስራኤል መንግስት ህገወጥ ተግባራት ላይ ትችት የሚያቀርቡ ግለሰቦች፤ መንግስታትና ድርጅቶችን "ጸረ-ሴማዊ" እያለ ማጥላላት፣ ማንጓጠጥ፣ ማስፈራራትና "ጽንፈኛ"፣ "አክራሪ"፣ "አሸባሪ" የመሳሰሉ ቅጽሎችን መስጠት ቀዳሚ ተግባራቱ እንደሆኑ ያብራራሉ፡፡

ADL ፍልስጥኤማዊያንን ለሚረዳ ማንኛውም ተቋምና ግለሰብ ምህረት የለውም፡፡ የተባበሩት መንግስታት በእስራኤል ላይ እርምጃ ለመውሰድ ቀጠሮ ሲይዝ **ADL** በጓሮ በር ወደ "ዋይት ሀውስ" ይገባና "እስራኤል ማለት አሜሪካ ማለት ናት፡፡ ስለዚህ የቬቶው ነገር እንዳይረሳ!" በማለት ቀጭን ማስታወሻ ያስነግራል፡፡ የዩኒቨርሲቲ ተማሪዎች ለፍልስጥማዊያን ተጨቋኞች የሞራል ድጋፋቸውን ለመግለጽ ስብሰባ ሲጠሩ **AD**L የየተቋማቱን ዲኖች በስልክ ይገናኝና "ዋ! እንዲህ አይነት ስብሰባ በግቢያችሁ ቢካሄድ ከሚቀጥለው ሴሚስተር ጀምሮ የፌዴራሉ መንግስት

ለትምህርት ተቋማት የሚልከው ድጎማ ይቋረጥብሀል” የሚል ሽብር ነዝቶ ስብሰባዎቹን ያሰናክላል፡፡

“ADL” ሽብርተኝነትና ጽፈኝነትን ከሩቁ የማሸተት ሀይል አለኝ ባይ ነው፡፡ በመሆኑም “በጽንፈኝነት” ዙሪያ የአሜሪካ መንግስትን ያማክራል፡፡ በመረጃ ቋቱ (data base) ውስጥ “ጽንፈኛ”፤ “አሸባሪ”፤ “ጸረ-ሴማዊ” ወዘተ… የሚሉ ታርጋዎችን የለጠፈላቸውን የበርካታ ግለሰቦችና ድርጅቶችን ዝርዝር መረጃ አከማችቷል፡፡ በጸረ-ሴማዊነት ጥርሳቸውን የነከሰባቸውን ሰዎች ንግግርና ድርጊት እየተከታተለ ይቀርጽና ከመረጃ ቋቱ ውስጥ መዝግቦ ያስቀምጣል፡፡ ከነዚህ ግለሰቦች መካከል ለአንዳንዶቹ ስም የማውጣቱን ስራ አጠናቋል፡፡ የሚጠብቀው ሰዎቹን ለቃቅሞ ቂሙን የሚወጣበትን አጋጣሚ ብቻ ነው፡፡ ከነርሱ መካከል አንዳንዶቹ በማስሚዲያ የምናውቃቸው ስሞች በመሆናቸው ብዙም አያስደንቁም፡፡ ነገር ግን “ADL” ለኛ በይፋ ላልተነገሩን በርካታ ግለሰቦችና ተቋማትም የጽንፈኝነት ታርጋ እየለጠፈ በመረጃ ቋቱ ውስጥ መዝግቦአቸዋል፡፡ ለምሳሌ ታዋቂው ሙፍቲ ዶ/ር ዩሱፍ አል-ቀርዳዊ በዚህ ጽዮናዊ ድርጅት ***“Theologian of Teror”*** ተብለው ተመዝግበዋል፡፡ [2]

ባጠቃላይ ከላይ የገለጽኩት አሜሪካዊው **ADL** ሁለመናው ጽዮናዊነት ነው፡፡ “ጽዮን.. እየሩሳሌም.. አንቺን ከረሳሁ.. ዳዊት ይርሳኝ…” አይነት ነገር ነው፡፡(አላህ ያጥፋው አቦ! ይሄ ሰላቢ!!)፡

ADL እና ጉደኛው “አህባሽ”

አሁን ከዋናው ነጥባችን ላይ ደርሰናል፡፡

ዛሬ ባቀረብኩላችሁ ጽሁፍ ገኖ የዋለው **ADL** በአካል ከኛ ርቆ ነው ያለው፡፡ የጽዮናዊነት ንቅናቄውንም ከኛ በሚርቁ ሀገራት ውስጥ ነው የሚካሄደው፡፡ ስለዚህ አጀንዳችን ሊሆን ባልተገባ ነበር፡፡ የኛ አጀንዳ ሆኖ ቢገኝስ ምን ትሉ ይሆን?

ወገኖቼ! በርግጥም በአህባሽ ምክንያት **ADL** የኛም ስጋት ሆኗል፡፡ ከማንም ጋር “እሸሼ ገዳሜ” ሲል የኖረውና የጽንፈኞች ጽንፈኛ የሆነው “አህባሽ” በጽዮናዊው ADL ስር በማህበርተኝነት ከታቀፉት አባል ድርጅቶች አንዱ ሆኖ ተገኝቷል፡፡ ሁለቱ የፌስቡክ ቡድናችን አባላት ያጋለጡት ይህንን አስደናቂ ሚስጢር ነው፡፡ በህይወቴ እንደዚህ አይነት አስደናቂ ነገር ሲገጥመኝ ለሶስተኛ፤ ወይም ለአራተኛ፤ ወይም ለአምስተኛ ጊዜ ቢሆን ነው (ተጋነነ እንዳይባል ስለሰጋሁ ነው እንጂ በሶስተኛ ላይ ማቆም ይቻል ነበር)፡፡

“አህባሽ” በጣም ወራዳና አሳፋሪ ብቻ ሳይሆን “ርካሽና ዝቃጭ” ሆኖ ተገኝቷል፡፡ ከዚህ የበለጠ ውርደት ከየት ይመጣ ይሆን? ይህንን ውርደት ለማየት የሚሻ በግርጌ ማስታወሻው ላይ

ያስቀመጥኩትን ድረ-ገጽ ይክፍትና በጥሞና ይመልከት፡፡[3] አህባሽን በጽዮናዊው **ADL** የፊላደልፊያ ቅርንጫፍ ቢሮ ስር ከተመዘገቡት ማህበርተኞች መካከል አንዱ ሆኖ ያገኘዋል፡፡

ከዝርዝሩ እንደምትረዱት

- አህባሽ Association of Islamic Charitable Projects በሚለው የእንግሊዝኛ ስሙ በአራተኛ ተራ ቁጥር ተመዝግቦ ይታያል። (ዝርዝሩ በእንግሊዝኛ ፊደላት ቅደም ተከተል የተጻፈ መሆኑን ልብ በሉ)።
- "ሙስሊም ማለት እኔ ብቻ ነኝ" እያለ በሙስሊሞች ላይ ተከፊር ከሚያውጀው "አሕባሽ" በስተቀር "ሙስሊም" ነኝ የሚል አንድም ድርጅት በዝርዝሩ ላይ የለም፡፡ ወላ ሱኒ! ወላ ሺዓ ማፊሽ! ሌላው ቀርቶ በኑፋቄ አቀንቃኝነታቸው የሚታወቁት የአህመዲያ ፊርቃ እና የጥቁር አሜሪካዉያኑ Nation of Islam እንኳ በዝርዝሩ ላይ የሉም፡፡ አስተግፊሩላህ!!!፡፡
- ከክርስትናው በኩልም *"Metropolitan Christian Council of Philadelphia"* ከተባለ ድርጅት በስተቀር ሌላ የክርስቲያኖች ቡድን የለም፡፡

- ከሁሉም የሚገርመው ለግብረ-ሰዶማዊያንና ለሴት ለሴት ጋብቻ ሙብት እንታገላለን የሚሉ ሁለት ድርጅቶችም በዝርዝሩ ላይ ያሉ መሆናቸው ነው፡፡

የአህባሽን ቅሌት አይታችሁታል አይደል? ሰልፉ የጽዮናዊያን ብቻ አይደለም፡፡ ሌሎች ወራዳዎችና ዝቃጮችም በጥምረቱ ውስጥ አሉ፡፡ የግብረ- ሰዶማዊያን ሙብት አስከባሪዎች!

ወርደት! ውርደት! እጅግ በጣም አሳፋሪ ውርደት! የግብረ-ሰዶማዊያንን" ሙብት እናስከብራለን ከሚሉ ድርጅቶች ጋር መሰለፍ ማለት ምን ማለት ነው? እስላማዊ ነኝ የሚል ድርጅት እንዲህ አይነት ነገር ይሰራል? የትኛው የቁርአን አያህ ነው ይህንን የሚፈቅደው? በየትኛው ሀዲስ ነው ይህ የተፈቀደው? አስተግፊሩላህ! እፍረት! እፍረት! ትልቅ እፍረት!!! ያ ረቢ ኢስቱርና! ኻቲማችንን አብጀው!

ጽዮናዊው **ADL** ሌሎችን ለማደናገር የፈለገ ይመስል አህባሽ የተሰለፈበትን ጥምረት No Hate Project ብሎታል፡፡ "ጥላቻ በኛ መሀል የለም" ለማለት ነው፡፡ በእውነትም ጥላቻ በነርሱ መሀል የለም፡፡ በኛና በነርሱ መሀል ግን ከእንግዲህ ወዲህ እርቅ የለም፡፡ ከእንዲህ አይነቱ ወራዳ ድርጅት ጋር የሚደራደር ሙስሊም ከእንግዲህ ወዲህ የለም፡፡

ድል የኢስላም ነው፡፡

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1. ለማስረጃው የሚቀጥለውን የድርጅቱን የኢንተርኔት አድራሻ (ድረ-ገጽ) ከፍታችሁ ተመልከቱ፡፡ www.adl.org
2. ለዝርዝሩ ይህንን የድረ-ገጽ መግቢያ (ሊንክ) ይከፈቱ

   http://www.adl.org/main_Arab_World/al_Qaradawi

3. http://www.adl.org/philadelphia/coalition.asp

ታሪክ አለን!

ሙኒር አህመድ

ጥር 25/2004

ታሪክ አለን ኩሩ .....ብሩህ ታሪክ አለን እጅግ የገነነ
ህዝብን ያስጠለለ.....ኢስላምን ያዳነ
ያኔ በጨቅላ እድሜ.....በቡቃያው ዘመን
እኛ ሃበሾቹ ድንቅ ታሪክ አለን
አለን ድንቅ ታሪክ .....ኢስላም የማይረሳው
'ኢላ የውሚል ሚዓድ' እስከመጨረሻው
..ሁሉም የሚያወሳው

አይሁንብን ኩራት አይሁንብን ጉራ
ድንቅ ታሪክ አለን ሁሌም የሚዘከር ሁሌም የሚወራ
ያኔ በዚያ ዘመን ቁረይሾች ሲያምጹ
በነቢያችን ላይ ሃሰት እየነዙ
.....ሰይፍ ሲማዘዙ
ያኔኮ ነበርን እኛ ሃበሾቹ
ጋሻና መከታ የስደት ቤቶቹ
ባገር ሲዋረዱ ካገር ሲደደዱ
አብሽሩ መርሃባ ያለው ነጃሺ ወንዱ
የአበሻ ልጆች መች ሰው አስከፉና
.....መች ሰው አሳደዱ
ተንከባከቡ እንጂ ፍቅር ሰላም ሰጥተው
.....ቆርሰው ከማእዱ

ያኔ ህጻን ሳሉ ሰሃቢዩ ሙስጠፋ
ጡቶቿን ደግፋ አቅፋ ደግፋ
በእናትነት ክብር በእናትነት ፈንታ
ትልቅ ስፍራ ያላት በልባችን ቦታ
ይነገር ታሪኳ.... በከንቱ አይረሳ
ያሃበሻዋ እንስት ኡሙ አይመን ትወሳ
በረካ ሃበሻ ...ትልቅ ማስታወሻ

ደግሞ እንዴት ልተርክ የዛን ወጣት ፈንታ
የዛን ኩሩ ጀግና የቢላልን ቦታ
በአረቢያ ምድር በዛ በበረሃ

ጥላ በሌለበት በሚያሰኘው ውሃ
በዚያ የጭካኔ በዚያ የግፍ ውሎ
በበረሃው ድንጋይ የኋሊት ተንጋሎ
አሃድ አሃድ ያለን
ያ የረሱል ወዳጅ ያ የጥቁር ጀግና
አይረሳም ምንጊዜም ይዘከራል ገና

ይህቺ ታሪካዊት ይህቺ የሃበሻ ምድር
የኢስላም ባለውለታ ያላት ትልቅ ክብር
የታለ አሻራዋ የኢስላም ፋናዋ
የታለ መድረሳ ኮሌጅ መማሪያዋ

ይምጡ አገር አቋርጠው ይጎኙ ይማሩባት
በሃበሻ ምድር ኢስላም ያብብባት
..... ሰላም ይስፈንባት

ዛሬ ግን.....ዛሬ በዚህ ምትክ
ዛሬ በዚህ ፈንታ
የሐሰት ምስክር የቀበሮ ባህታ
እጁን ዘረጋልኝ በቃሉ ሊያጠምቀኝ
በረብጣ ዶላሩ ኢስላሜን ሊነጥቀኝ
ዛሬ ግን.....ዛሬ በዚህ ምትክ
ዛሬ በዚህ ፈንታ
የሐሰት ምስክር የቀበሮ ባህታ
እጁን ዘረጋልኝ በቃሉ ሊያጠምቀኝ
በአይሁድ ፍልስፍና ኢስላሜን ሊነጥቀኝ

ይገርማል.....ጠላቴ ደግ ሆኖ ለእኔ መልካም ሽቶ
በሀሰት ሊያጠምቀኝ ማሰልጠኛ ከቶ
እጁን ዘረጋልኝ ሊቀብረኝ ቆፍሮ
በአይሁድ ፍልስፍና በገንዘብ ታውሮ
ግና..... አስተማረኝ እንጂ ሀ ለ ሐ
ሁበል አላለኝም...አልጠራም ላት ዑዛ
ቀስ ብሎ እስከሚያረደኝ በዋዛ ፈዛዛ
ይሄ... ውለታ ነው
የሰይጣን ስጦታ የጠላቴ ሩጫ

ሁሉም ነቅቶበታል የለውም ማምለጫ

ይገርማል... ጠላቴ ደግ ሆኖ ለእኔ ይጨነቃል
በመጥገቤ ያዝናል በመራቤ ይስቃል
ስደሰት ይከፋል ሳዝን ይደሰታል
ይሄ ሁሉ ሆኖ በጣም ያዝንልኛል
እየገዘገዘ በደነዝ ያርደኛል
ዛሬ ግን በዛብኝ ውለታው ተሰማኝ
እምነቴን ህይወቴን ኢስላሜን ሊቀማኝ
አሁን ግን... በቅቶኛል
በስሜ እሚነግድ የአይሁድ ተባባሪ
ቅቤ አንጓች ከፋፋይ ሙስሊም መስሎ አዳሪ
የሰላም እንቅፋት የልማት ቀበኛ
ሆድ አምላኪ ከርሳም አታልይ ሙሰኛ
እንዲህ ያለ ወዳጅ.... ላገሬም አይበጃት
በሰላሳ ዲናር አስማምቶ እሚሸጣት

ባያውቀው ነው እንጂ.... ሃገር አይሸጥም
ዲን በርካሽ ነገር እንዲህ አይለውጥም
ሃገሬ እናቴ ናት ኢስላም ነው ህይወቴ
መቀለጃ አይደለም ክብሬ ነው ህይወቴ
ይኸው ነው አቋሜ ...
አምጣ ለጥፉልኝ ስም አውጡልኝ ዛሬ
አሸባሪ በለኝ ለፍፍ አውራ ወሬ
አዎ... አሸባሪ ነኝ ለፍፍ በደንብ አውራ
ነገ ግን ታፍረለህ ነገሩ ሲጣራ
አንገት ተደፋለህ በዱኒያም በአኼራ
አዎ.....አሸባሪ ነኝ ፀር ነኝ ለሙሽኛ
ሃገርና ዲኔን የምጠብቅ አርብኛ
አዎ.. አሸባሪ ነኝ ለሌባ የማልመች እንቅልፍ የማልተኛ

ለጥፍልኝ ሌላም ፈልግ ስም አምጣና
የሌላ አይነ ደረቅ ሃያዕ መች ያውቅና
አከራሪ ነው በለኝ አዎ አከራሪ ነኝ!
የሰው መብት የማልነካ የራሴን የማልሰጥ
ውሸት የማይጥመኝ እውነትን የምመርጥ

ጉባዔ ተሰብሰብ ሂድ ሌላ ስም አውጣ
አንገትክን ሳትደፋ ከመጅሊስ ሳትወጣ

ያኔ ትስቃለች ፀሃይ ጥርስ አውጥታ
አሳሪው ሲታሰር ታሳሪው ሲፈታ::

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1. በወንድማችን ሙኒር የቀረበ ጣፋጭ ግጥም (ጥር 25/2004)

1987ን እንደ መስተዋት

የሙስሊሞች ጉዳይ መጽሄትየፊቸር ጸሐፊ ቡድን [1]

የካቲት 2004

ትኩስ የወጣትነት ዕድሜውን ማጣጣም ከጀመረ ገና ሦስት እና ዐራት ዓመታት ብቻ ናቸው የተቆጠሩት። ምጥጥ ባለው ገጽታው ዳርቻዎች ላይ ብቅ ብቅ ማለት የጀመሩት የፀጉር ልቃቂቶች ‹‹ደረስክ ደረስክ››የሚሉት ይመስላሉ። ዕድሜው የሃያዎቹን መጀመሪያ መርገጡ ቢሆንም ገጽታው እና አኳኋኑ ግን የእድሜውን ያህል ትንሽ አይደሉም። ወጣት ቢላል ዛሬ ደግሞ ሁለመናው ርብሽብሽ ብሏል። አጠር ባለው ቁመናው ላይ እንደ ነገሩ የሆነው አለባበሱ ተዳምሮ ሲታይ ጋብቻ ለመፈጸም አንድ ወር የቀረው ሙሽራ አይመስልም። በአእምሮውም ከአንድ ወር በኋላ ስለሚፈጽመው ጋብቻ ሳይሆን ከአንድ ቀን በፊት ስለተፈጠረው አሳዛኝ ክስተት ነው ደጋግሞ እያሰበ ያለው።

ቢላል የትናንቱ ዓይነት ክስተት እውን እንዳይሆን ከርዕይ አጋሮቹ ጋር በመሆን ብዙ ቢጥርም ሊሳካለት አልቻለም። እንዲህም ሆኖ ግን ላለፉት ዐራት ዓመታት ሌት ከመዓልት ሲተጋለት የነበረው ማኅበራቸው ‹‹በዚህ ዱብ ዕዳ ክስተት ምክንያት ይገታል››የሚል ግምት አልነበረውም። ለዚህም ነበር ገና ከማለዳው ጉዳዮቹን ከውኖ የማኅበሩ ጽ/ ቤት ወደሚገኝበት ጉለሌ ሰፈር ሲከንፍ የነበረው። ቢላል ግምቱ ስህተት እንደነበር የተረዳው የማኅበሩ ጽ/ቤት ሲደርስ ነበር። የጽ/ቤቱ ግቢ እና አካባቢው በሥርዓቱ ታጣቂዎች ተከብቧል። ቢላል ያለምንም ፍርሃት ወደ ማኅበሩ ጽ/ቤት ቅጽር ሲገባ ቢሮው ሳይሆን የፖሊስ ‹‹ፓትሮል››ነበር የተቀበለው። በዕለቱ ቢላልን ጨምሮ ከሰባት በላይ የማኅበሩ አባላት እና ሠራተኞች በሥርዓቱ ኃይሎች ተይዘው ወደ ማዕከላዊ ወህኒ ቤት ተወሰዱ።

ከቢላል እና ባልደረቦቹ መያዝ አንድ ቀን በፊት የካቲት 14፣ 1987 የተከሰተውና ለ10 ሰዎች ሕይወት መጥፋት ምክንያት የሆነው የአንዋር መስጊድ ግርግር ያመጣው ዳፋና ድኅረ ክስተቱ ለቢላል እና ለባልደረቦቹ ወህኒ መውረድ ብቻ የተረፈ አልነበረም። ዛሬ የኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊም ለሚገኝበት የታሪክ እውነታ ማሳያ መስታወት ነው። ክስተቱን በቅርበት የሚያውቁት አንድ ምሁር ‹‹የኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊሞች የታሪክ መጠምዘዣ›› ሲሉ ከ 1997 የኢትዮጵያ ፖለቲካና ምርጫ ጋር ይመስሉታል –በብዙ መልኩ ወደ ኋላ የጎተተን መሆኑን በማስታወስ። ክስተቱ በደፈናው ‹‹በኢትዮጵያ እስልምና ጉዳዮች ጠቅላይ ጉባዔ ውስጥ የተፈጠረ የሥልጣን ሽኩቻ››ተብሎ በወቅቱ በነበሩ የመንግሥት ብዙኃን መገናኛዎች ቢገለጽም ብዙዎች ግን ክስተቱን ከሕዝብ የ‹‹ሥልጣን ይገባኛል›› ጥያቄ ጋር አያይዘው ሊያነሱት ይሞክራሉ።

የደርግ ጉባዔ

በኢትዮጵያ ለዘመናት ነግሦ የቆየው ሰለሞናዊው ሥርዓተ መንግሥት ፍጻሜ በሆነው የኃይለሥላሴ ዘመነ መንግሥት የኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊሞች ሙብት እና ኅልውና ሥልታዊ በሆነ መንገድ ይገፋ ነበር። የሙብት ረገጣዎቹ መገለጫ ዓይነት ብዙ የነበረ ቢሆንም ሙስሊሙን ኅብረተሰብ መሪ ድርጅት አልባ ማድረግ ግን ዐቢይ የሥርዓቱ መገለጫ ነበር ማለት ይቻላል። እስከ 1960ዎቹ አጋማሽ መቆየት የቻለው የኃይለሥላሴ መንግሥት በወቅቱ በአገሪቱ በተከሰተው ድርቅ እና ችጋር፣ በከተማና በገጠር በተነሳው የተማሪዎችና መምህራን አመፅ፣ እንዲሁም የኤርትራ የነጻነት ጥያቄ ያስነሳው ውዝግብ የሥርዓቱን ውስጣዊና ውጫዊ ጥንካሬዎች መፈረካከስ ጀምረው እንደነበር ፕሮፌሰር ላጲሶ ጌ. ዴሌቦ ‹‹የኢትዮጵያ የገባር ሥርዓትና ጅምር ካፒታሊዝም››በሚለው መጽሐፋቸው አስነብበዋል። የሥርዓቱ ሁለንተናዊ በደል ገፈት ቀማሾች የነበሩት ኢትጵያውያን ሙስሊሞች ለመውደቅ መንፈቅ የቀረውን የኃይለሥላሴ መንግሽት ለመቃወም በሚያዝያ 12፣ 1966 300,000 (ሦስት መቶ ሺህ) ሙስሊሞች የተገኙበት ትዕይንት ሕዝብ አካሄዱ። በትዕይንተ ሕዝቡ ሙስሊሙ ኅብረተሰብ የሚገቡትን የዜግነት ሙብቶች ቢጠይቅም የኃይለሥላሴ መንግሥት ለጥያቄዎቹ በጎ ምላሽ ሳይሰጥ ቆይቶ በመስከረም 2፣ 1967 ፍጻሜውን አገኘ።

በሶሻሊዝም ርዕዮተ ዓለም የተቃኘው የደርግ መንግሥት ሥልጣን ላይ ሲወጣ የሕዝቡን የመደራጀት ጥያቄ ገሸሽ ማድረግ አልተቻለውም። ለዚህም ነበር እንደ ሌሎች ሲቪል ማኅበራት ሁሉ ‹‹የኢትዮጵያ እስልምና ጉዳዮች ከፍተኛ ጉባዔ›› በሚል ሥያሜ ሙስሊሞች መሪ ድርጅት ማቋቋም የቻሉት። በወቅቱ ከፍተኛ ጉባዔው ከመላው አገሪቱ በተመረጡ የሕዝብ እንደራሴዎች መመራት ባይችልም በመሐል አገር ሕዝብ የሚያውቃቸው ሐምሳ ዑለሞችና ኢማሞች ከየብሔረሰቡ ተወጣጥተው በመሪነት ቦታው ላይ መቀመጥ ችለው ነበር። ከፍተኛ ጉባዔው የተለያዩ የኅብረተሰብ ክፍሎችን በውስጡ ለማሳተፍ 4 ዓይነት የአባልነት ኮታዎችን አስቀምጦ የነበረ ሲሆን፤ የከፍተኛ ጉባዔውን 50 በመቶ የአባልነት ወንበር የሚይዙት ዑለማዎች እንደሆኑ፣ 30 በመቶ ምሁራን፣ 10 በመቶ አዛውንቶች፣ እንዲሁም 10 በመቶ ወጣቶች በተቋሙ ውስጥ ውክልና እንዲኖራቸው ተደርጓል።

ይህ ከፍተኛ ጉባዔ በታላቁ ዓሊም ሐጂ ሙሐመድ ሳኒ ሐቢብ ሊቀመንበርነትና በሐጂ ኢብራሒም ዐብዱሰላም ምክትልነት ይመራ የነበረ ሲሆን በወቅቱ በነበረው ፖለቲካዊ ጫና ምክንያት ከፍተኛ ጉባዔው ይህ ነው የሚባል ጠንካራ ተግባር ማከናወን ሳይችል ቀርቶ እንደነበር የድርጅቱን ታሪክ በስፋት የሚያውቁት ሸኽ ሙሐመድ ዘይን ዘህረዲን ያስረዳሉ። እንደ ሸኽ ሙሐመድ ዘይን ገለጻ ከፍተኛ ጉባዔው እስከ 1970ዎቹ መጨረሻ ድረስ ያለ አመርቂ ሥራ ቆይቶ በ 1970ዎቹ መባቻ ወጣቶች ተሳትፎ የሚያደርጉበት ‹‹የዳዕዋና ኢርሻድ ኮሚቴ››ተቋቁሞ እንቅስቃሴውን ማሳደግ ችሎ ነበር። ይህም እንቅስቃሴ ቢሆን በአንዋር መስጊድ ኢማምና በከፍተኛ ጉባዔው ሊቀመንበር ሐጂ ሙሐመድ ሳኒ ሐቢብ ሕልፈት ተገታ።

የሊቀመንበሩን ሕልፈት ተከትሎም ተተኪያቸውን የማስቀመጡ ሂደት በጉባዔው አባላት መካከል ትልቅ አለመግባባትን ፈጠረ። ይህ ክስተት የተሠጋውን ያህል ግጭት ባይፈጥርም የአዲሱ ሊቀመንበር ሐጂ ዑመር ሑሴን መመረጥ ከውዝግብ የፀዳ አልነበረም። ሐጂ ዑመር የጠቅላይ ጉባዔውና የሸሪዓ ፍ/ቤት ሊቀመንበር ሆነው መሠየማቸው በጠቅላይ ጉባዔው አባላት መካከል ከፊል ቅያሜን አሳድሮ ቢቆይም የአዲሱ ከፍተኛ ጉባዔ ሕልውና በሕ.ወ.ሓ.ት መራሹ ኢ.ሕ.አ.ዴ.ግ አዲስ አበባን መቆጣጠር ተፈተነ። በወታደራዊው መንግሥት መውደቅ ማግሥትም ጉባዔው ‹‹ከደርግ መንግሥት ጋር መቀበር አለበት›› የሚለው የብዙዎች እምነት ሆነ። በተለይም ከደርግ መንግሥት የደኅንነት መሥሪያ ቤት ጋር የቀጥታ ግንኙነት የነበረው የሐጅና ዑምራ ኮሚቴ ይፈጽማቸው ከነበሩ አሥተዳደራዊ በደሎች እና ሃይማኖታዊ ጣልቃ ገብነቶች ጋር ተዳምሮ ሕልውናው እንዲያከትም መደረጉን ሸኽ ሙሐመድ ዘይን ያስረዳሉ።

ሁለቱ አንጃዎች

ከፍተኛ ጉባዔውን አፍርሶና አመራሩን አውርዶ አዲስ የሥራ አመራር መዋቅር ለመፍጠር ከተለያዩ የኅብረተሰብ ክፍሎች የተወጣጣ ኮሚቴ ተዋቅሮ በወቅቱ ሥራውን ጀምሮ ነበር። ይህ ኮሚቴ ራሱን ‹‹ጊዜያዊ የእስልምና ጉዳዮች ከፍተኛ ጉባዔ››በሚል ሠይሞ በፊት አውራሪ ሐጂ ሙሐመድ ራሕመቶ ሊቀመንበርነት እንቅስቃሴውን ማድረግ ጀመረ። በሌላ አቅጣጫም ወንበሩን ላለማስነጠቅ የሚሻው የከፍተኛ ጉባዔው አመራር ‹‹ከጊዜያዊ እስልምና ጉዳዮች ጉባዔ››ኮሚቴ ጋር ፍትጊያ እና ትንቅንቅ ውስጥ ገባ። ጊዜያዊ ኮሚቴውን የሚመሩት የወቅቱ የአዲስ አበባ መስጊዶች ሊቀመንበር እና ሰብሳቢ ፊት አውራሪ ሐጂ ሙሐመድ ራሕመቶም ኮሚቴውን በማስተባበር የጉባዔውን አመራሮች ከሥልጣን ለማስወገድ ከፍተኛ ጥረታቸውን ቀጠሉ።

ይህን በሁለቱ አጀንዳዎች መካከል የተከሰተውን የ‹‹ሥልጣን ይገባኛል››ውዝግብ ለመፍታት የወቅቱ የክልል 14 መሥተዳድር የአሥተዳደርና የፖሊስ ኃላፊዎች አቶ ኻሊድ ዐብዱራሕማንና አቶ ሐሰን ሺፋ ጣልቃ በመግባት ከሁለቱም አንጃዎች አምስት አምስት ሰዎች ተውጣጥተው ጊዜያዊ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ እንዲያዋቅሩ ትዕዛዝ ይሰጣሉ። የዚህ አስመራጭ ጊዜያዊ ኮሚቴ ሊቀመንበር ከከፍተኛ ጉባዔው አንጃ እንዲሆን ሲወሰን ምክትል ሊቀመንበሩ ደግሞ ከተቃዋሚው (ከጊዜያዊ የእስልምና ጉዳዮች ከፍተኛ ጉባዔ) ወገን እንዲሆን ይደረጋል። በሌላ አቅጣጫም በ 1936 በንጉሡ የወጣውን የናኢባና የሸሪዓ ፍርድ ቤት አዋጅ ለመመርመርና ለማጠናከር በሚያዚያ 1984 በተቋቋመ ኮሚቴ ውስጥ የሕዝብ ግንኙት ኃላፊ ሆነው ተመርጠው የነበሩትና ኋላም ሰብሳቢ የሆኑት የትግራይ ተወላጅ ግራዝማች ሐዲስ ኑርሑሴን ‹‹የታሪክ ማስታወሻ፤ የብሔርና የሃይማኖት ጭቆና በኢትዮጵያ›› በሚል ርዕስ ባዘጋጁት ረቂቅ ድርሳን የወቅቱ የቅዱስ ቁርአን ማኅበር ሊቀመንበር ሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል ረጃ የአስመራጭ ኮሚቴ ውስጥ ለመግባት ጥረት አድርገው በአቶ ሐሰን ሺፋ ከልካይነት መሳተፍ ሳይችሉ ቀርተው እንደነበር ጽፈዋል። ግራዝማች በተጨማሪም የማስመረጥ ሂደቱ ከተጀመረ በኋላ ከሁለቱም ወገኖች ከተመረጡት አሥር ግለሰቦች መካከል የአብሬት ሸኽ ልጅ ከሆኑት ሰይድ መዚድ በስተቀር ሁሉም በአጭር ጊዜ

ውስጥ የሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል ረጃ አቀንቃኝ ሊሆኑ እንደቻሉ ጽፈዋል። የአስመራጭ ኮሚቴው ምክትል ሊቀመንበር የነበሩት ሸኽ ሙሐመድ ዘይን በበኩላቸው አሥሩ አስመራጭ አባላት ዐራት ወር ባልሞላ ጊዜ ውስጥ በኢትዮጵያ ለመጀመሪያ ጊዜ ከወረዳ አንስቶ የተመረጡ 500 የሚደርሱ አባላት ያሉት ጠቅላይ ጉባዔ በማዋቀር ፍትሐዊ ምርጫ ማካሄዳቸውን ይገልጻሉ –አድሎአዊነት ያልነበረ መሆኑን በማስገንዘብ።

ከሁሉም የአገሪቱ ክፍሎች የተወጣጡ አምስት መቶ አባላት ያሉትን ጠቅላላ ጉባዔ ያዋቀረው አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ ቅድመ ሁኔታዎችን በመስቀመጥ ሊቀመናብርቶችና ሥራ አስፈጻሚ አባላትን አስመረጠ። አስመራጭ ኮሚቴው እንደ ዋና መሥፈርት አስቀምጦት የነበረውና ከፊል ውዝግብ አስነስቶ የቆየው ቅድመ ሁኔታ ‹‹ሊቀመንበሩና ምክትል ሊቀመንበሩ ዓሊም መሆን አለባቸው››የሚለው ነበር። ይህ ቅድመ ሁኔታ ከመመሪያው እንዲወጣ የሚፈልጉ ግለሰቦች ብቅ ብለው የነበረ ሲሆን ዋነኛ ምክንያታቸውም ‹‹ዑለሞች መች መምራት ይችሉና?›› የሚል ነበር። ሆኖም በጠቅላላ ጉባዔው ውስጥ ተሳትፎ የነበራቸው ዑለሞች ‹‹መቼ የመሪነቱን እድል ሰጣችሁን?!›› የሚል ሙግት በማንሳት ቅድመ ሁኔታው እንዲጸና አደረጉ። በወቅቱ የአስመራጭ ኮሚቴው አባል የነበሩ አንድ ስማቸው እንዲጠቀስ የማይሹ ግለሰብ መሥፈርቱን ከመመሪያው እንዲያወጡ ማስፈራሪያና ዛቻ ደርሶባቸው እንደነበር በመግለጽ የአስመራጭ ኮሚቴው አባላት ገብተውበት የነበረውን ፍርሃትና ሥጋት ያስታውሳሉ። ይህንኑ መሥፈርት አስመልክቶ በጥቅምት 1985 የወጣው ‹‹ቢላል››መጽሔት ‹‹ምርጫው እንዲሳካ›› በሚል ርዕስ ‹‹ኢትዮጵያውያን ሙስሊሞችን ወክሎ የሚቀመጥ ሰው ከማንምና ከምንም የጠራና ስለሃይማኖቱ ብቁ እውቀት ያለው፣ ጥቅም የማያሸንፈው፣ በዘር በጎሣ የማያምን፣ ዲኑን ለማገልገል ፍላጎት ያለው››መሆን እንዳለበት በማስገንዘብ ለተቀመጠው መሥፈርት ያለውን ድጋፍ ለማሳየት ሞክሯል።

በአዲሱ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ ከከፍተኛ ጉባዔነት ወደ ጠቅላይ ጉባዔነት ሥያሜ ለተለወጠው የሕዝበ ሙስሊሙ ተቋም መሪነት ቦታ ከጥቅምት አምስት እስከ ጥቅምት ስምንት 1985 ለዐራት ቀናት በተደረገው ጉባዔ እና ምርጫ ሸኽ ሙሐመድ አሕመድ ሰዒድ ሊቀ መንበር፣ ሐጂ ሙሐመድ ሐሰን ደግሞ ተቀዳሚ ሊቀመንበር ተደርገው ተመርጠዋል። ሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል ረጃ በበኩላቸው ሁለተኛ ምክትል ሊቀመንበርና የተቋሙ የኢኮኖሚ (ፋይናንስ) ዘርፍ ኃላፊ ሆነው ተመርጠዋል። ጉባዔው ከሾማቸው ሰባት የሥራ አስፈጻሚ አባላት በተጨማሪም ሃያ ስምንት የሥራ አመራርና ሰባት የአሥተዳደር ዘርፍ ሠራተኞችን መርጧል። ምርጫው የመንግሥት ጣልቃ ገብነት ያልነበረበት ቢሆንም ሂደቱ በውንብድና የተሞላ እንደነበር የሚናገሩ አልጠፉም። የጉባዔውንና የምርጫውን ሙሉ ሂደት የታዘበ የቀድሞ የ‹‹ቢላል›› መጽሔት አዘጋጅ ‹‹በምርጫው የመጨረሻ ሰዓታት በተሠራ አስገራሚ ድራማ ሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል ረጃና ደጋፊዎቻቸው ተመርጠው የምርጫው ሒደት ተጠናቀቀ›› በማለት ለየሙስሊሞች ጉዳይ ትዝብቱን አጋርቷል። የአስመራጭ ኮሚቴው ምክትል ሊቀመንበር የነበሩት ሸኽ ሙሐመድ ዘይን ኮሚቴው አስቀምጧቸው ከነበሩት ሁለት ዐቢይ ዓላማዎች አንዱን፣ ማለትም ጠቅላይ ጉባዔውን አገር አቀፍ በሆነ መልኩ በማዋቀር ረገድ የተሳካለት መሆኑን ሲገልጹ ለጠቅላይ ጉባዔው ጥራት ያላቸው መሪዎች በማስመረጥ በኩል

ግን ብዙም ሊሳካላቸው እንዳልቻለ ያስረዳሉ። ለዚህም ለተቋሙ በሊቀመንበርነት የተመረጡትን የሐጂ ሙሐመድ አሕመድ ሰዒድን አሥተዳደራዊ ብቃት አናሳነት በዋቢነት ይጠቅሳሉ። ይህም በተግባር መታየቱን የሚገልጹ በርካቶች ናቸው።

አዲሱ ጠቅላይ ጉባዔ (መጅሊስ) ከመንግሥትና ከሌሎች ባለድርሻ አካላት ባገኘው ድጋፍ በኅዳር 1985 ወደ ሥራ በገባበት ወቅት ነበር ለየካቲት አሥራ ዐራቱ የአንዋር መስጊድ ግርግር መነሻ ክብሪት የተጫረው። የጠቅላይ ጉባዔው የሥራ አመራር ቦርድ ሥራውን በጀመረበት ወቅት ባደረገው የመጀመሪያ ስብሰባ አጀንዳ አድርጎ አስቀምጦ የነበረው የአቻ ማኅበራትን ጉዳይ ነበር። ጉባዔው በደርግ ውድቀት ማግሥት የተቋቋሙ የተለያዩ ኢስላማዊ ማኅበራት የሚሠሩት ‹‹የእኔን ሥራ በመሆኑ የሥራ ምስስሎሽ ያላቸው ማኅበራት አያስፈልጉም››በሚል ምክንያት ማኅበራቱ እንዲፈርሱ ውሳኔ አሳለፈ። እንዲፈርሱ ከተወሰነባቸውና በወቅቱ ከፍተኛ እውቅና አግኝተው ከነበሩ ማኅበራት መካከል ‹‹ሙነዘመተ ሽባብ››በጉልህ ይጠቀሳል።

ወጣቶቹ

ኢ.ሕ.አ.ዴ.ግ በግንቦት 1983 ደርግ ወድቆ የምኒልክ ቤተ-መንግሥት ከገባ በኋላ በተዋቀረው የሽግግር መንግሥቱ ቻርተር የመደራጀት ነጻነት በመከበሩ በርካታ ማኅበራትና ሲቪል ተቋማት ፈቃድ አውጥተው መንቀሳቀስ ጀምረው ነበር። የኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊም ወጣቶች ድርጅት (ኢ.ሙ.ወ.ድ) (ወይም በተለምዶ አጠራሩ ሙነዘማ) ከእነዚህ የመጀመሪያዎቹ ማኅበራት አንዱ ነበር። ማኅበሩ ምንም እንኳ የኢ.ሕ.አ.ዴ.ግን ወደ አዲስ አበባ መግባት ተከትሎ ፈቃድ በማውጣት በሕጋዊነት መንቀሳቀስ ቢጀምርም ምሥረታው በደርግ የመጨረሻዎቹ የአገዛዝ ዓመታት እንደ ነበር የማኅበሩ የዳዕዋ ሥርጭት ክፍል ውስጥ ያገለግል የነበረው ወጣት ቢላል ተማም ይገልጻል። እንደ ቢላል አባባል በወቅቱ በአዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ይማሩ የነበሩ ሙስሊም ወጣቶች የማኅበሩን የምሥረታ እና የዓላማ ጥንስስ በውይይት ያዳብሩት ነበር።

ኢ.ሙ.ወ.ድ (ሙነዘማ) ፈቃድ አውጥቶ ሕጋዊ እውቅና ካገኘ በኋላ ሙስሊም ወጣቶችን በእምነት የማጽናት ዓላማ በመያዝ የተለያዩ ሥራዎችን ማከናወን ጀምሮ ነበር። ከእነዚህም ሥራዎቹ ውስጥ ለወጣቶች በተለያዩ ጉዳዮች ዙሪያ አጫጭር እና ረጃጅም ሥልጠናዎችን ማዕከሉ በሚገኝበት ጉለሌ ይሰጥ ነበር። እነዚህን ሥልጠናዎች ለመካፈል እና የማኅበሩም አባል ለመሆን በርካታ ወጣቶች ከመላዋ አገሪቱ ወደ ማኅበሩ ጽ/ቤት ይጎርፉ ነበር። በኢትጵያ ሙስሊሞች ወጣት ድርጅት ውስጥ ለአንድ ወር ከሃያ ቀን ያህል የተርቢያ ሥልጠና እንደወሰደ የሚናገረው የ 33 ዓመቱ ጎልማሳ ረጀብ ኸድር ሥልጠናውን ከማግኘቱ በፊት የነበረውን አናሳ እውቀትና ለሃይማኖቱ የነበረውን ግዴለሽነት በማስታወስ በሥልጠናው በመሳተፉ ያገኘውን ሃይማኖታዊ እውቀትና ቅንዓት ይጠቁማል። ‹‹ሙነዘማ እስከ ዛሬ ቢኖር ኖሮ በመቶ ሺዎች የሚቆጠሩ ሃይማኖተኛ እና ዓሊም ወጣቶችን ማፍራት ይቻል ነበር››በማለትም ሐሳቡን ይሰነዝራል። የወጣቶቹ ድርጅት ከሚሰጣቸው የተመላላሽ እና የአዳር ሥልጠናዎች በተጨማሪም ‹‹የጁሙዓ መልዕክት››በሚል

ርዕስ በየሳምንቱ ዐርብ በምትሠራጭ በራሪ ወረቀት እና ‹‹አድ ዳዕዋ››የሚል ሥያሜ በነበራት የድርጅቱ ወርሐዊ መጽሔት ሰበካ ያካሂድ የነበረ ሲሆን ጠጠር ያሉ ኢስላማዊ ጉዳዮች የሚነሱባቸው ሕዝባዊ የውይይት መድረኮችንም በቋሚነት ያሰናዳ ነበር።

እነዚህ የድርጅቱ እንቅስቃሴዎች በወጣቶች በኩል ሰፊ ተቀባይነትን ከማግኘታቸውም በላይ የወጣቶችን የዲን ትጋት በማሳደግ ረገድም ከፍተኛውን ሚና ተጫውተው እንደነበር ድርጅቱን በቅርበት ያውቁ የነበሩ አንድ ምሁር ያስረዳሉ። ምሁሩ የማኅበሩን ሥልጠና ያገኙ ወጣቶች ብቻ ሳይሆኑ ማኅበሩን ያገለግሉ የነበሩ ወጣቶች ሙሉ ጊዜያቸውን ለማኅበሩ አገልግሎት ሰጥተው እንደነበር ያወሳሉ። ወጣት ቢላል በበኩሉ የድርጅቱ አገልጋዮች የመኝታ ሰዓት እንኳ እንዳልነበራቸው ከመግለጽ አይቦዝንም። ‹‹ትዳር ያለው ትዳሩን፣ ሥራ ያለው ሥራውን ትቶ ለማኅበሩ እንቅስቃሴ ደፋ ቀና ይል ነበር›› በማለት የወቅቱን ሁኔታ ለማስቃኘት ይሞክራል።

የወጣት ድርጅቱ ከሌሎች አቻ ማኅበራት በተለየ መልኩ ያደርገው የነበረው እንቅስቃሴ በመንግሥትና በሌሎች ወገኖች ትኩረት ውስጥ ከትቶት እንደነበር የሚናገሩት ምሁሩ በተለይም ማኅበሩ በአደባባይ ውይይት ያደርግባቸው የነበሩ ሽሪዓ-ነክ ጉዳዮች በጠላቶች ዒላማ ውስጥ ከትተውት እንደነበር ሳይገልጹ አያልፉም። እንደ ምሁሩ ገለጻ ሁኔታውን ለማርገብ ጥቂት ግለሰቦች ወደ ማኅበሩ ሊቀመንበር ሸኽ ሰይድ አሕመድ ሙስጠፋ በመሄድ የማኅበሩን አካሄድ ለማለሳለስ ቢጥሩም ሳይሳካላቸው ቀርቷል። ሁኔታዎች ግን ከመርገብ ይልቅ ተካርረው መሄዳቸውን ቀጠሉ።

በኅዳር 26፣1985 በሕንድ የዐራት መቶ ዓመታት እድሜ ያለው የአዮዲያ መስጊድ በሒንዱ ጽንፈኞች መፍረሱን ተከትሎ ኢ.ሙ.ወ.ድ (ሙነዘማ) ድርጊቱን የሚቃወም ትዕይንት ሕዝብ ለማካሄድ በታኅሣሥ 4፣ 1985 በአዲስ አበባ ከተማ ሰልፍ ጠራ። ይህ ድርጊት ሙስሊም ባልሆኑ ወገኖች ብቻ ሳይሆን በሙስሊሙ በኩልም ተቃውሞ ገጠመው። የማኅበሩ መሥራች አባል እንደሆኑ የሚናገሩትና የማኅበሩ መማክርት ጉባዔ ምክትል ጸሐፊ የነበሩት ሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል ረጃ የሰልፉን ሐሳብ ውድቅ በማድረግ የማኅበሩ አመራሮች የሰልፉን ሐሳብ እንዲሰርዙ ቢወተውቱም ሊሳካላቸው አልቻለም ነበር። ሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል በአመለካከት ረገድም የወጣት ድርጅቱ የ‹‹ሠለፊያ››ን አስተሳሰብ ለማስፋፋት የሚያደርገው እንቅስቃሴ ብልሃት ያልታከለበት መሆኑንና የሌሎችንም ቡድኖች አስተሳሰብ መጫን እንደሌለበት የሚያስታውሱ ተደጋጋሚ ምክሮችን ለድርጅቱ አመራሮች መለገሳቸውን ይናገራሉ። ሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል በወቅቱ ሰላማዊ ሰልፉ እንዲሰረዝ አቅርበዋቸው ከነበሩ መከራከሪያዎች መካከል ‹‹የኢትዮጵያን ሙስሊም ጥያቄ ሳንመልስ የሌሎች አገራትን ሙስሊሞች ጥያቄ ማንሳት ከመርሕ አንፃር ተገቢ አይደለም››የሚለው ይገኝበት የነበረ ሲሆን ዋነኛ መሟገቻ ነጥባቸው የነበረው ግን ‹‹ሰልፉ ትኩረት ውስጥ ይከትተናል፣ ያስመታናል›› የሚል እንደነበር ሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል ዛሬ ላይ ሆነው ያስታውሳሉ።

ውዝግብ ያስነሳው ሰልፍ በመጀመሪያ ፈቃድ ተከልክሎ እንደነበር የሚገልጸው ቢላል በበኩሉ ድርጅቱ ግን ፈቃዱን ቢነፈግ እንኳ ሰልፉን ከማድረግ ወደ ኋላ እንደማይል በማሳወቁ ሰልፉ

ፈቃድ አግኝቶ በታኅሣሥ 4 ሊካሄድ መቻሉን ያስረዳል። ከ 30 ሺህ በላይ ሰዎች በተሳተፉበት በዚህ ሰላማዊ ሰልፍ ለወቅቱ የሕንድ እና የኢትዮጵያ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስተሮች የተጻፉ ደብዳቤዎች ተነበዋል። ‹‹ሰልፉ የሚጠበቅበትን ውጤት ባያመጣም ድምጻችንን አሰምተን ተመልሰናል››ይላል ቢላል –ዓላማውን ከውጤቱ ጋር እያነፃጸረ። ሌሎች ወገኖች ደግሞ ሰልፉ በስሜት ብቻ የተደረገ እንደነበር በመጥቀስ ወቀሳቸውን በሙነዘማ ላይ ይሰነዝራሉ። ምሁሩ በበኩላቸው ‹‹የቦስኒያን ጭፍጨፋ በመሰሉ ዓለም አቀፍ ጉዳዮች ላይ ድርጅቱ መንጠልጠል ያበዛ ነበር›› በማለት አካሄዱን ይወቅሳሉ። የዚህ ሰላማዊ ሰልፍ መከናወን አዲሱን ጠቅላይ ጉባዔ በምክትል ሊቀመንበርነት በሚመሩት በሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል ረጃና ሙነዘማን በመሰሉ አቻ ማኅበራት መካከል የተፈጠረውን ክፍተት የበለጠ አሰፋው።

3+8>0

በ 77 ዓመቱ ኅልማሳ ሐጂ ሙሐመድ አሕመድ ሰዒድ የሚመራው አዲሱ ጠቅላይ ጉባዔ ላይ ገና ከጅምሩ የአመራር ምርጫውን አስመልክቶ ቅራኔ የነበራቸው ማኅበራት ተቋሙ በምሥረታው የመጀመሪያ ስብሰባ የማኅበራቱን አላስፈላጊነት በመግለጽ እንዲፈርሱ መወሰኑ የማኅበራቱን ጥርስ አስነከሰበት። መጅሊሱ ይህን ውሳኔ ሲያሳልፍ ምንም ዓይነት የሕግ ማእቀፍ አልተከተለም ነበር። የኢትዮጵያ ዑለማዎች ማኅበር እንዲፈርሱ ከተወሰነባቸው ማኅበራት አንዱ ሲሆን ከወሎ አውራጃ በመወከል ከ 1966 ጀምሮ በከፍተኛ ጉባዔው የሐጅና ዑምራ ዘርፍ ውስጥ ያገለገሉት ሐጂ ምቾት አሕመድ ጠቅላይ ጉባዔው ‹‹የዑለማ ም/ቤቱ ፈርሶ ጠቅላይ ምክር ቤቱ ውስጥ ይጠቃለል››በሚል ያሳለፈው ውሳኔ ዑለማዎችን በሙሉ አስቆጥቶ እንደነበር ያስታውሳሉ። ‹‹ውሳኔው የዑለማዎችን ክብር የነካ ነበር።››

ሌሎች ወገኖች በበኩላቸው ጠቅላይ ጉባዔው ኢስላማዊ ማኅበራት በሙሉ እንዲፈርሱ ሲወስን በሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል ረጃ የሚመራው ማኅበር እንዲፈርስ አለመወሰኑ የማኅበሩ አመራሮች በሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል ላይ እንዲያተኩሩ ምክንያት ሆኗቸዋል። በሂደት የጠቅላይ ጉባዔውን ውሳኔ የተቃወሙና ሌሎች የጠቅላይ ጉባዔው ሕጋዊነት ላይ ጥያቄ ያነሱ አምስት ማኅበራት የጠቅላይ ጉባዔውን ሕልውና ለመታደግ ግንባር ፈጠሩ። እነዚህ ማኅበራት የኢትዮጵያ ዑለማዎች ማኅበር፣ የኢትዮጵያ አንሷረ ሱንና ማኅበር፣ የኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊም ወጣቶች ድርጅት (ሙነዘማ)፣ የኢትዮጵያ ዳዕዋና እውቀት ማኅበርና በግራዝማች ሐዲስ ኑርሑሴን የሚመራው የሸሪዓ ፍርድ ቤትን አቅም ለመመርመርና ለማጠናከር የተቋቋመ ኮሚቴ ናቸው። እነዚህ ግንባር የፈጠሩ ማኅበራት ተጠሪዎችና ሌሎችም የሙስሊም ኅብረተሰብ ክፍሎች የሚሳተፉበት የጋራ መድረክ ተዘጋጅቶ ተከታታይ ውይይቶች መካሄድ ጀመሩ። በማኅበራቱ አደረጃጀት የሚካሄዱት እነዚህ የውይይት መድረኮች በሙስሊሙ ኅብረተሰብ ወቅታዊ ጉዳዮች ላይ በመምከር ሙስሊሙ ኅብረተሰብ መብቱን ለማስከበር ሰላማዊ ሰልፍ ማካሄድ አለበት በሚል ደመደሙ።

ማኅበራቱ በጥምረት ሰኞ ኅዳር 19፣ 1987 ሰልፍ ለማድረግ ከክልል 14 መሥተዳድር ‹‹ከአሥር ሺህ ያላነሰ ሰው የሚሳተፍበት›› የሰላማዊ ሰልፍ ፈቃድ አወጡ። አዘጋጆቹ በአዲስ አበባ እና አካባቢዋ ለሚገኙ መስጊዶች እና የሙስሊም እድሮች የሰላማዊ ሰልፍ ጥሪ በማቅረብም ሕዝቡን አዘጋጁት። በሰላማዊ ሰልፉ ዕለት በመርካቶ እና ዙሪያዋ የሚገኙ ሱቆች ለወትሮው ከሚከፈቱበት ሰዓት ዘግይተው እንደነበር የሚገልጸው ሁኔታውን በወቅቱ የተመለከተው የ‹‹ቢላል›› መጽሔት አዘጋጅ ከፍተኛ ቁጥር ያለው ሕዝብ ሰልፉ ወደሚጀመርበት የማዘጋጃ ቤት ሜዳ ይተም እንደነበር ያስታውሳል። በወቅቱ በማዘጋጃ ቤት ሕንፃ ላይ ይገኝ የነበረው የኢትዮጵያ ቴሌቪዥን ከሕንፃው አናት ላይ ሆኖ ያነሳው ተንቀሳቃሽ ምስል ከፒያሳ አራዳ ገበያ እስከ ለገሐር የተዘረጋው ኅዳና በሰልፈኞች ተሞልቶ እንደነበር አሳይቷል። ‹‹የሕዝቡ ቁጥር ከፍተኛ መሆን የጥያቄውን ሕጋዊነት ያሳያል›› የሚሉት ሐጂ ምቾት የሕዝቡ ቁጥር ከፍተኛነት መንግሥትን ብቻ ሳይሆን የሰልፉን አዘጋጆች ጭምር ያስደነገጠ እንደነበር ሳይጠቅሱ አያልፉም።

የሰልፈኛው ሕዝብ ቁጥር ከፍተኛ መሆን የሰልፈኞች ተወካዮች ከጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ታምራት ላይኔ ይልቅ ፕሬዚደንቱ አቶ መለስ ዜናዊ ተቀብለው እንዲያናግሯቸው ምክንያት መሆን እንደቻለ ብዙዎች ያምናሉ። ሰልፈኞቹ በተወካዮቻቸው አማካኝነት 11 ጥያቄዎቻቸውን ለፕሬዚደንት መለስ ዜናዊ አቅርበው የነበረ ሲሆን ዋነኛ አንኳር ጥያቄ አድርገው ያነሱትም የጠቅላይ ጉባዔውን በአንድ ግለሰብ መዳፍ ውስጥ መውደቅ ነበር። ፕሬዚደንቱ በምላሻቸው የጠቅላይ ጉባዔውን አመራሮች ‹‹እናንተው እንደሾማችሁ እናንተው ልታወርዷቸው ትችላላችሁ››በማለት አዎንታዊ ምላሽ ሰጥተው እንደሸኟቸው ኅዳር 20፣ 1987 ታትሞ የወጣው ‹‹አዲስ ዘመን››ጋዜጣ አስነብቦ ነበር። በዚህ ሰላማዊ ሰልፍ እና ግርግር ተደጋግሞ ይነሳ የነበረው የሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል ረጃ ስም ነበር። የማኅበራቱ ተወካዮችም ‹‹ጠቅላይ ጉባዔውን በመዳፋቸው ሥር አስቀምጠውት አምባገነናዊነትን አስፍነዋል››እያሉ ሲከሷቸው ተሰምቷል።

ከ1950ዎቹ መጨረሻ ጀምሮ በሸቀጣ ሸቀጦች ንግድ የተሠማሩትና በ 1961 ለንጉሡ ፓርላማ የትግራይን አውራጃ ወክለው የተወዳደሩት፣ የኋላ ኋላም በአስመጪና ላኪነት ንግድ ተሠማርተው የነበሩት ሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል ከኢትዮጵያ እስልምና ጉዳዮች ጠቅላይ ጉባዔ እና ከ1987 የአንዋር መስጊድ ግርግር ጋር ተያይዞ ሥማቸው ተደጋግሞ ይነሳል። የዛሬው የ80 ዓመት ጎልማሳ ኢስላማዊ እንቅስቃሴዎች ላይ ተሳትፎ ማድረግ የጀመሩት ከትውልድ ቀዬአቸው ትግራይ ክልል ነበር። በትግራይ ክልል በተለያዩ የግብረ ሰናይ ሥራዎች ተሳትፎ ሲያደርጉ ቆይተው በ 1970ዎቹ መጨረሻ ከሰባት ከማይበልጡ ሰዎች ጋር የኢትዮጲያ ቅዱስ ቁርኣን ማኅበርን መመሥረታቸውን ኅዳር 1985 ለታተመው ‹‹ቢላል›› መጽሔት ገልጸው ነበር። ከ1980 ጀምሮ ለሁለት ዓመታት ያህል በኢትዮጵያ እስልምና ጉዳዮች ከፍተኛ ጉባዔ በተራ አባልነት ማገልገላቸውንም ጨምረው ያስረዳሉ።

ሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል ድርጅታቸው ቅዱስ ቁርኣን ማኅበር ከ 1982 አንስቶ ሲያደርጋቸው የነበሩ

እንቅስቃሴዎች ዘርፈ ብዙ እና አመርቂ እንደነበሩ ያስታውሳሉ። በወቅቱ በመላዋ አገሪቱ 157 መድረሳዎችና 40,000 (ዐርባ ሺህ) የቁርአን ተማሪዎችን ያስተምሩ እንደነበር የሚገልጹት ሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል ይህ እንቅስቃሴያቸው መንግሥትንና ቤተ-ክህነትን ከፍተኛ ሥጋት ውስጥ ከትቷቸው እንደነበር ያሰምሩበታል። ‹‹ይህን ሥጋታቸውን ለመቅረፍ እኔን ከኃላፊነት ቦታዬ የማውረድ እቅድ ነበራቸው››ይላሉ ሐጂ ሙሐመድ በማኅበራቱ የተደረገውን ተቃውሞ ሰልፍ አስመልክቶ ምላሽ ሲሰጡ። ሌሎች ወገኖች የኅዳር አሥራ ዘጠኙ ተቃውሞ ሰልፍ የጥቂት ማኅበራት ሳይሆን የሕዝብ የሙበት ጥያቄን የታከከ ስለመሆኑ ቢከራከሩም ሐጂ ሙሐመድ ግን ከእንቅስቃሴው ጀርባ የቅዱስ ቁርአን ማኅበርን ሰፋፊ ሥራዎች ለማስቆም የታለመ ሤራ እንደነበር ያስረዳሉ። ‹‹በኅዳር አሥራ ዘጠኝ የተቃውሞ ሰልፍ የማኅበሩ አመራሮች እኔን ማስወገድ ይችሉ የነበረ ቢሆንም በሰሩት ስህተት ምክንያት ያሰቡት ሳይሳካላቸው ቀርቷል››የሚሉት ሐጂ ሙሐመድ ተወካዮቹ ካቀረቧቸው አሥራ አንድ ጥያቄዎች ውስጥ ሦስቱ ብቻ እርሳቸውን የሚመለከቱና ቀሪዎቹ ግን ስሜት የተንጸባረቀባቸው፣ እንዲሁም በኢትዮጵያ ነባራዊ ሁኔታ ሊተገበሩ የማይችሉ የነበሩ መሆናቸውን ያነሳሉ። ‹‹እስቲ አሁን ‹ሙስሊም ሚኒስትሮች ይሾሙልን›ብሎ መጠየቅ ምን ይባላል?››ይላሉ።

ከተቃውሞ ሰልፉ በኋላ የማኅበራቱ ጥምረት ከመንግሥት ባገኘው አዎንታዊ ምላሽ በመነሳት ሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል ረጃን ከሥልጣን የማውረድ እንቅስቃሴ ጀመረ። ጠቅላይ ጉባዔው የሙስሊሙ ሕዝብ የጋራ ተቋም እንደመሆኑና ጉዳዩም የወቅፍ ጉዳዮችን በሚያየው የሸሪዓ ፍ/ቤት ሥልጣን (Jurisdiction) ሥር በመሆኑ የኢስላማዊ ድርጅቶቹ ጥምር ኮሚቴ ጉዳዩን ለሸሪዓ ፍ/ቤት አቀረበው። ግራዝማች ሐዲስ ኑርሑሴን ባዘጋጁት ረቂቅ መጽሐፍ አባሪ ተደርጎ የቀረበው የሸሪዓ ፍ/ቤት ውሳኔ ሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል በማኅበራቱ አማካኝነት በሸሪዓ ፍ/ቤት ለቀረበባቸው ክስ ችሎት ቀርበው ምላሽ ለመስጠት ፈቃደኛ ሳይሆኑ እንደቀሩ ተገልጿል። የሸሪዓ ፍ/ ቤቱ ጉዳዩን ተከሳሹ በሌሉበት ተመልክቶ በሰኔ 2፣ 1986 ሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል ከሥልጣናቸው እንዲነሱ እና ከሳሾቹ ድርጅቶችም አዲስ ጠቅላይ ጉባዔ እንዲያደራጁ ውሳኔ አስተላለፈ። ይህ ውሳኔ ከዐራተኛ ፖሊስ ጣቢያ ፖሊሶች በተገኙበት የጠቅላይ ጉባዔው በር ተሰብሮ በአዲስ ቁልፎች ተቀይሮ ተፈጻሚ ሆነ። ሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል ግን የቢሮ ሰበራው የፍ/ ቤት ትዕዛዝ አካል እንዳልነበር ይገልጻሉ። ያም ሆኖ ግን ሁኔታው ሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወልን ወደ መደበኛ ፍ/ቤት ከመሄድና ይግባኝ ከመጠየቅ አልገታቸውም። የሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል ይግባኝ በመደበኛ ፍ/ቤት መታየት መጀመሩ እና ‹‹የሸሪዓ ፍ/ቤትን ሥልጣንና ተግባር የሚያቃልል ነው›› መባሉ ደግም በተራው ትልቅ የውዝግብ ምንጭ ሆነ። በተለይም የሸሪዓ ፍ/ቤት ውሳኔ አስገዳጅ ሆኖ አለመገኘት ትልቅ ነውጥ ፈጥሮ እንደ ነበር ሸኽ ሙሐመድ ዘይን ያስረዳሉ።

በዕለቱም እንዲህ ሆነ!

በመደበኛ ፍ/ቤት መታየት የጀመረው የሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል ይግባኝ የሸሪዓ ፍ/ቤቱን ውሳኔ

ውድቅ ባደረገ መልኩ የራሱን ውሳኔ ማሳለፉ ብዙዎችን ያስደነገጠ ነበር። በፍ/ቤቱ ውሳኔ ዐራተኛ ገጽ ላይ ‹‹የናኢባና የቃዲ ጉባዔ ቤቶች የእስልምና ሃይማኖት ተከታዮችን የጋብቻ፣ የቀለብ መቁረጥ፣ የሕፃናት አሥተዳደርን፣ ስለ ወቅፍ ስጦታ፣ ስለ አወራረስ ጉዳይ እንዲያዩ በአዋጅ ሥልጣን ተሰጣቸው እንጂ የገንዘብ መቀጫና የእሥራት ቅጣት እንዲወስኑ በአዋጅ በግልጽ ሥልጣን አልተሰጣቸውም። እንደ መደበኛ ፍ/ቤቶች የገንዘብ መቀጫና ነጻነትን የሚያሳጣ የእሥራት ቅጣት አይወስኑም›› የሚል ዐረፍተ ነገር ሠፍሮ ነበር። በመሆኑም የዚህ ውሳኔ ጭብጥ በተሰማባቸው የፒያሳው ኑር መስጊድና በታላቁ አንዋር መስጊድ ውስጥ መጠነኛ ግርግር እና ጉርምርምታዎች ተፈጠሩ።

የእስልምና ጉዳዮችን እንደ አዲስ ለማዋቀር እንቅስቃሴ ማድረግ የጀመረው የአምስቱ ማኅበራት ጥምረት በበኩሉ አዳዲስ ንዑሳን ኮሚቴዎችን በማዋቀር የጀመረውን ሂደት ሲያጧጡፍ ሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወልም የራሳቸውን ጥረት በሌላ አቅጣጫ ያደርጉ ነበር። ሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወልን ከእነዚሁ ማኅበራት ተወካዮች ጋር የአዲስ አበባ የሥራ ኃላፊዎች ማደራደራቸውን ቢቀጥሉም ሁኔዎች ከመሻሻል ይልቅ እየተባባሱና በሁለቱ ቡድኖች መካከል የሚደረገው የቃላት ጦርነትና ፍትጊያ እየተካረረ ቀጠለ። የመሥተዳድሩ ባለሥልጣናትም ለሁለቱም ቡድኖች ድጋፍ በመስጠት ሁኔታውን የከፋ እያደረጉት ስለመሆኑ በብዙዎች ታመነበት። ግራዝማች ሐዲስ በረቂቅ መጽሐፋቸው የመሥተዳድሩን ባለሥልጣናት አቶ ሐሰን ሺፋ እና አቶ ዐሊ ዐብዶ ለሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል ረጃ ቡድን ይወግኑ እንደነበር ጽፈዋል። የወቅቱን ሁኔታ በአንክሮ ይከተታሉ እንደነበር የሚገልጹትና ከአል-አዝሐር ዩኒቨርሲቲ ተመርቀው ለ 30 ዓመታት ያህል በአወሊያ ት/ቤት ያስተማሩት ሐጂ ዐብደላህ ኢድሪስ ‹‹መንግሥት የሁለቱን አንጃዎች ግጭት ይፈልገው ስለነበር ሁለቱንም አንጃዎች ያግዝ ነበር›› ይላሉ። የቀድሞ የ‹‹ቢላል›› መጽሔት አዘጋጅ በበኩሉ ‹‹የመንግሥት አስፈጻሚ አካል ሥልታዊ ዝምታን መርጦ ከቆየ በኋላ የሥልታዊ ዝምታው ምንነት እና ዓላማ በየካቲት 14፣ 1987 ተገለጠ›› ይላል።

የካቲት 14 የዝሑር ሶላትን ለመስገድ አንዋር መስጊድ የገቡት የሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል ቡድን አባል እና ወዳጅ ሐጂ ሰዓዱ ጀማል ከጥቂት ምእመናን ጋር በፈጠሩት እሰጥ አገባ እና ‹‹ራሳቸውንም ለመከላከል›› ወደ ሰማይ በተኮሱት ጥይት ምክንያት በአካባቢው ከፍተኛ ግርግር ተፈጠረ። ሁኔታውን ለማረጋጋት በአካባቢው የደረሱትን ፌዴራል ፖሊሶች (ፈጥኖ ደራሾች) ተኩስ በመቃወም ምእመኑ ወደ ፖሊሶች ድንጋይ መወርወር ጀመረ። ግጭቱም በፖሊሶችና በመስጊዱ እና አካባቢው በሚገኙ ሙስሊሞች መካከል ሆነ። ታዛዥቹ የፈጥኖ ደራሽ ፖሊሶች በዘመነ ደርግ እንኳ ተፈጽሞ የማያውቅ አስደንጋጭ ነገር ፈጸሙ። ድንጋይ በሚወረውሩባቸው ምእመናን ላይ እየተኮሱ ከነጫማቸው ታላቁ አንዋር መስጊድ ውስጥ ገቡ። የወቅቱ ኢማም ሐጂ ዙልመካን በማይክራፎን ‹‹ፖሊሶች! አላህን ፍሩ! አትተኩሱብን!›› ሲሉ ይሰሙ ነበር። የተከበረው የአንዋር መስጊድ የጦርነት አውድማ መሰለ። ሁከት እና ብጥብጡ ከግቢው ውጪም እየሰፋ ሄደ። በፖሊሶች ድርጊት የተቆጣው የአካባቢው ሕዝብ እና የጎዳና ተዳዳሪዎችም ጭምር ፖሊሶቹን እና መኪናዎቻቸውንም ጭምር ዒላማ አድርገው ጥቃት ሰነዘሩ። የፖሊስ መኪናዎችና ሞተር

ሳይክሎች ተቃጠሉ። በመጨረሻም ከሁሉም የከፋውን የአሥር ሰዎች ሕልፈት አስከተለ –አሥሩ ምእመናን ከፖሊስ በተተኮሰ ጥይት ነበር ሕይወታቸውን ያጡት። ግርግሩ ከቀኑ 7 ሰዓት አንስቶ እስከ 10 ሰዓት ድረስ ቀጥሎ ነበር።

በዚያው ዕለት ምሽት የኢትዮጵያ ሬዲዮ በ 2:00 ሰዓቱ የዜና እወጃ ‹‹በኢትዮጵያ እስልምና ጉዳዮች ጠቅላይ ጉባዔ ውስጥ በተፈጠረ የሥልጣን ሽኩቻ ሳቢያ በተቀሰቀሰ ሁከት ለጊዜው ቁጥራቸው በውል ያልታወቀ ሰዎች ሲሞቱ በርካታ ሰዎች መቁሰላቸውን ኢ.ዜ.አ. ዘገበ››የሚል አስገራሚ ዜና አስደመጠ። በዚያው ዕለት ምሽት ከዜና እወጃ በኋላ የወቅቱ የአዲስ አበባ መሥተዳድር ፕሬዚደንት የነበሩት አቶ ተፈራ ዋልዋ መግለጫ ሰጡ። መስጊዶችም ለሦስት ቀናት እንደሚዘጉ ተነገረ። ከግርግሩ ጀርባ ‹‹አሉ››የተባሉ የጊዜያዊ አደራጅ ኮሚቴ አባላትና አመራሮች፣ እንዲሁም ሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወልና አጋሮቻቸው በሙሉ በዚያው ምሽት በቁጥጥር ሥር እንዲውሉ ተደረገ። ግራዝማች ሐዲስ በመጽሐፋቸው ሐጂ ሲራጅ ሙሳ የተባሉ የጊዜያዊ አደራጅ ኮሚቴ አባል መገደላቸውን ጽፈዋል። ግለሰቡ ‹‹ሊያመልጡ ሲሞክሩ ፖሊስ ገደላቸው›› ቢባልም ማምለጥ የማይችሉና ያለመነጽር ማየት እንኳ የማይችሉ አረጋዊ እንደነበሩ ይታመናል። የግርግሩ ንዝረት ከየካቲት 14 የአንዋር መስጊድ ግርግር ሰዓታት በኋላ በተለይም ምሽቱን ታክኮ የተያዙት ሰዎች ቁጥር በጣም ከፍተኛ ነበር። እነዚህ ከ45 በላይ ግለሰቦች በጠቅላይ ጉባዔው፣ በጊዜያዊ አደራጅ ኮሚቴው፣ በኢ.ሙ.ወ.ድ እና በሌሎች ሙስሊም ማኅበራት ውስጥ የታቀፉና ብዙዎቹም በመሪነት ቦታ ላይ የተቀመጡ ነበሩ። ‹‹የእነዚህ ግለሰቦች መታሰር በሙስሊሙ ኅብረተሰብ ሁለንተናዊ መስተጋብር ላይ የሚፈጥረው አሉታዊ ተጽእኖ ሳይታለም የተፈታ ነበር›› ይላሉ የሙስሊሞች ጉዳይ የፊቸር ጸሐፊ ቡድን ያነጋገራቸው ምሁር። የቀድሞው የ‹‹ቢላል›› አዘጋጅ በበኩሉ ከየካቲት 14 ግርግር በኋላ መንግሥት ሲወስዳቸው የቆዩ ወሰን አልባ እርምጃዎች በግርግሩ ዕለት ምሽት የኢትዮጵያ ሬድዮ ባወራው ዜና የተቃኙ ነበር። እንደ ጋዜጠኛው በኅዳር 19 የተቃውሞ ሰልፍ ወደ 300ሺህ የሚጠጋን የአዲስ አበባ ሙስሊም ሕዝብ እስከ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ ቢሮ ድረስ አግተልትለው የወሰዱትን የሰልፉን አደራጆች መያዝ የመንግሥት መነሻ ተግባር ነበር። የመንግሥት እርምጃ ስፋትና ትልቀት ግን ከዚህም በላይ ሆኖ ታይቷል። የአንዋር መስጊድ ግርግር በየካቲት 14 ተከስቶ በየካቲት 15 የእነቢላል ማኅበር የሙነዘማ ጽ/ቤት ታሸገ። የድርጅቱ አባላትም በወቅቱ ክስ የተመሠረተባቸው ‹‹በአገሪቱ እስልምናን በኃይል ለማስፋፋት በመጣርና ወጣቶችን የሽብር ተግባር እንዲፈጽሙ በማሠልጠን›› ቢባልም ታሳሪዎቹ የሙነዘማ አባላት ከሦስት ዓመት እስር በኋላ በጥቅምት 1990 በነጻ ተሰናብተዋል። በዚህ ቀን ታስረው ክስ ከተመሠረተባቸው ሠላሳ አምስት ግለሰቦች መካከል ሃያ ሰባቱ በነጻ ተለቅቀዋል። የሙነዘማ አባላት ከእስር በነጻ ቢለቀቁም ድርጅታቸው ግን ሥራውን እንዳይቀጥል ተደረገ። ሙነዘማ ብቻ ሳይሆን በወቅቱ በታወጀው ዴሞክራሲያዊ ሥርዓት ተስፋ ጥለው በከፍተኛ ሞራል እና ትኩስ የሥራ ስሜት ኢስላማዊ እንቅስቃሴዎችን የተቀላቀሉ ተቋማት እና ማኅበራት ‹‹ይብቃችሁ›› ተባሉ። ቢላል ‹‹ከዚያች ቀን በኋላ ሥማቸውን ያልሰማኋቸው በርካታ ድርጅቶች አሉ›› ይላል ሐዘን ባጠላበት መልኩ። ከእስር የተረፉት ግለሰቦች ጥቂቶች እግራቸው ወደመራቸው መሰደድን

መረጡ። ለሥራ ጉዳይ ከአገር ውጪ እንደነበሩት የሙነዘማ ሊቀመንበር ሸኽ ሰይድ አሕመድ ሙስጠፋ ያሉት ደግሞ እስራቱን በመሥጋት አለመመለስን መረጡ። አገር ቤት ያሉ ዑለማዎችና ተሰሚነት ያላቸው ግለሰቦች ተሸማቀቁ። የዲን እንቅስቃሴዎችም ገጽታቸው እየደበዘዘ መታየት ጀመረ። እነ ሐጂ ሙሐመድ ወሌ የጀመሯቸው የቂራኣት ሐለቃዎች ተበተኑ። እነ ሙሐመድ አወል ረጃ የከፈቷቸው መድረሳዎችም ተዘጉ። ቢላል ሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል ረጃ ይሠሯቸው የነበሩ በርካታ ሥራዎችን በማስታወስ ‹‹ሙሐመድ አወል ረጃ ከታሰረ በኋላ አንድም ቁርኣን ቤት አልተከፈተም›› በማለት በድፍረት ይናገራል። ሐጂ ሙሐመድ አወል ረጃም ወቅቱ የፈጠራቸውን ችግሮች በመዘርዘር በብዙ መልኩ ወደኋላ እንደመለሳቸው ይገልጹና ከ1987 በፊት 157 የቁርኣን መድረሳዎችና 40,000 (ዐርባ ሺህ) የቁርኣን ተማሪዎች እንደነበሯቸው በማስታወስ አሁን ግን በቁጥር 13 የሚሆኑ መድረሳዎች ብቻ እንዳሏቸው ሐዘን በተቀላቀለበት ስሜት ሐሳባቸውን ይሰነዝራሉ። ሁሉም በየፊናው ይሠራቸው የነበሩ ተግባሮች ተቆርጠው የወደቀ ዛፍ ሆኑ።

ከግርግሩ በኋላ የመንግሥት ዐይኖች አሁንም ድረስ በሙስሊም ድርጅቶች እና ግለሰቦች ላይ ተተክለው መቅረታቸውን የሚጠቁሙ በርካታ ድምጾች ይሰማሉ። የግርግሩ ውሽንፍር የነካቸው ሙስሊም ተቋማት እስከ መጨረሻው እንቅስቃሴያቸው ተገትቷል። የሙስሊሞች ጉዳይ ያነጋገረቻቸውን ምሁር ‹‹የየካቲት አሥራ ዐራቱ የ 1987 ግርግር እና መንግሥት እሱን ተከትሎ የወሰዳቸው እርምጃዎች 7 ዓመት ነዝሮናል››እንዲሉ ያስቻላቸውም ይህን ከግምት ማስገባታቸው ይመስላል።

ቢላል የቀድሞ ድርጅቱን ኢ.ሙ.ወ.ድ.ን (ሙነዘማን) አስመልክቶ እንደሚያስረዳው በየካቲት አሥራ ዐራቱ ግርግር ድርጅታቸው ምንም ዓይነት ሚና ያልነበረውና ጊዜያዊ አደራጅ ኮሚቴው ጠቅላይ ጉባዔው እንዲፈርስ በወሰነበት የውሳኔ ወረቀት ላይ የኢ.ሙ.ወ.ድ የመስማሚያ ማኅተም እንዳላረፈ ያስታውስና ድርጅቱ እና አባላቱ ግን በተቃራኒው በሽብር ተግባር ተከስሰው ሥራቸውን እንዲያቆሙ መደረጉን ይጠቁማል። የሙነዘማ አባላት ግን ከምንም በላይ በስንት ልፋት ያቋቋሙት ድርጅታቸው ያለጥፋቱ መዘጋቱና ያለወንጀል ለዓመታት መታሰራቸው ዛሬም ከአሥራ አምስት ዓመታት በኋላ እንደከነከናቸው ነው። በሐሳባቸው የዳዕዋ መድረካቸውን ያስነጠቃቸውን የየካቲት 14፣ 1987 ግርግር መጥፎ አጋጣሚ ይረግማሉ። ታዛቢዎች ይህን ከግምት በመክተት መንግሥት ከግርግሩ ዕለት ጀምሮ የወሰዳቸው እርምጃዎች ቀድሞ የታሰበባቸው እንደሆኑ ይናገራሉ። ‹‹የሁለቱ አንጃዎች ጥፋት ለመንግሥት በር ከፍቷል›› የሚለው ደግሞ የቀድሞው የሙነዘማ አባል ወጣት ነው። እንደዚህ አስተያየት ሰጪ አባባል በሁለቱም አንጃዎች በኩል የተሰለፉ ግለሰቦች በወቅቱ ግባቸውን ማሳካት ባይችሉም የመንግሥትን የልብ መሻት ግን መሙላት ችለዋል።

መስታወቱ ላይ የቆመ ኡምማ

የሙስሊሞች ጉዳይ የፊቸር ጸሐፊ ቡድን ያነጋገራቸው ምሁራን በኅዳር 1987 የመንግሥት የልብ

መሻት እውን ከሆነባቸው አንኳር ጉዳዮች አንዱ የኢትዮጵያ እስልምና ጉዳዮች ጠቅላይ ጉባዔ ጠለፋ እንደሆነ ያምናሉ። የየካቲት አሥራ ዐራቱን ግርግር ተከትሎ መንግሥት የወሰዳቸው እርምጃዎች ከአንዱ ወገን ብቻ ሳይሆን በጠቅላይ ጉባዔውም (በመጅሊሱ) በኩል የነበሩ አካላትን ያስደነገጡ እንደነበር ይታመናል። ይህም መጅሊሱን ሰው አልባ ተቋም አድርጎት ታይቷል። በወቅቱ ተቋሙ መሪ ማጣቱ ‹‹ያሳሰበው››መንግሥት ግለሰቦችን በመጋበዝ ተቋሙን ዳግም እንዳቋቋመ የሚገልጹት ሸኽ ሙሐመድ ዘይን ዘህረዲን በአዲሱ አደረጃጀት ዑለማዎች እንዳይካተቱ መደረጉ በብዙ መልኩ የዑለማዎችን ሞራል እና ክብር እንደነካ ያስረዳሉ። የሙስሊሞች ጉዳይ መጽሔት በቁጥር አሥር እትሟ ከ 1987 በኋላ የመጅሊሱ ሕልውና ከዑለሞች ብቻ ሳይሆን ከሙስሊሞችም እጅ ተፈልቅቆ ለፖለቲካ ሥራ ማስፈጸሚያነት መዋል እንደጀመረ ገልጻ ነበር። ምሁራኑ ለዚህ ሐሳባቸው ማጠናቀሪያነት ከተጠቀሰው ወቅት ጀምሮ በ 1992 ከተደረገው የይስሙላ ምርጫ ውጪ ምንም ዓይነት ምርጫ አለመደረጉንና ሕዝቡ የሚያምንባቸው መሪዎች አለመቀመጣቸውን በምክንያትነት ይጠቅሳሉ።

ሸኽ ሙሐመድ ዘይን ‹‹ተቋሙ ከ 1987 ወዲህ መንግሥትን መምሰል የጀመረው ከሥያሜው ነው››በማለት ‹‹‹የኢትዮጵያ እስልምና ጉዳዮች ጠቅላይ ጉባዔ› የሚለውን ‹የኢትዮጵያ እስልምና ጉዳዮች ጠቅላይ ምክር ቤት›ወደሚል በመለወጥ›› የሥያሜ ሽግግሩ ከሥርዓቱ ሽንነዎች ጋር ያለውን ምስስሎሽ እንደጀመረ ያሳያሉ። ሕዝበ ሙስሊሙን የማገልገል ፍላጎት ያላቸው ግለሰቦችም ወደ ተቋሙ እንዳይቀርቡ በጠቅላይ ም/ ቤቱ እና በክልል እስልምና ጉዳይ ቢሮዎች ‹‹ወሐቢያ ብለው የሠየሙት ቡድን አባላት እንዳይካተቱ›› መደረጋቸውን ሸኽ ሙሐመድ ዘይን ያስረዳሉ። ሌላው አስተያየት ሰጪ በበኩላቸው ‹‹እኛ አገር አንገቱን ቀና ያደረገ ሁሉ ‹ወሐቢያ›የሚል ሥያሜ ተሰጥቶት ወደ መጅሊስ ድርሽ እንዳይል ተደርጓል›› ይላሉ። ምሁራን ከዚህ በኋላ በተቋሙ ተሹመው የሚመጡ ግለሰቦች መንፈሳዊም ሆነ አካዳሚያዊ እውቀት የሌላቸው የፖለቲካ ቅጥረኞች መሆን መጀመራቸውን በልበ ሙሉነት ይናገራሉ።

ሸኽ ዐብደላህ እድሪስ ከ 1987 በኋላ ነጻ የዑለማዎች ማኅበር ለማቋቋም ከዕድሜ እና እውቀት አጋሮቻቸው ጋር ያደረጉት ጥረት እንኳ እንዳልተሳካ በመጥቀስ በ 2000 ዓ.ል የዑለማዎች የምክክር መድረክ የፈረሰበትን አሳዛኝ አጋጣሚ ያስታውሳሉ። በ 1987 ግጭት የሸሪዓ ፍ/ቤት አቅም እና ሥልጣን ዋነኛ አጀንዳ እንደነበር የሚያስታውሱት ደግሞ ሸኽ ምቾት አሕመድ ናቸው። ሸኽ ምቾት ‹‹የሸሪዓ ፍ/ቤት ሥልጣንና ኃላፊነት ለመጅሊሱ መሰጠት የለበትም›› የሚለው ሙግት ሙሉ በሙሉ እንዳከተመለት በመግለጽ ዛሬ መጅሊሱ የሸሪዓ ፍ/ቤት ውስጥ ያለውን ሚና፣ በተለይም በአዋጁ የተሰጠውን ዳኞችን የመጠቆም ሥልጣን ያወሳሉ። የቀድሞ የሸሪዓ ፍ/ቤት ቃዲ የነበሩ ሌላ ግለሰብ ግን መጅሊሱ የሸሪዓ ፍ/ቤት ውስጥ ያለው ሥልጣን ዳኞችን በመጠቆም ብቻ ያልተገደበ እንደሆነና የፍ/ ቤቱን ውሳኔዎች የማጽደቅም ጭምር የጓሮ ሥልጣን እንደተሰጠው ይናገራሉ። ሌሎችም ወገኖች የዚህን ሐሳብ እውነትነት ያጸድቃሉ። ታዛቢዎች ግን

ነገሩ የተገላቢጦሽ የሚሆንባቸው፤ በየጊዜው በሚታደስ የኤን.ጂ.ኦ ሰርቲፊኬት የሚንቀሳቀሰው መጅሊስ በአዋጅ በተቋቋመው የሸሪዓ ፍ/ቤት ውስጥ የውሳኔ ሰጪነት ሚና ማግኘቱ ነው።

1987 የፈጠረው ቀውስ እና ጠባሳ ገና የሻረ አይመስልም። ቁስሉን የሚያመረቅዙ ክስተቶች ግን በየአቅጣጫው ብቅ ብቅ እያሉ ነው። ለዚህም ነው የሙስሊሞች ጉዳይ ያነጋገረቻቸው ምሁራን ‹‹የ 1987 ዓይነት ግርግር ዛሬም ላለመከሰቱ ዋስትና የለንም›› የሚሉት። ‹‹በሰኔ 2003 የተጀመረው ‹‹አሕባሽ››ን የማስፋፋት ፕሮጀክት ፍጻሜው የ1987ን ክስተት ዳግም ለመመለስ የታለመ ነው›› የሚሉ ብዙዎች ናቸው። ምሁሩ ‹‹በደፈናው ያንን ማለት ባይቻልም ምልክቶችን እያየን ነው›› ይላሉ። ሌሎች በበኩላቸው ከ2003 መባቻ ጀምሮ የነበሩ ወቅቶች ከድኅረ 1987 ጋር በጉልህ መልኩ እንደሚመሳሰሉ ምሳሌ በመጥቀስ ያስረዳሉ። መጅሊስ ለ 1987 ግርግር መነሻ የሆነው ‹‹ከእኔ ውጪ ሌላ ኢስላማዊ ድርጅት መኖር የለበትም›› የሚለው አቋሙ ምንም መሻሻል ሳይታይበት ዛሬ ላይ ተደርሷል። በ1987 ሙነዘማ በአሸባሪነት ተፈርጆ እንዲዘጋና አባላቱ ወህኒ እንዲወርዱ እንደተደረገው አሁንም በተመሳሳይ መልኩ የመጅሊስን መሪነት የማይቀበሉ ድርጅቶች እና ወገኖች በአሸባሪነትና በጸረ-ሰላም ኃይልነት መፈረጅ ጀምረዋል።

መጅሊሱ እንዲፈርሱ የሚሻቸው ድርጅቶች የሕጋዊ-ሰውነት ደረጃ ከመጅሊሱ ጋር ተቀራራቢ ብቻ ሳይሆን ተመሳሳይ ቢሆንም በመጅሊሱ ‹‹ቀጭን ትዕዛዝ›› ከመፍረስ አልዳኑም። የድኅረ 1987 እርምጃዎች ዐቢይ መገለጫ የነበረው የኢስላማዊ ተቋማት ፈቃድ ሥረዛ መሆኑን እነዚሁ ወገኖች በማስታወስ የድርጅቶች የሥራ ፈቃድ ነጠቃ ጥቂት በማይባሉ ኢስላማዊ ድርጅቶች ላይ መጀመሩን ይገልጻሉ። ሥራ እንዲጀምር ፈቃድ ተሰጥቶት በወራት ውስጥ ፈቃዱን እንዲመልስ የተደረገው ‹‹የሙስሊሞች ሊግ›› አንድ ምሳሌ ተደርጎ የሚቀርብ ሲሆን በተለያዩ ክልሎችም ተመሳሳይ እርምጃዎች በመወሰድ ላይ ናቸው። ለእነዚሁ ድርጅቶች የሥራ ፈቃድ ነጠቃ እየቀረበ ያለው ምክንያት ከድኅረ 1987 በመሠረቱ የማይለይ ቢሆንም የመጅሊሱ ሚና ግን ከፍተኛ መሆኑን ታዛቢዎች ሳይገልጹ አያልፉም። እርምጃዎቹ ኢስላማዊ የፋይናንስ ተቋማትን፣ ግብረ ሰናይ ድርጅቶችን፣ እንዲሁም በጥናትና ምርምር ሥራ ላይ የተሠማሩ ማዕከላትን እንኳ የሚምሩ አይመስሉም። እነዚህ ተቋማት ለሚመለከታቸው አካላት ‹‹አቤት›› ቢሉም ሰሚ አላገኙም –ልክ እንደ 1987!

የአንቀሳቃሽ ግለሰቦች እስራት፣ የዳዒዎች ግዞት እና ስደት፣ ይህን ተከትሎም በፍርሃት መሸበብ እና የኢስላማዊ እንቅስቃሴዎች ወደ ኋላ መገታት ቀጣዮቹ ፈተናዎች እንደሆኑ መተንበይ እንደሚቻል ምሁራኑ ያስገነዝባሉ። ጉዟችን ወደ 2005 ሳይሆን ወደ 1987 መሆኑን የሚጠቁሙ ቅስቶች በየአደባባዩ ተተክለዋል። ግን ሕዝብ ስንት ዓመት ወደ ኋላ ይጓዛል?

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1. ከሙስሊሞች ጉዳይ መጽሄት የተወሰደ (*የካቲት 2004)*

የሰማዩን እንኳ ተዉልን!

አክመል ነጋሽ[1]

መጋቢት 2004

ይኸው ዘጠኝ ወራት ተቆጠሩ-መንግሥታዊ ድጋፍ እየተሰጠው ያለው (state sponsored) የ‹‹አሕባሽ›› አንጃ ነውጡን ከጀመረ! ባለፉት ዘጠኝ ወራት ብቻ የተዘጉ መስጊዶችን፣ የተከረቸሙ መድረሳዎችን፣ ከሥራ የተሰናበቱ የስግደት መሪዎቻችንን ብዛት ማን ቆጥሮ ይዘልቀዋል? በሐምሌ 2003 ሐረር በሚገኘው የሐሮማያ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ካምፓስ የፌዴራል ጉዳዮች ሚኒስቴር ሕዝባዊ እውቅናን ከተነፈገው መጅሊስ ጋር በመተባበር አዘጋጅቶት ከነበረው የ‹‹አሕባሽ›› የማጥመቂያ ‹‹ሥልጠና›› በኋላ ብዙ ነገሮች ተለዋውጠዋል። በ‹‹ሥልጠና››ው ወቅትና ከዚያም ቀደም ብሎ የፌዴራል ጉዳዮች ሚኒስቴር ከመጅሊስ አመራር አባላት ጋር የተማማሉበትን ‹‹አሕባሽ››ን በኢትዮጵያ የማንገሥ ቅዠት እውን ለማድረግ ባለፉት ዘጠኝ ወራት ያልተፈነቀሉ ድንጋዮች አልነበሩም። እኛ በሚፈነቀሉት ድንጋዮች ላይ ረዣዥም የመንግሥት እጆች ይታዩን ነበር።

መንግሥትና ሃይማኖት የተለያዩ መሆናቸውን የሚደነግገው የሕገ-መንግሥቱ አሥራ አንደኛ አንቀጽ አንዳንዴ የወረቀት ነብር ይመስለኛል። ምንም እንኳን አንቀጹ እና በውስጡ ያሉት ንዑሳን አንቀጾች በማያሻማ መልኩ የመንግሥትንና የሃይማኖትን መፋታት ቢያውጁም በተግባር ግን ፉርሽ ናቸው።

የኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊም ኅብረተሰብ በስፋት እንደሚያምነው የመጅሊሱን የአመራር ቦታዎች (በተለይም ከ 1987 ወዲህ) ከመደልደል ጀምሮ አሁን ትልቅ ውዝግብ እየፈጠረ እስካለው የ‹‹አሕባሽ›› አጀንዳ ድረስ መንግሥት ዋነኛው ተዋናይ ሆኖ ታይቷል። በመጅሊሱ የአመራር ወንበሮች ላይ ከተቋሙ መተዳደሪያ ደንብ ውጪ ያለምርጫ ግለሰቦችን የሚያስቀምጠው መንግሥት መሆኑን ሕዝቡ የተመለከተባቸው የተለያዩ አጋጣሚዎች ተከስተዋል። ‹‹ሰፊውን የኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊም ኅብረተሰብ ይመራል›› በሚባለው መጅሊስ ውስጥ የውሳኔ ሰጪነትን ሚና የሚወጡ ሥውር እጆች የመንግሥትን ቀጥተኛ ትእዛዝ ለማስፈጸም የተዘረጉ ናቸው። ለዚህም ነው ተቋሙ ለተቋቋመለት ዓላማ የሚሆን አንድም ቁም ነገር ሳይሠራ ሁለት አሥርት ዓመታትን የዘለቀው። መጅሊሱ ‹‹እመራዋለሁ›› በሚለው የሕዝብ ብዛት ተመርኩዞ ሊያከናውናቸው ይገቡ የነበሩ አያሌ መንፈሳዊ፣ ማኅበራዊ እና ኢኮኖሚያዊ ተግባራት ሕልም ብቻ ሆነው ቀርተዋል። አንድ ኢስላማዊ የሃይማኖት ተቋም መስጊድ ካልገነባ፣ የሃይማኖት ትምህርት ቤት ካላነፀ፣ መንፈሳዊ መጻሕፍትን ካላሳተመ ምን ቁም ነገር ‹‹ሠራ›› ብለን እናወራለታለን? የኛ መጅሊስ ከነዚህ ሁሉ የለበትም፤ ምክንያቱም ለሿሚዎቹ ለማደግደግ እንጂ ሕዝበ ሙስሊሙን ለማገልገል ጊዜውም ሞራሉም የለውምና! ይህ ሁሉ የጣልቃ ገብነት ጣጣ ነው።

በሽፍንፍን ለዓመታት ቆይቶ የነበረው የመንግሥት-መጅሊስ ጋብቻ (በሌላ አነጋገር የመንግሥት ጣልቃ ገብነት) አሁን ይፋ ወጥቷል። በተለይም ከ2003 ወዲህ ‹‹አክራሪነትን ለመዋጋት›› በሚል ሰበብ (pretext) ሁለቱ ወገኖች የምድሩን የወሰኑልን ሳይበቃቸው የሰማዩንም መንገድ

ሊመትሩልን ወደ አደባባይ ብቅ ብለዋል። ‹‹አከራሪነትን ለመዋጋት›› ፌዴራል ጉዳዮችና መጅሊስ ‹‹አሕባሽ›› በሚባል ስል መጥረቢያ ‹‹ወሐቢያ›› ብለው የሠየሙትን ባሕር ዛፍ ለመገንደስ ጥረት ማድረግ የጀመሩት ከዚህ ወቅት ጀምሮ ነው። ሙስሊሙ ኅብረተሰብ የወደቀ ዛፍ ባይመለከትም ዛፉን ለመገንደስ ከፍተኛ በጀት የተመደበላቸው ትላልቅ ‹‹ሥልጠና››ዎች በሁለቱ ወገኖች አማካኝነት ተዘጋጅተው በርካቶች በግዳጅ እንዲሠለጥኑ ተደርገዋል።

በ‹‹ሥልጠና››ዎቹ ላይ የተገኙ የመንግሥት ባለሥልጣናት ያለምንም መሳቀቅ በሃይማኖት ጉዳይ ገብተው ሲፈተፍቱ ታይተዋል። ይህ ሃይማኖታዊ ‹‹ሥልጠና›› ወይም አንዱን ሙስሊም በሌላው ሙስሊም ላይ የሚያነሣሣ ዘመቻ ያዘጋጀው መንግሥት መሆኑንም ነግረውን አድምጠናል። ይህም ብቻ ሳይሆን ‹‹ሥልጠና››ው ገና በስፋት እንደሚቀጥል ቃል ገብተዋል። ለተገኙት ሠልጣኖች ንግግር ያደረጉ አንዳንድ ባለሥልጣናት ከዚህም ብሶ ማን ትክክለኛ ሙስሊም፣ ማንስ ደግሞ ሓሳዊ ሙስሊም እንደሆነ ‹‹መጽሐፉን ገልጠው›› ነግረውናል። ከሃይማኖት ልሂቃን እና ከሃይማኖት አንጃዎች የትኛው ለሙስሊሙ ኅብረተሰብ የተሸለ እንደሆነ ‹‹ኪታብ ገልጠው›› መስከረዋል። ከዚህም በከፋ መልኩ ሌሎቹ ቅንጅትና ኢሕአዴግ አብረው መደራደር የማይችሉትን ያህል ይኸኛው ሙስሊም ከዚያኛው ሙስሊም ጋር በፍጹም አብረው ሊሆኑ እንደማይችሉ ‹‹አብዮታዊ ዴሞክራሲ›› የተባለ ‹‹ድርሳን እየገለጡ›› አስረድተውናል። ባለሥልጣናቱ ይህንን ሁሉ ሲያደርጉ የፖለቲካ ማሊያቸውን ለብሰውና ሚዲያም ጭምር ጋብዘው ነው። እንዲህ ሁሉ ሆኖ አባላቱም ጭምር በጣልቃ ገብነት ወቅሰውት መንግሥት እኔ ጣልቃ አልገባሁም እያለ ነው። ከዚህ የተሻለ ከቶ ምን ዓይነት ጣልቃ ገብነት ይኖር ይሆን?

ባለሥልጣናቱ ከዐራት ኪሎ መስጊድ ድረስ ያመጣቸው አዲስ የፖለቲካ ርዕዮተ ዓለም ባይኖርም አዲስ የፖለቲካ ስትራቴጂ መኖሩን ግን ማሸተት ይቻላል። በኢትዮጵያ የፖለቲካ ተዋስኦ (Discourse) ውስጥ ሃይማኖት ሁሌም ሁነኛ ቦታ አለው። የዐራት ኪሎ ሰዎች ግን እስካሁን በደንብ እንዳልተጠቀሙበት የገባቸው አሁን ሳይሆን አይቀርም። አሁን ተረኛው ተመዛኙ ካርድ ሃይማኖት ሆኗል። አሁን ግን ይህ የተመዘዘ ካርድ ከጥቅሙ ጉዳቱ ሳያመዝን አልቀረም። እኔ እስከሚገባኝ አንድ ሰብዓዊ ፍጡር ከብሩንና ሌሎች ምድራዊ እሴቶቹን ለሌላ ምድራዊ ጥቅም ብሎ አሳልፎ ይሰጥ ይሆናል። ለምድራዊ ዓላማ ብሎ ግን እምነቱን ቤዛ የሚያደርግ እምብዛም ይኖራል ብዬ አላምንም። ለዚህም ነው መንግሥት የጀመረው ስትራቴጂ ‹‹ብዙም አያዋጣም›› ብዬ የምሞግተው። ያም ሆኖ ግን መንግሥት አሁንም እምነት በጣለባቸው ልማታዊ ‹‹ሼኾች›› አማካኝነት አብዮታዊ ዴሞክራሲን እየሰበከ ነው።

የሥርዓቱ ወይስ የአምላክ ሎሌዎች?

ኢትዮጵያውያን ሙስሊሞች ‹‹ይመራናል›› ብለው ያቋቋሙት ተቋም (መጅሊስ) ባለፉት አሥራ ሰባት ዓመታት ከሼኽነት ይልቅ የካድሬነት መለዮ ለብሰው በሚጫወቱ መሪዎች ሲተዳደር ቆይቷል። እነዚህ አመራሮች በተጠቀሱት ዓመታት ውስጥ ሁሌም ‹‹እንመራዋለን›› ለሚሉት አማኝ አንዲት ቁም ነገር ከመሥራት ይልቅ ሥልጣናቸውን ለርካሽ ፖለቲካዊ ተግባር ሲያውሉት ዐይተናል። አመራሮቹ ከሚመሩት ሕዝብ ይልቅ ወንበሩ ላይ ላሳቀመጧቸው ረዣዥም የመንግሥት እጆች ሲያጎበድዱ፣ የነዚህኑ እጆች አቅጣጫ እየተከተሉ ጎንበስ ቀና ሲሉ ታዝበናል።

ወደሥልጣን ያመጣቸው እጅ ከሥልጣናቸው ለማውረድም ብዙ እንደማይቸገር ስለሚረዱ የሱን የልብ መሻት ለመሙላት ለሶላት ለተገኘው ሕዝብ መለኮታዊ ቃል ነግሮ መንፈሳዊ ኃላፊነትን ከመወጣት ይልቅ የ‹‹አብዮታዊ ዴሞክራሲን›› እና የመንግሥተ-ዐራት ኪሎ ‹‹ቅዱሳን መጽሐፍት››ን እየገለጡ ያነበንባሉ። ዘወትር ከስግደት በኋላም ‹‹የመንግሥተ-ዐራት ኪሎ መንግሥት ትመንደግ!›› እያሉ ጌታን ይለማመናሉ። ምርጫ ሲቃረብ ደግሞ እነዚሁ ጠምጣሚ ካድሬዎች ሥልጣን ላይ ያስቀመጣቸውንና ያከረማቸውን ረዥም እጅ እያመሰገኑ ‹‹ምእመን ሆይ! ይህን ባለ ረዥም እጅ መምረጥ መንግሥተ ሰማያትን ያስወርሳል!›› ሲሉ ይሰብካሉ። ሥርዓቱ የፈጠራቸው የሼኺ ሎሌዎች እነዚህ ናቸው።

ኢማም አል ገዛሊ የተባሉ የመካከለኛ ዘመን ልሂቅ ‹‹ሃይማኖታዊ እውቀት ምድራዊ ክብር ማግኛና የሥልጣን ማደላደያ መሣሪያ በሚሆንበት ዘመን ይህንኑ ክብር ሽተው ሃይማኖታዊ እውቀት የሚማሩ ሰዎች ቁጥር ያሻቅባል›› ብለው ጽፈው ነበር። አሁን በዚህ ዘመን ያለው እውነታም ይኸው ይመስለኛል። ልማታዊ ሼኺዎች ቅዱስ የሆነውን የአምላክ መንገድ ርካሽ ፖለቲካዊ ቁማር ማሳኪያ ሊያደርጉት ላይና ታች ሲንከላወሱ ማየት የተለመደ ነው። የሃይማኖት አባት ሲባል ፍትሕ እንዲሰፍን፣ አብሮነት እንዲጸና፣ ቀናው የአምላክ መንገድ እንዳይዛነፍ ሌት ተቀን የሚጥር መሆን ነበረበት። አንድ የነቢዩ ሙሐመድ (ሶ.ዐ.ወ) ንግግር ‹‹ከትግሎች ሁሉ ምርጡ በአምባገነን መሪ ፊት እውነትን መናገር ነው!›› ይላል። የኛ የሃይማኖት አባቶች ግን ፍትሕ ሲጓደል፣ ሙብት ሲጣስ፣ ሃይማኖት ሽቀጥ ሲሆን ከመንቀፍ ይልቅ የሥርዓቱ ሎሌዎች ሁነው የአምላክን መንገድ ይሸራሉ። ‹‹አፍንጫ ሲመታ ዐይን ያለቅሳል›› እንዲል ብሒሉ የዘንድሮ ‹‹ሼኾች›› ዐራት ኪሎ ጉንፋን ሲይዘው መስጊድ ውስጥ ሆነው ያስነጥሳሉ።

ልማታዊ ሼኾች... እስቲ እንጠይቃችሁ... መጽሐፉ የሚለው ይህንኑ ነው? መጽሐፉ የሚያስተምረው ስለእውነት ማደርን እንጂ ለምድራዊ ጥቅም ብሎ ሃይማኖት መሸጥን አይደለም። የአምላክን ቃል ከፍቶ ማስተማርን እንጂ ጋዜጠኛ ሰብስቦ፣ ካሜራ አስደግኖ የፈርዖንን የቅጥፈት እንቶ ፈንቶ ማነብነብ አይደለም ጀነትን የሚያስወርሰው። አልያም ከመጠምጠም ማወቅ ይቅደም! እነዚህ የምድሩን ጨርሰው የሰማዩንም ፈረስ ሊፈናጠጡ የከጀሉ ጠምጣሚዎችና የዐራት ኪሎና የመጅሊስ መቀያየጥ ጉዳይ ሰላም የነሣቸው በአዲስ አበባና በክልል የሚኖሩ ሙስሊሞች ‹‹ኧረ የፍትሕ ያለህ!›› እያሉ መጮህ ከጀመሩ ይኸው ሦስት ወራት ተቆጥረዋል። መንግሥትም ‹‹ከደሙ ንጹህ ነኝ!›› እያለ በተገኙት ሚዲያዎች ሁሉ ሐሳቡን እያስተጋባ ነው።

ሕዝቡ ብሶቱን እንዲያሰሙለት የመረጣቸው አሥራ ሰባት ተወካዮች ባለፈው የካቲት 26 ከፌዴራል ጉዳዮች ሚኒስቴር መልስ የሚመስል ‹‹መልስ›› ተሰጥቷቸዋል። ሕዝበ ሙስሊሙ ጠምጣሚዎቹ ካድሬዎች ከሥልጣን እንዲነሱለትና ሕዝባዊ ምርጫ እንዲካሄድ ላቀረበው ጥያቄ ያገኘው ምላሽ ብዙም አዎንታዊ አይደለም። የፌዴራል ጉዳዮች መልስ በደምሳሳው ‹‹ለመጅሊሱ የአመራር ቦታዎች ምርጫ ይደረጋል›› ከማለት በዘለለ ‹‹መቼ?›› እና ‹‹እንዴት?›› ለሚሉት ጥቄዎች የሰጠው ምላሽ የለም። አላዋቂ ጠምጣሚዎቹ የመጅሊስ አመራሮች በበኩላቸው ‹‹ምርጫውን ብር ካገኘን እናካሂዳለን፤ የምርጫ መመሪያውን እያዘጋጀን ነው›› በማለት ሙስሊሙ ሳይመርጣቸው ወንበሩ ላይ መቀመጡ ሳያንሳቸው ምርጫውንም በቆሸሸ እጃቸው

እንዳይሆን ሊያደርጉት ተዘጋጅተዋል። ይህ ሁኔታ ክፉኛ ያበሳጫቸው ከ500 ሺህ በላይ የከተማዋና የክልል ሙስሊሞች ባለፈው ሳምንት አሥረኛውን የተቃውሞ ጁሙዓ በአወሊያ አካሂደዋል።

በሕዝብ የተነሱት ሌሎቹ ጥያቄዎችም እንዲሁ ከመንግሥት በኩል አዎንታዊ ምላሽ አላገኙም። ከገጠር እስከ ከተማ በግዳጅ ሲሰጥ የነበረው የ‹‹አሕባሽ›› ‹‹ሥልጠና››ም እንዲሁ ምንም ዓይነት ግዳጅ እንዳልነበረበት እነዚሁ ከኮሚቴዎቹ ጋር የተገናኙ የመንግሥት ባለሥልጣናት ሞግተዋል። ይህን የመንግሥት ምላሽ ባለፈው ሳምንት አወሊያ ተገኝቶ ያደመጠው ሕዝበ ሙስሊም ንዴቱን በሚገባው መልኩ ገልጿል። ጥያቄዎቹ በአግባቡ እስኪመለሱ ድረስም ሰላማዊ ተቃውሞውን እስከመጨረሻው እንደሚቀጥል ቃል ገብቷል። አሥራ ሰባቱ ተመራጮች ጥያቄያቸውን ለሌሎች የመንግሥት ፍትሕ ቢሮዎች እስከ ጠ/ሚኒስትሩ ጽ/ቤት ድረስ ለማቅረብ እንቅስቃሴ ቢጀምሩም ከባለፈው ሳምንት መባቻ ጀምሮ የመንግሥት ደህንነቶች መላወሻ አሳጥተዋቸዋል። ከሰባት በላይ የደህንነት መኪኖች የኮሚቴዎቹን አባላት ከጠዋት እስከማታ በመከታተል እና በማዋከብ ላይ ናቸው። የሕዝብን ሰላማዊ ጥያቄ በሰላማዊ መልኩ ለመንግሥት እያቀረበ ያለን ቡድን ይህን ያህል ማዋከብ ትርፉ ምን እንደሆነ አልገባኝም።

ሙስሊሙ ኅብረተሰብ የጠየቃቸው ጥያቄዎች ሕገ-መንግሥታዊ በመሆናቸው መንግሥት ‹‹ጣልቃ አልገባሁም›› እያለ መደባበቁን ትቶ ትክክለኛውን ምላሽ ለሕዝብ ሊሰጥ ይገባል። የምድሩን ትተንላችሁ ሁሉም በእጃችሁ ሆነ፤ የሃይማኖት ነጻነት ጥያቄያችንን እንኳ መልሱና የሰማዩን መንገድ ተዉልን!

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1. ***አክመል ነጋሽ*** የሙስሊሞች ጉዳይ መጽሄት ሲኒየር ኤዲተር ነው፡፡

የመለስ ዲስኩር ግዝፈትና ግድፈት

አክመል ነጋሽ

ሚያዚያ12/2004

ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር መለስ ዜናዊ በየጊዜው እየቀረቡ በወቅታዊ ጉዳዮች ላይ የሚሰጧቸውን ማብራሪያዎች ሳደምጥ ቆይቻለሁ። ከቀናት በፊት ‹‹የኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊሞችን የመብት ንቅናቄ አስመልክቶ የእሳቸው ግላዊ አቋም ምን ሊሆን ይችላል?›› ለሚለው ወሳኝ ጥያቄ ከእሳቸው አንደበት ምላሽ ማግኘት ችለናል። በዚሁ የማክሰኞ የፓርላማ ውሎ እና ዲስኩር ብዙዎቻችን የቀድሞን ብቃታቸው (performance) እያሽቆለቆለ መሄዱን ታዝበናል። በተለይ በሃይማኖት ጉዳይ የሰጡት ‹‹ትንታኔ›› እውነታዎችን ለጥጦ በማግዘፍና በማግደፍ የተሞላ ሆኖ አግኝቼዋለሁ። በዚህ ጽሑፌ የእሳቸውን ሕጸጾች ከግላዊ ምልከታዬ በመነሣትም ለመጥቀስ እሞክራለሁ።

በቀዳሚነት ለጠቅላይ ሚኒስተሩ ጥያቄውን ያቀረቡት ‹‹የአጋር ፓርቲ አባል›› ጥያቄያቸውን ወደ አንድ አቅጣጫ ብቻ የተመራ (leading question) ማድረጋቸው መለስ ምላሹን አድበስብሰው እንዲያልፉት አጋዥ ሆኗቸዋል። ጠያቂው ‹‹የአክራሪነት አዝማሚያዎች... መንግሥት በሃይማኖት ጣልቃ ገብቷል በሚል ሰበብ... በሃይማኖት ሽፋን የፖለቲካ ዓላማቸውን ለማሳካት...›› የሚሉ ሐረጎችን በማከል ጥያቄውን እጅግ አቅልለውላቸዋል። ምናልባትም ጥያቄው ከተፎካካሪ ፓርቲ አባል ተጠይቆ ቢሆን ኖሮ አብነቶችን በመጥቀስ ጥያቄው ከተግዳሮት ጋር ሊቀርብ ይችል የነበረ በመሆኑ የምላሻቸውም ይዘት ሊቀየር ይችል ነበር። ሆኖም ያ ባለመሆኑ የጥያቄውን ዐውድ እንዳሻቸው እንዲቀያይሩት ምክንያት ሆኗል።

ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ የኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊሞችን የመብት ንቅናቄ አስመልክቶ ምላሽ ሲሰጡ የተንደረደሩት ከሕገ-መንግሥቱ አንቀጾች ነው፤ በተለይም ስለ መንግሥትና ሃይማኖት መለያየት የሚደነግጉትን አናቅጽ። በተደጋጋሚ ጊዜ እንዳስተዋልነውም ‹‹መንግሥት በሃይማኖት ጣልቃ ገብቷል›› ለሚለው ውንጀላ የገቢው ፓርቲ ሰዎችም ሆኑ ልሳኖቻቸው የሚጠቅሱት የሕገ-መንግሥቱን የመንግሥትና የሃይማኖት መለያየት ድንጋጌ ነው። ‹‹መንግሥትና ሃይማኖት የተለያዩ በመሆናቸው ሃይማኖት ውስጥ ጣልቃ አንገባም›› የሚል ነው የብዙዎቹ መልስ። የእሳቸውም መልስ ይኸው ነበር።

በመሠረቱ የአንድ ሕግ መደንገግ በራሱ ወንጀልን ከነአካቴው ሊያስቆም አይችልም። አሁን ባለው ሁናቴ መንግሥት በሃይማኖት ጣልቃ መግባቱን የሚጠቁሙ የቪዲዮ፣ የድምጽ እና የሠነድ ማስረጃዎች በገፍ እየቀረቡ ሳለ እሳቸው እና መንግሥታቸው የቀረቡትን ማስረጃዎች የሚቀለብስ ሌላ ማስረጃ ከማቅረብ ይልቅ ‹‹ሕገ-መንግሥቱ ስለከለከለን አናደርገውም›› የሚል ሾላ በድፍን መልስ መስጠታቸው አግባብ አይደለም። ምክንያቱም የሕግ መኖር ወንጀል ላለመፈጸሙ ዋስትና

አይሆንም። በአገሪቱ ሙስናን፣ ሥርቆትን፣ ጾታዊ ጥቃትን ወዘተ... የሚከለክሉ የፍትሕ ብሔርና የወንጀል ሕግጋት አሉ።

የእነዚህ ሕግጋት መኖር ግን ከላይ የተጠቀሱትን ወንጀሎች ሊገታቸው አልቻለም። እንደውም በተቃራኒው የወንጀሎቹ ቁጥር አሻቅቦ ነው የታየው። የአቶ መለስም አሥተዳደር ዳር ዳር ከማለት ይልቅ ወዳጂ ተመስገን ከሳምንታት በፊት ያቀረባቸውን የመንግሥት በሃይማኖት ጣልቃ ገብነት ማስረጃዎች ቢመልሱ ይሻላቸው ነበር። ነገሩ ከየት አምጥተው ይመልሱታል? የመለስ ‹‹ነባሩ›› እስልምና ከሰሞኑ የገዢው ፓርቲ ሰዎች ‹‹ነባሩ እስልምና›› የሚል ቃል አለቅጥ አብዝተዋል። ከቀናት በፊት ያገኘሁትና ፓርቲው አባላቱን ሊያወያይበት ያዘጋጀው ባለ 25 ገጽ ሠነድ ‹‹ነባሩ እስልምና›› የሚል ቃል ደጋግሞ ሲጠቅስ አስተውያለሁ። ቃሏ ልክ እንደ ‹‹ውሃ ማቆር››፣ ‹‹ውጤት ተኮር››፣ ‹‹ኪራይ ሰብሳቢ›› ዓይነት ቃላት አዲስና ልማታዊ ሳትሆን አይቀርም።

የሆነ ሆኖ መለስም በመልሳቸው ‹‹ነባሩ እስልምና›› የሚል ሐረግ ደጋግመው ጠቅሰዋል። መለስ ሲያስረዱ ‹‹በኢትዮጵያ ከጥንት ጀምሮ የነበረው ነባሩ እስልምና ሱፊይ የሚባለው ነው›› ብለውናል። ይህ የአቶ መለስ አካሄድ አሁን መንግሥታቸው እያካሄደ ያለውን በ‹‹አሕባሽ›› አስተምህሮ የማጥመቅ ስትራቴጂ ትክክለኝነት ለማሳየትም ያለመ ይመስላል። አቶ መለስ ‹‹የሃይማኖቱ አዋቂዎች እንደነገሩን›› የሚለውን ቃል በመደጋገም ‹‹አሕባሽ›› የነባሩ ሱፊይ አስተሳሰብ አካል እንደሆነ አስረድተዋል።

‹‹ለመለስ ያስረዷቸው የትኞቹ የሃይማኖት አዋቂዎች ናቸው?›› ከተባለ አሁን ሕዝበ ሙስሊሙ ‹‹ሳንመርጣቸው በመንፈሳዊ ተቋማችን ተቀመጡብን፤ ስለማንፈልጋቸውም ይነሡልን›› ያላቸው ጠምጣሚ ካድሬዎች ናቸው። ‹‹የ‹አሕባሽ›ን ሥልጠናም ሆነ ትምህርት እየሰጠ ያለው የሙስሊሞች መንፈሳዊ መሪ ድርጅት በመሆኑ ምንም አይመለከተንም›› የሚል ስሜት ነበረው መልሳቸው። ሕዝቡ ‹‹መሪ ድርጅቴ ውስጥ የተሰገሰጉት ግለሰቦች ያልተመረጡ ናቸው፤ ምርጫ ይካሄድልን›› ብሎ፣ አቤቱታ አቅርቦ የፌዴራል ጉዳዮች ሚኒስቴርም ምርጫ እንደሚደረግ ተስማምቶ ባለበት በአሁኑ ሰዓት ቢያንስ በመርህ ደረጃ ከሥልጣን የወረዱ ሰዎችን አቶ መለስ ‹‹መሪዎቹ›› እያሉ መጥራታቸው በጣም ያሳዝናል። በእርግጥ እሳቸው እንዳሉት ‹‹የሃይማኖት አዋቂ›› ካሏቸው ሰዎች ምክሩን አግኝተው ከሆነ ድምዳሜ ላይ የደረሱት፣ የመከሯቸው ሰዎች ተሳስተው አሳስተዋቸዋል። ይህን በእርግጠኝነት ለመናገር ደግሞ ነብይ መሆን አይጠይቅም። በእስልምና ሃይማኖት ውስጥ የአስተሳሰብ መስመር (school of thought) የሚባል ጽንስ ሐሳብ አለ። የዚህ ጽንስ ሐሳብ ዓይነተኛ ባሕሪ ከአንድ ልዩ ሥርዓት ጋር በልዩ ሁኔታ መቆራኘትን (specialization) አመልካች ነው። ለምሳሌ ሱፊይ (ተሰዉፍ) ማለት መንፈሳዊ (spiritual) ነገሮች ላይ በጣም የሚያተኩር መስመር እንደማለት ነው። ይህ የአስተሳሰብ መስመር በተገለጸው ሁኔታ ራሱን ከመንፈሳዊነት ጋር ያስተሳሰረ እንጂ ከሌላው ሙስሊም ተለይቶ ‹‹የተለየ ሙስሊም›› የሚባልበት ቀመር የለም።

ወደ መሠረታዊው ነጥብ ስንመጣ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ ‹‹አሕባሽ›› የነባሩ እስልምና አስተምህሮ ወይም ሱፊይ እንደሆነ ነግረውናል። በመሠረቱ አሕባሽ ራሱን ‹‹ሱፊይ›› ብሎ ይጥራ እንጂ

‹‹ሱፊይ›› አይደለም። ለዚህ ደግሞ የእሳቸው ንግግር በራሱ መልስ ይሰጠናል። ‹‹ነባሩ እስልምና ነው›› ያሉት የአሕባሽ እንቅስቃሴ የተጀመረው ዐብደላህ አል ሐረሪ በተባለ የሐረር ሰው መሆኑን ነግረውናል። ዐብደላህ አል ሐረሪ ደግሞ የሞተው ከዛሬ ሰባት እና ስምንት ዓመታት በፊት ነው። እስልምና ግን በኢትዮጵያ ላለፉት 1400 ዓመታት ቆይቷል። ታድያ መለስ ‹‹ነባር›› የሚሉት ከ 20 ዓመታት በፊት የተፈበረከን አንጃ ነው?

እንደ አቶ መለስ ንግግር ዐብደላህ አል-ሐረሪ በተወለዱበት ሐረር አካባቢ በ1930ዎቹ ትምህርታቸውን ማስተማር ስላልቻሉ ኢትዮጵያን ለቅቀው በሌሎች አገሮች አስተምህሮታቸውን አስፋፍተዋል። ይህም ከቀዳሚው ንግግር ጋር ፊት ለፊት የሚላተም ነው። ምክንያቱም ዐብደላህ አል ሐረሪ ትምህርቱን ማስተማር ሳይችል የቀረውና የተገፋው አቶ መለስ ‹‹ሱፊይ›› ያሉት ነባር ማኅበረሰብ የሰውየውን ትምህርት ሊቀበለው ስላልፈለገ እና ስለተጠየፈው ነው። ወይም በመለስ መዝገበ ቃላት ‹‹ከ 20 እና 30 ዓመታት በፊት የገባው›› ሠለፊያ ገፍቶት አይደለም። ይህ መከራከሪያ ‹‹አሕባሽ›› የነባሩም ሆነ የ‹‹ሱፊይ›› መስመር አካል እንዳልሆነ ያሳየናል።

ከሥነ-መለኮታዊ ጉዳዮች አንጻር ስናየውም ‹‹አሕባሽ›› መንግስትም ሆነ እነሱ ራሳቸው እንደሚሉት ‹‹ሱፊይ›› አይደለም። በዓለም አቀፍ ደረጃ ከፍተኛ እውቅና ያለውና ሥርዓተ ትምህርቱን በሱፊይ የአስተሳሰብ መስመር የቀረጸው የግብጽ አል-አዝሐር ዩኒቨርሲቲ የ‹‹አሕባሽ›› አንጃ የሱፊያን የአስተሳሰብ መስመር እንደማይከተል ሃይማኖታዊ ብያኔ ሰጥቷል። በ‹‹ሱፊይ›› የአስተሳሰብ መስመር ልሂቅ የሆኑትና እንደ ዓለም አቀፍ ማጣቀሻ የሚወሰዱት ኢማም ወሕበቱ ዙሐይሊም እንዲሁ አንጃው የ‹‹ሱፊያ››ን የአስተሳሰብ መስመር በጭራሽ የማይከተል ስለመሆኑ በተመሳሳይ መልኩ ብያኔ ሰጥተዋል። የ‹‹አሕባሽ›› አንጃ መሥራች ዐብደላ አል-ሐረሪ በዓለም አቀፍ ደረጃ አሉ የተባሉ የ‹‹ሱፊያ›› ልሂቃንን ማክፈራቸው (ከእስልምና ወጥተዋል ብለው ብይን መስጠታቸው) ግለሰቡም ሆነ አንጃቸው ሱፊያ አለመሆኑን አስረጂ ነው። ሸኽ ሐቢብ ዐሊ ጀፍሪ፣ ሸኽ ሙሐመድ ሰዒድ ረመዷን አል ቡጢ፣ ሸኽ ሽዕራዊ እና ሌሎችም በርካታ የሱፊያ ልሂቃን ሁሉ ‹‹ሙስሊም አይደሉም›› ተብሎ በ‹‹አሕባሽ›› አንጃ ብይን ተሰጥቶባቸዋል። እነዚህ ሁሉ ነጥቦች መለስም ሆኑ መካሪዎቻቸው ‹‹አሕባሽ›› ሱፊይ አለመሆኑን፣ የነባሩን እስልምና አስተምህሮም ያልተከተለ መሆኑን የሚያስገነዝቧቸው ይመስለኛል። ‹‹ሠለፊይ›› መጤው እስልምና?አቶ መለስ በንግግራቸው ከ 30 እና 20 ዓመታት በፊት ወደ ኢትዮጵያ የመጣው የእስልምና ዓይነት ‹‹ሠለፊይ›› የሚባለው እንደሆነ ነግረውናል።

ስለዚህ ቡድንም ትንታኔ ሲሰጡ ‹‹የሃይማኖት አዋቂዎቹ ነገሩኝ›› ማለትን አልመረጡም። የዚህ አስተሳሰብ ተከታዮች ጥቂቶቹ የአልቃይዳ አባላት እንደሆኑና በብዙ የሽብር ተግባሮች ላይ እንደሚሳተፉም ነግረውናል። ስለ‹‹አሕባሽ›› ሱፊይነት ‹‹ዑለማዎቹ ነገሩኝ›› ያሉት አቶ መለስ ስለ ‹‹ሠለፊይ›› ብዙ ደስ የማይሉ ነገሮችን ሲናገሩ ‹‹አዋቂ›› አለመጥቀሳቸው በጉዳዩ ዙሪያ ያላቸውን በመረጃ ያልተደገፈ እና ወገንተኛ ዕይታ ያሳያል። በመሠረቱ ለጠቅላይ ሚንስትሩ ‹‹ይሄ ሱፊይ ነው፤ ይሄ ሠለፊይ ነው›› የማለት ሥልጣን ማን ሰጣቸው? ይህን ክፍፍል ሲሠሩስ መነሻቸው ምንድን ነው? የሃይማኖቱ ሰዎች የራሳቸው የቁርአን እና የሐዲስ መመዘኛዎች አሏቸውና። አቶ መለስ ‹‹አንተ ሱፊይ ነህ። አንተ ሠለፊይ ነህ›› የሚል ምደባ ማስቀመጣቸው አሁን የኢትዮጵያ

ሙስሊም ልዩነቶቹን ትቶ በአንድ ላይ ለአንድ ዓላማ መቆሙ ስላላስደስታቸው ይመስላል። ወይስ የትናንቱን የልዩነት ጊዜ መመለስ ተመኝተው? አቶ መለስ አንድ ቦታ ‹‹ሙስሊም›› ማለቱን ትተው ‹‹ክርስትያኑ እና ሱፊው በሰላም ይኖር ነበር›› ብለዋል። ተመለከታችሁት!? ‹‹ክርስትያኑና ሱፊው...››! ይህ ምን ማለት ነው ክቡር ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር?

እንደ አቶ መለስ እምነት የሱፊይ እስልምና በኢትዮጵያ ከሌላው ሃይማኖት ጋር ተቻችሎ ለዘመናት ኖሯል። ምንም እንኳ አቶ መለስ ሱፊያን ‹‹ሰላማዊና ተቻችሎ የኖረ›› ብለው ቢጠቅሱትም እንቅስቃሴውን ግን ትኙ (passive) አድርገው ከመግለጽ አልተቆጠቡም። ይህ ምናልባትም የኢትዮጵያን ‹‹ሱፊያ›› ካለማወቅና ካለመገንዘብ ይመስለኛል። አቶ መለስ እንዳሉት የቀድሞዎቹ ሥርዓቶች አድሎአዊ አሥተዳደሮች ነበሯቸው። እነዚህን አድሎአዊ አሥተዳደሮች በነፍጥ ጭምር ታግለው ሃይማኖቱ ለዚህ ትውልድ እንዲደርስ ያደረጉት ቀደምት ‹‹ሱፊይ›› አባቶቻችን ናቸው።

በኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ በርካታ እስላማዊ ሡልጣኔቶች (መንግሥታት) እንደነበሩ ይታወቃል። እነዚህ ሁሉ ሡልጣኔቶች ምሥረታቸውን ያገኙትም ሆነ ይተዳደሩ የነበሩት በቱባ ሱፊዮች ነው። በሊቢያ አረመኔውን ፋሽስት የጣልያን ቅኝ ገዥ ሲታገሉ የነበሩት ዑመር ሙኪታር ‹‹ሱፊይ›› ናቸው። ታሪካዊቷን እየሩሳሌም ከመስቀል ጦረኞች አላቅቆ በሙስሊሞች እጅ ያገባው ጦረኛ ሶላሐዲን አል አዩቢም ‹‹ሱፊይ›› ነበር። ይህ ሁሉ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስተር መለስን የመከሯቸው ሰዎች (በእርግጥም መከረዋቸው ከነበር) መሳሳታቸውን ያሳያል።

ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ ስለ ‹‹ሠለፊይ›› የገለጹት ባሕሪ በብዙ መልኩ እውነቱን ያገናዘበ አይደለም። ስለ ‹‹ሠለፊይ›› ሲያወሩ በስፋት የሄዱበት ‹‹እስላማዊ መንግሥት›› የሚለውን ቃል ነው። ‹‹ሠለፊይ›› በሌላው ዓለም እንዳደረገው ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥም እስላማዊ መንግሥት ለመመሥረት እንቅስቃሴ ያደረገ መሆኑን ቢጠቅሱም አስረጂ አድርገው ሊያቀርቡት የሚችሉት የምሳሌ እንኳ ማስረጃ ማጣታቸው የነገሩን ትክክል ያለመሆን ያሳብቃል። አቶ መለስ የሚሏቸው ሰዎች በኢትዮጵያ እስላማዊ መንግሥት ለመመሥረት ጥረት እያደረጉ ከሆነ ማስረጃ የሚመስል ነገር ለምን ለፓርላማው አባላት አላቀረቡም? በቁጥር የማነስም ጉዳይ በአቶ መለስ ንግግር ተዳስሷል።

ሠለፊዮች ‹‹መንግሥት ቁጥራችንን አሳነሰብን›› የሚል ዘመቻ እንደሚያደርጉ ተናግረዋል። ይህ ምኑ ከወንጀል ጋር እንደሚገናኝ አይገባኝም። ከጥቂት ዓመታት በፊት የአማራ ሕዝብ ቁጥር ከተጠበቀው በላይ ማነሱን ተከትሎ አንድ የገዢው ፓርቲ የፓርላማ አባል በምክር ቤቱ ውስጥ ‹‹ቁጥራችንን አሳነሳችሁብን›› በሚል ሙግት አስነስተው እንደነበር ትዝ ይለኛል። የሕዝብ ቁጥር በብዙ መልኩ ብዙ ትርጉም በሚያስጥበት አገር የቁጥር ማነስ አለማነስ ጥያቄ ለምን በጠቅላይ ሚኒስተሩ መዝገበ ቃላት ከእስላማዊ መንግሥት ምሥረታ ጋር ይያያዛል? ለጥያቄዎቻችንስ ምላሽ የሎትም?በማክሰኞው የአቶ መለስ ንግግር አሁን እየተነሣ ያለውን የሙብት ጥያቄ ‹‹ሠለፊይ›› ብለው ካሰቡት ወገን የመጣ ብቻ ተደርጎ ነው የቀረበው።

የሙብት ጥያቄው ግን የትኛውንም የአስተሳሰብ መስመር ሳይለይ በሁሉም ኢትዮጵያዊ ሙስሊም እየተንጸባረቀ መሆኑ አይጠፋቸውም። በሚሊዮን የሚቀጠሩ ሰዎችን ጥያቄም ‹‹የጥቂቶች››

ብለው መግለጻቸው ተገቢ አይደለም። ንቅናቄውንም አሁን በጎረቤት አገራት በግብጽ፣ በሊቢያ፣ በቱኒዚያ እየተካሄደ ካለው ማዕበል ጋር አቆራኝተውታል። ሕዝቡ ያነሣው ከመንግሥት ሥልጣን ጋር ያልተነካካ ንጹህ አገራዊ የሙብት ጥያቄ ቢሆንም ከሌላ አገር፣ በተለይም ከዐረብ አገራት አጀንዳዎች ጋር ተሳስሮ ቀርቧል። ይህ የሚመነጨው ምናልባትም የኢትዮጵያውያን ሙስሊሞችን ኢትዮጵያዊነት ካለመቀበል ይሆናል። ይህ ሁሉ ሆኖም ግን አቶ መለስ መሠረታዊውን የሕዝብ ጥያቄ መመለስ አልተቻላቸውም። መንግሥት "ሕገ-መንግሥትን በማስከበር ሽፋን ሃይማኖት ውስጥ ገብቶ የሚፈጽመውን ተግባር ሊያቆም ይገባል" የሚለው ጥያቄ ከእሳቸው ምላሽ አላገኘም። ጠቅላይ ሚንስትሩ የ"አሕባሽ"ን የግዳጅ ሥልጠናዎች በተመለከተ መንፈሳዊ ተቋሙ (መጅሊስ) በሥልጠናዎቹ ላይ "ብትመጡ ጥሩ ነው" ስላለን ብቻ ተገኝተን ስለ ሕገ-መንግሥቱ አስተምረናል›› ቢሉም ሕዝቡ የሚያውቀው ግን የፌዴራል ጉዳዮች ሚኒስቴር እና የፍትሕ ቢሮ ኃላፊዎች በነበሩበት መጀሊሱ ሥልጠናዎቹን በግዳጅ ጭምር ሲሰጥ እንደነበር ነው።

የሙብት እና የነጻ መሪ ድርጅት ጥያቄውን አቶ መለስ "የጥቂቶች" በሚል ሽፋን የእስላማዊ መንግሥት ምሥረታ ሩጫ አድርገውታል። "ጥያቄ እያቀረበ ያለው" የሚሉት የ "ሠለፊያ" ቡድን ብዙ እየሠራ መሆኑን ነግረውናል። አቶ መለስ በመደምደሚያቸው ይሄ እንቅስቃሴ "በእንጭጩ መቀጨት አለበት" ብለዋል። በአቶ መለስ ኢትዮጵያ ትላንትም ዛሬም የዴሞክራሲ እና ሙብት ጥያቄ ማንሳት በሽብር ተግባር አስፈርጀዋል።

ዋይ ኢትዮጵያ።

የመጅሊስ ምርጫ፡ ከ‘ግሎባል’ ወደ ‘ማዘጋጃ’

ቢን ምህ

ግንቦት 2/2004

በ2001 የቀድሞ መጅሊስ ሹማምንት የእነ አቶ ኤሊያስ ሬድማን ቡድን እንዝህላልነትን ለማረምና ሙሰኞችን ለፍርድ ለማቅረብ በሚል ሰበብ በግሎባል ሆቴል በተሰየሙ ጉባዔተኞች አዲስ፤ ታማኝና የአህባሽ ጥምቆች (ቅምጦችም ይሆናሉ- የፖለቲካ)፤ አረንጓዴ ጠምጣሚዎች አቶ አህመዲን ጨሎን ራስ አድርገው ሌሎች ደግሞ በተዋረድ ተሹመው (ተመርጠው አላልኩም) በጓሮ በር ወንበሩን ያዙት፡፡ እኛም ከዛሬ ነገ አቶ ኤሊያስ በ50 ሚሊዮን ብር ሙስና ተከሶ ፍርድ ቤት ሲቆም (ወይም ሲቀመጥ) ለማየት በጉጉት ስንጠብቅ፡ ስንጠብቅ .... (የዋሆች!) ተረስቶ ቀረ- ወይ አለማወቅ! ለካስ ለመሾም ሙስና ዋነኛ መስፈርት ሆኖ ኖሯል!

እነ ጨሎም ቢሮውንና ሙስናውን ከተላመዱ በኋላ ከፌዴራል ጉዳዮች ሚኒስቴር ’አህባሽ’ን የማጥመቅ ዘመቻ እንደ ዋና የቤት (ቢሮ) ስራ ተሰጥቷቸው ተረከቡ፤ ከዚያም ቅድመ-ማፅዳት ስራ ጀመሩ፡፡ ‘IIRO’ን ማባረር፣ አወሊያን መረከብ፣ ለመንግስት መረጃ ማቀበል፤ የሙስሊሙን የልብ ትርታ መለካት ወዘተ.... (ስንቱ ይዘረዘራል??)..

በመጨረሻም ከሊባኖስ 200 የአህባሽ “ዓሊሞችን” በማስመጣት በሃምሌ 2003 በሐረር ከተማ ማጥመቁን በይፋ ጀመሩት፡፡ ቀጥሎ በሌሎችም ቦታዎች አፋፋሙት፡፡ ህዝበ-ሙስሊሙም ነገሩን በሹክሹታ፤ በፊት-መፅሃፍ (facebook) ጫካ፤ በጋዜጣና መፅሄቶች መቃወሙን ተያያዘው፡፡ ተቃውሞው በውጭ ሃገራት አይሎ ነበርና በNovember 21, 2011 በአሜሪካ የተቃውሞው ሰልፍ ፈነዳ፡፡ በሀገር ውስጥ ግን ፍርሃት እንደነገሰ ነው፡፡ ሆኖም በታህሳስ ወር መጨረሻ ላይ የአወሊያ ኮሌጅ መዘጋትና መምህራንና ኢማም መባረርን ተከትሎ በጀግኖች የአወሊያ ተማሪዎች አገር ውስጥም የተቃውሞ ሰልፍ ፈነዳ፡ አዲሳባዎችም አጎራባቾችም ሆኑ ክፍለ-ሀገሮች ከቤታቸው፤ የፊት-መጽሀፍ (facebook) ታጋዮችም ከጫካው በመውጣት የተቃውሞ ትግሉን ተቀላቀሉ፡ የቅሬታ ፊርማም ተጧጧፈ፤ ጥያቄውም ከአወሊያ ጉዳይ ወደ መጅሊስ ይውረድ አደገ፤ መጅሊሶችም ጨነቃቸው፤ ተቃውሞውም ጠነከረ፤ በኮሚቴ ተዋቀረ፤ ወደ ክፍለ-ሀገርም ተሰራጨ፡፡ ሀገራዊም ሆነ፡፡

ተቃውሞው እስካሁን የተዋጣለት አካሄድ መሄድ ችሏል፤ ከመቼውም በላይ አንድነት ጠንክሯል፤ ድጋሜ ላይላላም ሙስሊሞች ተማምለዋል፤ ግፊቱ አንዋር መስጅድ ላይ ከትሟል፤ የመንግስት ባለስልጣናትንም አወዛግቧል፤ ወደ ዓለምም ተስተጋብቷል፡፡

በጀት ለ2004

መጅሊስም በጥር ወር ላይ የ2004 አመታዊ በጀቱን ይፋ አደረገ፤ 636 ሚሊዮን ብር!! (“ከየት መጣ?” ብሎ መጠየቅ ያስቀስፋል!) “ለአወሊያም 6 ሚሊዮን ብር ስለተመደበለት ሰልፉን

ትታችሁ ወደ ቤታችሁ ግቡ” ተባለ!! “አል-ቁድስ” ጋዜጣም ተገዛ፤ በቅርቡም የሀገር ውስጥ ዊኪሊክስ ይፋ እንዳደረገው ከበጀቱ ውስጥ 203 ሚሊዮን ብር የሚሆነው በአቶ ጨሎ ልጅ የግል ቁጠባ ሂሳብ መግባቱን፤ ለ“አል-ቁድስ” ጋዜጣ በየወሩ 88ሺህ ብር መሰጠቱን፤ አብዛኛው ገንዘብ ለአህባሽ ስልጠናና ለጫት ወጭ እንደሚውል መታቀዱን ሰማን- ጆሮን አትስማ አይሉት፡፡

የጉልቻ ለውጥ ዜና

አሁንም በሀገር ውስጥ ዊኪሊክሰ መረጃዎች መሰረት ሚያዚያ 19/2004 እጅግ መራር ዱብ እዳ ወረደ! በአቶ መለስ የፀጥታ አማካሪ፤ የቀድሞ የትግራይ ክልል ፕሬዚዳንት አቶ ፀጋዬ በርኸ እና በፌዴራል ጉዳዮች ሚ/ር ‘ሙፍቲ’ ሽፈራው ተ/ማሪያም በኩል መጅሊሶች ከስልጣናቸው በአንድ ወር ጊዜ ውስጥ እንዲወርዱ ተነገራቸው፤ መቼም “ከስልጣንና ከጫት ላይ መነሳት ይከብዳል" ይላሉ- የሚያውቁት፡፡ እናም የኦሮሚያና የአዲሳባ መጂሊሶች አለቃቀሱ አሉ፤ ምርጫም በሰኔ ወር እንደሚካሄድ ተነገራቸው (ለነገሩ ከአሁን በኋላ ምን ሊያደርግላቸው- እኛ ከወረድን ሰርዶ አይብቀል ነውና ነገሩ!)- በፌዴራል ጉዳዮች ሚ/ር በጀት መዳቢነትና አመራር ሰጪነት ብሎም በዑለማዎች ም/ቤት (በመጅሊሱ የተቋቋመ) ሽፋንነት- ልጅ አባቱን ሊመርጥ!!

ይህንን ዜና ተከትሎ ግንቦት 1 ቀን በአዲሳባ ማዘጋጃ ቤት አዳራሽ የ”ነባሩ” እስልምና ተከታዮች (ለ“አህባሽ” በአቶ ሽፈራው ተ/ማሪያም የተሰጠ አዲሱ ለምድ) ብቻ ለጉባዔ ታደሙ፤ መከሩም፤ ዘከሩም፤ በመጨረሻ ላይ የእነ ጨሎ ልጅን ጅማሮ አጠናክሮ የሚቀጥል፤ ድክመታቸውን የሚያርም፤ “ጊዜያዊ” የመጅሊስ ፕሬዚዳንት ለመሾም ጠንካራ ታጋይ ማፈላለጉን ተያያዙት፤ ከብዙ ቁፋሮ በኋላ አንድ ጀግና ብቅ አሉ- ከትግራይ ሸህ ከድር ማህሙድ ይባላሉ፡፡

ሸህ ከድር የትግራይ ክልል መጅሊስ ፕሬዚዳንት የነበሩ ሲሆን ከወር በፊት ሚያዚያ 1 ቀን ስልጣናቸውን አስረክበው በታላቅ ሽኝት ለዕድገት ወደ አዲሳባ መጥተው የዑለማዎች ም/ቤት ፕሬዚዳንት አማካሪ በመሆን ተሹመው ለአንድ ወር ያህል ካገለገሉ በኋላ ነው-ትላንት ለ”ጊዜያዊ” የፌዴራል መጅሊስ ፕሬዚዳንትነት የታጩት(“ጊዜያዊ” በመጅሊስ የዘመን አቆጣጠር ገደብ የለውም)፡፡ ከአንድ ወር በኋላም ስልጣናቸውን ይረከባሉ ተብሎ ይጠበቃል-ምናልባት ህዝበ-ሙስሊሙ ቁሞ ከጠበቃቸው!

ይድረስ ለክቡር አቶ መለስ!

ክቡርነትዎ ሦስቶቹ መሰረታዊ ጥያቄዎቻችንን እደግማቸዋለሁ!

1. የመጅሊሳችንን መሪዎች እኛው፣ ከእኛው፣ ለእኛው፣ በነፃነት፤ በግልፅ፤ ያለማንም ጣልቃ-ገብነት በመሳጅዳችን እንምረጥ!!! ስለዚህ ሚኒስትር ሽፈራው የሚባሉት የርስዎ መንግስት ቱባ ባለስልጣን ‘ጥቁሩን አህባሽ አውርደው “ነጩን አህባሽ” (በራስዎ ቋንቋ የ“ነባሩ እስልምና ዑለማዎች”) እንዳይተኩልን’፡፡ ምክንያቱም ጉልቻ ቢለዋወጥር ወጥ አያጣፍጥምና! ክቡርነትዎ....ሰምተዋል!? መጅሊሱ በስንት አባቶቻችን ደም

እንደተመሰረተ በአይንዎ አይተዋል! ደም፤ ህይወት፤ ገንዘብ፤ ጊዜና ጉልበት ተከፍሎበታል……..!

2. አወሊያም ሆነ ሌሎች የህዝበ ሙስሊሙ ተቋማት እንደመጅሊሱ በብዙ መስዋዕትነትና ትግል የቆሙ ናቸው፤ ስለዚህ ለዚህ ለአዲሱ (ይቅርታ! ለ“ነባሩ” ማለቴ ነው) ሃይማኖት ማጥመቂያም ሆነ ለፖለቲካ ስራ መጠቀም አይቻልም፡፡ ሙስሊሙ እንደሰራቸው የራሱ ንብረት ሆነው በራሱ ሰዎች ይተዳደሩ!!!
3. አህባሽ ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ከ1994/5 ጀምሮ በ’NGO’ነት በራሱ ማዕከላት እንደሰበከው ዛሬም መስበክ ይችላል፤ ነገር ግን ተገደንና ተስፈራርተን በሙስሊሙ ህዝብ ተቋማት ውስጥ ያለ አግባብ ሊጫንብን አይገባም፤ ነውርም ነው፤ ኢ-ሰብዓዊም ነው፤ ኢ-ህገ-መንግስታዊም ነው!!

ጥያቄዎቹ አለቁ፤ በቃ አራት ነጥብ(፡፡) አይጨመ(ም)ሩ፤ አይቀነ(ን)ሱ..(‘ጨ’ ና ‘ቀ’ ይጠብቃሉ!)- አራት ወራትን አሳለፉ!!! ስለዚህ ለሚያልፍ ቀን የማያልፍ ጥፋት አይስሩ! ጥቁር ታሪክ አይስሩ!

ይድረስ ለሙስሊም ኢትዮጵያውያን!

ውድ ሙስሊም ወንድምና እህቶቼ፤ እናትና አባቶቼ

ይህ ሃይማኖታዊ የሙብት ጥያቄ ትግላችን ከፍተኛው ጡዘት ላይ ደርሷል-በአላህ ፈቃድ! በዚህም ሁለት ጥቁር ነጥቦች መቼም አይረሱንም-የካቲት 26 ፌዴራል ጉዳዮች “መልሶቹ”ን የተፋቡት ቀን እና ሚያዚያ 19-የአሳሳ ንፁሃን ሙስሊም ወንድሞቻችን በፖሊሶች ጭፍጨፋ በግፍ ህይወታቸው ያለፈችበት ቀን! (አላህ ጀነትን ያጎናፅፋቸው!)

ስለዚህ፤

1. አሁንም ቢሆን አንድም ጥያቄያችን በአግባቡ አለመመለሱን በማወቅ ለሌሎችም በአግባቡ ማስረዳትና ሴራውን ማጋለጥ ብሎም በትግላችን ዙሪያ ሰፊ ግንዛቤ መስጨበጥ….
2. አንድነታችንን በጠበቀና ፍፁም ሰላማዊ በሆነ መንገድ ከየመሳጅዳችን ቅጥር ግቢዎች ሳንወጣ የተቃውሞ ድምጾቻችን አጠናክሮ ማሰማት (አደራ ስሜታዊነትን እናስወግድ)
3. ማንኛውም ወገን በሚበትናቸው ማስፈራሪያዎችና ዛቻዎች ሳንረበሽና ራሳችን ለራሳችን የደህንነት ኃይል በመሆን ሰላማዊ ተቃውሞአችንን ሊበክሉ የሚቃጡ ሰርጎ ገቦችን በጥንቃቄ መከታተል፤ መሳጅዶቻችን በንቃትና በትጋት መጠበቅ- ለትልቁ ዓላማችን ወሳኝ ነውና!
4. ወደድንም ጠላንም ይህ ተቃውሞ ላይመለስ 11ኛው ሰዓት ላይ ደርሷል! ይህ ጥያቄ ከተቀለበሰ ትልቅ አደጋ አለው፤ ትልቅም ታሪካዊ ጠባሳ ጥሎ ማለፍም ብቻ ሳይሆን ምናልባት ላንዴና ለመጨረሻ ጊዜ ድጋሜ ላይነሳ ተቀብሮ ሊቀር ይችላል፤ እንደ ቀላል ነገር ካየነው እስልምናን በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ አጣብቂኝ ውስጥ ማስገባቱ አይቀሬ ነው፤

ለዚያ ደግሞ ተጠያቂዎቹ እኛው ነን፡፡ ስለዚህ ከታሪክ ተወቃሽነት ለመዳን እያንዳንዳችን የእስልምና ተሟጋች መሆን ይጠበቅብናል!!

5. መረጃ ኃይል ነው! መረጃን በጊዜው፤ በዕውነተኝነት፤ በአስቸኳይ ለሌሎች ማቀበል ለሰላማዊ ትግላችን ወሳኝ ነው፡፡
6. ለክርስቲያን ወገኖቻችንና ለሌሎችም ኢትዮጵያዊያን የትግላችንን መነሻና እስካሁን የተጓዘበትን ሂደት ማስረዳት አለብን፡፡
7. በምናደርገው ሰላማዊ ተቃውሞ ዙሪያ መጠነ-ሰፊ የህዝብ ግንኙነት ስራዎችን መስራት አለብን፡፡ ስለዚህ ትዕይንቶችን በድምፅና በምስል በመቅረፅ ወደ ኢንተርኔት መረጃ ቋቶች መስቀል፤ ትዕይንቱንም በፅሁፍና በምስል መለጠፍና ለዜና አውታሮችም ማቀበል...ወዘተርፈ.....

እዚህ ላይ ይብቃኝ፤ ትግሉ ግን ይቀጥላል!!

ድል ለኢስላም ነው!! አሏሁ አክበር!! አሏሁ አክበር!!

የመፍትሄ አፈላላጊ ኮሚቴ ጉዞና የሰላማዊ ትግሉ ሁነቶች- ከጥር እስከ ግንቦት 2004

ቢን ሞህ

ግንቦት 29/2004

መግቢያ

ከወራት በፊት በአወሊያ የተፈጠረውን የአህባሽና የመጅሊስ ተቃውሞን ተከትሎ ህዝበ-ሙስሊሙ የሚያምንባቸውንና "ጥያቄዬን ለመንግስት ያቀርቡልኛል፣ መፍትሄ ያፈላልጉልኛል" ያላቸውን ከመካከሉ መርጦ ህጋዊነትን በተላበሰ መልኩ እንዲጓዙ ትልቅ ኃላፊነት በማሸከም "የመፍትሄ አፈላላጊ ኮሚቴ" ብሎ መሰየሙ ይታወሳል፡፡ በዚህም ፅሁፍ ውስጥ ጸሃፊው የኮሚቴውን ውልደት፣ መዋቅርና ስልታዊ ጉዞ፣ ስኬትና ጥንካሬዎች፣ እንዲሁም ስጋትና ተግዳሮቶችን ለህዝበ-ሙስሊሙ በግልጽ በማቅረብ ግላዊ ሀተታውን ያሳያል፡፡

ይህ ፅሁፍ የጸሃፊው ትዝብት፣ እምነት፣ ጥንቅርና ትንተና እንጂ የኮሚቴው አቋም አለመሆኑ እንዲታወቅለት ፀሃፊው በአፅንኦት ያሳስባል፡፡

ተቃውሞን ከሰላቅ

በመጅሊሱ የሰላምና ጸጥታ ሃላፊ አቶ ጀማል ተፈርሞ ታህሳስ 21/2004 አወሊያ ግቢ የደረሰው ደብዳቤ 50 የአረብኛ መምህራንን በማሰናበት ኮሌጁን ሲዘጋ፣ የ20 ዓመት አገልጋይ ኢማም ሐጅ ዑመርንም ከነምክትላቸው ከስራ አገደ፡፡[1] ይህ ውሳኔ ያስቆጣቸው የኮሌጁና የሁለተኛ ደረጃ ት/ቤት ተማሪዎች ታህሳስ 24 ቀን "ኢማሙና መምህራኖች ይመለሱልን፣ ኮሌጁ ይከፈት!" በማለት የተቃውሞ ድምጽ ማሰማት ጀመሩ፣ በሁለተኛው ቀን አቶ ጀማል ወደ አወሊያ ጎራ በማለት በስላቅና በፌዝ "የተባረሩት በስህተት ነውና ነገ ይመለሳሉ" ቢልም ተፈፃሚ ሳይሆን ከሳምንት በላይ ዘለቀ፤ ማክሰኞ ጥር 1 ቀን የመጅሊሱ ዋና ጸሓፊ አል-ሙህመድ ሲራጅ መጥቶ ሌላ ስላቅ ሲጨምርበት ተቃውሞው ወደ አዲስ ምዕራፍ ተሸጋገረ-"የመጅሊስ አመራሮች ይውረዱ!" "አሸዕብ..ዩሪድ..ኢስቃጠል..መጅሊስ!" በሚል ህብረ-ዜማ ታጅቦ፡፡ ተማሪዎቹ ተቃውሞውን ወደ 24 ሰዓት ሲያሳድጉት መጅሊሶች በመደናገጥ ጫና ቢፈጥሩም ተማሪዎቹ "ጁሙዓ አወሊያ እንገናኝ!" ግብዣቸውን አጧጧፉት፣ በዚህም ጥር 4 አርባ ሺህ የሚገመቱ ምዕመናን አወሊያ ሰገዱ፡፡ ለሳምንትም ቀጠሮ ያዙ፤ ተማሪዎቹ ተቃውሞውን ለመቀጠል ሲሞክሩ ቅዳሜ ረፋዱ ላይ መጅሊስ ከግቢው አስወጣቸው፡፡ ተማሪዎቹ ከግቢው መልቀቃቸው ንዴት የፈጠረባቸው ሌሎች ግለሰቦች እሁድ ዕለት ግቢውን በመሙላት በቁጣ "መጅሊስ መውረድ አለበት!" ሲሉ ተወያዩ፡፡ ለቀጣዩ አርብም ቀጠሮ ያዙ፡፡[2]

የኮሚቴው ልደት

በጥር 11 ዓርብ 60ሺህ በሚገመቱ ሙስሊሞች ትዕይንተ-ህዝብ ሲካሄድ ጥያቄውም ከተማሪ አጀንዳነት ወደ ህዝብ አጀንዳነት በይፋ ተላለፈ፡፡ 20 አባላት ያሉት በዳዒያንና ወጣቶች ብቻ የተሞላ ኮሚቴ ተዋቀረ፣ ኮሚቴው የተቃውሞ ፊርማ ማሰባሰቡን ተያያዘው፣ የህዝቡን ስፍር የለሽ በደሎችና ጥያቄዎች ወደ ሰባት በመጨመቅ ለመንግስት ለማቅረብ ሲንቀሳቀስ ባለሙያዎችን ሲያማክር የውክልና ሂደቱ ትክክለኛ ቅርጽ አለመያዙን በመረዳትና ስብጥራቸውን በመመርመር ማሰተካከል እንደሚገባቸው በመስማማት በቀጣዩ ዓርብ ጥር 18 ፊርማውና ስብጥሩ በአዲስ መልክ እንዲካሄድ ለህዝብ አቀረቡ፤ በዚህም ዳዒያን፣ ወጣቶችን፣ አባቶችን፣ ምሁራንና ነጋዴዎችን ያቀፈ 17 አባላት ያሉት ኮሚቴ ተዋቅሮ በአንድ ቀን ብቻ ከ60 ሺህ በላይ ፊርማ ተሰበሰበ። በጥቂት ጊዜ ውስጥ ከ500ሺህ በላይ የውክልና ፊርማ ተረከበ፡፡ ከየክልሎችና ከተሞች፣ እንዲሁም ከውጭ ሀገር ከሚኖሩ ሙስሊም ኢትዮጲያውያን ከሚላኩ የድጋፍና ውክልና ደብዳቤዎች፣ የአቋም መግለጫዎች፣ ብሎም በወኪል መልዕክተኞች አማካኝነት አጠቃላይ ከሀገሪቱ ሕዝብ ብዛት ውስጥ ወደ 45.8% [3] የሚገመቱ ኢትዮጲያውያን ሙስሊሞች "ጥያቄያችንን ለመንግስት አድርሱልን" ብሎ ሃላፊነት ሰጣቸው፡፡[4]

ጉዞ ምዕራፍ፡ አንድ.....እስከ የካቲት 26

ይህን የመጀመሪያውን ጉዞ ብዙዎች "ተስፈኛው ምዕራፍ" (optimistic period) ይሉታል፡፡ ለዚህም መንግስት የሙበት ጥያቄውን በአጭር ጊዜ ውስጥ እንደሚመልሰው ያላቸውን ሙሉ እምነት በማስታወስ፡፡ ኮሚቴውም ኃላፊነትን ተረክቦ ራሱን በማዋቀር ሰብሳቢ(አሚር)-ዑስታዝ አቡበክር አህመድን፣ ምክትል ዑስታዝ አህመድ ሙስጠፋን፣ የህዝብ ግንኙነት-ዑስታዝ አህመዲን ጀበልን እና ሌሎችንም ሰይሞ በጉዳዩ ላይ በጥልቀት በመወያየት፣ ባለሙያዎችን በማማከር፣ ልምዶችን በመቅሰምና የችግሮቹን አንኳር መንስኤ ነቅሶ በማጥናት ጥያቄዎቹን ይበልጥ ወደ ሶስት(3) በመጭመቅ ሲያስቀምጥ በቀዳሚነት "አሁን ያሉት የመጅሊስ አመራሮች ተነስተው በህዝብ በሚመረጡ አዳዲስ አመራሮች ይተኩ"፣ "የአህባሽ አስተምህሮ በግዳጅ አይጫንብን" እና "አወሊያና ሌሎች ተቋሞች በሙስሊሙ በተመረጡ ይመሩ" የሚሉ ሲሆን የሁሉንም ብሶትና ጭቆና በማካተታቸው ከመቼውም በላይ አገር አቀፋዊነትን የተላበሱ አገራዊ መነሳሳትንና አንድነትን የፈጠሩ ሆኑ፡፡ አንደኛው ጥያቄ "መሪ ድርጅታችን ለህዝብ ይመለስ"፣ ሁለተኛና ሶስተኛው ደግሞ "መንግስት እጅህን አንሳልን" የሚሉ አንድምታ አላቸው፡፡

ጥያቄዎቹን በደብዳቤ መልክ ከሰደሩ በኋላ የመንግስት በሮችን ለማንኳኳት አሃዱ ሲሉ አቶ ጁነይዲን ሳዶ በግሉ ቢሮው ይቀጥራቸዋል፣ እነሱም በቀጠሯቸው መሰረት በዕለቱ ቢሮው ሲገኙ ስብሰባው የእምነት ጉዳዮችን ወደሚመለከተው ፌዴራል ጉዳዮች ሚኒስቴር መዛወሩን ሲነግራቸው፣ የፌ/ጉ/ሚ በበኩሉ በሚኒስትር-ዴዕታው በኩል ሌላ ቀጠሮ ለየካቲት 10 ይሰጣቸዋል፣ ከዚያም እንደገና ተጨማሪ ቀጠሮ ለየካቲት 26 በመስጠት "ጥያቄያችሁ ገብቶናል፣ መፍትሄ ያገኛል" በማለት ጊዜ ለመግዛት ሞክረዋል፡፡

ምንም እንኳ ጥሩ ተስፋዎች ቢኖሩም መጅሊስ የሚሰራውን ፀያፍ ድርጊቶች መቀጠሉንና ተቆጭ ማጣቱን፣ ብሎም የአህባሽ አሊሞች በሬዲዮና የመጅሊሱ ፕሬዜዳንት ክብር ተስጥቶት በኢቴቪ (የካቲት 14) መደስኮሩን ተከትሎ የጥያቄውን መልስ ተስፋ ሊያጨልመው ችሏል፡፡ ቀኑም ደረሰና ከጧት መጅሊሶች ከሰዓት ኮሚቴው በአንድ ጠረጴዛ ተሰየሙ..ከሰብሰባ መሪዎች ፖለቲካ የሚተነፍጉ ቃላቶች ሲረጩ ከመድረክ ደግሞ ኢስላማዊ ቃላቶች…አልተገናኙቶ! የሁለት አለም ሰዎች ይሉሃል ይህ ነው፡፡ ስብሰባ መሪዎቹ በፍረጃ ወዲያው ሊቋጩት ቢሞክሩም ወደ 6 ሰዓት የፈጀ የጦፈ ክርክር አደገ ነገር ግን ስብሰባው ሳይቋጭ በእረፍቷ ሰዓት ውስጥ ያንኑ ህቡዕ ውሳኔያቸውን በአንድ "የግል" ራድዮ ጣቢያ ንፋስ ለቀቁ፡፡

ጉዞ ምዕራፍ፡ ሁለት…..እስከ ሚያዚያ 19

ከየካቲት 26 በኋላ ነበር ኮሚቴው ሁሉ ነገር የገባው፣ ትልቅ ቁጣን አስከተለ፣ ተቃውሞው ይበልጥ ጦፈ፣ ኮሚቴውም መልሶቹን እንደማይቀበል በደብዳቤ ለፌደራል ጉዳዮች ካሳወቀ በኋላ ባለ7 ገጽ ደብዳቤ የጠ/ሚንስትሩን ቢሮ ጨምሮ ለ10 የመንግስት መ/ቤቶች አስገባ፣ ጠ/ሚሩንም በአካል ለማናግር ቢሞክር…ጸጥ….መልስ የለም፡፡[6] የተቃውሞን መጠንከርና ወደ ሌሎች መሳጂድና ክልሎች መዛመቱን የተረዳው መንግስት የተቻለውን ሁሉ ጉዳዮን ለማጠልሸት ሞከረ፡፡ ኮሚቴውም የአንድ ወር እረፍት በመስጠትና ሰላማዊነቱን በማሳየት ሲሞክር፣ የመንግስትን ባህሪ በጥልቀት ከሚያውቁ ሰዎች ነገሮችን ሲረዳ፣ የጠ/ሚኒስትሩም ሚያዚያ 5 ቀን በፓርላማ ብቅ ብለው ከማሳቅ ይልቅ ማሳቀቅ በበዛበት ውሏቸው የፍረጃ አቋማቸውን ሲያውቅ፣ ይህም ይባስ ቁጣን ጨምሮበት ቀጠሮው ደርሶ የ1966ቱን ታሪካዊ ድግግሞሽ ትዕይንተ-ህዝብንም ለማስታወስ ሚያዚያ12 ወደ አንድ ሚሊዮን (በሀገሪቷ ታሪክ ትልቁ) የሚገመት ምዕመናን በአወልያ ተገኝቶ ሰላማዊ ተቃውሞውን አሰማ፣ ይህም አለምን በማስደመሙ ለህዝብ እይታ በአልጀዚራ በኩል ለመጀመሪያ ጊዜ ለአለም ብቅ አለ፡፡ ኮሚቴው አሁንም ሌላ ቀጠሮ በመስጠት ባለ22 ገጽ "የሀሰት ፕሮፓጋንዳ መደጋገም የእምነት መብት ጥያቄን ህገ ወጥ አያደርውም" በሚል የአቋም ደብዳቤ ጉዳዩን ይበልጥ ለማብራራት ሞክሯል፡፡[7] ተቃውሞውም በአንዋርና በኑር መስጅዶች ቀጠሎ ሳለ ሚያዚያ 19 የአሳሳ ንጹኃን ምዕመን በፖሊሶች መገደልን ተከትሎ ሌላ ትልቅ ቁጣ አስከተለ፡፡

ጉዞ ምዕራፍ፡ ሶስት…..እስከ…

አካሄዱ ያላማረውና የመንግስትን የወደፊት የጥፋት እቅዶች[7] የተረዳው ኮሚቴው ከተክቢራ ሌላ የዝምታ ተቃውሞን ለሀገሪቱ በማስተዋወቅ ሙቀቱን ለማብረድና ሰላማዊነቱን በድጋሜ በማሳየት ሴራዎችን ለማክሸፍ ሰርቷል፡፡ በዚህም አካሄድ ለሚሰነዘሩ ውንጀላዎች አፀፋዊ መግለጫ በማውጣትም ማስተባበሉን አበክሮ የሰራበት ሲሆን፤ ለአካሄዱ መረጃን መሰረት በማድረጉ የተዋጣለት ጉዞ መሄድ ችሏል፤ ይህም አካሄዱና ህግን መሰረት ማደረጉ ሰላማዊና

ለሰላም መቆሙን ከማመልከቱም አልፎ የመንግስትን ክስ ያዜሮዋል(vanish)፡፡ ይህ የሚያሳየው የኮሚቴውን ብስለትና የንቃት ደረጃ ከፍታ ሲሆን መንግስት ኮሚቴውን ከህዝቡ ለመገንጠልና ለይቶ ለመምታት ያመቸው ዘንድ የሚደረገውን ያለ ግልፅ ማስረጃ መግለጫ እንዲሰጥ ጉትጎታዎችንና የማሳሳት ዘመቻዎችን ከግምት ውስጥ እንድናስገባ ስለመረጃ ሃይልነት በተግባር ከማሳየትም አልፎ ሁላችንም የድርሻችንን መረጃዎችን በማጠናቀር እንድናገዘው መረጃ ለማገኘት እንዴት እንደተቸገረ በመግለጽ በማስረዳት አካሄዱን መስመር ማሲያዝ ችሏል፡፡

ተግዳሮቶች (challenges)

1.**ፍረጃና ማጠልሸት፡** መጅሊሱ “አል-ቁድስ” ጋዜጣን ጥር ላይ በመግዛት የኮሚቴው አባላትን ስብዕና በማጉደፍ ስራውን አንድ ሲል መንግስት በተራው በሬድዮ ፋና፣ በኢቴቪ፣ በ“ሪፖርተር”፣ “አዲስ ዘመን” እና “ሰንደቅ” ጋዜጦች በመጠቀም የዶ/ር አልስተር ስሚዝ አራቱንም የማስቀየሻ ሥልቶች (diversionary tactics)[5] በተራም ሆነ በጣምራ መተግበሩን ተያያዘው፡፡ በተለይ “አዲስ ዘመን” ጋዜጣ “ነፃ አስተያየት” አምድ ሶስተኛ ገፅ ላይ እንደሚፅፉ በሚነገርላቸው ቱባ የሃገሪቱ ባለስልጣናት (እንዴ ዊኪሊክስ ሚስጥራዊ መረጃ መሰረት) ያለማንጠልጠያ (ጄኔራል፣ ክቡር፣ ሚኒስትር) በፈጠራ ስማቸው ኮሚቴውንም ሆነ አጠቃላይ ትግሉን “ፀረ-ኢትዮጲያ፣ ፀረ-ልማትና ፀረ-ህገ-መንግስት፣ ፀረ-ሰላም ሃይሎች፣ ፀረ-ዲሞክራሲ፣ ስልጣን ናፋቂዎች፣ አክራሪ፣ አሸባሪ፣ ዋሀብያ፣ ሰለፊያ፣ ድብቅ አላማ ያላቸው፣ ኢስላማዊ መንግስት ናፋቂዎች፣ ፀረ-መቻቻል፣ የውጭ ተላላኪዎች፣ ጥቂቶች፣ በግብር ያኮረፉ፣ የጠረባ ቡድን….”[8] እያሉ በመፈረጅ መፍትሄ ከመስጠት ይልቅ ወደ ማሸማቀቅ፣ ለሃገሪቷ ስጋትና ምናባዊ ጭራቅ (scapegoat) አድርጎ በመሳል ሌላውን ህብረተሰብ ከጎናቸው ለማሰለፍ ያደረጉት ሙከራ፤

2.**ማዋከብና ማስፈራራት፡** የኮሚቴውን አባላት እስከ ሰባት በሚደርሱ የደህንነት መኪኖች የማዋከብና ማስፈራራት፤ የስልክ ንግግሮችን መጥልፍና እንደካሴት ድምጽን መቅረፅ፤ ኢሜሎችን በመፈተሽ ፣ ስልክ በመደወል ማስፈራራት፣ የግል ኮምፒተሮችን መቀማትና ስብሰባዎችን በማጨናገፍ ሌሎችም የሚድረጉ ውጣ ውረዶች መብዛት (ለህዝቡ መረጋጋት ሲሉ ባይነግሩንም)፤

3.**ጥርነፋና ግድያ፡** “ቲ-ሸርት ለብሰሃል፣ ወረቀት በትነሃል፣ አወሊያ ሂደሃል፣ ፊልም አይተሃል/በኮምፒዩተር ጭነሃል፣ ሽብር ነዝተሃል፣ አህባሽን ተቃውመሃል፣ መስጅድ ስግደሃል....(ለሴቶችም ይሰራል)”በማለት እየጨመረ የመጣውና ለጆሮ የሚታክት መታሰር፣ መገረፍ፣ ከስራና ፓርቲ አባልነት መባረር፣ አልፎም አሳዛኝ ግድያዎች (አላህ ለሞቱት የሰማዕታትን ደረጃ ያጎናጽፋቸው) ቁጥር ማሻቀብ ከፈተናም በላይ ትልቅ ስጋት ሆኗል፤

4. **ተለዋዋጭ አቋሞች፡** መንግስት በሃይማኖት ጣልቃ መግባቱን ከመካዱም አልፎ ትላንት በግልጽ "አህባሽዬ" እያሉ ሲያንቆለጳጳሰው የነበረውን ጠ/ሚኒስትሩን ጨምሮ ሽምጥጥ አድርገው መካዳቸውና "ሱፍያ ነው""ነባሩ እስልምና ነው" ማለታቸው ሌላ ምሽግ መሆኑ፤

5.**ጠመቃና መስፋፋቱ፡** የተቃውሞው ውጥረት ቀጥሎ እያለ የአህባሽ ጠመቃ በአዲስ መልኩ መቀጠሉ ለውዝግብ፣ እስራትና ግጭቶች የቅርብ መንስዔ(immediate cause) መሆኑ፤

6. **ማግለልና መድሎ፡** ኮሚቴውን "ከነቃህ ይቀራል"በሚመስል መልኩ "አይንህን ላፈር" በማለት መንግስት የውይይት መድረኮችን ሁሉ ዝግ ማደረግ ሰላማዊ ጉዞውን ለመጠምዘዝ ከመጅሊስ ጋር ቅልጥ ያለ ፍቅር ውስጥ መግባቱና ሌሎችም ይጠቀሳሉ፡፡

ስኬቶች *(successes)*

1.**አንድነት መጠንከር፡** የዳዒያያን ልዩ ተሰጥኦ፣ ችሎታና ልምድ ከግምት ውስጥ ካለማስገባት የተነሳ (እገሌ ሲራ ብቻ፣ እገሌ ተውሂድ ብቻ፣ ተሰውፍ ብቻ፣ ሀዲስ ብቻ፣ ስለአንድነት ብቻ....) እና የኢስላም ጠላቶችን ውንጀላና ፍረጃ በማወቅም ሆነ ባለማወቅ በማስተጋባትና በማራገብ፣ ሁለት ዋነኛ ምክንያቶች የተፈጠሩትን ትናንሽ "ልዩነቶች" በመሰረቱ መፈጥር ያልነበረባቸውን የአህባሽ መምጣት ከስር መሰረቱ ማጥፋቱ፣ ለመከፋፈል የሚደረጉ ሩጫዎችን መልስ ምትና ብሽሽቅ በሚመስል መልኩ በእየመሳጂዱ የሚደረጉ የአንድነትና ሶደቃ ፕሮግራሞች በሀገር አቀፍ ደረጃ መካሄዳቸው፣ በውጭ ሀገራትም እንደዚሁ ትግሉን ለማገዝ ያለልዩነት ታጥቀው መነሳታቸው፤

2. **ሀገራዊ መነቃቃት፡** "አህባሽ ማነው ምንድን ነው?" የሚለውን ለመረዳት የሚደረጉ ሩጫዎችና ዳዒያንም ህዝበ-ሙስሊሙን ለመታደግ ሲሉ በሚያደርጓቸው ጥሪዎች ለኢስላማዊ መነቃቃት አዲስ ምዕራፍ መከፈቱ፤

3.**ንቃተ-ህሊና ማደግ፡** ከሁሉም በላይ የኮሚቴው ንቃተ-ህሊና በፍጥነትና ባማረ ሁኔታ ነገሮችን በመረዳት ተንታኞችን በሚያስደምም ሁኔታ የትግሉን አቅጣጫ(በአላህ ፈቃድ) በብቃትና በጥራት በጥቂት ወጭዎች(ጥፋቶች) ማስኬድ መቻሉ፣ ይህም ንቃተ-ህሊና ከሌላው ህብረተሰብ በተሻለ መልኩ በሁሉም ህዝበ-ሙስሊም ላይ በተዋረድ ማደጉ፤

4.የአህባሽ ኑፋቄ ለአለም መጋለጥ፡ የአህባሽ ምናባዊ "አህለ-ሱና ነኝ" ባይነትና ስውር ኑፋቄው ከኢትዮጲያ(ሶስት መጽሃፍትና ሲዲዎች መታተም)አልፎ በአለም ታላላቅ ምሁራን በቴሌቪዥን ሳይቀር መተቸቱ፣ በድረ-ገፆች እንደልብ መፃፉ ከሙስሊሙ አልፎ አዲስ ለሚሰልሙ ምዕራባውያን ትልቅ ግብዓት ከመሆን በላይ አህባሽን ለመጀመሪያ ጊዜ ትልቅ ውርደት ማከናነቡ፤

5. **ከወንበር ወረዱ፡** የመጅሊስ አመራሮች "ከእኛ በላይ ማን አለ" እያሉ ሲጀነኑ በድንገት "ከስልጣናችሁ ውረዱ" መባላቸውና ምርጫ እንዲካሄድ መወሰኑን እንደ ስኬት ሲታይ ይህም ለወደፊቱም ለገንዘብ ብለው ለሚሯሯጥ ድንገት "ውረዱ" መኖሩን እንዲገነዘቡ ማደረጉ፡፡

6.**የገጽታ ለውጥ፡** አህባሽ (የሀበሻ ብዙ ቁጥር) የኢትዮጲያውያንን አረባዊ ስያሜ ይዞ በአረቡ አለም በኑፋቄነቱ የፈጠረውን ለሀበሾች ጥሩ ያልሆነ የጅምላ ፍረጃ ገጽታ (image) በዚህ ትግል ሂደት ውስጥ መቀየር መቻላችን እንደ አንድ ስኬት ማየት ይቻላል፡፡

ስጋቶች (risks)

1. **አፀፋዊ ስርፀት** (backfire bow)፡ እንደ ሙስጠፋ አክዮል አባባል "ኢስላማውያን ያለምንም ጭቆና ሲኖሩ የበለጠ ዘመናዊ ሲሆኑ የአስተዳደር ግዴታም ሲጫንባቸው የበለጠ በተግባር (more pragmatic) ይገልፁታል!" በማለት ይገልፃሉ፡፡[11] እውነታውም ይህ ሆኖ ሳለ በሀሰት ውንጀላ የሚሰነዘሩ ጭቆናዎች፣ እስራቶች፣ ግርፋቶች፣ ግድያዎችና ስቃዮች ሲበረቱና ከአቅም በላይ ሲሆኑ ሰብዓዊ የመከላከልን ባህሪይ መሰረት በማድረግ አክራሪነት ከሌለበት ምድር እንዳይወለድ ትልቅ ስጋት መኖሩ፤

2.**ነጥሎ መምታት፡** መንግስት ካለው ልምድ በመነሳት ኮሚቴውንና የተወሰኑትን ሰዎች ነጥሎ በመምታትና በማሰር የተቃውሞውን ተኩሳት "ማብረድ" በሚል እሳቤ ሊፈፅመውና የባሰ ውጥረት ውስጥ እንዳይገባ ትልቅ ስጋት መኖሩ፤

3. **ምርጫና አግላይነቱ፡** የመጅሊሶችን መውረድ ተከትሎ ለምርጫም ሆነ አመራረጥ ስርዓትና ሂደቱ ላይ ሙሉ በሙሉ ኮሚቴውን በማግለል የሚያደርጉት የ"ምርጫ" ሩጫ ከጥቅሙ ጉዳት ስለሚያመዝን ለተጨማሪ ወጥረት መንገድ መጥረጉ፤

4. **ለኮሚቴው ልሣን መስጠት፡** ትግሉ የሁሉም ህዝበ-ሙስሊም በመሆኑና ማንኛውም ግለሰብ መረጃ የመስጠትም ሆነ የመቀበል መብት ስላለው በተለያዩ መንገዶች ሁሉም የራሱን ድርሻ እየተወጣ ይገኛል፣ ኮሚቴው ግን የተቋቋመው በአወሊያ ነውና ስብሰባም የሚጠራው ሆነ ሪፖርትና አዳዲስ መረጃዎችንም የሚያቀርበው አውሊያ ግቢ ነው፡፡ ነገር ግን ባለፈው በፌስቡክ "ድምፃችን ይሰማ" ፔጅ የተላለፈውን ዘግናኝ የፊርዶስን ሞት (አላህ የሰማዕታትን ደረጃ ይስጣት) ተከትሎ በኢሳት ሬድዮና ቴሌቪዥን እንደተላለፈው አይነት በኮሚቴው ሰብሳቢዎች በግልፅ ያለተላለፈ መረጃን እነደ ኮሚቴው ልሳን አድርጎ መውሰድ ለኮሚቴው ህልውና እንደስጋት መታየቱ፤

5.**ሀገራዊ ቀውስ፡** ከላይ የተጠቀሱት ስጋቶችና ውጥረቶች ተዳምረው ከቀጠሉ ብሶትን በመቀስቀስ ሀገራዊ መልክ ያለው ኢኮኖሚያዊ፤ ፖለቲካዊና ማህበራዊ ቀውስ እንዳያስከትል ያሰጋል፡፡[12]

መፍትሄዎች *(solutions)*

የዚህ ሁሉ ውጣ ውረድ መፍትሄው አጭርና ቀላል ሲሆን መንግስት ህገ-መንግስቱን ከወረቀት ባለፈ ተግባራዊ በማደረግ መጅሊስን ለህዝበ-ሙስሊሙ መልሶ እጁን ከሃይማኖታዊ ድርጅቶች በመሰብሰብ ለዜጎች ተግባራዊ ዴሞክራሲ በማጎናጸፍ፤ [13]

ሶስቱን መሰረታዊ የህዝበ-ሙስሊሙን ጥያቄዎች በቅንነት በመመለስም ሆነ ኮሚቴውንና በህዝብ በሚመረጡ አስመራጮችን ያካተተ ግልፅ ትክክለኛ፣ ነጻና ፍትሃዊ የመጅሊስ ምርጫ ማካሄድ፣ አህባሽንም "ወይ በመድራሳህ ወይ ወደ ሊባኖስህ" ብሎ በመፋታት እርቅ ማውረድ፤ [14]

ያለአግባብ የታሰሩትንና የታገቱትን በአስቸኳይ በመፍታት፣ የመጅሊስ ጥፋቶችን፣ "ምክራዊ" ውድመቶችንና ድርጅት የማፍረስ ቅጣቶችን በማንሳት በአስቸኳይ ወደ ስራ እንዲገቡና ጤናማ ህይወት እንዲመሩ እድል መስጠት ወሳኝ ነው፡፡

ድል ለኢስላም ነው! አላሁ አክበር!

ENDNOTES

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አንድነታችን- የ"ዘመቻ ጥምቀተ አሕባሽ" ትልቁ ውጤት

ዑመር አህመድ ረመዳን

ግንቦት 25/2004

የሰው ልጅ በመልክና በቁመና እንደሚለያየው ሁሉ በአመለካከትም ይለያያል፡፡ አብዛኛውም ሰው የየራሱን አመለካከት ይዞ መኖርን ይመርጣል፡፡ ነገር ግን ልዩነቱን እንደያዘ ከሌሎች ጋር በአንድነት መኖር ይችላል- *የግሉን ለግሉ በማድረግ በጋራ ጉዳዮች ላይ አንድ በመሆን*፡ በሌላ አነጋገር "በልዩነት ውስጥ አንድነትን በመፍጠር" ማለት ነው፡፡

አንድነት (ህብረት) ውበት ነው፡፡ አንድነት ጥንካሬ ነው፡፡ አንድነት ሀይል ነው፡፡ ሰዎች በየአካባቢያቸው የሚከሰቱ ማህበራዊ ችግሮችን ለማስወገድ የሚችሉት አንድ ሁነው ሲንቀሳቀሱ ነው፡፡

"አንድነት" በኢስላም አይን ሲታይ ደግሞ ለጋራ ጥቅማችን የምናደርገው ትስስር ብቻ ሳይሆን ሀይማኖታዊ ግዴታም ሆኖ ይገኛል፡፡ ታዋቂው ኢትዮጵያዊ ዓሊም ዶ/ር ጀይላን ኺድር ሚያዚያ 28/2004 ዓ.ል. በአየር ጤና አንሷር መስጂድ ተዘጋጅቶ በነበረው የአንድነትና የሰደቃ ፕሮግራም ላይ በአጽንኦት እንደተናገሩት "በቁርአን፣ በሱንና እና በአላህ የአንድነት ገመድ መተሳሰር በኢትዮጵያዊያን ሙስሊሞች ላይ ብቻ ሳይሆን በአጠቃላይ በዓለም ሙስሊሞች ላይ ግዴታ የተደረገ ኢስላማዊ ደንብ ነው፡፡ ይሄን አስመልክቶ አላህ (ሱ.ወ.) በቁርዓኑ ሲናገር "ሁላችሁም በአላህ ገመድ ተሳሰሩ፣ አትለያዩም" ብሎናል፡፡

አላህ ሱ.ወ. ዋጂብ (ግዴታ) ያደረገብን ኢስላማዊ አንድነት ለህይወታችን በርካታ ጥቅሞች አሉት፡፡ ነብዩ መሀመድ ሰ.ዐ.ወ. ሙስሊሞች ሊረዳዱና ሊተባበሩ እንደሚገባ በሐዲሳቸው ሲያስተምሩ እንዲህ ይላሉ፤

"አንድ ሙሰሊም ለሌላው ሙስሊም ወንድም ነው፡፡ መጥፎ ሊተገብርበትና ለሌላ ወገን አሳልፎ ሊሰጠው አይገባም፡፡ የአንድ ሙስሊምን ጉዳይ ያሟላ፣ አላህ የርሱን ጉዳይ ይሞላለታል፡፡ከአንድ ሙስሊም ላይ አንዳች ችግር ያነሳ፣ አላህ በፍርዱ ቀን ችግሩን ያነሳለታል፡፡ አንድን ሙስሊም የጠበቀና የተከላከለ አላህ በፍርዱ ቀን እሱን ይጠብቀዋል፣ይከላከልለታል፡፡" (ቡኻሪ ዘግበውታል)

ካለመተባበር ወደ መተባበር

ከጥቂት አመታት በፊት በኢትዮጵያዊያን ሙስሊሞች ዘንድ ሲታይ የነበረው መከፋፈልና መቆራቆስ ናላችንን አዙሮት ነበር፡፡ በጥቃቅን ምክኒያቶች የሚፈጠሩ ሽኩቻዎች ሙስሊሞችን ሆድና ጀርባ

እስከ ማድረግ ደርሰዋል፡፡ የመጅሊስ አመራር ተብለው የተሾሙብን "ሀጂዎች" እና "ሼኮች" ችግሩን ከማስወገድ ይልቅ እንደ እብድ ገላጋይ ዱላ እያቀበሉ ህዝበ ሙስሊሙን ሲያናቁሩት ነበር፡፡ ዘንድሮ ግን የባሰውን አመጡብን፡፡ "ህገ-መንግስት እናስተምራለን" በሚል ሰበብ ኢማሞችና ሙአዚኖቻችንን በስልጠና አዳራሾች ውስጥ እያጎሩ *"እስከዛሬ የቆያችሁበት አስልምና የተበከለ ነው፡፡ ስለዚህ ሁላችሁም ሸሀዳ በድጋሚ መያዝ አለባችሁ፡፡ ለዚህ ደግሞ ቅድመ ግዴታው "ኢብን ተይሚያህ ካፊር መሆኑን ማወጅ ነው"* የሚል ሰበካ ጀመሩ፡፡ ይሄኔ ግን ህዝበ ሙስሊሙ "በቃኝ!" አለ፡፡ *"እንዲያውም እስከዛሬ በጫንቃችን ላይ ለጨፈራችሁት በህግ መጠየቅ አለባችሁ"* የሚል ድምጽ አሰማ፡፡ *"አሸሻዕቡ ዩራዱ ኢስቃጠል መጅሊስ!"* በሚል መፈከር ዙሪያ ተሰለፈ፡፡

"እሳት ቢያንቀላፋ ገለባ ነበንው ነው!" ነገሩ፡፡ ህዝበ ሙስሊሙ ለረጅም ጊዜ በራሱ ተቋም ላይ የሚምነሸነሹትን የመጅሊስ አመራሮች አይቶ እንዳላየ ቢያልፋቸውም "ዘመቻ ጥምቀተ አሕባሽ"ን (Ahbashism Campaign) ግን ሊያስተናግድላቸው አልቻለም፡፡ ለወትሮው በየምክንያቱ ሲናቆር የነበረው ሁሉ "ዘመቻ ጥምቀተ አሕባሽ"ን ለማክሸፍ በአንድነት ተሰልፏል፡፡ ሙስሊሞችን በተበከለ ፍልስፍና ለማጥመቅ የተወጠነውን "ይሁዲ ሰራሽ" እቅድ አከሽፏልም (ያልተቋጨ ጉዳዮች ቢኖሩም እንኳ)፡፡ የአንድነትን ውጤት በተግባር አሳይቷል፡፡ የህብረት ጥቅምንም በተጨባጭ አስመስክሯል፡፡

አል-ሓምዱሊላህ!!

የአንድነታችን መሰረቶች

በሙስሊሞች ጉዳይ መጽሄት የሚያዚያ ወር እትም ላይ አቡ ሃቅ የተባሉ ወንድማችን *"ቀጣይ ፈተናዎቻችንና የመፍትሄዎቻችን ቁልፎች"* በሚል ርእስ በጻፉት መጣጥፍ የአንድነትን አስፈላጊነት ሲያትቱ እንዲህ ብለው ነበር፡፡

"ለምንድነው አንድነት የሚያስፈልገን? የሚል ጥያቄ ሲነሳ ሶስት ነገሮችን ለማቅረብ እወዳለሁ፡፡

አንደኛ፡- የአላህ ትዕዛዝ ስለሆነ! ቁርኣን "በአላህ ገመድ አንድ ሆናችሁ ተያያዙ፣እንዳትለያዩ" ይላል፡፡ ይህን የአንድነት ስሜት አጠናክረን እንድንይዝ አላህ ስለሚያዘን የአላህን ትዕዛዝ መፈጸምም ጭምር ነው፡፡

ሁለተኛ፡- በአንድ መንግስታዊ መዋቅር ውስጥ የኖርን ሰዎች ተመሳሳይ የሆኑ ታሪኮችን አሳልፈናል፡፡ ተመሳሳይ የሆኑ ገድሎችን ሰርተናል፡፡ ተመሳሳይ የሆኑ ጭቆናዎችንም አሳልፈናል፡፡ በአሁኑ ጊዜም ተመሳሳይ በሆነ ፖለቲካዊ ሁኔታ ውስጥ እየኖርን ነው፡፡ ለወደፊትም ተመሳሳይ የሆኑ ባህላዊ፣ኢኮኖሚያዊ፣ፖለቲካዊና ማህበራዊ ሁኔታዎችን እንጋራለን፡፡ ስለዚህ በጣም የተያያዝንና የተጣመርን ነን፡፡ አንዳችን ላይ የሚደርሰው ችግር በሌላው ላይ የሚፈጥረው ተጽዕኖ

ቀላል ባለመሆኑ የሚያስተሳስሩን ገመዶች ጠንካራ ናቸው፡፡ ስለዚህ ሙብታችን ሲጣስ በጋራ መቆም የሁሉም ኢትዮጵያዊያን ሙስሊሞች ግዴታ ይሆናል፡፡

ሶስተኛ፡- በአንዳንድ አካባቢዎች አነስተኛ ሆነው የሚኖሩ ሙስሊሞች አሉ፡፡ ለነዚያ ሙስሊሞችም ድምጻችንን ለማሰማት እንድንችል አንድ መሆናችን ወሳኝነት አለው፡፡ ሁላችንም በአንድነት ተጋግዘን የሚደርስባቸውን ጭቆና ለማስወገድ ካልጣርን በሌላ ማህበረሰብ ተውጠው በበደልና ጭቆና ውስጥ ይሰነብታሉ ማለት ነው፡፡"

የትግላችን ዋነኛ ውጤት

የኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊሞች ባለፉት አስር ወራት ሲያስተጋቧቸው የነበሩት "የአህባሽን የተጣመመ አስተምህሮት አንፈልግም ፣ያልመረጥናቸው የመጅሊስ ባለስልጣናት አይወክሉንም" የሚሉ መፈክሮችና እምነትን በነጻነት የማራመድ ሙብት ጥያቄዎች ሙሉ በሙሉ ምላሽ ባያገኙም በታሪክ ማህደር ላይ ሊሰፍር የሚገባ አንድ አቢይ ቁም ነገር አስመዝግበዋል፡፡ ይህም አንድነታቸውን ለማጠናከር መቻላቸው ነው፡፡ በዚህም የሙስሊሙን ህብረት እንደ ጦር የሚፈሩ ሀይሎች ካስቀመጡላቸው ወጥመድ ውስጥ በመግባት ይፈጥሩት ከነበረው ከፍተኛ የመፈረካከስ አደጋ ለማምለጥ ችለዋል!፡፡ በሌላ በኩል አሁን የተፈጠረው ህብረት መጪው የኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊም ትውልድ (generation) በጤናማ መሰረት ላይ የተገነባ ይሆን ዘንድ የመነሻ ግብአት ሊሆን ይችላል የሚል ተስፋን ያሳድራል፡፡

ለነገም ቢሆን አንድነት

ዛሬ በኢስላም ላይ የተጋረጠው አደጋ አቀራርቦናል፡፡ "ከአክራሪነት የጸዳ መንገድ ነው" ተብሎ በአሜሪካ፤ ጽዮናዊያን፤ ፌዴራል ጉዳዮች ወዘተ... የተጨበጨበለት የ"አሕባሽ" ፈተና የማንቂያ ጥሪ ሆኖልን አንድነታችንን የሙጥኝ ብለናል፡፡ ነገስ? ወደ ድሮው ሽኩቻና ግለኝነት ልንመለስ ነው? "ውሃ ሊቋጥሩ" በማይችሉ ሰበባ ሰበቦች እያተፋጨን ህብረታችንን ልናበላሽው ነው? አንድነት የሚያስፈልገው በመከራና ጭንቅ ጊዜያት ብቻ ነው?

አይሆንም ያ ጀመዓ! ኢስላም ምን ጊዜም ቢሆን በአንድነት ያዛል፡፡ ዛሬ ተአምራዊ ውጤት ያሳየንበትን ህብረት ነገም ቢሆን መቀጠል አለብን፡፡ የኢስላም ጠላቶችን ፋታ የነሳንበት አንድነታችን ዘላቂ እንዲሆንልን እስከመጨረሻው መጣር አለብን፡፡

"ዘመቻ ጥምቀተ አሕባሽ" በተሰኘው ክፉ ውጥን ጽዮናዊያን የፈበረኩት የአሕባሽ ፍልስፍና በኛ ላይ እንዲሞከር የተፈረደብን ሕብረታችንን ባለማጥበቃችን ነው፡፡ አሁን ፈተናውን ለመቋቋም የቻልነው ደግሞ አንድ በመሆናችን ነው፡፡ ስለዚህ በከባድ ጥረትና መስዋእትነት የገነባነውን ህብረት መንከባከብ አለብን፡፡ ፈጣሪያችን አላህ (ሱ.ወ) እርዳታውን የሚለግሰን አንድነታችንን ካጠበቅን ብቻ ነውና፡፡ ማን ያውቃል? አላህ (ሱ.ወ) አህባሽ የተባለውን የጥመት ቡድን ወደ

ኢትዮጵያ የላከበት ዋነኛ ምክንያት ኢስላማዊ አንድነት በውስጡ ያዘለውን ከባድ መልእክት ለኢትዮጵያዊያን ሙስሊሞች ማስተማር ቢሆንስ?

አላህ ከኛ ጋር ይሁን!... ያ አላህ ኢስላማዊ አንድነታችንን ጠብቅን!... አሚን...

Ethiopian Muslims and the Ahbash Controversy

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Al-Ahbash Movement, also known as the Association of Islamic Charitable Projects.

It all began back in July 2011. The Ethiopian government, through the offices of the Islamic Supreme Council of Ethiopia, called a conference to be attended by the known Islamic scholars and leaders of Ethiopia. The scholars and leaders dutifully heeded the government summons. It was not long after the start of the conference that most of the attendees walked out in disgust at the proposals that were placed before them. The Ethiopian government was essentially delivering an edict — that had been prepared with the help of Haggai Erlich, the Israeli-Zionist author specializing in Ethiopian history — that henceforth all Ethiopian Muslims would be mandated to follow the particular controversial, indeed heretical, teachings of the Lebanese Ahbash Movement.

The attendees could not believe what they were hearing. Here was a secular government that had huddled with an Israeli-Zionist writer to dictate to the 40 million-plus Muslims of the Federal Republic of Ethiopia how they should, indeed must, practice their religion from now into the foreseeable future. Clearly, the conference was an insult on three counts:

1. The Ethiopian government, at the very least, is in violation of the Ethiopian Constitution. Article 11 of the Ethiopian Constitution under

"Separation of State and Religion" says: (i) state and religion are separate; (ii) there shall be no state religion; and (iii) the state shall not interfere in religious matters and religion shall not interfere in state affairs (emphasis added).

2. The government apparently is showing complete contempt for Ethiopian Muslims by inviting an Israeli Zionist to help in its nefarious project. As Muslims the world over know, the Zionists of Israel have been involved in the systematic ethnic cleansing, indeed the uninhibited genocide, of the predominately Muslim people of Palestine for more than half a century. Furthermore, the racist Zionist project has as part of its satanic agenda to destroy the Dome of the Rock and Masjid al-Aqsa, the third holiest religious site in the Islamic world.

3. Most egregious of all is the government's boldfaced audacity to think that Muslims anywhere, let alone in Ethiopia, can be dictated to about how to practice their religion. The first revelation, indeed command, to the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) was to, "Read in the name of Your Sustainer, The Master of all creation" (96:1). This fundamental command was meant for every Muslim to study and learn to the maximum extent of his or her intellectual capacity the religion in all of its intricacies with a free mind and free will in order to arrive at a level of unassailable certainty as to the veracity of the teachings of Islam. Furthermore, it has been recorded in the generous Qur'an, the exact revealed words of Allah (swt), the Creator, to His Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) that there is no compulsion of any kind in religion. But the Ethiopian government seems hell-bent on compelling the Muslims of Ethiopia to believe in a way that has been chosen by the government. How ludicrous and indeed dangerous! The Ethiopian government apparently is courting disaster and preparing for its own demise. The Muslims of Ethiopia, particularly the youth, are not going to sit idly by in the face of this horrendous insult.

Who are the Ahbash?

Al-Ahbash ("the Ethiopians") Movement, also known as the Association of Islamic Charitable Projects, is a movement based in Lebanon, yet ironically founded by an Ethiopian shaykh, now deceased, by the name of 'Abdullah ibn Muhammad ibn Yusuf al-Harari al-Shi'bi al-Abdari, also known as al-Habashi (the Arabic word "ahbash" is the plural of the word "habashi"). It is a movement that devoutly follows the teachings of the late shaykh. By the late 1980s, al-Ahbash had become one of Lebanon's largest Islamic movements. Al-Ahbash became a key player in Lebanese politics attracting a wide following among the Sunni urban middle class by advocating pluralism and tolerance. Al-Ahbash established branches in Australia, Canada, Denmark, France, Sweden, Switzerland, the Ukraine, and the United States.

However, this organization, on which the Ethiopian government is basing its assault on the Ethiopian Muslims, has a reputation for being an organization that espouses teachings that are clearly outside the fundamental teachings of Islam, the most egregious of which is the policy of referring to those who call themselves "Salafi" or "Wahhabi" — often referred to as "Salafi-Wahhabi" because of the similarity between the two doctrines — as kafirs, or non-believers, in Islam. This is clearly an un-Islamic teaching on the part of al-Ahbash. Indeed, every Muslim knows that it is prohibited to call any Muslim a kafir if he or she bears witness that there is no diety/authority but Allah (swt) and that the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) is the Messenger of Allah, prays the five daily prayers, pays the zakah, fasts during the month of Ramadan, and makes pilgrimage to Makkah if financially able. The Salafi-Wahhabi are no different from other Muslims in this respect.

Why the Government has called in al-Ahbash

Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi's role in sending occupation troops into Somalia on behalf of the US to unseat the Islamic government there is well-known. What is his particular interest in permitting an official mandate for Islamic banking, and then standing

by to see it withdrawn by the powerful monarchists in his government?

It is clear that it is this particular anti-Salafi, anti-Wahhabi teaching of al-Ahbash that the Ethiopian government is most desirous of forcing down the throats of Ethiopian Muslims. And they apparently feel that the Ahbash have the expertise to do just that. Here is the crux of the issue: the Ethiopian government has determined that the followers of the Salafi-Wahhabi doctrine in Ethiopia are a threat to the stability of the government and the country. The Ethiopian government apparently fears the Salafi-Wahhabi activities, perhaps due to the high profile international exposure of al-Qaeda, an allegedly Salafi-Wahhabi group. However, the international context of al-Qaeda is much different from the national context of Ethiopian Muslims.

The national context in Ethiopia of the Salafi-Wahhabi doctrine is the same as it is in other nations — predominately Muslim or otherwise — one among other distinguishable doctrines of Islamic law and practice. These other doctrines — or schools — of Islamic law include the Hanafi, Hanbali, Ibadi, Jafari, Maliki, Shafi‘i, Zahiri, and Zaydi schools of Islamic law. The Salafi-Wahhabi are among members of the global Muslim community who have among them known, respected scholars. And they are, in any nation — predominately Muslim or otherwise — a part of law abiding citizenry. So, it is in Ethiopia: the Salafi-Wahhabi practitioners are a law abiding, hard working minority in a Muslim population that mostly follows the teachings of Imam Shafi‘i and who, therefore, belong to that particular school of Islamic jurisprudence. So, this national context, this national reality of the Muslim community in Ethiopia, has to be understood for what it actually is. But it is the international context of al-Qaeda and their reported unIslamic implementation of Salafi-Wahhabi teachings that the Ethiopian government is using as a pretext to justify imposing — by force of government decree and threat of imprisonment — the Ahbash doctrine, a doctrine which articulates an anti-Salafi-Wahhabi position.

The 21 November Protest against the Ahbash Mandate

As pointed out earlier, the foregoing developments began to manifest in Ethiopia as early as July 2011. In the meantime, Ethiopian Muslims in the diaspora have not been sitting still. For example, The First Hijrah Foundation (FHF), an organization of Ethiopian Muslims in the Washington, DC area, called for a protest on Capitol Hill in support of the suffering Ethiopian Muslims back home. On November 21, FHF organized 1,000 Ethiopian Muslims and supporters and staged a protest in front of the US State Department demanding that the US government cut support through foreign aid to the Ethiopian Government, given that it is clearly in violation of the civil rights of half of its 80 million people. One of the members of the First Hijrah Board of Directors, Zenith Muhammad, who was present at the protest, said that al-Ahbash intruders are forcibly taking Ethiopian Muslims to their indoctrination camps to brainwash them into accepting their practices of Islam. She says that this indoctrination includes teaching the abductees that being a Salafi or Wahhabi means being a disbeliever in Islam. These Ahbash intruders are even going to the devilish extent, she says, of forcing Muslims to take the shahadah again, implying that they were not Muslims until al-Ahbash were invited to Ethiopia to brainwash them! The FHF protest started around 9am and ended at 1pm after the protesters made Zuhr Salah (early afternoon prayer).

Some Recent Developments

This past December, 2011, some information about recent developments with regard to al-Ahbash was obtained from a reliable source in Ethiopia. According to this source, al-Ahbash have already started printing books and other materials to spread their doctrine. There is even discussion going on that al-Ahbash will be getting land to build schools and even a university to facilitate the entrenchment of their indoctrination program. Furthermore, it is being reported that part of the Ahbash strategy is to approach the more vulnerable

segments of Ethiopian Muslim society such as the orphans and the homeless, promising them jobs and education if they join the movement.

The source also pointed out that al-Ahbash are meeting stiff resistance to their indoctrination program from the Oromo — the largest ethnic group in Ethiopia — in the towns and countryside of the Oromo region. The Oromo, who have historically been victimized by earlier Ethiopian regimes, instinctively stand strong against any government decree they perceive as threatening their culture and religion as they wish to practice them. Furthermore, it has been reported that in the capital city Addis Ababa, there are at least three masjids — Shaho Jeli Masjid, Kera Masjid, and Ayartena Masjid — where al-Ahbash are being resisted from spreading their distorted views. However, several other masjids in the capital are allowing al-Ahbash to speak, apparently unwilling to invite possible repercussions from the government. It has also been reported that some Muslim NGOs are being closed down by the government under the pretext that they are involved in religious activities counter to the Ahbash mandate rather than being purely humanitarian or developmental in their activities.

At the other end of the spectrum, it is reported that at least one very wealthy Harari Muslim is supporting the government sponsored Ahbash. This may be partly due to the fact that the founder of the Lebanon-based Ahbash movement was himself a Harari Muslim, the late Shaykh Abdullah al-Harari. The nisbah “al-Harari” means one who is from the Muslim city of Harar in eastern Ethiopia. The city of Harar is generally regarded as the stronghold of ethnic Harari — also known as the Adere — although it is inhabited by other ethnic groups, including the Oromo and Somali.

Arba Minch

In addition to the problems with the Ahbash movement, the Ethiopian government announced in October of 2011 — just four months after

the Ahbash movement had been invited to Ethiopia to disrupt the lives of the peace loving Muslims — the opening of an airbase in Arba Minch in southern Ethiopia to facilitate the launching of drones in the Horn of Africa, as if the drone air base in Djibouti is not enough! Although the Ethiopian government announced that the drones of Arba Minch would only be used for surveillance, any intelligent person who follows global geopolitical events on a regular basis knows, in a word, that this announcement is misleading. It will not be long, if not already taking place, before the drones coming out of Arba Minch will be used to kill hundreds of innocent Muslims in the Horn — in the Ethiopian Ogaden, Somalia and Kenya — in the name of fighting "Islamic terrorists" and "Islamic fundamentalists." And there is no doubt that the American and Israeli governments are financing all of this mayhem — both in its Ahbash and Arba Minch dimensions — against the Muslims!

The Issue of Islamic Banking in Ethiopia

There is another troubling issue that has not gotten much media attention but in fact may be a window to what is really going on behind the scenes in Ethiopia at the highest levels. This is the issue of bringing Islamic banking to Ethiopia. This writer has been fairly close to this issue and actively involved for the past six years with individuals in Ethiopia trying to bring some form of Islamic financial intermediation. Based on my involvement in this issue, on a visit to Ethiopia in the summer of 2010 I was invited to a luncheon meeting by some of the individuals who were trying to form the first Islamic bank in Ethiopia, the Zamzam Bank.

At the luncheon, the individuals mentioned an earlier meeting between officials of the National Bank of Ethiopia (NBE) and representatives of the proposed Zamzam Bank. Prime Minister Meles Zenawi was also in attendance at the meeting. The Zamzam representatives put forth their proposal and rationale for Islamic banking. The NBE officials argued against allowing Islamic banking in Ethiopia. Meles, who had been

listening attentively and patiently to the two sides, finally got up from his seat and directed the NBE officials to draft a new proclamation allowing for Islamic Banking. He then left the room.

Of course, the Zamzam representatives were quite happy with the outcome. The government proclamation, Proclamation 592/2008, declared for the implementation of "interest free banking." Apparently, those who drafted the proclamation could not bring themselves to use the term "Islamic banking" in the wording of the proclamation.

That Prime Minister Meles took the action he did should not be surprising. This is because Meles is a very astute political economist. Even the Columbia University Professor Joseph Stiglitz, a Nobel Prize winner in economics, has attested to the acumen of Meles in the field of economics. As such, Meles is fully aware of the track record Islamic banking has had around the world. He understands that it would bring over time a significant boost to the Ethiopian economy. That is why he personally backed the call for Islamic banking.

Now, here is the rub. A really strange thing occurred right in the midst of the Ahbash controversy and the implementation of the drones at Arba Minch: the National Bank of Ethiopia rescinded the Proclamation calling for interest free banking by issuing a directive that took effect on October 1, 2011. The directive nullified full-fledged non-interest banking by stating that only "Islamic banking windows" would be allowed in the existing conventional banks of Ethiopia. This is a crushing blow for Zamzam Bank which had been busy raising start-up capital through investment shares. Apparently, they will have to refund these shares as they will not be able to open as a free standing Islamic bank.

Where was Meles in all of this? Why was he not able to stop this new directive from being implemented? Is there some kind of power struggle going on between the mostly Tigrean government of Prime Minister Meles and the National Bank of Ethiopia, dominated at the

level of control and power by the mostly Amhara monarchists who are, for the most part, Christian fundamentalists of the Orthodox Coptic sect?

Positive Economic Development under Meles Zenawi

These questions are raised because under the leadership of Prime Minister Meles Zenawi, Ethiopia has grown and prospered. More to the point, the economic growth in Ethiopia has been quite impressive. This fact alone has fostered a positive psychological attitude among Ethiopians, both Christian and Muslim, that there is hope for the future. The Muslims have seen a steady growth in the number of masjids all over the country. There has been an increase in the availability and distribution of Islamic literature. In 1980, under the Mengistu regime in Ethiopia, it was hard to find any Islamic literature anywhere in Addis Ababa. However, in recent times, the availability of Islamic literature has increased quite significantly. Muslims have thus felt more a part of Ethiopian society under the current regime than at any time in the past. The Ahbash debacle threatens to bring this feeling of inclusiveness to a crashing end.

Even now, when much of the western world is experiencing a severe economic downturn due to the global debt crisis, Ethiopia is enjoying substantial growth in its gross domestic product. There still remains much work to be done with regard to the distribution of national income through social welfare programs and entitlements; far too many Ethiopians are suffering in abject poverty. Nevertheless, when one stands back and takes a panoramic perspective of Ethiopian political history over the past 200 years, one will not find any political administration under which more has been accomplished than under the regime of Ato Meles Zenawi. So, why would Meles risk the positive attributes of his tenure — particularly with regard to improvement of the national economy and the increased inclusion of the Muslim

populace in national activity — to enter into this current phase of horrendous negativity?

Federalists versus Monarchists

Every Ethiopian Muslim — and many honest Ethiopian Christians for that matter — know that all of the important institutions in Ethiopia — finance, business, industry — are controlled by certain fanatical fundamentalists of the Ethiopian Coptic Orthodox Christian Church. This same group is also known as the monarchists; they look back with nostalgia to "the good old days" of the rule of Emperor Haile Sellasie. This writer is familiar with the hurdles this group created on numerous occasions while trying to take care of my own business in Ethiopia. If truth be known, these fanatical Christian fundamentalists, the ones who are often behind the scenes and in control, do not want to see Ethiopian Muslims even with the crumbs from the loaf of bread, let alone equitably sharing in the wealth.

The monarchists have opposed Meles Zenawi and his government mainly because he has reorganized the country into a federal system. In Ethiopia's case, this means the status of the major ethnic groups — the Oromo, Afar, and Somali, etc. — has been raised to a state level where these groups control and run their states according to the limits of the federal constitution. This means that, for example, the Oromo language becomes the official language in the Oromo federal state. It means, as another example, that Islamic culture can take a more prominent place in the official order of things in those federal states where the majority are adherents of Islam, such as the Harari federal state. This enfranchisement of non-Amhara ethnic groups is what the monarchists hate so vehemently. It diminishes the hegemony the Ethiopian Coptic Orthodox Christians had enjoyed under the monarchy.

This poison of Christian fundamentalists in Ethiopia broke out into the open for the world to see in the summer of 2005 during the campaigns

— both inside and outside of Ethiopia — in the so-called Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD). During their protests and campaigns, they flaunted the Lion of Judah flag of the old Ethiopian monarchy, chanting incessantly "one nation, one language, one flag, and one religion". That one religion of course was the religion of the former Ethiopian monarchy, the religion of the Ethiopian Coptic Orthodox Christian Church. In other words, unity and democracy for the CUD meant a desire to take the nation backward to the days when Muslims officially did not even exist in the eyes of the Coptic Orthodox Christian monarchy.

It must be understood that not too long ago, less than 40 years as a matter of fact, the Ethiopian Orthodox Christian Rite was the official religion of Ethiopia. The late Emperor Haile Selassie, protector of the Orthodox Church in his capacity as absolute monarch, was known to have said when asked about the condition of the Ethiopian Muslims that there were, in reality, no such thing as "Ethiopian" Muslims because all Muslims in Ethiopia were, in fact, foreigners! This response was in line with the emperor's propaganda that Ethiopia was a Christian country surrounded by a sea of Muslims. The great pity is that there are still Christians in Ethiopia who will repeat this fiction publicly even today.

A Possible Hypothesis to Explain it All

To hypothesize, in light of the foregoing, Meles was unable to stop the NBE directive because the Ahbash debacle and the Arba Minch move may very well imply the resurgence of the monarchist faction that has always been opposed to the Meles Zenawi government. There appears American support behind Arba Minch and American-Israeli support behind al-Ahbash. The Ethiopian monarchist faction saw and seized an opportunity to reassert itself politically. They may have readily collaborated with the Americans and the Israelis, forcing Meles into a corner to go along with their anti-Muslim agenda. In short, that

fundamentalist Ethiopian Coptic Orthodox Christian element in the circles of power in Ethiopia — that fanatical holdover from the days of Emperor Haile Selassie — has finally found a convenient tool — the Ahbash doctrine — and a convenient scapegoat — the activities of al-Qaeda — to do what it has wanted to do for a long time: stifle the wholesome growth and development of the Muslim community in Ethiopia. Thus, it very well may be that the fanatical Ethiopian Christian power structure has been more than willing to act as accomplices and facilitators in the American-Israeli agenda against Ethiopian Muslims. The screws are tightening around the Muslims of Ethiopia in particular and the Muslims of the Horn of African in general.

Of course, the foregoing hypothesis may be wrong. It may well be that Prime Minister Meles Zenawi is himself at the center of this three-pronged pincer movement — that is, the Ahbash, Arba Minch, and anti-Islamic banking attack — against the Muslim community of Ethiopia. It may be that he is an incredible opportunist who decided to take the substantial monetary largesse that surely the Americans and the Israelis offered him to realize their own geopolitical interests in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa. If so, it will mean his fall from grace in the eyes of the Muslim community, at least 40 million people of Ethiopia's population. Indeed, Allah (swt) knows best.

The Way Ahead

The Muslims of Ethiopia — whether Maliki, Hanafi, Hanbali, Salafi, Shafi'i, Zahiri, Zaydi, or Wahhabi — will have to close ranks and stand together as Muslims. There are dark days ahead, but if the Muslims stand together purely and solely on the basis of Islam, there is little doubt they will be successful, for such has been Allah's (swt) promise in His generous Qur'an. Further, the Muslim youth — those under 35 years of age — will be the leaders. There are many learned Muslim

youth in Ethiopia. They have the knowledge and the youthful stamina to lead their people to victory. May Allah help them

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Growing Muslim Activism and the Ethiopian State: Accommodation or Repression?

Jawar Mohammed*

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Various narratives are being presented to explain the growing standoff between Muslim activists and the current Ethiopian regime. The activists accuse the state of discrimination and meddling in the internal activities of their faith by imposing an imported religious doctrine. The state blames the conflicts on 'radicalization' and a covert agitation by foreign-based elements. The regime is also accusing the opposition parties of exploiting religion for their political gains. The opposition attributes the rising tension to the regime's use of religion as part of its divide and rule tactics.

Setting aside the question of which narrative is more plausible, I think there is an even more important question; what explains the growing political consciousness and activism of Muslim society today — a development that internal and external political entrepreneurs are competing to frame for its use within their own strategic objectives.

There are four possible factors that can help us understand this phenomenon. First, the Ethiopian Muslims have been experiencing socioeconomic changes that necessitated increased participation and greater political representation. Second, Islamic revivalism has been intensified in the last two decades. Third, the state has made little or no adjustment to its institutional composition and *modus operandi* to accommodate these changes. Fourth, the policies and tactics of the current regime have resulted in the weakening of the autonomy of Islamic institutions, and consequently, generating negative reactions from Muslim society towards the state.

The consequence of the interaction between these factors is a widespread religious awakening and heightening of political consciousness. I will briefly discuss each of these four factors.

I. Low participation and under-representation of Muslims in Ethiopian politics

Historically, despite religious persecution and state-sanctioned discrimination, Islam was rarely used as an ideology or identity for political mobilization. In other words, Muslims had minimal participation in the politics of the Ethiopian state. Today, despite making up half of the country's population, Muslims are acutely underrepresented within the Ethiopian political elite. There are three possible explanations for this:

a) Starting in the 16th century, ethnicity replaced religious identity as a center of mobilization and confrontation. First, after the rise of the Oromo as one of the three major players at the center of the Christian Kingdom — at the end of the epic wars between the Christian Kingdom and the Muslim Sultanates— conflicts were waged mostly across ethnic lines. Second, having peacefully and slowly expanded into most areas of the country, Islam was incorporated into the existing norms and institutions in the process becoming a subset of the preexisting culture rather than displacing it as a dominant identity. Third, the abandonment of forced conversion during the later stages of the Southern conquest also meant that ethnic culture, rather than religious identity, was a target of assimilation during the imperial consolidation. In response, resistance against the state and the dominant society was conducted through ethnic, rather than religious, mobilization. While the emperors utilized the church to unify their forces and legitimize their objectives, the fact that Islam cuts across the conquered ethnic and/or regional groups meant that they had to de-emphasize religious differences in order to keep intra-ethnic solidarity and cohesion. Therefore, even grievances born out of religion-specific discrimination

were channeled through ethnic mobilization – reducing the possibility of faith-based activism.

b) The types of economic activities, particularly trade and pastoralism, that the majority of Muslims were engaged in did not cause them to be in conflict with the state. In urban areas and in the North, Muslims were generally engaged in trade. As trade was not a preferred occupation for the politically privileged groups, Muslims did fairly well with less competition. In other words, for Muslims, trade served as a less costly alternative for upward mobility and removed the need to seek political affiliation from a state traditionally identified with another religion.

Similarly, pastoralists led a mobile life far away from the center of political power; the emerging state lacked the ability to directly control and extract their resources, and thus, chose to rely on 'voluntary' tribute by local leaders in exchange for maintaining the leaders' autonomy. This arrangement reduced the possibility of friction and conflict with the dominant society that normally extracted the resources directly for the state by settling among the conquered people. Generally, in imperial Ethiopia, Muslim elites neither demanded nor were they welcomed for participation in the political class. A lasting consequence of this predicament for the Muslim societies is that the traders did not see the importance of education while pastoralists lacked the opportunity for it.

c) In the second half of the 20th century, despite rising grievances and potentially favorable external conditions, religious-based mobilization did not take hold due to the progressive and nationalist politics that engulfed the country. The Leftist's endorsement of the demand and eventual success of separating religion and the state removed what, at the time, was the main source of grievance for Muslims. That is, by legitimizing their demand and standing with them in solidarity, progressives minimized the need for a totally separate Muslim

resistance. In a similar fashion, nationalist movements (Oromo, Eritrea, Tigray) fighting on behalf of constituencies, all of which contained adherents of multiple faiths, actively worked to prevent the politicization of religion by promoting interfaith tolerance and emphasizing ethnocultural similarities. In other words, by choosing to accommodate, rather than suppress religious identities, grievances and sentiments, the leftist and nationalist movements allowed Muslims to frame their objectives within secular political movements.

Generally, the displacement of Islam by ethnicity, and the containment of Muslim grievances by progressivism and nationalism resulted in less mobilization of the Muslim society in terms of religious identity. However, while 'containment' allowed for their grievances to be incrementally, indirectly and less contentiously addressed, it also resulted in lower participation and exclusion from political life.

II. Transformation of the Muslim society

The social, political, and economic changes that have taken place in the last few decades have been gradually transforming the Muslim society. Some of these changes include:

a) Today, trade is no longer a Muslim domain. Following land redistribution in 1975, previous landlords and aristocrats moved to trade – increasing the competition. After the downfall of the military junta, tens of thousands of Tigrayan soldiers were demobilized, given start-up funding and sent to do business, further crowding the market. With the establishment of party-owned oligarchies that have monopolized the most lucrative sectors, small and mid-level businessmen, particularly in traditionally Muslim controlled commodities, such as coffee, are being squeezed out. Thus, trade is no longer a promising career path for the new generation of Muslims.

Furthermore, climate change is making pastoralism an increasingly difficult lifestyle. As chronic drought continues to wipe out their cattle, pastoralists are forced to abandon their old occupation. Therefore, as the economic activities that sustained their parents are fast depleting, the emerging Muslim generation has been forced to look for alternative career paths towards upward mobility. In a country, where some 80% of the wage-earning jobs are provided by the state, the best available option is to seek government employment. Since modernization has made education a requirement for such jobs, Muslim parents are sending their children to school as never before. As thousands of these youth graduate from training programs and higher academic institutions, they expect and demand the government to provide them with employment opportunities. The inability and/or unwillingness of the government to fulfill these expectations and address the demands are one of the key factors behind the increased Muslim activism we are observing.

b) In the last few decades Islam in Ethiopia, like elsewhere, has been undergoing revivalism — growth of spiritual interest and renewal of religious teachings. This revivalism has been intensified particularly in the last two decades. After 17 years of anti-religious propaganda and centralized control of society by the military junta, the partial democratization and decentralization, that have taken place since 1991, have increased both the demand for and supply of religion. The relative relaxation of press freedom allowed for the translation, publication and distribution of religious texts in various vernaculars. The rapid improvement in literacy rate has catalyzed people to look for and absorb the literature. Development of transportation infrastructure, improvement in telecommunications, the ever-growing rural-urban migration, availability of cheaper and compact stereos, and most recently, social media, have all allowed for greater availability and dissemination of information. The result has been a widespread religious awakening.

As religious revivalism often involves a struggle between traditionalists and modernists, there has been extensive debate among Muslim religious leaders – that at times split the faithful into competing groups. It is quite impressive that, while incidents of isolated confrontations were observed during earlier stages, with time, both sides have matured and developed a more sophisticated campaign strategy and ensured the peaceful progress of this revivalism.

This simultaneous evolution of the socioeconomic transformation of the Muslim society and revivalism of their religion have increased their social dynamism, leading some to misconceive or misrepresent the two parallel evolutions as a single phenomenon and call it 'radicalization.'

III. The Stagnant State

While the Muslim society has undergone these transformational changes, the state has made little institutional adjustment to accommodate them:

a) Decentralization and federalism have enabled the emerging ruling party affiliated elites of the previously marginalized groups to benefit from state resources while administering to their population. However, the absence of real power sharing at the center has restricted their upward mobility and has 'frozen' them to their regional, zonal and district positions. Beyond a few individuals holding symbolic ministerial portfolios, there is insignificant Muslim presence in the central administrative apparatus and political structure. Thus, while the lower level state structure has been directly affected and relatively responsive to the ongoing changes of the Muslim society, the central government has been largely insulated and made little adjustment to accommodate it.

b) Furthermore, the unchanging state identity is one of the remaining obstacles that keep Muslims feeling as if they are strangers in their own home. Despite symbolic equality and greater government tolerance towards religious communities, the identity of the Ethiopian state, both its symbols and composition, remains closely attached to Christianity. To see this, one only needs to visit the embassies and ministries. Such 'exclusive' state identity hinders the incorporation of the emerging Muslim youth. These fruits of an educated, ambitious and identity-conscious generation perceive such conditions uninviting and unwelcoming; consequently, they often turn away. Having no alternative means of survival like their parents, they are forced to come back and are knocking on the door in order to change the circumstances.

IV. Aggravating State Policies.

a) When the current regime took over the state, the most serious threat to its power was from Oromo nationalism. From its inception, the Oromo movement has accommodated, courted and secured support from religious leaders, particularly Muslims and Evangelical Christians. Therefore, in order to weaken this grassroots support among Muslims, the regime exploited the preexisting, but salient difference between traditionalist and revivalist religious leaders. The rivalry, that was exacerbated by the state's intervention, is one of the causes for the alleged 'tension,' which it is supposedly now trying to contain.

b) Just like it did with the Orthodox Church, the Ethiopian regime took control of and used the Islamic institutions for its own political purposes. The consequence is that some religious leaders came to act as state agents, and institutions began working as if they were extensions of the state. By so doing, they lost legitimacy and credibility in the eyes of the faithful, allowing for alternative leadership and informal institutions to emerge.

c) In the last decade the discourse of the Ethiopian state has swung to the right. In response to international changes that brought potential strategic gains and domestic developments that posed threats to its power, the originally Marxist regime adopted a right wing narrative. Always quick to make short-term political gain, regardless of its long-term consequences, Meles jumped on the band wagon of the "Global War on Terror." To achieve this objective, the regime resuscitated the strategic narrative of its predecessors that presented Ethiopia as a country surrounded by Islamic threat — a therefore easily recognizable to and a naturally ally of the West. This was followed by attempts to impose some unnecessary restrictions (such as banning of hijab and prayer in schools), harassment of men with long beards, and utterance of offensive terms by senior government officials. These actions and narratives that targeted Muslims revived the suppressed painful memories of religious persecution, creating greater consciousness among Muslims. The invasion of Somalia under the false pretext of 'neutralizing the Islamic threat,' and the accompanying rhetoric was deeply offensive to many. The regime's harassment of Muslim activists, based on unfounded allegations of being part of some faceless militant group, and also attributing the widespread resistance against the imported sect to manipulation by "international terrorists and foreign money," stand to empower hardliners while weakening moderates.

Similarly, following the resurrection of the Ethiopian right during the 2005 election, the regime has been shifting further in an attempt to be the loudest to proclaim the mantra of Ethiopian nationalism. The propaganda of 'renaissance' that was launched during the 'millennium' extravaganza has been stepped up with recent hysteria over Abbay Dam. Therefore, the old slogan of transforming and building a new Ethiopia is replaced with reviving and reclaiming the glorious past. Since the historically marginalized segments of the population, including Muslims, have a less rosy interpretation of that past, the narratives, being pushed by the state, are hopelessly familiar in their

message to them. At a time, when recognition of past injustice is needed, this reactionary move of *'othering'* Muslims and securitizing their demands has exacerbated the sense of exclusion felt by Muslims, and consequently catalyzed Muslim activism.

Void in political leadership and intellectual guidance

The increased activism of religious communities — both Islamic and Christian — is taking place while there is a complete lack of serious discourse among political leaders and academics. As part of their strategy of containing religious politicization, political leaders developed an attitude of negligence or excessive sensitivity towards religious discourse. The consequence is that politicians and scholars consider commentary and research on religion, and particularly Islam, to be a politically risky business. The global events, that followed 9/11, have exacerbated this fear. As a result, we have Muslim political elites with little connection with their community and few Muslim scholars, who follow up, research and write on the socioeconomic and political developments of their community. Today, some people point to certain high ranking government officials and ruling party leaders, who are Muslims. But few Muslim youth recognize them as Muslim leaders because, having little connection with the community, they neither understand nor show visible concern for the aspirations and views of their community. This is not to suggest that these national leaders should advocate sectarian interest. The point is that had they been rooted in their community, they would be able to provide more accurate feedback to the state and also have the legitimacy needed to more efficiently communicate government policies to the public.

The situation is no better in the opposition camp. Perhaps, with the exception of the nationalist movements spearheading a multi-religious constituency, Muslim participation and representation in opposition politics are almost nonexistent. In the past, to keep internal cohesion, and in the post 9/11 world to avoid their organizations being labeled 'terrorist,' nationalists desperately try to avoid any mention of Islam.

The almost complete absence of Muslims within the leadership and opinion makers of the 'centrist' forces have made these political parties vulnerable to ignorance and negligence of the grievances, interest, perspectives and feelings of the Muslim community. Consequently, they are prone to using narratives that alienate and push away, rather than attract, Muslim support and participation.

When political elites and organizations neglect to follow and fail to understand the concerns, aspirations and grievances of a particular religious communities, the political class would not able to develop proper policy responses to crisis. Then, the leadership void will inevitably be filled by religious activists, who would double both as spiritual and political leaders — that is a serious threat to secular politic, situation that a multi-faith society cannot afford.

The same applies to the intellectual class. In Ethiopian studies, Islam and Muslim society have been so poorly studied. It is astonishing that in the 20th century, only two books were published. After J.S Trimingham's "Islam in Ethiopia," it took another half-a-century for another major work to be produced. This second book was Hussein Ahmed's "Islam in Nineteenth-century Wello." Apart from these, there are only few other books, plus some articles and chapters, that directly deal with the subject. This is in part due to historical factors mentioned above, the country produced very few Muslim scholars. Even among those small numbers, with the exception of Hussein Ahmed (who sadly passed away in 2009), few Muslim scholars have produced thorough, academic literature on the affairs of Muslim society. Despite expanding educational opportunities, the trend seems to be similar among the emerging academics that continue either the path of avoidance or the focus only on theological aspects. In the absence of serious scholarship, knowledge is being produced and disseminated by highly passionate activists, who publish uncritical and reactionary pamphlets that agitate, rather than educate, the society. There is an urgent need for Muslim and non-Muslim intellectuals to undertake rigorous research

and engage the public. Continued negligence could have grave consequences.

Misguided interference

Having failed to introduce structural changes to accommodate the changing Muslim society, having used shortsighted tactics that weakened the age-old Islamic institutions that facilitated coexistence, having attempted to impose unnecessary restrictions that offended the Muslim community, the regime is now trying to use another dangerous strategy that is supposed to 'moderate' Islam. Granted religious moderation is a vital state interest, such moderation ought to be engineered from within, rather than being imposed externally. The regime, however, has apparently imported a foreign religious sect to provide 'training' for Ethiopian imams on "moderation."

There are several fundamental problems with this. First, the state has no business choosing and imposing a particular doctrine onto a given religious community. It is the most flagrant form of violating the principle of separation of state and religion. Second, such attempt at a top-down re-indoctrination of a religious community is a poorly conceived strategic blunder. Any society, by nature, is suspicious of external interference, and even more so are religious communities that viciously guard themselves against influence by outside doctrines. Thus, it should not be a surprise that the Muslim community perceived state sponsorship of an alien sect to undertake such coercive and blunt re-indoctrination, as an attempt at forced conversion. Third, the government also relied on a wrong assumption that led it to adopt this misguided strategy. Having successfully taken control of the Orthodox Church by replacing or coopting the top leadership, the regime seems to think it could do the same through the Islamic Affairs Supreme Council.

Unlike Christianity, particularly Orthodox and Catholicism, which have centralized institutions and hierarchical leadership that exercises strong control over followers, Islam is a decentralized religion, in which every mosque and religious leader function as an autonomous entity and agency. Mosques are usually constructed by each community; imams are members of the local population – who volunteer their service and rarely draw salary. Muslim clerics are rarely centrally ordained or appointed. The religious teachers (who might not necessarily be the same person as the imams) attract students based on their intellectual fame, and their centers are sustained through local support. Therefore, there is minimal networking among mosques, little outside and top-down control over the content of what a religious scholar teaches, what an imam preaches or how a specific mosque functions. There has not been much change to this nature of the Ethiopian Islam even after the institutionalization of the Supreme Council with the aim of providing centralized representation and service. While the revivalist movement has introduced some formalized training institutions that have allowed improved standardization of teaching content and methodology, it has not been able to bring about centralized and coordinated structure because localities vehemently defend their autonomy.

Therefore, Ethiopian Muslims are organized through highly decentralized and autonomous structures that prevent changes to be effectively introduced from the top. That is why the struggle between traditionalists and revivalists has been fought over control of mosques rather than the central institutions. The government seems to have missed this important fact in devising its strategy; consequently, the ploy has blown up in its face.

Conclusion: From Misrepresentation to Accommodation

Islam and Muslim society in Ethiopia are experiencing critical socioeconomic and spiritual transformations. Such transformation would undoubtedly cause societal stress. Given the global climate

today, such stress would obviously cause nervousness and concern among internal and external stakeholders – and rightly so. However, instead of nervously rushing towards finding a short-term fix, long-range, constructive and accommodative response is needed. The starting point in such an approach is to produce more accurate, detailed and deeper knowledge about the socioeconomic and spiritual nature of the Ethiopian Muslim society.

One thing that the Ethiopian state and political elites must stop is deliberate misrepresentation of this Muslim activism. As I have attempted to show in this article, while the ongoing Islamic revivalism is part of and affected by global events, the actors, motives and causes are domestic. As a recent in-depth research on "Religious Change among Oromo Muslims in Bale" by Terje Østebø has demonstrated, an unbiased and careful observer can easily understand that the nature, content and direction of this decades-old revivalism has been largely caused, shaped and constrained by existing domestic conditions. Similarly, while Ethiopian Muslims do show solidarity with their global fellows on spiritual matters, their socioeconomic grievances and political demands are directed towards the Ethiopian state. Therefore, misrepresenting these facts, for short-term tactical gains, will not only hinder the search for accommodative mechanisms, but also exacerbate existing tension.

In the past, Muslim aspirations were for religious equality and freedom. The present generation demands inclusion, representation and full participation, and the ongoing nationwide resistance is against state interference. In general, Ethiopian Muslims want to see and struggle to achieve incorporation of their interest, perspectives and aspiration in the policy formulations, narratives and symbols of the state. And, these are hardly typical demands of a religious movement, but rather that of a secular and democratic social movement, that exclusively relies on nonviolent resistance. This Muslim activism is

conducted within the country's borders, directed at and expects response from the existing state.

Hysterical cries of alarm by acolytes of the regime and high-pitched rhetoric by fringe elements in the Muslim community notwithstanding, neither in the past nor now has there been a demand for the establishment of an exclusive Islamic political entity, nor has there been advocacy for the imposition of Islam on the rest. Previously, political organizations that attempted such approach faced outright rejection by the Muslim community, some forced to change their ideology while others disappeared. Despite repeated calls by regional and national militant organizations and provocative state actions, the present Muslim activism has shown no temptation for militancy.

This leads me to conclude that what we are witnessing is demand for a more genuinely democratic order, where freedom, the rule of law, and equality are not just declared ideals, but a reality for all Ethiopians, regardless of their religious affiliation. As such the growing Muslim activism is a resistance against discriminatory, unresponsive and intrusive political system. Therefore, it is an integral part of the ongoing, albeit fragmented, struggle for democratization. Contrary to the alarms raised by some, a move towards addressing these demands will be tantamount to moving Ethiopia towards greater stability and more equitable development.

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* ***Jawar Mohammed****, is a graduate student at Columbia University. The above article was released on "Aweliya online" website.*

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"Ahbashism", Government and Ethiopian Muslim Protests

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For more than four months, Ethiopian Muslims have been protesting against the "Ahbashism Campaign" supposedly masterminded by the government and the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs in Ethiopia (called "Majlis" in short). The protests usually take place on Friday after the completion of "Salatul Jum'a" (Friday Prayer). Slogans like "We want our right! Stop Ahbashism campaign! The people want to step down the Majlis! Allahu Akbar!!" have become formal mottos of the public.

The Muslims denounce the continued government interference in the religious affairs; they also highly demand an indoctrination of the mass with Ahbash ideology (called by the people "the Ahbashism Campaign") to come to an end; the right of the public to elect the leaders of the Muslim community is the third request.

The small protest started at "Aweliya Islamic Institute" has now spread beyond Addis Ababa and reached the towns of Dessie, Dire Dawa, Harar, Shashemene, Assela, Adama, Jimma, Gondar, Alaba, Baddessa, Assasa, Chagni etc. These protests have largely remained peaceful. But after the government security forces killed at least seven protestors in the town of Assasa on April 27/2012), tension highly grew in the country.

Although Ethiopian Muslims were shouting for their rights for about ten months, their case came to the global media only after the Assasa killings. Many of these media outlets are deficient in explaining the true nature of the struggle. On the other hand, rather than responding to the people's request in appropriate manner, the Ethiopian

government undermine the protesters and categorize them as extremists who want to sow instability and riot in the country. Consequently, many people were made to lose a clear knowledge about the ongoing peaceful movement.

Accordingly, I, an Ethiopian Muslim who has a chance to follow up the case attentively, decide to write this article to share what I know about the current Ethiopian Muslim movement. The article covers a period between July 15/ 2011 and May 11/2012.

The "Ahbashism" and "Anti-Ahbashism" Campaigns

According to the Muslim informants representing the majority, in July 2011, the Ethiopian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (popularly called "Majlisul A'ila" or "Majlis" in short) has started a country wide program aimed at amalgamating the Muslim populace according to the beliefs and doctrines of the politico-religious faction called "Ahbash" (the "Abyssinians", a term denoting Ethiopia where Sheikh Abdullah Al-Harari, the founder of the faction, was born). The program started by training the leaders of the "Majlis" committee of the districts and imams of the mosques and in the long run, according to informants, it will encompass all Muslims of the country. They call this effort of Majlis "the Ahbashism Campaign" and they say that it is fully supported by the government of Ethiopia. They also say that both parties (the Majlis and the government) claim that "The new campaign is undertaken to eradicate religious extremism from the country which a radical Islamist movement called 'Wahhabiyya' was sowing in every direction for more than a decade".

According to the informants, the wide majority (over 85%) of Ethiopian Muslims believe "the Ahbashism campaign" to be unconstitutional and illegal blow aimed at suppressing their religious rights and that they are trying to repel the campaign by their struggle which they call simply "Anti-Ahbashism campaign".

Composition of Ethiopian Muslim Society

Ethiopia is a country where Islam sets its foots during the life time of prophet Muhammad. In the early years of his prophethood, when his followers were prosecuted by the pagans of Mecca, the prophet advised some of his followers to seek refuge in Ethiopia where there was a just king who didn't oppress anyone because of his faith. Accordingly, many of his early followers, including his daughter Ruqayya and her husband the caliph Uthman ibn Affan, came to seek asylum under that pious king (called "Armah" by Ethiopian writers and "Al-Nagashi" by Muslim writers). Since then, together with Orthodox Christianity, Islam established itself as one of the two dominant religions of the country.

Most of the Muslims of Ethiopia adhere to the Shafi'i School of law, one of the four legal schools of Sunni Islam. The Hanbali School has also a wide acceptance and its adherents are growing from time to time. The Hanafi and Maliki Schools have some followers in the northern and western peripheral areas. Tension within the Muslim society is very negligible and all of the followers of the four schools strive to recruit followers in peaceful ways. Furthermore, Muslims of Ethiopia developed an exemplary tradition of peaceful co-existing with other faiths especially the Orthodox Christianity.

Who is Ahbash? Why Most of Ethiopian Muslims Oppose It?

"Ahbash" was born in Beirut, Lebanon, when the aforementioned Ethiopian-Lebanese scholar called Sheikh Abdullah ibn Muhammad Al-Harari Al-Habashi assumed a leadership of a charity organization called "***The Association of Islamic Charitable Projects"*** in 1983. The organization was founded in 1930 and remained purely a charity endowment until sheikh Abdullah's takeover of its leadership. Once installed himself as a leader, the sheikh turned the organization to a new faction proclaiming itself a preacher of the true creed of *"Ahlu-Sunnah Wal-Jama'ah*" (Sunni Islam). As I noted in the above section,

the Ethiopian origin of sheikh Abdullah Al-Harari gave to his organization the popular nickname known as "Ahbash" ("the Abyssinians") to whom members of the association have no objection. The members of the association say that they adhere to the "Shafi'i" school of law, one of the four canonically accepted legal schools of Sunni Islam.

According to Ahbash, the theology of Sunni Islam has been polluted by a continuous waves emanating from the Wahhabiyya sect which was agitated by old time clerics like Ibn Teymiyyah and Ibn Qayyim (14th century Syrian scholars), synthesized as separate school by the 18th century Saudi scholar called Muhammad Abdulwahhab, and highly propagated from the beginning of 20th century by the state backed Saudi scholars and their adversaries throughout the world.

Ahbash says "The adherents of Wahhabiyya blaspheme the Muslim majority of polytheism while the latter worship only one God. They denounce the veneration of the shrines of the Muslim saints as an act of polytheism while Islam doesn't forbid it. They even shed the blood of Muslims who argued with them on this issue. They negate the Muslim majority by formulating a new school other than the four schools of Sunni Islam. Through its extremism and incapability to co-exist with other faiths, the Wahhabiyya has given a very bad image to Islam and Muslims."

Ahbash also teaches that its followers shouldn't emphasize political activism on primary basis even though they have rights to do so, and they should largely focus on accumulating practical knowledge and striving to be high competitors in commerce and industry. For Ahbash, whatever the motive would be there is no need to protest against the law of any country as long as the governments of these countries respect the basics of freedom of worship. This is very essential in the case of non-Islamic countries of the world. Even in Islamic countries, where Muslims are the majority, protesting is not allowed. The Ahbash

justifies the latter statement by quoting the popular saying of the prophet which addresses the people to obey the ruling Muslim "khalif" even if he is a brutal and oppressive one. In contrast, Ahbash believes that the "Wahhabiyya" sect seeks to install a government based on "Sharia" law even in non-Muslim countries. For that, Ahbash say the "Wahhabi" sect is unfit to exist in today's world because of its supposedly intolerant and extremist behavior.

However, the vast majority of Ethiopian Muslims see Ahbash as a deviant sect whose doctrinal settings don't fit the true Sunni beliefs. They say that the faction's claim of following the "Shafi'i" rite has been disproved by famous scholars of Shafi'i school. For this claim, they point to the "fatwa" (religious edict) given by famous Islamic institutions like "Al-Azhar University" (Egypt) which is the main propagator of Shafi'i school of law.

These Muslims also say that Ahbash's defense of non-Islamic practices such as shrine venerations are not supported by Shafi'i school of law because Islam doesn't teach the worship of worldly gods. Some of the bad practices prevalent among Muslims of Ethiopia (like shrine venerations, superstitions, use of magic etc…) came from backwardness and Muslim preachers must teach the people about their danger. The effort of Ahbash to defend these practices clearly shows that the faction has no concern for the first and most important principle of Islam which is to worship only one God. And it is nobody else but the one who opposes these non-Islamic practices whom the Ahbash faction calls "Wahhabiyya". On conclusion, the majority of Muslims say "Ahbash clearly strives to demolish the true tenets of Islam which can be justified by its deviated stance on the worship of Allah".

Another accusation raised by the Muslim majority is the issue of heresy. Most of the Muslims believe that Ahbash promotes confusing and highly heretical doctrines. The list of these heretical beliefs include

(among others): It is forbidden to ask Allah to forgive all Muslims and a Muslim must seek forgiveness only for himself; there is no "Zakat" (obligatory alms) on paper money; Muslim women can wear tights and woman's wearing of "niqab" (face-veil) is out of Islam ; receiving bank interest is allowed as long as the owners of the bank are non- Muslims; you can cheat or lie to non-Muslim and you can steal the property of non-Muslim; you can curse and insult the companions of the prophet (s.a.w) who rebelled against the caliphate of Ali ibn Abu Talib, the fourth caliph of Sunni Islam etc…

The other most important accusation on Ahbash is directed on the organization's practice of "Takfir" (an edict of apostasy on those who are believed to violate the orders of Islam). It is said that Ahbash categorized those Muslims who doesn't adhere to its beliefs as "apostates" and members are told to excommunicate these "apostates". The list of these "apostates" includes many of the leading Muslim scholars starting from the imams of the Grand Mosque of Mecca (Masjid Al-Haram). The majority of Muslims believe that the purpose of these apostasy "fatawa" (Takfir) is to disrupt the unity and peace of the Muslim society.

The political passiveness advocated by Ahbash is also rejected by the mass. The majority of the Muslims believe that Islam doesn't prohibit from participating in politics; it teaches rather everybody should use his knowledge and money to serve his country and people. On the other hand, the majority of Ethiopian Muslims believe that the issue of Islamic state has never been advocated by any section of the Muslim mass.

Who has Chosen "Ahbash" as an Ideology to Expand in Ethiopia? Why Do They Choose It?

The majority of Muslims believe that the ideology of Ahbash is favored by different parties for different reasons. In their eye, the first of these parties to support a plan of spreading the Ahbash ideology in Ethiopia

were the leaders of "Majlis" who are terrified by the growth of "Wahhabi" sect. Some of my informants (who told me not to expose their identity) said that they heard "Majlis" leaders saying "The Wahhabi sect posed a big threat on the shrines of Muslim saints and old standing Sufi practices such as the celebration of the birth day of Prophet Muhammad. We couldn't protect ourselves from the expanding 'Wahhabi' sect. So we must combat it in collaboration of groups such as Ahbash who are experienced in attacking Wahhabism."

The second party perceived as the instigator of the campaign includes a handful of western countries who were highly concerned about what they call "the growing Wahhabi influence in Ethiopia". For the west, Ethiopian Muslim scholars say, the growth of "Wahhabism" is not a matter of faith; it is an issue of a threat to their national interest and security. The westerns believe that radical groups like Al-Qa'ida are influenced by "Wahhabi ideology". Therefore, according to the belief of many Muslim scholars, the "Ahbashism campaign" whose aim was to counter the "Wahhabi growth" must have been supported by these western nations. However, the westerns do so usually through indirect methods. For example, sources say that some western countries were financing the rehabilitation projects of Muslim shrines whose existence became at risk due to the expansion of the so called "Wahhabi" sect.

Some people also argue that certain scholars regarded as experienced analysts of the geopolitics of the horn of Africa such as Hagai Erlich, the Professor Emeritus of history Tel Aviv University, were advocating the importance of favoring the Ahbash sect which would be in their sight beneficial for both Ethiopia and its western allies.

The third and most important party accused by Muslims of instigating "the Ahbashism" campaign is the government of Ethiopia. They say that the Ethiopian government decided to have a leading role in the campaign because of certain socially and geo-politically motivated

scenarios. These include government's interest to use the campaign as one method of "divide and rule" system, the political passiveness advocated by Ahbash, the pressure coming from the diplomatic nations which stressed that "Wahhabism" should be curtailed, and the continuous appealing of the leadership of the "Majlis" against the rival sect of "Wahhabiya". For all of these parties, according to viewers, "Ahbash" is an ideal candidate thought as having the ability to set back the expansion of the "Wahhabiyya" sect.

However, the majority of Muslims believe that the parties presumed as the instigators of the Ahbashism campaign are either ignorant of the reality of Ethiopian Muslim society and Ahbash faction or they are cheating the mass by magnifying the evils of the so called "Wahhabiyya" sect. They say that teaching strictness in worship of only one God is Islam's basic tenet and it shouldn't be linked to any sect. Furthermore, Ethiopian Muslim preachers hardly encourage their followers to demolish the shrines of saints. What they do is discouraging the people visiting the shrines of saintly figures.

On the other hand, many Muslims believe that the growing observance of religious practices by Ethiopian Muslims cannot be attached to external sources; it is a product brought by Ethiopian Muslims themselves, and it shouldn't be feared by politicians as a threat to national security. Furthermore, many people stress that due to the so called "growing Wahhabi influence", Ethiopian Muslims don't change their good conduct of religious tolerance for which they have been known for centuries.

The Two Campaigns in Practice

Ethiopian Muslims say that "the Ahbashism campaign" officially began in July/2011 when the Ministry of the Federal Affairs of Ethiopia and the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (Majlis) arranged a training session for 600 Muslim clerics elected from different parts of the country. The luxuries training had taken place in one campus of

Haramaya University (located in Harar, East Ethiopia). The Minister of the Federal Affairs announced on spot that the government allocated more than 11,000,000 Ethiopian Birr (around 8000,000 USD) for a series of trainings focusing on peace and religious tolerance. The trainers came from Beirut where the Ahbash headquarter is located.

However, the majority of Muslims explain that the training was not focused on religious tolerance as the Minister of Federal Affairs said. The main course of the session was titled "the Evil Caused by Wahhabiyyah". Even in some occasions, the Lebanese Ahbash scholars were seen enforcing the trainees to announce their belief in new form by uttering the two Islamic testimony of faith (i.e. saying "There is no god but Allah, Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah").

Similar trainings were undertaken throughout the whole of the country. Those who refused to participate in the trainings would be removed from the leadership of the district and Zonal "Majlis" and from being imam of the mosques. As result, thousands were thrown out of the mosques where they served the community for many years.

The government has undertaken a series of persuasive meetings throughout the country. Some of these meeting were lead by the top government officials. For example, Minister Juneydi Sado (minister of civil service) has been preaching the Ahbash ideology to the Muslim residents of many towns of Oromia regional state. Officials like Bereket Simon (minister of government communications affairs), Kuma Demeksa (mayor of Addis Ababa city) and Redwan Hussein (head of the Addis Ababa EPRDF office) have also tried their best to convince the Muslim members of the ruling party to accept the continuity of Ahbashism campaign.

Since August/2011, the government officials were undertaking a terrorizing media campaign. On one occasion, the Minister of the Federal Affairs said "The government has officially declared 'Wahhabiya' to be an extremist sect that strives to topple the

constitution and install an Islamic state" (His statement was published on the weekly Amharic called "Reporter"). Documentary films and Radio programs were broadcasted on the state run media. The press owned by the government continuously published propaganda articles supporting the Ahbashism campaign.

The government expressed its support to the "Majlis" when the latter deposed the committees of different Islamic madrasa (schools). It also stood on the side of "Majlis" when 50 teachers of Aweliya Islamic College were sacked and the college was put under the board of the directors lead by Majlis representatives; some of them are well-known members of Ahbash (the current chairperson of the board is Sheikh Azzam Yusuf, vice president of the Federal Majlis and a leading member of Ahbash organization in Ethiopia.).

Meanwhile, the government opened a massive harassment campaign especially in the countryside. Thousands are reportedly arrested and held in prisons without any charges. Many scholars were prohibited from teaching Islamic subjects.

The Resistance of Muslim Society of Ethiopia

The Ahbashism campaign was met by an "Anti-Ahbashism Campaign" in which the majority of the Muslims are expressing their discontent and disapproval of the Ahbashism campaign. The "Anti-Ahbashism" campaign has three features.

1. ***Chellenging the Legality of the "Ahbashism" Campaign and the Role of the Government***: Since the beginning of the "Ahbashim campaign" in July 2011, many writers have challenged the legality of the government's interfrerene in the religious affairs of the Muslims. Distingiuished personalities who represent the Muslim majority have been speaking on Newspapers and radio broadcasts for the right of the Muslim society. Some of the newspapers have

faced repressions from the government for publishing articles criticizing the "Majlis" and the government.

2. ***Awarness Creation Activities***: Since July/ 2011, many Muslims were teaching the Muslim mass on the history and beliefs of the "Ahbash" faction. Young Muslim writers and journalists produce books, audiois and videos exposing the reality of "Ahbash". Preachers have been teaching the public on the true demand of Ahbash faction. Muslim youth in Addis Ababa and many towns formed social clubs to deliver lectures on the ideological paradigms and historical background of Ahbash. Social netwronking sites like "Facebook" and "Twitter" were effectively used for awareness creation purposes.
3. ***Mass Protests***: The strongest of all anti-Ahbashism resistance movements is the peaceful public demonstration being held weekly at Aweliya Institute and many mosques of Addis Ababa and other towns. (discussed below)

The Aweliya Uprising and Its Growth

When the Majlis sacked 50 Arabic language teachers from Aweliya Islamic Institue, the students became angry and filled the compound of the institute in protest. They demanded the Majlis allow back their teachers and expressed not to leave the compound unless the Majlis gave them a satisfactory reply. The protest continued for about a week; in the last three days, the students passed the night in the compound of the institute.

After a week, the protesting students were joined by a large mass of the Muslim people. So students' "Return back our teachers" question was developed to the public "***The People want to step down Majlis***" question. The protests had remained a weekly public rally confined only at Aweliya Institute and the surrounding areas where hundreds of thousands of Muslims pray the mandatory Friday Prayer (Salatul Jum'a) together and speak against "the Ahbashism campaign" in one

voice. But after March 2/2012 it slowly spread too many mosques of Addis Ababa. The main centers of protests are however, the two mosques located in central Addis Ababa called "Masjid Anwar" and "Masjid Al-Nur".

The Provisional Solution Finding Committee and its Confrontation with the Goverment

On the third public rally at Aweliya Institute (January 28/2012), the attendants of the mass movement elected a committee of 17 members which represents them and speak on their behalf. Through a massive networking and petition collecting activity undertaken in few days, the committee has got support from millions of the citizens.

Even though the Minister of the Federal affairs of Ethiopia was said to be the main actor in the Ahbashism campaign, the public didn't condemn it for about seven months. Likewise, Muslims remain silent when the Minister of the Federal Affairs briefed the journalists sayimg the government openly passes a declaration that "Wahhabiyya is an extremist sect". Muslims scholars say "We were thinking that the government authorities had no knowledge about the background of the Ahbash sect which is a very fanatic and extremist sect than any known school in Islam". Moreover, it was thought that the government's support to the "Majlis" was emanating from some pro-Ahbash officials and it might not be the government's policy.

Holding these facts, the committee representing the Muslim majority presented three requests for the Ministry of the Federal Affairs.

1. The current leadership of "Majlis" doesn't represent Ethiopian Muslims, so it must be substituted by an elected representatives of the Muslim society (it is said that the last election of Majlis leadership was undertaken in 2000)
2. The "Majlis" should stop indoctrinating the people with Ahbash ideology (But Ahbash can preach its ideology independently)

3. The Aweliya Islamic institute should be administered by an independent board of directors which has no attachment to the "Majlis"

The government approved the committee's legal status and invited it to discuss the demand of the Muslim society. At start it seemed a positive arbitrator and promised to answer the questions in a positive way appointing the committee members for another discussion. When the discussion was held on the planned date, however, it turned back against its words. The government openly said "The problem of our country is not Ahbash. It is Wahhabiya who has been fueling religious tensions in the country. Churches and mosques were burned and many people were slaughtered by Wahhabiyya. Places like Aweliya were serving the Wahhabiya sect to expand. We won't allow this anymore. We will continue to suppress the Wahhabiya sect".

With regard to the three questions the Federal Affairs Ministry said

1. "A new Majlis leadership election will be undertaken soon; but Wahhabiya has no right to participat in the election.
2. Teaching the Ahbash ideology will continue under the future Majlis. But people have their right to believe in the ideology or not to believe in it.
3. Aweliya will remain under the guardianship of "Majlis"; If it is allowed independence, it may spread "Wahhabiyya" ideology"

The Muslims were very sad when the government's reply was broadcasted though public media on March 5/2012 but they remained peaceful until they discuss the matter with the solution finding committee in the next Friday. When the discussion was held at Aweliya Institute, the Muslim mass urged the committee to lobby the government authorities for a just and meaningful solution.

The committee patiently tried to convince authorities of the Federal Affairs ministry and other concerned bodies. However nobody was

willing to discuss the matter again. The Federal Affairs Minister even told the committee members to dissolve themselves up and and stop the people from holding a weekly protest in the compound of Aweliya institute. In reply, the committee said "We cannot stop the protests. We are elected by the public only to deliver the people's questions to the government and bring back the reply of the government to the public."

Both the committee and the public had a hope to meet Prime Minister Meles Zenawi and other authorities of the Federal government and solve the dispute. However, all hopes perished when the Premier addressed the issue to the Ethiopian parliament on April 17/2012. In that speech, the prime minister said "Ahbash has no difference from the Sufi version of Islam which is the main Islamic school in our country. The current wave of protests was caused by the Minority Salafi Muslims who are opposed to Sufis and the exemplary Christian-Muslim co-existence of our country. So we don't fulfill demand of the minority sect at the expense of the rights of majority.

With regard to the training, it is the leaders of the Majlis who have planned to undertake it in order to silence the emerging extremism in the Muslim community. We cooperate with them in teaching the basic tenets of the constitution of our country. We will continue to do this in the future too because we are victims of radical Muslims. Some Ethiopian Salafis seek to demolish our state and establish an Islamic state based on Sharia law. We have tolerance for such people and we won't negotiate with them."

After the Premier's speech to the parliament, the mass of Ethiopian Muslims have increased their opposition in all fronts. The protests spread from "Awoliya compound" to the mosques of Addis Ababa. On April 20/2012 and May 25/2012, about one million people have demonstrated in Aweliya institute and other places shouted for the

right of Ethiopian Muslims. Similar protests continue in the whole of the country.

In one of the protests that took place at Assasa town (Arsi province, Oromiya regional state) on April 27/2012, the Federal police security forces killed at least seven protesters and wounded many more. The government said that the protesters were killed when they burned down a police station and a post office to demand the release of certain "Jihadist" imam. But witnesses say the people were killed outside a mosque of the town when they protested at the arresting of a religious scholar called Sheikh Su'ud Aman.

The news about the incident of Assasa spread throughout the country and aggravated the tension between government and the people. Despite the government's announcement to take repressive measures, in the next Friday (May 5/2012), the Muslim protests even spread to towns of Somali and Afar regions. And more protests are occurring in the country. In an interview with the Voice of America, Sheikh Abubeker Ahmed, the head of the committee elected at Aweliya to speak on behalf of the Muslim majority, said that some authorities of the government are defaming the committee members by using statements like "These people are leading a group of hooligans". He further said "We are not asking any illegal question. All what we ask are the rights of the Muslims which the government stated in the constitution of the country. We will not retreat back because of the recent propaganda war"

The Assasa killing also caused international media to report about the ongoing protests in Ethiopia. Famous newspapers like Washington Post and Chicago Tribune start to write about the Ethiopian Muslim protests although half of them based their reports only on the information they got from government's spokesperson.

On the other hand, due to the pioneering act of Aljazeera channel and some Muslim oriented media ,the problem of Ethiopian Muslims have

become a discussion topic for international Muslim scholars. For example, two days after the Assasa killings, Sheikh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, the leading Mufti of Sunni Islam and the president of the World Council of Muslim Scholars spoke in favor of Ethiopian Muslims. In his speech broadcasted on the weekly program of Aljazeera titled "Al-Shari'a wal-Hayat" ("the Shari'a and Life"), Professor Yusuf Al-Qaradawi condemned the hijacking of Ethiopian Majlis by "Ahbash" faction and said :
"This group is an evil one known for its deviation and illegitimate 'takfir' (giving edict of apostasy). The followers of the faction are not men of religion. They are people who want to spread evil on this world. They are disturbing the society by distributing rumors and insulting the scholars. The Ethiopians must take care of this deviant group".

Latest unofficial information says that the government decided to dissolve the current leadership of "Majlis" council and to undertake elections for new leadership. It is also briefed that the Federal Affairs Ministry has allocated the finance needed for the elections; the directive of the election is also formulated by the ministry. Amazingly, the informants say that the "Ahbashism" campaign will continue under the future leadership. The majority of Muslims denounce this information and say "We won't accept any proposal which doesn't guarantee us on the fulfillment our requests. We continue our struggle until we attain full victory".

Conclusion

In this short article I tried to show the start, extents and current status of the "Ahbashism Campaign" in Ethiopia and the reaction it met from the Muslim populace through "Anti-Ahbashism Campaign". The most outstanding outcome of the two campaigns is the bond of unity created among Ethiopian Muslims. Recently, in an interview with OnIslam website, one observer described this outcome by saying "The

government and 'Majlis' couldn't draw a line between what they called 'Sufi' and 'Salafi'. We proved we are one".

It is very hard to determine the future trend of the current strife. But I definitely say neither the government nor the "Majlis" can meet their demand by applying any illegal methodology. And tomorrow is another day!!

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Part Two

Important Articles and Fatwas Concerning "Ahbash"

A SUFI RESPONSE TO POLITICAL ISLAMISM: AL-AHBASH OF LEBANON

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The rise and spread of Islamist political movements have been topics of focal concern for scholars and analysts in recent decades. Since Richard Mitchell's seminal work on the Muslim Brotherhood, a plethora of writers have analyzed the attributes of both Sunni and Shi'a revivalist movements and the policies of Arab regimes and the West toward the Islamist phenomenon.[1] Yet scant attention has been paid to the reactions generated within the larger Islamic community toward the Islamist groups and their militant offshoots. One such unnoticed source of reaction to political Islamism is the nebulous confraternity of Sufi orders (*turuq*) whose mysticism and esoteric beliefs and practices have set them apart from the exoteric revivalism and political activism of the Islamist societies, such as the Muslim Brotherhood and its many affiliates.

The rivalry and controversies between Sufism and its legalist and conservative detractors go back to the early epochs of Muslim history. The Sufi orders that emerged in the crisis milieu of the 12th century represented a quest for gnosis, the mystical search for truth, in contrast to the disciplined legalism and conservatism of the ulama.[2] As the guardians of the Islamic tradition and ethic, the ulama were the legitimizers of power and authoritative interpreters of the law. In terms of Weberian theory, the "traditional" and "legal-rational" authority of the ulama was undermined by the free-flowing "charismatic" authority of the Sufi shaykh.[3]

Yet under certain historical conditions, there was considerable coincidence and coexistence between the Sufi shaykhs and the ulama.[4] Furthermore, not all Sufi shaykhs and movements were quietest in the

religious and political spheres. For example, the Sanusiyyah began as a Sufi movement, but in its third generation became militant in response to French and Italian imperialism.[5] Nor should it be forgotten that some prominent leaders of political Islamist movements-Sudan's Mahdi, Hasan al-Banna, and Ruhollah Khomeini-began their careers as Sufis. Under the impact of the crisis conditions of their respective social milieux, these men were propelled into lives of political activism.[6] In the case of Banna, his MuslimBrotherhood emerged as a mass movement in response to the social changes that brought about the decline of the Sufi orders in Egypt in the 19th and 20th centuries.[7]

The resurgence of Islamism after the 1967 war and its subsequent use by President Anwar al-Sadat of Egypt as an antidote to Nasserism brought the Muslim Brotherhood into prominence as a prelude to its emergence as a part of mainstream Islam.[8] With the rise of the Brotherhood's militant offshoots, and its growing criticism of Sadat's policies of rapprochement with the West and Israel, the government sought to strengthen the Sufi movement, which by this time was presenting itself as an Islamically legitimate but politically quietist, tolerant, and spiritually vibrant alternative to political Islamism.[9] This pattern of mutual accord between the state and Sufism has persisted under President Husni Mubarak.[10] Similar policies of governmental support for Sufism have been discerned in Syria and Saudi Arabia.[11]

A dominant theme in the ideology and activities of contemporary Sunni Islamist movements is a deep-seated opposition to Sufism. Despite past instances of convergence and overlapping between Sufi and revivalist movements, their mutual antagonism has become pronounced particularly in the contemporary milieu of heightened political Islamism. The doctrinal roots of opposition to Sufism among today's Sunni Islamists are found in the writings of the eminent 13th-century Hanbali '*alim* Taqi al-Din Ahmad ibn Taymiyya.[12] In his quest to purify the Muslim faith, Ibn Taymiyya vigorously opposed Sufi

pantheism and such practices as the worship of saints and pilgrimages to their shrines, although he accepted a Sufism based on Islamic legalism and tradition.[13] In the hands of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, Ibn Taymiyya's strictures on Sufism were transformed into a comprehensive condemnation and prohibition of the Sufi orders.[14] This critical stance toward Sufism and its practices can be found among the major exponents of modern Islamist thought, such as Abu al-A'la Mawdudi,[15] Sayyid Qutb, [16] 'Abd al-Salam Faraj, [17] and Fathi Yakan. [18] By anchoring themselves on the legalist tradition of Ibn Taymiyya, these modern-day Islamists rejected Sufi esoteric (*batini*) beliefs and ceremonial practices as being heretical innovations (*bid'a*) and superstitions (*khurafa*). [19] Instead of the Sufi's inner-directed mysticism, quietism, and withdrawal from the mundane, the Islamists advocate religious -political activism, where a person's piety can be outwardly demonstrated and socially validated in terms of the shari'a. Indeed, the ultimate quest of the Islamists is to capture the Islamic popular mainstream by imposing a single homogenizing ideology as a means to mobilize the masses as a prelude to achieving political control. Thus, the phenomenal growth of the Islamist movement in recent decades has threatened the populist social base of the Sufi orders. Despite their political quietism in the recent past, some Sufi groups have begun to assert themselves to defend their interests in the political arena. This paper will profile one of the most politically active of these Sufi- based societies, the Ahbash of Lebanon -a rapidly growing association with branches in many Muslim and Western countries. The analysis will focus on the controversial historical and theological origins of this movement; its social roots, leadership, and political activities in Lebanon; and the causal factors responsible for its dynamic growth in recent times.

LEBANON'S ISLAMIC SPECTRUM

The Islamic segment of Lebanon's political spectrum is exceedingly complex, reflecting the country's pluralist makeup and the factionalism brought on by its environment of crisis. The factors contributing to Lebanon's instability in the 1970s and 1980s included intersectarian and interclass conflicts, Palestinian-Israeli fighting, and the proxy war fought by the neighboring countries on Lebanese soil. Within this crisis milieu, Lebanon saw the emergence of both Sunni and Shi'i Islamist groups, many engaged in political activism. [20] Among the Sunni, the activist segment of the Muslim Brotherhood is represented by Fathi Yakan's al-Jam'a al-Islamiyya, which has fought the Maronite militias and Israel. Another militant Sunni group is Shaykh Said Sha'ban's Harakat al-Tawhid, which split from the Jama'a a]-Islamiyya in 1982. [21] On the Shi'i side of the spectrum, Harakat Amal was founded in 1975 by Imam Musa al-Sadr. [22] After Sadr's disappearance in 1978, Amal lost its revivalist character and under Nabih Barri became a Shi'i political movement. The cause of Shi'i militancy was taken up by Hizballah -an umbrella organization of more than a half-dozen radical groups nurtured by Iran's revolutionary Islamic regime. [23] The Sufi segment of the Lebanese Islamic spectrum consists of seven orders: Qadiriyya, Rifdiyya, Naqshabandiyya, Shaziliyya, Badawiyya, Khalwatiyya, and Mawlawiyya. [24] Within this context, the Ahbash function as a pan-Sufi organization -the activist expression of Lebanese Sufism, supported mainly by the Qadiriyya, Rifaiyya, and Naqshabandiyya orders. [25]

ORIGINS OF AL-AHBASH

The Ahbash, officially known as the Society of Islamic Philanthropic Projects, or Jam'iyyat al- Mashari' al-Khayriyya al-Islamiyya, is unique and one of the most controversial Muslim associations in the contemporary spectrum of Islamic groups. The controversy surrounding this movement involves its peculiar origins and eclectic theological roots, which define the society's separate identity and

determine its program of religious and political action. Indeed, the Jam'iyya has invited controversy precisely because its teachings do not fit the conventional "Islamist" or "fundamentalist" mold.

The Ahbash are the devout followers of Shaykh Abdallah ibn Muhammad ibn Yusuf al-Hirari al-Shibi al- Abdari, also known as al-Habashi, signifying his Ethiopian origins-hence the appellations given to his movement: al-Ahbash and al Habashiyyin. While his detractors call him "a mysterious person" [26] of Jewish origins,[27] the shaykh's official biography states that he was born in al-Hirara, near Somalia, in 1920, where he studied Shafi'i jurisprudence and became a mufti in the Oromo tribal region. In 1947, Shaykh Habashi came to the Hijaz after he was expelled from Ethiopia, because his teachings were seen as a threat by Emperor Haile Selassie. In 1948, the shaykh journeyed to Jerusalem and then to Damascus to study with the Rifa'iyya and Qadiriyya orders. He settled in Beirut in 1950, and was licensed as a shaykh by al-Azhar University's branch in Lebanon.[28] Originally founded by Shaykh Ahmad al-'Ajuz in 1930, the Society of Philanthropic Projects was taken over by Shaykh Habashi's followers in 1983; by the late 1980s, the society had become one of Lebanon's largest Islamic movements. During the Lebanese civil war, the Ahbash grew from a few hundred members into a large organization by infiltrating the Sunni militias and schools. When 'Abd al-Hafiz Qasim's militia disbanded in 1984, the Ahbash recruited its members into its ranks. However, the Ahbash abstained from creating a militia of its own and from involvement in intersectarian violence and fighting Israel; its main aims were proselytization and recruitment, while it displayed a commitment to moderation and political passivity.[29] It was not until the early 1990s that the Ahbash entered the Lebanese political arena as a participant in the parliamentary elections of 1992.

DOCTRINAL ROOTS

The complex structure of Shaykh Habashi's belief system blends elements of Sunni and Shi'i theology with Sufi spiritualism. The outcome of his doctrinal eclecticism is an ideology of Islamic moderation and toleration that emphasizes Islam's innate pluralism, along with opposition to political activism and the use of violence against the ruling order. These attributes of the Ahbash creed set the group on a collision course with the political thought of Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, Sayyid Qutb, and the activist segments of the Muslim Brotherhood and its militant affiliates in Egypt, Algeria, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, and Lebanon. In an attempt to neutralize his critics and reinforce the legitimacy of his *imama* among the Sunni Muslims, Habashi traces his genealogy to the Prophet Muhammad.[30] Similarly, his ideological discourse goes back to the pious ancestors (*al-salaf*) and the writings of Shafi'i, Ash'ari, and Maturidi. He follows Shafi'i and Ash'ari by relying on the hadith and the sunna, while placing secondary emphasis on *qiyas* and *ijma'*. Like Ash'ari and Maturidi, he insists on the unquestionable acceptance of the revealed text without asking "how" -*bila kayf*.[31] Also, Habashi follows Ash'ari and Maturidi in believing that Islam and faith are tied closely together despite their different meanings. He defines faith as *tasdiq bil-qalb* (inner assent), expressed by verbal affirmation (*iqrar bi'l-lisan*). Islam, however, is the language of faith in the Prophet's teachings, and neither faith nor Islam is acceptable without the other.[32] In regard to predestination and free will, however, Habashi takes an intermediate position between Ash'ari and Maturidi. He affirms that acts of men are created by God subject to His will and decree.[33] While they are acts of God in one respect, they are also man's acts and his free choice (*ikhtiyar*).[34] God created both good and evil and will lead astray (*dalal*) only those who, He knows, will choose the wrong way and will guide only those who, He knows, will choose the right way.[35] Thus, Habashi follows Ash'ari in ascribing all acts to God, although like Maturidi he accords man's free will the logic of its consequences- that is, the just are saved on that basis.[36]

THE SHI'A DIMENSION

One of the most revealing aspects of Shaykh Habashi's thought is his acceptance of the Shi'a doctrine of legitimacy. He begins by quoting Shafi'i, that everyone who fought 'Ali was a *baghi* (transgressor). [37] Habashi further cites Ibn Hanbal to jus tify 'Ali's caliphate against Mu'awiya and his "faction of transgressors" (*al-firqa al-baghiya*) . [38] As a further step, Habashi underlines the legitimacy of all four members of the Prophet's family -Ali, Fatima, Hasan, and Husayn -by citing the canonical writings of Muslim and al-Nisa'i. [39] Equally significant is Shaykh Habashi's rejection of the use of *ijtihad* by some Sunni jurists to legitimize Mu'awiya's opposition to 'Ali. As a case in point, Habashi takes issue with Ibn Taymiyya's view that fighting with 'Ali against Mu'awiya was neither a duty nor a Sunna. This product of Ibn Taymiyya's *ijtihad* is found invalid by Habashi because of the presence of a clear Qur'anic text and hadith. In support of his position, Habashi cites the verse "fight the group that is a transgressor," along with the Prophet's hadith warning 'Ammar bin Yasir, a companion of Muhammad and 'Ali, about the faction of transgressors who would kill him. Habashi concludes that "the faction of transgressors" was that of Mu'awiya, and fighting on 'Ali's side was a duty and Sunna. [40] Furthermore, Habashi explicitly disagrees with most contemporary Sunni jurists by citing several *ahadith* in order to uphold the legitimacy of the *imama* of 'Ali and of his sons Hasan and Husayn.[41] Also, Habashi upholds the teachings of Imam Husayn's son, Zayn al-'Abidin, who is held in high esteem by the Ahbash . [42] Yet, beyond his acceptance of the foregoing doctrinal positions, Habashi's closeness to Shi'ism comes from another source-his deep immersion in Sufism.

THE SUFI DIMENSION

Sufism represents the essential key to understanding Habashi's thought and the ideological roots of the Ahbash movement. Habashi's

veneration of 'Ali is in keeping with the special position assigned by all Sufis to the fourth caliph, who is considered the originator of Islamic mysticism as "the Knower of God" (*al-'arif bi'llah*).[43] Moreover, Shi'ism was an important influence on the two 12th- century Sufi orders-the Qadiriyya and Rifa'iyya -with which Habashi became associated during his formative years. The founding "saint" of Rifa'iyya, Ahmad al-Rifa'i (d. 1183), who claimed descent from 'Ali and Fatima, is venerated by the Ahbash as "al-Rifa'i al-Husayni" and "*sufi salaf* "-a pious mystic ancestor. [44]

As a dedicated mystic, Habashi defends many centuries-old Sufi beliefs and practices that are attacked as innovations (*bid'a*) by the Wahhabis and other Islamist groups. To Habashi there are two types of innovation: "bad" innovations (*bid'at dalala*) are those against the Qur'an and Sunna and should be rejected; "good" innovations (*bid'at huda*) are those consistent with the Qur'an and Sunna and should be preserved, because God told his Prophet that his *umma* can innovate (*yuhdithu*) in keeping with the Qur'an and hadith, as did the "Godly religious orders" (*turuq ahl Allah*) -that is, the Qadiriyya and Rifa'iyya . [45] These "good" innovations include giving bay'a (allegiance) to the pious ancestors (*al-salaf al-salih*); upholding the name of Allah by prayer and singing (*tahlil*); celebrating the Prophet's birthday; visiting the shrines of saintly ancestors for their blessing; praying loudly after mosque services; and keeping meditation boxes (*mihrab*) in the mosques .[46] All these constitute a forthright restatement of Sufism as a distinct and Islamically legitimate way of life, which the Ahbash are prepared to defend against their Islamist foes.

HABASHI VERSUS IBN TAYMIYYA

Despite their deep Sufi roots, the Ahbash differ from traditional Sufi orders in their aggressive proselytization and political activism directed at Islamist opponents. Their religious, social, and political

activism is rooted in the belief that the Islamist movement and its militant offshoots have become the self-styled defenders of Islam by representing themselves as the Islamic mainstream to the exclusion of other exponents of the faith. Thus, the Ahbash have taken the offensive in the name of Islamic pluralism to challenge the Islamist groups in doctrine, preaching, and social action; in street battles; and at the ballot box.

The Ahbash ideological offensive against the Islamist thinkers is both virulent and comprehensive, beginning with Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab and their contemporary disciples, Sayyid Qutb, Mawdudi, and Fathi Yakan of Lebanon's al-Jama'a al-Islamiyya.[47] In attacking Ibn Taymiyya, Habashi positions himself in the Ash'ari tradition, to which, he states, the majority of the Ahl al-Sunna belong.[48] Habashi considers Ibn Taymiyya an exponent of "extremism" who was sent to prison by four judges representing the four schools of law; thus, he is no "shaykh al-Islam", as his followers have called him.[49] In doctrinal terms, Habashi attacks lbn-Taymiyya on four central issues. The first concerns Ibn Taymiyya's prohibition as *shirk* of Sufi beliefs and popular practices such as *al-shafa'a* -appeals for intercession (*al-tawassul*) from the faithful to the prophets and pious ancestors by using such expressions as *ya rasul Allah* and *ya 'Ali*.[50] Habashi upholds the use of these terms, along with the veneration of saintly persons and visitation of their shrines-all of which Ibn Taymiyya prohibited. Habashi also attacks Ibn Taymiyya's rejection of consensus (*ijma'*); opposition to Shi'ism and Sufism; and support of anthropomorphism (*al-tashbih*), ascribing human attributes to God.[51]

In essence, Habashi criticizes Ibn Taymiyya for the intolerance that he has inspired among contemporary Islamists toward different forms of Islamic expression. To Habashi this intolerance is the hallmark of Ibn Taymiyya's progeny-from the Wahhabis to the Muslim Brotherhood and its militant affiliates in Egypt, Afghanistan, Syria, Algeria, Jordan,

and Lebanon, which support violence "under the guise of Islamic revivalism and fundamentalism".[52] In fact, Habashi opposes all political Islamists; he does not differentiate between the political gradualism of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and the tactics of its revolutionary offshoots such as al-Takfir wal-Hijra, Tanzim al- Jihad, and al-Jama'a al-Islamiyya.

Three interrelated factors fuel Habashi's unremitting opposition to the contemporary Sunni Islamists, much of it imbedded in his Sufism. The first is his total opposition to violence, including revolutionary action against constituted authority. The second is Habashi's eschewal of the goal of all political Islamists: that is, the establishment of an Islamic order, "because the Muslims are not prepared for it" [53] and "there is no way to appoint a caliph at the present time".[54] The third factor is Habashi's opposition to *takfir*, the charge of unbelief leveled by the Islamists against other Muslims.

In his blanket opposition to *takfir*, Habashi attacks the absolutist standards of the Islamists who follow Ibn Taymiyyah in determining a Muslim's "Muslimness".[55] Instead, he posits a relativistic standard based on moderation (*al-i'tidal*). Thus, if a person fulfills all the Islamic obligations, he or she is a *muslim kamil* -a complete Muslim. However, should a Muslim violate some prohibitions but believe in God, he is still a believer and not a *kafir*; and should such individuals ask forgiveness, God will forgive them. While "faithful sinners" will be punished by God for their transgressions, they will not be excluded from paradise.[56]

Similarly, Habashi opposes the Islamist practice of *takfir* in denouncing rulers, as inspired by Qutb's concept of *al-jahiliyya*, which Habashi finds responsible for "the most horrible acts of violence" by al- Jama'a al-Islamiyya in Egypt, and the groups led by 'Ali Bil-Haj in Algeria and Rashid al-Ghannushi in Tunisia.[57] Habashi rejects as "dangerous" the application of strict Islamist standards to judge leaders and

governments. For example, he takes issue with Shaykh Ibn Baz of Saudi Arabia for denouncing the late Gamal Abdel Nasser as a *kafir*.[58] He vehemently attacks Fathi Yakan, the leader of Lebanon's al-Jama'a al-Islamiyya, for asserting that rulers who do not govern by the shari'a are *kuffar*, as are their followers.[59] In a bid to discredit Islamists such as Yakan, Habashi charges them with following the Kharijite practice of fighting rulers by using the shari'a and the extremist methods employed by the Bahshamiyya.[60]

By leveling the charge of Kharijite extremism at their Islamist opponents, the Ahbash depict the whole spectrum of political Islamist groups as "deviators" (*firaq al-dalal*), as distinct from the proponents of moderation-" those who are saved" (*firqa al-najiya*) by following the correct path.[61]

IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL ROOTS

The "correct path" as defined by Shaykh Habashi involves knowledge of "the necessary science of religion," which recognizes the primacy of revelation (*naql*), complemented by reason (*aql*).[62] This science of religion is binding upon all "authorized" preachers (*mukallaf*), who must know the thirteen attributes of divinity: *al-Wujud* (existence), *al-Qiyam* (resurrection), *al-Wahdaniyya* (unicity), *al-Baqa'* (eternity), *al-Qiyam bi'l-nafs* (resurrection of the soul), *al- Mukhalafa li'l-hawadith* (God's will over events), *al-Qudra* (capability), *al-Irada* (will), *al-'Ilm* (knowledge), *al-Hayat* (life), *al-Sam'* (hearing), *al-Basar* (vision), and *al-Kalam* (Allah's Word).[63] Knowledge of the science of religion, particularly *'ilm al-tawhid*, is considered more important than the different schools of jurisprudence. Its components are: (1) faith in God and his Prophet; (2) faith in the hadith and Sunna; (3) knowledge of God's attributes, without anthropomorphism (*al-tajsim*); (4) knowledge of deviations from Islam, such as *kufr*; and (5) knowledge of the rules and regulations of prayer and purity.[64] A deep knowledge

of the faith comes not simply from reading the holy scriptures but also through the teachings of "a trustworthy *'alim*".[65] Superficial understanding of the texts can lead to ignorance of Islam and to extremism.[66] By stressing the pivotal role of an "authorized" *'alim*, Habashi comes close to emulating the guidance function of the Shi'i *mujtahid*, as distinct from the Sunni Islamist view of the ulama.

Guided by their Sufi origins, the Ahbash present themselves as apostles of moderation -a desirable alternative to the Islamists' doctrinal strictness and political militancy. The Ahbash vision is a society of normalcy and stability, where social and religious pluralism is the mode for Muslims among themselves and in their relations with non-Muslims. In discourse, the Ahbash emphasize the need for civility and moderation at the individual, societal, and state levels.[67]

The political stance of the Ahbash organization as presented by its president, Shaykh Husam Karakira, accepts Lebanon's confessional system and the primacy of serving Lebanon's national interests.[68]. It rejects violence and the politicization of Islam in favor of participation in politics "as public service" within the Lebanese political system. The Ahbash pledge loyalty to Lebanon as an Arab country and support its armed forces as the defenders of its citizens, their families, and the country itself.[69] In opposing the establishment of an Islamic order, the Ahbash are committed to coexistence with the Christian communities. Consistent with his Sufi beliefs, Habashi extolls *al- rahbaniyya* -the fraternity of mystics-as "a virtuous way" that is also practiced by the monastic "followers of Christ."[70]

Equally mild is the foreign-policy orientation and world outlook of the Ahbash. While supporting the liberation of the "security zone" in the South through United Nations Resolution 425 and affirming "Palestinian rights," the Ahbash literature makes no reference to jihad or the use of force against Israel "unless it is necessary".[71] I Nor are the

Ahbash angry at the West; on the contrary, they recommend that their members study Western learning and science in order to achieve a "civilized" Islamic society.[72]

A close correspondence exists between the content of the Ahbash message (*da'wa*) and the social roots of its expanding constituency within and outside Lebanon. Beginning as a small philanthropic and spiritualist movement among the Sunni lower stratum, the Ahbash have come into the mainstream of Lebanon's Sunni community in direct rivalry with the Islamist organizations. [73] Indeed, by positioning themselves as a non-militant alternative to the Islamists, the Ahbash have emerged as a Sunni middle- class movement that attracts intellectuals, professionals, and businessmen, particularly the traditional Sunni commercial families of the urban centers. [74] Among these social groups, the Ahbash call for religious moderation, political civility, and peace has had a powerful resonance after fifteen years of civil war and bloodshed. Indeed, there has been a convergence between the values, aspirations, and socioeconomic interests of the Sunni middle classes and the contents of Shaykh Habashi's message- that is, intersectarian accord and political stability; an enlightened Islamic spiritualism within a modern secularist framework; a Lebanese identity wedded to Arab nationalism; and an accommodating attitude toward the Arab regimes, particularly the Syrian government.

Clearly, the Ahbash see themselves as fighting for the soul of the Sunni community. Their immediate goal is to build an organization of 100,000 members,[75] to be recruited mainly from the young generation of Sunnis.[76] While the Ahbash lack the social-services network of Hizballah, they have concentrated on building mosques and schools, which provide venues to spread their *da'wa* and philanthropic activities. In addition to religious education, Ahbash schools offer vocational programs, computer training, sports activities, and instruction in English as a second language.[77] The organization has its

headquarters at Markaz al-Shaykh al-Iskandarani, based in Beirut's Burj Abi Haydar Mosque, at the heart of the Sunni community. This is a strategically advantageous location, surrounded by quarters inhabited by Ahbash members and with easy access to the different segments of the Sunni community. Beyond Beirut, Ahbash followers are concentrated in the Sunni communities of Tripoli, Sidon, Biqa, and 'Iqlim al-Kharrub in the Shuf. In recent years, the Ahbash have gained ascendance over nine mosques, including Burj Abi Haydar and 'Ali bin Abi Talib in Beirut, al-Siddiq in Tripoli, and Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi in Sidon. Also, the Ahbash have established thirty overseas branches in a dozen countries: Australia, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Jordan, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, Tajikistan, Ukraine, and the United States.[78]

The Ahbash are led by a group of shaykhs and some laymen. At the apex is its saintly founder, 'Allama Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Habashi; the administrative functions are carried out by Shaykh Husam Karakira, who serves as president of the organization. As vice presidents, Shaykhs Samir al-Qadi, Usama al- Sayyid, and Khalid Hunayna head the branches in North Lebanon, Biqa, and South Lebanon, respectively. Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Fakhani leads the Ahbash in 'Iqlim al-Kharrub and is chief editor of the journal *Manar al-Huda*. The public relations of the Ahbash are conducted by Dr. 'Adnan Trabulsi, a layman educated at Kiev University.

In their religious practices, the Ahbash unabashedly follow Sufi mystical traditions, which are denounced by Yakan's Islamists as *bid'a*. In their ceremonies, the Ahbash use two musical bands bearing the names of ancient Sufi orders: "al-Rifa'iyya" and "al-Jilaniyya." Shaykh Habashi and his followers go on retreats (khalwa) for meditation and fasting, in keeping with esoteric Sufi practices. The Prophet's birthday -*al-mawlid*- is celebrated, and mystical dancing sessions are held to unite the faithful with their creator.

AHBASH VERSUS ISLAMISTS

The fundamental factor that has propelled the Ahbash into dynamic religious proselytization and electoral politics is their fear of the aggressive political activism of the Islamist societies. In an unprecedented step in 1992, the Ahbash ran two candidates in Lebanon's parliamentary elections, one of whom, Dr. Trabulsi, won a seat in Beirut. Despite their commitment to pacifism and moderation, the Ahbash are engaged in a life-and-death struggle with what they call "Hizb al-Ikhwan" -the Brotherhood Party" -particularly Fathi Yakan's al-Jama'a al-Islamiyya and its transnational allies. Beyond their doctrinal and ideological conflicts, al-Ahbash and al-Jama'a have engaged in bloody clashes around the 'Umar al-Kabir Mosque in Sidon and the 'Isa bin Maryam Mosque in Tripoli.[79] Spokesmen for al-Jama'a and its Egyptian Islamist allies have denounced Shaykh Habashi as "an individual who plans to divide the Sunnis of Lebanon".[80] Yakan has accused the Ahbash of serving Zionism and protecting its interests in the Middle East.[81] He has also attacked Habashi for deviating from the Prophet's teachings by following the Mu'tazila and for his categorical rejection of Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, and Sayyid Qutb. [82] Yakan further criticizes the Ahbash for their wholesale use of *takfir* -an accusation of unbelief (*kufr*) against their enemies; he calls them "the denouncer's faction" (*al-firqa al-mukaffira*).[83] The fact is that both al-Ahbash and al- Jama'a are engaged in mutual takfir, refusing to recognize each other's Islamic legitimacy.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER GROUPS

In contrast to their profound enmity toward Yakan's Jamaa al-Islamiyya, the Ahbash have "normal" and "friendly" relations with Hizballah, while expressing misgivings about the latter's violent activities.[84] Despite their doctrinal sympathy with 'Ali and Shi'ism, the Ahbash are careful not to appear too close to the Shi'a, which risks

alienating their Sunni constituency, as happened to Shaykh Sha'ban of Harakat al-Tawhid of Tripoli.[85] Yet in the 1992 parliamentary elections, the Ahbash and Hizballah concluded an undeclared alliance in Beirut that assured the election of their respective candidates, 'Adnan Trabulsi and Muhammad Burjawi.[86] While maintaining amicable ties, the Ahbash have been singularly reluctant to support Hizballah's call for an Iranian-style Islamic order in Lebanon as a substitute for its present consociational system. In view of their strong endorsement of consociationalism and their opposition to an Islamic state, the Ahbash have found a natural ally in the Amal movement, which also shares with the Ahbash a proSyrian orientation. These shared interests prompted the Ahbash to support the election of Amal leader Nabih Barri as speaker of the Lebanese Parliament. [87]

With respect to Lebanon's Sunni religious establishment-the Sunni Juridical Office-the Ahbash maintain an uncooperative attitude. This stance is prompted by the Ahbash's desire to have one of their shaykhs appointed by the government as the chief Sunni mufti of Lebanon -a position now held by an acting mufti, Muhammad Rashid Qabbani.[88]

Within the Sufi movement, the Ahbash enjoy the support of three traditional Sufi orders that Shaykh Habashi considers *Turuq Ahl Allah*-Qadiriyya, Rifaiyya, and Naqshabandiyya.[89] The growing ties of cooperation between the Ahbash and the Naqshabandi order were manifested in a meeting in December 1993 between Shaykh Habashi and Muhammad 'Uthman Siraj al-Din. The two leaders announced a coalition between "two Islamic powers" dedicated to fighting the "Islamic Jama'a" and the "Hizb al-lkhwan," particularly "the ideology of Sayyid Qutb and others who have deviated from the consensus of the *umma*."[90] The conclusion of such a Sufi alliance against the political Islamism of the Muslim Brotherhood and its allies is politically significant, given the large following of the Naqshabandi order throughout the Islamic world.

However, not all Sufi orders are acceptable to the Ahbash. Such recently founded Sufi orders as al- Badawiyya, al-Khalwatiyya, and al-Mawlawiyya, with few followers in Lebanon, remain outside the pale of Shaykh Habashi's *Turuq Ahl Allah*. And the Shaziliyya order's practices are denounced by Habashi as "bad innovations" that go against the Qur'an and the Sunna, particularly the Shaziliyya use of superstitions and magic in their *tahlil and dhikr*.[91]

The Ahbash enjoy excellent relations with most Arab governments, particularly with the Syrian authorities. They see Syria as the protector of Lebanon from Israel and the defender of Lebanese unity.[92] Their pro-Syrian stance and nonmilitant attitude toward Arab regimes and Israel have made the Ahbash suspect in the Islamists' eyes and brought accusations of taking financial support from Israel, the West, and some Arab governments.[93] These accusations have been vehemently rejected by Ahbash leaders.[94]

The Ahbash suffered a major setback when their president, Shaykh Nizar al-Halabi, was assassinated on 31 August 1995, by unknown assailants. The society's vice president, Shaykh Husam Karakira, immediately became president amid growing polarization between the Ahbash and its Islamist opponents. [95]

Whatever their sources of support, there is no doubt that the Ahbash have emerged as important political actors in Lebanon and within the Islamic orbit. They present a clear alternative to the powerful Islamist trend and, as such, are likely to attract a considerable following among those Sunni Muslims who are searching for a middle way out of the bloody conflict between the Arab regimes and the Islamist societies. Moreover, within their pluralist framework, the Ahbash can accommodate individuals who desire a retreat into spiritualism, as well as conventional Muslims and secularists who have adopted the lifestyles of modern society. As an alternative to conservative

Islamism, the Ahbash and similar groups could well emerge as the voice of the bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, which favor the establishment of liberal regimes in the Arab world.[96] Despite the general expectation that the Sufi orders would decline as a result of modernization and industrialization, the Ahbash have demonstrated that Sufi traditions possess special strengths in societies such as Lebanon's, where a high degree of religious pluralism prevails.[97]

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AL-AHBASH AND WAHHABIYYA:INTERPRETATIONS OF ISLAM

*Mustafa Kabha and Haggai Erlich**

Islam is a universal religion and culture. Scholars who tend to focus on Islam in specific societies may overlook connections that, over the centuries, were important in shaping various Islamic intercultural dialogs. One case in point is the role of Ethiopia in the history of Islam. Although situated next door to the cradle of Islam, Ethiopia conveniently has been perceived by many Western historians of the Arab Middle East as an African "Christian island," and as largely irrelevant. In practice, however, the Christian dominated empire has remained meaningful to all Muslims from Islam's inception. It has also been the home of Islamic communities that maintained constant contact with the Middle East. Indeed, one of the side aspects of the resurgence of political Islam since the 1970s is the emergence in Lebanon of the "The Association of Islamic Philanthropic Projects"[1] (Jam–iyyat al-Mashari– al-Khayriyya al-Islamiyya), better known as "The Ethiopians,"- al-Ahbash. Its leader came to Beirut from Ethiopia with a rather flexible interpretation of Islam, which revolved around political coexistence with Christians.

Al-Ahbash of Lebanon expanded to become arguably the leading factor in the local Sunni community. They opened branches on all continents and spread their interpretation of Islam to many Islamic as well as non-Islamic countries. This article is an attempt to relate some of the Middle Eastern–Ethiopian Islamic history as the background to an analysis of a significant issue on today's all-Islamic agenda. It aims to present the Ahbash history, beliefs, and rivalry with the Wahhabiyya beginning in the mid-1980s. It does so by addressing conceptual, political, and theological aspects, which had been developed against the background of Ethiopia as a land of Islamic–Christian dialogue, and their collision with respective aspects developed in the Wahhabi kingdom of the Saudis.

The contemporary inner-Islamic, Ahbash-Wahhabiyya conceptual rivalry turned in the n1990s into a verbal war conducted in traditional ways, as well as by means of modern channels of Internet exchanges and polemics. Their debate goes to the heart of Islam's major dilemmas

as it attracts attention and draws active participation from all over the world.

One protagonist, the Wahhabiyya, needs no introduction. After more than two and a half centuries of spearheading Sunni fundamentalism, the Wahhabiyya may be considered the more enduring modern movement representing rigidly the concept of *alisl ¯am d¯ın wa-dawla*—Islam is inseparably religion and state. Although the integration of the Wahhabi doctrine in the modern Saudi state has not always been smooth—it was practically modified after Ibn Sa–ud's victory over the Ikhwan in 1929—it is still, arguably, closest to the concept of Islam's universal political supremacy. After 1991, as the Saudis deepened their reliance on Western protection, and as their socioeconomic problems mounted, the tension between Wahhabi purists and the royal Saudi establishment has grown.

Wahhabism, never really monolithic,[2] is experiencing a new period of inner conflicts between the state-oriented scholars and those further radicalized due also to imported concepts. Part of the newly reenergized religious radicalism in Saudi Arabia was channeled abroad, and the doctrine became publicly identified with the globalization of Islamic militancy. In fact, many proponents of political Islam, and many members of various other Islamic associations today, are widely referred to as Wahhabis. Most of the various trends that yearn for Islam's political victory are unanimous in combating al-Ahbash.

THE ETHIOPIANS AND ISLAM

Who are al-Ahbash, what Islam do they represent, and what message does their name symbolize? The people of Ethiopia, *al-habasha*, or *al-ahab¯ash* (and also *al-hubsh¯an, al-hub¯ush*), were known to ancient Arabians as the neighboring Africans across the Red Sea. Because the state of Ethiopia had embraced Christianity nearly three centuries Before Muhammad and was involved in Arabian affairs as such, its concept as a Christian, monotheistic "other" was well known to the Prophet and his generation. Indeed Ethiopia was the first foreign-relations case for Islam. It was the land of "the first hijra" in 615– 16—the Christian *naj¯ash¯ı* (*negus* in Ethiopic, king) gave asylum to practically the entire Islamic community of that time. The righteous Christian Ethiopian king who saved the Muslims, thus, left an enduring

message of grace regarding Ethiopia as a land of justice despite its Christianity. A saying attributed to the Prophet ordered believers to "leave the Ethiopians alone as long as they leave you alone" (*utrukˉu al-habasha mˉa tarakˉukum*). Conversely, a persistent traditional contention held that somewhat later, in 628, the king himself accepted Islam but that his people refused to follow. This situation left an entirely contradictory interpretation of the Ethiopian Christian "other" as illegitimate. For many, the "*islˉam al-najˉashˉı*" legacy meant that Ethiopia was already a Muslim country and, therefore, should be redeemed by Islamic political victory. The notion of Christian Ethiopian illegitimacy was strengthened by the legacy of the pre-Islamic episode of the Ethiopian occupiers of Yemen who tried, in "the Year of the Elephant" (570), to destroy the Ka–ba. (The hadith, "The lean-legged Ethiopians, they will [eventually] destroy the Ka–ba,"[3] reflects this sense of suspicion and enmity.)

This initial Ethiopian dichotomy has been recycled throughout the centuries and rendered Christian Ethiopia a major case for Islam. Needless to say, these different interpretations of the legitimacy of the Christian "other" have always been related primarily to the inner-Islamic debate on the nature of the Islamic "self."[4]

Al-habasha, however, also had another significant meaning in the world of Islamic concepts. Although the Ethiopian state was dominated by Christians, a good half of its population was, and still is, Muslim. The term *habasha* in Arabic was never restricted only to the Christian core of the Horn of Africa, but to its entire population, including the Muslims. It often referred to skin color rather than to religious affiliation.[5] In Arab and Muslim eyes, *al-habasha* were distinguished from the blacker Africans, the *sudˉan* or *zunˉuj.* Here too, with regard to Habashi Muslims, there was some conceptual dichotomy.

Habasha were considered the best African slaves. The slave trade persisted in Arabia through WWI, and the *habashˉı* enslaved were mostly animists and only rarely Christians. Thus, the term *habasha* did not actually have a religious meaning but rather suggested a modicum of ethnic, racial inferiority. Precisely for that reason, and stemming from the supra-ethnic message of Islam, there consistently has been a marked effort by purists to emphasize and praise the religiosity of *habashˉı* Muslims. For the advocates of moderate, universal, and all-humanistic Islam, the acceptance of Christian Ethiopia went together

with praise of *habash¯ī* Muslims.[6] Many darker-complexioned Muslims were nicknamed *al-habash¯ī*, and throughout history, dozens of prominent personalities of various backgrounds adopted this name.
Numerous traditions call on Muslims to respect Muslim Ethiopians and even accept them as leaders. Over the centuries, substantial literature has been produced praising Muslim Ethiopians and, thus, calling for the purification of Islam and rendering it more flexible and tolerant. We mention only a couple here:
Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti's 15th century *Raising the Status of the Ethiopians*, and Ahmad al-Hifni al-Qina'i al-Azhari's *The Beautiful Diamonds in the History of the Ethiopians* of the early 20th century.[7] Muslim Ethiopians of prominence, such as Bilal bin Rabah (Bilal al-Habashi), the first *muadhdhin*, and the king himself, were enshrined as important historical Islamic figures. A 16th century manuscript written in Medina (in 1583–84) contains the following example of Arabian attitudes to slavery and the *habasha*:
Praise be to Allah Who created man from a clay of mud and preferred some of them to others. The disparity between them was like the distance between the sky and the earth. Each group [however,] praises and pleases Allah . . . He made them servants and masters, rulers and ruled. Allah distinguished some of the descendants of Noah . . . with prophethood and sovereignty, and He predestined servitude and slavery for some of them until the Day of Resurrection . . . But he blessed some of the servants with distinction by which they became masters. He distinguished a group of Ethiopians with grace, leadership and faith—like Bilal,[8] like al-Najashi. . . . and others who believed [in Him] and adhered [to Islam]. Many of them became Companions [of the Prophet], successors and holy and righteous men. Moreover, they became eminent men on earth and in Paradise, and religious guides and temporal leaders.[9]
The dichotomy regarding Ethiopian Muslims was perhaps best reflected in the famous Sunni tradition, "Obey whoever is put in authority over you, even if he be a crop nosed Ethiopian slave."[10] On the one hand, it showed that Ethiopians were capable of becoming leaders in Islam, even those who were descended from slaves or were themselves manumitted. On the other hand, it places the Ethiopians at the bottom of the ethnic or social ladder. Because the message of the tradition was clearly the sacredness of obedience, it meant that it

should be applicable even in the most absurd case of an Ethiopian leader.

Shaykh –Abdalla al-Habashi al-Harari, today's leader of the al-Ahbash transnational Islamic association, is a manifestation of Islam's dynamic dichotomies and controversies. The story of the contemporary rivalry between al-Ahbash and the Wahhabiyya has its roots in the Ethiopian town of Harar, the old capital of Islam in the Horn of Africa. Harar's long history itself reflects the dilemmas of Muslims in Ethiopia. On one hand, the walled town was an Islamic emirate that maintained political independence from an obscure beginning in the 10th century until the late 19th century. During those years, Harar was connected in many ways to Arabia and was the center of the Islamic holy-war effort vis-´a-vis the Ethiopian Christian state.

On the other hand, after its conquest in 1887 by Ethiopia, Harar developed as the model of Islamic integration into all-Ethiopian culture, society, and Christian-dominated politics. In the aftermath of the short Fascist conquest of Ethiopia, 1936–41, Harari society was again split along the lines of these contradictory historical legacies. A group of local leaders, who had been sent by the Italians to make pilgrimage to Mecca and were inspired by Wahhabi influence, attempted throughout 1941–48 to revive Islamic independence from Ethiopia. After a long struggle with the Ethiopian government and its local collaborators, the group was defeated and dispersed.[11] Its leader, Shaykh Yusuf –Abd al-Rahman al-Harari, who had been educated in Mecca and Medina in 1928–38, returned to Medina in Saudi Arabia in 1976 and is currently one of the figures behind the Wahhabi verbal war on the Ahbash.

The leader of al-Ahbash, Shaykh –Abdalla ibn Muhammad ibn Yusuf al-Harari, was his chief rival in 1941–48 in Harar and Ethiopia. Reportedly born in 1910, he received an Islamic education in Ethiopia and grew to be a firm believer in Ethiopian Islamic– Christian coexistence. As such, he became involved in the struggle over Harar during those years. The struggle revolved around two issues, which will be mentioned here only briefly. One was the nature of Islamic education in Harar. In 1941, a group of Harari–Islamic nationalists reestablished the local modern school in the spirit of Wahhabi fundamentalism. A few months later, the Ethiopian authorities closed the school and sent those involved either to prison or into exile. The

second was an attempt during 1946–48 to break away from the Christian state. The same Islamic, nationalist circles in Harar organized to collaborate with the then-active Somali nationalist movement to break Harar away from Ethiopia and annex it to Islamic Somalia.
They were again exposed by the Ethiopian authorities, and their leaders were punished. In both cases, the defeated group accused Shaykh –Abdalla of being instrumental in helping the Ethiopian establishment. Shaykh –Abdalla and his followers continue to deny any anti-Islamic collaboration and point to the fact that, in 1948, the shaykh himself was suspected by the Ethiopian imperial regime, jailed for a time, and then forced to leave the country.
Moreover, he and his followers accuse Shaykh Yusuf –Abd al-Rahman of collaborating with the Ethiopian government. (Shaykh Yusuf was later appointed to supervise the translation of the Qur'an into Amharic.) As this is written, both of these old Habashi scholars are still alive. They continue to trade accusations between Beirut and Medina about these formative events in their lives, and their bitter rivalry splits Muslims in today's Ethiopia.[12] In 1995, for example, Shaykh –Abdalla distributed a leaflet in Ethiopia which said:
Beware of a man called Sheikh Yusuf –Abd al-Rahman who left Ethiopia for Medina a long time ago and learned the principles of the Wahhabiyya from his uncle who lives among the Wahhabis. They gave him money and he returned to Harar to spread their word. He then became close to Haile Selassie and helped him translating the Koran. The emperor gave him land in reward. When Mangistu [Haile Mariam, Ethiopia's communist ruler, 1974–1991] came to power he fled back to the Wahhabis. They again gave him money and he returned to Ethiopia to spread their false belief. Beware of this man and warn everyone of him, warn the people of Harar and all the people of Ethiopia.[13]
Of wider, all-Islamic importance is the major Ahbash-Wahhabiyya debate that grew out of this peripheral Ethiopian story. After leaving Ethiopia, Shaykh –Abdalla spent some time in Mecca and Jerusalem in late 1948 and moved to Damascus. In 1950, the shaykh moved to Beirut, where he resides to this day.[14] He would not surface as a public figure in the Lebanese capital until 1983. He spent the early years in the company of leading local Islamic scholars. Shaykh Mukhtar al-–Alayli supported him through his Dar al-Fatwa association, and Shaykh Muhiyy al-Din al-–Ajuz did the same through his Association of Islamic

Philanthropic Projects. When Shaykh –Ajuz died in 1983, Shaykh –Abdalla was declared leader of the Association.[15] Since then, it has been popularly called "The Ahbash."

By 1983 Shaykh –Abdalla had already gained fame as a thinker, an author—he would publish some twenty books—a mufti, and a preacher. His main message remained one that he had brought from Ethiopia and was centrally relevant to Lebanon, that of Islamic–Christian coexistence. He soon won the indirect support of the Lebanese Christian establishment and various Islamic publics. Moreover, his becoming head of the Association coincided with the Syrian takeover of Lebanon. The new Syrian masters of the land, with their secular Arab Ba'th doctrine, found the shaykh's Islamic–Christian message compatible with their approach. From that moment on, al-Ahbash entered Lebanese politics. In 1989, it won a seat in the Lebanese parliament for its member, Dr. –Adnan al-Tarabulsi. The unequivocal support of al-Ahbash for the Syrian Ba–th party and its collaborators in Lebanon, Christian presidents Ilyas al-Hawari (1989–98) and his successor Emil Lahud (1998–), together with Muslim prime ministers Salim al-Huss and Rafiq al-Hariri (assassinated February 2005), was rewarded by governmental support.

The Association flourished in Lebanon. It has issued a monthly, *Manar al-Huda*, since 1992, and has had its own radio station, Nida– al-Ma–rifa,[16] since 1998. Its members are very active on the internet and have websites that spread the word of the shaykh and his polemics with their rivals.[17] In addition, the Association runs networks of kindergartens, elementary and secondary schools, and Islamic colleges affiliated with Cairo's Jami–at al-Azhar.[18] Its messages—always spread quite boldly—and its well-felt presence in Lebanon's social and political life, have often provoked its rivals among local Salafi and Wahhabi circles. Occasional clashes and street violence began in the mid-1980s and climaxed in July 1995 with the assassination of the Association leader in Beirut, Nizar Halabi, an event that further escalated the enmity between the Ahbash and the Wahhabiyya. In the eyes of many in Lebanon, the Association remained identified with the Syrian occupiers. (In 2005, after the Syrian evacuation, there was raised the demand to expose the Ahbash as collaborators with Syrian intelligence and security services.[19])

The worldwide Lebanese Diaspora helped the Ahbash to become a transnational association in the 1980s. Its main center in Europe is in Germany,[20] and active branches spread throughout most of Western Europe. Ahbash also has branches in Indonesia, Malaysia, India, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Canada, Switzerland, France, Ukraine, Holland, Sweden, Australia, [21] and the United States.[22]
They are also active in Africa (notably in Nigeria and Ghana), where they try to create a bridge between local Muslims and those of the Middle Eastern core.[23]
By the end of the 1990s, the Ahbash had become one of the best organized transnational Islamic associations in non-Islamic countries, claiming nearly a quarter of a million members.[24]
The number of Ethiopian members in al-Ahbash is not known, but there are not many. With the exception of the shaykh from Harar, almost the entire movement is composed of Muslims from various other ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. They call themselves the "Ahbash partly" because of their admiration for their leader. They consider him one of the greatest scholars of Islam and refer to him with such titles as *al-imam al-muhaddith*, or *muhaddith al-–asr*, namely the leader of hadith scholarship and the hadith scholar of our time. He is also referred to as *al-ha fiz*, the keeper of wisdom and scholarship.
The shaykh himself takes pride in his all Islamic and allegedly Arab background. His full name, ***–Abdalla ibn Muhammad ibn Yusuf al-Harari al-Shaybi al-–Abdari***, alludes to Qurayshi origin. As we will see, he considers Arabism to be a sacred identity and a proper bridge between Muslims and Christians. At the same time, he takes full pride in his Ethiopian-ness. (He returned to Ethiopia three times [1969, 1995, and 2003] and was enthusiastically received by most Ethiopian Muslims.) It is also apparent that his many followers also identify with what Ethiopia symbolizes for the more moderate Muslims.
They call themselves al-Ahbash in the hope of enhancing flexible Islam, capable of coexisting with the Christian "other."

FUNDAMENTALS OF THE AHBASH

In one of his addresses to his followers, Shaykh –Abdalla tried to define the movement's ideology by distinguishing it from its polar opposites:
We are an Islamic association that represents no innovative deviations, like those introduced fifty, two hundreds, or six hundreds years ago.

The first one are the ideas of Sayyid Qutb . . . the second one are those of Muhammad ibn –Abd al-Wahhab, and the third are those of Ibn Taymiyya, from whom –Abd al-Wahhab derived his thoughts. We are Ash–aris and Shafi–is. The Ash–ariyya is the basis of our belief, and the Shafi–iyya is our daily code.[25]

He selected these figures as ultimate rivals for a reason. Sayyid Qutb was the Egyptian activist and scholar who worked to bridge the Islamic political ideas of the Muslim Brothers with the fundamentals of the Wahhabiyya. Pointing to –Abd al-Wahhab and at Ibn Taymiyya, the founder of and the historical source of inspiration for the Wahhabiyya, was stating the obvious. Ibn Taymiyya, the 14th century scholar, together with the modern Pakistani thinker Abu al-–Ala al-Mawdudi—himself inspired by Ibn Taymiyya and the Wahhabiyya—provided Sayyid Qutb with the theological legitimacy for turning the Muslim Brothers as of the 1960s into a militant movement, working to purify Islam by undermining non-Islamic, non-fundamentalist regimes.[26] We will return below to the active Ahbash rivalry with the followers of this political, fundamentalist, radical Islam, be they purely Wahhabi or Muslim Brothers.

Studying Ahbash literature reveals four elements of their Islamic self-identity. One is merely legal, their adherence to the Shafi–i school. Their core ideology lies in combining the theological legacy of the Ash–ariyya with some Sufi terminology, and in their contention that they represent *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jam¯a–a*—the community of orthodox Islamic beliefs—the consensual, central trend in Sunni Islam. This combination in itself is not a theological innovation, and in many ways, al-Ahbash follow the general approach of the great medieval thinker, Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (1058–1111).[27]

Claiming to represent mainstream Islam, the Ahbash are proud of their November 1999 cultural agreement with al-Azhar, which they see as their endorsement by the highest scholarly leadership of the Sunni establishment.[28]

The Sufi element is obvious. Shaykh –Abdalla and the Association are connected to three *tar¯ıqa*s: the Rifa–iyya, the Naqshabandiyya, and the Qadiriyya.[29] Its publications, and the shaykh's works, are replete with Sufi terms, such as "the light of the certainty" (*n¯ur al-yaq¯ın)* or the love for the sake of God [and his creations] (*al-mahabba li-allah*).

In the Ahbash websites, Sufism is defined as *bid–a hasana*, namely an innovation compatible with the Qur'an and the Sunna. Some forty *tar¯ıqa*s are endorsed, but certain Sufi beliefs and customs—such as the idea that man can unite with God, even temporarily—are strongly denounced.[30] There is no doubt that the shaykh, with his Harari–Ethiopian background—Harar, *mad¯ınat al-awliy¯a*, the town of the saints, has been always a vibrant center of Sufism—has roots in popular Islam as well, and especially in Sufism's social messages, cultural aspects, and its proven ability to inspire and mobilize revivalist movements. He conceives of pilgrimages to holymen's tombs, *ziy¯ara* (an important pillar of Sufism), a legitimate way to reach God through intercession (*tawassul*).

Although Sufism is not the primary public face presented by the Ahbash, it is no doubt a central dimension of their identity. Their emphasis, however, is not on mysticism. Sufism is surely not the definition of the movement, as some observers have been led to think.[31]

The core of their ideology is not in the legalism of Shafi–iyya nor in the mysticism of Sufism, but rather in the theological principles of Ash–ariyya. The early scholar Abu al-Hasan al-Ash–ari (born in Basra, died in Baghdad, 874–936) was first a follower of the Mu–tazila school of thought, which aspired to base Islam on dialectical rationality borrowed partly from Greek philosophy. The Mu–tazila followers were in their time the archrivals of mainstream Sunni orthodoxy, which rejected any such interpretation and any theological rationalization of the given texts. In time, however, al-Ash–ari moved halfway and began to preach compromise and moderation. The theological trend he established managed to prevent major schisms and he went on to serve as a mediator and a bridge contributing to stability in the Sunni world. In Shaykh –Abdalla's eyes, al-Ash–ari was "the imam of *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jam¯a–a*." Although al-Ash–ari established no legal school, for Shaykh –Abdalla, he was like a founder of a fifth *madhhab*, a school of moderation and compromise. A group of the Shaykh's followers translated his general approach into a twelve-goal platform. The main ones are as follows.

1. Spreading the right religion of *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jam¯a–a*, and do so by ways of wisdom and gentleness.

2. Preaching moderation, *i–tid¯al*, and good behavior as ways of implementing religious principles, while combating extremism and zeal.
5. The spreading of modern education and of universal, applied sciences, through the establishment of schools, institutes, and universities.
8. To work in harmony for the benefit of the motherland and the citizens and do so through constructive openness and fruitful cooperation with various personalities, institutes, and bodies.
12. Taking care of women's issues, help their organized activities, and work for the integration of able women in all various frameworks.[32]
The key word in most texts produced by the Association and in the Shaykh's speeches is *moderation*, *i–tid¯al*. The main idea is that al-Ahbash, working in this spirit, are the bridge and the glue essential for the continuity and welfare of *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jam¯a–a* throughout the world. One of the Association's websites answered a question about its methods and how to work for Islamic unity: "By soft words, by middle-way wisdom, by gentle preaching. This is how our journey began . . . by cooperation and openness. . . .This is how we became a global association representing Muslims all over the world, giving them safe haven."[33]
The messages of the Ahbash are directed to both Muslims and non-Muslims. The message to Muslims, not surprisingly, is harsher. Despite the motif of moderation, the confrontation with rival wings, especially with the Wahhabiyya, is definitely not conducted only with soft words. The Ahbash often define their Islamic rivals as infidels and exclude them from the community of Islam. They use such rhetoric in their verbal war with practically all organizations of political Islamism and the regimes of Saudi Arabia, Sudan, and Iran.
On the contrary, the messages directed to non-Muslims, always in the spirit of moderation, convey the idea of universal humanism. The Association's goal in this respect is to serve all mankind, *al-bashariyya jam–¯a* or *jam¯ı–al-n¯as*. Non-Muslim minorities within Islamic societies are worthy of full respect by a moderate, flexible Islam. Both state identity and Arabism in the Middle East should be enhanced as common denominators.
In their conceptualization of Middle Eastern politics, the Ahbash separate religion and state. They have almost no argument with any

regime that does not prevent their activities, and would support anyone, even if leftist–socialist and secular, who would help to combat Islamic radicalism. The Ahbash declare they do not oppose lawful, established governments, and it is not their business to intervene in politics, surely not to change rulers through assassination.[34]

In Christian–Islamic Lebanon, to reiterate, the Ahbash have implemented most of their ideas. They participate in politics, on both the national and the municipal levels, and do so in full cooperation with the state system. Asked why the Association opened a branch in one of Beirut's mostly Christian neighborhoods, –Adnan al-Tarabulsi replied:

"In order to serve all people and enhance good Islamic–Christian coexistence."[35]

The Ahbash attitudes and activities are often praised by the Christian leadership. Of the many relevant examples, we mention only the words of Elie Farazli, vice chairman of the parliament: "The Association of Islamic Philanthropic Projects, by its blessed activities, lives up to its name. Between us and its leaders there has been built a bond of friendship, and we see the association as a pillar and a symbol of our sublime national enterprise in Lebanon."[36]

For their part, the Ahbash conceive of Lebanon as a fully legitimate, indeed an ideal, territorial nation-state. They praise Lebanese nationalism, *wat.aniyya lubn¯aniyya*, as the basis of society and combine it organically with Ba–th-style secular Arabism. They call the combination "the common path" (*al-mas¯ar al-mushtarak*) and define it as "a realistic strategic vision."[37] The Association's monthly, *Manar al-Huda*, dedicates issues to Lebanese and to all Arab holidays and anniversaries. The Association's schools made it a custom to celebrate the anniversary of Hafiz al-Asad's coming to power in Syria, in October 1970, occasions on which the pan-Arab Ba–thist slogan, "A unified Arab nation of eternal legacy," is wielded. In the words of –Abd al-Qadir al-Fakhani, the editor of *Manar Al-Huda*, "The Lebanese *watan* is ours, and we are its guardians. . . .We have to defend it from any internal splits and treachery. . . . Lebanon knows that Syria is her defender and her backing, the way she knows that Arabism is her identity."[38]

The message to Western societies, especially to those that host Islamic communities, is also one of cooperation and appeasement. It aims to

enhance the image of Islam as a set of moralities, surely not as a militant ideology. Answering a question about their goal in Europe and the United States, the Ahbash Website stated, "Like else where in the world our aim there is to spread religious knowledge among those who suffer from ignorance, and also to warn people of those fanatics who claim to represent Islam but do so in the most negative way."[39] The governments of the United States, Europe, and Australia do indeed welcome the Ahbash activities among their Muslim citizens. In the eyes of the Ahbash, these governments are like the righteous Christian *naj¯a sh¯ı*, who hosted the *sah¯aba* and helped them to build Islam.

RIVALRY WITH THE WAHHABIYYA

The fundamentals of al-Ahbash differ categorically from those of the Wahhabiyya and of all others who work toward reinstating Islam's political supremacy. The founders of the Wahhabiyya, in their writings—on which we cannot elaborate here—mostly ignored Islam's positive concepts of Ethiopia and Ethiopians. The more the Ahbash gained influence in Lebanon and internationally, especially since the mid-1990s, the more their verbal war with the Wahhabiyya escalated. It had, as mentioned, its personal roots in Ethiopia of the 1940s. It is clear, however, that once Shaykh Yusuf moved to Medina in 1976, he missed no opportunity to fight his archrival with the help of his hosts.

He managed to convince the Saudi religious establishment that Shaykh –Abdalla, in collaborating with Haile Selassie's regime, was primarily behind the above-mentioned failure of the Islamic movement, which worked to liberate Harar from the Ethiopian–Christian yoke. The alleged foiling of political Islam in Harar by Shaykh –Abdalla and his associates came to be known as *fitnat al-kul¯ub*, "the fraternal strife of the Club."[40]

Calling Shaykh –Abdalla "*al-shaykh al-fatt¯an*,"[41] theWahhabis and their supporters miss no opportunity to repeat their story about his formative sin against Islam in Harar and the failure to liberate Harar from Christian Ethiopia. The Ahbash, for their part, dismiss the story of *fitnat al-kul¯ub,* and do so without bothering about details. If anything, they accuse Shaykh Yusuf himself and his Wahhabi influence of failing Islam in Harar and in Ethiopia during the decade after Mussolini's occupation of Ethiopia (1936–41).[42]

In the mid-1980s, the Ahbash began to clash with their Islamic rivals, including Wahhabi and other groups in Lebanon. Although still a marginal movement, it had already drawn the attention of the Wahhabi establishment in Saudi Arabia. There is no doubt that Shaykh Yusuf in Medina did his very best to alert his Saudi hosts. In July 1986, Saudi Arabia's chief Islamic jurist, Shaykh –Abd al-–Aziz bin –Abdalla bin Baz (d. 1999), issued a fatwa declaring that: "The association of al-Ahbash is a misguided group which is outside *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jam¯a–a . . .* No one should rely on their fatwas because they are deviators and their word contradicts the Qur'an and the Sunna. No one should trust them and all should beware of them and of any group identified with them."[43]

The ensuing verbal clash was too extensive to describe systematically. In the early 1990s, it was still nonviolent. In November 1992, for example, the Saudi journal *al-Muslimun* (affiliated with –Abd al-–Aziz bin Baz) ran a series of articles on the "Strange Ethiopian" who came alone from Harar and managed to establish a whole new religious community in Lebanon. *Al-Muslimun*'s journalist managed to interview Nizar Halabi and made a central point of the Ahbash attitude toward women. He asked Halabi why they accepted women who did not wear traditional Islamic dress. The answer was that the Ahbash prefer women to be active, they can wear jeans ("like in Ethiopia"), and that the Association took pride in the fact that they encouraged free communication between the sexes.[44] In 1994, the Ahbash-Wahhabi exchanges escalated further when Shaykh –Abdalla issued his book in Beirut entitled, *The Sublime Sayings in Exposing the Wrongs of Ibn Taymiyya*. This was a harsh attack on the spiritual father of Wahhabism, in which the head of the Ahbash stated that "Ibn Taymiyya's knowledge was larger than his brain. He deviated from Islamic consensus on more than sixty issues. He misled many people and was himself exposed by many scholars as one who spreads heretical innovations."[45] In the same book, Shaykh –Abdalla also attacked –Abd al- Wahhab himself. He accused the founder of the Wahhabiyya of inventing sayings he claimed to have been derived from the Qur'an or the Sunna, and attacked him on issues such as forbidding cults of tombs and visiting shrines of holy men (a pillar of Sufi Islam).[46] The contention of the followers of Ibn Taymiyya and of –Abd al-Wahhab, that they are *salaf¯ı*, namely, that they follow in the

path of the founding fathers of Islam, is absurd, wrote Shaykh –Abdalla. Their movement is not *salafiyya.* It rather leads believers through false innovations and away from the formative examples of the founding generations.[47]

One of many Wahhabi responses was issued a year later, in 1995. A leader of the Wahhabis in Sidney, Australia, Abu Suhayb –Abd al-–Aziz al-Maliki, published a book entitled, *The Sublime Sayings in Exposing the Wrongs of the Ahbash Group*. One main aim of the book was to expose the Ahbash as collaborators with non-Muslims. No wonder, he wrote, that they were praised by the Christians in Lebanon. They celebrate together with Christians as if they were the same nation. They also share their culture.

They cooperated with the Christian "Lebanon's Youth" movement in organizing a "Festival of Joy and Smiles," he wrote sarcastically, "and a band of al-Ahbash, under the maestro of *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jam¯a–a,* Jamal Shama–a, played Islamic music on electronic drums, to make it sound western."[48]

The book included quotations about the Ahbash by other leaders of Wahhabi and Muslim Brothers groups in the Middle East. Shaykh Sa–id Sha–ban, for example, the leader of al-Tawhid al-Islami in Lebanon, called the Ahbash "a group which shed the spirit of Islam," whereas Fikri Isma–il, an official in the Egyptian Ministry of *awq¯af* lamented the schism within *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jam¯a–a* and blamed it all on the Ahbash. There is no precedent, he wrote, for Muslims accusing such leading scholars of heresy and doing it in such blunt language. He added, "It is the first time that a foreigner comes from the land of Ethiopia, who is a strange man in his conduct and his ideas, and in the style through which he works to tear *ahl al-sunna* apart . . . He is a radical *shu–ub¯ı* who hates Arabs on one hand, and a *sh¯ı–¯ı* who bears a grudge against the *sunna* on the other."[49]

The Wahhabi counterattack is tridimensional. They blame the Ahbash for combining what they consider Sufi polytheism, *shirk*, with Shi–i covert anti-Sunna tactics. The Wahhabis accuse the Ahbash of endorsing the Shi–ites' historical enmity with the Umayyads and add that they do so to cooperate with the Shi–a in combating the Sunna. The Ahbash contention, the Wahhabis say, that they are Ash–aris and thus they represent Sunni consensus, is just a cover for subverting Islam. Shaykh –Abdalla's persistent praise for Arab nationalism would

not be accepted by the Wahhabis. The Ahbash are rather the enemies of the Arabs, they say, like the early Shu–ubiyya movement, which denied any privileged position of the Arabs. Moreover, Shaykh –Abdalla's claim to a Qurayshi origin is false. He is an Ethiopian and a foreigner.[50]

Wahhabi anti-Ahbash contemporary literature, it should be emphasized, turned only rarely to such ethnic, racial arguments. Just as the supporters of the Ahbash the world over were proud to be named after what symbolized the supra ethnic universality of Islam, so their rivals were cautious not to fall publicly into a racial trap. The origin of Shaykh–Abdalla is rarely openly held against him, only hinted at indirectly and subtly. One exception, like this of Fikri Isma–il, was the famous *salaf*ī preacher, the Egyptian Ahmad Shalabi, who explained why the Ahbash were so narrow-minded: "They do not have a wide perspective on Islamic ideas because their leader, –Abdalla al-Habashi, was brought up in Ethiopia, in an environment lacking basic religious scholarship, and it was for that reason that his group developed on the basis of primitive concepts."[51]

Aprominent leader of the *salaf*ī, Wahhabi-oriented movement in Jordan, Shaykh Abu Malik (Muhammad Shaqra) attacked Shaykh –Abdalla in an Internet interview and described him as "a skin-diseased, stranger raven." He further suggested that all Ethiopians are as much infidels as Christians and Jews.[52] In countering such arguments, Shaykh –Abdalla himself avoids over emphasizing the ethnic issue. Proud of his Ethiopian-ness, he nevertheless occasionally preaches about Islam's disregard of color. In one of his "Lessons by Sheikh –Abdalla" series, published in *Manar al-Huda*, he wrote:

The prophet attached no importance to look or origin. Usama was the son of Zayd the grandson of Haritha, [who had been an Ethiopian from Yemen]. The Prophet married Zayd, who was his servant, to Umm Ayman the Ethiopian, who was the Prophet's nurse. Usama was black. The Prophet's cousin al-Fadl ibn al-–Abbas was a handsome fellow and fair-skinned. But the Prophet attached no importance to that. When he would make his way to Mecca he would first take Usama as a companion, because Usama had adopted Islam earlier. Only then would he take al-Fadl.[53]

The journal of al-Ahbash, *Manar al-Huda,* is another platform for conveying their messages, including their attacks on the Wahhabis.

These attacks became harsher after the assassination of Nizar al-Halabi. The Wahhabis were now referred to as "extremists" and "terrorists." "We are not prepared to give in to those who only damage Islam with their thoughts and deeds," ran one piece, "we will not allow them to spread their black, extreme ideas."[54] Readers from all over the world send letters identifying with this stand.

Some denounce the Wahhabis boldly; some more indirectly. "Your journal is important in directing the believers on the right path of the Prophet," wrote a reader from India, "and in fighting the false innovations and the lies of those deviators who believe in the personification of God."[55]

The introduction of the internet added a very vital dimension to this inter-Islamic battle. The Wahhabi–Ahbash debate turned into one of the more heated issues on various Islamic websites. The Ahbash opened their own website, "The Boat of Salvation" (http://www.safeena.org), alluding perhaps to the boat(s?) that carried the first Muslims to their salvation in Ethiopia. Their rivals countered by opening the website http://www.antihabashis.com. In addition to endless variations on the accusations already mentioned, the "anti-habashis," to add one more example, denounced a statement made by –Adnan al-Tarabulsi that he was ready to make peace with Israel if its conditions met the approval of an Arab consensus. "Better that the Ahbash make peace with other Muslims," was the response, "before they make peace with the Jews."[56]

The Ahbash readiness to accept Jews as legitimate neighbors, almost as they accept Christians (on the basis of righteousness), was occasionally used by the Wahhabis against them. In "Exposing the Wrongs of the Ahbash," Abu Suhayb al-Maliki quoted scholars from Beirut who testified that Shaykh –Abdalla had issued a fatwa during the Israeli invasion of the town in 1982 forbidding to resist them. Having issued this fatwa, these scholars said, Shaykh –Abdalla fled to the Christian-controlled area of eastern Beirut.[57]

Another website identified with the Wahhabiyya accused the Ahbash of collaborating with the United States against Islam. It reported on an American secret document, which recommended destroying all branches of the Muslim Brothers throughout the Arab world, together with all those who called for a holy war against Israel, and replacing them with branches of al-Ahbash.[58]

POINTS OF THEOLOGICAL AND CONCEPTUAL DISPUTES

The contemporary bitter conflict between the Ahbash and the Wahhabiyya is over major, principal issues: the unity (or disunity) of Islam on one hand, and how Muslims should conceive of Christians and Jews on the other. Beyond those concrete accusations and different conceptualizations of the "other," there is a deeper dispute over the essence of the Islamic "self." Below, we discuss some of the main points over which these rivals trade arguments in the same spirit of mutual intolerance.

The Personification of God and His Omnipotence

The central fundamental of the Wahhabiyya is the all-Islamic concept of *tawhīd,* the uniqueness, oneness, of the omnipotent and ever-involved God. (Indeed the Wahhabis rather call themselves *muwahhidūn.*) The Ahbash, however, attribute to the Wahhabis, and to all other *salafī* movements, the idea that they actually conceive God as a human being. They call them *mushabbihūn*, thosewho personify God through such resemblance, and thus, in fact, act like *mushrikūn*, pagans.[59]

One famous case in point are the interpretations of the Qur'anic sentence describing God seated (*istawā*) on his throne after creating the world.60 According to Wahhabi texts, this means that he sat like a human being (*jalasa*). According to Shaykh –Abdalla, it meant that he took control of the world.61 Based on that, –Abdalla tries to disprove the Wahhabi contention that they conceive God as omnipresent. He told his followers:

"They say God is anywhere and not in a defined place, because he is above his throne and this is not a defined place. But any vacuum has a defined volume, and thus by the Wahhabi approach the volume where God is present is definable, it has a beginning and has an end." This is very different from his own interpretation:

Every object in this world has not been here forever. There was a force which had created it. This force has existed forever, it has no beginning. The knowledge of God cannot be true only through the belief that this world has a creator that resembles nothing. His volume is not material nor substantial. It is not big or small, it is not fixed or mobile. It is beyond any materialistic concept of volume. Anyone who

knows that can know God. Anyone who does not know this is ignorant, he is not a Muslim nor a believer.
He continued: The Wahhabis and their predecessors among the *mushabbih¯un* think that God has a body. They rely on superficial interpretations of Qur'anic sentences and traditions. This superficiality creates the impression that God has a body, a movement, a presence in a certain place, he has limbs, laughter, etc. All these sentences and traditions have deeper meanings than those superficial interpretations. In his lectures, Shaykh –Abdalla often mocked the Wahhabis on this issue and said that they "fell into the trap of heresy by such simplistic interpretations."[62]
The al-Ahbash accuse the Wahhabis of personifying God, but the latter accuse the former of limiting his abilities. The consensual Islamic concept is that God is omnipotent ("*Allahu q¯adir –al¯a kulli shay*»"), but according to a Wahhabi book critical of Shaykh –Abdalla, he in fact deviated from this consensus when he stated that God could not be an oppressor or a tyrant, which suggested that there were things beyond God's abilities. The Wahhabi approach, based on a famous traditional saying, is that God forbade himself to be oppressive.[63]

The Word of the Qur'an and Its Eternal Nature

TheWahhabis attribute to Shaykh –Abdalla quotations that they interpret as expressions of doubt regarding the origin of the Qur'an. They say he follows the contention of the *mu–tazila* that the Qur'an was created like all other entities and accuse him of suggesting it is, therefore, not eternal.[64]
In his responses, Shaykh –Abdalla does not deny the *mu–tazila* approach and his explanation is not fully compatible with the consensus of *ahl al-sunna*: "The word of God is a trait inseparable from God himself," he wrote. "It is ancient and eternal, a word with no specific beginning. Anything which is part of God cannot take the shape of a letter or a sound."[65]
Elsewhere, he further explained: God, the exalted, does not resemble any of his creatures. He has abilities that they do not have, has will they do not have, has knowledge they do not have, has speech they do not have. God speaks words of no voice or letters, he does not speak like human beings. They speak in letters and voices because this is a human trait. But it does not befit God to speak like that, and his word is

not a voice or letters. Gabriel listened to His word, understood it, and passed it on to the prophets and the angels.[66]
In his lectures and fatwas, Shaykh –Abdalla encourages his followers to perform the *ziy¯ara*, visiting the graves of *awliyy¯a*, the holy men of early Islam. Reaching God through intercession (*tawas.sul*) is not only a principle that developed to become a main characteristic of Sufism but also a custom prevalent among Muslims of all walks of life.[67] It is, however, strictly forbidden by the Wahhabiyya, which considers *ziy¯ara* an expression of *shirk*, paganism. In his writings, Ibn Taymiyya often recycled the tradition connecting this custom to Christian Ethiopians as a model of heresy:
God's curse on the Jews and the Christians who turned the graves of their prophets into houses of prayer. It was transmitted by the name of –Aisha that Umm Habiba and Umm Salma [who had been among the emigrants to Ethiopia] told the Prophet of a church they had seen in Ethiopia with paintings in it. He [the Prophet] said: those people, if one of their righteous men died, they built a house of prayer over his grave and painted those paintings in it. These are the worst of human beings in the eyes of God on the day of insurrection.[68]
In his book attacking Ibn Taymiyya, Shaykh –Abdalla preferred not to mention the Ethiopian point (visiting graves is widespread in Ethiopia's popular Islam), but to turn to the Wahhabi's home court:
Know that turning to dead saints and holy men for favors and visiting their graves with the aim of speeding their responses is an old custom of the early Muslims, *al-salaf*. One proof is that the Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal [the founder of the legal school followed by the Wahhabis] supported it, which contradicts the false innovations introduced by Ibn Taymiyya and his followers. . . .We have to clarify here that a consensus among the scholars asserted the legitimacy of turning to dead holy men, and that visiting their graves is not *shirk*, and not forbidden.[69]
To counter this attack on one of the fundamentals of Wahhabiyya, the antihabashis.com website responded that the imam al-Shafi–i, founder of the legal school followed by the Ahbash, had himself forbidden the custom. The scholars of the Ahbash answered by quoting another tradition attributed to al-Shafi–i, in which he described himself as daily visiting a holy grave, praying to the saint, and noting that the saint duly responded. They also immediately added a passage from Ibn Hanbal endorsing *ziy¯ara*.[70]

One example often mentioned by the Ahbash of the prevalence of *ziy¯ara* in the early, holy period of Islam, is that of Bilal ibn Rabah. Bilal al-Habashi, an Ethiopian slave emancipated by Abu Bakr, was the fourth man to follow the Prophet (and "the first fruit of Ethiopia"). He was later the first *mu–adhdhin* and became one symbol of the purity attributed to Ethiopian Muslims.[71] (It was due to him that a traditional saying asserted that "the caliphate will go to Quraysh, judicial authority to the Auxiliaries, and the calling for prayers to the Ethiopians."[72]) It was said of Bilal that, after the death of the Prophet, he used to visit his grave, prostrate himself, kiss the stone, and pray.[73]

Rulers, Islam, and Politics

The relationship between religion, state, and politics is undoubtedly the most important question separating the Ahbash and the Wahhabis. This question can be divided into two categories: the nature of these relations in countries outside the "land of Islam" and their relations within it. When it comes to citizenship in non-Islamic countries, the Ahbash approach is clear:

Muslims should abide by local laws and take an active part in the politics of the host countries. The principal model, clearly, is the Prophet-*naj¯ash¯ı* story. It was the Prophet himself who told the early believers that the Christian *naj¯ash¯ı* was a righteous king, and he himself ordered them to seek asylum with him, live, and prosper in Christian Ethiopia.

It was Ja–far bin Abi Talib who negotiated with the king and befriended him. As long as the Ethiopians "left [theMuslims] alone" to live likeMuslims, the *sah ¯aba* supported the Ethiopian ruler. In the spirit of this precedent, Muslim communities should participate in the lives and politics of non oppressive non-Islamic regimes. In the eyes of Shaykh –Abdalla, all authentic and righteous monotheistic believers are indeed Muslims. There are Jewish Muslims and Christian Muslims, he explains, and the *naj¯ash¯ı* was the model of the latter. As a righteous king, he was of the closest to God, and all Muslims should learn about him and his humanity.[74]

The approach of the Islamic fundamentalists and the Wahhabis to cases outside the land of Islam is, needless to say, the polar opposite.75 Here again, a principal precedent often discussed is that of the early Muslims and Ethiopia. One example among many is that of Shaykh

Yusuf al-Qaradawi, an exiled Egyptian Islamic thinker, widely regarded as the supreme religious authority of contemporary Islamic fundamentalism. "Islam will return to Europe as a conqueror," he wrote in December 2002 in a fatwa. "I maintain that the conquest this time will not be by the sword but by preaching and ideology."[76]

On the one hand, al-Qaradawi prohibited Muslims' participation in the 1996 Israeli parliamentary elections. (He thus caused a split in the Islamic Movement in Israel. The wing that did participate also relied on the Islamic-Ethiopian precedent.) On the other hand, al-Qaradawi permitted participation in American elections. In his February 2002 fatwa, he explained:

America is a nation composed of immigrant communities from all over the world . . . It is a young country. Its cultural patterns are still open to influence from Islam. It also provides Islam with an opportunity to contribute to its growth. It is a country that respects the freedoms of all religions to exist regardless of some shortcomings. Based on the above mentioned . . . it is incumbent upon Muslims to participate in politics effectively in America.

The Ethiopian–Islamic precedent, Shaykh al-Qaradawi continued, has a relevant lesson: In order for Muslims to gain their rights in this country, and their positive interaction with the native people of this country, it requires from us consultation and agreement on the main principles of Islam, and we should excuse each other on the minor differences. The righteous Companions of the Prophet set up an example hundreds of years ago when they met to consult each other on the best response to the critical situation during their migration to Ethiopia . . . Exactly as Ja–far b. Abi Talib did in his speech in front of the Najashi, when he stated the principles of Islam and the difference between Islam and darkness. In doing so, Muslims not only gain support and sympathy of others but an encouragement to others to follow the path of Islam. Muslims in America should familiarize themselves with the art of communication and public relations. Again, Ja–far's example . . . when he ended his speech addressing the [Ethiopian] king saying, "we have come to your country, we have chosen you among kings, we seek your neighborhood, and seek not to be dealt with unjustly.[77]

Whereas the Ahbash's emphasis is on the human friendliness of the *najˉashˉı*, and potentially of other non-Muslims,[78] the fundamentalists'

emphasis is on unifying Islamic action for obtaining rights, spreading influence, and gaining victory. The difference is sharper when the issue is the relations with rulers within the land of Islam. In practice, we saw, the Ahbash cooperate politically with the Christians of Lebanon and with the Syrian Ba'thist and –Alawi regimes. They praise the latter as champions of Arab nationalism and the former as defenders of Lebanese patriotism. For that, they come under Wahhabi attack, accused of supporting rulers who are not Muslims and who do not make an effort to apply Islamic law. The Ahbash position is that, in so doing, they follow in the old path of *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jam¯a–a* and their scholars who always preferred stability over anarchy within Islam.[79] Shaykh –Abdalla explained this approach: "We do not find it necessary to undermine our rulers and leaders even when they act like tyrants. We do not call to topple them or disobey them.We consider obeying them as an extension of our obeying God. It is our duty to do so as long as those rulers do not try to force us to disobey God."
To strengthen this argument, the shaykh quotes a saying attributed to the Prophet: "He who did not like his ruler's deeds, let him restrain himself." The best the believers can do is "pray to God to amend their ways."[80]
The Wahhabi doctrine recognizes no separation of religion and state. Abu Talal al-Qasimi, one of the important Wahhabi preachers, delivered one of the many sermons against the Ahbash support for rulers who themselves had abandoned Islam. He quoted Shaykh Ahmad Shakir, a well-known mufti:
In many Islamic communities there are those who have faith in leaders who deviated from Islam and who do not follow the shari–a. These leaders undermine Islamic law explaining that they seek modernity and progress. No true Muslim can support such action or ally himself with such rulers. Anyone who does so, plainly, clearly and unequivocally, is committing a blunt and an absolute heresy.[81]

CONCLUSION

Lebanon and Ethiopia bear some historical similarities. They are mountainous citadels in which Christians managed to retain their political identity: "Christian islands" in an "Islamic sea." In Lebanon, as it was reconstructed in 1861, the Christians enjoyed hegemony within a multireligious arrangement. For over a hundred years, Lebanon

existed as a model of religious coexistence. This structure and atmosphere came to an end in the 1970s. The internal interreligious politic and the culture of moderation that maintained it were both shattered. The land that used to be a source of inspiration for Islamic–Christian dialogue became itself an unstable home for various radicals. The Ahbash, we have seen, occasionally add to the fire. Their message, however, is one of flexible Islam, able to redefine various cultural, social, and theological issues, and able to coexist peacefully with non-Muslims.

Ethiopia's Christian hegemony was more solid and more ancient. Ethiopia was a Christian state for over sixteen centuries, perhaps the last political entity to integrally combine the Cross and the Crown, and did so until 1974. Muslims comprised a good half of the population, but their communities were marginalized and disunited along linguistic and ethnic lines. Their Islam was only rarely revitalized to inspire political action, and very seldom did it seek victory over Christianity. Most Muslims, especially since the 1880s, conceived themselves first as Ethiopians. Their Islam had vivid Sufi dimensions, often combined with the flexible, sober rationality needed for inter religious coexistence.

Ethiopia's Christian hegemony collapsed at roughly the same time as Lebanon's. The Communist regime of Mangistu Haile Mariam, 1974–91, systematically undermined the Ethiopian church. Although it declared religious equality, it also alienated the Muslims.

The new regime that came to power in Addis Ababa in 1991 has redefined Ethiopia as a multiethnic federation and, for the first time in history, energized processes that enable Muslims to make it into the very core of culture, society, economy, and politics.

The Muslims in today's Ethiopia are in fact quite divided in coping with their own new momentum. The majority continue to conceive themselves as Ethiopians first. Like their fellow "Ethiopians" in Lebanon, they aspire to an Ethiopia of open dialogue on equal footing. Their minority, strong enough to be a rising factor, consider the land of the *najʿashī* an integral part of the land of Islam. The more activist cells, popularly known as Wahhabiyya, aspire and work toward an Islamic victory. Indirectly at least, they do benefit from intensive Saudi economic involvement in Ethiopia's young market economy. Thus, the struggle between Shaykh Yusuf al-Harari and Shaykh –Abdalla al-

Harari that began in Ethiopia of the 1930s has gone full circle through Arabia, Lebanon, and back. In fact, in 2003, Shaykh –Abdalla paid another visit to Harar during which he distributed an Amharic translation of his anti-Wahhabi text *Mukhtasar sharh- kitab al-–Aqida*.[82]

In 2004, Shaykh Yusuf also returned to Harar. Both aging rivals are doing their very best to energize an already heated struggle in Harar—radiating strongly to other Muslim communities in the country—between Habashis and Wahhabis, as each party stigmatizes the other as infidels.

The story of these two old rivals reflects Islam's globalization and its discourse today. Until recently, the town of Harar was a remotemicrocosmos in Africa, seldom connected to the major centers of Middle Eastern Islam. Ethiopia, as both a Christian land and a country of large Islamic communities, was "left alone" for centuries, mostly ignored by the greater Islamic world. Western scholars, following separate African and Middle Eastern specializations, tended to overlook what contact there was across the Red Sea and up the Nile basin.

As exemplified here, this is no longer the case. What began in the 1930s as a local quarrel in a forgotten walled city in Ethiopia has developed into a prism that reflects a transcontinental, all-Islamic debate. Readdressing the formative dichotomies stemming from the initial episode of Christian Ethiopia as the first foreign relations case of Islam, the struggle between Shaykh Yusuf and Shaykh –Abdalla helps to define some of today's major dilemmas. It helps to clarify the different conceptualizations of the non-Islamic "other" and of the Islamic "self." The debates between Ahbash and Wahhabis delve into questions such as the nature of politics, the legitimacy of the nation state and of ethnic nationalism, the place of women in society, the significance of race and color, the essence of God and how to reach Him, the legacies of history, the role of law, and the messages of morality.

What we have reconstructed here is indeed one dimension of the struggle within Islam. The confrontation between the Ahbash and the Wahhabiyya is arguably harsher than the clash between Muslims and non-Muslims. The Ahbash represents a moderate interpretation that developed in countries where Muslims experienced lengthy dialogs

with Christians. The Wahhabis developed their puritan concepts in the desert and recently have combined with branches of the Muslim Brothers to reemerge as leaders of transnational fundamentalism. The latter, needless to say, should not be identified automatically with today's wave of violent radicalism. Militant, terrorist Islam is a different set of concepts whose story is outside our scope here. Yet, if we had to deal with this aspect, we would also return to Harar. The "Ethiopian Islamic" messages of Shaykh –Abdalla and the Wahhabi fundamentalism of Shaykh Yusuf are not the only voices in town. In 1991, young Hamdi Ishaq left his native Harar and, together with many of his generation, moved to Europe. He changed his name to Hussein –Uthman and, on 21 July 2005, attempted to blow up a London Underground station in protest of Western aggression and in the service of Islam's global victory.

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NOTES

1. In Europe and the United States, it is also called AICP, the Association of Islamic Charitable Projects.
2. For an analysis of Wahhabi–Saudi inner conceptual dualities as reflected in a 1982 public argument overthe significance of Christian Ethiopia, see Haggai Erlich, "The Saudis and Ethiopia—Which Islam?," in *Proceedings of the XV International Conference of Ethiopian Studies,* ed. S. Uhlig (Hamburg: in press).
3. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, vol. 2., ed. al-Bagha (Beirut: 1997), 577–99; Muslim, *Sahih*, vol. 4., ed. –Abd al-Baqi (Beirut: 1983), 2232. The tradition about the "lean legged (*dh¯u al-suwayqatayn*) Ethiopians, they will [eventually] destroy the *ka–ba*" in the end of time, is widely quoted and can be found in the earliest and the most revered canonical hadith compilations, those of al-Bukhari and Muslim.

4. For an analysis of this dichotomy in Islam's conceptualization of Ethiopia, as well as for relevant sources, see H. Erlich, "Muhammad's Message: Leave the Abyssinians Alone," in *Ethiopia and the Middle East* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994), chap. 1 and H. Erlich, "Christianity and Islam: The Formative Concepts," in *The Cross and the River, Ethiopia, Egypt and the Nile* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002), chap. 2. For a detailed analysis of Saudi–Ethiopian relations as of the 1930s, see H. Erlich, *Saudi Arabia and Ethiopia: Islam, Christianity, and Politics Entwined* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, in press).
5. "*Habash,*" in Ibn Manzur (al-Ifriqi), *Lisan al-–Arab*, vol. 6 (Beirut: n.d.), 278–79.
6. See a detailed analysis in Bernard Lewis*, Race and Slavery in the Middle East, An Historical Inquiry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); see also the section "habasha" in P. Fernando de Moraes Farias, "The Enslaved Barbarian," in *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa*, vol. II, ed. John Ralph Willis (London: Frank Cass, 1985), 36–41; also Reiner Voigt, "Abyssinia," in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. I, ed. S. Uhlig (Wiesbaden: Harrassovitz Verlag, 2003), 59–65.
7. Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti, *Raf–sha–n al-hubshan* (al-Suyuti died in Cairo in 1505); Ahmad al-Hifni al-Qina[I *Jawahir al-hisan fi ta»rikh al-hubshan,* Cairo 1902–03.
8. On Bilal bin Rabah, "Bilal al-habashi," see Erlich, *Ethiopia and the Middle East*, 6, 10, 37, 81
9. The author of this manuscript is –Abd al-Baqi al-Bukhari al-Makki. Akbar Muhammad, "The Image of Africans in Arabic Literature: Some Unpublished Manuscripts," in Willis, *Slaves and Slavery*, vol. I, 47–74.
10. Patricia Crone, " Even an Ethiopian Slave': The Transformation of a Sunni Tradition," *BSOAS*, 1994, 59–67; Lewis*, Race and Slavery*, 34.
11. H. Erlich, "The Wahhabiyya and Ethiopia 1936–1948," in *Saudi Arabia and Ethiopia* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007), chap. 3.
12. For the story of Harar, Wahhabi influence in the 1940s, the rivalry between the two shaykhs, and details on their lives, see also two unpublished manuscripts available in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University. The first was written by Muhammad Yusuf Isma–il in Cairo in 1997, and is titled "Qissat al-kulub" ("The Story of the Club"), 126 pp. See note 41. The second is titled "al-Rasa'il al-thalath" ("The Three Messages"), 148 pp., which was written by Shaykh Yusuf in Medina in 2002 in response to "Qissat al-kulub."
13. Yusuf, *Al-Rasa'il al-thalath*, 121.

14. http://www.alhabashi.info/
15. See more in Daniel Nassif, "Al-Ahbash," *Middle East Intelligence Bulletin* 3 (2000).
16. On the radio station, see http://www.namradio.com/
17. On the Ahbash usage of the Internet, see Thomas Pierret, "Internet in a Sectarian Islamic Context," *The International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World* 15 (2005): 50.
18. On those activities, see, for example, *Manar Al-Huda* 93 (December 2000): 36–42. *Interpretations of Islam* 537
19. http://www.metransparent.com/
20. http://www.aicp.de and www.islami.de/
21. "Some of AICP Centers Worldwide," http://www.aicp.org
22. See, for example, the English translation (and appendixes) of Shaykh –Abdalla's "Mukhtasar al—aqida al-sunniyya," *The Summary of Abdullah al-Harari, The Guarantor of the Islamic Obligatory Knowledge*, 1412 A.H.–1992 R.C. (Wallingford, PA: Association of Islamic Charitable Projects, Islamic Studies and Research Division).
23. *Manar al-Huda* 130 (May 2004): 3–5.
24. One high-ranking activist of the Association gave the authors the following estimate of members: Lebanon, 100,000; Jordan, 500–600; Egypt, a few hundred; East Asia, 50,000–70,000; Australia, 10,000; Europe and the United States, 50,000–70,000.
25. Harsi Muhammad Haylula, *Mukhtasar al-–aqida al-sunniya li-l-–alama –Abdalla al-Harari* (Malaysia: n.d.), 13.
26. Emmanuel Sivan, *Radical Islam: Medieval Theology and Modern Politics* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985), especially 94–104; Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal, *Kharif al-ghadab* (Beirut: 1986),284–87.
27. G. Makdisi, "The Sunni Revival," in *Islamic Civilization, 950–1150,* ed. D. S. Richards (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973); for Shaykh –Abdalla's admiration for al-Ghazali, see his book *al-Sirat al-mustaqim* (Beirut: Burj Abi Haydar Mosque, 1993), 21; see also an article in the association's periodical: Shaykh Muhammad Ya»rub Basaj, "al-Imam al-Ghazali: Ash–ari, Sufi, –arif bi-allah," *Manar Al-Huda* 87 (May 2000): 48–51.
28. http://www.alhabashi.info/. On al-Azhar and Ethiopia, see Erlich, *The Cross and the River,* 40, 68, 91–93,104, 130, 186.
29. For the shaykh's relevant studies and authorizations, see http://www.alhabashi.info/ and Nizar Hamza and H. Dekmejian, "A Sufi Response to Political Islamism: Al-Ahbash of Lebanon," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 28 (1996): 217–29.
30. "al-Tasawwuf al-sahih," http://www.arabray.com/

31. Hamza and Dekmejian, "A Sufi Response to Political Islamism."
32. Haylula, *Mukhtasar al-–aqida*, p. 14.
33. Shaykh –Abdalla's lecture in Amman, January 2003; Haylula, *Mukhtasar al-–aqida*, 13.
34. Haylula, *Mukhtasar al-–aqida,* 13–14.
35. *Manar Al-Huda* 40 (February 1996): 13; *Jam–iyyat al-mashari–al-khayriyya al-islamiyya fi lubnan, sira wa-injazat* (Beirut: n.d.), 40–45.
36. *Manar Al-Huda* 24 (August 1994): 57.
37. *Manar Al-Huda* 89 (July 2000): 3–4.
38. *Manar Al-Huda* 101 (October 2001): 3; see also *Manar Al-Huda* 60 (November 1997): 4, 5, 17, 24.
39. http://www.safeena.org
40. Muhamad Yusuf Isma–il, "Qissat al-kulub." See note 12. The story of Harar in 1947–48 and what came to be known as *"fitnat al-kul¯ub"* is too complicated to be told here. On 21 January 1948, the Ethiopian authorities arrested 81 members of the Somali Youth Club branch in Harar. Thus, there ended a long story, beginning in 1941, of a local Islamic, Wahhabi-inspired effort, led by Shaykh Yusuf, to gain Harari independence from Ethiopia. Shaykh Yusuf blamed Shaykh –Abdalla in collaborating with the Ethiopians and in tricking the Harari activists to join the pan-Somali cause. He thus helped exposing them to the authorities and killed the chance of gaining Islamic independence. For British reports, see PRO, FO 371/63216, 371/69423, and WO 230/236, 170/1454.
41. Z. al-Zamil, "Islamic Sects and Followings: Al-Ahbash, Their History and Their Beliefs," http://www.islamicweb.com/; see more at http://www.albarghothy.net and http://www.anthihabashis.com/
42. *Manar Al-Huda* 31 (May 1995); Haylula, *Mukhtasar al-–aqida*, 6–11.
43. "Fatwat hay»at kibar al-–ulama»fi –Abdalla al-Habashi" [fatwa no. 19606], http://www.antihabashis.com/
44. *Al-Muslimun* [Riyadh], 20 November (1992). On the contrary, the Ahbash Websites insist women remain obedient to their husbands and acknowledge their superiority. The idea of female liberation is presented as dangerous to society and family. "Tahdhir al-nisa» min al-khuruj bila fa»ida" and "Husn al-–ishra bayna al-zawjayn," http://www.alhabashi.info/
45. –Abdalla al-Harari, *al-Maqallat al-saniyya fi kashf dalalat Ahmad ibn Taymiyya* (Beirut: 1994), 12. Of those sixty issues, for example, are Ibn Taymiyya's contention that some dimensions of God are found in 538 *Mustafa Kabha and Haggai Erlich* his creatures [*al-Maqallat*, 16] and his concept of God's personification (*tajs¯ım*). *Manar Al-Huda* 34 (August 1995): 2.

46. –Abdalla, *Dalalat*, 43–48.
47. Ibid., 5–9.
48. Abu Suhayb –Abd al-–Aziz al-Maliki, *al-Maqalat al-sunniya fi kashf dalalat al-firqa al-habashiyya* (Sidney: 1995), 74.
49. Ibid., 167–69.
50. Ibid., http://www.antihabashis.com/
51. al-Maliki, *Maqalat*, 167–69.
52. "Qadaya wa-hiwarat," 3 May 2004, http://www.islamtoday.net/
53. *Manar Al-Huda* 130 (May 2004): 44.
54. *Manar Al-Huda* 37 (November 1995): 82.
55. *Manar Al-Huda* 95 (January 2001): 71.
56. http://www.antihabashis.com/
57. al-Maliki, *Maqalat*, 127.
58. http://www.albarghoty.net/
59. *Tafnid maza–im al-mud–i fi ma nasabahu ila shaykh –Abdalla al-Harari* (Beirut: Jam–iyyat al-Thaqafa al-Islamiyya, 1995), 41–45.
60. *Qur'an,* Sura 7, 54, or 20, 5.
61. –Abdalla al-Harari, *al-Matalib al-wafiyya fi sharh al-–aqida al-nasfiyya* (Beirut: 1997), 39–40.
62. The above passage is based on a tape of a lecture delivered by Shaykh –Abdalla in Jordan, 26 January 2003, and on his book *Bughyat al-talib li-ma–rifat al-–ilm al-dini al-wajib* (Beirut: 1995), 31.
63. al-Maliki, *al-Maqalat*, 23.
64. http://www.antihabashis.com/
65. –Abdalla, *Bughyat al-talib*, 31
66. Shaykh –Abdalla's lecture, 26 January 2003.
67. For discussions of saint shrine visitation, see Valerie Hoffman, *Sufism, Mystics, and Saints in Modern Egypt* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1995); Julian Johansen, *Sufism and Islamic Reform in Egypt: The Battle for Islamic Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Frederick de Jong and Bernd Radtke, ed., *Mysticism Contested: Thirteen Centuries of Controversies and Polemics* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999).
68. Taymiyya, *Sharh al-–umda,* vol. 4, 427.
69. al-Harari, *al-Maqalat al-saniyya*, 9.
70. *Tafnid*, 41.
71. See note 8.
72. Hussein Ahmed, "The Historiography of Islam in Ethiopia," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 3 (1992): 12–46.
73. *Tafnid*, 41.

74. Shaykh –Abdalla al-Harari, *al-Sharh al-qawim fi hal alfaz al-sirat al-mustaqim* (Beirut: 2002), 7, 32. Shaykh –Abdalla's lecture, 26 January 2003.
75. Faris Noor, "What is the Victory of Islam," in *Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender, and Pluralism,* ed. Omid Safi (Oxford: 2003), 320–32.
76. http://www.memri.org/bin/opener_latest.cgi?ID=SR3004/. The fatwa was found at http://www. islamonline.net/ on 2 December 2002.
77. Reuven Paz, "Sleeping with the Enemy: Participation of Muslims in U.S. Elections," in *PRISM Series of Global Jihad*, *Occasional Papers,* ed. R. Paz (Herzliyya, Israel: The Interdisciplinary Academic Center, 2003), vol. 1, no. 9, http://www.islamonline.net/fatwa/english/FatwaDisplay.asp?hFatwaID=74388/
78. In his book, *al-Sharh al-qadim fi asl al-sirat al-mustaqim* (Beirut: 2002), 32, Shaykh –Abdalla al-Harari wrote, "There were righteous people from *ahl al-kit¯ab*, Jews and Christians, like –Abdalla ibn Salam the scholar of the Jews in Medina, and the *naj¯ash¯ı,* Ashama, the Christian king of Ethiopia. The *naj¯ash¯ı* followed the Prophet fully and died when the Prophet was still alive. He prayed over him like over a departed Muslim. There was light radiating from his grave. This is the proof that he was a holy man."
79. See more on this debate in "Munazara" at http:www.alislam.be/debate.htm/
80. al-Harari, *Mukhtasar al-–aqida*, 82.
81. See the text of his lecture at http:/www.Arabic.islamicweb.com/
82. al-Harari, *Kamukhtasar Abdalla al-Harari mashaf ya»emnat kifl atchru tenatna* (Harar: 2003).

Islam and Conflict in the Horn of Africa

David H. Shinn

Darfur, the western-most province of Sudan that borders Chad and Libya, has been much in the news lately because of the ethnic cleansing, some say genocide, which is occurring there. There are deep and varied historical roots to the conflict. Religion, however, does not appear to be one of them. Virtually all of the parties involved practice essentially the same brand of Islam.

American Islamic scholar John Voll explains that Islam and modern state structures are today closely related in Sudan. Muslim movements provide important foundations for the development of a centralized state and modern political system. Islam has not, however, created an inclusive Sudanese national identity. It has served as an alternative for organizing the state and, consequently, it has sometimes led to disunity and conflict.

Since the establishment of the Mahdiyya in the late 1880s, Voll notes that the Islamic view of the state, political processes and community identity have played an important and sometimes crucial role in Sudanese politics and society. But Voll argues that Islamic ideals of a centralized state and Muslim communal ties divide rather than unify. Sudanese diversity, he continues, makes it impossible for Islam to provide the basis for a Sudanese national identity or a Sudanese nation-state.

Somalia offers a very different picture. It does not have the Muslim-Christian-animist divisions that have contributed to fueling a civil war in Sudan. Until relatively recently, Islam has been a significant unifying factor for Somali society. Somalis are highly orthodox and have a deep attachment to their faith. The Somali coast has been in contact with Islam for a thousand years. They are Sunnis of the Shafi'i rite and comprise three primary Sufi tariqas: the Qadiriyya, Salihiyya and Ahmadiyya. These moderate sects follow the teachings of Islamic mystics and scholars, have no particular political agenda and welcome good relations with secular political authorities.

Somalis have traditionally recognized two principal authorities: clan elders and religious leaders. Islam has been assimilated into clan culture. Many aspects of sharia have also been incorporated into clan law, but remain subordinate to it. Islam has traditionally been a benign, positive influence on Somali society. The situation has become more complex over the past couple of decades. Competing movements ranging from neo-fundamentalists to progressive Islamists to Islamic extremists are now part of the picture in Somalia.

There are a number of relatively new kinds of Islamist movements in Somalia. The most radical is al Itihad al Islami (AIAI). Its goal is the unification of all Somali territories, i.e. those that are now part of Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti, and the creation of an Islamic state. It acknowledged carrying out terrorist attacks against Ethiopia in the mid-1990s and is believed to have had contact with al Qaeda, which probably has several cells functioning in Somalia. Under military pressure from Ethiopia, AIAI became a loose association of followers and has been noticeably quiet lately. Many AIAI members abandoned militant tactics in favor of private enterprise, social services and proselytizing. Non-violent fundamentalist groups include al Tabliq and al Majma al Islam.

They are highly conservative movements based on the teachings of similar movements in India and Pakistan. Al Tabliq has become the largest fundamentalist Islamist movement in Somalia. It claims to be non-violent and is known for quiet proselytism. Al Majma al Islam comprises a group of Islamic clerics in Mogadishu who see themselves as the true representative of all Muslims in Somalia. It asserts that no Somali should cooperate with foreign nationals who seek to capture terrorists in the country and that Somali leaders should pursue an Islamic peace conference inside Somalia rather than support the ongoing peace process in Neighboring Kenya.

Al Islah is generally considered a modernist Islamic organization. It began as a non-governmental organization to interface with Islamic charities in the Gulf states. It claims to seek political liberalization, respect for human rights and construction of a democratic state. On the other hand, it opposes the presence of Western institutions in

fields like education. It provides health, education and social services and may control most of the schools in Mogadishu today. There is no indication that it engages in violent activity.

Ansar-e Sunna is a Wahhabi organization made up of traders and returnees from the Gulf who had close ties to Saudi Arabia. It receives support from Saudi organizations such as the Saudi Red Crescent. Its Wahhabi philosophy has kept it from becoming very influential with Somalia's Sufi-dominated population.

Traditionalist groups represented by Sufi brotherhoods and Ahlu Sunna wa Jama'a coexist alongside these ideological newcomers. In fact, Sufis created Ahlu Sunna wa Jama'a to counter the influence of the most radical Islamist trends. The movement consists of politically motivated sheikhs who preach social harmony aimed at debunking the beliefs and political views of al Ittihad and other fundamentalist movements.

Together with these new politically motivated groups has been an increase in sharia courts, which in Mogadishu have been one of the few structures for maintaining any semblance of law and order. There has also been an expansion in Islamic charities. The mainstream charities have a relatively progressive vision of a future Islamic order in Somalia that they hope replaces the destructive political factions organized along clan lines.

A small group of radical Islamic charities has a strong anti-Western agenda. Radical groups increased their strength following the failure of the West in the early 1990s to resolve Somalia's political and economic problems. As a result of these new Islamic groups and unpopular Western and/or American policies such as the war in Iraq, there has been a sharp increase in anti-American and anti-Western opinion in Somalia. This situation was not helped when, after the September 11 attacks, the US briefly focused its counterterrorist attention on Somalia.

A small country with a tiny population, Djibouti has managed to avoid conflict linked to religious differences. Three Afar opposition groups

formed the Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy in 1991 and tried for a number of years to topple the government. This group has been inactive in recent years and, in any event, both the opposition Afars and the Somali-dominated government hold similar Islamic beliefs based on Sufism.

Djibouti is not immune to the efforts of fundamentalist groups seeking to become influential in the country. Saudi Arabia financed a new Islamic Center and support from Wahhabi groups has significantly expanded the number of mosques in the country. The cleric at the most important mosque in Djibouti City was reportedly trained at the Cairo theological center known for its radical Islamist doctrine. So far, these developments do not appear to have added significantly to religious tension in the country.

Eritrea, which is divided about equally between Muslims and Christians, has the potential for religious conflict and, by some accounts, tension is slowly increasing. Perhaps most surprising, however, is the fact that relations between Muslims and Christians are as good as they are. Eritrea's struggle for independence suggests that the post-independence period might have been much less harmonious. Muslim pastoralists in the coastal and western lowlands generally supported the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) while Christian highlanders broke from the ELF in 1976 to form the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF). The EPLF prevailed over the ELF in the mid-1980s and took control of the new independent government in the early 1990s. Although Christians tend to dominate the Eritrean government today, Muslims have been brought in.

One militant Islamic group created in 1980, the Eritrean Islamic Jihad Movement (EIJM), has as its goal the overthrow of the Eritrean government. The EIJM is the only organization that claims to represent the grievances of Muslim Eritreans. Supported by Sudan, EIJM has had and may still have links with al Qaeda and has conducted terrorist acts inside Eritrea.

For its part, Eritrea has supported groups hostile to the government of Sudan, including the Sudan People's Liberation Front and the Beja

Congress. Asmara also serves as the headquarters for the anti-Sudan National Democratic Alliance. Although most EIJM sympathizers do not subscribe to its militant Islam, Eritrean scholar Ruth Iyob says they resent the government's curtailment of Muslim rights as well as the denial of Eritrea's Afro-Arab heritage. Iyob adds that following the defeat of the ELF by the EPLF, most Eritrean Muslims found themselves without political representation. Islam gradually emerged as a form of social protest to fill the void created by secular modernizers. Travel by Eritrean Muslims to Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Sudan has also exposed them to more radical forms of Islam. Eritrea seems to have avoided significant attention by Wahhabi organizations. This is surprising because of its location across the Red Sea from Saudi Arabia. Al-Haramain has established a medical center that provides care for some 200 people daily. There is also little information available that indicates the existence of competition among different Islamic philosophies in the country. As this tension among different Islamic groups increases in neighboring countries, it remains to be seen if Eritrea can avoid some of the same challenges.

Ethiopia, the most populous country in the region and in many ways the key to stability or conflict in the Horn, is facing a religious watershed in a rapidly changing situation. Arab followers of Islam in danger of persecution by local authorities in Arabia took refuge early in the 7th century in the Aksumite Kingdom of the Ethiopian Christian highlands. The Ethiopians treated them well and permitted them to practice their religion. Consequently, the Prophet concluded that Ethiopia should not be targeted for jihad. Christian-Islamic relations remained generally cordial until a series of Islamic raids began to plague the Christian highlands in the late 15th century and continued through the first half of the 16th century. Subsequent incursions by the forces of the Khedive of Egypt and from neighboring Sudan further hardened the views of Ethiopian Christians. As a result Christian-Muslim relations have been delicate ever since.

Islam expanded gradually in Ethiopia, especially in the lower lying parts of the country. Most Ethiopian Muslims belong to indigenous ethnic groups; they are not the descendents of Arabs. Always treated as a secondary religion, Islam emerged in the shadow of Christianity

and Muslims experienced discrimination. There were, however, only brief periods when Christian rulers tried to suppress Islam. There were other occasions, especially the period of rule from Gondar in the 17th century, when Muslim communities had considerable autonomy. Over the past 100 years, Muslim-Christian relations have been generally cordial. This relationship was subjected to increasing stress, however, following the policy by Sudan's Islamist government in the 1990s to export fundamentalism and the more recent efforts by Wahhabi organizations to influence Islam in Ethiopia. These activities have not been well received by the majority of Ethiopian Muslims who follow Sufi beliefs.

As the Wahhabi try to instill their creed in Ethiopia they encounter strong opposition from traditional Sufi Muslims. Nevertheless, many Ethiopian Muslims welcome the financing provided by the Wahhabi for mosques, schools and clinics, especially in areas where the government and other international donors have not met local needs. Gulf state charities have also provided social services and modest quantities of emergency assistance. During a meeting in 2003 with the Secretary-General of the Muslim World League, the President of Ethiopia's Supreme Council of Muslims praised the Saudi charities for their assistance, particularly those relating to the teaching of Islamic values and culture to the new generation of Ethiopians.

But this needed assistance comes with a price. Wahhabism is not accepting of differing beliefs and tries to stamp out traditional Sufi practices. Wahhabi influence has led to the destruction of mosques of Muslims who follow Sufism. They have also destroyed tombstones, anathema to Wahhabis, in parts of Ethiopia. The Ethiopian Supreme Council of Muslims has struggled with Wahhabism in its ranks. For the time being, Sufis are in firm control. But it is an inescapable fact that Wahhabi proselytism has contributed to religious tension in Ethiopia. One should also note that overly zealous Protestant fundamentalists have had a similar impact on the relative religious harmony in Ethiopia. But that is a lecture for another occasion.

Ethiopia must take account of Islam from two perspectives. It continues to be a largely Christian-led country nearly surrounded by

Muslim countries and/or peoples. Historically, periodic attacks from Somalia, Sudan and even Egypt have made the Ethiopians wary. Ethiopia has at the moment reasonably cordial relations with Sudan and does not consider the Sudanese government an imminent threat. This has not always been the case and could change again. Ethiopia has worked hard to encourage development of a friendly national government in Somalia. For the moment, this policy seems to be working but this situation could change without warning. Relations with Egypt are also good but there is no guarantee they will remain so. Ethiopia is the source of 87 percent of the water reaching the Aswan Dam. The Nile is Egypt's lifeline. Egypt and Sudan negotiated an agreement on Nile water usage; Ethiopia is not party to the document and according to its terms has no rights to the water in Ethiopia that eventually reaches the Nile. This situation obviously has the potential for conflict if not resolved by negotiation before there is a flash point.

In addition to the implications for Ethiopia of its Islamic neighbors, Ethiopia must consider how to ensure cordial relations among its diverse Christian, Muslim and animist population. This will require a deft balancing of political power and equitable sharing of economic and social resources among the different groups. In a country where poverty is high and key resources are scarce, this is an enormous challenge that the international community would be well advised to monitor and provide assistance for.

Ethiopia must also decide how to handle the inroads being made by the Wahhabi. The government has taken some steps to curb their influence, but this is done at the risk of losing important assistance from the Wahhabi charities. There is an especially interesting situation that illustrates the Wahhabi-Sufi competition and also involves Lebanon. Ethiopia conquered Harar, the old capital of Islam in the Horn of Africa, in 1887. Middle East scholars Mustafa Kabha and Haggai Erlich note, in a manuscript for publication, that Harar became the model of Islamic integration. But Harar is also home for two important, elderly sheiks with very different ideas about Islam. Sheikh Yusuf Abd al-Rahman al-Harari received his education in Mecca and Medina and is now a principal spokesman for Wahhabi ideas in Ethiopia. The other Skeikh, Abdalla ibn Muhammad ibn Yusuf al-

Harari, received an Islamic education in Ethiopia and is a firm believer in Ethiopian Islamic-Christian coexistence. Sheikh Yusuf currently lives in Saudi Arabia and Sheikh Abdalla has lived in Beirut since 1950.

Through their writings, the two sheiks continue to engage in verbal warfare concerning the future of Islam in Ethiopia. The followers of Sheikh Abdalla call themselves al-Ahbash. Their number in Ethiopia is not large but Ethiopian Muslims received Abdalla enthusiastically when he returned in 1969 and 1995. His writings are replete with Sufi terms, although he does not emphasize mysticism. He separates religion and state and is known for moderation. This Ethiopian connection with Lebanon is particularly interesting because both countries must walk a fine line to preserve harmony among their Christian and Muslim populations.

Having spent 37 years in the US Foreign Service, much of it dealing with the Horn of Africa, I can not resist a few comments on ways the US could improve its interaction with communities and governments in the Horn of Africa, especially Muslim communities. It is well known that the way Muslims view the US has become significantly more negative in recent years. Much of this is due to differences with American policy in the Middle East. Only more effective policy will significantly improve the situation. But there are some things that can be done even if the policy is unpopular.

The US needs to think increasingly of the Horn of Africa (and East Africa) as a region and deal with it in that context rather than each country on a bilateral basis. This requires that people who are responsible for making the policy and those engaging in the implementation of it be thoroughly familiar with the region, including understanding of the fact that there are more Muslims than Christians living in the Horn. This, in turn, argues for personnel who not only understand the culture, history and, ideally, one of the key languages of the area, but have a good understanding of Islam and what it means to the region. My experience in the Horn suggests that the US rarely achieves this goal. It is high time to devote more resources to training and make more appropriate personnel assignments to rectify this lacuna.

Good public diplomacy can seldom convince persons opposed to certain policies to accept them, but it can, if done effectively, make clear to detractors why the US is following those policies. Grass roots public diplomacy using personnel who know the issues, region and perhaps the locallanguage will be more effective in making the case. This again puts a premium on more language and area training for public diplomacy personnel. Traditionally, the State Department has only offered language training in Arabic and Amharic for persons going to the Horn and, rarely, does it even provide training in those languages. It is not only necessary to expand the training in these languages but it should offer training in Oromo and Somali, once the US reopens a mission in Somalia. The Oromo, about 55 percent of whom are Muslim, constitute the largest ethnic group in the Horn of Africa.

To its credit, the Voice of America offers exceedingly limited programming in Amharic, Oromo and Tigrinya. Not only should that service be expanded, but it should add several languages. The most obvious candidates are Arabic and Somali. Following the creation of Radio Sawa, VOA no longer broadcasts in Arabic. Sawa focuses on the Middle East and reportedly does not even reach the Horn of Africa. Arabic is the principal language in Sudan and spoken widely along the Red Sea and Indian Ocean coasts. It is inexplicable that the US is not broadcasting in Arabic to the Horn of Africa. It is equally inexplicable that the VOA has not yet established a service in Somali, a language spoken throughout Somalia/Somaliland and parts of Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti. As the world's only superpower, one would think that the US could even afford to broadcast in a language like Afar that has listeners in Ethiopia, Djibouti and Eritrea.

Working with Ethiopia and Eritrea, which have large numbers of Christians and Muslims, the US should encourage both governments to engage in policies and take tangible steps that improve religious harmony. In some cases this will require financial resources.

The US and the international community should be willing to bear a significant part of the cost. At the policy level, there needs to be a meeting of the minds on the propagation of Wahhabism in the Horn of

Africa. Most religions engage in proselytism, but if it results in conflict, it is time to reassess the situation.

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The Offical Al-Azhar Fatwa on Ahbash

اليكم فتوى الأزهر الشريف في جماعة الأحباش
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المبادئ:
السؤال:
اطلعنا على الطلب – المقيد برقم 1384 لسنة 2005م والمتضمن ما يأتي : إننا جمع من الطلبة المسلمين بلوزان (سويسرا) نحافظ – بفضل من الله – على صلواتنا ونؤديها جماعة ، بقاعتين وضعتهما الجامعة على ذمة المنتمين إلى مختلف الديانات ، بما في ذلك المسلمين والحمد لله ، وبالنظر إلى أن الدروس لا تنقطع يوم الجمعة ، فإننا منذ سنوات نقيم صلاة الجمعة هناك ويتناوب عدد منا على إلقاء الخطبة والإمامة بالناس . وقد أصبحنا منذ ما يقارب السنة والنصف نلتقي أسبوعيًّا لتعلم قواعد التجويد وفهم معاني سورة البقرة ودراسة الفقه والسيرة ، وهذا التلاقي أتاح لنا بفضل الله أن نتعارف أكثر وأن نتعاون في المعاش والإقامة والدراسة وأن نتناصح ، ومما يدعم هذا أننا نلتقي أسبوعيًّا على مائدة الطعام ، وكل هذا يحصل بمقرات الجامعة . وقد اكتشفنا أنه يوجد من بيننا من يتردد على مركز إسلامي في قلب مدينة لوزان ، يسيره أتباع لشيخ حبشي اسمـه / محمد بن عبد الله الهرري يقيم بلبنان ويُسمى أتباعه الأحباش ، وقد بلغنا عنهم وقرأنا لهم آراء وأفكارا ، وعاينا منهم تصرفات لا تتفق مع ما تعلمناه عن ديننا الحنيف ، وآخر ما فعلوه أنهم أقاموا صلاة جمعة موازية للصلاة التي نقيمها منذ أكثر من تسع سنوات وعلى بعد أمتار عنا ، فهم لا يصلون معنا وقد بلغنا عن مصدر موثوق أنهم حتى وهم في الحرم المكي في موسم الحج يقاطعون صلاة الجماعة ولا يصلون إلا وراء إمامهم . وقد جذبوا إليهم الكثير من الخلق بلوزان من الطلبة وغيرهم ، وعندما يريد أن يتعرف رجل أو امرأة على الإسلام فإنه غالبا ما يقصدهم ؛ لأنهم ناشطون في الدعاية لأنفسهم ولمركزهم ، بل هم يدعون في بياناتهم أن لهم علاقات وشيجة بجامعة الأزهر ، ولما اطلعنا على بيان لفضيلة رئيس جامعة الأزهر السابق الدكتور / عمر هاشم ، ينفي فيه أية علاقة بهم وينبه إلى عدم سلامة تفكيرهم ، ادعى الأحباش عدم صحة البيان وأنه مزور ، وهم لا يزالون في علاقتهم بالسلطات السويسرية أو في سعيهم إلى استقطاب الناس ، يتبجحون ويدعون أن جامعة الأزهر تزكيهم وتساندهم . بناءً على هذا ، فإننا نلتمس من فضيلتكم أن تفتوننا بشأن هذه الجماعة : هل يُنصح باتباعها وقراءة كتب شيخها أم ينبغي مقاطعتها ونصح أفرادها بالإقلاع عما هم فيه ؟ إننا بحاجة ماسة وملحة إلى أن تفيدونا في هذه القضية بعلمكم ؛ حيث شجعنا على الكتابة إليكم تواتر الأخبار بكرم أخلاقكم وغزارة علمكم ، وإنا نأمل أن يصلنا ردكم في أحسن الأوقات وأن تتفضلوا بإصدار

بيان رسمي بشأنهم ، يتم نشره على الموقع الرسمي لدار الإفتاء أو بجامعة الأزهر " بالإنترنت " ، حتى لا يتجرأ الأحباش على اتهام من يبلغه بالتزوير إن وجدوا فيه ما لا يعجبهم . كما نطلب منكم الدعاء لنا بالتوفيق والسداد والهداية ، ونسأل الله تعالى أن ييسر لنا الالتقاء بكم والتتلمذ على يديكم جازاكم الله خيرا ونفع الأمة بعلمكم . تجدون مع هذه الرسالة نسخة من بيان فضيلة الدكتور / عمر هاشم ، ونسخة من بيان باللغة الفرنسية صادر عن مركز الأحباش بلوزان ، في الشهر السادس من السنة الفارطة ، يدعون فيه أن لهم صلة وعلاقة بجامعة الأزهر .

إنه يجب على المسلمين – خاصة طلبة العلم – أن يعملوا على توحيد كلمة المسلمين ، وألا يسعوا بينهم بالفرقة والنزاع والخصام ؛ حيث أمرنا الله تعالى أن نعتصم جميعا بحبله المتين وألا نتفرق في الدين ، قال تعالى : وَاعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ جَمِيعاً وَلاَ تَفَرَّقُوا (آل عمران 103) وقال سبحانه : وَأَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ وَلاَ تَنَازَعُوا فَتَفْشَلُوا وَتَذْهَبَ رِيحُكُمْ (الأنفال 46) ، وأن نقول للناس الحسن من الكلام ، قال عز من قائل : وَقُولُوا لِلنَّاسِ حُسْنا (البقرة 83) ، وأمرنا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم بكل ما يؤدي إلى الوَحدة ، حتى جعل التبسم في وجه الأخ صدقة . وأي جماعة تتخذ من الفقه الموروث سببا للشقاق والنزاع وتفرقة المسلمين تكون قد لَبَسَتالحق بالباطل ؛ قال تعالى : وَلاَ تَلْبِسُوا الحَقَّ بِالْبَاطِلِ وَتَكْتُمُوا الحَقَّ وَأَنتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ (البقرة 42) . وأي جماعة تأخذ ببعض ما أوحى الله به دون بعض وتنزعه من سياقه تكون قد وقعت في المنهي عنه ؛ قال تعالى :أَفَتُؤْمِنُونَ بِبَعْضِ الكِتَابِ وَتَكْفُرُونَ بِبَعْضٍ فَمَا جَزَاءُ مَن يَفْعَلُ ذَلِكَ مِنكُمْ إِلاَّ خِزْيٌ فِي الحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا وَيَوْمَ القِيَامَةِ يُرَدُّونَ إِلَى أَشَدِّ العَذَابِ وَمَا اللَّهُ بِغَافِلٍ عَمَّا تَعْمَلُونَ (البقرة 85) . وأي جماعة يختل في يدها الميزان فترتكب الضرر الأشد وتقدم ذلك على ارتكاب الضرر الأخف تكون قد عصت الله تعالى ورسوله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم ؛ قال تعالى : يُؤْتِي الحِكْمَةَ مَن يَشَاءُ وَمَن يُؤْتَ الحِكْمَةَ فَقَدْ أُوتِيَ خَيْراً كَثِيراً وَمَا يَذَّكَّرُ إِلاَّ أُوْلُوا الأَلْبَابِ (البقرة 269) . وقد ترك النبي صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم قتل المنافقين مع علمه أنه قد أُذِن له في قتلهم بقوله تعالى : لَئِن لَّمْ يَنتَهِ المُنَافِقُونَ وَالَّذِينَ فِي قُلُوبِهِم مَّرَضٌ وَالْمُرْجِفُونَ فِي المَدِينَةِ لَنُغْرِيَنَّكَ بِهِمْ ثُمَّ لاَ يُجَاوِرُونَكَ فِيهَا إِلا قَلِيلاً مَلْعُونِينَ أَيْنَمَا ثُقِفُوا أُخِذُوا وَقُتِّلُوا تَقْتِيلاً سُنَّةَ اللَّهِ فِي الَّذِينَ خَلَوْا مِن قَبْلُ وَلَن تَجِدَ لِسُنَّةِ اللَّهِ تَبْدِيلاً (الأحزاب 60-62) ، فلما عرض عليه عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه قتل بعضهم قال له : « دَعْهُ ؛ لاَ يَتَحَدَّثُ النَّاسُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا يَقْتُلُ أَصْحَابَهُ » متفق عليه . وقد علّمنا الله تعالى أن نقتدي بالأنبياء عليهم الصلاة والسلام ونتأسى بهم أُوْلَئِكَ الَّذِينَ هَدَى اللَّهُ فَبِهُدَاهُمُ اقْتَدِهْ (الأنعام 90) ، ولقد ترك نبي الله هارون على نبينا وعليه الصلاة والسلام من عصوا من اليهود باتخاذهم العجل مراعاة لأمر موسى عليه السلام له بوحدة الكلمة إِنِّي خَشِيتُ أَن تَقُولَ فَرَّقْتَ بَيْنَ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ وَلَمْ تَرْقُبْ قَوْلِي (طه 94) ، وفي هذا دليل واضح على ما ذكرناه . وإذا كان ما يُدعى بجماعة الأحباش تفعل ما هو منسوب إليها في السؤال فإنها تكون حينئذٍ جماعة ضالة قد وقعت فيما هو محظور شرعًا ويجب الابتعاد عنها وعدم الانتماء إليها . وليس هناك أي تعاون بين هذه الجماعة وبين الأزهر الشريف ، ولم يصدر من أي جهة عندنا اعتماد لهذه الجماعة : لا من جامعة الأزهر الشريف ، ولا من مجمع البحوث الإسلامية ، ولا من دار الإفتاء المصرية ، ولا من وزارة الأوقاف المصرية . والاحتيال على مثل هذه المؤسسات من أجل الإيهام بالاعتماد هو من خوارم المروءة التي يجب أن يتنزه عنها المسلم – خاصة طالب العلم – . والله سبحانه وتعالى أعلم

Exposing Abdallah al-Harari and his sect the Ahbash of Lebanon ("Association of Islamic Charitable Projects")

Markaz al-Nasr li Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jamaah

Jakarta, Indonesia

In the Name of Allah All-Beneficent Most Merciful
Praise belongs to Allah. Blessings and peace on the Prophet Muhammad, his Family, and his Companions.

This is an exposure of a man called ʿAbd Allah al-Harari (1910-2008) and of his sect the Ahbash of Lebanon, also known as Habashis, also known as the Association of Islamic Charitable Projects (AICP) who have tried to spread their influence in the Muslim world. It is hoped that this information will serve as a warning to Muslims everywhere to beware of this sect who are posing as Sunnis but who have in reality been working for half a century to divide the Ummah,attack prominent scholars, and spread false beliefs while pretending to teach correct beliefs. Success is from Allah.

Al-Harari was born in Harar, Ethiopia where he studied hadith and followed the Qadiri path, then the Tijani, then the Qadiri path again after he declared Tijanis to be unbelievers, then finally the Rifaʿi path. He took part in a strife in which he worked with the government of Haile Selassie against the Qur'anic schools in Harar after which the scholars denounced him as an agitator. He left Ethiopia in the 1950s to come to Damascus where he acquired fame as a Sufi scholar of hadith writing rebuttals of Nasir al-lbani and ostensibly defending the beliefs of Ahl al-Sunnah wal-amaʿah. After he was expelled from Damascus he moved to Lebanon where freedom then the confusion created by the war allowed him to spread his fitnah unchecked. By the time civil war broke out in 1975 he had gathered about 150 followers. He took over a charity named "Association of Islamic Charitable Projects" and used his unlimited funds to surpass even government schools with his own influence. He was helped in this by local followers such as Nizar Halabi,

a man notorious for cursing others and declaring them apostates; Husam Qaraqira their present leader, who is nearly beardless and is closer to the uneducated; parliament deputies Adnan Trabulsi and Taha Taji; and the the foul-mouthed Usama al-Sayyid.

Harari's disrespect of the Companions (Allah be well-pleased with them)

Abd Allah al-Harari authored many books in which he attributes sinfulness and depravity to the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad (upon him blessings and peace) who fought against ʿAli ibn Abi Talib (Allah be well-pleased with him). Among those books is one he entitled the legal evidence for establishing the sinfulness of those of the companions or successors fought against Ali (al-Dalil al-Sharʿi ʿala Ithbat man Qaatalahum ʿAli min Sahabi aw Tabiʿi) in which al-Harari openly attributes sinfulness, rebellion, oppression and rebellion to the Mother of the Believers ʿA'isha, Talha, and al-Zubayr. He takes the same stance in his books Sarih al-Bayan, Izhar al-ʿAqida, al-Matalib al-Wafiyya, al-Dalil al-Qawim, Bughyat al-Talib, and al-Maqalat al-Sunniyya.

In all the above-mentioned books he also attributes these traits to Khalid ibn al-Walid, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAs, and Muʿawiya ibn Abi Sufyan, except that he says that the first group repented while the latter group, in his view, died the death of Jahiliyya. This is Shiʿism.

Harari's violation of the Sunni agreement on the obligation of respecting all the Sahaba

Al-Harari claims to follow al-Shafiʿi, al-Ashʿari and al-Rifaʿi but this is a smokescreen to camouflage his deviancy. In reality he rejects them and the rest of the Imams of Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jamaʿah who explicitly said that whatever took place between the Companions was the result of interpretation and ijtihad on their part such as Abu al-Hasan al-Ashʿari, the Four Imams, and all the Imams of al-Salaf and al-Khalaf particularly those of the Shafiʿi and Ashʿari Schools such as al-Muhasibi, al-Khattabi, Ibn Furak, Imam al-Haramayn, al-Amidi, al-Nawawi, al-Zarkashi, Ibn Arslan, al-Laqani and others.

All of the above Imams said that it is obligatory to respect all the Prophetic Companions and that anyone who disrespects any of them in the least is a heretic or a hidden apostate (zindiq, munafiq).

Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jamaʿah consider that Amir al-Mu'minin ʿAli ibn Abi Talib (Allah ennoble his countenance) was the rightful fourth caliph and after that they firmly refrain from any disrespectful mention of the Companions. Imam al-Shafiʿi said to al-Rabiʿ ibn Abi Sulayman: "Do not probe the Companions of the Prophet because your prosecutor will be Allah Himself on the Day of Resurrection." Whenever ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAziz was asked about the battles of Siffin and al-Jamal he would reply:
"Allah kept my hands away from those matters, therefore I will not involve my tongue in them." He would also say: "Allah kept me absent from such blood; I will not attend it with my tongue." What Imam Ahmad said the one who disparages a Companion deserves
It is enough that when Imam Ahmad was asked "What do you say about what took place between ʿAli and Muʿawiya?" he replied: "I do not say except goodness: may Allah have mercy on all of them." And he also said in his statement of the doctrine of Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jamaʿah:
"Among the clear, established, explicit, and well-known proofs of being a Muslim who follows the Prophetic Sunna] is to mention the excellence of the Companions of the Messenger of Allah (upon him blessings and peace), all of them without exception, and to refrain from mentioning any disparaging trait of theirs and whatever divergence took place between them; for whoever insults the Companions of the Messenger of Allah (upon him blessings and peace) or a single one of them, or disparages or criticizes them or casts a veiled aspersion against them or attributes blames to a single one of them, is a deviant and perfidious Rafidi innovator. Allah will not accept any worship from him. Rather, to love them is Sunna; to supplicate for them brings one near Allah; to use them for guidance is a means to Him; and to follow their footsteps is a high merit. And the best of the Ummah after the Prophet (upon him blessings and peace) are Abu Bakr, ʿUmar after Abu Bakr, ʿUthman after ʿUmar, and ʿAli after ʿUthman. Some people stopped after mentioning ʿUthman. These are the Rightly-Guided

Caliphs. The Companions of the Messenger of Allah (upon him blessings and peace) after these four are the best of all people. It is impermissible for anyone to mention any bad trait of theirs or to impute anything to any of them or disparage them. Whoever does that, it is obligatory for the sultan to teach him a lesson and punish him; he does not have the option to forgive him but rather he has to punish him and summon him to repent. If he repents it is accepted and if not he is punished again and he is jailed indefinitely until he either dies or recants." This is narrated from several of the colleagues of Imam Ahmad such as Musaddad ibn Musarhad, ʿAbdus ibn Malik, al-Istakhri and others, all reporting from Imam Ahmad.

What Ashʿaris and early Imams said of the obligation to love the Companions Imam

al-Harith al-Muhasibi said in Risalat al-Mustarshidin: "The foundation of uprightness is in three things: following the Book, following the Sunna, and sticking with the congregation (jamaʿah)." Yet this deviant Harari has parted with the congregation and has tossed the Book, the Sunnah, and the Consensus behind his back. Al-Muhasibi said of the Companions as mentioned by al-Qurtubi in his Tafsir: "We know that those folk were more knowledgeable than we are about what they got involved in. We follow what they concurred about and we leave alone what they differed in. We do not innovate any personal opinion. We know that they performed ijtihad and were seeking Allah Most High since they were blameless in their religion. We ask Allah for success."

Imam al-Khattabi said something similar, as did Imam al-Tahawi in his statement of doctrine, the ʿAqida Tahawiyya: "We love the Companions of the Messenger of Allah (upon him blessings and peace) and we do not go overboard in love of any of them nor do we repudiate any of them. We hate whoever hates them or mentions them wrongly. We never mention them except in a good way. To love them is religion, faith, and excellence. To hate them is unbelief, hypocrisy, and tyranny…. Whoever speaks only well of the Companions of the Messenger of Allah (upon him blessings and peace), his wives, and his descendants steers clear of hypocrisy."

Similarly Qadi ʿIyad said in al-Shifa: "Part of revering the Prophet (upon him blessings and peace) and loving him is to revere his Companions, loving them, knowing their high status, following their guidance, mentioning them in praiseful terms, and refraining from discussing what took place between them."

Similarly al-Nawawi said in Sharh Sahih Muslim: "Insulting the Companions, Allah be well-pleased with them, is categorically prohibited and among the most indecent of the things that are prohibited, whether those of them that were involved in the civil strife or others, because they were practicing ijtihad in those wars and were following their own respective interpretations, as we clarified in the begining of the Book of the Merits of the Companions…. As for Muʿawiya, Allah be well-pleased with him, he is one of the highly meritorious upright ones and one of the elite Companions, Allah be well-pleased with him."

Similarly Ibn Kathir said in his abridgment of Ibn al-Salah's Muqaddima in the sciences of hadith: "As for what befell between them after the time of the Prophet (upon him blessings and peace), part of it is what took place unintentionally such as the Battle of the Camel, and part of it is what took place out of ijtihad such as the Battle of Siffin, and of course ijtihad may be right or it may be incorrect, but whoever practices it is excused even if he is incorrect, and what is more he is also rewarded, while the one who is correct has two rewards. ʿAli and those who were with him were nearer to right than Muʿawiya and those who were with him, and may Allah be well-pleased with all of them."

The Divine and Prophetic recommendations of the Companions as guides

Similarly Imam al-Haytami said in al-Sawaʿiq al-Muhriqa: "Know that the consensus of Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jamaʿah is that it is obligatory for everyone to commend all of the Companions by affirming their uprightness and refraining from criticizing them, and by praising them. For Allah Most High Himself praised them in several verses of His Book, among them {You were the best community ever brought out for mankind} (3:110). So Allah Most High affirmed

excellence for them over the rest of human communities [also wasatiyya which means uprightness in the verse {Thus We have appointed you a middle nation} (2:143)], and nothing can match the Divine testimony for them concerning that, since Allah Most High knows best about what His servants possess of good traits and other than that. Indeed, no one knows that but He. Therefore, when He bears witness concerning them that they are the best of communities it is obligatory for each person to believe with absolute conviction, or else such a person is belying Allah in what He said, and there is no doubt that whoever harbors doubt over the veracity of anything Allah or His Prophet say is an unbeliever by consensus of the Muslims."

Al-Haytami in al-Zawajir included disparagement of the Companions among the enormities (kaba'ir) as did Qadi ʿIyad and al-Nawawi before him.
The Holy Prophet (upon him blessings and peace) said: "My Companions are like the stars: any one of them you follow for guidance, you will be guided right." The hafiz Ibn Hajar documented its narrative paths in the thirty-sixth gathering in his book Muwafaqat al-Khubr al-Khabar, among them a chain of transmission which the two hafiz al-Bayhaqi in al-Iʿtiqad and Ibn ʿAbd al-barr in Jamiʿ Bayan Fadl al-ʿIlm considered strong.

Qawwam al-Sunnah al-Asbahani said in his book al-Hujja fi Bayan al-Mahajja wa-Sharh ʿAqidat Ahl al-Sunna:

"Ahl al-Sunnah said: to refrain from mentioning any bad trait of the Companions of Muhammad (upon him blessings and peace) is the way of the Prophet (upon him blessings and peace). For such bad traits were not bad traits in reality since the Companions, Allah be well-pleased with them, were the best of people and they are imams for whoever comes after them. If something appears to be good for an imam and he does it, such a thing must not be called a bad deed, since bad deeds are what is done deliberately in the pursuit of truth without imam. How then can their acts be deemed bad when Allah ordered us to follow them? May Allah purify our hearts from finding fault with them and may He cause us to join up with them!"
One of the Ashʿari imams of Ahl al-Hadith, the hafiz Shihab al-Din Abu

al-ʿAbbas Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Maqqari al-Maliki said in his doctrinal poem Ida'at al-Dujunnah fi Iʿtiqad Ahl al-Sunnah: <<And the Companions are all upright and elect So whoever wants the direction of guidance sees it in them for the One Who encompasses every hidden thing With His knowledge has chosen for them the Suhba of the Prophet So they are stars for night travel and whoever consults them For direction [in religion] is guided to all the signs of truth Therefore let us not probe whatever took place among them And beware of deviation when you do probe! And seek the best interpretation For them, for ijtihad has different levels."

Al-Harari's tampering of the Qur'an, Hadith and Consensus in his disparagement of the Companions

Al-Harari in his book Izhar al-ʿAqidat al-Sunniyya refrains from attributing uprightness (ʿadala) to all of the Companions without exception, although al-Qurtubi states in his Tafsir: "ALL of the Companions are upright and chosen friends of Allah, His elite in His creation after His Messengers and His Prophets. That is the madhhab of Ahl al-Sunnah, and what the Jamaʿah of the Imams of this Ummah follows." Similarly Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr said: "The Companions are ALL upright and held in high esteem by unanimous agreement of the specialists of hadith."

In contradiction to the above, al-Harari dismisses the Prophetic warnings against insulting the Companions such as the hadith in Muslim, "Do not insult any of my Companions" (la tasubbu ahadan min ashabi) which Ibn Hibban in his Sahih included in a chapter entitled "Mention of the report that indicates that the Companions of the Messenger of Allah (upon him blessings and peace) are All trustworthy and upright," the hadith "Allah!

Allah! Fear Him regarding my Companions" (Ahmad, al-Tirmidhi, and others), and the hadith "Whoever insults my Companions, may Allah curse him!" (al-Bazzar, al-Tabarani, Ibn Abi ʿAsim and others; sahih). Al-Harari interprets away these hadiths as supposedly meaning only the First and Foremost of the Muhajirun and Ansar, not all of the Companions. This is a claim based on idle lust (hawa) since not

only it is unsubstantiated but, more importantly, Allah Most High states {And the first to lead the way, of the Muhajirin and the Ansar, and those who followed them in goodness, Allah is well-pleased with them and they are well-pleased with Him and He has made ready for them Gardens underneath which rivers flow, wherein they will abide for ever. That is the supreme triumph}(9:100).

Moreover, contrary to their claims, these hadiths apply in the universal sense and not in the restricted sense of the specific circumstance when they were first spoken.

Al-Harari's tampering of the Tahawiyya and the Nasafiyya

Al-Harari manipulates the statement of al-Tahawi "We love the Companions of the Messenger of Allah (upon him blessings and peace)… We never mention them except in a good way" and reinterprets it with these comments in his so-called Izhar al-ʿAqidat al-Sunniyyah: "Its meaning is that on the whole we never mention them except in a good way, but whoever is authentically charged with something, he is critiqued for it (man thabata ʿalayhi shay' yuntaqad ʿalayh)".

He reiterates this tampering in his book al-Matalib al-Wafiyyah fi Sharh al-ʿAqidat al-Nasafiyyah when commenting on Imam al-Nasafi's statement:

"One must refrain from mentioning the Companions except in good terms." Al-Harari comments: "It does not mean that it is forbidden to mention individuals among the Companions other than in good terms." In the edition of the ʿAqida of Imam Ahmad al-Rifaʿi which al-Harari's followers published under the title Ijabat al-Daʿi ila Bayan Iʿtiqad al-Rifaʿi the main text states: "One must firmly believe in the high merit of the Companions and their order of sequence, and the fact that the best of people after the Messenger of Allah (upon him blessings and peace) is Abu Bakr, then ʿUmar, then ʿUthman, then ʿAli, Allah be well-pleased with all of them. One must keep the best opinion of all of the Companions and praise them just as Allah Most High and His Messenger praised them." But the Habashi commentators state in

the footnote to this passage: "It does not mean that they are all God-fearing and righteous" (laysa muraduhu annahum kulluhum atqiya' salihun). Then the comment goes on to adduce as proof for its vile claim the hadith of the Pond (which the Rafidis always quote) and the hadith "Whoever leaves obedience and parts with the congregation then dies has died the death of Jahiliyya" then they say openly: "And this applies to Muʿawiya and those who were with him."

Harari's attacks on Khalid ibn al-Walid, Muʿawiya, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAs and ʿA'isha the Wife of the Prophet

We already mentioned al-Harari's insulting stance toward ʿA'isha the Mother of the Believers above. In his book Sarih al-Bayan again he pinpoints Khalid ibn al-Walid, Muʿawiya ibn Abi Sufyan, and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAs (Allah be well-pleased with them) as lying outside the Prophetic prohibition against insulting the Companions. In other words, al-Harari considers it permissible to insult those great Companions. When scholars and common Muslims took him to task for that deviancy he and his followers would say "the Companions are not infallible" or they would say that ʿAli himself disparaged Muʿawiya, so why can't we? Hence you can see this Harari say in his book al-Durr al-Mufid that "Muʿawiya was self-centered" (Muʿawiya kana ananiyyan) and in his book al-Maqalat al-Sunniyya he states that "the goal of Muʿawiya and of all those that were present with him at Siffin was dunya, because his ambition was to be king and he loved leadership with a passion."

This is how that man spoke of Muʿawiya, Allah be well-pleased with him and make him pleased, the Companion of the Messenger of Allah (upon him blessings and peace), the scribe of his revelation, the maternal uncle of the Believers for whom the Prophet supplicated in the sound hadith: "O Allah, make him a guide who is well-guided and guide others with him!" (Ahmad, al-Tirmidhi and others), for whose army he promised Paradise by saying: "The first army of my Community to raid by sea have made it incumbent" (al-Bukhari), whom ʿUmar al-Faruq appointed as governor of the countries of Shaam and whom ʿUthman Dhul-Nurayn confirmed (Allah be well-pleased with them), after which he undertook jihad, secured the borders,

overcame the enemies of Islam, and ruled people with a Divinely-appointed polity.

Harari's dishonesty in falsely claiming authorship and in misquoting texts

Al-Harari is known for his untrustworthiness in citing texts and he also claims authorship of texts which are not his. He stole credit for a text authored by al-Habib ʿAbd Allah ibn Husayn ibn Tahir Ba ʿAlawi (1778-1855) which he republished under the title Bughyat al-Talib li-Maʿrifat al-ʿIlm al-Dini al-Wajib in 1407H with the statement "Authored by ʿAbd Allah al-Harari" on the cover, then again in 1411H, but after he was exposed he admitted in the third edition in 1416H that the book was actually authored by Ibn Tahir. He also tampers texts according to his whim, as he did in his book al-Kaafil bi-ʿIlm al-Din al-Daruri which is in reality taken from Ibn Tahir's Sullam al-Tawfiq. Al-Harari simply suppressed whatever contradicts his positions, such as Ibn Tahir's discussion of the prohibition of disparaging the scholars and of women leaving their homes perfumed and beautified. In his own commentary on al-Kaafil entitled Hall Alfaz al-Kafil he asserts that women can leave the house perfumed and beautified as long as they do not intend to display themselves to men.

In that book he also states: "Those people that were with Muʿawiya, there was not a single wali among them. As for those that came out to al-Basra and fought ʿAli, among those people were two major ones of the elite of the Companions. Despite this we say that these two sinned, they fell into sin." This is what he said, and Allah knows best whether he means Talha and al-Zubayr by "these two;" as for ʿA'isha the Mother of the Believers it appears he does not consider her among the Awliya' or among the major ones of the elite of the Companions! Anyone who wishes to ascertain the untrustworthiness of al-Harari's manner of citing texts can compare his excerpts of al-Ashʿari's words quoted from Ibn Furak's famous book Maqalat al-Ashʿari in al-Harari's so-called Izhar al-ʿAqidat al-Sunniyya and Sarih al-Bayan with the original text of Ibn Furak which states verbatim that the reason the Sahaba differed was ijtihad.

Al-Harari likewise suppresses the words of the great Ashʿari imams to that effect such as Imam al-Haramayn and those we have already mentioned.

How the Ahbash lie about the scholars and the Awliya'

A notable example of their tampering is Ibn Arslan al-Ramli's thousand-line poem Alfiyyat Safwat al-Zubad fil-Fiqh al-Shafiʿi which the Ahbash brought out in Beirut in 1988 then 1991 then 1994, all three editions suppressing this line: Whatever took place between the Companions we keep quiet about it. And we assert and affirm that the reward of ijtihad was obtained. (wa-ma jara bayna al-sahabi naskutu ʿanhu wa-ajra al-ijtihadi nuthbitu) After their tampering was revealed they put back the verse in the fourth edition (2001) but they added a long footnote in which they object "The truth is…" and in which they inject their poisonous beliefs.

Another instance in which their lying was exposed was the fabrication of a pseudo-fatwa by the Mufti of Daghistan against Shaykh ʿAbd Allah Fa'iz al-Daghistani the teacher of Shaykh Nazim al-Qubrusi in which the Mufti of Daghistan supposedly declares Shaykh ʿAbd Allah a heretic. In reality Shaykh ʿAbd Allah left Daghistan in his childhood and was raised in Turkey where he lived all his life until he emigrated to Damascus, so he was completely unknown in Daghistan. This fatwa was declared a fabrication by an ex-Habashi, the historian of Damascus Shaykh Muhammad Muʿtazz al-Subayni.

Another falsehood of ʿAbd Allah al-Harari is his invention of a person he called "Muhammad Zahid al-Naqshbandi" whom he claimed had said of Shaykh ʿAbd Allah al-Daghistani "he is neither a Sunni nor a Naqshbandi, and he is not connected but disconnected." The Ahbash disseminated these words in their literature and on their websites, and how much they love to slander others' religion and lineages! In reality this Muhammad Zahid does not exist, and to "narrate" from him is from the craftiness of perjurers, liars and forgers.
In 2004 one of the Ahbash by the name of Samir al-Qadi (arraigned in a US court for a felony in 1997) published a book he named Kashf Dalalat Nazim al-Qubrusi which he crammed with lies against Shaykh

Nazim al-Qubrusi. After this the director of Awqaf in Dubai at that time Shaykh ʿIsa al-Himyari visited al-Harari in his den in Beirut and advised him to repent and desist from attacking Shaykh Nazim. Al-Himyari later recounted how strangely and inappropriately they acted toward him to the point that when he exited their building he said of them: it appears they practice witchraft!

Al-Harari's devianc regarding Prophets, upon them blessings and peace

In his book al-Taʿawun ʿala al-Nahy ʿala al-Munkar ʿAbd Allah al-Harari promotes the position that whoever says that some Prophets were not tasked to convey a Divine message is ignorant, but this is agreed upon among Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jamaʿah as stated by Imam al-Razi and al-Qurtubi in their Tafsirs, al-Suyuti in the Jalalayn, al-Sanusi in al-Haqa'iq and others.

Al-Harari's innovation that it is obligatory to deem Muʿtazilis unbelievers

Al-Harari has long held the innovative position that it is obligatory to declare Muʿtazilis unbelievers and he announced his intention to write about it while living in Syria, at which point Shaykh Adib Kallas rebutted him by saying the Sunni scholars had never held such a position. Al-Harari ignored him and went on to promote this view in his books Sarih al-Bayan, al-Matalib al-Wafiyya, al-Sirat al-Mustaqim, al-Dalil al-Qawim, and Izhar al-ʿAqidat al-Sunniyya.

He did this due to his failing to differentiate between the Muʿtazila and the early Qadariyya. Only the latter claimed that Allah Most High does not know the acts of human beings until they perform them, whereas the Muʿtazila did not hold such a position. Hence the imams of Ahl al-Sunnah do not consider the Muʿtazila unbelievers and this is clear from the statements of Ibn Daqiq al-ʿId in his book Ihkam al-Ahkam, al-Qarafi in al-Dhakhira, al-Dawwani in Sharh al-ʿAqa'id al-ʿAdudiyya, al-Haytami in al-Iʿlam bi-Qawatiʿ al-Islam, and others. In addition they strongly warned against making takfir of Muslims, as stated by Hujjat al-Islam al-Ghazali in al-Iqtisad fil-Iʿtiqad, Ibn al-Subki in the beginning

of Tabaqat al-Shafiʿiyya al-Kubra, and al-Haytami in the ninth volume of Tuhfat al-Muhtaj fi Sharh al-Minhaj, book of ridda, beginning with the words: "Second warning: The mufti must be precautious in takfir…"

Al-Harari's deviant fatwas

The bizarre fatwas of al-Harari and his Ahbash are notorious among the scholars of the Arab world—not only his declaring other Muslims to be unbelievers and charging them with shirk and idolatry, but also his claim that paper currency is free of riba no matter what and that there is no zakat due on it because he says zakat is owed only on gold and silver. Thus he permits the consumption of riba and he denies zakat, the third Pillar of Islam, as Dr. Wahbat al-Zuhayli and others said of al-Harari and his sect: "They make the halal haram and the haram halal."

Furthermore they permit the viewing of lewd pictures and claim the law permits the viewing of women through a mirror or their reflections in water, thus they are permitted for films or pictures because they are also reflections. They also said that one can avoid Jumuʿa prayer by eating onion or garlic. They said that any unlawful intercourse is not fornication but a minor sin as long as there is no penetration. This became notorious as their "fatwa of rubbing thighs" (mufakhadha).Al-Harari also declared it licit for men to wear very short swim suits ("Speedo").

Al-Harari's hatred of Muslim scholars

Unbridled envy has pushed al-Harari to treat the most prominent Sunni Muslim scholars as fair game for his attacks and that is what he taught his followers to do after him. It is on record that he and they have levelled accusations of unbelief (kufr) and/or misguidance (dalal) against the following among others:

- Shaykh Mutawalli al-Shaʿrawi (1911-1998) one of the foremost scholars of tafsir in our time.-

Dr. Muhammad Saʿid al-Buti against whom al-Harari said in al-Taʿawun ʿala al-Nahy ʿan al-Munkar: "He disseminates misguidance" and against whom one of the Ahbash authored a thick volume entitled al-Radd al-ʿIlmi ʿala al-Buti, which consists exclusively of distortions, exaggerations, misinterpretations, and outright lies.
- Dr. Wahbat al-Zuhayli of Syria, one of the most prominent contemporary Sunni scholars and author of three commentaries on the Qur'an whom they accuse of apostasy and hypocrisy among other mendacious charges, and at whom they throw the vilest nicknames.
- Shaykh Rajab Dib al-Naqshbandi of Damascus who travelled to Beirut and asked them to stop attacking him. This noble shaykh has authored a commentary on Qur'an of more than thirty volumes which is not yet published.

- Shaykh Nazim al-Qubrusi against whom one of their liars authored a book which we mentioned.

- The shaheed and late Mufti of the Republic of Lebanon Shaykh Hasan Khalid (1921-1989) whom they called a kafir on street placards in Lebanon as they tried to promote the Habashi Nizar Halabi (1952-1995) to replace him. After Shaykh Hasan Khalid moved to block al-Harari's residency in Lebanon he was killed in a car explosion. Six years later Halabi himself was killed.

- Shaykh Muhammad ibn Alawi al-Maliki (1948-2004) the late hadith scholar of Mecca and Sufi educator. He announced in 1999 that al-Harari had brazenly declared him to be an apostate only because al-Maliki refused to declare Ibn Taymiyya an apostate in his books. Anyone who does not declare Ibn Taymiyya to be an unbeliever is himself an unbeliever according to the Ahbash which is pure extremism.
- Dr. Yusuf al-Qaradawi against whom the Habashi Usama Sayyid wrote a book he entiled al-Qaradawi fil-ʿAra' (Qaradawi Laid Bare) and of which he accused him of everything short of killing Habeel.
- Al-Harari declared Nasir al-Albani to be an unbeliever in his 1959 book Nusrat al-Taʿaqqub al-Hathith only because the latter differed with him over the issue of prayer-beads.

Fatwas of prominent scholars against al-Harari and the Ahbash

Many prominent scholars openly denounced al-Harari and his sect. Among them:

1. Fatwa of Shaykh Ibrahim al-Yaʿqubi against al-Harari

The great Syrian scholar Shaykh Ibrahim al-Yaʿqubi (1924-1985) Mufti of Malikis then Hanafis in the Umawi Mosque in Damascus mentioned in his unpublished record (kunasha) that ʿAbd Allah al-Harari read to him a book during his stay in Damascus, which makes al-Harari one of the students of Sayyid Ibrahim. The latter was at the forefront of the scholars who expelled al-Harari from Syria in the Sixties and declared him "misguided and misguiding others" (dall mudill).

2. Fatwa of Shaykh Muhammad Abu al-Huda al-Yaʿqubi against al-Harari
   Shaykh Ibrahim's son the erudite hadith scholar and daʿiya Shaykh Muhammad Abu al-Huda al-Yaʿqubi said that the scholars of Damascus were unaware of al-Harari's devianc because he claimed to teach hadith and tasawwuf and he appeared to refute Nasir al-Albani (although the latter was stronger than him in hadith).
   But when they realized that al-Harari was a heretical innovator they repudiated him.
3. Fatwa of Shaykh Muhammad Adib Kallas against al-Harari
   Shaykh Muhammad Adib Kallas (1921-2009) one of the great Hanafi authorities in Damascus considered al-Harari a misguided innovator after he heard him say it is obligatory to make takfir of Muʿtazilis, breaching the agreement of Ahl al-Sunnah
   wal-Jamaʿah that they are innovators, not apostates.

4. Fatwa of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Hadi Kharsa against al-Ahbash
   One of Shaykh Adib Kallas's foremost students the erudite Hanafi Shaykh ʿAbd al-Hadi Kharsa al-Azhari declared Habashis to be "deviant, leading others astray, and former Sunnis now

lying outside of Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jamaʿah" http://abdalhadialkharsa.com/index.php?act=viewOps&id=271.

5. Fatwa of Shaykh Wahbat al-Zuhayli against al-Ahbash
   Dr. Muhammad Wahbat al-Zuhayli of Damascus a specialist of Law, legal principles, and Qur'an commentary strongly warned against al-Harari's group the Ahbash and declared them to be an alien group that has infiltrated the Ummah to misguide Muslims and spread fitna with support from a non-Muslim country. It is on record that their representative in Italy, a certain Massimo Abdul Hadi Palazzi, calls himself "a Zionist who loves Israel and Israelis."
6. Fatwa of Shaykh Muhammad Tawfiq al-Buti against al-Ahbash
   After they declared the major scholar of Damascus Dr. Muhammad Saʿid al-Buti to be an unbeliever, he replied on his website:
   "They have declared Shaykh Mutawalli Shaʿrawi to be an unbeliever, Dr. Yusuf al-Qaradawi to be an unbeliever, and myself to be an unbeliever. It appears that group thinks that they are the only ones whom Allah loves." His son Dr. Muhammad Tawfiq al-Buti declared them deviant in his khutbas in the 1990s and 2000s.

7. Fatwa of Shaykh Muhammad Muʿtazz al-Subayni against al-Ahbash
   The historian and hadith scholar of Damascus Shaykh Muhammad Muʿtazz al-Subayni was a follower of al-Harari but left him and declared his group to be fitna-mongers.

8. Fatwa of Dr. Yusuf al-Qaradawi against al-Ahbash

   Dr. Yusuf al-Qaradawi declared about the Ahbash on his website:
   "These Ahbash are a sect that rebelled against the consensus of the Ummah and declared the scholars of the Muslims to be unbelievers. This sect has legal opinions that are abysmally misguided. They have declared as unbelievers Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn

al-Qayyim, al-Dhahabi, Ibn Baz, Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhab, Sayyid Qutb, al-Ghazali, and they have spared no-one. Moreover they are ignorant, and they are ignorant of their own ignorance, which is called compound ignorance (jahl murakkab). It is as Allah said:
{And when it is said unto them: Believe as the people believe, they say: "Shall we believe as the foolish believe?" Are not they themselves the foolish? But they know not} (2:13)."

9. Mufti of Egypt Dr. ʿAli Gomaa's 1999 fatwa againt the Ahbash
In 1999 Shaykh ʿAli Gomaa, who later became the mufti of the Arab Republic of Egypt, published the following fatwa which was disseminated on the internet:
<<This sect is affiliated with a person called ʿAbd Allah al-Harari al-Habashi. It is a sect that has an outward side and an inward side. Its outward side is conformity with what is ostensibly the madhhab of al-Shafiʿi in fiqh and the madhhab of al-Ashʿari in ʿaqida. Its inward side is the declaration of Muslims to be unbelievers (takfir al-muslimin), the declaration of believers to be depraved sinners (tafsiq al-mu'minin), the propagation of fitnah—division and strife in the Ummah, and acting as paid agents for the enemies of Islam and Muslims…. We have seen them stir up the issue of the direction of qiblah in America in opposition to the findings of modern science and in denial of palpable reality claiming that it was an innovation. At the same time they stirred up the same trouble in Japan. They stirred up the false problem of whether they can pray behind other than one of them, food issues, the issue of marriage with Christians and Jews, and others of the issues over which there are long-standing differences of opinion among the great mujtahids and the major imams of the Law. They have declared that intermixing between men and women was licit and that the political leaders of Muslims were unbelievers but that it was licit to co-operate with polytheists, all in a confused jumble that was never said by any madhhab or group of the Muslims before them. They spread the news of the death of their leader then they spread the news that he was still alive. No one knows exactly what kind of collective

psychosis those people suffer from, which constantly pushes them to rave and crave notoriety in such a bizarre manner. This has made all Muslims disgusted with their behavior as Habashis are always associated with confusion (fitnah) and division (furqah). Many respectable Islamic institutions have issued warnings against them already; among those, the Council for Islamic Research in al-Azhar (Majma al-Buhuth al-Islamiyya fil-Azhar), the General Assembly of Scholarly Research, Fatwa, Daʿwah and Education in Saudi Arabia, and the Fiqh Council of North America.>>

10. Al-Azhar President Dr. Ahmad ʻUmar Hashim's 2001 fatwa againt the Ahbash

    In August 2001 the president of the University of al-Azhar in Egypt, Dr. Ahmad ʻUmar Hashim, issued a statement in which he announced that al-Azhar had nothing to do with the Ahbash of Lebanon and he stated that the position of al-Azhar was that "that group [the Ahbash] is unwholesome, untrustworthy, and unislamic in its thinking."

11. Fatwa of the Mufti of Saudi Arabia against al-Harari and the Ahbash

    In conformity with all of the above even the mufti of Saudi Arabia in 1985 issued a fatwa in which he said: "That group is deviant and their leader, a person named ʻAbd Allah al-Habashi, is known for his heresy and misguidance. Therefore it is obligatory to have no relations with them and to reject and condemn their false beliefs and to warn people against them and against listening to them or accepting anything they say."

Conclusion

Warn people against al-Harari and the Ahbash

It is clear to anyone that al-Harari and his sect disrespect the Companions of the Prophet (upon him blessings and peace) and attack the scholars with false accusations of kufr. He and his Ahbash-AICP sect are Kharijites who practice takfirism on the one hand, and they

are Shiʿis who calumniate the Companions on the other. They practice taqiyya or dissimulation by outwardly claiming to be something which inwardly they are not, as Dr. Ali Gomaa warned concerning them. What shows their mindless audacity in nifaq against the Ummah is that on their webpage they claim to "counter any form of extremism that allows the killing of innocents, and it is clear of any connections to any form of deviations or extremism" whereas in reality this is exactly what they are—deviant extremists. In fact, as Dr. Gomaa, Dr. Wahbat Zuhayli, and others have warned, they are an infiltrated current in the Ummah trying to divide and undermine the unity of Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jamaʿah on a permanent basis.

It is enough that after Hudhayfa (Allah be well-pleased with him) asked, "Is there any evil after that goodness?" the Prophet Muhammad (upon him blessings and peace) replied: "Yes, callers standing at the gates of hellfire! Whoever responds to them and comes to those gates, they throw him into it." Hudhayfa said:

"Messenger of Allah, describe them for us." He said: "They have the same complexion as we do and they speak our language." It is agreed upon by al-Bukhari and Muslim. Therefore beware of al-Harari and of his sect the Ahbash and the Association of Islamic Charitable Projects (AICP). Our only duty is to warn, and Allah is our help. May Allah send blessings and peace on our master Muhammad, his Family, and his Companions, and praise belongs to Allah the Lord of the worlds.

The above article is taken from Beytul Hikma blog. It can be accessed through the following link.

http://baytulhikma.wordpress.com/2012/02/11/exposing-the-ahbash/

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Part Three

News Articles and Press Releases

Ethiopian Muslims Decry Ahbashism Campagin

From OnIslam Website

April 22/2012

CAIRO:- Hundreds of thousands of Ethiopian Muslims have taken to the streets to protest the government's oppression on their community and interference in their religious affairs.

"This is the first time I see Ethiopian Muslims united against their common enemy," Temam Mohammed, one of the protestors, said.

"The 'Majlis' leaders thought they can impose their evil policy on us by using force," he said, referring to the Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs.

Thousands of Muslims protested across the capital Addis Ababa following the Friday prayers to protest the government oppression of their community.

Chanting "We want our rights" and Allahu Akbar (God is Greatest), the protestors condemn government restrictions on their community.

Protestors say the government is spearheading a campaign in collaboration with the Majlis to indoctrinate Muslims with the ideology of a sect called "Ahbash".

The government of Ethiopian Premier Meles Zenawi has put the Ahbas in charge of the religious affairs of Ethiopia's Muslims.

Muslims say the government move was in violation of the constitution, which prevents the government interference in religious affairs.

Muslims also accuse the Ahbash of launching an "indoctrination program" in predominantly Muslim areas, forcing people to attend

"religious training" camps or risk police interrogation and possible arrest.

"They thought they can draw a line between “Sufi” and “Salafi” and fulfill the interest of Ahbash which is a deviant business motivated sect seeking to expand its empire by dividing the people," Mohammed said.

"But we were fast enough to know their hidden agenda and strengthened the brotherly bond among the Muslim society. That is why you see this large mass coming here to demand its right."

Founded by Ethiopian-Lebanese scholar Sheikh Abdullah al-Harari, Ahbash is seen by the West as a "friendly alternative" to Wahabi ideology, which the West sees as extreme and militant.

Muslims say Ahbash imams are being brought over from Lebanon to fill the Majlis and teach Ethiopians that “Wahabis” are non-Muslims.

Silenced Muslims

The government, however, insists it was not interfering in the religious affairs of Ethiopian Muslims.

"We have no right to intervene in the churches and mosques," Premier Zenai told the parliament last week.

"We didn’t impose Ahbash ideology on the mass. All what is happening is done by the leaders of Islamic Affairs council themselves.

"What we did was only teaching about our constitution. We did that because it was our duty," he said. Zenawi also defended mass arrests of Muslims, saying it was part of efforts to combat extremism in the country.

"All those arrested by the security agents are part of the ‘Salafi’ school which approves that at least some ‘Salafis’ want to topple the state forcefully," he said.

"We know them and we follow up them. However, this doesn't mean all Salafis are Al-Qaeda members."

But Muslim religious leaders see Zenawi's statements as a tactic to silence them. "Our request is purely about freedom of religion. We didn't ask political power," Muslim scholars said.

"He didn't address any one of the three points we requested. But he tried to show us his wisdom about "Sufi" and "Salafi" and terrorized us by bringing a nightmare of 'Al-Qaeda' to our country. He did so because he wants to keep us away from raising similar questions in the future."

Five Kllled as Ethiopian Muslim Protests Continue

From Ethiomedia Website

May 5/2012

ADDIS ABABA – Police on Friday killed five protesters, including an elderly scholar, in Assasa town in central Ethiopia in the ongoing Ethiopian Muslim "anti-Ahbashism" protests that have spanned 13 weeks. In the Ethiopian capital on Friday, the major mosques of Addis Ababa and the streets were taken by a wave of protesters that chanted "We want our rights! Stop Ahbashism campaign! Allahu Akbar!!"

Sources also confirmed the death of at least five Muslims in Assasa town of Arsi province in central Ethiopia. An elderly scholar was among the dead.The protestors strongly denounced the continued government interference in the religious affairs and said "We must elect our religious leaders by ourselves. The current leaders of council of Islamic Affairs should be brought to justice for what they were doing on the Muslim society". The Ahbashism campaign was aimed at enforcing the Muslims to accept the belief of a new sect called "Ahbash".

Massive Protests

The number Muslims protesting against the government orchestrated Ahbashism campaign is increasing from time to time. The small protest started at "Aweliya Mosque" three months ago has spread beyond Addis Ababa and reached towns like Dessie, Dire Dawa, Harar, Shashemene, Assela, Gondar, Alaba, Baddessa, Assasa, Chagni etc. Haji Abdurahman Sadiq and Mr. Kemal Nuri, two community leaders living in Addis Ababa, say "All what you see is a result of a long time oppression of Ethiopian Muslims. The government proclaimed in its constitution that it has no right to intervene in our religious affairs. At

start, it has allowed Muslims to preach freely, to publish Islamic books, to build Islamic schools etc. We were hopeful then and thought that we were beginning a new era. But as time elapsed, the government started to oppress our people brutally. We face a big bureaucratic challenge whenever we demand to build our mosques. Our children couldn't express their faith freely in government owned colleges and universities. Muslim charity organizations are falsely accused of expanding 'Wahhabism' and closed down. The leadership of the Majlis didn't say anything when these illegal measures were hurting the Muslim society" pointing to the Higher Council of Islamic Affairs in Ethiopia.

All parts of the Muslim society, including women and children, have participated in the Friday protests. Viewers say the recent speech made by Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi had aggravated the tension between Ethiopian Muslims and the government. The rigid stance of the government was highly criticized by Muslim members of the ruling EPRDF party when they gathered for a training on religious tolerance and development. However, the government authorities said the critiques came from misconceptions and they launched more training programs in rural districts.

Five Muslims Killed in Assasa town, Arsi Province

Meanwhile, five Muslims are reportedly killed on Friday by Federal Police Security Forces in Assasa town in Arsi province of Oromiya regional state. The incident happened when the security forces surrounded a mosque and tried to arrest Sheikh Su'ud Aman, a well-respected Muslim scholar of the town on accusations of promoting terrorist ideology. When all people in the area opposed the arrest of Sheikh Su'ud, the securities opened fire and killed five people. Sources add that many others are wounded. An old man called Sheikh Kedir is among the dead.

The religious leaders of the town say "What wrong did we do? How dare they open fire in our mosque? Isn't this disrespecting our faith? They killed five innocent civilians and wounded many others. Sheikh Su'ud was a well-respected scholar of our town. He was serving the community for many years and taught hundreds of people. Nobody can suspect him of teaching terrorism ideology. He only refused to participate on the training arranged by Ahbash faction in Shashemene town last week. That may be the reason for which he was accused as 'teacher of terrorist ideology'".

The tragic news has spread to the whole of the country and caused a huge rage. The leading religious scholars of Ethiopia are planning to meet Prime Minister Meles Zenawi to discuss a country wide prosecution of Muslims.

In his recent speech to the Ethiopian Parliament, Meles was heard saying "We caught an Al-Qaida cell in the provinces of Arsi and Bale. All of those whom we caught are adherents of Salafi School. This can justify that at least some Salfis of our country are promoting an Al-Qaida type ideology and work to topple the state by force. However, we can't say all Ethiopian Salfis are members of Al-Qaida".

However, many scholars and commentators say Meles fabricated this claim in order to silence the Muslims and all others who demand their right. They add "Ethiopian Muslims have asked to only to give their right to elect the leadership of their Majlis and to stop imposing the ideology of the Ahbash on the mass. Nobody has asked a political power. No one was heard promoting an establishment of a state lead by Shari'a law. The government should stop terrorizing Muslims by bringing a nightmare of Al-Qaida to our country".

Why Do Ethiopian Muslims Protest?

Witnesses says that the current protests are part of an ongoing resistance movement of Ethiopian Muslims who react against a plan of the government to indoctrinate them with the ideology of Ahbash faction. Founded by an Ethiopian born Lebanese scholar Sheikh Abdullah Al-Harari Al-Habashi in 1983, Ahbash preaches that the "Wahhabi" are non-Muslims and must be combated. Thus, the western nations see Ahbash as their friendly ally than the so called "Militant Wahhabi" school. The faction is represented by an organization called "Association of Islamic Charitable Project". The Ethiopian origin of the founding scholar of the faction gave it the name "Ahbash" (the "Abyssinians", derived from "Habasha"- the Arabic name of Ethiopia)

Ahbash claims to follow the Shafi'i school of law, one of the four canonically accepted schools in Sunni Islam. It sees itself as the propagator of the true creed of "Ahlu Sunna" (Sunni Islam) which was canonized according to the teaching of Imam Abul Hassan Al-Ash'ari (9-10th Century). However, the claim of Ahbash was rejected by well-known Islamic institutions including Al-Azhar University, the most celebrated school in the Sunni world. Further, both Sunni and Shi'a religious leaders have warned against Ahbash mainly due to its "takfir" (apostasy) edicts and extreme alliance with the west.

The Ethiopian government put the "Majlis" (Higher Council of Islamic Affairs) under the leadership of Ahbash scholars three years ago. In July 2011, the two parties together started a massive campaign of training and promoting the Ahbash ideology through government owned media. To lead the trainings, more than 200 Ahbash scholars were brought from Beirut, Lebanon, where the headquarter of the faction was located. The campaign was called "Ahbashism" by the mass of Ethiopian Muslims. Some of the trainees say that the Ahbash scholars have went to an extent of ordering them to submit to Islam in a new form. The trainees add the Ahbash scholars was justifying that practice by saying "Since the beliefs of Ethiopian Muslims was being

spoiled by "Wahhabi ideology" in the last three decades, it is too hard for them to say 'I am a Muslim' unless they reject Wahhabism".

Haji Abdurahman and Mr. Nuri, the aforementioned community leaders, say "Beginning from the heartbreaking repression measure taken on Muslims in 1995 when they denounced a pro-government Majlis leadership of that time, we were enduring high oppression. But we faced the ugliest of all oppressions in this year. We are asked to accept the beliefs of Ahbash or face prosecution. Our imams are being arrested for refusing to accept the Ahbash ideology. The problem is very serious in rural areas where the media can't reach. The government has already broken the rule of the law".

The claim of these community leaders is supported by many viewers. They say that the government has gone against the constitution of the country by favoring one faction and alienating the majority. They add also that both Ethiopian Muslims and Christians have never been accused of religious extremism although the successive governments were highly oppressing the Muslims. This view is rejected by Dr. Shiferaw Teklemariam, the Ethiopian Minister for Federal Affairs, who recently spoke in government owned TV and Radio that all those who accuse the government of oppressing Muslims are the "Wahhabis" who have no tolerance to live with the Sufi Muslims and Christians. He said "We support the Majlis while it was training Muslim scholars on the constitution of the country. We work together with Majlis to eradicate religious extremism from the country. But that doesn't mean interference in religions."

Haji Abdurahman and Mr. Nuri say the government's claim is false. They say "This is their usual propaganda. None of us opposes the government if it were truly seeking to teach about the constitution. It was the Minister of the Federal Affairs who officially inaugurated the Ahbashism campaign nine months ago. He said on the spot that the government has allocated over 11,000,000 Ethiopian Birr in support of

the campaign. In all of his media appearances, he praises the Ahbash philosophy and condemns the 'Wahhabi' ideology. In one of the stages, he told us that the government officially recorded 'Wahhabiya' as an extremist sect and works to eradicate it from the country. Few years ago, they were terrifying us in the name of Khawarija. Now they echo about 'Wahhabiyya".

The Future Way

Many Ethiopian Muslim scholars say the government is taking the country to a very troublesome situation. "The Ahbash faction", they explain "is a well-known extremist group in the Muslim world. There is no peace where this deviant sect has reached. Its pro-west stance doesn't mean it can tolerate other religious groups. In addition to its deviance, it teaches that stealing and looting of the properties of non-Muslims are lawful practices. If it is left on the leadership of the Majlis, we fear it may create a big tension between Ethiopian Christian and Muslim peoples. We ask the government to hear our voice urgently".

The Muslim scholars' fear is also shared by many political commentators who say "The government of EPRDF has planned to leap the country to a developed nation. But it can't go too far by neglecting the voice of the mass. Religious extremism has never been the problem of our country. It is only some shortsighted advisers of the government who proposed the importation of a controversial faction of Ahbash to combat what they called 'Wahhabism'. So it is highly essential for the government if it thinks for a while and revises its ill planned Ahbashism Campaign".

Ethiopian Government, Muslims Clash about Ideology

Peter Heinlein (VOA English Correspondent)

May 21, 2012

ADDIS ABABA - Unofficial committees within Ethiopia's 30-million strong Muslim community are organizing demonstrations to protest what they say is government interference in Islamic affairs. Tensions are rising as the government tries to preempt what it sees as the rise of a hardline strain of Islam.

Worshippers arriving for Friday prayers at Addis Ababa's Awalia mosque found a notice posted at the entrance, which read: "They managed to get in through the back door before. Let's make sure it doesn't happen again."

The notice was signed by a mosque committee opposed to what it says has been a quiet government takeover of Ethiopia's Islamic Affairs Supreme Council. The committee is demanding elections for new council members, to be held in the city's mosques. They rejected a suggestion that the vote be held in neighborhood government halls called kebeles.

Standing at the entrance to the mosque, Ibrahim Hassan who teaches computer science at the Awalia Mission School, says holding the election in kebele halls would open the door to mischief.

"It should be inside the mosques, not in the kebeles because if it carried out in the kebeles there will be corruption, or some of the government authorities may participate. That is not fair. It is related to religion. There must not be interference of government in such tasks," he said.
Awalia mosque has been at the center of protests against what many Muslims see as government efforts to ban the teachings of the

conservative Salafist sect of Islam. The Islamic Supreme Council recently fired several teachers at the Awalia mission school and shut down an Arabic language teaching center.

Teacher Ibrahim accuses the council of trying to indoctrinate Ethiopian Muslims into the little known al-Abhash sect that preaches non-violence, as opposed to the more militant Salafist brand of Islam.

"They think that the committee may be terrorists," he said. "They consider us terrorists, but it represents all the Muslim communities. They said that [some] Salafists are members of al-Qaida, but in Ethiopia all of the Muslims are not members of al-Qaida, they are simply regular Muslims."

Prime Minister Meles Zenawi last month signaled a crackdown on those he accused of "peddling ideologies of intolerance." In a speech to parliament, he said a few Salafis had formed clandestine al-Qaida cells in the southern part of the country.

Days later, four protesters were killed and many others injured in the southern state, Oromia when they tried to prevent police from arresting a Muslim cleric accused of promoting a radical ideology.

Last week, five men, including one Kenyan national, were arraigned in Addis Ababa's federal court on charges of operating an al-Qaida cell out of a mosque in Oromia.

In another incident this month, Ethiopian authorities expelled two Arab men said to have been visiting from an unnamed Middle Eastern country. The two were detained after making what police called "inflammatory statements" and distributing materials at Addis Ababa's main Anwar mosque.

And last Friday, dozens of young men were reported to have stood outside Anwar mosque with tape over their mouths in a silent protest.

Young men standing at the entrance to Awalia mosque at last Friday's prayers said another big demonstration is planned for this week.

More than half of Ethiopia's roughly 90 million people are Christian, while an estimated 35 percent are Muslim. The Horn of Africa nation has long prided itself on its religious tolerance.

Who Are Al Ahbash?

Daoud Ibrahim (From Wired Journalists website)

August 7, 2008

The name al-Ahbash, recently mentioned in the media in connection to the UN investigation into the murder of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri, refers to ***The Association of Islamic Charitable Projects*** in Lebanon which was founded by A Abdullah ibn Muhammad ibn Yusuf al Harari, nicknamed "al Habashi", referring to his Ethiopian origin. Born in the city of al Harar, near Somalia , al Harari settled in Lebanon in 1950 where he taught religious studies and cultivated a personal following.

Maintaining strong relations with the Syrian government, the group's leader, Nizar al Halabi was killed in 1995 by Ahmad Abdul Karim al Saaid, known as Abu Mihjin, who headed "Asbat al Ansar"or the League of Partisans. The latter was sentenced to death in absentia for his crime.

In April 2001, al Ahbash organized a series of public rallies to counter demonstrations called by those opposed to Syria's presence in Lebanon on the anniversary of the civil war. Members took to the streets dressed in black and wearing face paint and masks, the al-Ahbash members chanted pro-Syrian slogans before the TV cameras while waving nail-encrusted broomsticks, kitchen knives, brass knuckles, chains, axes, old rusted swords and hammers.

Released on Friday, the UN report into the assassination of Hariri featured the name of three brothers, Ahmad Abd al Al, an active member of al Ahbash currently in Lebanese custody, Walid, a member of the Presidential Guard, and Mahmud, also member of al Ahbash who, according to the investigation telephoned Lebanese President Emile Lahoud moments before the bombing which targeted Hariri's convoy on February 14 th 2005. Mahmud was arrested on Sunday on a warrant issued by Magistrate Judge Sai Mirza. Police in Beirut also

raised a sweet shop in Tariq al Jadidah neighbourhood owned by Hashem Mahmud Alian, allegedly a member of al Ahbash where hand grenades were found and confiscates and Alian arrested. According to Dar al Iftaa in Beirut , the Lebanese state mufti's administration, Abdullah al Hirari was "a man hostile to those who did not share his views, even his predecessors such as Sheikh Ibn Taymiya and Sheikh Mohammad bin Abdul Wahab. He was nicknamed the Sheikh of strife."

On its internet site, the group explains how its name was originally "used to indicate the students and supporters of sheikh al Hirari. In reality, al Ahbash are an organization called The Association of Islamic Charitable Projects."

"The Association rejects the Takfir ideology and opposes the use of violence against the ruling authorities and the killing of the elderly, women, and children. It does not depend on any government for financial support and rejects the takfir ideologies that denounce Muslims as infidels".

According to the site, the former Mufti of Lebanon, Sheikh Mukhtar al Alayli, had recognized the religious knowledge of al Hirari and helped him settle in Lebanon and teach in its mosques.

Listing the group's accomplishments, the site mentions the schools and colleges it has founded around Lebanon and the university it established. Members are alleged to live as far as North America and Europe where they run a number of religious schools. Al Ahbash run their own radio station which broadcasts religious programs in Lebanon. Sheikh Abdullah al Habashi is married to four women and has two children, a boy and a girl, the site added.

Based in Burj Abi Haidar in west Beirut , the group maintains centers across Europe including Switzerland, France, The Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, and Germany and several US states.

Al Ahbash entered the Lebanese political arena in 1992 when its candidate Dr. Adnan Trabulisi was elected to the Lebanese parliament. Dar al Iftaa has accused the group of following the Khawarij, an Islamic

sect in the 7 th and 8 th centuries in Southern Iraq and being extreme in their denunciation of their predecessors without taking into consideration the regulations around takfir.

Muslims Accuse Ethiopian Government of Meddling in Mosques

From Christan Science Monitor

June 1/2012

Ethiopia's Muslims have been protesting 'state interference' in their affairs for the past six months. Could government accusations of Muslim extremism risk greater tension?

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Protests at mosques in religiously-diverse Ethiopia have stretched into their sixth month as Muslims object to what they see as unconstitutional government interference in their affairs.

Since December, worshipers at Friday prayers nationwide have been criticizing the state's alleged attempts to impose the al Ahbash, a moderate sect of Islam, on the community via an unrepresentative, politicized Islamic Supreme Affairs Council. Officials deny any interference.

The protest movement in most major cities among the nation's 30 to 40 million Muslims – about one-third of Ethiopia's population – has been largely peaceful and contained to mosque compounds.

The government is trying to dominate influential mosques to gain wider political control of the country, says Ethiopian political analyst Jawar Mohammed. To solidify Western support, it's playing up an Islamist threat – Ethiopia is widely perceived by strategists as a bulwark against Al Qaeda-affiliated Islamic terrorists across the border in Somalia and in the Middle East and North Africa.

"It is an unnecessary, unwise, and untimely intervention that will have severe repercussions both for the current regime as well as for the

country in the long run, unless the government reverses its current approach," says Mr. Jawar.

The most serious incident occurred on April 27 in the southeast town of Asasa in the Oromia region, when four people died in clashes after police arrested a Muslim preacher. The government said the preacher had been trying to instigate jihad. Earlier in April, Prime Minister Meles Zenawi told parliament that an Al Qaeda cell containing "a few Salafist extremists" operated in the area, while at the beginning of May the government announced it deported two Arabs of unspecified nationalities for trying to incite violence outside Addis Ababa's largest mosque.

A focal point for the dispute has been at the community centered around the Awalia Mission School on the edge of the capital, where 50 Arabic teachers were removed via a letter from the Islamic council leaders, leading to the escalation of protests against the leaders' legitimacy and state interference.

The government has tightened security at mosques – it is difficult for Western journalist to report from those in the capital without police interference. The Ministry of Federal Affairs recently accused the protesters of being extremists engaged in violence and collaborating with foreign forces to instigate jihad.

Growing radicalism?

The Ethiopian government has recently claimed that radicalism is growing in Ethiopia, citing austere Wahhabism promulgated by foreign preachers in mosques built by well-heeled Saudi organizations. Ahmedin Jebel, spokesman for a committee that says it's elected by Muslims to represent the movement, says these claims are way off the mark. Although there may be individual extremists, there are no communities sworn to conflict, he says. Conversely, according to Mr. Ahmedin, the government risks creating extremism where it doesn't exist with heavy-handed actions that many Muslims perceive as an attack on Islam.

"We are afraid that people will begin to fight back," if the indoctrination and smear campaigns continue, he says. "There is a concern that they may create more extremism than they fear."

Leaked US diplomatic cables from 2008 corroborate the Ethiopian government's concerns about a "growing Wahhabi influence." In the cables, American officials discuss programs to combat its influence, such as translating "The Place of Tolerance in Islam" – a book by American Muslim scholar Khaled Abou el Fadl – into local languages.

Activists dismiss the dispatches as hyperbolic, countering that the Islamic council was just fear-mongering to embassy staff. "Money coming from Saudi Arabia or any other country doesn't mean adopting that school of thought," they argue. They claim that council leaders are using a phony battle against extremism to cement their positions.

Training sessions

According to Ahmedin, the problems began ten months ago when the Federal Affairs Ministry and the Islamic council brought in Lebanese preachers from the Al Ahbash sect – which was founded by an Ethiopian but became popular in Lebanon – to deliver training to around 1,300 employees of the council's branches at Haramaya University in eastern Ethiopia.

Following the training session, a senior Lebanese teacher, Samir Kadi, thanked Meles and Federal affairs minister Shiferaw Teklemariam at a recorded press conference for inviting them. That, Ahmedin says, proves that the government is behind the campaign.

In response, Meles said to lawmakers the training program had nothing to do with al Ahbash, but was about the rights and duties of religions in Ethiopia under the constitution.

Since the Haramaya conference, the Islamic council – which opponents say has been co-opted by the ruling Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front for almost two decades – has coerced 50,000 people to undergo the training, which aims to incorporate teachings from Al

Ahbash into religious schools across the nation and attacks all other doctrines as anti-Islamic, they say.

Non-participation results in punishment: Imams have been sacked and many Muslim youths arrested for not participating in trainings, critics allege. The community is rife with rumors that the US bankrolled the campaign, which offers per diems of up to 500 birr ($28) to attendees.

"Even if we agree of the threat of Islamic extremism in Ethiopia, this is not the correct way to solve the problem," said Ahmedin.

The government rejects the allegations, also saying that protesters want them to unconstitutionally ban al Ahbash. The allegation of imposing the sect "ignores the fact that the government has no right to invite, allow or forbid any religion or sect, provided that the exercise is within the framework of the constitution," said the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on April 27. In eight letters to the government, the committee never asked for the sect to be banned, Ahmedin responds.

Why the resistance to al Ahbash?

According to the constitution, the government has no business interfering in religious affairs; Ahmedin says the Al Ahbash sect is alien to Ethiopian Muslims despite its origins; and some doctrines of al Ahbash are unacceptable to many followers. For example, it permits believers to receive interest in transactions with non-Muslims; fornication with non-Muslims is also accepted.

Analyst Jawar suggests al Ahbash's controversial history is reason enough for people to object to its promotion. Its pro-Israel leanings and its founder's attacks on "well-respected" Islamic scholars created furious opposition, he says.

"I think what aroused the Muslim population at large is al Ahbash's aggressive 'moderation' approach that emphasizes assimilation," he says. "But let's say the sect is moderate as it claims – still it is not wise to drag its huge controversy into the country."

Government reaction to independence

Since a democratic constitution was adopted in 1995, Ethiopian Muslims have been asserting their independence, and the government is reacting poorly to that, say activists. Prior to the modern era that enshrined religious freedom, Muslims had to accommodate their beliefs during imperial times when Christian emperors ruled the land, or suppress them during the Marxist totalitarianism of Mengistu Hailemariam's military Derg regime in the 1980s.

In decades past, followers of the Prophet Muhammed's teachings in Ethiopia would engage in processions of Orthodox Christians – the most populous faith in the country – and assist in building churches. Some Muslims in Ethiopia's northern Wollo region still get crosses tattooed on their forehead, an indicator of centuries of cultural assimilation.

Salafism has grown in Ethiopia, but there is "zero influence from foreign extremists" on an almost exclusively moderate community, according to the pair of activists. Even "hard-liner" Ethiopian Salafi preachers denounce Al Qaeda's former leader Osama Bin Laden as an unbeliever, they say.

Ethiopia's protesting Muslims want to practice their religion and select their new leaders without interference, in line with the country's constitution, the activists say. "Let us be free," they argue. "Let us have our own organization that is led by ourselves, not government cadres." New government plans to hold non-transparent elections for council leaders controlled by the authorities will not be accepted by the community, Ahmedin says.

Because of Ethiopia's proximity to hotbeds of extreme Islam, "it is rather understandable that the Ethiopian government would be concerned about who is engaging in religious activities and what these individuals may be preaching," says J. Peter Pham, director of the Michael S. Ansari Africa Center at the Atlantic Council in Washington.

የሃሰት ፕሮፖጋንዳ መደጋገም የእምነት መብት ጥያቄን ህገወጥ አያደርገውም!

የሙስሊሙ ህብረተሰብ ያቋቋመው መፍትሄ አፈላላጊ ኮሚቴ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩን ጨምሮ ለ10 የሚኒስቴር መ/ቤቶች ያስገባው ደብዳቤ

ሕዝቡ እንዲያውቀው፣ እንዲያሳውቀው

ቀን ሚያዚያ 2004

ለ _____

ጉዳዩ፡- ህዝበ ሙስሊሙ ያነሳቸውን የሙብት ጥያቄዎች ተንተርሶ በአንዳንድ የመንግስት ባለስልጣናት እየታየ ያለውን ህዝብን የማሸማቀቅና የማዋከብ አመለካከትና ተግባርን ለመቃወም የተዘጋጀ የአቋም ማሳወቂያ ፅሁፍ ስለመላክ፡፡

ኢትዮጵያውያን ሙስሊሞች በኢትዮጵያ እስልምና ጉዳዮች ጠቅላይ ምክር ቤት ፊት አውራሪነት የተከፈተብንን የእምነት ነፃነት ጥሰት በይፋ መቃወም ከጀመርን እነሆ አራት ወራት አሳለፍን፡፡ በነዚህ ግዚያትም ጥያቄያችንን ፍፁም ሰላማዊ በሆነ መንገድ እያቀረብን ብንገኝም ሊሳካልን የቻለው ያማረ አካሄድ ማስመዝገብ እንጂ ያማረ ውጤትን አይደለም፡፡ ከዚህም አልፎ ጥያቄዎቻችንም ሆነ አቀራረባቸው ምንም አይነት የይዘት ለውጥ ባላመጡበት ተጨባጭ ሁኔታ በአንዳንድ የመንግስት ባለስልጣናት የሚነዙት የማዋከብና የማሸማቀቅ አመለካከቶችና ተግባራት ህዝበ ሙስሊሙ እነዚህ አቋሞች የመነጩት ከመንግስት ነው ወይንስ መስመራቸውን ካለዩ ባለስልጣናት በሚል አቅጣጫው ባልለየለት መንታ መንገድ ላይ ይገኛል፡፡

በመሆኑም እነዚህንና ሌሎች መሰረታዊ ነጥቦች ላይ ያሉትን ተጨባጭ ሁኔታዎች የሚዳሰስ 22 ገፅ የግንዛቤ ማስጨበጫና የዳግም ጥያቄአችን መልስ ያግኝ አቤቱታ ያካተተ ፅሁፍ ከዚህ ደብዳቤ ጋር አባሪ አድርገን መላካችንን እንገልፃለን፡፡ ከሰላምታ ጋር ማስታወሻ ይህ ፅሁፍ በአጠቃላይ ለመላ የሃገራችን ዜጎች በተለይ ደግሞ ለኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊሞች ሊደርሱ በሚችሉ አማራጭ መንገዶች ሁሉ እንደሚበተን እና እንደሚተላለፍ ለማሳወቅ እንወዳለን፡፡

የሃሰት ፕሮፖጋንዳ መደጋገም የእምነት መብት ጥያቄን ህገወጥ አያደርገውም!

ህዝበ ሙስሊሙ ያነሳቸውን የመብት ጥያቄዎችን ተንተርሶ በአንዳንድ የመንግስት ባለስልጣናት እየታየ ያለውን ህዝብን የማሸማቀቅና የማዋከብ አመለካከትና ተግባርን ለመቃወም የተዘጋጀ የአቋም ማሳወቂያ ፅሁፍ

ሚያዚያ 2004

አዲስ አበባ

በአላህ ስም እጅግ በጣም ሩህሩህ በጣም አዛኝ በሆነው

I. መግቢያ

ከቅርብ አመታት ወዲህ የሃገሪቱን አንጋፋ ሃይማኖቶች አስመልክቶ በመንግስት መገናኛ ብዙሃን ከሚቀርቡ አሉታዊ ይዘት ካላቸው ዜናዎችና ፕሮግራሞች ውስጥ ‹‹መቻቻልን የሚያደፈርሱ›› የሚለው ቃል በጋራ ‹‹ነባሩን እስልምና የሚንዱ›› የሚለው ደግሞ ለሙስሊሞች በተናጠል ጥቅም ላይ መዋላቸወ የተለመደ ነው፡፡ በተለይ ለኛ ለሙስሊሞች የቀደምት ኢትዮጵያውያን ሙስሊሞች ይከተሉት የነበረውን ከምንጩ የተቀዳውን እስልምና ችላ የተባለ በማስመሰል ከኛ በላይ ለኛ የሚያስቡልን መስለው በቀረቡ አካላቶች እየተነገረን ይገኛል፡፡ ነባሩ የኢትዮጵያ እስልምና የሚለው ሃረግ ያለቦታው እና ያለአግባብ እየተተረጎመ እና እየተሰካ ህዝብን ለማደናገር እንዳስፈላጊነቱ የሚስልና የሚዶመዱም ተደርጎ ‹መሰንጠቂያ ማሽን› ይሆን ዘንድ ሆን ተብሎ የተነነነነ የጥፋት ሃረግ መሆኑ ግን ለብዙዎቻችን ግልፅ ነው፡፡ ምክንየቱስ ቢባልም እስልምና ነባሩና አዲሱ፤ አፍሪካዊ እና አረባዊ፤ የነጭና የጥቁር የሚል ስያሜ ሊወጣለት የማይችል እምነት ነውና፡፡

II. ነባሩ የኢትዮጵያ እስልምና የሚለው ሃረግ እንዴት ተመዘዘ?

የኢትዮጵያን ታሪክ ያነበበ ቀርቶ ያለፉትን ሁለት መንግስታት የማየት እድል ያገኘ ኢትዮጵያዊ የኛ የሙስሊሞችን ነባራዊ ገፅታ በውል ይረዳል የሚል እምነት አለን፡፡ የእስልምና ሃይማኖት መሰበክ ከጀመረበት ግዜ አንስቶ የአለም ፍፃሜ ድረስ የይዘት ለውጥ እንደማያመጣ እርግጥ ሲሆን ኢትዮጵያውያን ሙስሊሞች በነበሩባቸው የታሪክ ውጣውረዶች የሚያሳዩዋቸው የአምልኮ አተገባበር፤ ማህበራዊ መስተጋብር፤ ሁለንተናዊ ሃገራዊ ተሳትፎ ግን በሁሉም ዘመናት አንድ አይነት ነበሩ ለማለት አይቻልም፡፡ በኢትዮጵያ የሚኖሩ ሙስሊሞች ስንባል መኖራችንን የተረዳ ማንም አካል እነዚህ አስተሳሰባዊ ሳይሆኑ ተግባራዊ ልዩነቶች ለምን ተፈጠሩ ብሎም ይጠይቃል ተብሎ አይታሰብም፡፡ በቀደምት ስርዓቶች ሙስሊሙ ሙሉ የሃይማኖት አስተምህሮቱን መተግበር

የሚያስችል ነፃነት ነበረው ብሎ መናገር እንደማይቻል ሁሉ ዛሬ ላይ በሙስሊሙ ሁለንተናዊ እንቅስቃሴ ላይ የታዩ ለውጦች መብትን ከመተግበር ያለፉ እምነት ነክ የአስተሳሰብ ለውጥ ናቸው ብሎ መሞገትም ከንቱ ነው፡፡ እነዚህ ለውጦች ፊፅሞ መታየት የለባቸውም ብሎ መሞገት ‹‹አዲሲቷ ኢትዮጵያ›› የሚባል ታሪክ የለም ብሎ እንደመሞገትም ይቆጠራልና፡፡ ምክንያቱም የዜጎች ሰብዓዊና ዲሞክራሲያዊ መብቶች የተከበሩባት፣ መልካም አስተዳደር የሰፈነባት ዲሞክራሲያዊት ኢትዮጵያን ለማየት መላው ህዝባችን በነበረው ምኞት ሁሉም ህዝባችን ታግሏል፣ ብዙዎቹም ለዚህ ዓላማ መስዋዕት ሆነዋል፡፡ የዚህ ታላቅ መሰዋዕትነት ፍሬዎች አንዱ የሃይማኖት ነፃነት እንደመሆኑ መጠን የኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊምም እምነቱን ያለመሸማቀቅ እና ያለመሸራረፍ ሙሉ በሙሉ እንዲተገብር የሚያስችል እድል አግኝቷል፡፡

ነባሩ የኢትዮጵያ እስልምና የሚለው ሃረግ በተለይ ከመሪዎቻችን ደጋግሞ ጆሯችን ላይ ሲያቃጭል፤ አንዳንድ ባለስልጣናት በመስጂድ ውስጥ ያደጉ ይመስል እስልምና ወደሃገራችን ከገባበት ግዜ አንስቶ የኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊም ይከተለው የነበረው እንዲህ ያለውን ነው፤ ይሄኛው የእስልምና አስተምህሮ መገለጫ አይደለም በማለት ሃይማኖታዊ ፈትዋ (ብይን) ሲሰጡ መደመጣቸው የተዛባ ግለሰባዊ አስተያየታቸውን ብቻ ሳይሆን የወከሉት ስርዓት ጓዳ ላይም ትዝብትን የሚያሳድር ነው፡፡ ይህንን ‹ነባሩ› እየተባለ የሚተረከልንን ግን ደግሞ በተጨባጭ በመንግስት እየተያዙ ያሉ አቋሞችና እየተወሰዱ ያሉ እርምጃዎች ወደ ነባሩ የተሸማቀቀ ማንነታችሁ፤ ወደ ጥንቱ ውስን የእምነት ነፃነታችሁ፤ ወደ ቀድሞው የድብቅ አምልኮአችሁ... ተመለሱ እየተባልን እንደሆነ ተሰምቶን ስጋት ካደረብን ውሎ አድሯል፡፡ ህገ መንግስቱ በፀደቀ ማግስት የመንግስት ልዕልና መሰረቱ የህዝቦች ልዕልና እንደሆነ በመተማመን የተገኘውን ነፃነት በማወቅ እና በመተግበር ላይ ያለውን ሙስሊም ያለበትን ተጨባጭ ወደኋላ በመተው የግል ድብቅ አጀንዳ ያለ በሚያስመስል መልኩ ‹መቻቻል› የሚለውን ቃል የዜጎች መከባበርና መፈቃቀር መሆኑ ቀርቶ አሃዳዊ እምነት መከተል በሚያስመስል መልኩ መገለጫዎቹ የመስቀል ዳመራ ማብራትና የጥምቀት ታቦት መሸኘት ተደርጎ መሳሉ ይህን ያላፀደቁትን ደግሞ ነባሩን የመቻቻል ባህላችንን ያፈረሱ ሲባል ለህገ መንግስቱ የእንጀራ ልጅ ነህ እየተባለ እንደሆነ የሚቆጥረው ሙስሊም ቁጥሩ እያሻቀበ ነው፡፡

III. የመንግስት አቋምን የወለዱ የጥፋት ሃይሎች ተረቶች

እስከ ቅርብ ግዚያት ድረስ ከመንግስት ባለስልጣናትም ሆነ መገናኛ ብዙሃን ከሙስሊሙ የህብረተሰብ ክፍል ለኢትዮጵያ ስጋት ይሆናል ተብሎ የሚታሰብ አመለካከትም ሆነ ተግባር ሲወራ አልሰማንም፡፡ ልንሰማም አይጠበቅም፡፡ ሆኖም ግን የቀድሞዎቹን ስርዓት ከሚናፍቁ፤ የሙስሊሙ ነፃነት ማግኘት ካልተዋጠላቸው፤ አንዳንዴም ጉዳዩን በቅንነት ለመረዳት ፍላጎት ከማጣት የመነጨ በየመንደሩና በየመጣጥፎች ላይ የሚነዙ አጓጉል አስተሳሰቦች ጥቂት ቢሆኑም ሲደመጡ ግን ቆይተዋል፡፡ አብዛኛዎቹ አስተሳሰቦች መነሻቸው የተዛባ በመሆኑ ደግሞ ድምዳሜአቸውም ሚዛኑን የሳተ ነው፡፡ ዋና አላማቸውም በአዲሲቷ ኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊሙ ያገኘውን ነፃነት ባለመቀበል እና

ሙስሊሙን ስጋት አድርጎ በመሳል ሙስሊሙን ወደ ቀድሞ ይዞታው መመለስ ነው፡፡ በዚህም ኢትዮጵያን ወደ ቀድሞው ጥቁር ታሪኳ የመቀልበስ የረዥም ግዜ ግባቸውን እውን ለማድረግ ይታትራሉ፡፡ በነዚህ ጥቂት የመንደር አሉባልታዎች፤ በራሪ ወረቀቶች፤ መፅሄቶች እና አልፎ አልፎ መልክ እና አቅጣጫ ጠቋሚ ሆነው በተዘጋጁ መፅሃፎች ‹‹አክራሪ እስልምና›› የለት ከለት አጀንዳ ተደረገ፡፡ ለባዶ ተረታቸውም ማስረጃ አድርገው የሚያቀርቧቸው ነጥቦች እንደወቅቱና እንደፀሃፊው ቢለያይም የነገሩን አሳሳቢነትና ኢትዮጵያን ከአክራሪነት ሳይሆን ከእስልምና መከላከል የሚመስሉበትን ሁኔታ ለማስረዳት ጥቂቶቹን ብንጠቅስ ‹‹ቁርአናችን ተቀደደ፤ እስልምና ተናቀ፤ ተገፋን የሚሉ ፕሮፖጋንዳዎችን የሚነዙ፤ የመስጂድ ቦታ ካልተሰጠን የሚሉ፤ የቀደምት ነገስታት እስልምናን ጨቁነዋል የሚል አሉባልታ ደጋግመው የሚያስተጋቡ፤ ንጉስ አስሃማ (ነጃሺ) ሰልሟል የሚሉ፤ ሱሪ ከፍ የሚያደርጉ፤ ፂም የሚያሳድጉ፤ አክሱም መስጂድ ይሰራ በማለት የሚሞግቱ፤ ኢማም አህመድን በጀግንነት የሚያደንቁ፤ የሙስሊሙ ቁጥር አንሶ ነው የተገመተው›› ብለው የሚከራከሩ እና ሌሎች ለቁጥር የሚታክቱ የኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊም ወደ አክራሪነት እየተቀየረ መሆኑን ማሳያ ተደርገው የተሳሉ ነጥቦች ናቸው፡፡ ከነዚህ በፅሁፍ መልክ ይዘው ከሰፈሩ አሉባልታዎች በተጨማሪ በመኖሪያ መንደሮቻቸን፤ በትምህርት ተቋሞቻችን፤ እና በሌሎች የአገልግሎት መስጫ ስፍራዎች በጥቂት የጥፋት ሃይሎች የሚነዙት የአክራሪነት መገለጫዎች ለቁጥር ይታክታሉ፡፡ ‹‹ጥቁር ተከናንበው የሚሄዱ፤ ዳዕዋ እያሉ መሰባሰብ የሚያበዙ፤ በትምህርት ተቋማት ውስጥ ካልሰገድን የሚሉ፤ ለዩኒቨርሲቲ ተማሪዎች የቅበላና የመሸኛ ፕሮግራሞች የሚያዘጋጁ.ወዘተ›› የሚሉ ይገኝባቸዋል፡፡

በኢትዮጵያ ተጨባጭ የብሄረሰቦች የታፈኑ መብቶች፤ የተገደቡ ነፃነቶች ይፋ ወጥተው ሲታዩ የዴሞክራሲ ፍሬነታቸው ታምኖበት በአዎንታዊነት ይወሳሉ፡፡ የሙስሊሙ የታፈነ ድምፅ መሰማቱ እና የተገደበው የሃይማኖት ነፃነት መገርሰሱ ማሳያ ለሆኑ የአምልኮ ተግባራት ግን በተቃራኒው የአክራረነት መገለጫ ተደርገው ይገለጻሉ፡፡ እነዚህ የመንደር አሉባልታዎችንም ከነአንክርዳዳቸው የመቀበል አዝማሚያ በአንዳንድ ባለስልጣናትና መገነኛ ብዙሃን ባለሙያዎች ይስተዋላል፡፡ መንግስት አባታዊ ሃላፊነትን ከመወጣት አንጻር ዜጎች ከሚያደርጓቸው እንቅስቃሴዎች ውስጥ የዴሞክራሲ ፍሬ፤ የነፃነት መገለጫ፤ መብት የመጠየቅና የመተግበር ባህል መዳበር፤ የአዲሲቷ ኢትዮጵያ አዲሱ ገፅታ የሆኑትን መለየትና የህብረተሰቡን የተዛባ አመለካከት በህገ መንግስታዊ ማስረጃዎች ማሳመን ይገባው ነበር፡፡ የግለሰቦችም ሆነ የቡድን ሰብአዊና ዴሞክራሲያዊ መብቶች በህገመንግታችን ሙሉ ጥበቃ እንደተደረገላቸው በተነገረን ማግስት ፍፁም ነፃ የሆኑ ሃይማኖታዊ ክንዋኔዎች ‹‹አክራሪነት›› ፈፃሚዎቹ ደግሞ ‹‹አክራሪዎች› ተብለው ሲብጠለጠሉ እኔን አይመለከተኝም በሚል ዳር ቆሞ ማየት ብዝሃነትን የሚቀበልና በእኩልነት የሚያስተናግድ ህገ-መንግስት በሙስሊሙ ላይ ሲሆን የተለየ ትርጉም ይሰጠዋል በሚል ስጋት ውስጥ የወደቅን በርካቶች ነን፡፡ ከሙስሊሙም ሆነ ከክርስቲያኑ ወገን ፅንፈኝነት የተጠናወታቸው አልያም ግላዊ እና ቡድናዊ በሆኑ ስህተቶች የሚፈፀሙ ማንም ጤናማ አእምሮ ያለው አካል ሊያወግዛቸው የሚገቡ ጥፋቶች እንዳሉ እናምናለን፡፡ ተግባሩንም በጽኑ እናወግዛለን፡፡

ነገር ግን ሚዛኑን በሙስሊሙ በኩል ባጋደለ መልኩ በማጉላት ‹‹ እስላማዊ አክራረነት›› የለት ከለት የመንግስት አካላት አጀንዳ ተደረገ፡፡ የጅማውን የአብያተ ክርስቲያናት ቃጠሎ ሙስሊሙ ህብረተሰብ በአንድ ድምፅ እንዳወገዘው ሁሉ የጉራጌ ዞን ስምንት መስጂዶች ቃጠሎንም ህዝበ ክርስቲያኑ በአንድ ድምፅ አውግዘታል፡፡ በእርግጥም ሊወገዙ የሚገባቸው ህገ ወጥ ተግባራት ናቸውና፡፡ መንግስት በህገወጦች ላይ የተለየ እርምጃ መውሰድ ሲጠበቅበትና በሁለቱም ወገን የደረሱ በደሎችን ማስተማሪያ ሊሆን በሚችል መልኩ ለህዝብ ማቅረብ ሲጠበቅበት በክርስቲያን ወገኖቻችን ላይ የደረሰውን የህግ ጥሰት በማጉላት ሌላኛውን በማደብዘዝ የሚና መደበላለቅ አሳየ፡፡

ከዚህም አልፎ በመንግስት የተዘጋጁ ‹የጥናት ሰነዶች› ለመንግስት ከፍተኛ ባለስልጣናት፤ ተማሪዎችና ሌሎች የህብረተሰብ ክፍሎች የተለያየ ሽፋን ተላብሶ ለመወያያነት መቅረብ የተለመደ ስራ ሆነ፡፡ መንግስት በጥናት የተደገፈ የግንዛቤ ማስጨበጫ መድረኮችን ለአመራሩም ሆነ ለህብረተሰቡ ማቅረቡ አበጀህ የሚያስብልና የመንግስትና የህዝብን አብሮነት የሚያጎለብት ሁነኛ መፍትሄ ነው፡፡ ነገር ግን በነዚህ የመንግስት ‹የጥናት ሰነዶች› የኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊሞችን አስመልክቶ የተካተቱ በርካታ ነጥቦች አንድም እስልምናን ተንተርሶ በአለም አቀፍ ደረጃ በተነሳው የፖለቲካ ውጣ ውረድ የኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊሞች ያላቸውን አቋም በውል ያላጤነ በሌላ መልኩ ደግሞ ቀድሞ የጥቂት የጥፋት ሃይሎች የመንደር አሉባልታ የነበሩ ‹‹የእስላማዊ አክራሪነት›› መገለጫዎችን ከነአንክርዳዳቸው በመውሰድ ይፋ የአክራሪነት መገለጫ አድርጎ መፈረጁ ለኛ ለሙስሊሞች አስደንጋጭም አሳዛኝም ነበር፡፡ በዚህም አካሄድ ጉዳዩ ጥልቀት ባለው መልኩ አለመመርመሩን ከማሳየት ባለፈ በኢትዮጵያውያን ሙስሊሞች ላይ ሌላ የታሪክ ምዕራፍ የተከፈተ የሚያስመስልባቸው ሁኔታዎችም ተስተውለዋል፡፡ ለዚህም እንደማሳያ የሚሆነን ቀድሞ በአሉባልታ ደረጃ ከጥቂቶች ስንሰማ የኖርናቸውን ‹‹በቀድሞ ነገስታት ተጨቁነናል በማለት ማስተጋባት፤ ቁርዓን ተቀደደብን እያሉ ማራገብ፤ ሙሃደራ በሚባል የመንደር አደረጃጀት መሰባሰብ፤ የዩኒቨርሲቲ ተማሪዎች ቅበላና መሸኛ ፕሮግራም ማዘጋጀት ብሎም በትምህርት የደከሙትን የሚያግዙበት በማስጠናት የመረዳደት ስልት እንዲሁም በምርጫ፤ በስብሰባዎችና በልማት ስራዎች የመንግስት ዋነኛ ደጋፊ መስሎ መቅረብ›› የመሳሰሉና ሌሎች እጅግ አሳዛኝ ነጥቦች ‹‹የእስላማዊ አክራሪነት›› መገለጫዎች ናቸው ተብለው በመንግስት በይፋ ታወጁ፡፡

አብዛሃኛው ህዝበ ሙስሊምም ባሉት የመረጃ መረቦች ባነበባቸው እነዚህ ‹የመንግስት የጥናት ሰነዶች› የመንግስት አቋም የሚወለደው ከመንደር አሉባልተኞች ነው እንዴ ሲል አመክኖአዊ የሆነ ታሪካዊ ጥያቄ አንስቷል፡፡ እነዚህ በየትኛውም አለማዊም ሆነ ሃይማኖታዊ መመዘኛዎች የአክራሪነት መገለጫ መሆን የማይችሉ ኢትዮጵያዊ ነባራዊ ሁኔታዎችን የመንግስት አካላት በህዝቡ ውስጥ ለማስረፅና ለመከላከል ብለው ወዳመኑት እርምጃ ሲገቡ ጉዳዩ ላም ባልዋለበት ነውና ለብዙሃኑ ህዝበ ሙስሊም ‹ዘመኑ የወለዳቸው ሙስሊሙን ማሸማቀቂያ አጀንዳዎች› ተደርገው መወሰዳቸው አልቀረም፡፡ ለዚህም በቂ አመክኖአዊ ማስረጃ ማቅረብ ይቻላል፡፡

የቀድሞዎቹን የግፍ አገዛዝ እንተወውና የአፄዎቹ ስርዓት መቋጫ ላይ ሙስሊሙ ካገኛቸው ጠባብ ሙብቶች አንዱ በደረሰበት የስግደት ስርዓቱን መፈፀም ነው፡፡ ይህን ሙብቱን ለመተግበር ይዞ የሚጓዛቸው ሽርጥና የውሃ መያዣ ጡሌ በየሄደበት ‹ሽርጣምና ጡሌአም› ተብሎ በህብረተሰቡ እንዲሸማቀቅ ይደረግባቸው የነበሩ ነጥቦች ናቸው፡፡ ዛሬ ላይ የተገኘው አንፃራዊ ነፃነት የወለዳቸው የእምነት ነፃነት መገለጫዎች የሆኑ ዳዕዋ(ሙሃደራ)፤ ማህበራዊ ትስስር እና የሙብት ጥሰት አቤቱታ የፅንፈኝነት መገለጫዎች ሲባሉ ለብዙሃኑ ሙስሊም ‹የዘመናችን ሙስሊሙን የማሸማቀቂያ አጀንዳዎች› እንጂ ሌላ ተደርገው ሊወሰዱ አይችሉም፡፡ ለምን ቢባል መንግስት ያመጣውን ልማትና ዴሞክራሲ ከቀደምት መንግስታት አንፃር አወዳድሮ ማሳየት የሚወደስ ተግባር ሆኖ ሲወሰድ ሙስሊም ዜጎች ከቀደምት ስርዓቶች አንፃር ያገኙትን ነፃነት በማጉላት መናገርና የቀድሞዎቹን መኮነን የአክራሪነት መገለጫ ሊባል አይገባምና፡፡ ከዚህም አልፎ ‹የተበድለናል አቤቱታ› የአክራሪነት መገለጫነቱን መንግስት ማፅደቁ የበደሉን ህጋዊነት ማመንም ተደርጎ የሚወሰድበት አረዳድም ይኖራል፡፡

IV. ከተሳሳቱ ደምዳሜዎች የመነጨ የተሳሳቱ መፍትሄዎች

የኢትዮጵያ እስልምና ጉዳዮች ጠቅላይ ምክር ቤት (መጅሊስ) የተቋቋመው ምንም እንኳ በጨቋኙ የደርግ ስርዓት ቢሆንም አላማዎቹና ጅምር ተግባሮቹ ግን ለታሪክ የሚዘከር ቁም ነገር አላቸው፡፡ በሁሉም ዘንድ ይከበሩ የነበሩት የተቋሙ ጠንሳሽና አመራሮቹ በአርቆ አስተዋይነታቸውና በእውነተኛ አባትነታቸው ሁሌም ይወሳሉ፡፡ እስልምናና ሙስሊሞች የአለም አቀፉ ፖለቲካ አጀንዳ ከመሆናቸው በላይ ከላይ እንደማሳያ ያነሳናቸው ሃገራዊ የተዛቡ ምልከታዎች ባሉበት ተጨባጭ ሁኔታ ተቋሙ ከምን ግዜውም በተሻለ በተደራጅና በህዝብ ተቀባይነት አግኝተው አባታዊ ሃላፊነትን በሚወጡ አመራሮች መወከል ይጠበቅበት ነበር፡፡ ግና ነገሩ የተገላቢጦሽ ሆነ፡፡ የኢስላም አስተምህሮ አክራሪነትንና ፅንፈኝነትን ለመዋጋት በራሱ ከበቂ በላይ ሲሆን ጠርዘኛ አስተሳሰቦችንና ጥራዝ ነጠቅ ግለሰቦችን በማረቅ ላይ የሃይማኖት መሪዎች ሚና እጅጉን የጎላ ነው፡፡ የተቋማችን መሪዎች ግን እንደ ሃይማኖት መሪነት ጉዳዩን ከእምነት አንፃር በመተንተንና ነባራዊውን ሁኔታ በጥልቀት በመፈተሽ ሁሉን ያማከለ የውይይት እና የመፍትሄ ማፈላለግ ስራን በመስራት ነገሮችን ፈር ማስያዝ ሲቻል ከህዝበ ሙስሊሙ ተጨባጭ ሁኔታ ይልቅ የመንደር ‹እስላማዊ አክራሪነት› መፈክርን በማንገብ ሙስሊሙን አክራሪ እና ፅንፈኛ ከማለት አልፈው አሸባሪ ብለው ለመፈረጅም ይዳዳቸዋል፡፡ በዚህ በተሳሳተ ድምዳሜ ተነስተውም የተሳሳተ የመፍትሄ ሃሳብ ወለዱ፡፡

ሰዎች የራሳቸውን የእምነት የአስተሳሰብ መስመር እንዳይከተሉ በማስገደድ የራስን የአስተሳሰብ መስመር በሌሎች ላይ ለመጫን መንቀሳቀስ አክራሪነት እንደሆነ እየተወሳ ለእምነቱም ሆነ ለአማኙ ባእድ አስተምህሮን በህዝበ ሙስሊሙ ላይ በመጫን አክራሪነት የመጅሊሱ መገለጫ ባህሪ ሆነ፡፡ የመጅሊስ አመራሮች እንደግለሰብ የፈለጉትን የአስተሳሰብ መስመር የመከተል መብት ቢኖራቸውም በበርካታ አለም አቀፍ ምሁራን ከእስልምና ማፈንገጡ የተነገረለትን የአብደላህ አልሃረሪን የአስተሳሰብ መስመርን ሌሎች የአስተሳሰብ መስመሮች የተሳሳቱ ናቸው በማለት እሱ

የሚከተለውን ስርዓተ ሃይማኖት ከማስተማር ባለፈ ከዚህ ውጪ ያሉ መስመሮችን የሚከተሉትን ‹‹ወሃብያ›› ብሎ በመፈረጅ ለኢማምነት አይበቁም፤ ለመድረሳ አስተማሪነት አይመጥኑም በማለት ህዝብን ወደማስቆጣት ድርጊት ተሸጋገረ፡፡

ከዚህ ቀደም የመጅሊስ አመራሮች ‹‹ወሃብያ›› በሚባል ምናባዊ አካል የሰየሙት እዚህ ግባ የማይባሉ ጥቃቅን እምነት ነክ ልዩነቶች የሚያሳዩ ግፋ ሲልም ህገወጥ ስልጣናቸውን የሚቃወሙትን ማጠልሻ ይሆናቸው ዘንድ ነበረ፡፡ ዛሬ ላይ ግን የስልጣን ሹመታቸው ከመጅሊስ ጽ/ቤት የሆነ የሚያስመስሉ አንዳንድ ባለስልጣናትም ጭምር የስልጣንና የነዋይ ፍቅር እምነታቸውን እንዲሸጡ ያደረጋቸው የመጅሊስ አመራሮች በቀደዱለት የጥፋት ቦይ ለመፍሰስ ያልፈቀደውን ህዝበ ሙስሊም ሁሉ በጅምላ የሚጠሩበት ስልታዊ የማግለያና የማሸማቀቂያ ስያሜ ሆኗል፡፡ በነዚህ ሁላ ሂደቶች ውስጥ ግን ህዝቡ መጅሊስንና አስተምህሮቱን በስውር እና በተበጣጠሰ መልኩ ከማውገዝ አልፎ ወደ መንግስት የተሰነዘረ የጣልቃ ገብነት ወቀሳ እምብዛም አልነበረም፡፡

V. የመርህ ይከበር ሃገራዊ ህዝባዊ ተማፅኖ

መጅሊስ መራሹ የአህባሽ አስተምህሮ በየደረጃው ላሉ የመጅሊስ አመራሮች ብቻ በመሰጠት ይቆማል ተብሎ ሲጠበቅ ህብረተሰቡን እስከ ታች ድረስ በመውረድ ለማሰልጠን የተያዘውን ዕቅድና አስፈላጊ ዝግጅት በመገናኛ ብዙሃንና በዒድ አደባባይ ሳይቀር ይታወጅ ጀመር፡፡ በአተገባበር ሂደትም በየመድረኩ የታዩ እንግዳ አስተምህሮዎች የእምነቱን ክብር ያጎደፉና የአማኙን መብት የተጋፉ ግልፅ ህገወጥ ተግባራት በተጨባጭ ታይተዋል፡፡ የመጅሊስ አመራሮችና አንዳንድ የመንግስት ባለስልጣናት የሸኽ አብደላህ አልሃረሪን በነባሩ የኢትዮጲያ እስልምና ፈለግ የጠለቀ እውቀት ያላቸው መሆናቸውን ሽንጣቸውን ገትረው መከራከራቸው ለምን ብለን እንድንጠይቅ አስገድዶናል፡፡ ቀድሞውኑ ያለህዝብ ይሁንታ በህዝበ ሙስሊሙ ላይ በግድ ተጭነው ያሉት የመጅሊስ አመራሮች አይደለም የሃይማኖቱ ሊቃውንትን የእውቀት ጥልቀትና እውነተኝነት ለማረጋገጥ፤ እጅግ መሰራተዊ የሚባሉ የሃይማኖቱ ድንጋጌዎችን በወጉ ማወቃቸውን የሚጠራጠሩት ብዙዎች ናቸው፡፡ በየመድረኩ የሸኽየውን የእውቀት ምጥቀትና በመላው አለም የሚሰበከው እርሳቸው ያስተማሩት ፈለግ እንደሆነ፤ የእስልምና ጉዳዮች ጠቅላይ ምክር ቤት ሲያስተምር የነበረው ሙስሊሙ በነባሩ እስልምና ላይ ያለውን እውቀት ከፍ ለማድረግ ነው ሲሉ በአስተምህሮቱ እና በአተገባበሩ ላይ ያሉትን ፍፁም ከኢስላም ያፈነገጡ አስተሳሰቦች የቀድሞው ሙስሊም እምነት በማለት ሊያሳምኑን የሚሞግቱት የመንግስት ሹመኞች ግን ምንጫቸው ከወዴት ግባቸውስ ወዴት እንደሆነ መለየት ተስኖናል፡፡ እምነታችንን ለመበረዝ የተከፈተብንን ጥቁር ዘመቻ ስንቃወምም ለአክራሪነት አስተሳሰባቸው ቦታ እንዳያጡ ብዙሃንን ከመማር መብት የሚያግዱ ተባልን፡፡

የመጅሊስ አመራሮች እንደገለፁት ከመንግስት አካላት በተለይም ከፌዴራል ጉዳዮች ሚኒስቴር ባደረግናላቸው ግብዣ መሰረት የተለያዩ የስራ ኃላፊዎች በስልጠናው ላይ በመገኘት ህገ መንግስት

አስተምረዋል ሲሉ ተደመጡ፡፡ በስልጠናዎቹ መድረኮች መንግስትን በመወከል ከተገኙ አካላት የተደመጡ ንግግሮች ህገ መንግስት የማስተማርን ድንበር ዘለው መገኘታቸው ለጥቂቶች የመንግስት ቀጥተኛ ጣልቃ ገብነት ተደርጎ ቢታይም ለብዙሃኑ ሙስሊም ግን በመጅሊስ የተሳሳተ መረጃ የተመሩ ‹አንዳንድ የመንግስት ባለስልጣናት› ግዜአዊ ስህተት ተደርጎ ነበር የተወሰደው፡፡ በወቅቱ የሚያመዝነው እውነታም ይኸው ነበር፡፡ በመጅሊስ እየተፈፀመ ያለው በየትኛውም መመዘኛ ለድርድር በማይቀርበው የእምነት ነፃነት ጥሰት እና በውይይት መድረኮች የተንፀባረቁ እሳቤዎች የማይገናኙ በመሆናቸው ህዝበ ሙስሊሙ የመርህ ይከበር ይፋዊ ተማፅኖውን በመላ ሃገሪቱ ማሰማቱን ቀጠለ፡፡

ከተደረጉና በመደረግ ላይ ካሉ የተማፅኖ ጥሪዎች አንዱ በአዲስ አበባ በተለይም በአወሊያ በመካሄድ ላይ ያለው የ‹መብት ጥሰት ይቁም› ይገኝበታል፡፡ ህዝበ ሙስሊሙ ያነሳውን የመብት ጥያቄ ተከትሎ በመንግስት ይፋ አስተባባሪነት በርካታ የውይይት መድረኮች፤ የተለያዩ መግለጫዎች ተሰጥተዋል፡፡ በነዚህ ወቅቶች ግን ከተለያዩ የመንግስት ባለስልጣናትና መገናኛ ብዙሃን የተደመጡ ነገሮች መንግስት በጉዳዩ ላይ ያለውን ግልፅ አቋም ከማንፀባረቅ ይልቅ በመጅሊስ የተፈጠረውን ውዥንብር ይበልጥ በማስፋት ህዝብን ግራ የሚያጋቡ ሆነው ነው የተገኙት፡፡

ከፊሎቹ ዘገባዎች እና የውይይት መድረኮች ‹በአሁኑ ወቅት በሃገራችን ትርጉም ያለው የአክራሪነት ፍላጎት አለ ብሎ መደምደም አይቻልም› ሲሉ ከፊሎቹ ደግሞ ‹ወታደራዊ ክንፍ ያለው የእስልምና አክራሪ አደረጃጀት በሃገራችን በተጨባጭ ይገኛል› ሲሉ በመላው አለም የሚገኙ የፀረ ሽብር ታጋዮች ከየትኛውም ሃገር ይልቅ ወደ ኢትዮጵያ ቀድመው ሊዘምቱ ይገባ ነበር የሚያስብል የተጋነነ ድምዳሜ ነበራቸው፡፡ በዚህም ህዝበ ሙስሊሙን ለእምነቱ ባዳ ለሃገሩም እንግዳ የሆነ እስኪመስለው ድረስ ፍፁም የሚጣረሱ ጉዳዮች ተናፈሱ፡፡ ጨቋኙ የደርግ ስርዓት ለፍትህና ለዴሞክራሲ ይታገል የነበረውን የኢህአዴግ ሰራዊት በህዝቡ ውስጥ ጭራቅ አስመስሎ በመሳል በተለያዩ ስያሜዎች ህዝብን ያደናግር እንደነበር ማንም ኢትዮጵያዊ አይዘነጋውም፡፡

በዛሬ በሙስሊሞች ጉዳይ ተጨባጭ ሁኔታ የአህባሽን አስተምህሮት የሚቃወሙና መብታችን ይከበር በማለት አቤት የሚሉትን ሁሉ ‹ወሃብያ› በማለት ቀንድ እና ጥርስ ያለው ህዝብ ጨራሽ ጭራቅ አድርጎ ለህዝብ ማቅረብ ያረጀና ያፈጀ ስልት ነው፡፡ ከዚህም በላይ የዜጎች ሰብአዊና ዴሞክራሲያዊ መብት መከበር፤ ዜጎች ጥቅማቸውንና መብታቸውን ሰላማዊ በሆነ መንገድ ማራመድ፤ ልዩነቶችን በሰላማዊ መንገድ የመፍታት ባህል መፍጠር የሚያስችል ስርዓት ተገንብቷል ተብሎ በታመነበት በዚህ በአዲሲቷ ኢትዮጵያ ዘመን የመብት ጥያቄን ‹አክራሪነት› እና ‹ፀረ-ህገመንግስት› የሚያሰኝ ምንም በር የለም፡፡ የመብት ጠያቂዎች ስብስብን አስመልክቶ በተለይም የመጀመሪያዎቹ ሁለት ሳምንታት አካባቢ በመጅሊስ አመራሮች እና አንዳንድ የመገናኛ ብዙኃን የተሰጡት ስያሜዎች ከተሰብሳቢዎቹ ማንነትም ሆነ ከተጠየቁት ጥያቄዎች ጋር ምንም የማይዛመድ ነበር፡፡ ‹‹የግል ጥቅም ፈላጊዎች፤ ድብቅ አጀንዳ ያላቸው፤ የተማሪዎችን ጥያቄ አንተርሰው

የተሰባሰቡ ፅንፈኞች›› እና የመሳሰሉት የህዝቡን ቁስል ከማዳን ይልቅ እያመረቀዙት የስቃይ ጩኸቱ ይበልጥ እንዲበረታ አደረጉት፡፡

ከዚህ በተቃራኒ መንግስት በጉዳዩ ላይ ህዝቡን ለማወያየት ባደረጋቸው ሙከራዎች የብዙሃኑን ስሜት በትክክል ያደመጠ ቢመስልም ‹መጅሊስ ተሳስቷል› ከማለት ይልቅ ‹ሙስሊሙ አማኝ ተሸውዷል› የሚል ድምዳሜ ላይ መድረሱን የሚያሳዩ አመላካች ነገሮች ነበሩ፡፡ በዚህም የህገመንግስት ሉአላዊነት የሚረጋገጠው በህዝብ ሉአላዊነት እንደሆነ የሚያምነው ኢህአዴግ፤ የሚወስናቸው ሁሉም ውሳኔዎች ከህዝብ ጥቅም አንፃር እንደሚቃኛቸው ያስረዳን መንግስት፤ ከራስ በላይ የህዝብ ጥቅምን ማስቀደም ለዚህም ሲባልም ብዙ መስዋዕትነትን መክፈል እንደሚገባ አምናለሁ ያለን ኢህአዴግ በሙስሊሙ አጀንዳ ሲሆን ከህዝብ በላይ ለህዝብ የማውቀው እኔ ነኝ በሚሉ ባለስልጣናት በየመድረኩና በየሚዲያው ተወክሎ ስናገኘው በመንግስታችን መዋቅር ውስጥ በወሳኝ ሃገራዊ አጀንዳዎች ላይ እንዲህ ዓይነት አመራሮች መኖራቸው ልባችንን ነክቶታል፡፡

የነዚህን ሚዛን የሳቱ አመራሮችን አቋም በመንተራስ ‹‹የሙበት ጠያቂዎቹ ፅንፈኞች ናቸው፤ መንግስትም ከጎናችን ነው›› የሚሉ ማስፈራሪያዎች የመጅሊሱ የዘወትር መፈክሮች ሲሆኑ ‹‹ጥያቄዎቻችን ህጋዊ ናቸው፤ ፈጣሪም ከጎናችን ነው›› የሚሉ ድምፆች ደግሞ በህዝቡ ወገን በረቱ፡፡ አግባብ ያልሆነ ስልጣንን ከሚሸሸው ኢስላማዊ ስብዕና በተፀራሪ የስልጣን እድሜአቸውን ለማራዘም፤ የውስጥ ችግራቸውን ለመሸፈን የሚራወጡት የመጅሊስ አመራሮች በአንዳንድ ባለስልጣናት አይዞህ ባይነት የልብልብ በማግኘት የብዙሃኑን የሙበት ጥያቄ ‹‹በህዝብ የተተፉ ፀረ ሰላም ሃይሎች የሚነዙት አሉባልታ ነው›› ለማለት ያዘጋጁቸው የፕሮፖጋንዳ ፕሮግራሞች ሙሉ በሙሉ በሚያስብል ሁኔታ በህዝቡ ተቀባይነትን ማግኘት አልቻሉም፡፡ አሁንም ህዝቡ ተታሎ ይሆን? ከዚህ በተቃራኒ ‹ጥያቄአችሁ የኛም ጥያቄ ነው› እና ዝርዝር አካባቢያዊ የመጅሊስ በደሎችን የሚያትቱ አቤቱታዎችና የተቃውሞ ፊርማዎች ከመላ ሃገሪቱ ይጎርፍ ጀመር፡፡ አንዳንድ አካላት ግን ዛሬም ህዝብ ተታሎ ነው ሲሉ ይደመጣሉ፡፡ የሁሉ ነገር መሰረት የሆነው ህዝብ ስንቴ ይሳሳት ይሆን?

VI. መንግስት የዜጎችን ጥያቄ የማድመጥ ግዴታ አለበት

በአንድ በኩል የመጅሊስ ውንጀላዎች መበርከት በሌላ በኩል የተለያዩ አካላት ፍርደ ገምድል ብይኖች ካነሳቸው ጥያቄዎች ጋር ምንም አይነት ግንኙነት እንደሌለው የሚተማመነው ሙበት ጠያቂው ህዝበ ሙስሊም ለጥያቄዎቹ መልስ ያፈላልጉለት ዘንድ በወከላቸው ኮሚቴዎች አማካኝነት የተለያዩ የመንግስት መስሪያቤቶችን በር አንኳኩቷል፡፡ በነዚህ ሂደቶች ውስጥ ሳይጠቀሱ የማይታለፉ ነጥቦች አሉ፡- ህዝበ ሙስሊሙ የሙበት ጥሰቶቹ መንስኤ ሙሉ በሙሉ የመጅሊስ አመራሮች እንደሆኑ ያምን ነበር መልስ ለማግኘት የሚቻለው በሰላማዊና ህጋዊ መንገድ ብቻ ነው ብሎ አምኖ ተንቀሳቅሷል፡፡ ከጥያቄዎቹ ፍትሃዊነት፤ ግልፅነትና መልስ ለመስጠት ካላቸው ቀላል ይዘት አንፃር ፈጣን ምላሽ ማግኘት ቢቻልም የተሰጡትን ረዣዥም ቀጠሮዎች

በትእግስት በመጠባበቅ ለህግ ያለውን ተገዥነት በተግባር አሳይቷል፡፡ መልስ ይነገርበታል ተብሎ በሚገመተው የመሰብሰቢያ ስፍራ በቋሚነት በመገኘት ለጥያቄዎቹ መመለስ ያለውን ፅኑ አቋም አሳይቷል፡፡ ከላይ ካነሳናቸው ነጥቦች ተቀራራቢ በሆነ መልኩ ከመጅሊስ የተለመዱ ውንጀላዎች በስተቀር ቀድሞ የነበሩት የአንዳንድ ባለስልጣናት የተሳሳተ ውንጀላ እና የተዛቡ ሚዲያ ዘገባዎች ጥያቄዎቹ ቀርበው የምላሽ ቀጠሮ እስከተሰጠበት ድረስ ባሉት ግዜያት ቢያንስ ጋብ ያሉበት ወቅትም ነበር፡፡ በሂደቱ በመንግስት በኩል ከተንፀባረቁት አቋሞች ውስጥ:- ጥያቄዎቹን ለማድመጥ ያሳየው ቁርጠኝነት የጥያቄዎቹን አግባብነትና እንደ መንግስት መልስ የሚሹ መሆናቸውን እምነት ማሳደሩ ጉዳዩን በጥልቀት ለማየትና ሰፊ ግዜ በመውሰድ ምላሽ ለመስጠት ቃል መግባቱ ህዝቡ ለወከላቸው አካላት ተገቢ ካልሆኑ ስያሜዎች መቆጠብና ኮሚቴውን ህገወጥ ማለት ከኮሚቴው ጋር የሚወያየውን መንግስትንም መስደብ ነው የሚል ቁርጠኛ አቋም መያዙ የመብት ጥያቄ ሂደቶቹ ሰላማዊ መሆናቸውን መመስከር ከብዙዎቹ ጥቂቶች ናቸው፡፡ ይሁንና የሂደቶች ማማር የውጤት ማማርን ያመጣል ተብሎ ቢታመንም በእኛ ተጨባጭ ግን ምላሽ የሚጠበቅበት የየካቲት 26/2004 ቀጠሮ ብዥታ የተሞላባቸው ንግግሮች፤ ከጥያቄዎቹ ግልፅነት በተፃራሪ በአሻሚና አተገባበራቸው ከህዝቡ ፍላጎት ተፃራሪ በሆኑ ውሳኔዎች የተሞላ ሆኖ ተገኝቷል፡፡ ይህንንም አስመልክቶ የቅሬታ አቤቱታ ለሚመለከተው አካል የገባ ሲሆን ጥያቄዎቹ ተጨባጭ ምላሽ ይፈልጋሉና ለቀጣይ የስልጣን እርከኖች ቀረቡ፡፡

VII. ለፌ/ጉ/ሚ/ር ሲቀርብ ህጋዊ የተባለ ህዝብ ለጠ/ሚ/ር ሲቀርብ ህገወጥ ሊሆን አይችልም!

ህዝበ ሙስሊሙ ላለፉት ሃያ አመታት ምንም አይነት በእምነቱ ላይ የደረሰበት በደል የለም ለማለት አይቻልም፡፡ ሆኖም ግን በጉዳዮቹ ላይ የመንግስት ቅርብ ድጋፍና ክትትል አልተለየውምና ገኖ የወጣበት አጋጣሚ እምብዛም አልታየም፡፡ አንድ ህዝብ ምድራዊ ድሎቱን የሚቀንሱ፤ ግለሰባዊ ፍላጎቱን የሚቀናቀኑ የመብት ጥሰቶችን እስከመጨረሻው ሊችላቸው አልያም እስኪስተካከሉ ሊታገሳቸው ይችል ይሆናል፡፡ ነገር ግን አማኝ በመሆንና ባለመሆን መካከል የሚገኙ ትላልቅ ገመዶች ሲበጠሱበት ግን ከነርሱ ቀድሞ የእርሱ እስትንፋስ መቆምን ይሻል፡፡ ጥያቄዎቹን፤ አቅራቢዎቹንም ሆነ አቀራረባቸውን አስመልክቶ ለመንግስት አካላት ከቀረቡበት ግዜ አንስቶ እስከ የካቲት 26 ባሉት ግዜያት የተሰነዘሩ ክሶች፤ የተለጠፉ አፍራሽ ስያሜዎች በተለይ ከመንግስት አካል በይፋ አልተሰማም፡፡

የጥያቄዎቹን አለመመለስ ግልፅ በሆነ አቤቱታ አቅርቦ በጥያቄዎቹም፤ በጠያቂዎቹና በአቀራረቡ ምንም አይነት የይዘት ለውጥ ሳይኖር ከየካቲት 26 በኋላ ግን ከተለያዩ መስመሮች ፍፁም የማይጠበቅ እና ህዝብ በመንግስት ላይ ያለውን አመኔታ የሚንድ አፍራሽ ፕሮፖጋንዳዎች ተደመጡ፡፡ ለነዚህ ፕሮፖጋንዳዎች ደግሞ የፊት አውራሪነቱን ሚና በመጫወት ላይ የሚገኘው የፌ/ጉ/ሚ/ር የተለያዩ የስራ ሃላፊዎች በመገናኛ ብዙሃን የሰጧቸው መግለጫዎችና ቃለመጠይቆች ናቸው፡፡ ለአብነት ያህልም የመጋቢት 9 ሪፖርተር ጋዜጣ ከሚ/ሩ ዶ/ር ሽፈራው ተ/ማርያም ጋር ያደረገው ቃለምልልስ ያስነበባቸው አቋሞች ግርምትንና ትዝብትን የፈጠሩ

ክስተቶች ናቸው፡፡ የስራ ሃላፊዎቹ በተለይም የፌ/ጉ/ሚ/ር ሚኒስትሩ የነዚህን ግልፅ የሙበት ጥሰት ጥያቄዎች ከዚህ ቀደም ‹በይፋ አግባብነት ያላቸው› ሲሉ እንዳልተደመጡ እና ጠያቂውንም ህዝበ ሙስሊም ሰላማዊነቱን መመስከራቸውን የዘነጉት በሚያስመስል መልኩ ‹‹አሁን ለመጨረሻ ግዜ ምሽጋችን ተመታ ማለት ነው፡፡ ይኼ ተመታ ማለት የኢይዲዮሎጂው መፍለቂያና ማስተማሪያ ማዕከልና የእኛ ህልውና አበቃ ማለት ነው በሚል ነው የመጨረሻ የሞት ሽረት አድርጎ የመንቀሳቀስ ስራ ውስጥ እየተገባ ነው ያለው›› ሲሉ አዲስ አበባ በአንድ ቦታ ብቻ የሚሰበሰቡ መቶ ሺዎችን ማብጠልጠል ቢዳፍሩም በመላ ሃገሪቱ መሰል ተቃውሞ ይዘው ቢሯቸውን ላንኳኩ የክልል አቤቱታ አቅራቢዎች ግን ያሉት ነገር አልነበረም፡፡

ከየካቲት 26 በፊት ሰላማዊ የነበረው ህዝበ ሙስሊም በሳምንታት እድሜ እንዴት ወደ ‹ምሽጉ የፈረሰበት ፅንፈኛ› ሊቀየር እንደቻለ ለሰሚው ግራ ነው፡፡ እንደፀሃይ ብርሃን ፍንትው ያሉት እጅግ ግልፅ ጥያቄዎችስ በምን አይነት አተረጓጎም የእስላማዊ መንግስት ማቋቋም ተብለው ሊወሰዱ እንደሚችሉ ማንም ሊረዳው አይችልም፡፡ በሃላፊዎቹ የተነገሩት እጅግ አደገኛ ነጥቦች በሙስሊሙ ብቻ ሳይሆን በሌሎች እምነት ተከታይ ወገኖቻችን ልብ ውስጥ ሊፈጥር የሚችለው ውዥንብር እና እሱን ተከትሎ ሊመጣ የሚችለው ህዝባዊ ቀውስ ሃያል በሆነ ነበር፡፡ የጥያቄዎቹን ግልፅነትና ይዘት አቅራቢው ህዝበ ሙስሊም በተረዳበት መጠን የሌሎች እምነት ወገኖች መረዳታቸው በአቅራቢዎቹና በጥያቄዎቹ ላይ የታየውን ቅፅበታዊ የአተረጓጎም አደገኛ ለውጥ መሰረተ ቢስነት በተግባር ሊረጋገጥ ችሏል፡፡ አመራሩ የህዝብ የሰላ ጫፍ ሆኖ አርቆ ማስተዋል ሲጠበቅበት የብቃት ማነስ በታየባቸው የመንግስት ተወካዮች ብናፍርም ህዝብ የዲፕሎማቲክነቱን ሚና ሲወጣ ማየት ግን በዜግነት የሚያኮራ ታላቅ ብስራት ነው፡፡

መረሳት የሌለበት ሌላውና ትልቁ ነጥብ ደግሞ ሚ/ር መ/ቤቱ በሃገሪቱ ከሚገኙ የስልጣን እርከኖች አንዱ እንጂ ብቸኛና የበላይ አይደለም፡፡ ህዝበ ሙስሊሙ የእምነቴ ህልውና ነው ብሎ በሚያምንበት ነጥብ ላይ በተካሄደው የሙበት ጥሰት እንዲቆም ጥያቄዎቹን ለጠ/ሚ/ር ጽ/ቤት አቅርቦ መልሱን እንደከዚህ ቀደሙ በትእግስት በመጠባበቅ ላይ ሳለ በምን እይታ ህገወጥ ሊባል ይችላል፡፡ በእርግጥ የስልጠናው መባቻ አካባቢ የተለያዩ ባለስልጣናት በይፋ የተናገሩትን አስተምህሮቱን መቃወም በህግ ተጠያቂ የሚያደርግ ህገ ወጥ ተግባር መሆኑን የሚያስይዙ ንግግሮች በርካታ ቢሆኑም የባለስልጣን ስህተት በእምነታችን ላይ እንድንፈርድ ስለማያደርገን በይፋ ወደ ተቃውሞ ገብተናል፡፡

ባለስልጣናቱ እንደተናገሩት ‹ስልጠናውን መስጠት ያስፈለገው እምነታቸውን አጥብቀው የያዙ መስሏቸው ሳያውቁት በአክራሪነትና ፅንፈኝነት መረብ ውስጥ እየተገፉ የገቡ በመኖራቸው› እነሱን ‹‹ወደ ቀጥተኛው እስልምና›› ለመመለስ እንጂ ‹‹እንደ ወሃብያ ያለ ወሮበላን›› አስር ቤት ለማጎር ስልጠና አስፈላጊ አለመሆኑን፤ በዚህም ስልጠና ምዕመኑን ወደ ‹‹ቀጥተኛው እስልምና›› ሊመሩት እንደሆነ ከፖለቲካ መፃህፍት የተቀመመ ሃይማኖታዊ ትንታኔ በመስጠት የስልጠናውን አላማ ጥርት ባለ ቋንቋ አስረድተውናል፡፡በባለስልጣናቱ ‹‹ወሃብያ›› ተብሎ የተፈጠረው ማደናገሪያ

ስያሜ ሊበሏት ያሰቧትን አሞራ ይሏታል ጅግራ እንደሚሉት ብሂል በመጅሊስና አጋሮቹ የጥፋት ወጥመድ አልያዝ ያለውን ህዝበ ሙስሊም መጠሪያ ተደርጎ በመወሰድ ላይ ይገኛል፡፡ ሌላውና ላለፉት ወራት ከፌ/ጉ/ሚ/ር በጎ ምላሽ ለማግኘት ህዝበ ሙስሊሙ ያሳለፋቸውን ግዜያት በከንቱ እንደበባከኑ ያስቆጠረው ጉዳይ የሚ/ር መ/ቤቱ የስራ ሃላፊዎች አህባሽ የተባለውን አስተምህሮ ከመጅሊስ ጋር በመተባበር ለመስጠት ተገደናል ሲሉ መደመጣቸው ነው፡፡ አመት ሊሞላው ጥቂት ወራት የቀሩት የሙበት ጥሰት ከተጀመረ አንስቶ መጅሊስ በደለኝ፤ በመጅሊስ የተሳሳተ መረጃ አንዳንድ የመንግስት ባለስልጣናት ጣልቃ ገብነት ታይቶባቸዋል ሲል ለነበረው ህዝበ ሙስሊም ከባድ መርዶ ነገሩት፡፡ በአንድ በኩል የበርካታ ባለስልጣናት በስልጠናዎቹ ወቅት ህገመንግስትን ከማስተማር እና ፀጥታ ከማስጠበቅ የዘለለ ሚና አልነበረንም መባሉን የሻረ ግልፅ አንድን አስተምህሮ የማስፋፋት ሃላፊነት መ/ቤቱ ሲወስድ ተበዳዩን ህዝበ ሙስሊም ክስህን በመጅሊስ ላይ ሳይሆን በፌ/ጉ/ሚ/ር ላይ አነጣጥር የሚል ከባድ መልእክት አስተላልፏል፡፡

ዛሬ ላይ ቆም ብለን ስናስበው ፌ/ጉ/ሚ/ር ለህዝበ ሙስሊሙ ጥያቄዎች በቂ ምላሽ ሊኖረው እንደማይችልም መረዳት ከነበረብን ግዜ በጣም መዘግየታችንን አውቀናል፡፡ የረፈደ ቢመስልም ዛሬ ግን ሚኒስቴር መስሪያ ቤቱን ዳግም ላንማፀን ለጥያቄአችን ትክክለኛ መልስ ከምንጠብቅበት የመንግስት የስልጣን እርከን ተሸጋግረናል፡፡ ይህን ምክንያቱ ያልታወቀ የአስተምህሮት መረጣ ውስጥ ገብተናል ነጋሪት መጎሰምን ተከትሎ ህዝበ ሙስሊሙ ላይ ሁለት አይነት አስተሳሰብ መስረፅ ጀመረ፡፡ በአንድ በኩል ጉዳዩን ተጋፍተን የማንዘልቀው የማይከሰሰውና የማይገሰሰው መንግስት ጋር መላተም ነው ሲሉ በሌላ መልኩ እና አብዛሃኛው ህዝበ ሙስሊም አቋም ግን ህግ ባለበት ሃገር ማንም ህገወጥ እንዲሆን አይፈቀድለትምና አማኞች ተስፋ አይቆርጡም ብለን በጥያቄአችን እንገፋለን የሚል ነው፡፡

VIII. መንግስት በጉዳዩ ላይ ያለውን ግልፅ አቋም ያሳውቀን::

ከላይ እጅግ በጥቂቱ ለማየት እንደሞከርነው ኢህአዴግን ወክለው በየመድረኩ የተገኙት ባለስልጣናት ያሳዩት የተደበላለቀ አንዳንዴም ጥላቻና ንቀት የተሞላበት ጣልቃ ገብነት ዛሬም ላይ የመንግስት ትክክለኛ አቅጣጫ ነው ብለን ከመውሰዳችን በፊት በይፋ ለመስማት የምንጠብቀው ሌላ የስልጣን እርከን እንዳለ ይሰማናል፡፡ እነኚሁ ባለስልጣናት በምርጫ ቅስቀሳ ወቅት የፓርቲያቸውን ትክክለኝነት ከሚያስረዱበት እጅግ በተሻለ ፅናት የአብደላህ አልሃረሪን አስተምህሮ ትክክለኝነትና የነባሩ የኢትዮጵያ እስልምና ገፅታ አድርገው ለመጋት መሞከራቸው በእምነታችን ላይ መሳለቅ ብቻ ሳይሆን በታሪካችን ላይም ማፌዝ ነውና ዳግም ላይነሳ ይብቃ እንላለን፡፡

ጉዳዩ የእምነት ህልውናን ያዘለ ቀይ መስመር ነውና የሃሰት ፕሮፖጋንዳ በየትኛውም ምድራዊ በሆነ ከፍተኛ በሚባል የስልጣን እርከን ላይ ባለ አካል ቢደጋገም ነገሩን እውነት ሊያስብለው የሚችልበት በር ላይከፈት ከተዘጋ የኒያ ታላቅ ነቢይ የነብዩ መሐመድ (የአላህ ሰላትና ሰላም በእርሳቸው ላይ ይሁን) እና የባልደረቦቻቸው እንዲሁም ከእርሳቸው በኋላ ቅኑን መንገድ የተከተሉት ትውልዶች

የህይወት ታሪክ አስተምሮን አልፏል፡፡ በነብዩ ሙሐመድ (የአላህ ሰላትና ሰላም በእርሳቸው ላይ ይሁን) ‹የእስልምናን መንገድ እንድተው ፀሃይን በቀኝ እጄ ጨረቃን ደግሞ በግራ እጄ ላስቀምጥልህ ቢሉኝ እንኳ አላህ እውነትን እስኪያሰፍን አሊያም እስከ ሞቴ ፍንክች አልልም› የተባለለት የእውነት ጎዳና እስልምና ዛሬ በመጅሊስ አመራሮች በሸራፊ ሳንቲም ገበያ ላይ ወጥቷል፡፡ ድንበር ባለፉ ባለስልጣናትም ከአንድ ሺህ አራት መቶ አመት በፊት ሰዎች ህይወታቸውን የሰዉለት ቀያቸውን ጥለው የተሰደዱለት እስልምና የሸኽ አብደላህ አልሃረሪ ፈለግ ነው መባል የእስልምናን እውነተኝነት እንደ መንግስት ያፀደቀች የመጀመሪያዋ ሃገር ኢትዮጵያ ዛሬ ደግሞ አስተምህሮቱን በማጥላላት የመጀመሪያዋ ልትሆን ይሆን ያስብላል፡፡ ይህን ለማለት ግን አሁንም የቀረን የስልጣን እርከን አለና መንግስት ሊከተለው በሚችለው በማንኛውም የውስጥ አሰራር ድንበር ያለፉትን ባለስልጣናትን በማረም ፍትህን በሰላምና በትዕግስት እየጠበቀ ላለው ህዝበ ሙስሊም አቋሙን ግልፅ ያድርግልን እንላለን፡፡ የህዝብን ቅሬታ መስማት ውለታ ሳይሆን የመንግስት ትልቅ ስራ ነውና መንግስት ግዴታውን ይወጣ፡፡

IX. ሙስሊሙን ያለአግባብ በሲጋት መፈረጅ፤ ማዋከብና ማሸማቀቅ በአፋጣኝ ይቁምልን!

ከላይ ባነሳናቸው እጅግ በጣም ጥቂት ነጥቦች መንግስት ‹‹የጥናት ሰነድ›› እያለ በየመድረኩ የሚያቀርባቸው ፅሁፎች በአጠናን ስልትም ሆነ በመረጃ ተዓማኒነታቸው ጉድለት ‹ጥናት› የሚባለውን ደረጃ ፈፅሞ ሊያገኙ የማይገባቸው እንደሆኑ መረዳት አያዳግትም፡፡ እነዚህ በሳይንሳዊ ዘዴ ያልተተነተኑ፤ መረጃቸው ተበጥሮና ተነፍቶ እውነታው ከእንክርዳዱ ያልተለዩ ‹ምነው ምሁር አለቀ እንዴ› የሚያስብሉ ‹ጥናት› ተብለው በቀረቡ የአናቅፅ ስብስቦች፣ የአክራሪ እስልምና› መገለጫዎች ተብለው የተነገሩን በዛሬው የመረጃ ትስስር አለምን አንድ ባደረገበት ዘመን ቀርቶ በድንጋይ ዳቦ ዘመንም አድማጭ ያገኛሉ ብሎ መገመት ያዳግታል፡፡ አንዳንድ ባለስልጣናት የህገመንግስት፤ የፖሊሲና እስትራቴጂ አተገባበር የሚያግዙ መፃህፍትና ጥናቶችን ሳይሆን በአረበኛ የተዘጋጁ የእስላማዊ መፃህፍትን ከጫፍ እስከጫፍ አገላብጠናል በሚያስብል ድፍረት በቀጥታ እንደነገሩን የአብደላህ አልሃረሪ ፈለግ የሚሰብከው ‹የአክራሪነት አስተሳሰብን በቅዱስ ቁርዓንና ሃዲስ አስተሳሰብ ቀይረው ማስተማር ነው› ብለውናል፡፡

ግና የእምነቱ ባለቤቶችና በውስጥ ያሉ የእውቀት ባልተቤቶች ብቃቱ ስላላቸው ብቻ ሳይሆን ክብራቸውም ስለሚፈቅድላቸው በአብደላህ አልሀረሪ አቋም ላይ ፈትዋ ሰጥተዋል፡፡ የሸኽየውን አስተምህሮ ዘመን ተሻጋሪውን እስልምና ለሁለቱም አለማት ፈጣሪ ሳይሆን ምድራዊ ስልጣንን ለተቆናጠጡ እንደ መጅሊስ አመራር ላሉ የስልጣንና የነዋይ አፍቃሪዎች እንዲሆን በርዘውና ከልሰው አዘጋጅተውታል፡፡ ይህም አስተሳሰብ የአቋማቸው ተቀናቃኝ ለሆነው ህዝበ ሙስሊም መድፈቂያ የተዘጋጀ ‹የተጠና ሌላ አዲስ ሃይማኖት› እንደሆነ በማይናወጥ መረጃ አስረግጠዋል፡፡ የፅንፈኝነት አስተሳሰቦችና ድርጊቶች እንዳይባባሱ መንግስት ህግ በማስከበሩ ረገድ ካለው ሚና ባልተናነሰ ሁኔታ የሃይማኖት ተቋማትም ወሳኝ ሚና መጫወት ይገባቸዋል ብለን እናምናለን፡፡

የሃይማኖት ተቋማቱ አከራሪነትን በብቃት ለመከላከል የሚቻላቸው ግን በቅድሚያ በህዝቡ ቅቡልነትን አግኝተው ሁሉም እንደ አባትና መመለሻ አድርጎ ሊቆጥራቸው የሚያስችል ተቀባይነትና ጥንካሬ ሲኖራቸው ነው፡፡ ከዚህም አልፎ ህዝብን ለማስተማር ከእምነቱ ባፈነገጠ አስተሳሰብ በማጥመቅ ሳይሆን ከእምነቱ ምንጭ በተቀዱ ድንጋጌዎች በመገሰፅ፤ በዘመቻ መልክ ሳይሆን በተጠናና ሁሉን ባማከለ አተገባበር፤ መንግስት ሃይማኖትን ሽፋን አድርጎ በአንዱ እምነት ላይ ብቻ በሚያደርገው ጣልቃ ገብነት ሳይሆን ሁሉም የሃይማኖት ተቋማትና ምዕመኑ በየእምነቶቻቸው ውስጥ ስልት ቀይሰው ልጆቻቸውን ሲያስተምሩ ያጠፋውንም ተገቢውን የእርምት እርምጃ እንዲያገኝ የሚያስችል መንገድ ሲኖራቸው ነው፡፡ ከዚህ ውጭ ግን በየትኛውም ቦታና ግዜ በማንኛውም አካል የሚፈፀምን ‹የጥፋት፤ የሽብር እና የእልቂት› ተግባራት እንደምናወግዘው ሁሉ ‹የአክራሪነት አስተሳሰብን ለመቀልበስ› በሚል ሰበበ ዜጎችን የእምነት ነፃነት በመንፈግ የመንግስት ባለስልጣናት የሚያሳዩዋቸውን ያልተገሩ የንግግርና የተግባር ጣልቃ ገብነትንም እናወግዛለን፡፡ የሸኸየውን አስተምህሮ እውነተኝነቱን የመሰከሩት ባለስልጣናትን ጨምሮ ሌላ ማንም አካል ፈለጉን የመከተል መብቱ የተጠበቀ መሆኑን የሃገራችን ህገመንግስት ይደነግጋል፡፡ እኛም እናከብረዋለን፡፡

ሆኖም ግን በመንግስት የ‹ጥናት ሰነዶች› የ‹አክራሪ እስልምና› መገለጫዎች ተብለው ፍርደ ገምድል የተበየነባቸው በርካታ እስላማዊ ክንዋኔዎችና ማህበራዊ ትስስሮች ሙስሊሙን ለማሸማቀቅ ማንም እንዳሻው እየተጠቀመበት በመሆኑ ‹የጥናቱን› ባዶ ይዘት እንደምንኮንነው ሁሉ በሸኸየው የተፈበረከውን ‹አዲስ የተጠና ሃይማኖትም› መቃወማችን ህገ መንግስታዊ መብታችን ነው፡፡ ይህንንም ህገመንግስታዊ መብት መጠቀምና በወገኖቻችን መስዋዕትነት የተቋቋሙ የሃይማኖት ተቋሞቻችን ከምንጩ የተቀዳው ነባሩ እስልምና ሳይሆን የዚህ ‹አዲስ የተጠና ሃይማኖት› መሰበኪያ መሆናቸውን መቃወም ‹‹ወሃብያዎች፤ አክራሪዎች፤ ፀንፈኞች፤ ፀረ ሰላሞች›› እና ሌላ ብዙ ብዙ እየተባልን አንዳንዴም ይህን ተከትሎ በታችኛው የአስተዳድር መዋቅር አካባቢ የሚወሰዱ ሚናቸውን ያልለዩ አስተዳደራዊ በደሎች እየተበራከቱ ነውና እነዚህ የማሸማቀቅና የማዋከብ አስተሳሰቦችና ተግባራትን መንግስት በማስቆም የዜጎቹን መብትና ደህንነት ሊያስጠብቅ ይገባዋል እንላለን፡፡

በሌላ በኩል የአስተሳሰቡ ፈላስፋም ሆኑ እስከ አሁን ያሉ የየትኛውም ሃገር ዜጋ የሆኑ ተከታዮቻቸው የሃይማኖት መስመራቸውን ‹‹አህባሽ›› የሚለው መጠሪያቸው የሚታወቅና የሌላው አለም ተከታዮቻቸው ሳይቀሩ በዚህ ስያሜ እንደሚኮሩበትም በይፋ መግለፃቸው በተጨባጭ ይታወቃል፡፡ ነገር ግን ሌላ ድብቅ አላማ ያለ በሚያስመስል ሁኔታ የአስተምህሮቱን አምላኪዎች ‹‹ሱፊ-ሱኒ›› ተቃዋሚዎቹን ደግሞ ‹‹ወሃብያ፤ አክራሪ....›› እያሉ መከፋፈልና ማዋከብ ለሃገርም ለህዝብም አይበጅምና ይቁም እንላለን፡፡ በተግባር እንደምናየውም የባለስልጣናቱን አይዞህ ባይነት ተንተርሰው በየትኛውም የኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ ያላየነውን የትኛውም ግፈኛ ባለስልጣን በህዝባችን ላይ ያልፈፀመውን ሙስሊሙን የመሰነጣጠቅ እስትራቴጂ ‹‹ሱፊ›› አልያም ‹‹ወሃብያ›› ብለህ ሚናህን ለይተህ ተመዝገብ እየተባሉ ፎርም ማስሞላት መጀመሩ

ከዚህም አልፎ የኢ.ህ.አ.ዴ.ግ. ሙስሊም አባላትን ‹‹ወይ ኢ.ህ.አ.ዴ.ግ.ን አልያም ወሃብያን ምረጥ›› እያሉ ማሸማቀቅ ተለምዷልና ይህ ሙስሊሙን የማዋከብና የማሸማቀቅ ጥቁር ታሪክ በእንጭጩ መቀጨት ለጋራ ኢትዮጵያችን ይበጃልና ግዜ ኣይሰጠው እንላለን፡፡

X. ሁሉም ዘመናት ያልተሰሙ የንፁሃን ዜጎች ድምፆች ኣሏቸው

ታሪክ እንደሚያስተምረን ኣድማጭ ያገኙ ጩኸቶች ሁሉ ትክክለኛ፤ መፍትሄ ያጡ ብሶቶች ሁሉ ደግሞ መሰረተ ቢስ እንዳይደሉ ነው፡፡ የህዝበ ሙስሊሙ የእምነት ነፃነት ጥሰት ይቁም ኣቤቱታ ለግዜውም ቢሆን በቂ ምላሽ ኣለማግኘቱ በጥያቄዎቻችን ሳይሆን ምላሽ መስጠት በሚገባቸው ኣካላት ላይ ነው እንድናፍር የሚያደርገን፡፡ ለዚህም ትልቅ ማስረጃ መሆን የሚችለው የቅርብ ግዜ ትዝታችን የሆነውና የ1966ቱ መላው የኢትዮጵያውያን ሙስሊሞች መሰረታዊ የሙብት ይከበርልኝ ጥያቄ ነው፡፡ ምንም እንኳን ወቅቱ የሙብት ጥያቄን ሊያውም ሙስሊሙ ህብረተሰብ ለማንሳት ይደፍራል ተብሎ በማይታሰብበት፤ የስልጣን ዙፋኑ ሰማያዊ በሆነ ሹመት የተደላደለ ተደርጎ የሚቆጠር ኣምባገነን የኣፄ ስርዓት በነበረበት ወቅት ለኛ ለሙስሊሞች የጨለማውን ዘመን የማስቆምና ያለማስቆም የህልውና ጥያቄዎችን ያነገበ ታሪካዊ ክስተት ተመዝግቧል፡፡ በዚያን ወቅት የተነሱት ጥያቄዎች ካላቸው እጅግ ወሳኝ ይዘትና ስርዓቱ ከነበረበት እጅግ የገዘፈ ፀረ ኢስላም ኣስተሳሰብ ኣንፃር ሲቃኝ የማይጠበቅ ግን ደግሞ የእኛ የሙስሊሞችን ታሪክ የቀየረ፤ ‹በኢትዮጵያ የሚኖሩ ሙስሊሞች› ከመባል ‹ሙስሊም ኢትዮጵያውያን› ያስባለን፤ በወሳኝ ሃገራዊ ጉዳዮች ላይም ቀጥተኛ ተሳታፊና ተጠቃሚ የመሆን መብትን ያጎናፀፈ ነበረ፡፡

የደርግ ስርዓትም እንደ ኣቋም ፀረ ሁሉም ሃይማኖት ቢሆንም ሙስሊም ኢትዮጵያውያን ግን ለዘመናት የተነፈጉትን ከሌሎች ኣቻ ሃይማኖቶች እኩል መቆጠራቸውን የሚያረጋግጡ ኣያሌ ለውጦችን ያገኙበት ሁኔታ ነበረ፡፡ ዛሬ ዛሬ የእምነት ነፃነት ዳግም ጥያቄ ለመሆን በማይችልበት መልኩ መልስ ኣግኝቷል ተብሎ በሰፊው በሚቀነቀንበት የኢ.ህ.ኣ.ዴ.ግ. መንግስት ዘመን እጅግ ቀላል ግን ደግሞ ወቅታዊ የሆኑ የሙብት ጥያቄዎቻችንን የሚያደምጥና በቀናነት ኣጢኖ ኣጥጋቢ ምላሽ የሚሰጥ ኣካል ኣልተገኘም፡፡ ሃገራችን በብዙ መልኩ ወደፊት ስትራመድ የሙስሊሞችን የሙብት ጥሰት ለማስቆም ወሳኝ ኣመራር መታጣቱ ግን ግዜውን ከ38 ኣመታት በፊት በያዝነው ሳምንት ላይ ሙስሊሞች ላነሳነው የሙብት ጥያቄ የወቅቱ ኣምባገነን መሪዎች የሰጡንን ጆሮ ያህል እንኳን ማጣታችን ፍትህ በስርዓቱ ኣተረጓጎም ለሙስሊሞች ሲሆን ይለይ ይሆን ብለን እንድንጠራጠር ኣስገድዶናል፡፡

ጉዳዩን በቀና ኣእምሮ ስናስበው ደግሞ ‹ኣስቀድሞ የበሰለ ፍሬ ኣስቀድሞ ይቆረጣል› የሚለው ብሂል እውነት ነውና ይህን መሰሉ ሙስሊሙን የማሸማቀቅና የማዋከብ ሴራ ላይደገም ይቀበር ዘንድ ዋስትና የሚያስፈልገው መልስ ስለሚፈለግ ለዚህ የሚሆን ትዕግስትና ፅናት ህዝበ ሙስሊሙ የተማረበትም ታሪካዊ ሃገራዊ ኢጋጣሚ ነው፡፡ በትጥቅ ትግል ወቅት ያገኘውን የኣላማ ፅናት ያለውን ፋይዳ የሚያስረዳ ትምህርት ያስተማረን ኢህኣዴግ በሰላማዊ የሙብት ጥሰት ይቁም ጥያቄ

ላይ ይህ መርህ አይሰራም ብሎ እንደማይሞግተን እናምናለን፡፡ በመሆኑም ጥያቄዎቻችን ተገቢውን ምላሽ አግኝተው ደማቅ ታሪክ እንዲሆን ስንመኝ ይህ ሳይሆን ቀርቶ የሙብት ጥያቄዎቹ እና ጠያቂዎቹ ላይ የተፈጠረው የማዋከብና የማሸማቀቅ ተግባር ጠያቄዎቹን በስልትም ሆነ በሃይል ማስቆም ቢሳካለት እንኳን እነዚህ ነፃና ፍትሃዊ ጥያቄዎች ግን በኢ.ህ.አ.ዴ.ግ. ዘመን ሰሚ ያጡ የህዝበ ሙስሊሙ ፍትሃዊ ድምፆች ተብለው በታሪክ መዘገባቸው አይቀርም፡፡

XI. ዛሬም ለጥያቄዎቻችን በቂና ግልፅ ምላሽ ይሰጠን ስንል እንጠይቃለን

ባሳለፍናቸው የሙብት ጥያቄ ሂደቶች የጥያቄዎቻችንን ይዘትና ፍትሃዊነት ለማስረዳት ያልፈነቀልነው ድንጋይ አልነበረም፡፡ ለመንግስት አካላት እና ለሌሎች የህብረተሰብ ክፍሎች ጥያቄዎቻችን ምን እንደሆኑ፤ ምላሽ አገኙ የሚባሉትስ መቼ ነው የሚለውን በማያሻማ አገላለፅ በማስረዳታችን ሁሉም ማለት በምንችልበት ደረጃ የየትኛውም እምነት ተከታይ ወገኖቻችንን ‹ጥያቄዎቻችሁ የሙብት ጥያቄዎች ናቸው የመንግስትን ምላሽ ይሻሉ› የሚል አኩሪ የህዝብ ለህዝብ አጋርነት አፀፋ ለማግኘት ችለናል፡፡ በተቃራኒው ደግሞ ሁሉም ማለት ባንችልም በሂደቱ ውስጥ እጃቸው ያለበት አብዛኞቹ ባለስልጣናት ለህዝብ ከህዝብ ይልቅ የሚያውቁለት እነርሱ እነደሆኑ የሚያስመስል፤ ሚሊዮኖች የሆኑ የሙብት ጠያቂዎችን የጥቂት ፅንፈኞች ጀሌዎች አስመስሎ በማወጅ ብዙሃንን ያላዋቂ አድርጎ የመሳል ችግር፤ የሙብት ጠያቂውን ህዝበ ሙስሊም እምታቸውን የታደጉ መስሏቸው የተታለሉ ናቸው የሚል ሙስሊሙን ለእምነቱ ባዳ አድርጎ የማቅረብ አጓጉል አካሄድ ተስተውለዋል፡፡ አልፎ አልፎም የጥያቄዎቹን ይዘትና የአቀራረብ ስልታቸውን በግድ በመጠምዘዝ አቅጣጫ ለማሳት ሲሞከርም አስተውለናል፡፡ እነዚህ ሁላ ነገሮች ግን የተነሳበትን ለሚያውቀው ህዝበ ሙስሊም መድረሻውን አያስጠፉትምና መቼም አይሳካም፡፡ ጥያቄዎቻችን ለማንም የማይከብዱ እጅግ በጣም ቀላልና ግልፅ ቢሆኑም ዛሬም ደግመን እንደሚከተለው አስቀምጠናቸዋል፡-

1. በህዝበ ሙስሊሙ ይሁንታ ባላገኙና ባልተመረጡ በጓሮ በር ገብተው የሙስሊሙን ሁለንተናዊ ስብዕና በመግፈፍና የመጅሊስን ተቋም በብልሹ አሰራር እየመዘበሩ ያሉትን የመጅሊስ አመራሮች ሙሉ ለሙሉ ተወግደው ሙስሊሙ ማህበረሰብ ለሀይማኖቴም ለሃገሬም ይጠቅመኛል የሚለውን መሪ በየመስጂዱ ያለ ማንም ጣልቃ ገብነት፤ ህዝብ በተስማማበት የምርጫ ስረዓት፤ አስመራጭ፤ ታዛቢ፤ አስፈጻሚ ነጻ፤ ግልጽና ፍትሀዊ በሆነ መልኩ እንዲካሔድ ይፈልጋል፡፡

2. በመጅሊሰ ፈታውራሪነትና ባንዳንድ የመንግስት አካላት ድጋፍ በሙስሊሙ ማህበረሰብ ላይ በግዴታ እየተጫነ ያለውን የአህባሽ አስተምህሮና አስተሳሰብ ሙሉ ለሙሉ እንዲቆም፡፡ አህባሽ እንደማንኛውም የእምነት ተቋም ራሱን ችሎ መንቀሳሰቀስ እንደሚችል በህገ መንግስቱ በግልፅ የተቀመጠ እንደመሆኑ በሙስሊሙ ተቋማት ላይ ግን ሙሉ ለሙሉ እጁን እንዲያነሳ እንጠይቃለን፡

አላሁ አክበር!

የመፍትሄ አፈላላጊ ኮሚቴ አባላት ስም ዝርዝር

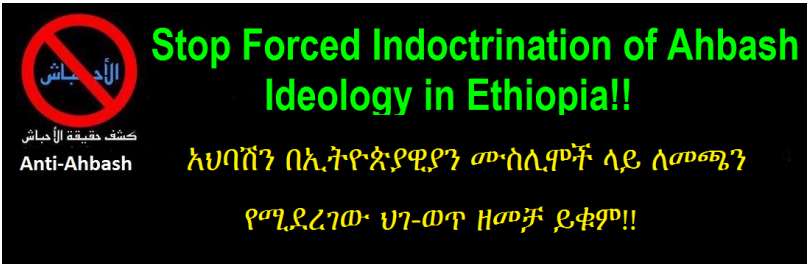
1. ሼህ መከተ ሙሄ
2. ሼህ ሱልጣን አማን
3. ሐጅ አየነው ሙሃመድ
4. ሼህ ዩሱፍ ሙዘሚል
5. ሐጅ ሑሴን ላለምዳ
6. አቶ ዑመር አብዲዑመር
7. አቶ ካሚል ሸምሱ
8. አቶ ጀማል ያሲን
9. አቶ አህመዲን ጀበል
10. አቶ ያሲን ኑሩ
11. ሼህ ሙሃመድ ከድር
12. ሼህ ጣሂር ዓብዱልቃድር
13. ሐጅ ከማል ኑሪ
14. አቶ አደም ካሚል
15. አቶ አህመድ ሙስጠፋ
16. አቶ አቡበከር አህመድ
17. ሼህ አብደላ አህመድ

ክፍል አራት

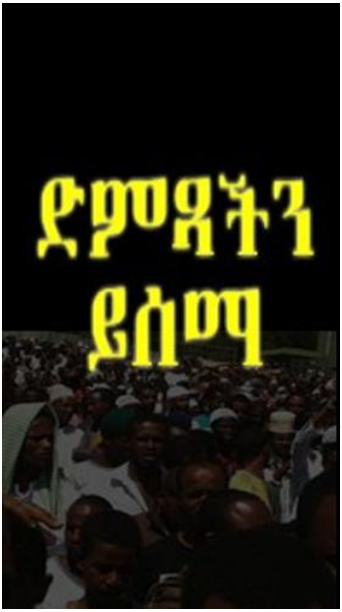
የፎቶ ጋለሪ

Part Four

Photo Gallery



1. **Some Cover photos (banners) Used by Anti-Ahbash Group**



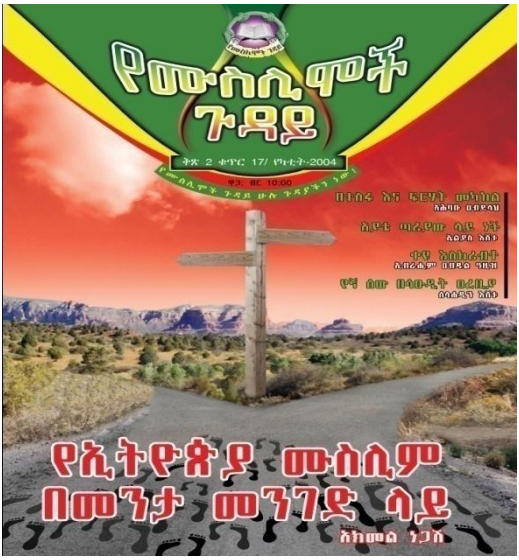
2. **"Dimtaschin Yisema": The popular slogan of Ethiopian Muslim Struggle. It came to existence at the same time with Aweliya uprising.**

3. **Anti-Ahbash group logo (also used as a profile picture by many people on social media)**

4. **Say "No to Ahbash", One of the popular slogans in the online struggle**

5. **Speaking against "Ahbash" and "Ahbashism Campagin" in different languages.**

6. **Some popular facebook profile pictures used by Ethiopian Muslims**



7. Covers of Islamic megazines posted on facebook

ሠለፊያ

ሠለፊያ ቅጽ 11 ቁጥር 550 ጁሙዓ 13 ሰፈር 1433 ሒጅሪያ
ዓርብ ታህሳስ 27/2004 ዓ.ል 2011 JANUARY 6/2011
ዋጋ 4.00 ብር

በአማራ ክልል በደቡብ ወሎ ዞን

በሐርቡና በደጋን ከተሞች የአማራ መጅሊስንና አሕባሽን በመቃወም ከፍተኛ ሰላማዊ ሰልፍ ተደረገ

8. **Front page of "Salafiyya" newspaper, the main Islamic weekly serving the people as a reliable source of information, January 2012**

አዲሱ የ‹‹ዴሞክራሲያችን››...

ከገፅ 2 የዞረ

ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ረፊቅ ሐሪሪ እስከማስገደል ድረስ ደርሷል፡፡ ዩናይትድ ኔሽንስ በወቅቱ ያወጣው ሪፖርት ሁለት በአሕባሽ ቡድን አመራር ውስጥ ያሉ ግለሰቦች በግድያው መሳተፋቸውን መግለጹም ይታወሳል፡፡

በተጨማሪም ቡድኑ ከየት እንደሚያመጣው የማይታወቅ ከፍተኛ በጀት ያለው ሲሆን ዓላማውን ማስፈጸሚያ አድርጎ ሲጠቀመው ቆይቷል፡፡ ‹‹ዳር አል መሻሪዕ›› የተሰኘ የኅትመት ድርጅታቸው ብቻ ዓመታዊ በጀቱ 3.2 ቢሊዮን ዶላር (ቢሊዮን ነው ያልኩት) መሆኑን በርካታ ድረ ገጾች ይገልጻሉ፡፡ ይህን ያህል ገንዘብ ከአባላት መዋጮ መሰብሰብ መቻም የማይታሰብ መሆኑ ግልጽ ነው፡፡

በ 2008 ሊባኖስ ውስጥ የአሕባሽ አባላት ‹‹ቡርጅ አቢ ሐይደር›› በተባለው ቦታ በመኪና ማቆሚያ ባስነሱት ውዝግብ ከፍተኛ የተኩስ ልውውጥ ከሂዝቦላ አባላት ጋር ተደርጓል፡፡ የሄዝቦላውን የአመራር አባል አሕመድ ፋዋዝ ጨምሮ ዐራት ያህል ሰዎች በተገደሉበት በዚህ የተኩስ ልውውጥ ከፍተኛ ንብረት ወድሟል፡፡ በተኩስ ልውውጡ ከተስፈንጣሪ ቦምቦች እስከ ከባድ መሣሪያዎች ጥቅም ላይ ውለው ነበር፡፡ እስቲ ልብ እንበል! የአንድ ‹‹ሰላማዊ›› ቡድን አባላት በዚህ መልኩ እስከ አፍንጫቸው ነፍጥ ታጥቀው የሚዞሩትና ‹‹ምናባክ ታፈጣለህ?››ን በመሳሰሉ ጥቃቅን ጸቦች አገር የሚረብሹት ስለምን ይሆን? ይህንን ቡድን ወደኢትዮጵያ ‹‹ኢምፖርት›› ማድረግስ ለዘመናት ሰላማዊ የነበሩትን ኢትዮጵያውያን ሙስሊሞችን ‹‹ሚሊታንት›› (ጦረኛ) ለማድረግ ይሆን ዓላማው?

ፕሮፌሰሩ ‹‹አሕባሾች ሰላማዊ ናቸው›› ብለው ማስባቸው ስህተት መሆኑን ከላይ ከተጠቀሱት መረጃዎች እንደሚረዱ እገምታለሁ፡፡

ጥያቄው የአወሊያ ት/ቤት ጉዳይ አይደለም!

ፕሮፌሰሩ አወሊያ ት/ቤትን ዋነኛ የግጭት ምንጭ አድርገው መጥቀሳቸው ሌላው መታረም ያለበት ነጥብ ነው፡፡ ካለፈው ዓመት ሐምሌ ጀምሮ ሥራ ላይ የዋለው የአሕባሽ ወከባ ገና ከጅምሩ ተቃውሞ ሲያስነሳ ቆይቷል፡፡ የተቃወሙ ወገኖችም እስርና ወከባ ሲደርስባቸው ቆይቷል፡፡ ዋነኛ የወከባው ጋሻጃግሬ የኢትዮጵያ (የአዲስ አበባ እና የክልል ጭምር) እስልምና ጉዳዮች ጠቅላይ ምክር ቤት (መጅሊስ) ነው፡፡ ላያችን ላይ ያለምንም ሕዝባዊ ምርጫ በጉሮ መጥተው የተቀመጡብን የመጅሊስ ሹሞች ቁልጭ ያሉ ‹ካድሬዎች› መሆናቸውን እኔም ሆንኩ በርካታ ሙስሊሞች እናምናለን፡፡ የገዥው ፓርቲ ሥውር ተጽእኖ በተቋሙ ውስጥ እንደሚገኝ መታመኑንም ‹‹የሙስሊሞች ጉዳይ መጽሔት›› በመጋቢት 2003 እትሟ በስፋት አውስታ ነበር፡፡

ይኸው መጅሊስ ታዲያ አሕባሽን በተቃወሙ ላይ የማሳሰር እርምጃ በመውሰድ ተቃዋሚዎቹን ሲያዋክብ ቆይቶ ነበር፡፡ በዚሁ ግርግር አወሊያ የሚባለውን ት/ቤት ‹‹ወርሶ›› አስተማሪዎቹን ማባረሩ የቅርብ ጊዜ ክስተት ሲሆን ዓላማውም ት/ቤቱን ዋነኛ የአስተሳሰቡ ማስረጫ ማዕከል ማድረግ ነበር፡፡ ይህን ያልወደዱት ተማሪዎች ተቃውሞ ጀምረው ጥያቄዎቻቸውን በሰላማዊ መንገድ አቅርበው ነበር፡፡ ኋላ ላይ ግን ለዓመታት ሲብሰለሰል የቆየው ‹‹የሃይማኖት ተቋማችን በካድሬ መመራቱ ይቁም!›› የሚል ጥያቄ ከሕዝቡ ወጥቶ አሁን ጥያቄው ‹‹ራሳችን የመረጥናቸው መሪዎች ወደሥልጣን ይምጡልን!›› ሆኗል፡፡

አሁን ጉዳዩ የአንድ ት/ቤት ጉዳይ አይደለም! ጉዳዩ የመሪ ድርጅት ጥያቄ ነው! የፍትሕ ጥያቄ ነው! ለዝርዝር መረጃዎች የጥር 25 የ‹‹ፍትሕ ጋዜጣ›› እትም ላይ የወጣውን የዩሱፍ ጌታቸውን ጽሑፍ እንዲያነቡ እጋብዛለሁ፡፡

ሊያስውጡን ታገሉ እንጂ አልዋጥናቸውም!

ክቡር ፕሮፌሰሩ በጽሑፋቸው የአሕባሽ አማኞች ድምጽ ብዙም የማይሰማ መሆኑን ካወሱ በኋላ ‹‹ባለመኖራቸው ነው ወይስ በኃይል ተዳፍነው ነው?›› የሚል ጥያቄ አንስተዋል፡፡ ይህንን ጥያቄ መመለሱ መደምደሚያዬ ይሆናል፡፡

በመሠረቱ የአሕባሽ አማኞች እጅግ አናሳ (በመቶዎች የሚቆጠሩ) ቢሆኑም በአገራችን ብዙ ዓመታት ማንም ሳይነካቸው፣ ማንንም ሳይነኩ ኖረዋል፡፡ ሕገ-መንግሥቱ የትኛውም ሰው የትኛውንም ሃይማኖት መርጦ መከተል መብቱ መሆኑን ያስቀመጠ ሲሆን የአሕባሽ አማኞችም የዚሁ መብት ተቋዳሽ ሆነው ቆይተዋል፡፡ 3 ቁጥር ማዞሪያ (ቶታል) አካባቢ የራሳቸው የትምህርት ማዕከል ነበራቸው፤ አላቸውም፡፡ ለዓመታት በርካታ ሰዎችን እያሠለጠኑ ሲቆዩ ማንም የተቀናቀናቸው፣ የዋጣቸው አልነበረም! አሁንም አልተዋጡም!

አሁን ችግሩ የተፈጠረው እኒህ የሚጎረብጡ አስተምህሮዎችን የሚያራምዱ ፀጉረ ልውጦች ለዘመናት የኖርንባቸውን መስጊዶቻችንንና መድሳዎቻችንን በመጅሊስ ድጋፍ በጉልበት እየቀሙን በመሆናቸው ነው፡፡ የመስጊድ ኢማሞቻችንን በ‹‹ካድሬው›› መጅሊስ አማካኝነት በግድ እያባረሩ አሕባሽ ኢማሞችን መሾማቸው ነው ችግሩ፡፡ ይህ ደግሞ መብታቸው አይደለም!!! ቢፈልጉ የራሳቸውን ተቋማትና ቤተ አምልኮዎች ይገንቡ እንጂ የሰውን መቀማት አይችሉም!!! የሕዝበ ሙስሊሙ ተቃውሞም ከዚህና ከዚህ ብቻ የመነጨ ነው - ሌላ አይደለም!!!

አንዳንድ የመንግሥት አካላትና ሁሉም የመጅሊሱ አካላት በግድ እየጫኑብን ያለው የአሕባሽ አስተሳሰብ በጉድፍ የተሞላና ዓለማቀፍ ሙስሊም ሊቃውንት ያወገዙት ቢሆንም ‹‹መልክ ጥፉን በሥም ይደግፉ›› እንዲሉ ድጋፍ ለማሰባሰብ የሐሰት ምክንያቶችን እየሰጡ ይገኛሉ - ‹‹ይህንን የምናደርገው ወሐቢያ የሚባለውን ቡድን ለማጥፋት ነው›› የሚል፡፡ ይህ ፍጹም ሐሰት ነው! መጀመሪያውኑ ‹‹ወሐቢያ›› ለሚለው ቃል የሰጡት ተግባራዊ ትርጉም "Non-Ahbash" (አሕባሽ ያልሆነ) የሚል ሆኖ ነው የምናገኘው፡፡ የተቃወማቸውንና ‹‹መንግሥት ሆይ! ስለምን በሃይማኖቴ ጣልቃ ትገባብኛለህ?›› ያለውን ሁሉ በእስር ቤት እያሳጎሩና መስጊድና መድረሳዎችን እያሳሸጉ ነው ያሉት! ጠያቂ የሌለ በሚመስል አኳኋን የፈለጉትን እያዋከቡ ነው፡፡ መስጊድ ውስጥ ለሚካሄድ ፕሮግራም ማስታወቂያ መለጠፍ እንኳ በ‹‹አሸባሪነት›› እያስጠረጠረ ብዙ ወንድሞች እየታሰሩ ነው፡፡ አሕባሽን የተቃወሙ ወጣቶች ሁሉ እንደዘመነ ደርግ በመጅሊስ አባላት ጥቆማ ማዕከላዊ እየተወሰዱ የሥነ-ልቦና ጦርነት ሰለባ ሆነዋል፡፡ እርግጥ 15 ቀን አስረው ሰውየውን ይለቁታል - ፍርሃትና ሥጋት ከለቀቁበት በኋላ!

‹‹የማደርገውን ነገር ሁሉ በደምብ አስጠንቼ እንጂ በዘፈቀደ አይደለም›› የሚለን ኢሕአዴግ ያስጠናውን ነገር ውጤት በተግባር እያየነው ነው፡፡ ይኸው ሐምሌ ከመጣ ጀምሮ ውክቢያ፣ እስር፣ ማስፈራራት፣ ተቃውሞና ብጥብጥ እንጂ ለሙስሊሞች ምንም አልተረፈንም፡፡ በተለይ በየክፍለ አገሩ በርካታ ሙስሊሞች በደላቸውን እያሰሙ ነው የሚገኙት፡፡ በመቶ ሺዎች የሚቆጠሩ የፔቲሽን ፊርማዎች የመንግሥትን ደጃፍ ሲረግጡ ሰንብተዋል፡፡ ሰዎች ሲዋከቡና በተደጋጋሚ ጥቃት ሥር እንደሆኑ ሲያስቡ ደግሞ በርጋጋ ይሆናሉ፡፡ ጽንፈኝነት መግቢያ በር ያገኛል፡፡ ይህ ጥሩ አይደለም - ለሕዝብ - ከዚያም ለመንግሥት!

በሰዎች መካከል ብጥብጥ መስፈኑ የሕገ አራዊት ሥርዓት ነው፡፡ ምናልባት ‹‹መንግሥታት በ‹ሽማግሌነት› ተበጣባጮችን እየዳኙ ዕድሜያቸውን ማርዘማቸው ጥሩ ነው›› ካላልን በስተቀር ጥሩ አይደለም!

እባካችሁ አቁሙልን! ሃይማኖት በግድ አይሆንም! ምሁራንና ጋዜጠኞችም ዝም አትበሉ! ምከሩ፣ ዝከሩ! የእኛ ችግር የእናንተም ችግር ነውና!!! አበቃሁ!

(www.feteh.com)

9. **An article from "Fitih" newspaper, February 2012**

ጥር - 2004 ዓ.ም

ዕንቁ

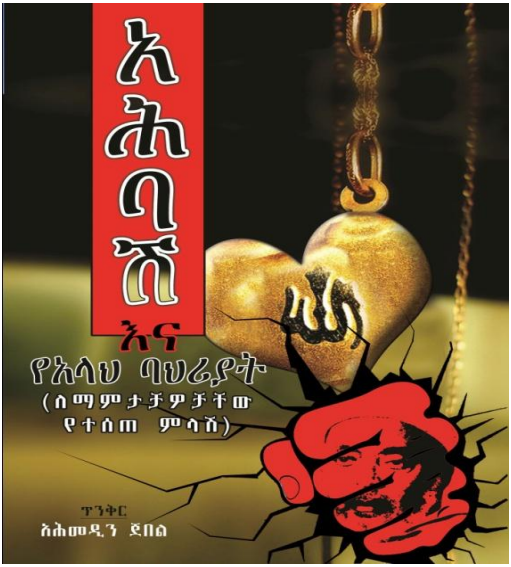
የአህባሽ መዘዝ

4ኛ ዓመት ቁጥር 059 43

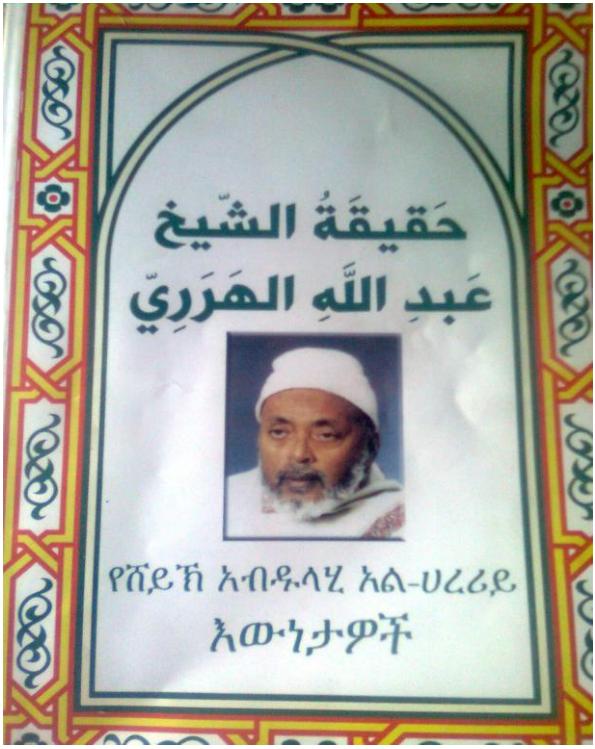
10. An article taken from “Inqu” magazine” and copied to facebook, January 2012 (Written By Hussen Kedir)

11. Covers of two Amharic books exposing the "Ahbash" cult.

a/ Ubah Abdusalam Seid's *"Who is Ahbash? What is it?"*



b/ Ahmedin Jebel's *"Ahbash and the Atrributes of Allah*".



12. Cover of "Ahbash" propaganda book published by "Majlis" in December 2011

13. Official logo of Al-Ahbash Organization

ውሀቢያ ጃሂሊያን ተጠሊች!
ውሀቢዮች (አልሸባብ) በአንዋር
በጉጉት ሲጠበቅ የነበረው የክቡር ጠቅላይ
ሚኒስተራችን ምላሽ ሙስሊሙን አስደስተ
የአንዋር መስጂድ ያመበኑት
መስታወቶች ረገፉ!!
5ት ሰዎች መሞታቸው

14. Al-Quds Newspaper on pro-Ahbash propaganda war

15. "Amira Omer on Facebook": The person using a name "Amira Oumer" for his facebook propaganda war is believed to be a member of the family who owned "Al-Quds" newspaper. At the right is one of the posts he made in on facebook

ተጠንቀቁ!

እንደ ድሮው አወልያ የተቃወሞ ጉብኤ ያለ መሰሳችሁ የለመደባችሁን ማሊያ ለብሳችሁ እንዳትሄዱ። እያስፈራራኋችሁ ሳይሆን እያስጠነቀቅኳችሁ ነው። ጠቅላይ ሚኒስተራችን «በሀገራችን ውህቢያ አሁን የጀመረውን የጽንፈኛ አካሄድ ካላቆመ መቀመጫውን እንቆርጠዋለን።» ብለዋል። ለነገሩ እናንተም እንደ ኮሚቴዎቻችሁ መቀመጫ የላችሁም መሰለኝ፣ ግን ተጠንቀቁ። ሀገራችን እንደናንተ አይነት ከዛሬ 20 አመት በፊት የተፈበረከ እምነት አታስተናግድም፣ እኛ የጥንት የጥዋቱ የነብዩ ሙሐመድ (ﷺ) ተማሪዎች ሰፊዮች ነን። አረ ወደዚያ...፣ ጽንፈኛ ሁላ፣ እስከዛሬ በአወልያ «ቡጊ ቡጊ» ስትጨፍሩ አንዳንዴ ጭራቅ የለሽን ስትሆኑ፣ የከረማችሁ በተከቢራ ሰበብ የመስጂድ መስኮቶችን የምትሰብሩ ውሃቢዮች ሁላ መቀመጫችሁ ይቆረጣል፣ ምድረ ጣውለ አቋም። አንድ ሚሊዮን ሆናችሁ አይደለም 60 ሚሊዮን ህዝብ በ1997 ቅንጅትን ደግፎ ሰላማዊ ሰልፍ ውጥቶ መመለስ የቻለ መንግስት ነው ያለን። እናንተን ወፈፌ ደግሞ ሙሰሊሙ ማንነታችሁን ቢያውቅ እንኳን ጋዞቪህ አንድ ሺህም አይከተላችሁም ነበር። «ዝባይ ያልወደደሽት...» እንደሚባለው ኤልማዎች ቤጥች ነገሯችሁ አልስማ አላችሁ። አንግዲህ ህዝን ልጅ «ወዮልህ አባጅቦ ይመጣልህል» እንደሚባለው ሰአናንተም «ወዮላችሁ ጥቁር ሰባሾች ይመጣሉ» አላችኋለሁ፣ አናንተ አይጠፉ። ያለውሀቢዮችን ሴራ ሳያውቅ ሰልቶን ዮተቀላቀለ ሙስሊም

ድምፃችን ይሰማ!

የተቃውሞ ድምፅ

መጅሊሱ እና አሕባሽ ላይ አገር አቀፍ ተቃውሞው ተፋፍሞ ቀጥሏል!!

የመጅሊስ ክስረት በአዲስ አበባ መስጂዶች!

የመጅሊስ ሰብሳቢዎች በህዝብ ተቃውሞ እየተበተኑ ነው::

ባለፈው ሰምተት ትዳማና አሁድ በአዲስ አበባ የተሰያሙ መጅሊዶች ከህዝብ ጋር ሲደረግ ታስቦ የማሰራው ውይይት በአብዛኛው ላይሰክ መቅረቱ ተሰማ:: በአብዛኛው አደንዛ እንደተገለጸው «መጅሊስና አህባሽን አስመልክቶ የተፈጠሩ ብዥታዎችን የማጥራት አላማ አለው» ተብሎ በብዙ የከተማችን መስጊዶች ተለጥፎ በከፍው ማስታወቂያ ከተገኙ ከ250 ከ350 የሚደርሱት ሰዎች ተገኝተው ነበር:: በመጀረው ላይ የገባሪ ሁለት ሰዎች የመጅሊሳ አሥተዳዳሪ እንዲሆም እግሙ ሐጂ ሷሃ ነበሩ:: እግሙ ፕሮግራሙን በገማገሪነው በመክፈት «ብስራታ አናስተምራችሁ» ሲሉ የቀደመው ሲሆን ይህንንም በማስተማር ላይ እያሉ አተሳታፊዎችን ከፍተኛ ተቃውሞ ገጥሟቸዋል:: ተሳታፊዎቹ «እኛ የመጣው ስለስራታ ስመማትት ሳይሆን ከስለህብ ለማድመጥ ነው፤ እኛም ሱፊዶች ነን! እኛ ከስራታ ጋር ችግር የለብንም! በሰሰምም አብረን እየኖርን ነው» የሚል ጥያቄ ሲያስነሣ እግሙ በገለጻቸው መቀጠል መርጠዋል:: ይህ ያሰጣማቸው በማምተ አተሳታፊዎቹ ሩብ ያህሉ ተሰብስቦ «ለየያ ያላችን ምክክ ካልሰጠን ልናዳማጥዎት አንችም» የሚል አጽፈታ ሲሉማ በመከወት በተገኘ መስጊዳን ለቅቀው ወጥተዋል:: አዝዚ ሰዎች «መጅሊስ ነጽህ አህባሽ ይወገዳል» የሚል መፈክር ደጋግመው ያሰሙ ነበር - መጅዲዳን ለቅቀው ሲወጡ ሐጂ ሷሃ መጅዲዳን ለቅቀው የወጡትን ሰዎች «የደር ጭንቅት! መሃይማ» ብለው ሲከሯቸዋችን አጽምጠናል::

እግሙ አተፋሩት ተሰብስቢዎች ጋር ስብሰባቸውን ለመቀጠል ቢጥሩም ሕዝቡ «ወደአህባሽ አጀንዳ ይገቡልን» በማለት እግሙን ሲያስጨንቃቸው ታይቷል:: ተሰብሳቢዎቹ በድፍረት «ነገሮ ከውጪ አስተማሪዎች ማምጣት አስፈለገ? አገራችን በቂ አሊም የላትም ወይ? የመጂሊስን ባለስልጣናት መቼ መረጣናቸው? አህባሽ እንደታቸትንን እያደፈረሰው ስለመሆኑ አምኖሎገን? መገማት ሰምገ በገይማኖታችን ባልታ ገባ:» የሚሉ ጠባር ጥያቄዎች አተሳታፊዎች ወቷሃማው ቢነገሯቸዎ እግሙ ጥያቄዎን አጽበከብለው ኡማሌ ወጪ ኢማራዊ አልነበራቸውም : «ስልጠናው ስፈጠውን ማደራጀት ስስፈለገ በጥናት ነው አየተሰራ ያለው» የሚል ምላሽ በመስጠት የህዝቡን ቀጣ ለማርገብ ቢጥሩም ህዝቡ ገን በቀጣና ዘልል «ገንማርኮን» መስማት እንፈልጋም! እርስዎም አህባሽ ሆነዋል! አህባ አከበር! መጅሊስ ነጂስ» ሲል ተሰምቷል:: ፕሮሬሙ ስዚያው የተቋረጠ ሲሆን ስመቋረጡ ቀዳሚ ምክንያት የማሪውም ኢማሙ ጥያቄዎችን አልቀበልም ማለታቸው ነው:: ይህም ህዝቡ በሞላ ቀጣው እንዲገፍፍ ምክንያት ሆኗል::

ፕሮግራሙ በዚህ መልኩ በከክረት ሲጠናቀቅ የመጂዲዳ ዓሊሞችን ከክፍ አመከገዳ አስጥተተቸዋል: የመድረክ ስዚያ መልኩ ያስገብሳት መጠናቀቅ ገን ስጊማሙና ስመጂሊሱ ትልቅ ክስረት መሆኑን አመክቶ ሆኗል: ምክንያቱም መጂሊስና ጀዎች አንዋር መስጊደን ዋስ የደጋፍ ማክክቸው አድርገው ሲመክሩት የቆዩ መሆናቸ የህዝቡ ሁኔታ ገን በተቃራኒው ሆኖ መታየቱ ነው::

ይህ በአንዳህ ሣዲ በፒያሳው ኑር መስጊድ! በሐጂ ደኑብ መስጊድ! በፍልውሃ ተወራት መስጊድ! በአአንዳ መስጊድ እና በከራዩ ኩርቱ መስጊድ! በዛሬ መስጊድ! በዛሬ ሰፈር ሰፈ መስጊድ! በአብዲሬ መስጊድ! በሌጋሃይ ቢጋሲያን መስጊድ! እንዲሁም በአሃሃዳን መስጊድ የተቀሣሄዱ ስብሰባዎች በአንዋር መስጊድ አይነት ትከይዝተኛ የተገኙት ሲሆን የፍል ው�ው ተወራት መስጊድ ገን አንደም ተሰብስቢ ሳምሃ ቀርቷል:: የኑር (ሸዋ) መስጊድ ምክትል ኢማሙና ቢጊል መስጊድ ኖና ኢማም በስብሰባው ከህዝብ አህባሽን አስመልክቶ በማስጊደ የቀረቡላቸው ጥያቄዎች መደናገጥ ውስጥ አስተተቸው ታይቷል:: አቋማቸውን ለመግለጥ እና ከህዝብ ጋር አንድ ላይ ለመቆም ፍላጎት አሳይተዋል:: «ጉቆቹ ይባራም» ብለዋል:: የሁለቱም መስጊዶች ኢማሞች በመድረኩ ከመደሰት በተሰባሳቢው ትአዝብ መሪነት የአህባሽን መስከምነት ለማከተማር አቅድ ይዘው የገቡ ሲሆን ሁሉም ሳይሳካ ስብሰባዎቹ በከራሳ ተጠናቅቀዋል::

በአዲም በኩል ረጅሁ ምሽት በሌዲያ ፋና በተዘጋጀ ፕሮግራም የውይይት ፕሮግራም ከመደሰት አሣማ ምክር ቤት የተወከሉ ሰዎች (ሐጂ ሣዛን ጨምር) ስለአህባሽ አስተምህር መልክምት ደስስረዋል:: አየቀጠሉ የማሪውም ሁሉ እንዳይጋለጥባቸው በመጪነትም የመረጡትን ጥያቄ ብቻ እያቀረቡ መልስ የሰጡ ስመምሰል የማሪ ሲሆን ምንም አይነት ተከራከራ በቀጥታ ጥያቄ እንዳያቀርብ አድርገዋል:: ሐጂ ሣዛ ቅዳሜ በአንዋር መስጊድ አዳሬ ሐረሬ ብዙ መከረር የሌለባቸውን ሁለምች ያከራሩ መሆናቸውን በህዝብ ፊት አምነው የገቡ ሲሆንም በሌዳዎቹ ገማጽት ገን ይህንን አውነታ ጠሩ ስመሉ ከደዋል::

ዛሬ 1

ዛሬ 4

ሃሚ አደርገው ሰማአተላለፍ ሃብኤነዳ ዓ.ዘ.ሙ!!

16. copy of "Dimtsachin Yisema" news letter

ድምጸችን ይሰማ

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የተቃውሞ ድምጽ

ጁሙዓ መጋቢት 21 ፡ 2004– 12ኛ የተቃውሞ ሳምንት

,ትግሉም ድሉም የሁሉም ነው!

ኢትዮጵያውያን ሙስሊሞች የዲናችን ጌቶች እምርታና ሀገራዊ አስተዋጽኦዎችንን የገቱ የመጅሊሱ ሕገ-ወጥ አመራሮችን ክትክቸችን ለማውረድ ድምፃችንን ማሰማት ከጀመርን ሰነባበትን፡፡ ሁሉንም ዓይነት የበደል እንቅስቃሴዎች ያከሸፈው የሕዝበ ሙስሊሙ የመብት ጥያቄ መልካም ጎዳና ላይ እንዳለ ብዙዎቹ ይመሰክራሉ፡፡ እስካሁን ባደረገውም እንቅስቃሴም የሚናው ድል ዋዜማ የሆኑ በርካታ ድሎች መጎናፀፍ ችሏል፡፡ ከነዚህም መካከል፡-

1ኛ. ለዘመናት በሚደረግ ዳፍሞ እንኳን ሊታሽ የማይችል ታሪኮ የማይተካ ክብሩ እንደገና መፈጠሩ ትልቅ ድል ነው፡፡ ለብዙዎች ይህ ታሪካዊ አንድነት ከአላህ (ሱ.ወ) ለኢትዮጵያዊያን ሙስሊሞች የተሰጠ ልዩ ስጦታ እንደሆነ ይመሰክራሉ፡፡ አህባሽ በመሰረቱ ሙስሊሙን በመከፋፈል አርሱ በርሱ ሲባላ እንዲኖር ለማድረግ ታስቦ ከውጪ የመጣ አንሺ ሆኖ ባለ በተቃራኒው ይህ አንድነት መፈጠሩ በትክክልም የአላህ ስጦታ መሆኑን ያረጋግጣል፡፡

2ኛ. የሙስሊሙን ሕብረተሰብ ሰላማዊነት በዝምድ ያሳየ መሆኑ ሌላኛው ውጤት እንደሆነ ይጠቀሳል፡፡ በሙቶ ሽታቸ የሚቆጠርና እጅግ አስከፊ በደል በደማቸው ላይ እየፈጸመበት ያለ ሕዝበ ሙስሊም አንድ ቦታ ላይ ተሰባስቦ እንኳት ጠጠር ሳይወረውር እጅግ ኢስላማዊና ሠላማዊ በሆነ መንገድ መብቱን የመጠየቅ ባህሉ ብዙዎችን አስደምሟል፡፡ "ሰላምን የሚያናጉ፣ ሰላምን ማናጋት ለሚፈልጉትም ከፍተት የማይሰጠው" ሲሉም አንድ የመድሰት ባለስልጣን የተቃወሞ እንቅስቃሴውን ገልፀውታል፡፡

3ኛ. ኢትዮጵያዊያን ሙስሊሞች በዓለም አቀፍ ደረጃ ማንነቱ የተጋለጠውን የአህባሽ አስተሳሰብ በመቃወም ዲናቸውን ለመጠበቅ ያላቸውን ቁርጠኝነትና ጌቶች ማረጋገጣቸው፡፡

4ኛ. ሕዝባዊ የመብት ትግሉ ያሰብትን ሁለገብ ጫናዎች ሁሉ ተቋቁሞ የሀገሪቱን ሁሉንም ክፍሎች እያዳረሰ መገኘቱ ለላኛው ድል እንደሆነ ይጠቀሳል፡፡

ከላይ የጠቀስናቸው ድሎች ሁሉ መሳካት የምሉት እንደኃይላችንን ጠብቆን በመገኘታችሁ ነው፡፡ ሙስሊሙ ህብረተሰብ ከዚህ ቀደም በጥቃቅን ልዩነቶች አርስ በርሱ ሲጣላ የመጅሊሱ ባለስልጣናት ይህን ክፍተት በመጠቀም ሲመራረጡ፣ ያጥቸውን ሲሰሩና ሙስሊሙን ሲመዝበሩ ቆይተዋል፡፡ በዚህ ስራቸው የመረረ ተቃውሞ ሰላላጋጠመባቸው ይህ አልቢቃ ብሏቸው ከእያሁድ ጋር በማበር አህባሽን አምጥተው ሙስሊሙን የበለጠ ሲከፋፍሉ፣ ሲከፋፍሉ ሲ ሲ ሲ ... ነገር ግን ዲኑን የሚጠብቀው አላህ ነውና ባልተጠበቀ ሁኔታ አላህ ሙስሊሙን አንድ አድርገውና ይህን የአይሁድ ሴራ እንዲጋፈጥ አነሳሳው፡፡ አላሁ አክበር!! አውነም ይህን

17. Another copy of "Dimtsachin Yisema"

የአንድነታችን መዝሙሮ ነሺዳ

አላህ_ አላሁ አክበር! አላሁ አክበር! አላሁ አክበር! (2)
አንድ ነንለኛ ማንሠባጠል በዲናችን
አንድ ነንለኛ ማም አይለየን በምታችን
የሚሸሻረው የአላህ ቃል ነው መመሪያችን
ታላቁ ነብዩ የሕይወት መንገድ ምዛሊያችን (2)

አገር ወዳድ ነን ለሠላም የቆምን የፍትሕ ዘበኞች (2)
ለድገት ለልማት ፀንተን የምንኖር ታጋይ አርበኞች
ፍቅር አርማሹን ሁሉን የምንወድ የሠላም ዜጎች
ፍቅር አርማሹን ሁሉን የምንወድ የሠላም ምንጮች

አላህ_ አላሁ አክበር! አላሁ አክበር! አላሁ አክበር! (2)
አንድ ነንለኛ ማንሠባጠል በዲናችን
አንድ ነንለኛ ማም አይለየን በምታችን
የሚሸሻረው የአላህ ቃል ነው መመሪያችን
ታላቁ ነብዩ የሕይወት መንገድ ምዛሊያችን (2)

ኩፍርና ኒፋቅ በጋራ ሆነው ቢተባበሩ
ኩፍርና ኒፋቅ ሕኖን ለማጥመም ቀን ሌት ቢጥሩ
ወደ ጅሀልና ሕዝቡን ለመከተት ቢፍጨረጨሩ
ሙስሊሙ ነቅቷል ሁሉም አንድ ሆኗል ይኸው አፈሩ (2)

አላህ_ አላሁ አክበር! አላሁ አክበር! አላሁ አክበር!
አንድ ነንለኛ ማንሠባጠል በዲናችን
አንድ ነንለኛ ማም አይለየን በምታችን
የሚሸሻረው የአላህ ቃል ነው መመሪያችን
ታላቁ ነብዩ የሕይወት መንገድ ምዛሊያችን (2)

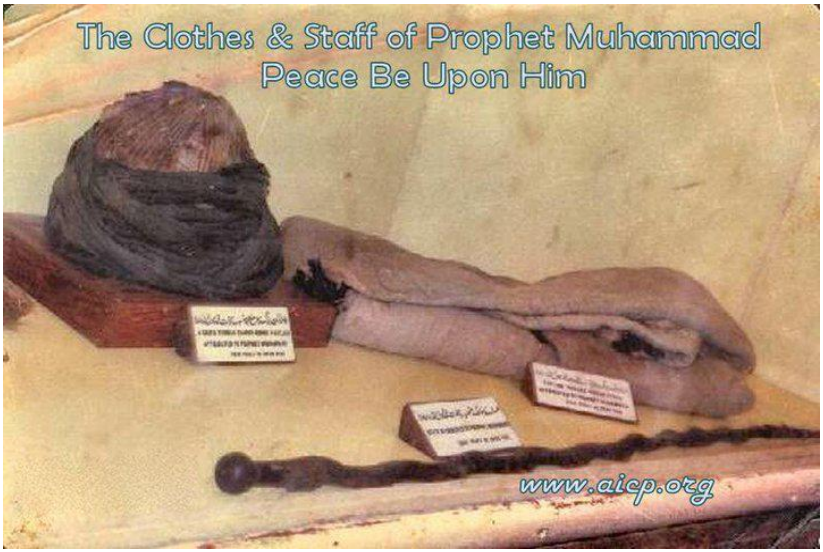
የነጀሽ ልጆች የቢላል ዘሮች ያበሸኞች ኩራት(2)
ምዛሌነቱ ለዓለም ፍትሕ የሆነው ብስራት
ሕጅ ለጅ ሆነን ፍትሕ ፍለጋ ቆምን በፅናት (2)

አላህ_ አላሁ አክበር! አላሁ አክበር! አላሁ አክበር! (2)
አንድ ነንለኛ ማንሠባጠል በዲናችን
አንድ ነንለኛ ማም አይለየን በምታችን
የሚሸሻረው የአላህ ቃል ነው መመሪያችን
ታላቁ ነብዩ የሕይወት መንገድ ምዛሊያችን (2)

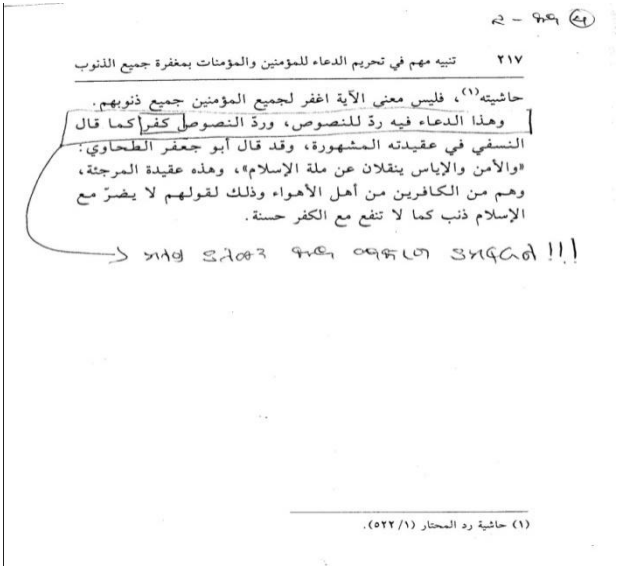
የተሰሰረው በኢማን መንገድ በጥንካሬ
የተሰሰረው በኢስላም መንገድ በጥንካሬ
ላይሠጣጠል ባንድነት ቆሟል ቃል ገብቷል ዛሬ
ሙስሊሙ ብቢል ኢስላም ሕይወቴ ኢስላም ነው ክብሬ!
ሙስሊሙ ብቢል ኢስላም ሕይወቴ ኢስላም ነው ክብሬ!

ይህንን የአንድነታችን መዝሙ የሆነውን ሸፊዶ ፣ ዓ ማም ሁላችንም በመሸምደድ በጋራ ለመዝመር ለምክር:: ሕፃናቱም ለንዲሸመድዱት ለናድርግ::

18. Ethiopian Muslims Unity Poem (Nashida)



19. Ahbash propaganda photo: It says that the faction has cloths and many articles of prophet Muhammad (s.a.w)



٢١٧ تنبيه مهم في تحريم الدعاء للمؤمنين والمؤمنات بمغفرة جميع الذنوب

حاشيته[1]، فليس معنى الآية اغفر لجميع المؤمنين جميع ذنوبهم.

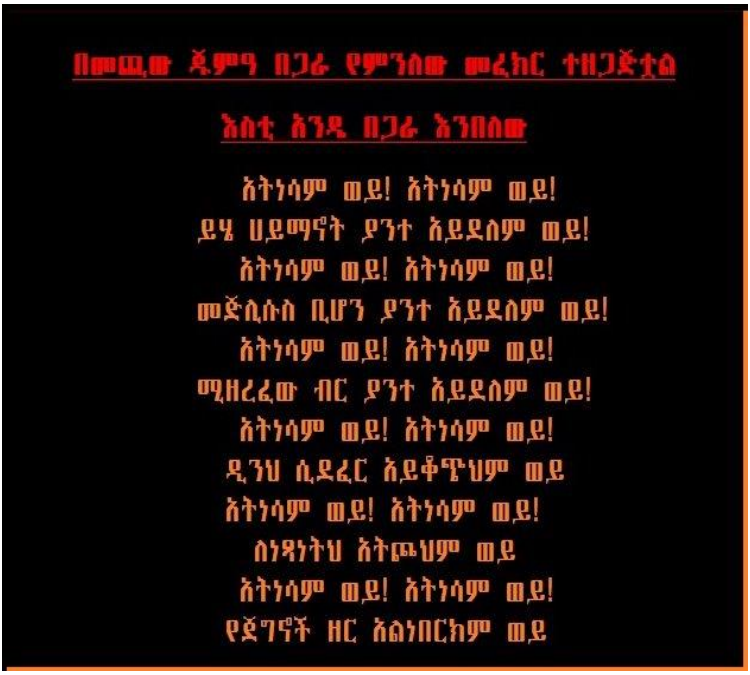
وهذا الدعاء فيه ردّ للنصوص، وردّ النصوص كفر كما قال النسفي في عقيدته المشهورة، وقد قال أبو جعفر الطحاوي: «والأمن والإياس ينقلان عن ملة الإسلام»، وهذه عقيدة المرجئة، وهم من الكافرين من أهل الأهواء وذلك لقولهم لا يضرّ مع الإسلام ذنب كما لا تنفع مع الكفر حسنة.

(١) حاشية رد المحتار (١/ ٥٢٢).

20. Brother Isaac Eshetu exposing a heresy of Ahbash: He encircled a place where the Ahbash founder wrote *"Asking forgivness for all Muslims makes you a disbliever"*. It is copied from a book titled "Sarihul Bayan", page 217.

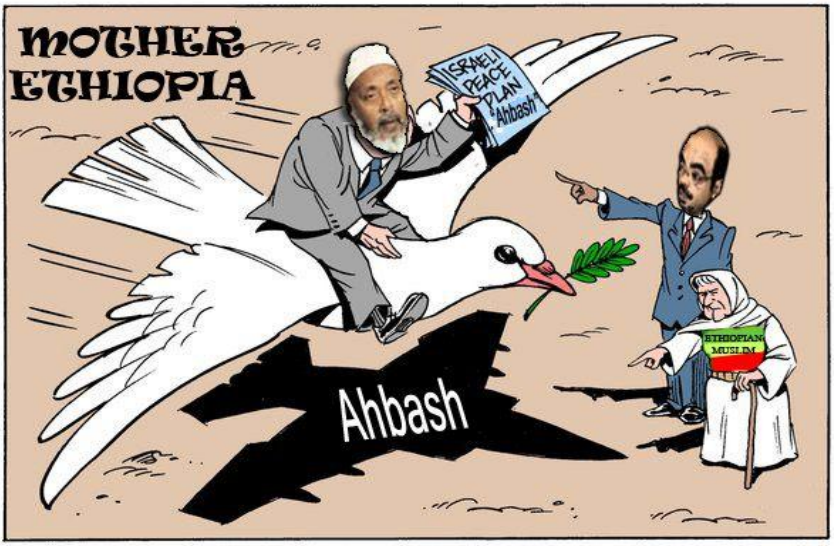
በነገዉ እለት እሁድ ከጠዎቱ 3 ሰአት ጀምሮ የአዲስ አበባ ከንቲባ አቶ ኩማ ደመቅሳ ከአዲስ አበባ ሙስሊሞች ጋር ዉይይት ስለሚያካሂዱ በአዲስ አበባ የምትገኙ ሙስሊሞች በሙላ በአዲስ አበባ ቲያትር እና ባህል አዳራሽ ወይም በተለምዶ መዘጋጃ ቤት አዳራሽ በመገኘት የሙስሊሙ ጥያቄዎችን እና መጅሊስ በሙስሊሙ ላይ እያደረሰ ያለዉን ግፍና በደል በስብሰባዉ ላይ እንግለፅ::የኛ ተሳትፎ ትልቅ ለዉጥ ያመጣል!! ምክንያቱም ልማታዊዉ መንግስታችን በአሁኑ ሰአት የሙስሊሙን የልብ ትርታ ለማዳመጥ የተለያዩ ስብሰባዎችን በተለያዩ እርከን ላይ ከሚገኙ ሙስሊሞች ጋር ዉይይት እያካሄደ ነዉ::ባካሄደዉ ስብሰባም መጅሊስ ህዝበ ሙስሊሙን እንደማይወክል በተሳታፊዉ ህዝብ በአንድነት ተገልፆል:: በመሆኑም ነገ በመዘጋጃ ቤት በሚካሄደዉ ስብሰባ በመገኘት ሁላችንም ኢስላማዊ ግዴታችንን እንወጣ!!ላልሰሙት አሰሙ!!!

21. **Online calls for meetings:**
    a/. above- alert to inform Muslims to participate in meeting held at Addis Ababa City Hall.
    b/right- call to meeting in solidarity with Ethiopian Muslims by Diaspora community of Minnesota.



22. Poems for the struggle

23. "Catch the two Criminals": an Ethiopian Muslim expressing his anger at Hagai Erlcih and Sheikh Abdullah Al-Harari on facebook.



24. A cartoon to express "Ahbashism" is being sponsored by the state.

25. Cartoon depicting the "marriage" between "Majlis" and Al-Quds newspaper.

ትናንት በጓሮ በር እንደገቡት ዛሬም እንዳይደገም ስንል
ለመላው የኢትዮጲያ ህዝበ ሙስሊም
አዋጅ

1 ምርጫው በየመስጂዱ እንዲደረግ
2. የምርጫውን ሂደት የሚከታተሉ ታዛቢዎች
ከብዙሁ ህዝበ ሙስሊም መመረጥ አለባቸው ::
3 .ራሳቸውን የኡለማ ምክር ቤት አድርገው የተሰየመው አካል ከህዝበ ሙስሊሙ
ውክልና የሌለዉ በመሆኑ የምርጫውን ሂደት የመከታተልም ሆነ የማስፈፀም
ችሎታም ሆነ የሞራል ብቀት የሌለው ሀሰተኛ አካል ነው::
4. የመንግስትን ስልጣን ሽፋን በማድረግ በሀይማኖት
ጉዳያችን ላይ ጣልቃ የሚገቡ ግለሰቦች ከድርጊታቸው እንዲታቀቡ መንግስትን
አጥብቀን እንጠይቃለን::
5 .በማንኛቸውም ቤራ እና ትንሳ ተደናቅፈን ሰላማዊ ትግላችንን እናቆምም::
6. የምናምናቸው መሪዎቻችን በፍትሀዊ ምርጫ እስኪተኩ ድረስ ሰላማዊ
ትግላችን ተጠናክሮ ይቀጥላል::
7. ለመላዉ ትውልድ ስላምን ፍትሀና ንፁህ ሀይማኖትን ለማስረከብ እስከ
ህይወት መስዋእትነት እንከፍላለን::
8. የምንወዳቸው የምናምናቸው አማና የሚወው የምንልቸውን ከወዴው እናዚንጅ

ኢስላም ስላም አላሁ አክበር አላሁ አክበር አላሁ አክበር

26. Call for Free Election to be held at mosques: The title says *"Let them not enter through the back door as they did it yesterday"*

27. Online Calls for Aweliya Rally

28. Online Call for Aweliya Rally

29. Crowd of Muslims at Aweliya Mosque, February 23/2012

30. Crowds Chanting "Allahu Akbar"; Aweliya mosque, March 2/2012

31. Slogans at Aweliya Rally

32. Female demonstrators at Aweliya

33. Unity in Action, Aweliya in the middle of March 2012

34. Demonstration at Anwar Mosque, May 4/2012

35. Silent Protesting, Anwar Masjid, May 18/2012

36. The two Arabs whom ETV called "Jihadists who came to fuel violence in Ethiopia": May 4/2012

37. "The illigtimate majlis leaders should step down and be brought to justice"

ECMCA
Ethiopian Canadian Muslim Community Association in Toronto
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171 McCormack Street, Toronto ON M6N 1X8 Tel: (416) 658-0081 Fax: (416) 658-8786

February 8, 2012

በኣላህ ስም እጅግ በጣም ሩኅሩኅ በጣም ኣዛኝ በሆነው።

የወሊያ ተማሪወችን እንቅስቃሴና በቅርቡ ሕገወጡን መጅሊስ በሕጋዊ መንገድ ለማስውገድ እንዲያስተባብር የተመረጠዉን ኮሚቴና፤ ለመስራት የተነሳበትን ዓላማና የሚያደርገውን ሕጋዊ እንቅስቃሴ በመደገፍ፤ የቶሮንቶና ኣካባቢውን ነዋሪ ኢትዮጵያውያን ሙስሊሞች ለማስተባበር በኦክቶበር 30፣ 2011 ከተመረጠው ጊዜኣዊ ኣስተባባሪ ኮሚቴ የተሰጠ የድጋፍ መግልጫ።

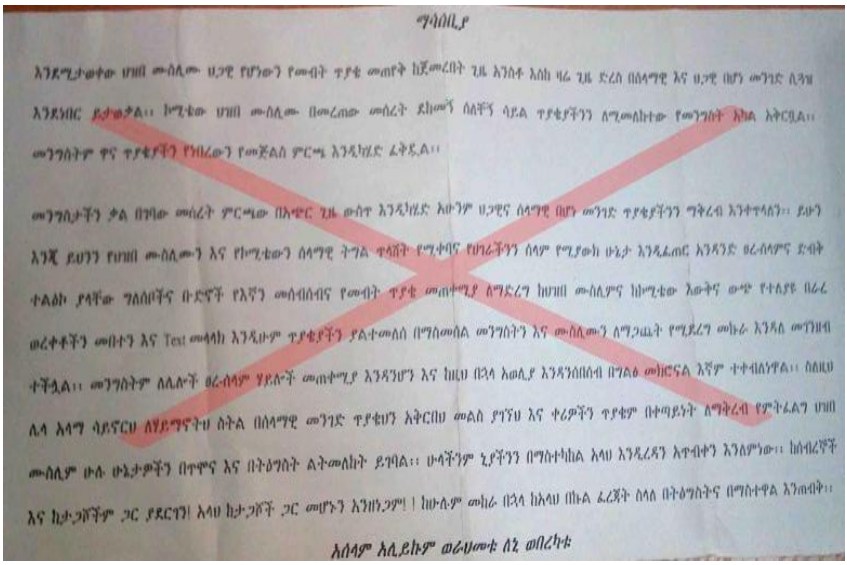
የኣወሊያ ተማሪውች ያሳዩት የትግል ስልትና የኣመራር ብስለት፤ የኣወሊያን የትምሕርት ተቋዋም መጅሊስ ሊርጭበት ከፈለገው መርዝ ያስቆመ ትግል ብቻ ሳይሆን፤ የኢትዮጵያውያን ሙስሊሞች ለሕገመንግስታዊ መብታችው፤ ለሚያደርጉት ትግል ታላቅ ምሳሌ የሆነና፤ ሙስሊሙን ከእንቅልፉ ያነቃ፤ በሕገዊ መንገድ ኣንድና ብቸኛ ድርጅቱን (መጅሊሱን) ኣሰላማዊ እውቀትና ኣደብ ባላቸው ኣሊሞችና፤ በሕዝብ በተመረጡ መሪወች እንዲተካ ለሚደረገው ጥረት በር የከፈተ፤ ታላቅ እንቅስቃሴ ነው።

ስለሆነም፤ በቶሮንቶና ኣካባቢዋ የሚኖሩ ኢትዮጵያውያን ሙስሊሞች ኣስተባባሪ ኮሚቴ ያላወሊያ ተማሪዎችን ላደረጋችሁት ጥረት ኣላህ (ሱወ) ምንዳችሁን እንዲከፍላችሁ ዱኣ እያደረገን የትግላችሁ ኣጋርና ደጋፊ መሆናችንን እንገልጻለን።

በተጨማሪም የኣወሊያን ተማሪወች በመደገፍ፤ በኣወሊያ መስጊድ በጁማ ቀን በመሰባሰብ፤ መጅሊስ ሙስሊሙ በመረጣቸው ሙስሊም ምሁራን እንዲመራና ከኣህባሽ የበከል ረእዮት ጠርቶ የሙስሊሙ መከታና የኣስልምና ጠበታ እንዲሆን፤ መንግስት በሃይማኖታችን ጣልቃ መግባቱን እንዲያቆም፤ ሙስሊሙም በኣገሩ የኣድገትና ብልጽግና እቅድ፤ ተሳትፎውን እንዲያበረታታ የተደረገዉን ውይይትና፤ ይህን ኣላማ ለማስፈጸምና ለማስተባበር የተመረጠውን ጊዚያዊ ኣስተባባሪ ኮሚቴ ደጋፊ መሆናችንን ለማስገንዘብ እንፈልጋለን።

በዚህ ኣጋጣሚም የኢትዮጵያ መንግስት የሙስሊሙን ብሶት በኣንክር በማዳመጥ ኣንድና ብቸኛ ድርጅቱን ሙስሊሙ በመረጣቸው መሪዎቹ እንዲተካ መንገዱን ያስተካል ዘንድ እናሳስባለን።

38. Solidarity Message (From Ethio-Canada Muslim Community) February 8,2012

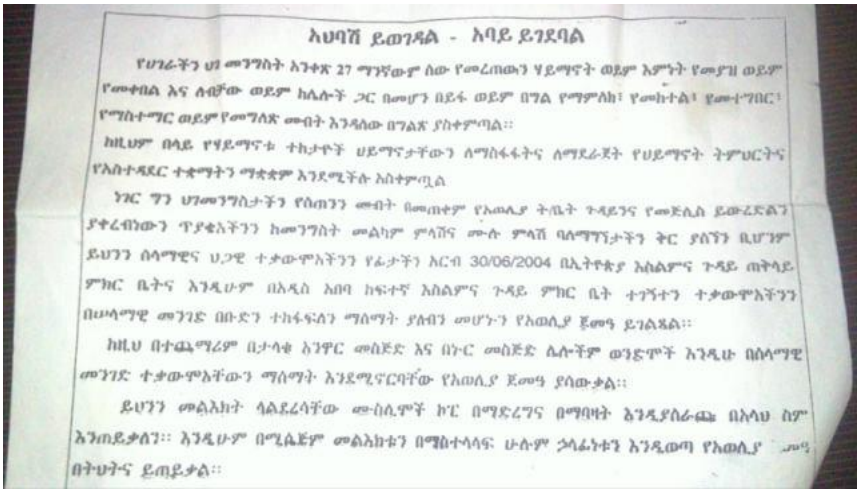


ማሳሰቢያ

እንደሚታወቀው ህዝበ ሙስሊሙ ህጋዊ የሆነውን የመብት ጥያቄ መጠየቅ ከጀመረበት ጊዜ እንስቶ እስከ ዛሬ ጊዜ ድረስ በሰላማዊ እና ህጋዊ በሆነ መንገድ ሲጓዝ እንደነበር ይታወቃል፡፡ ኮሚቴው ህዝበ ሙስሊሙ በመረጠው መሰረት ደከመኝ ሰለቸኝ ሳይል ጥያቄያችንን ለሚመለከተው የመንግስት አካል አቅርቧል፡፡ መንግስትም ዋና ጥያቄያችን የነበረውን የመጅሊስ ምርጫ እንዲካሄድ ፈቅዷል፡፡

መንግስታችን ቃል በገባው መሰረት ምርጫው በአጭር ጊዜ ውስጥ እንዲካሄድ አውንም ህጋዊና ሰላማዊ በሆነ መንገድ ጥያቄያችንን ማቅረብ እንተተላለፍ፡፡ ይሁን እንጂ ይህንን የህዝበ ሙስሊሙን እና የኮሚቴውን ሰላማዊ ትግል ተሳሳት የሚተባና የሀገራችንን ሰላም የሚያውክ ሁኔታ እንዲፈጠር አንዳንድ ፀረ-ሰላምና ደብቅ ተልዕኮ ያላቸው ግለሰቦችና ቡድኖች የእኛን መሰብሰብና የመብት ጥያቄ መጠየሚያ ለማድረግ ከህዝበ ሙስሊምና ከኮሚቴው እውቅና ውጭ የተለያዩ በራሪ ወረቀቶችን መበተን እና Text መላላክ እንዲሁም ጥያቄያችን ያልተመለሰ በማስመሰል መንግስትን እና ሙስሊሙን ለማጋጨት የሚደረግ መኩራ እንዳሰ መንዝብ ተችሏል፡፡ መንግስትም ለሊሎች ፀራ-ሰላም ሃይሎች መጠቀሚያ እንዳንሆን እና ከዚህ በኋላ አወሊያ እንዳንሰበሰብ በግልፅ መክሮናል እኛም ተተብለሃዋል፡፡ ስለዚህ ሌላ አላማ ሳይኖርህ ለሃይማኖተህ ስትል በሰላማዊ መንገድ ጥያቄህን አቅርበህ መልስ ያገኘህ እና ተሪዎችን ጥያቄም በተማይኑት ለማቅረብ የምትፈልግ ህዝበ ሙስሊም ሁሉ ሁኔታዎችን በተሞና እና በትዕግስት ልትመለከት ይገባል፡፡ ሁሳችንም ኒያችንን በማስተካከል አላህ እንዲረዳን አጥብቀን እንለምነው፡፡ ከስብረኞች እና ከታጋዮችም ጋር ያደርገን! አላህ ከታጋዮች ጋር መሆኑን እንዘነጋም! ! ከሁሉም መኩራ በኋላ ከአላህ በኩል ፈረጃት ስላለ በትዕግስትና በማስተዋል እንጠብቅ፡፡

አሰላም አሊይኩም ወራህመቱ ሰኔ ወበረካቱ



አህባሽ ይወገዳል - አባይ ይገደባል

የሀገራችን ህገ መንግስት አንቀጽ 27 ማንኛውም ሰው የመረጠውን ሃይማኖት ወይም እምነት የመያዝ ወይም የመቀበል እና ሰብቸው ወይም ከሌሎች ጋር በመሆን በይፋ ወይም በግል የማምለክ፣ የመከተል፣ ያመተግበር፣ የማስተማር ወይም የመግለጽ መብት እንዳለው በግልጽ ያስተምጣል፡፡

ከዚህም በላይ የሃይማኖቱ ተከታዮች ሀይማኖታቸውን ለማስፋፋትና ለማደራጀት የሀይማኖት ትምህርትና የአስተዳደር ተቋማትን ማቋቋም እንደሚችሉ አስተምጧል

ነገር ግን ህገመንግስታችን የሰጠንን መብት በመጠቀም የአወሊያ ትቤት ጉዳይንና የመጅሊስ ይውረድልን ያቀረብነውን ጥያቄአችንን ከመንግስት መልካም ምላሽና ሙሉ ምላሽ ባለማግኘታችን ቅር ያለኝን ቢሆንም ይህንን ሰላማዊና ህጋዊ ተቃውሞአችንን የፊታችን አርብ 30/06/2004 በኢትዮጵያ አስልምና ጉዳይ ጠቅላይ ምክር ቤትና እንዲሁም በአዲስ አበባ ከፍተኛ አስልምና ጉዳይ ምክር ቤት ተገኝተን ተቃውሞአችንን በሠላማዊ መንገድ በቡድን ተከፋፍለን ማሰማት ያለብን መሆኑን የአወሊያ ጀመዓ ይገልጻል፡፡

ከዚህ በተጨማሪም በታላቁ አንዋር መስጅድ እና በኑር መስጅድ ሌሎችም ወንድሞች እንዲሁ በሰላማዊ መንገድ ተቃውሞአቸውን ማሰማት እንደሚኖርባቸው የአወሊያ ጀመዓ ያሳውቃል፡፡

ይህንን መልእክት ላልደረሳቸው ሙስሊሞች ኮፒ በማድረግና በማባዛት ልንዲያስራጩ በአላህ ስም እንጠይቃለን፡፡ እንዲሁም በሚሌጅም መልእክቱን በማስተላላፍ ሁሉም ኃላፊነቱን እንዲወጣ የአወሊያ ጀመዓ በትህትና ይጠይቃል፡፡

39. Two misleadind papers distributed by "Majlis" supporters. The first one says "We have got good response from government for our questions. So let us stop protesting and wait for an election to fill Majlis leaders. " the second one says "Let us take the protests to Majlis head office and big mosques like Anwar and Al-Nur"

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

የኢትዮጵያ ፌ/ዴ/ሪ/ የአስልምና ጉዳዮች ጠቅላይ ምክር ቤት

THE ETHIOPIAN ISLAMIC AFFAIRS SUPREME COUNCIL

Addis Ababa
Ethiopia

المجلس الأعلى للشئون الإسلامية في
جمهورية اثيوبيا الفيدرالية الديمقراطية
اديس ابابا
اثيوبيا

አዲስ አበባ- ኢትዮጵያ

ቁጥር ጠ/ም/1883/60/2000
ጥር 13/5/2000

ለአሜሪካን ኢምባሲ
አዲስ አበባ

ጉዳዩ፡- <u>እያደረጉልን ላለው ድጋፍ ምስጋና ማቅረብን ይመለከታል፡፡</u>

የአስልምና ሃይማኖት ተከታዮች ብቸኛ ተወካይ የሆነው ጠቅላይ ምክር ቤቱ በኢትዮጵያ ወገኖቻችን ለሚገኙትና በውጭዎች ላና እየተጻፉሙ የመጡትን የመሻሪክቶችንና የስውልዮችን ተብር ሙስሊሙ እንዲከፈርና እንደከፈለ ተደሙ ትኩረት እንዲያገኝ በጋራ እየሰራን መሆኑ ይታወሳል፡፡ ለዚህም እሰከ አሁን ለድጌ ቬክ ውሴንን በዓለም ፈተኛው ቅዱስ ስፍራ በኦቪ ሙስጊድ ያደረግናቸው አብይ ምክሮች ናቸው፡፡ በቅርቡም ወቅማ ንጉስ፣ ሴቀጥላ፣ በአልከሶ ወዘተ ዝገቶት መደመራችን ይታወሳል፡፡ ከዚር አምላኳደራም የሱፊያ አስላማዊ ኮሌጅ በአዲስ አበባና ከትግራይ ነጻሪ ሊከፍቱልን ቃል መግባታቸውም ታሪካዊና ፈጽሞ የማይረሳ ነው፡፡ እኔና የሥራ ባልደረቦቼ ጠቅላይ ምክርቤቱ በሙስሊም ምዕመናን ዘንድ ያለንን ተቀባይነት ለማጎልበት ስምናደርገው እገትስታሲ አምባሲ ከማማክር ደምር ሙስ ውጭን እሰከ መሻፈን የደረሰ ታላቅ ታሪካዊ ዉሰታን እየሞላልን ይገኛል፡፡ አከራናትን ለመዋጋት ያለንን የጠበቀ ቀርጠኝነት ጭም እያረጋገጥን አምባሲው የሚያደርግልንን ድጋፍ ይቀጥል ዘንድ እየጠየቅው ለስከዘሬው ከልብ ምስጋናዬን አቀርባለሁ፡፡

ከሰላምታ ጋር

ዩ ኤስ ዶ ሬዲማን ሰይድ
Sheikh Redman Seid
ሼክ ረዲማን ሰይድ
ምክትል ፕሬዚዳንት
Vice President
ሙፍቲ ረኢስ

<u>ግልባጭ</u>

- ለጠቅላይ ምክቤ ለቃመዝገር ጽ/ቤት
- ለድርጅትና የክልል ጉዳይ ዘርፍ

የኢትስስ/ጉ/ክ/ምክቤት

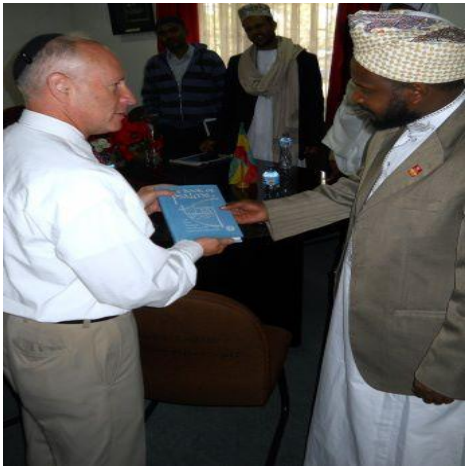
Tel 725965
P.O. Box 2844
Fax No.725966

ስልክ ቁ. 725965
ፖ.ሣ.ቁ 2844
ፋክስ ቁ. 725966

725965 ስልክ
2844 ص.ب
725966 فاكس

40. An Amazing "Thank you" letter written to American Embassy in Addis Ababa by Elias Redman, former vice President of "Majlis"

41. **Three leaders of Ahbash from; left to right: *Sheikh Abdullah Al-Harari*, founder and spiritual leader (died in 2008): *Nizar Al-Halabi*, president of the movement (killed in Beirut in 1995) : *Hossam Qaraqura*, the current leader of the movement**

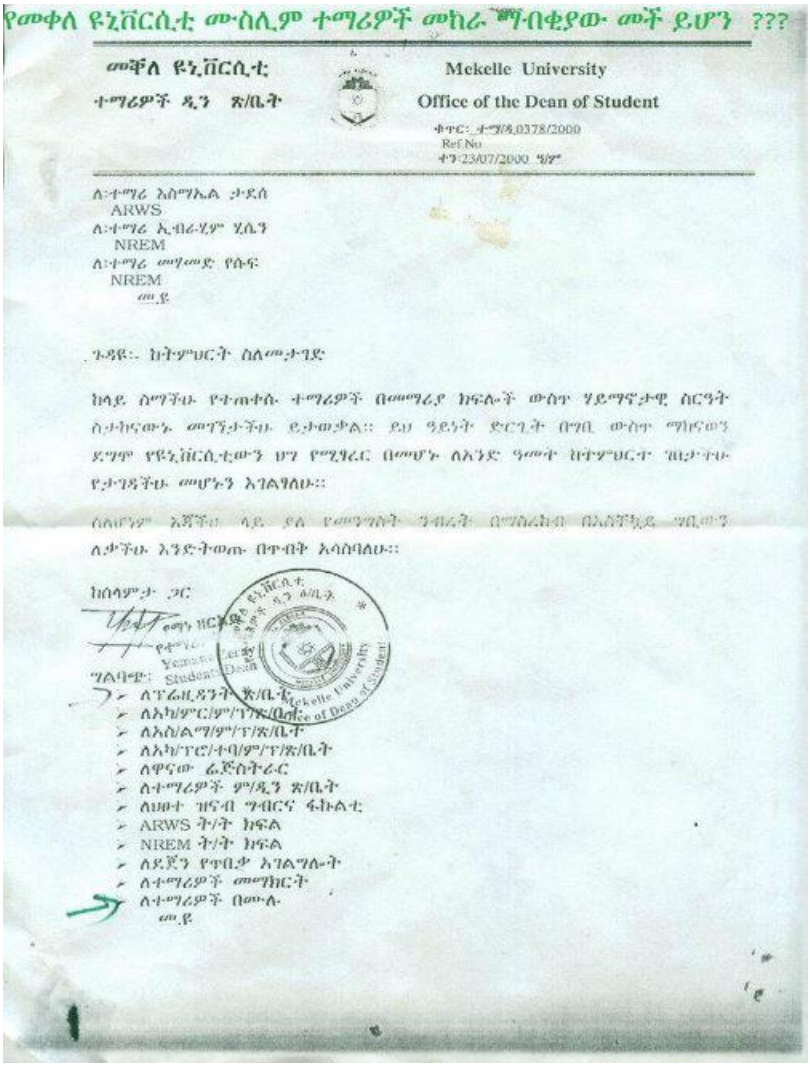


42. **Sheikh Ahmedin Abdullahi receving a book from an Israeli deligate**

43. **Hagai Elrich in 2008 in Addis Ababa**

44. Al-Ahbash (AICP) listed as a member of a coalition formed by the Zionist ADL (Anti-Defamation League)

45. Salahaddin Wazir: future "Majlis President"



የመቀለ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ሙስሊም ተማሪዎች መከራ ማብቂያው መች ይሆን ???

መቐለ ዩኒቨርሲቲ
ተማሪዎች ዲን ጽ/ቤት

Mekelle University
Office of the Dean of Student

ቁጥር፡ ተማ/ዲ/0378/2000
Ref.No
ቀን:23/07/2000 ዓ/ም

ለ:ተማሪ አስማኤል ታደሰ
ARWS
ለ:ተማሪ ኢብራሂም ሂሴን
NREM
ለ:ተማሪ መሃመድ የሱፍ
NREM
መ.ይ

ጉዳዩ:- ከትምህርት ስለመታገድ

ከላይ ስማችሁ የተጠቀሱ ተማሪዎች በመማሪያ ክፍሎች ውስጥ ሃይማኖታዊ ስርዓት ስታከናውኑ መገኘታችሁ ይታወቃል:: ይህ ዓይነት ድርጊት በግቢ ውስጥ ማከናወን ደግሞ የዩኒቨርሲቲውን ህግ የሚጻረር በመሆኑ ለአንድ ዓመት ከተምህርት ገዝታችሁ የታገዳችሁ መሆኑን አገልግሎሁ::

ስለሆነም አሁንም ላይ ያለ የመንግስት ንብረት በማስፈከብ በአስቸኳይ ማቆም ለታችሁ እንድትወጡ በጥብቅ አሳስባለሁ::

ከሰላምታ ጋር

ግልባጭ:
- ለፕሬዚዳንት ጽ/ቤት
- ለአካ/ምር/ም/ፕ/ጽ/ቤት
- ለአስ/ልማ/ም/ፕ/ጽ/ቤት
- ለአካ/ፕሮ/ተ/ም/ፕ/ጽ/ቤት
- ለዋናው ሬጅስትራር
- ለተማሪዎች ም/ዲን ጽ/ቤት
- ለህፀተ ዝናብ ማብርና ፋኩልቲ
- ARWS ት/ት ክፍል
- NREM ት/ት ክፍል
- ለደ.ጀ.ን የጥበቃ አገልግሎት
- ለተማሪዎች መመከር
- ለተማሪዎች በሙሉ
  መ.ይ

46. Exposing a crime done by Mekele University on Ethiopian Muslim students. The letter written by the Dean of Students says "You three people are suspened from education for one year for you have prayed in a class room".

47. The Unity of Our fathers:

ክፍል አምስት

ጠቃሚ የኢንተርኔት የመረጃ ምንጮች

Part Five

Guide to Important Online Resources

A. Guide to Watch/Read Important Online Documents and Media Reports about the Ethiopian Muslims Struggle Against the Ahbashism Campaign.

S.N.	Name of Agency/Media	Type of Data	Title	Date Released	Internet Link to Read (watch) the Report
1	Aljazeera Arabic	TV News Report	-	April 20/2012	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6Zwks8dVG3M&feature=related
		>>	مسلمون إثيوبيون ضد فكر الأحباش	April 27/2012	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fjOWb3JA704
		>>	تواصل إحتجاجات مسلمي إثيوبيا	May 4/2012	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MtE-YcdBcKE&feature=relmfu
		>>	مسلمو إثيوبيا يرفضون تدخل الحكومة في شؤونهم الدينية	May 19/2012	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SJDbdemLWwU
2.	OnIslam Website	Website News	Ethiopia Muslims Decry Ahbashism Campaign	April 22/2012	http://www.onislam.net/english/news/africa/456710-ethiopia-muslims-decry-ahbashism-campaign.html
		>>	Muslims Dead in Ethiopia Ahbashism Protests	April 29/2012	http://www.onislam.net/english/news/africa/456846-muslims-dead-in-ethiopia-ahbashism-protests.html
		>>	Ethiopia Muslims Reject Government Interference	May 11/2012	http://www.onislam.net/english/news/africa/457037-ethiopia-muslims-reject-govt-interference.html
		>>	Ethiopia Muslims Eye Vote to replace Ahbash	May 22/2012	http://www.onislam.net/english/news/africa/457203-ethiopia-muslims-eye-vote-to-replace-ahbash.html
		>>	Ethiopia Muslims Tortured over Ahbashism	May 24/2012	http://staging.onislam.net/english/news/africa/457251-ethiopia-muslims-tortured-over-ahbashism.html

S.N.	Name of Agency/Media	Type of Data	Title	Date Released	Internet Link to Read (watch) the Report
		News Report	Ethiopia Criticized Over Policy on Muslims	June 1/2012	http://www.onislam.net/english/news/africa/457412-ethiopia-criticized-over-policy-on-muslims.html
3.	Ethiomedia	>>	Five Killed as Ethiopian Muslim protests continue	April 28 /2012	http://www.ethiomedia.com/2012_report/3744.html
		>>	Ethiopia Muslim Protests Spread over the Country: Government Expels "Two Arab Jihadists"	May 6 /2012	http://www.ethiomedia.com/2012_report/3773.html
		Analytical Essay	Ahbash, Government and Ethiopian Muslim Protests	May 13/2012	http://www.ethiomedia.com/2012_report/ahbashism_campaign.pdf
4	Washington Post	>>	Ethiopia Expels two Arabs amid Tension with Muslim Community	May 5/2012	http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/africa/ethiopia-expels-2-arabs-amid-tension-with-muslim-community-govt-warns-group-declared-jihad/2012/05/05/gIQA5gxf3T_story.html
5	Associated Press				
6	Daily Nation	>>	Tension Rises in Ethiopia amid Muslim Protests	May 6/2012	www.nation.co.ke/News/africa/Tension+rises+in+Ethiopia+amid+Muslim+protests+/-/1066/1400782/-/ym40uwz/-/index.html
7	Reuters	>>	Ethiopia Muslims Protest Government Interference	May 11/2012	http://af.reuters.com/article/idAFL5E8FO71920120510?pageNumber=3&virtualBrandChannel=0&sp=true
8	Voice of America	>>	Ethiopian Government, Muslims Clash about Ideology	May 21/2012	http://www.voanews.com/content/ethiopian-government-muslims-clash-about-ideology/837582.html
9	Christian Science Monitor	News Report	Muslims accuse Ethiopian government of meddling in mosques	June 1/2012	http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/2012/0531/Muslims-accuse-Ethiopian-government-of-meddling-in-mosques/%28page%29/2

B. Important Documents and Video Links

S.N.	Name of Resource	Original Website	Internet Link to Read (watch) the Report
1	Sheikh Yusuf Al-Qardawi on Ahbash and Ethiopian Muslims	Youtube	www.youtube.com/watch?v=dfCD1fapYoo
2	Abuna Malka Tsadek Speaks on Ethiopian Muslims	Youtube	
3	Addis Rai'y (EPRDF Bulletin) speaks about Ethiopian Muslim struggle	Google Documents	https://docs.google.com/file/d/0B_jM-1jtuDZYcmQwaDRnWkR3MU0/edit
4	"Wahhabiyya is declared extremist sect" said Dr. Shiferaw Teklemariyam, the Federal Affairs Minister	Reporter	http://www.ethiopianreporter.com/news/293-news/3680-2011-10-12-06-18-47.html
5	Ambassador Yamamoto's view on "Wahhabi Expansion" in Ethiopia	Wilileaks	1. http://wikileaks.org/cable/2009/07/09ADDISABABA1674.html 2. http://wikileaks.org/cable/2009/07/09ADDISABABA1675.html 3. http://wikileaks.org/cable/2009/07/09ADDISABABA1672.html
6	Ambassador David Shinn speaks about Ahbash, Wahhabiyya and conflict in the horn of Africa	Ephrem.org	http://www.ephrem.org/dehai_archive/2005/nov04-jan05/0562.html)
7	Sheikh Elias Redman's amazing letter to the American Embassy	Facebook	
8	Muslim Representatives Committee Press Release	Ethiomedia	http://www.ethiomedia.com/2012_report/ethiopian_muslims_050312.pdf
9	Federal Affairs Minister Warning on May 3	Ethiopia First	www.ethiopiafirst.info/news/Documents/Federal_Affairs_Ministry.pdf
10	Radio Fana Interview with Muslim Representatives committee and Majlis President	Radio Fana	www.facebook.com/l.php?u=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.fanabc.com%2FStory.aspx%3FL%3Dwmedia%252FAmharicNewsMagazineMondayEveningMarch052012.wma%26%26ID%3D21630&h=jAQG3IaUPAQGqGwgsRLeq3pE6bU6s6kFEWCtwsieWXmsy5Q

S.N.	Name of Resource	Original Website	Internet Link to Read (watch) the Report
12	Death of Firdaws	Anti-Ahbash blog	http://antiahbashethiomuslims.blogspot.com/2012/05/blog-post.html#.T70hrIHmwa8
13	First Hijra Press Release	Benzinga	http://www.benzinga.com/pressreleases/12/05/p2618146/the-first-hijrah-ethiopian-american-muslim-community-in-the-washington-
14	Protest Video on May 25	Evangadi	http://www.evangadi.com/ethiopian-muslims-protest-against-governmentavi
15	DW with Ahmedin Jebel and Abubeker Ahmed	Dustche Welle	http://www.dw.de/dw/article/0,,15930769,00.html

C. Internet Guide to Ahbash

S.N.	Name of Resource	Original Website	Internet Link to Read (watch) the Report
1	Nizar Hamza speaks about the origion of Ahbash	American University in Beirut	http://ddc.aub.ed.lb/projects/pspa/al-ahbash.html
2	Hagai Erlich speaks about Ahbash and Wahhabiyya	Cambridge Journals	http://wp.me/p2ouky-6t
4	Al-Ahbash and Anti-Defamation League	ADL	www.adl.org/philadelphia/coalition.asp
6	Ubah Abdusalam book on Ahbash	Ethio-Islamic Art	www.ethioislamicart.com/uploads/6/3/7/5/6375918/anti_ahbash_book_by_ubah_abdusalm_seid_.pdf
7.	Ahmedin Jebel's Book on Ahbash	PDF Online	http://www.pdfcast.org/download/ahmedin-jebel-s-book-on-ahbash.pdf
9	"Ethiopian Muslims and Ahbash controversy"	Crescent online	www.crescent-online.net/special-reports/2018-february2012/3252-ethiopian-muslims-and-the-ahbash-controversy-.html
10	Fatwas on Ahbash a. International Fatwa Administrations and Management	Infad.com	http://www.e-infad.my/FMS_en/index.php?option=com_fatwa&task=viewlink&link_id=2489&Itemid=59

S.N.	Name of Resource	Original Website	Internet Link to Read (watch) the Report
	b. Egyptian Mufti Ali Jum'a	OnIslam.com	http://www.onislam.net/arabic/ask-the-scholar/8266/42876-2004-08-01%2017-37-04.html
	c. Naqshbandiyya Order	Naqshbandi.org	http://naqshbandi.org/topics/refute/aicp/default.htm
	d. Al-Sunnah Foundation of North America	Sunnah.org	www.sunnah.org
	e. Dr Gibril Fuad Hadad (On Permissibility of attending Ahbash educational programs for ordinary people)	Sunnipath.com	http://qa.sunnipath.com/issue_view.asp?HD=7&ID=12879&CATE=1
11	Online Discusions on Ahbash a. Dr GF Haddad on Ahbash b. Ash'aris and Maturids Discuss About Ahbash c. Marifah (Sufi Society)		a. http://groups.google.com/group/soc.religion.islam/browse_thread/thread/726707766da1d1ce/f10a69559ba994dc?lnk=gst&q=Al-Ahbash# b. http://www.sunniforum.com/forum/showthread.php?2953-ANSWERED-Who-are-the-habashis-%28al-ahbash%29 c. http://www.marifah.net/forums/topic/2774-sheikh-abdullah-al-harari-and-the-ahbash/
	Ahbash and Hebullah Fight on Street of Beirut	Daily Star	http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Politics/Aug/25/3-killed-in-clashes-between--Hizbullah-Ahbash-elements.ashx#axzz1XS1rEWeY

D. Some of the Online Sources That Report About Ethiopian Muslim Struggle

1. **Local Newspapers and Megazines (Islamic)**
   - 1.1. Al-Quds (It was good at the beginning but turned against the people after Aweliya Uprising)
   - 1.2. Al-Islam Megazine
   - 1.3. Salafiyya Newspaper
   - 1.4. "Ye Muslimoch Guday" Megazine
2. **Local Newspapers and Megazines (Secular)**
   - 2.1. Addis Admass Newspaper
   - 2.2. Awramba Times Newspaper
   - 2.3. Fitih Newspaper
   - 2.4. Inqu Megazine
   - 2.5. Ethiopian Reporter
3. **News Agencies**
   - 3.1. Agence France Press (AFP)
   - 3.2. Associated Press
   - 3.3. International Islamic News Agency (IINA)
   - 3.4. Reuters
   - 3.5. United Nations News Agency (IRIN)
4. **TVS and Radio Networks**
   - 4.1. Aljazeera Arabic
   - 4.2. ESAT TV
   - 4.3. VOA News
   - 4.4. Duesche Welle
   - 4.5. Bilal Radio
   - 4.6. BBN Radio
   - 4.7. ESAT Radio
   - 4.8. Radio Negashi
   - 4.9. Addis Dimst
   - 4.10. Desi Radio
5. **Famous Newspapers Around the World**
   - 5.1. Washington Post
   - 5.2. Chicago Tribune
   - 5.3. Christian Science Monitor
   - 5.4. Daily Nation (Kenya)
   - 5.5. Alaska Dispatch
   - 5.6. Indian Times
   - 5.7. South Florida Times
6. **Online News Feeds**
   - 6.1. Yahoo News
   - 6.2. Google News
   - 6.3. News Now
   - 6.4. Sky News Wire
7. **Popular Islamic Websites**
   - 7.1. OnIslam.net
   - 7.2. Islam online
   - 7.3. The Union of Islamic World Students
   - 7.4. New Age Islam
   - 7.5. Urdu Tahzeeb
   - 7.6. Mehbuba
   - 7.7. Muslims.net
8. **Ethiopian Muslim Websites**
   - 8.1. Badr Ethiopia
   - 8.2. Bilal Communications
   - 8.3. Bilal Tube
   - 8.4. Ethiopian First Hijra
   - 8.5. EthioMuslims Media
   - 8.6. Aweliya online
   - 8.7. Nejashi OJ Network of Ethiopian Muslims
   - 8.8. Oromo Muslims
9. **Shia Websites**
   - 9.1. Shia International News Association
   - 9.2. Taghrib
   - 9.3. Islamic Invitations
   - 9.4. Ahlubeyt News Agency
10. **Ethiopian Websites**
    - 10.1. Addis Neger Online
    - 10.2. Addis View
    - 10.3. Jimma Times
    - 10.4. Ethio-Media
    - 10.5. Ethio-media group
    - 10.6. Ethiopian News Aggregators
    - 10.7. Bizunet
    - 10.8. Amharic News

10.9. Ethiopian Team
10.10. Ogaden Today
10.11. Ethiopian Review
10.12. Nazret.com
10.13. Ethioleaks.org
10.14. Ethiopianism.net
10.15. Ethiopia Music
10.16. Silte.com
10.17. Ethiotube
10.18. Ecad Forum
10.19. Ze Habesha
10.20. Oromia Online News
10.21. Ogaden News Agency
10.22. OPride
10.23. Ayyaantuu On line News
10.24. Ethiopian Diaspora Forum
10.25. Ethio-Vision
10.26. Ethio Sun
10.27. Evangadi
10.28. Ethio-Info
10.29. Addis Voice
10.30. Debteraw.org
10.31. Zefen.com
10.32. Malasay.com
10.33. Harar.World
10.34. Ethio-Patriots
10.35. Ethio-pages
10.36. Zena Addis
10.37. Ethio Message Forum
10.38. Akaqa.com
10.39. Gadaa.com
10.40. Ethio-planet
10.41. Ethiopianist
10.42. Awramba Times
10.43. Ethiopian Brief
10.44. GABO
10.45. Ethio Multimedia Global Forum
10.46. Durame.com
10.47. Ethiopian Somali Democratic Council
10.48. Ethio-Munich
10.49. Ethiopia Zare
10.50. Cyber Ethiopia
10.51. Click Habesha
10.52. Ethiopia Center
10.53. Gegna
10.54. Ethio-News 24
10.55. Ethio-Infonary
10.56. Ethiopian Breif
10.57. Ethioforum
10.58. Tegbar
10.59. Ethiopianism
10.60. Nazret Tube
10.61. Anyuak Media
10.62. Addis Raij

11. Eritrean Websites

11.1. Eritrean Gazzete
11.2. Hiwot.com
11.3. Assena.com
11.4. Meskerem.net
11.5. Shebapost
11.6. Eritrean Chat Room
11.7. Tesfa News

12. Somali Websites

12.1. All Somali News Agency (SANNAG)
12.2. Somaliland Press
12.3. Al-Carab

13. Kenyan Websites

11.1 Kenya News
11.2 Kenya moja
11.3 Africa News Update
11.4 List.com

14. Indonesian Websites

14.1. Nahi Munkar
14.2. Eramuslim.com
14.3. Fiqhi-Islam Indonesia
14.4. Sindikasi
14.5. Indofeeds

15. African News Outlets

15.1. All Africa.com
15.2. New Africa
15.3. African News Wire
15.4. Afrikeo.com
15.5. All Voices

16. Anonymous (Uncategorized)

16.1. Silobreaker
16.2. ICBS News
16.3. Alloexpat
16.4. Benperrusi.com
16.5. Tpix.com
16.6. Justice Date
16.7. Infonary
16.8. Softlayer
16.9. Wopular
16.10. Schema
16.11. Rt-Bot
16.12. ECTV
16.13. RCN Network
16.14. ECTV
16.15. RCN Network
16.16. Andanhh
16.17. Veengle.com
16.18. Paulitics
16.19. MPPIN

17. Bloggers

17.1. Muslim Blog
17.2. Ethiopian Times
17.3. Ethiopian Law and Justice Society
17.4. Amal Mizanawi Zena
17.5. Utubu
17.6. Escondrea
17.7. Ethiopian Commentary
17.8. Ethiopian Times
17.9. Transforming Ethiopia
17.10. Bilalcommunications
17.11. Enat Hager
17.12. Horn of Africa News
17.13. Bankelele
17.14. Africa Unchained

ከዚህ በታች የተጠቀሱት ደግሞ ከኢትዮጵያ ቴሌቪዥን በማይሻል ሁኔታ በሰላማዊ ተቃውሞአችን ላይ የሀሰት ፕሮፓጋንዳ የነዙ ወራዶች ናቸው፡፡

11. Bloomberg
12. Aend Ethioia
13. Aiga Forum
14. Dire Tube
15. Business Week