

The Nation under genocide and the need for a National leadership to combat it: The Oromo case

February, 2016

By Leenjiso Horo

“My slavery forbade me to speak; the truth forbade me to keep silent,” says an African adage. This is a dilemma Oromo nationals have faced. There are Oromo nationals who failed to speak out as the objective of Oromo struggle is abandoned; as the OLF is at the verge of collapse; as the Tigrayan fascist force of darkness has been and is committing genocide against the Oromo people and targeting Oromiyaa for disintegration. I refused to keep silent and instead I choose to speak out the truth.

Facing the hard truth

Today, the Oromo are confronted a dual danger: Internal and external. We need to open our eyes anew to this dual danger. Internally, since 1999 to-date the OLF, the Oromo struggle, and the Oromo people have been without leadership. Those who claim to be a leadership have been unable to lead this nation, this organization and this liberation struggle. The reason is simply they have no a vision and a clear goal. A leadership without a vision creates chaos, conflicts and divisions within nation and organization that it claims to represent. Here what should be clear is a leadership without a vision is a leadership without destination. A leadership without destination has no direction. Hence, it waffles over where to go. At times it says Ethiopian democratization; at another time it says Ethiopian federalization; and still at another time it says independence of Oromiyaa. Think of a vision as a picture of the future that we fighting for to establish-the independence Democratic Republic of Oromiyaa. This is our destination. Hence our vision is our target. In our fighting we establish a roadmap or a path that takes us to the targeted point-armed and political struggle. In this struggle, we have only two options: either to eliminate the TPLF or to be eliminated by it. The choice is ours. Certainly, our choice is to eliminate it. For this, we stop at nothing until Oromiyaa is liberated and the TPLF is annihilated. For this, the armed struggle and political struggle are our roadmaps that take us to the target. An organization without a leadership or organization with leadership that does not have determination, commitment, competence and clear objective cannot survive. In this case, the objective, the goal and revolutionary actions will be diluted. Oromo national liberation movement has faced such conditions. So, we failed to speak against these. First of all, the Oromo political leadership has already abandoned the country for exile and scattered around the world while the Oromo people are under genocide and Oromiyaa is under destruction. With this, it has become a remote leadership. No liberation front leadership in history has ever abandoned its country, its people, its organization and the national liberation struggle and became a remote leadership in the like of the current leadership of the OLF.

On the contrary, tenth of thousands of Oromo men and women fought and died echoing Oromiyaa shall be free. Still, hundreds of thousands are dying echoing Oromiyaa shall be free!



Still, hundreds of thousands are languishing in the colonial concentration camps echoing Oromiyaa Shall Be Free! These were and are the great Oromo nationalist leaders and freedom fighters both men and women in the Oromo liberation movement who rejected any accommodation with the colonialist of Oromiyaa. They always believe in the victory over the enemy of their people and country. Many were martyred in war of liberation while fighting. Many were killed through torture; many were slaughtered by the execution squad of the fascist colonial Tigrean regime; many were maimed, and many are still languishing in the colonial prison camps, and many have been kidnaped and disappeared. Among the greatest women freedom fighters were Saraartuu Yusouf, Ibsituu Magarsaa and many others who fought under the leadership of Magarsaa Bariii and Galaasaa Dilboo. Many died in that fight. They fought with exceptional bravery. In the same spirit, today artist Hawwii Tazaraa stood in front of enemy and unequivocally declared no to occupation of Oromiyaa and declared death or

independence. In front of the enemy she raised the banner of liberation. She is among many Oromo freedom fighters who rejected empire federalization that has been advocated by some Oromo opportunists and renegades.

Facts cannot be disputed. During the darkest days of the Oromo struggle in the 1970s and 1980s, the former Secretary Generals Magarsaa Bariii and Galaasaa Dilboo had never abandoned the country, their people, the struggle of their people and the Oromo Liberation Front and its army the Oromo Liberation Front (OLA) for exile. Instead, they recruited fighters, trained them, armed them and lead them into the battle. They planned and organized military engagements.



Galaasaa Dilboo

Magarsaa Bariii

They fought gallantly and selflessly in the villages, valleys, plains and mountains of Oromiyaa with bravery, courage and determination despite all odds that the OLF had faced from all corners at the time. This periods have been registered as the darkest time in the Oromo national liberation struggle. Indeed, during these darkest periods they saved the Oromo struggle, the OLF and unity of the members of liberation front. They fought a fight of true freedom fighters. Without question, they led the OLF with grace, dignity, admiration and respect. The fact is that they did not leave their country in the hands of the enemy. The nation and the struggle need such leaders of courage with strength of mind and of character. These are the facts that cannot be disputed. Similarly, Amilcar Cabral, Agostino Neto; Filipe Nyusi; Ho Chi Minh ; Fidel Castro, Mao Tse-Tung, Frantz Fanon, Esaias Afewerki, and even the fascist Meles Zenawi-the architect of Oromo genocide and Oromiyaa disintegration, did not flee from their respective countries into exile abandoning their country, their people, and armed struggle during their struggle for liberation of their countries and etc.

The sad thing is, all political leaderships of the Oromo liberation movements, since 1999, without exception, have been and are in exile. In so doing, they left the county in the hands of the enemy. And with this, they abandoned the real struggle. Not only this, particularly since the “leadership” of the OLF left the country for exile in 1999, the rise of a sectarian climate have been facilitated leading to rifts and split of the OLF. Today, the OLF in its composition does not reflex the Oromo people. Unfortunately, the past is still with us-loyalty to local cliques. Frequently, unquestioning submission to local cliques has been long inculcated. It is narrowed down to only represent particular village at all levels from membership to leadership. One of the criteria of a national liberation front is that it must be organized in such a way that all members of the nation be able to see themselves in it. This means the composition of it from membership to the leadership at all levels must reflect the population. Liberation front is an organization of the people. For this, the OLF is the organization of the Oromo people; it is their children who fight in it; it is the Oromo people who support it; it is the Oromo people that suffer in its name. Individuals join it to contribute his/her share but they do not own it.

One of the responsibilities of the leadership of a nation is to learn the leadership principles by which its nation had been guided to become a great democratic nation in early generations. Oromo are democratic and open society. It was a great nation. Its leadership must follow this; it must be open to its members and its people. Leadership must be open to dialog and debate, above all, it must listen to its people; to its members; learn from its people and members and act according to the wish and aspiration of its people. In order to do these, leadership has to be in its country and among its people not in exile. These have to be upheld and followed. Failure to learn these, leads to crisis. This is what has happened to the OLF.

Of these democratic aspect of the Oromo people is a term limit. That is to leave office once the term of office is expired is the Oromo traditional way. In their history, the Oromo people established a term limit of eight years. True to this tradition, the OLF established term limit of eight years in its constitution. In its constitution, Article 18, No, 2, states that Secretary General is elected by the National Council from among its members for four years. He/she cannot be elected Secretary General more than two Consecutive terms. Again, Article 19, No. 1, states that deputy Secretary cannot be elected Deputy Secretary more than two Consecutive terms. This must be respected and upheld. However, to plot and scheme to be re-elected again is contrary to the OLF constitution. The term limit of this leadership has already expired. Both Secretary-General and Deputy Secretaries cannot be re-elected. All of them have to evacuate the office.

The familiar truth

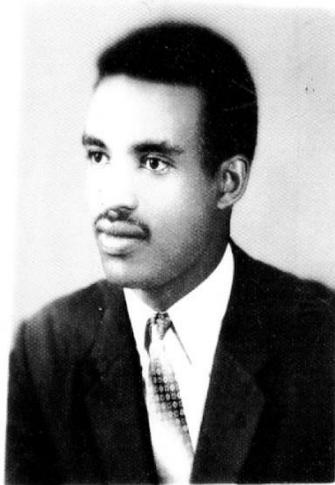
Long before the conquest of Oromiyaa, the Oromo unity under Gadaa System was abandoned. With this, kingdoms were established in many parts of Oromiyaa. This was the first time disunity developed within the Oromo leadership. This disunity weakened the Oromo society at all levels. Menelik of Abyssinia used this Oromo leaderships’ disunity to his advantage and undertook a military campaign against Oromo. And he defeated all regions of Oromiyaa one by one. The familiar truth is that there has been an endless disunity of the Oromo political leaders’ to-date. Still, it is this disunity that has made the Oromo political organizations of today dysfunctional and irrelevant to the struggle. In fact, because of the disunity, the Oromo nation

fell from its glory and majestic greatness of its past to humiliation in which it finds itself today under colonial occupation. Again today, it is for this disunity we are unable to effectively fight and defeat the enemy and so fail to restore independence to Oromiyaa. So popular saying goes: if the enemy has guns and you have spears-you have a chance to defeat it. If the enemy has tanks and you have swords and shields-you have a chance to defeat it. If the enemy has nukes, and you have rocks-you still have a chance to defeat it. However, if the enemy has unity and you have disunity, there is no hope to defeat it. Here what is clear is our unity is our spears, our shields, our swords and our rocks to defeat the enemy with. Today's Oromo political leadership has failed to learn from this. It has abandoned Oromo unity and sought unity with alien forces. And hence, we have faced a leadership crisis. As of today, no matter how we look at it, we are threatened on every front, with rifts, splits and factions. The truth is these rifts, splits and factions have become common. The reason for these is, there is no a single unifying principle- a common goal.

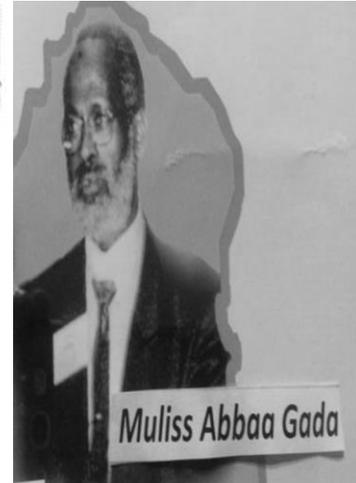
The Oromo people and the Oromo liberation struggle need a leadership that can fill this vacuum and wisely find a proper response to the danger hovering over them and their country. It must be a leadership that has faith in the people since people are the pillar of the struggle. As it is well-known to all, in 1992 the Oromo Liberation Army (OLA) was encamped despite the opposition from the Oromo people and the Oromo nationalists. As it is often times said "Without a People's army, the people have nothing." This is what has happened to the Oromo people with the encampment of the OLA. This debacle happened despite the opposition by the truly national leaders like Nadhii Gammadaa, Guutamaa Hawaas, and Mul'is Abbaa Gadaa. These were truly national leaders with ultimate determination and commitment to liberate their country. They were leaders who fought with courage and bravery. They were leaders with unparalleled self-confidence in themselves and confidence in their people. They were nationalists with faith in their people and their people faith in them. They fought with dignity and respect for their country without yielding to the enemy's demand. They stood firmly without wavering from the objective goal (Kaayyoo) of the struggle. At the encampment of the OLA, these nationalists clearly understood that the time has come in the life of the Oromo national liberation struggle when there remain only three choices - submit or flee to exile or fight. While those leaders who encamped the OLA, choose to flee to exile, the true nationalists Nadhii Gammaa, Guutamaa Hawaas and Mul'is Abbaa Gadaa rejected the choice to submit or to flee to exile and instead they made the choice to fight by all means in their power in defense of their people, their country, and for the future of their people and country, for the dignity of their people, and their freedom. So, they went back to the field to re-start the struggle all over again. For this choice, they paid ultimate sacrifice in their lives. They are the nation's heroes. Their memories live on forever in the hearts and minds of the Oromo generations to come. They enlighten the path of national liberation struggle.



Nadhii Gammadaa



Guutamaa Hawaas



Mul'is Abbaa Gadaa

They were truly freedom fighters. They were the best and bravest of their generation. In this struggle of their people, they focused on the objectives of the struggle not on the obstacles. They were leaders with higher vision. In the struggle they demonstrated persistence, tenacity, and bravery by staying in action to support their vision.

The First crisis in the OLF: the encampment of the OLA

With the encampment of OLA, the cry of Oromiyaa began. Daawuud Ibsaa Ayyaanaa -the then Intelligence and Security chief of the OLF, Dhugaasaa Bakakkoo- the then commander of the OLA; Abbaa Caalaa Lataa-the then commander of OLA in western Oromiyaa zone; Diimaa Nagawoo-Minister of information for TGE along with Leencoo Lataa-the Deputy Secretary of the OLF at the time took upon themselves the advantage and opportunity of the Secretary-General's travel overseas to disarm and encamp the OLA using their organizational power and political and military clout they have in the organization. The question one may raise is this: What should the Oromo people whose country is under attack and their children are under annihilation should do? The answer is certainly, not to disarm and encamp the OLA. The answer is the popular armed uprising of the Oromo population against the enemy. Who are to be blamed for the encampment of the OLA? Certainly, blame for the encampment of the OLA will not go to external forces, but to the enteral to the OLF leaders who abandoned the nation, the country, the struggle and sold out Oromiyaa to the fascist TPLF. Having encamped the OLA, these leaders left Oromiyaa for exile and ever since they are sleeping in exile. As we have seen time and again, nothing is going to walk them up.

Here are the leaders of OLF who encamped the Oromo Liberation Army in 1992



Daawuud Ibsaa, Abbaa Caalaa Lataa, Leencoo Lataa, Dhugaasaa Bakakkoo, Diimaa Nagawoo

In their action they humiliated the Oromo nation. Following the encampment, the leadership who encamped the OLA left the country for exile while Nadhii Gammadaa, Guutamaa Hawaas and Mul'is Abbaa Gadaa went back to the field of struggle and paid ultimate sacrifice in the struggle of their people. From the exile, in 2000 this group came up with what has been known as "Agenda for Peace". In this agenda, armed struggle was renounced. Following this, in 2001 it abandoned the 'Kaayyoo Bilisummaa' in favor of Ethiopian democratization. With these, darkness descended upon Oromiyaa. Following this, the OLF split in 2001. Ever since, the split and formation of factions continued.

As it is well-known, at its formation the OLF had established organizational institutions to ensure collective leadership and to prevent any individual or clique from monopolizing the affairs of the organization. However, since 1992, things turned out to the contrary. Individuals have overtaken monopolizing the affairs of the organization in exclusion of collective leadership. Today tragically, solutions to important problems are decided not by the collective leadership but by individual. The established institutions and collective leadership have been turned into nominal, exist only in names, formal not real. This is why the OLF has been paralyzed since 1999 to-date. Moreover, the group also abandoned the agreements that was made at Berlin conference in 2014 and consequently the unity made at that conference has already been collapsed. What one needs to know is this. The group is collection of cliques. Most of them are same village cliques. The others are the worshippers of the cliques. These cliques mimic and imitate Abyssinian feudal cultural and political values. They use feudal methods of intrigues to divide the Oromo nationals. The style of their struggle has become a replica of Abyssinian culture of deception, trickery, lies, fabrications and manipulative propaganda in order to earn "legitimacy." Hence to earn such "legitimacy", the cliques have been lying to the Oromo people that they are fighting the enemy while you are not. They have been lying to the Oromo people that they are leading the Oromo national liberation struggle while they are not. In fact, they have been waffling between Ethiopian democratization, Ethiopian federalization, citizenship of Ethiopia versus democracy and independence of Oromiyaa. They tirelessly lie to our people that they are for unity of the Oromo nationalists' political organizations while they are fleeing from the unity. And, in fact they have been working day and night to unite with Abyssinians.

One must understand that such methods and styles are the worst things to build ones pride, glory and legitimacy on. It is just like building a house on sand. Once the storm hits the house, the sand erodes; the house collapses. Similarly, once the lies, deception, fabrication, trickery and manipulative propaganda are exposed and the people enlightened about these, the pride and glory that built on them or the legitimacy earned on them will be shattered or stripped off and overtaken by humiliation and disgrace. Hence, it is important not to mimic Abyssinian methods and styles of doing things. They are not the Oromo ways. The Oromo people and the Oromo nationalists are smart; they know everything. As Amilcar Cabral famously said “Tell no lies, claim no easy victory” must be followed at all times.

It is time for these cliques to abandon their respective cliquish political organization and unite into a single whole- the OLF. All of them split the OLF in your own way. It is time now to come together under united leadership. It must be understood that a good leadership is about having good ideas, good politics, about keeping the unity of the organization and its members. The time and history demand this type of leadership. It is time for all of them to learn from the great Oromo people. Today, the Oromo people have united bypassing the fractured political organizations. They have shown what the unity is to those who have fail to understand the unity and its importance. They have united from east to west; from south to north and the center. The cities, towns, villages and the countryside across Oromiyaa are all united against enemy a one nation; as one people. The fact is, we are seeing the upsurge of our people against the Tigrayan fascist regime in central, southern, northern, eastern and western regions of Oromiyaa rising like a mighty storm, like a hurricane that no power, how great it is can stop it. In unity, they are trembling the enemy from its foundation. Leadership has to come from this, not from diaspora. Leadership must evolve from the center of fire; from the new generation. For this, the Qubee Generation has to take the leadership of the OLF and its Liberation Army (OLA). It has the courage, determination, the strength, the will to fight. After all, Oromiyaa belongs to this Qubee Generation. For years, Oromo organizations have been going alone. In so doing, they have reached nowhere; achieved nothing. Now, it is time to go together. Learn from the Oromo people. The Oromo people are the real heroes. They have risen up in unity against the enemy, causing it to tremble and shaking the ground under its feet. It is time for the Oromo political organizations to follow suit. It is time to unite without pre-condition to fight the Tigrayan colonial fascist regime to liberate Oromiyaa. In regard to unity, I would like to quote Charles Stewart Parnell the Irish nationalist’s call out to the Irish nationalists in 1879 which is still today valid and applicable to the Oromo nationalists. His words read: **“It is no use relying on the external power....You must only rely upon your own determination....Help yourselves by standing together...strengthen those amongst yourselves who are weak..., band yourselves together, organize yourselves...fight and you must win.”** We need to understand that external force can help only and when the internal resistance movement has already begun shaking its enemy to its foundation and the enemy is about to fall to pieces. Without this, outside help is unlikely to come. We must understand that foreign states always have economic, political, and military interest to control over a country and for these they help the dictators.

The second crisis: The fleeing of leadership to exile in 1999

Having successfully encamped the Oromo Liberation Army, the OLF leadership fled to exile in 1999. Daawud Ibsaa (Secretary-General) fled to Eritrea, Bultum Biyyoo (Deputy Secretary) fled to Australia, Dhugasaa Bakakkoo (Deputy Secretary) fled to Uganda and Abbaa Caalaa Lataa (Foreign Affairs Officer) fled to U.S.A. and Toleeraa Adabaa (spokesperson) fled to Eritrea. The question one may ask: Are these countries are part of Oromiyaa? Again, on what moral and political group, it claims to be a leadership having abandoned the country, the people, the struggle and the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) itself? This leadership fled the country while its country under attack and people are under genocide. History is a witness that a poor leadership flee its country and abandon the national struggle. True national leadership of an organization takes risks but this leadership ran away from risks and fled into exile. Indeed, to pretend to be a leadership without taking risk and leading the nation is not a leadership. The Oromo people, the OLF and the Oromo struggle need national leadership. Since 1999, the Oromo people and Oromo struggle do not have a national leadership. These group left Oromiyaa for exile immediately after having assumed the leadership of the OLF. Such is uncommon in the history of national liberation movements.



Under poor leadership, organization moves slowly, stagnates, and lose its way and its members degenerate into arguments and conflicts. This means poor leadership ruins the organization, weaken the struggle and abandon the objective of the organization. It cannot maintain the wellbeing of the organization and the unity its members. Such leadership actually encourages a fight within its members. And it too partaker in the infighting. This is a perfect failure of leadership. Is this is a type of leadership the Oromo Liberation struggle demands? Is this a type of leadership the OLF deserves? Certainly not. By being in exile, it geographically separated from its home and psychologically dispersed at will. A leadership in exile becomes a puppet of the host country and so serves its interests. Nothing is free. It is important to understand that there is dangerous link with accepting foreign and outside help or depending on it. It is rare that given assistances are made out of goodness of hearts or out of principle. For instance, the EPLF while fighting for Eretria's independence had never recognize the Oromo struggle for independence. In 1992, during the so-called transitional period, it fought the OLF along the TPLF in Arbaa Guuggu and in various parts of Oromiyaa. It was also played a role in the

encampment of the OLA. In 1999, pretending as a friend of OLF, it influenced the new leadership led by Daawud Ibsaa to flee to Eritrea. Here, it began to weaken the OLF; then divided it. While arming EPDM and Ginbot7; it failed to arm the OLA. It has never allowed except a bar minimum of OLA to be trained on Eritrean soil. Moreover, still to-date, as a government of Eritrea, it does not recognize the Oromo cause; the OLF. Despite all of these, the “leadership” of OLF based in Eritrea keeps on singing a love song for Eritrean government. Such is a campaign to mislead the Oromo people and nationalists. Relying on foreign assistance has the opposite effect. It denies the right to self-determination. It is unwise to accept Eritrean government assistance and rely on it by being having office in it. The Eritrean government is not the friend of the Oromo people, the OLF, and the struggle for the independence of Oromiyaa. And, it has never been. EPLF as a front during its struggle for independence of Eritrea did not recognize Oromiyaa as a colony and now as a government of Eritrea does not recognize Oromiyaa as a colonized country. It is, therefore, clear Eritrean government has adversarial or hostile political position towards the Oromo people, Oromo struggle, the OLF and the Oromo cause. Hence, the so-called Eritrean support for the OLF is simply a hogwash. It may support its friends in the OLF but this does not mean support for the OLF. Hence, the campaign on the part of Daawud Ibsaa’s leadership to preach us and to spread and propagate the idea that Eritrean government supports the Oromo struggle is simplistic, nonsense and dangerous. This leadership’s relationship with Eritrea has never helped the Oromo struggle. If this dependency on Eritrea continues, it will certainly lead our struggle to disaster. The history of our relationship with then the EPLF and now with the Eritrean government contradicts such a preaching.

The third crisis: the formation of AFD as a platform against independence

Formation of AFD (Alliance for Freedom and Democracy) in 2006 in the name of “Ethiopian democratization” was not a priority for the Oromo struggle. In 2006, in a sleepwalking the then Sh-Gumii organized AFD in the name of “Ethiopian democratization” that brought disaster to the OLF: rifts, splits and factions.

Signing of document in 2006 on the establishment of AFD for democratization of Ethiopia



Member of Alliance, Daawud Ibsaa, Haasan Hussein, Shuguxee Galata, Bultum Biyyoo

On March 9, 2006, questions were posed to Daawuud Ibsaa in his interview with “Les nouvelles d’Addis.” The questions were: **“Could OLF become a governmental party in Ethiopia? If it could which condition?”** In response to this question Daawuud Ibsaa has to say this: **“OLF has been trying to get the support of governments and international organizations to transform itself into a party....That did not happen in the last 14 years and OLF remains a front-against its will. The OLF wants to participate in the political process as a party or as a political organization.”** Sooner than later, AFD collapsed because the Oromo people and nationalists rejected it. So, looking back at the years 2006-2008, it is clear that the alliance for empire democratization failed to achieve its objective.

Fourth crisis: Violation of Kampala Accord and Berlin Agreement

The purpose of Kampala Accord and Berlin agreement were to reconcile and bring together the ShG-OLF and TA-OLF that split in 2001. As many of you know, the two were split on the basis of the difference on the objective of the Oromo national liberation struggle. While Shanee OLF opted for the democratization of Ethiopia by abandoning the struggle for independence of Oromiyaa, the OLF Transitional Authority (TA) maintained the original objective goal of the OLF of 1976 -the independence of Oromiyaa. Again, ShG split in 2008. Here Jijjiiramaa was formed. In 2012, Shanee-Gumii again split with the formation of ODF. With split, ODF took 80% of members from ShG-OLF. Shanee came to near complete collapse. It was at this time, it accepted the then QC-OLF proposal to it to accept the Kaayyoo of the 1976. It accepted. It was after this, the talk of Kampala began.

The Berlin Conference followed the Kampala Accord. The Berlin Agreements were for the Executive Committee of the two to work together and the Central Committee of the two groups to work together until the National Congress is held and complete unite of the OLF under one objective goal (Kaayyoo), one Constitution and laws and one leadership is made. It was agreed that all chapters, departments, and branches of the both groups to be merged before the congress. The 1976 objective of the OLF to be upheld until the National Congress is convened. It was agreed that the National Congress to be held in 18 months (a year and half). For this purpose, the Conference created independent Committee whose responsibility is to the National Council to independently organize National Congress of the OLF. Further, it was agreed the National Council to meet every three months until National Congress is held. It was agreed that this transitional leadership shall not enter into any Alliance or agreement or Pact or unity with any alien organization or any foreign state until the OLF National Congress is held and new national leadership is elected. It was also agreed that the new national leadership will be elected from the new generation of nationalists in the country. Furthermore, it was agreed that the universal unification of all Oromo nationalists’ political organizations with similar political programs to be made at all levels without any pre-condition. Moreover, it was agreed that the national congress will be organized together and national leadership will be elected from this united members. To work on this unification, the Berlin conference created special committee.

This leadership led to the collapse of Kampala Accord and Berlin Agreement



The saddest thing is, however, before the ink signed with was dry on the Berlin agreement, this group almost immediately violated everything agreed upon. With this, the intent and purpose of the agreement collapsed. The collapse is primarily because of Secretary General, Daawud Ibsaa. He stole the initial success of agreement through coup d'état. First, along with his two deputies, he substituted himself for the Executive Committee and Central Committee of the OLF in the name of Waajjiia Hayyu Duree (WHD) or (Office of Secretary General). He made himself the executive, the legislative and judicial. He decides everything by himself. With his deputies, he campaigned against the members, the Executive Committees and the Central Committee of the TA-OLF. The Committees for organizing the National Congress (Kora Sabaa) and the Committee to work on the unification of all Oromo nationalists political organizations were interfered, interrupted and stopped their work. Pre-conditions were set up against the agreed upon universal unification of Oromo nationalists' political organizations. Daawud Ibsaa, single handedly removed from the Committee, members whom he did not like and replaced with his own stooges. Hence, he dismantled the institutions of the OLF. He and his deputies decimated the Oromo Liberation Army (OLA). And he and his deputy secretaries illegally extended their term of office for another year. This group has become obstacle to the unity of the two organizations of the OLF (QC-OLF and ShG-OLF) and unity of the Oromo nationalists' political organizations. In violation of Berlin Agreement, it has made alliance with alien organizations. In addition, in violation of Berlin Agreement, it called upon the fascist regime that has been committing genocide against the peoples to enter into agreement with it to form "Transitional Government of Ethiopia." Such a call to the enemy of one's nation is tantamount to actively suffocate the OLF, to silence the members and to undermine the Oromo struggle for independence. This is morally and politically objectionable.

Today as the fascist Tigrayan regime is committing rapes, genocides, tortures, and murder against the Oromo people and the rivers of blood of the murdered Oromo children, youths, men and women are flowing throughout Oromiyaa; sadly, this leadership is still engaged in dividing the members of the OLF instead of uniting them. Today as the world community has come to see that the Tigrayan fascist regime is mercilessly slaying our patriots and it has drowning our people's uprisings in rivers of blood and the massacre of political prisoners detained at various

concentration camps to lay pre-condition to obstruct the unity of Oromo nationalists' political organizations is unOromo way; it is against the Oromo people's interest and the interest of the Oromo nationalists and a **serious violations of the Berlin Agreement**. Of course, this leadership's splitting of the OLF and its members is not new to you. As all of you may know, this leadership has been dividing the OLF since it occupied the position of leadership of the OLF in 1999. What is new now is this: after Kampala Accord and Berlin Agreement, after it agreed to work for unity, it completely failed to work for unity and so now it is back to square one-working to split the OLF in violation of Kampala Accord and Berlin Agreement. Here, I refuse to sit quietly and sniff the pungent odor that this leadership has been spreading to divide the members of the OLF, weaken the OLF itself and obliterate its objective goal (Kaayyoo)-independence of Oromiyaa. The unescapable or unavoidable truth is this: this is a leadership that has been and is associated with the creation of every crisis in the history of the Oromo national liberation struggle. This is the standing fact.

Face it: this leadership, since it came to the leadership position in 1999, instead of maintaining and promoting the unity and comradeship of the members of the OLF, it created rifts, discords, frictions and antagonism. And then it has divide them into factions; and it has split the OLF itself into splinters. Consequently, the Oromo struggle under its leadership has progressed downward instead of progressing upward. The fact is, this is a leadership of cronyism, family, friendship and of individuals with blind obedience to this clique not to the Oromo struggle. This leadership, in its sprit and its composition does not reflect the Oromo people.

The fifth crisis: the formation of PAFD as a platform against independence

Having failed to learn from the formation of AFD, again in 2015, in another sleepwalking the same group formed PAFD (People's Alliance for Freedom and Democracy). This is its new scheme. This time in the name of "federalization of Ethiopia" which is euphemism for Ethiopian empire unity. PAFD is a resurrection of the old political revisionism of AFD in a new guise. Again this is about to take the OLF into another catastrophe that this group seems again not to foresee. This alliance was made without the knowledge and participation of the OLF members, Executive Committee, Central Committee and the Oromo people. It is illegal agreement. It is incomprehensible to engage in such illegal activity. Such action diminishes the organization and its institutions. The fact is, this leadership under Daawud Ibsaa has turned a deaf ear to a great deal to the unending demands for the unity of the Oromo nationalists. Instead, it choose unity/alliance with alien forces. The central problem with this OLF leadership is the lack of a strong ideological background and of clarity of national objective. Its political position and is inconsistent with the political objective of the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) and of the Oromo people.

The old Revisionists in a new guise signing document on establishment of PAFD in 015



Bultum Biyyoo, Toleeraa Adabaa, Shuguxee Galata, Daawuud Ibsaa, Dhugaasaa Bakakkoo

The group's document states that **“PAFD strives for a political change and for a just and genuinely representative transitional democratic political order in Ethiopia.”**

Well, “The road to Hell”, as the saying goes, “is paved with the good intentions.” This may be true with the formation of AFD and PAFD. Both AFD and PAFD are one and the same. They are anti-independence of Oromiyaa. Both in their statements called “on... the current government of Ethiopia... to seize this opportunity and hold a comprehensive conference to resolve the existing dysfunctional political and social dilemmas confronting the Ethiopian Empire.” For the group, this may be a good intention. But it is a call for fascist regime that has been exterminating the Oromo people. This is the statement of an appeasement of the enemy. Its call upon “...the current government of Ethiopia...to seize this opportunity and hold a comprehensive conference ...” is nothing but an attempt to polish the international image of the fascist genocidal Tigran regime in order to join it; to appease it; to accommodate it. It is a sheer madness to appease the enemy. Here, what is to be clear is that the current “leadership” of the OLF has long been going totally in a wrong direction. This current leadership of the OLF is known as a leadership that always draw back and retreat from the objective goal (Kaayyoo) making concession after concession to Abyssinians. It has embraced Ethiopian empire federalization and democratization and so it has long declared: “Farewell independence; farewell Oromiyaa, farewell OLF; farewell forever.” All in all, it is these internally created crises that weakened the OLF and gave encouragement to external enemy to undertaken war of annihilation of the Oromo people and land-grab in Oromiyaa.

The Tigrayan fascist regime Genocide of the Oromo people

Externally, the TPLF has posed the threat of physical destruction, seeking to destroy, to kill, and to annihilate our people. Today, the killings of Oromo men, women and children is rampant. Meles Zenawi, the architect of Oromo genocide put a genocide plan in this term: “The majority can become a minority.” He was reported to have made his last word to his colleagues who were at the side of his deathbed: “Comrades, this is my last words to you. Be alert; remain on vigilant; the enemy is watching you; never take your eyes off Oromo. They are dangerous to you. I have

done my part in keeping them in check; now it is yours to do your part. Above all else: strengthen the army and security; never let them become weak; they are your shield and protector.” He was the architect of Oromo genocide and the partition of Oromiyaa euphemistically referred to as “Addis Ababa Integrated Master Plan.” This plan is for the implementation of the mutilation of Oromiyaa; its break up into east and west. Hence, it must be clear to all that Addis Ababa Master Plan is the Oromo removal policy to clear the Oromo land for the Tigrayan new settlers and for the foreign land grabbers. The TPLF has already started swallowing up Finfinnee. The land is taken; Oromo are displaced; Oromo language and culture in it are replaced. That is, the Tigrayanization of Finfinnee is underway. It was said that his last words to his compatriots was “a war of extermination that he commenced to be waged until the Oromo are reduced to a minority status.” With these words, it has been said that he breathed his last breath and gone forever.

His successor, Haile Mariam Desalegn, is now implementing the policy. Consequently, today the pace, the scale, and the intensity of kidnappings, arresting, and brutal killings of the Oromo men, women, and school children by the TPLF regime are unparalleled in the history of the empire. Furthermore, ordinary men and women have been seized at their farmland, in market places or going along road; at homes, and at work places and children have been seized from schools and playground and gaged to prisons. Thousands of them have been tortured; tens of thousands have been murdered; hundreds of thousands have been disappeared without trace of their whereabouts. The exiles have been hunted and kidnaped while transiting through neighboring countries or the refugees in those countries are kidnaped with the accomplice of officials of those countries- countries such as Yemen, Kenya, Sudan and Djibouti imprisoned, tortured and murdered. Indeed, the TPLF is a regime with insatiable passion and lust to torture, rape, and murder Oromo men, women and children. This genocidal maniacs and the organized terrorist villain has been committing genocide against the Oromo people since it arrived in Oromiyaa in 1991. It is important to understand that genocide is not a political as such; it is a deliberate crime, a crime committed consciously and intentionally against a particular people on the basis of hatred of that people to exterminate it. It is on this basis that TPLF has been and is committing genocide against the Oromo people. History has shown time and gain that force, violence, intimidation, murders, and conflicts are glorified by genocidal fascist regimes as a way to gain power and glory. These are the methods TPLF has been using to annihilate the Oromo nation. The fact is this, without the notice of the world communities the Oromo people are perishing from silent genocide that the TPLF has been committing against them.

The TPLF colonial policy is and has been for the depopulation of Oromiyaa. To accomplish this, a systematic Colonial violence, prolonged campaign of brutality and sadism, a policy of torture, mass murder and eviction of population from their land are underway. As it is clear, since 1991 TPLF has been on a killing spree, targeting as many Oromo as it could regardless of sex or age. Its campaign is for the destruction of Oromo nation. For this, it has undertaken a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of the Oromo people, with the aim of annihilating the nation itself. The objectives of this plan is for the disintegration of the political and social institutions, of culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence of the Oromo nation, and the destruction of personal

security, liberty, health, dignity, and including the lives of the individuals belonging to the Oromo nation. It is the most extremist and aggressive fascist group that appeared in the Ethiopian empire.

Today, millions of Oromo families are exposed across Oromiyaa to hunger, starvation, famine and death that intentionally created by the fascist Tigrayan regime of Ethiopia. Under these conditions, millions of Oromo children have been perished and still perishing in their mothers' arms while the mothers themselves lying dead carrying their children. Still, millions of mothers are crying for lack of food to feed their children. The following are the faces of Oromo families with their children under the genocide plan of the fascist Ethiopian regime. Here are some of the TPLF's campaign methods for the extermination of Oromo people. Here what is clear is the TPLF/EPDM fascist regime has been and is waging war of extermination of Oromo families. Its policy is a policy of the extermination of mothers and children. It is implementing this family extermination policy as one method of reducing the Oromo population to a minority.

The faces of Oromo families under the rule of Fascist Tigrayan regime

The fascist Tigrayan regime has impoverished our people, and devastated our land. It has robbed us of our farm fields, our mines, our forests, our lakes, our rivers, and our raw materials. Our people's sufferings and miseries increased. Under this regime millions of our fellow-citizens died from starvation.

Here are the faces of the Oromo families with their babies:



Millions of Oromo farmers have been forced en masse from their homes, lands, business and farmlands-their livelihood and exposed them to starvation and death. Millions of families have been and are living under the constant shadow of death and destruction. Millions have already perished. Here, look at a crying child for food at the arms of a dead mother. This is true to millions of Oromo families.



Here, look at a dead child lack of food at the arms of mother, while the mother herself is awaiting death from the starvation created by the TPLF.



Not only this, the regime intentionally allowed toxic chemical into the air, the ponds, the lakes and rivers in Oromiyaa. This resulted in the death of millions of humans and wild animals.



The regime has also undertaken the burning down of Oromiyaa National Parks and many forests in Oromiyaa and as result millions of animals perished. This is the Bale National Park under flame of fire set on it by the fascist Tigrayan regime.



In full consciousness of the magnitude and gravity of the genocide against the Oromo people and the destruction of Oromiyaa by the Tigrayan fascist regime, I feel it is the duty and obligation of the Oromo political organizations to urgently and immediately unite to save their people from annihilation and their country from disintegration. Today, we have come to a situation that is threatening the Oromo very existence as a nation and Oromiyaa as an integral country. This is what will soon inevitably and imminently going to happen if we fail to stand up together and fight against the TPLF fascist regime that is committed and determined to make the annihilation of Oromo and the disintegration of Oromiyaa to happen. Oromiyaa is now standing between rise and ruin as a country. It is time for us to immediately act decisively taking extraordinary steps in fighting against both internal and external enemies. Every Oromo person, now has a decision to make. The decision to be made is this: Either you are with the Oromo people fighting for the independence of Oromiyaa or with the fascist Tigrayan regime and its collaborator-the OPDO for the genocide of Oromo and disintegration of Oromiyaa. It is no secret that the fascist TPLF regime has been and still is training Oromo traitors, in secret “re-education camps” including in the diaspora to serve its genocidal system and its genocidal regime.

The rational and sensible strategy is to unite all Oromo political organizations that can be united to save their people and country from the cruel and vicious fascist Tigrayan colonial regime of Ethiopia and its Oromo collaborators. Here, anti-Addis Ababa Integrated Master Plan is a powerful unifying force. Here, leaderships of political organizations have three choices: either to actively and enthusiastically march at the head of their people, organize them, arm them and lead them into the battle for national liberation, or choose to trail behind them, hoping for illusions of negotiating with the enemy to get some concession from it in order to join it, or choose to stand in their people’s way and oppose them altogether. Since 1999 to-date, however, all leaderships of Oromo political organizations have chosen to trail behind the Oromo people. Unity of the Oromo nationalist Organizations must be our priority.

In response to this gravest physical danger, the Oromo people and the Oromo nationalist political organizations need a leadership, a leadership that can strengthen their weak hands through concrete action-unity, organization and struggle. It is time to cast away illusions and faint hope

of negotiation with enemy and prepare oneself for armed struggle. For this, the Oromo people and the Oromo political organizations need a unified central leadership, a leadership with unwavering determination to restore independence to Oromiyaa. It must be understood that in this struggle, our goal is to establish sovereign, independent Democratic Republic of Oromiyaa. This demands the extermination, not just defeat, and disarm of the TPLF-the arch-enemy of the Oromo people. This must be its complete and lasting elimination. In a struggle, the Oromo people needs a leadership that follow the principle of self-reliance- relying on its people, its resource and its country. For new Oromiyaa to emerge from the ashes and humiliation of occupation and to embark on the new road back to its greatness and its independence, the unity of the Oromo nationalist organizations is a must and a priority. Our priority must be to put our house in order before stepping outside of it. This means, we need unity, organization and struggle.

Today, the Oromo struggle has a leadership with trebling knees, the knees that bend before the external powers. It is a leadership that is led by the noise by the external political forces. This leadership is the most incompetent leadership to lead the Oromo struggle to independence. It is a leadership that lacks the will power to fight and to be in its country among its people. It is a passive, an inactive, an inert, and indecisive leadership to lead armed struggle. It is a divisive leadership. No Oromo nationals ever divided as it did under this leadership. We should not look away from this crisis of leadership in the Oromo struggle. If we turn blind eyes from what we know to be true, Oromiyaa, the Oromo people, the OLF and the Oromo liberation struggle will suffer. We must immediately focus on what's wrong with the leadership and fix it. Remember, leadership is about the people and the country. This diaspora based knee jerking and the foreign led by noise leadership must be replaced by the new Qubee generation in Oromiyaa in order to properly serve the country, people and the struggle for liberation much better.

In the end, I would like to say this: Everything in this national liberation struggle of ours must be seen through the prism of the Oromo objective goal. Oromiyaa is a colonized country. Hence, the truth is our struggle is and has been to break the chains of colonialism which for nearly a century and half have fettered us. For this, the mission of our fallen patriots is to establish independent Democratic Republic of Oromiyaa. Therefore, it is incumbent upon all of us, the living, before anything else to put this mission first; never quit it; never accept defeat and never abandon this mission. With these, so long as the rifles are on the shoulders of the Oromo freedom fighters, fighting in the cities, towns, villages, valleys, plains, terrains and mountains of Oromiyaa and so long as pens are in the hands of the Oromo nationalists and so long as this struggle is led by a truly determined national leadership of the Oromo people, the road to independence is truly widely open. It is time to pass national leadership to new generation; the old generation has to give way to the new generation. As it is summarized in the above paragraphs, under this leadership, our struggle has been facing disaster with no end in sight. In order to stop and reverse this trend, and begin a new chapter in our struggle, it is time for this leadership to give way to a new generation of Oromo nationalists- a new Qubee generation of leadership with commitment for independence of Oromiyaa; a leadership who have willpower or firmness of will to fight and are capable of fighting.

Oromiyaa Shall Be Free!