

Revisionists March dressed up in Nationalists Disguise to Lay Siege on Oromo Struggle

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When fascism comes to America, it will be
Wrapped in the flag, carrying a cross
--Sinclair Lewis, author of
It Can't Happen Here, 1935

Introduction

Not so long ago, with the rise of fascism in Germany, Italy and Japan in 1930s, there was a widespread fear in America that America could be over taken by a fascist dictatorship. This fear was captured by Sinclair Lewis, in the above noted statement. In this article, the goal is not to discuss fascism but to show how the Oromo revisionists have used the similar methods to throw the Oromo nationals into political confusion so as to support them and abandon the struggle for independence of Oromia.

The interest of this article is to show a game of political double play by the Oromo political revisionists of various sorts to hide their betrayal of Oromo struggle behind the slogans in their attempt to alter the battle of political narratives of national struggle so as to throw Oromo nationals into political confusion. That is, to show how and why Oromo nationals have been wrenched away from the Kaayoo Bilisummaa they believed in and are now being dragged toward politics of 'democratization of Empire State of Ethiopia'. This takes us to carefully and thoughtfully examine and understand their unprincipled games of political double play in using slogans. We need to understand this game and comprehend it, in order to wake up; to rise up and fight back.

By now, it is crystal clear that the Shanee faction or the Asmara group has replaced the struggle for independence of Oromiyaa with struggle for "democratization of Ethiopia." This changed the dynamics of political discourse and led the members not merely to take a different political position but to a sharply divergent and diametrically opposite political position on the issue of struggle for independence of Oromiyaa. This difference is a difference in vision. The difference is not only a difference in visions but the visions themselves are irreconcilably in conflict. Indeed, Shanee's action created an irreconcilable conflict of visions. It was because of this conflict of visions that every attempt to resolve the political and ideological conflicts among the factions within the OLF had failed. Here maybe some nationals are more familiar with this than some others. To make it crystal clear to all, the reason for the failure was that the Asmara groups have been unable to reconcile themselves with the road that leads to the independence of Oromiya. Hence, their road to "democratization of Ethiopia" is irreconcilably in direct conflict with the road to the independence of Oromiya. That is the main the reason for the failure.

Now, the point here is not to discuss the conflict of vision that led to the split of the members. The point, however, is first to show how Shanee is able to confuse members to accept its version of Oromo question and their struggle. And second point is to show why so many Oromo nationals have been duped into accepting and following Shanee's political version and totally failed to see and understand its propaganda of distortion, of obscurance, and blurring of the truth about the political goal of the Oromo struggle. The task of this article is to show the methods that have been used to confuse and mislead so many Oromo nationals in the diaspora, including many scholars in order to turn them against their people's struggle in the name of "Agenda for Peace," in the name of "democratization of Ethiopia," and in the name of "New National Reconciliation". It is to these how and why this article turns next.

The methods used to confuse public

First, here is the question of how. That is, the methods used. Since the last twenty years, to be exact since 1991, regressive elements, oftentimes known as revisionists, dressed up themselves in "revolutionary" mask and heavily infiltrated the OLF in a large drove with some of whom held leading political positions and ever since have become very active in the organization with the primary purpose in mind to turn the political clock back; to fall it back, to reverse and fold it.

In the first phase, in 1999, Shanee usurped the political leadership of the OLF. Upon the usurpation of the leadership, it moved to Diasporas, to Eritrea. Its move to Diasporas was vehemently opposed by many members. In order to silence or to mute the voice of the waves of members in opposition to its absence from the country, Shanee recruited yes men and yes women into the organization. Then, following this, in the second phase, using these recruits, it secretly organized secrete cells within the Oromo nationals. The purpose of these cells was to systematically sow seeds of doubt, confusion, mistrust, and discordance within Oromo nationals. Through these secrete cells; Shanee was able to overtake the leadership of every mass organization in the Diaspora. It is these factors that determined and conditioned as to what followed next. They have become the basis for the rise of small group mentality that created factions and sectarians.

These revisionists go to Oromo public gatherings or meetings or rallies whenever or wherever there is one, dressed up in nationalist disguise to cover up their betrayal of national struggle for independence. Their attempt is to prolong the life of Ethiopian Empire, the empire that already outlived its days and now begin fading away. This betrayal is camouflaged in the lexicon of the phrase 'self-determination.' Still to-date, this phrase, the phrase 'self-determination' is being in use by all sorts of revisionists, intent on material gain, to conceal a multitude of their sins committed against the political goal of the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), its political program, its Kaayyoo, and the unity of the Oromo nationalists.

Next, confident of this, Shanee contacted Meles Zenawi through an intermediary to mediate its return to his government as a loyal legal opposition party. The mediator took the issue to Meles Zenawi. Zenawi gave a green light to the mediator to go ahead with pre-conditions that Shanee has to agree to, to accept and implement before it is allowed to

return. The agreement based on these pre-conditions is known as "Agenda for Peace". The core elements of "Agenda for Peace" that Shanee accepted and agreed to implement are: the acceptance of Ethiopian constitution, the territorial integrity of Ethiopian Empire, the renunciation of armed struggle, the demobilization and disarming of the Oromo Liberation Army (OLA). With the acceptance of "Agenda for Peace", Shanee wrapped itself with Ethiopian flag singing to the Abyssinians the TPLF/EPDM's version of the Ethiopian anthem, "Wodefit gesgishi wude Innat Ityopya" and singing the slogan, "Agenda for Peace". Then, to cover up this betrayal of Oromo struggle, in the next phase it kept on going to Oromo nationals' meetings wrapped itself with the OLF flag singing loudly the Oromo patriotic song, "Alaabaa Oromiyaa ibsituu dukkanaa" which literally means the Oromyaa flag, the brighter of the dark and then go on chanting until their veins stand out the patriotic slogan of the OLF, "Victory to the Oromo People!". It is in this way, Shanee effectively fooled so many nationals. As politically keenly observers understand, it is here that Shanee gradually and effectively degenerated into swamp of revisionism and opportunism and consequently ended up in the arms of Abyssinians. Certainly, revisionism and opportunism are evil for national struggle. They are a corrosive which eats away national unity. They undermine national cohesion. They causes apathy and creates dissention, disconnection and isolation within the nationals.

Having accepted Meles Zenawi's pre-conditions, Shanee now has one major obstacle to overcome: the opposition to its "Agenda for Peace" from within the members. Here what Shanee wanted to do was either to minimize any opposition to its 'Agenda for peace' to a level of insignificance or to totally eliminate it altogether. It was over confident to do one of these. Being overconfident to overcome any opposition to its agenda, it was encouraged to bring up "Agenda for Peace" to the larger leadership of the OLF in 2000 for approval or to be adopted. It failed to overcome opposition from the members of leadership. However having already convinced larger members in the Diaspora, Shanee was able to make it's "Agenda for Peace" the main agenda for discussion at the congress of the members in 2001. The disagreement on this agenda at this congress split the members into pro and anti "Agenda for Peace."

The split was what Meles Zenawi was waiting for. His wish was fulfilled as the organization split. Following this, in 2002, Shanee launched armed attack on OLA in the Southern Command to forcefully disarm it in order to implement a part of "Agenda for Peace" as it promised to Meles Zenawi. He squeezed out and extracted concession from it. Consequently, Shanee fell in the trap that Meles Zenawi setup for it. With this, Shanee reached a point of no return. Meles understood this. Even after having milked these concessions from Shanee, Meles Zenawi was still not satisfied. He wanted more; more concessions, more juice, more pound of meat and even more blood out of Shanee. So, he laid out new conditions again in addition to the ones Shanee already accepted and implemented. This time, Shanee was asked to go on Ethiopian TV and Radio and apologize to his regime, to his "government", and to the people of Ethiopia for leaving the TGE and for any action it had taken or anything it had said or done against his regime and government. Not only this, in addition to these, he also told Shanee that even after its return to the government, his government will not guarantee its leadership and members from any lawsuit that may be brought against any of the leadership or their members by

any citizen of the empire. It is in this way that Meles Zenawi pulled a string from under Shanee's feet and humiliated it. With this Shanee's nightmare began.

It was only at this time; Shanee saw itself as being milked like a cash cow. So, it felt betrayed. Meles Zenawi not only betrayed Shanee but he humiliated it. In humiliation, Shanee made another political shuttle; it made a new political journey. This time, it turned to Kinijit also known as Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD), a monarchist Abyssinian political organization. It joined the CUD and formed with it a new organization, namely Alliance for Freedom and Democracy (AFD), which later collapsed on its own feet.

With the formation of AFD, Shanee embarked on a new form of political campaign. This time, its motto for campaign was "democratization of Ethiopia." It is a campaign of creating confusion. First, it recruited and organized crypto-Abyssinianized Oromo individuals, those individuals to whom Ethiopian Empire has become a quasi-religious superstition, into its rank to inflate the number of its members so to fool Oromo nationals into believing that Shanee is in the majority of the OLF and to propagandize that it is the majority of members that accepted "democratization of Ethiopia". Then it unleashed its newly recruited members to go around singing, "democratization of Ethiopia" and pumping their fists into the air chanting the slogan, "We are pro AFD, ULFO, OLF" so as to confuse and mislead uninformed Oromo nationals. Indeed, many Oromo nationals have succumbed to this propaganda.

Well everyone knows, though not everyone wishes to acknowledge, that Shanee dances to the tune of every Abyssinian political factions, big or small. It has difficulty joining the Oromo nationalists in the spirit of national unity and struggle but has no difficulty joining Abyssinians. Here one needs to understand as to why Shanee always becomes victim of Abyssinian political rhetoric and manipulations. This is simple to understand. As we have seen time and time again, Shanee has an insatiable propensity to join and become an integral part of Abyssinians. That is why. But the Abyssinians purpose is and always has been to divide the OLF. And they did. Shanee does not understand the Abyssinians and their culture, because it is from a society that believes in democracy and democratic institutions. The Abyssinians are a society alien to democracy and democratic institutions. Their culture is a culture of dominance; a culture that does not accommodate other cultures. In order to be accepted, one has to surrender oneself to their violent political culture. Because of this, they believe in the dominance of the others. Shanee does not understand this. So, it succumbed to Abyssinian culture. Not only succumbed to it, it adopted and applied it to the Oromo.

Furthermore, because of their culture of violence all their political leaders without exception seized political power through violence. Hence in the history of Abyssinia, there is no a time when political power was peacefully and smoothly transferred from one to another. In this culture, one seizes power in violence and stays in power with violence; and removal from power is either by natural death or through force of violence. In this case, what makes Ethiopian Empire different from all other empires before it is this. In Ethiopian empire, with every change of its regime, the flag changes and with it, its

anthem changes. For example, at the formation of Ethiopian empire-state, the color of the flag of the empire was **red, white, yellow, white and green** in this order. That was Menelik II's flag, and ever since it changed nine times and still continuing. For instance, Emperor Haile Sellassie regime had its own flag and its national anthem was "Ityopya hoy dessibalish/be happy Ethiopia." With its overthrow, Mengistu Haile Mariam had another flag and its anthem was "Ityopya, Ityopya, Ityopya qidami/Ethiopia, Ethiopia, Ethiopia be first." And still Meles Zenawi regime has another version of the Ethiopian flag and its anthem is "Wodefit geshishi wude Innat Ityopya/March forward dear mother Ethiopia." In today's empire politics, each anthem is followed by one or another Ethiopian faction. CUD (aka Kinijit) uses "Ityopya Hoy dessibalishi"; Ginbot 7 uses "Ityopya, Ityopya, Ityopya Qidami" and the current regime, Meles Zenawi's regime has "Wodefit geshishi Wude Innat Ityopya". Shanee sings any of the anthems of Ethiopian empire depending on which faction it courts.

For instance from 2000 to 2003, when Shanee was seeking partnership with Meles Zenawi to return to his government, Shanee wrapped itself in the Meles Zenawi's version of Ethiopian flag singing his regime's anthem, "Wodefit geshishi wude Innat Itopya." But after the OLF split on this agenda, and its relationship with Meles Zenawi broke down und the conditions I have mentioned above. Shanee was caught with surprise. Their relationship broke. In response, Shanee turned to Kinijit (CUD) and courted it. They united into one in forming Alliance for Freedom and Democracy (AFD). Having formed AFD, in elation Shanee wrapped itself with the Kinijit's version of Ethiopian flag singing its anthem, "Ityopya hoy dessibelish." However before long, AFD was collapsed; and went out of existence. After AFD's death, Shanee turned to Ginbot7. At this point in time, it is perusing relationship with Ginbot7 wrapping itself with Ginbot7's version of Ethiopian flag and singing its anthem, "Ityopya, Itopya, Itopya Qidami."

After its every marriage with Abyssinian organizations, Shanee turns its face to Oromo, taking off Ethiopian flag, and masquerading its anti Oromia independence campaign. This time, it sends its regressive elements to every Oromo mass gatherings like public rallies, demonstrations, sport tournaments, political and social meetings and among others wrapping themselves in the OLF Flag, waving it, and wearing the OLF's lapel pins on their chests singing and dancing the Oromo patriotic song "Alaabaa Oromiyaa, Alaabaa biyya tiyyaa, Hin kuftu, hin jigdu lamuu atii", which roughly means, the Oromia flag, the flag of my country, you will not fall again; you will never fall again and echoing the messages of the fallen Oromo heroes and heroines "Maal Dhaamanii jaallawwan qabsoof kufanii", to highlight only a few. Then they go on chanting the patriotic slogans of the OLF, "Oromia Shall Be Free!" and other patriotic slogans invoking the Oromo nationalists' patriotic principles, "Bilisummaa/freedom", "Walabummaa/independence." It is in these ways that Shanee profoundly confused so many Oromo nationals, particularly those with low information. No one understood Shanee's right hand from its left hand.

The Multiple Faces of Shanee

As we have seen Shanee has multiple faces. Its one face is with Kinijit (CUD) as it formed AFD with declaration of "democratization of Ethiopia" singing "Ityopya hoy dessibalshi." Its other face is, when it courts Ginbot 7 and calling for "New Transitional Government of Ethiopia" and in the hope singing "Ityopya, Ityopya, Ityopya qidami" and of course still another face is shown with Meles Zenawi's regime as it accepted "Agenda for Peace" and singing with TPLF/EFDM "Wodefit gesgishi wude Innat Ityopya". And still its fourth face is shown when it turns its face to Oromiya, and its people and mingling in and singing with Oromo nationals the Oromo patriotic songs, "Alaabaa Oromiyaa, Alaabaa biyya tiyyaa, Hin kuftu, hin jigdu lamuu atii," and "Alaabaa Oromiyaa ibsituu dukkanaa." Here one has to ask oneself as to which face of Shanee is to be believed.

In recent days, the Oromo revisionists of all types and colors have been going to the Abyssinian political organizations and media outlets playing the insidious role of mounting more open attacks on the political program of the Oromo national struggle, the OLF political program. These are the revisionists who have been for a long time dressed themselves in the mask of nationalists to cover up their political betrayal of the struggle just like the common criminal who don robe of law-abiding person so as to pretend innocent.

It is in these ways, Shanee (the Asmara group) has confused so many Oromo nationals in the Diaspora as to the purpose, the goal, and direction of Oromo national struggle. And consequently, it flung many of them into a sea of doubt, bafflement, and uncertainty as to the success of the struggle itself. By so doing, it opened the floodgates to dangerous political games in the history of our national liberation struggle. At the time when unity should have been paramount, it launched a divisive political campaign. It created self-doubt in members. It made its members to fear each other's local differences. Such fear of each other poisoned the atmosphere among members and spread harmful ideas of distrust creating a mortality of mind and impoverishment of spirit finally breeding divisiveness, disconnection, and isolation from one another and mistrust of each other on the basis of their local differences. These lead to small group mentality, factions, and sectarians on basis of regional or local levels. This is a politics of crash and burn; split and disappear.

An alleged Manifesto ABO - A Secrete Manual of the OLF's leadership

As mentioned above, following the collapse of AFD, Shanee next turned to Ginbot7 carrying with it what it alleged to be "Manifesto ABO- a Secrete Manual of the OLF's leadership." As it always does for all Abyssinians, it bowed and kissed Ginbot7's hands and told it that it has a Manifesto that totally replaced the OLF political Program with Non-Violence form of struggle.

In this Manifesto its declared its totally abandonment of Oromo struggle. It replaced the OLF's political program with a new one. In its new program, as it stated in Oromo language, "Sangantaa ABO fooyeesuun ...Itoophiyaa haaraa hundaaf taatu ijaaruu keessatti... hojachuun haala yeroo ammatti kan irra hincee'amne ta'uu isaa Manifesto

ABO kun ifatti kaa'a" (Manifesto ABO, Adoolessa, 2008). Roughly translated it says, this manifesto made it clear that to amend the OLF political program is to work to build a new Ethiopia that is equal for all and it is timely not to be passed over. In 2011, as the talk to resolve the differences within the OLF factions proceeded, Shanee, at the advise of its new partner Ginbot7, launched an armed attack on the Oromo freedom fighters, on OLA and then walked out of the talk. Having left the talk, it immediately introduced, as all well know, what it called the "ABO Manifesto-A secrete manual of the OLF's Leadership" which totally replace the OLF political program. Then both Shanee and Ginbot7 are now calling for a "New National Reconciliation Conference of all oppositions/Waltajjii Haaraa Araaraa kan mormitootaa" in order to form "New Transitional government of Ethiopia." It is in the name of the OLF it wants to form "National Reconciliation Government" with the Abyssinians. As we have seen since joining Ginbot7, Shanee has been going to all Ethiopian political forums and events singing with joy and pride the Ginbot7's version of Ethiopian anthem "Ityopya, Ityopya, Ityopya Qidami" and chanting the slogan, "New National Reconciliation (Waltajjii Haaraa Araaraa)". It must be recalled that as it accepted "Agenda for Peace" to return to Meles Zenawi's regime, it launched armed attack on OLA in the Southern Command Zone of Oromiya in 2002, and again as it formed AFD with Kinijit it took the OLF to court in 2007. In the nutshell, Shanee abandoned the OLF vision, it's the road map to the goal and has been working against it.

Shanee's political shuttles between various Abyssinian political organizations by abandoning the Oromo liberation organizations, in order to undermine the Oromo national struggle for independence, is not only inherently mere self-deception, but it is also absurd, and dishonest.

Fincila Diddaa Garbummaa

Still worse, Shanee conjured up another misleading and high-sounding empty slogan "Fincila Diddaa Garbummaa"- which literally means resistance to slavery. As one well knows, slavery/garbummaa is a socio-economic system under which human beings are legally a property of other human beings. A property person is called slave. In this system, slaves are taken to be commodities to be sold and bought in slave market.

It is true that in this system, the enslaved resist slavery and revolt against their masters. This was proven time and time again. The resistance was for freedom, equality, and democracy within the existing slave owing state or empire. It is this manner that Shanee's political slogan of empire democratization, "Ethiopian Democratization" was born. But the Ethiopian Empire State is not a slave owing state; it is a colonial empire. Slavery and colonialism are not the same systems. Their content, nature and characteristics are different.

Contrary to slavery, colonialism is politico-economic system; it is a colonial conquest, occupation, control, and exploitation of human and natural resources of conquered territories. With these, colonialism undermines the way of life, the tradition, and the values of the colonized people. It replaces the identity and character of the colonial

people with the identity and character of the colonialists. A colonialist imposes its religion or any other alien religion on the colonized people replacing their religion. It imposes its own language and culture on them. It dismantles the political, economic, social, military, religious, and cultural institutions of the conquered people. It must, therefore, be clear that the collapse of political, economic, military, religious and other social structures of Oromo people under Gada system were the consequence of Abyssinian colonial conquest and occupation of Oromiya and the attack on the system itself.

Therefore, there should not be misunderstanding as to the difference between resistance to slavery/diddaa fincila garubummaa and resistance to colonialism. The inherent logic of resistance to slavery and resistance to colonialism leads to different political conclusions. The first leads to the political campaign of democratization of colonial empire, while the second leads to the political campaign of reclaiming ones lost independence so as to establish ones free and independent state.

Furthermore, the very words "equality/walqixummaa, freedom/bilisummaa, justice/haqummaa, and democracy mean entirely different things in the two political camps. In the camp of resistance to slavery, the words mean lifting of bondage from the shoulders of slaves within the existing state. It calls for equality, freedom, justice, and democracy within the existing parameter of the state system. It is from these words the phrase "Ethiopian democratization" was born. On the contrary, in camp of resistance to colonialism these words mean universal brotherhood, sisterhood, patriotism and nationalism across the peoples of free and independent states. It calls for the universal equality, freedom, justice, and democracy among all peoples in the world, including Abyssinians. It is for the reasons described above that the slogan "Fincila Diddaa Garbummaa" is wrong and absurd. The slogan blurs the key distinction between resistance to slavery and resistance to colonialism. Consequently, it undermines the Oromo national colonial question and their struggle for independence. It obscures and dilutes the meaning and implementation of the definition of the word self-determination and hence the purpose of struggle.

One has to be careful with political slogans as to their meaning and implications and as to what it is and what it is not. Political slogans highlight the intent, the purpose, and the direction of a political line of struggle. That is, slogan packages ideas. Political slogans package political ideas, express political beliefs, positions, stands or goals to be achieved. Hence, slogans are torchlight, and they capture and crystallize the aspiration of the people. They capture what one is for or against. To this effect, the purpose of the slogan is to galvanize the loyalty of the citizens and rally their support for particular cause in particular situation.

For instance, in the 1960s in the Ethiopian empire there was a slogan used by the student movement. The movement was against feudalism, the feudal aristocracy, the landlords and their landholdings. In this feudal system, the land was owned and controlled by the royal families, the landlords, aristocrats, the church and their local collaborator - the balabbats. The balabbats themselves were local landlords. This was the case in the

conquered territories such as Oromia. In the conquered territories the people were simply tenants. The slogan used by the student movement to call for the overthrow the system was "Land to the Tiller."

In the conquered territories education was also restricted to the urban centers. It meant only for the children of the conquerors and their collaborators. The vast population of the rural areas was left alone. The conquerors denied education to the children of the conquered people. To change this situation the slogan of the time was "Education for All." These slogans were easy to understand; no ambiguity as to what they means and imply.

Also long ago, in the French Revolution, the revolutionaries used the slogan "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" to organize and unite the people against the French rule of absolute Monarchy. And they were successful. Again in the American Revolutionary War for independence from Great Britain Empire, the slogans "No taxation without representation", "Live free or die", and "Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God" were used to mobilize, organize, unify the people to fight against the empire. Furthermore, during the Russian Revolution the slogan used to galvanize and turn the population against the Czar, aristocracy and the landholding system was "Peace, Bread, and Land" and "All Power to the Soviets".

Hence, contrary to the slogan "Fincila Diddaa Garbummaa", the real slogans capture and crystallize the aspiration of the people. They are easy to understand and there are no ambiguities as to their meanings. They touch the lives of the people. "Fincila Diddaa Garbummaa" is false premises and ambiguous slogan. It does not touch the lives of the Oromo people. Because, the Oromo people do not consider themselves as slaves/garba; bought and sold. It is a misleading slogan. It is meant to confuse Oromo nationals. If a resistance is against slavery, then there exist slaves and slave owners. In this case, if Oromo resistance is against system of slavery, then Oromo are slaves. If Oromo are slaves at least as in Shanee's mind, the Oromo question would be for equality, justice, and democracy within the existing state. Surely we need to understand, a people fighting for independence against colonial occupation is not the same as slaves revolting against their masters for freedom, equality and democracy. It is, therefore, insulting and tragic to present such a great people, a people fighting for independence as slave/garba and their struggle as a resistance to slavery rather than a resistance to colonialism.

All in all, one must understand that the Oromo case is a case of colonial conquest. Oromiya is conquered and occupied by Abyssinia. That is, Oromia is a conquered territory. Hence, the Oromo question is a colonial question. Colonial question is a political question. Political question is a question of state independence, the question of sovereignty. And hence the Oromo struggle is for political independence. The struggle is to throw out the colonizer and dismantle colonial institutions. All in all, we have both legal and political rights to be independent. Therefore, the slogan in this struggle is "Oromia Shall be free! /Oromiyaan Ni Bilisoomti!" This slogan captures and crystallizes the aspiration of the Oromo people. It reflects the political question raised. Its language is clear and accurate in expressing the goal of the struggle to be achieved.

Why many nationals followed a distorted political line?

The question may well be raised: Why so many Oromo nationals followed Shanee and embraced its political distortion of Oromo struggle? The distortion being that the Oromo struggle has been presented as a struggle for Ethiopian empire democratization. It is to this question this section turns next.

First and foremost, we have to acknowledge that Oromiya is already re-established from the dustbin of colonial provinces into a single whole. Qubee is adopted as a national alphabet and is in use. Finfinnee has become the capital city of the nation. And Oromiffaa has become the national language. This means, Oromiyaa's geographical location is made known to the world, to ourselves, to friends, and foes alike but its political expression- its independence is still lurking behind, not realized. Despite all these, Oromiyaa still remains only a geographic expression rather than a political expression. Now in the Oromo struggle, some Oromo nationals want to re-live in the old way, divided provinces. These are the revisionists whose attempt is to revise the concept of Oromo nationalism and weaken the Oromo political struggle to fit their revisionism. In order to achieve this goal, the revisionists have been campaigning to make Oromo nationals to doubt the future of Oromo struggle for independence and to diminish the concept of self-determination to democratization of Ethiopia. The attempt is to reverse the rising tide of Oromo nationalism by creating condition for internal fragmentation, wavering nationalism, and vacillating loyalties by appealing to localism, regionalism, provincialism and villagism among the uninformed nationals. We must ask ourselves as to what really mean by Oromo nationalism when we keep on creating fortress of "gandummaa" mentality within Oromo nationals as it has been seen since 2001, which is antithesis to national unity and nationalism. As it is clear, Oromo national unity is lacking not because of Abyssinia, but because of us. The most dangerous enemies of Oromiyaa, its independence, its people's struggle and the unity of its nationalists are not the Abyssinians they are the Oromo revisionists and opportunists, the collaborators of colonial occupiers.

To some extent, the revisionists succeeded in their mission. That is, some nationals fell in Shanee's propaganda and followed it into its version of Oromo struggle. The reason for Oromo nationals to follow Shanee and its political line is simply the weakness within the Oromo nationals which is lack of political consciousness. Despite all achievements in this struggle, strong national consciousness is not developed. This weak national consciousness has given rise to weak nationalism. And in turn, this has contributed to a weak national character, weak patriotism, and weak organization. It is because of these that so many nationals fell into Shanee's political propaganda.

"Nationalism", in Drew Faust's word, "is always insufficient at the outset because it is contingent on the success of the nation in winning its right to exist." That is, to win depends on strong organization. Nationalism is only meaningful if nationalists are united, organized and become a meaningful force, a force that can exact a change sought. Nationalism without organization is nothing but empty shell. If we simply sit-down in our individual corners and simply complain about only weakness, we cannot advance the

cause of the struggle. And again if we condemn colonialists without doing something to dismantle it, we do not change anything. In order to reach national goals, nationalists must lineup, organize and make their organization strong. If we are united and organize ourselves into a strong community of patriots, we can move mountains, heaven and earth.

In addition, one must understand Shanee's "Agenda for peace," "democratization of Ethiopia," "Diddaa Fincila Garbummaa," "New National Reconciliation," introduced in 'ABO manifesto-A secrete Manual of the OLF's Leadership', and its recent turning of the OLF's Logos into a corporate business enterprise trademark as "advertising, business and retail services" are all simply meant to confuse Oromo nationals and create divisiveness and internal fragmentation within Oromo nationals, and then to destroy the OLF and Oromo nationalism. The recent rise of provincialism, villagism, the tribal appeal, and their dominance among some sections of nationals are the consequence of these campaigns. Shanee has been doing this in the name of OLF and in the name of Oromo nationalism. That is, Shanee waves the OLF flag to fight the OLF flag. It fights Oromo nationalism by being dressed itself up in the disguise of Oromo nationalism. All in all, for so long, Shanee has been dressed up itself in the cloak of the OLF and Oromo nationalism in taking advantage of weaknesses within the nationals so as to divide them and undermine the Oromo struggle for independence. Its ultimate goal is and always has been to replace the nationalist political line with the revisionists political line.

Jijjiirama's New Federal Republic of Ethiopia

A few years back extremely right-wing regressive elements split from Shanee Gumi. It announced its new name as Jijjiirama- meaning change. Jijjiirama announced that it is a change agent. So, many Oromo nationals wanted to know as to what change the Change agent or Jijjiirama wants to change. It was not clear for so long, since it being a member of Shanee and it had been using Shanee's language "self-determination" and "democratization of Ethiopia." Now, it has come out of the closet and shows its true color: as the saying goes, you cannot fool all the people all the time. Indeed, as criticism began to wrap around its feet for its political deception of nationals, Jijjiirama finally understood that it cannot fool all Oromo nationals with propaganda of "democratization of Ethiopia" all the time, anymore. So it made clear, the change it wanted for so long. It formally announced its new political goal as a struggle for the formation of "New Federal Republic of Ethiopia." This is the change it has been seeking. This change is a complete abandonment of everything that is OLF, what OLF stands for, its Kaayyoo, its political program, and its struggle. And yet it still keep on calling itself the OLF. To change the political program of the OLF is illegal. If it changes the OLF's program, with it, Jijjiirama must change its own name too.

Here one should make a note of facts. That is, Shanee Gumii and its now variegated Shanee Jijjiiramas that appeared later were together for a long time. During those years, all of them had the same political outlook; all of them had accepted the "Agenda for peace," all of them were part of "AFD," and all of them were for "democratization of the Ethiopian empire." And above all, they together illegally changed the 1998 political program of the OLF in 2004. Now, the new regressive Jijjiirama whose political goal is

to struggle for "New Federal Republic of Ethiopia" has changed Shanee's 2004 political program. Shanee should not brag about it now, because it is the one that changed the OLF's political program, in the first place. It has set anarchical and illegal pattern in motion.

Well, the concept of "democratization of Ethiopia" has already been debunked. That is, Ethiopia is an empire and empire cannot be democratized. For the same reason, an empire cannot be federalized. To talk about federation of the states in the empire, first and foremost, those peoples who fell under the yoke of colonial empire have to attain their freedom and re-establish their free, independent, and sovereign states: to establish a federation of states is the exclusive right of those sovereign states, not of the organizations. Organizations have no any right of forming federation of states. They may form federation of their own organizations, but not states. Any attempt to federate states is a usurpation of the rights and authority of the people or states. And it is also a crime. One needs to understand, the formation of federal state is a formal political arrangement of the sovereign states. And that formation of federal state is principally and mainly based on universal or common consent of the population of each sovereign states. It is on this basis alone that free, independent and sovereign states with the consent of their populations, if they wish so, can voluntarily join together to form federation of sovereign states. Then and only then, we can say the state is a voluntary union of federation of sovereign states. Jijjiirama has miserably failed to understand this elementary concept of federation, and who and how to form a federal state. Consequently, it misused, abused, corrupted, and perverted the concept of the term federation so as to meet its revisionist political line and so to sell its own ignorance to the public.

In conclusion, despite all odds, since their colonial conquest and occupation, the Oromo resistance against the colonial occupation of their country has never stopped. The resistance that began at the time of conquest kept on spreading through all sections of the Oromo society, through all regions and kept on vibrating ceaselessly across years, across generations, and across a century and half into the formation of the Pan-Oromo organization, the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF). Ever since, no force has been able to stop their voice for liberation. It is, therefore clear that our people's voice for liberation is still the same and will be the same as it has been. And it will continue to be the same until liberation is achieved. Therefore, arrest, torture and killing will not change it; repression and persecution will not change it. Kidnapping and disappearance will not change it; fear will not change it. The opportunists' betrayal of the struggle will not change it. Revisionists' political line will not change it. Collaborators with the enemy will not change it. Hence, sooner or later, the Oromiyaa's independence, the realization of Democratic Republic of Oromiya, the free and sovereign Oromiya will be realized because of the fortitude, the courage, the persistence, and the determination of our people and their nationalists in this struggle.

Therefore, it is time to ask Oromo nationals these questions. When do you fight back? When do you say enough is enough? When do you stand up to your friends, relatives, old acquaintances, a fellow villager, a fellow townsman, a schoolmate, and a class friend who

harbors Ethiopian empire democratization, Ethiopian empire federalization and abandons the struggle for independence of Oromiya? It is time to fight back the opportunists, those who march dressed up in nationalists disguise to undermine Oromo unity so as to lay siege to Oromo national struggle.

You need to stand up with your people and nationalists against unprincipled peace and disguised political game. This is the time of knowing who you are. Time will show on whose side you are. The Oromo struggle is and has been as much as against Abyssinian colonizer as against Oromo revisionists, opportunists and their political views and their slogans that are dressed up in nationalist disguise to confuse and mislead Oromo nationals. Be aware, revisionists always masquerade as nationalists. In this national struggle of ours, whatever we have done, good or bad will be assessed and measured. In the end, we all, without exception, will stand before the verdict of the Oromo public opinion, and the judgment of history.

Oromia Shall Be Free!!

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