



University of Tennessee, Knoxville
Trace: Tennessee Research and Creative Exchange

Sociology Publications and Other Works

Sociology


12-1-2008

Increasing Political Activism and Mobilization: Building an Oromo Agency and Capacity for Liberation

Asafa Jalata

University of Tennessee - Knoxville, ajalata@utk.edu

Follow this and additional works at: http://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_socopubs

 Part of the [African Studies Commons](#), [Other International and Area Studies Commons](#), [Race, Ethnicity and Post-Colonial Studies Commons](#), and the [Sociology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Jalata, Asafa, "Increasing Political Activism and Mobilization: Building an Oromo Agency and Capacity for Liberation" (2008).
Sociology Publications and Other Works.
http://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_socopubs/5

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Sociology at Trace: Tennessee Research and Creative Exchange. It has been accepted for inclusion in Sociology Publications and Other Works by an authorized administrator of Trace: Tennessee Research and Creative Exchange. For more information, please contact trace@utk.edu.

***INCREASING POLITICAL ACTIVISM AND MOBILIZATION:
Building an Oromo Agency and Capacity for Liberation¹***

Without increasing our political activism, mobilizing and organizing our people, we cannot effectively challenge and defeat our external and internal enemies that are attempting to strangle the development of *Oromummaa* and the progress of the Oromo national struggle. Our external enemies have been using Oromo clienteles to achieve their political and economic objectives in Oromia. Some Oromos have been used as raw materials in building other nations. Such Oromos have lacked political and national consciousness or lacked self-respect and attacked the Oromo nation for money and other interests. As the Said Bare government created and used the Somali Abo group against the Oromo national interest, the Tigrayan colonial elites have created and used the OPDO. As a result, the Tigrayan colonial class has blurred the political boundary between the external and internal enemies of Oromo society.

Furthermore, with the spreading of *Oromummaa* to the entire Oromo society by the OLF since 1991, the relationship between both the external and internal enemies has been more complicated. As some members of Oromo society were mobilized, the boundary between Oromo nationalists and Oromo political opportunists or entrepreneurs has also been further blurred. Oromo political clienteles and entrepreneurs have started to abuse and misuse Oromo diversity in the form of clans, colonial regions, religions, and even Oromo dialectics. Consequently, the Oromo diversity that demonstrates the cultural complexity and beauty of the Oromo nation is used as a political tool to divide and turn Oromos against one another when the external enemy, the Tigrayan-led regime, is terrorizing, committing genocide, and exploiting Oromo society with the help of OPDO.

I first explore how the Tigrayan government engages in state terrorism and massive human rights violations to commit genocide on the Oromo people to own Oromia and its resources. Second, I identify and explain the roles Oromo clienteles who are committing crimes against humanity in Oromo society under the directions of Meles Zenawi, the Nazi of Ethiopia. Third, I explore how the Meles regime and his Oromo clienteles are attempting to destroy the development of *Oromummaa* to perpetuate Tigrayan colonialism, domination, and exploitation in Oromia. Specifically, I explain how the external and internal enemies are using Oromo culture and identity to stifle the development of *Oromummaa* and the Oromo national struggle to prevent the Oromo nation from achieving self-determination.

Fourth, I explore how the Oromos who did not yet develop Oromo nationalism or political entrepreneurs have intentionally or unintentionally become the tools of our enemies by attacking our vanguard liberation front, the OLF. Fifth, I discuss how political mismanagement, ineptness of Oromo nationalists, lack of collective leadership at all levels of the Oromo movement, as well as structural limitation have given a political opportunity for the external and internal enemies of the Oromo national struggle. Finally, I argue that we Oromo nationalists should manage our political affairs collectively and effectively by overcoming our political ineptness and directly confronting our enemies by increasing our determination and performances. Specifically, I demonstrate the need for a paradigm shift to increase our political activism and mobilization to enable our people to build their human agency and capacity to liberate themselves.

The Meles Government, Terrorism, and Genocide in Oromia

The Tigrayan-led minority Ethiopian government is attempting to give a final solution for the political problem that has existed for several centuries—the relationship between the Oromos and their Amhara-Tigrayan colonizers. In the process, it is trying to establish a Tigrayan hegemonic minority state both in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa. Since 1992, the Meles terrorist regime has

¹Paper presented at the Oromo Community of Minneapolis, Minnesota, November 29, 2008.

been focusing on brutally attacking the Oromo national movement led by the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) and robbing the economic resources of Oromia in order to enrich the Tigrayan elites and to develop Tigray. To achieve its political and economic objectives, the regime primarily uses its puppet organization, OPDO; the OPDO is dominated and led by Tigrayan cadres, elements of Oromo speaking colonial settlers, and opportunist Oromos who do anything in exchange for luxurious lifestyles. Using the OPDO, the Meles government has constructed a political façade for supposed self-rule and given an Oromo face to the terrorist and genocidal policy of the regime in Oromia

While terrorizing and killing thousands of Oromos in Oromia, the Meles regime has established a political marriage of convenience with the governments of Kenya, Djibouti, Sudan, and some Somali warlords for denying support and sanctuary for the Oromo national movement and extended its terrorist activities in the Horn of Africa. Western powers, particularly the United States, England, and China have been supporting the political and economic policies of the Meles regime while giving lip service to issues of human rights and democracy.

In the 21st century, when animals are even given rights and protections, our people are hunted and killed by the soldiers of the Ethiopian government just because of their Oromo identity and their desire for self-determination and democracy. The Oromos who were murdered by the agents of the Ethiopian government were eaten by hyenas and denied burial. The relatives of the murdered Oromos are not allowed to cry to express their sadness according to their cultural tradition.² TPLF/EPRDF soldiers have openly shot thousands of people in rural Oromia and left their bodies for hyenas, or buried them in mass graves, or threw their corpse off cliffs. There have been other methods of killings, including burning, bombing, cutting throats or arteries in the neck, strangulation, and burying people to their necks in the ground.

The regime has killed hundreds of Oromos in cities like Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa. It has also killed Oromos who engaged in a peaceful demonstration. For instance, on March 25, 1992, in the town of Watar, Hararghe, the soldiers of the regime massacred 92 Oromos and wounded more than 300, and many of these people died later. In 1995, the government soldiers burned houses and killed 70 Oromos in the two villages of Siree, and in the same year, many Oromo communities were burned and several Oromo farmers and herders were either killed or imprisoned in Wabbie, a subdistrict of the Bale region. The Ethiopian soldiers killed hundreds of Oromos at Awaday in Hararghe and Meta Robi in Shawa in the early 1995; in 1996 more than one thousand Oromos in Borana were summarily executed. In November 2001, one hundred Oromos were executed in Borana and Bale.

The TPLF soldiers never spared even pregnant women or youth. They killed several pregnant women and hundreds of Oromo children between the ages of 12 and 16. Since the Tigrayan regime hides evidence of genocidal massacres by systematically destroying documents or killing those who have information, it is very difficult to know actually how many Oromos are victims of systematic killing as far as this government is in power. In the Ethiopian empire, where there is no freedom of expression and the media, people choose to be quiet to save their lives even if the government eliminates their relatives.

Using political violence, the Tigrayan authoritarian-terrorist regime has totally controlled the Oromo and denied them the freedom of expression, association, organization, and the media, and all forms of communication and information networks. Since most of the Oromo people, under the leadership of the OLF, are determined to challenge the racist policy of this regime, this government mainly targets to destruct and devastate the Oromo nation. Ethiopian state terrorism manifests itself in different forms: Its obvious manifestation is violence in the form of unjustified war, assassination, murder, castration, burying alive, throwing off cliffs, hanging, torture, rape,

²For example, the Meles militia killed twenty Oromos, including Ahmed Mohamed Kuree, a seventy years old elderly farmer, and Ayisha Ali, a fourteen years old teenager, on February 21, 2007; they were eaten by hyenas on Gaara Suufii of eastern Oromia. Their relatives were prevented from expressing their grief for killed loved ones.

confiscation of properties by the police and the army, forcing people to submission by intimidation, beating, and disarming citizens.

Former prisoners testified that their arms and legs were tied tightly together on their backs and their naked bodies were whipped. Large containers or bottles filled with water were fixed to their testicles, or if they were women, bottles or poles were pushed into their vaginas. There were prisoners who were locked up in empty steel barrels and tormented with heat in the tropical sun during the day and with cold at night. There were also prisoners who were forced into pits so that fire could be made on top of them. Currently tens of thousands of Oromos are imprisoned, tortured, harassed or killed by the Meles regime because of their struggle for national self-determination and democracy.

The Tigrayan government has also engaged in destroying the Oromo merchants and intellectuals by labeling them "narrow nationalists" and the enemy of "the Ethiopian Revolution" through killing and impoverishing. Thousands of Oromo business people have been harassed, killed or imprisoned and robbed of their properties. It has been destroying prominent Oromo intellectuals, community leaders and businesspeople; extrajudicial killings on the streets, massive imprisonment, torture and disappearance have become common practice of this regime. In its organ known as *Hizbawi Adera*, the regime propagates that these Oromo leaders have endangered the processes of peace, democracy, and development by promoting what it calls "narrow nationalism."

Hizbawi Adera asserts "that only by eliminating the Oromo educated elite and capitalist class will the Oromo people be freed from narrow nationalism." The Tigrayan state elites do not limit their policies to destroying the Oromo elites, but they decided to prevent Oromo children from receiving appropriate education. When it attempts to eliminate the Oromo elites through killing or imprisonment to deny the Oromo a leadership, this racist regime prepares the Tigrayan children for the position of leadership by providing better education. This regime through its racist policies tries to further develop a racialized division of labor.

The military and political leaders of TPLF have emerged as a new capitalist class through illegal means and dominated the Ethiopian political economy. Using state power this new class has expropriated state corporations by the name of privatization and established joint businesses with either local investors or foreign corporations. Through looting and expropriation, the Tigrayan colonial elites and their satellite organizations transferred to themselves the largest and fastest growing companies. Impoverishing people by transferring their wealth and capital from non-Tigrayans to the Tigrayan elites and Tigrayan society and their local and international collaborators through using state machinery are a form of "economic violence." Thousands of Oromos have lost their lands through eviction and their cattle through looting. The Tigrayan-dominated government owns Oromo lands and it does not allocate lands for Oromo farmers. Particularly young Oromo farmers are forced to depend upon their parents since this colonial government does not allocate lands to satisfy their economic needs.

The shortage of land is acute in eastern Oromia where the government intensifies this problem by allocating Oromo lands to Somalis to instigate conflict between Oromos and Somalis. In southern and eastern Oromia rather than distributing lands for Oromo farmers who seriously need lands to farm and raise their children, this regime encourages armed Amharas and Tigrayans to settle there. The government has armed Amharas, Tigrayans and Gumuz to push Oromos from their farming lands in Wallaga and disarmed Oromo farmers so that they cannot defend themselves. Consequently, the Gumuz committed genocide on the Oromos in Wallaga in May 2008. The Meles regime, claiming that Amhara and Tigrayan farmers have no food security because of drought and famine, is committed to settle trained and armed *Habasha* farmers in Oromia to transfer Oromo lands and other resources to these settlers and impoverish and control the Oromo population. These settlers destroy Oromian natural forests, harass or kill local Oromos and rape their wives and daughters.

Our people are not even allowed to have a meaningful relief association in Oromia and neighboring countries. The Meles regime closed the ORA regional offices in August 1995 and its headquarters in February 1996 and confiscated all its properties. The Tigrayan-led regime has denied the Oromo to have autonomous institutions and organizations to keep them under Ethiopian political slavery.

Using the leverage of Western countries the Meles regime has pressured neighboring governments to return or expel Oromo refugees from their countries. The alliance of the West with this regime has frightened neighboring countries, such as Djibouti, Kenya and Sudan and turned them against the Oromo struggle and Oromo refugees. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) has even failed to provide reasonable protection for thousands of Oromo refugees in Djibouti. Oromo refugees have been abused by the Djibouti authorities and the Ethiopian government, and ignored by international organizations, such as UNHCR. In addition to lack of food, Oromo children are denied education in Djibouti. Zeinaba Ibrahim, an Oromo woman refugee says "Our difficulty is that as Oromo we are threatened and endangered both at home in Ethiopia and as refugees in Djibouti."

Probably following the instructions of the Ethiopian and Djibouti governments or due to the fear of these governments, the UNHCR provides no material help to Oromo refugees in Djibouti. Fossati, Namarra and Niggli note that: "The Oromo council of elders told us they believed they were entitled to a small portion of the international aid available to refugees, but did not even get a glass of water from the UNHCR and had been completely forgotten . . . All the Oromo that we spoke to complained again and again that they were so poor that it was even difficult to bury their dead properly. The community, they said, should at least be able to guarantee a burial, since it is the one thing a human being cannot do for himself."

The TPLF forces have continued to enter into Kenya murdering and looting the economic resources of some Kenyan Oromos by accusing them of harboring the Oromo Liberation Army. The Tigrayan soldiers have been killing hundreds of Kenya Oromos by entering into Kenya. Entering into Somalia and Kenya, the agents of this regime have been assassinating prominent Oromo leaders, such as Jatani Ali, Mulis Abba Gada, and Sheik Mohammed Saido. A Tigrayan assassin squad in Somalia killed several Oromo leaders and bombed others.

Oromos are even denied a sanctuary from neighboring countries and are denied the right to be refugees. Oromos have been assassinated or murdered by the regime, denied burial rights, and eaten by hyenas and other wild animals. Since Oromo refugees are not welcomed by neighboring countries and international organizations, there are thousands of 'internal' Oromo refugees in Oromia and Ethiopia. Fleeing from Ethiopian state terrorism, these internal refugees hide in the bushes and remote villages. Suspecting that these internal refugees support the Oromo national struggle, the regime attempts to control their movements and the movement of other Oromos. Assuming that the Oromian forests provide sanctuary for the OLF guerrillas, the agents of the regime burned these forests and caused catastrophic environmental destruction.

With increasing intensity of the Oromo national movement led by the OLF, the Tigrayan authoritarian-terrorist regime is determined to increase the level of mass killings and terrorism. The regime is concerned with the existence of the OLF and the support and the sympathy this organization enjoys from the majority of the Oromo people. The regime has done everything to destroy this organization. What bothers the regime is that the more it terrorizes the Oromo people by killing or imprisoning thousands of them by claiming that they are the supporters of the OLF, the more Oromos are determined to embrace Oromo nationalism and the OLF. As a result, Oromos and the OLF have almost become synonymous. Therefore, it is impossible to destroy the OLF without destroying the Oromo people.

The Ethiopian state elites who have been engaged in gross human rights violations like other criminal leaders in peripheral countries "not only go unpunished, they are even rewarded. On the international scene they are accorded all the respect and courtesies due to government officials. They are treated in accordance with diplomatic protocol in negotiations and seated in

the General Assembly of the United Nations. When they are finally ousted from their offices, they are offered asylum by countries that lack respect for international law, but have a great deal of respect for the ill-gotten wealth that such perpetrators bring with them.”

People like the Oromo who do not have personal and public safety in their homes and communities, and also who are denied the freedom of expression, association, and organization, do not have a good quality of life. In the 21st century, when the world is changing fast because of the intensification of globalization, social revolutions, and revolutions in technology, information, communication, and transportation, the Oromo people are in the darkness of ignorance and poverty. When a community or a society lacks independence or autonomy to determine its political destiny through self-determination and democracy, it is confronted with the problems of underdevelopment, which is characterized as powerlessness, victimization, illiteracy, poverty, and other forms of socioeconomic crises.

OPDOs and their Crimes against the Oromos

As it produced millions of Oromo heroes and heroines, the Oromo nation has given birth to millions of mercenaries who have been engaging in crimes against the Oromo people for gaining individual power and wealth. The Tigrayan colonial elites created the OPDO in Tigrayan jungles from the defeated and captured Ethiopian soldiers to use it as a political tool in dominating and controlling Oromia in order to exploit its economic resources for building Tigray. These former Mengistu soldiers were mentally and psychologically castrated and brainwashed to be loyal servants of Tigrayan elites. There are others who joined the OPDO as political opportunists to advance their careers and enrich themselves at the cost of the Oromo people; these include both Oromos and non-Oromos, mainly Tigrayans and Amharas.

The top leaders and other members of this mercenary organization have engaged in terrorizing the Oromo people by imprisoning, killing, and raping. They have identified Oromo nationalists and exposed them for destruction; Tigrayan fascists do not know the inner working of Oromo society. Some members of the OPDO have emerged as colonels, generals, parliamentarians, ministers, diplomats, administrators, and security workers by soaking their hands by Oromo blood. Such Oromos are crowd without human conscience and mentality and they take a marching order from their Tigrayan masters without any question. How can one be a human being by doing such dirty and criminal jobs?

As there are Oromos who joined the OPDO to engage in looting Oromia, there are innocent and naïve Oromos who have intentionally or unintentionally become “political gloves” for Meles and other Tigrayan elites and have endorsed their crimes in corridors of parliament, administration and other circles. It is amazing that there are mindless Oromo individuals who serve the Tigrayan government as spies and agents in the Diaspora to receive some financial benefits or other benefits when their nation is bleeding to death. Such individuals imitate their masters by engaging in a psychological warfare against the OLF by manufacturing and spreading lies and rumors and misleading politically unconscious naïve Oromos both in Oromia and the Diaspora.

In Oromo society in which people do not differentiate lies from the truth by looking for evidence, OPDO members use friends, extended families, clans, religions, colonial regions, and ideologies to spread their poisonous lies about the Oromo national struggle and the OLF. Most OPDO members are preparing the Oromo people to commit national suicide without realizing the far-reaching consequences of their actions for short-term benefits. How can we call such individuals Oromos? They do not realize that if the Oromo national struggle led by the OLF is destroyed, they will be thrown into the trashcan of history since there will be no need for them. These mercenaries have joined the Tigrayan government in attacking *Oromummaa* and the OLF. They have also hired hidden agents and inserted them in the Oromo national movement to attack and destroy the OLF from inside.

The Attack on *Oromummaa* and the OLF

Oromummaa as our identity, culture, and nationalism has been attacked by the externally and internal enemies of the Oromo nation. Since we know our external enemies, let us focus on our internal enemies that emanates from Oromo society itself. To some degree, we also know those Oromos who have become political gloves of our enemies and bleeding our nation. Such enemies attempt to destroy the Oromo national agenda by promoting clan, local, and regional politics to prevent the emergence of the powerful Oromo nation that will have its national sovereignty to run its affairs.

There are also Oromo elites who engage in clan, local, and regional politics to promote their political opportunism and entrepreneurs by hiding themselves behind the rhetoric of *Oromummaa*. By using the low level of the political consciousness of our people, such Oromo individuals have been creating a political havoc in the Oromo national movement in general and the OLF in particular. Such Oromo elites even joined the OLF and engaged in building their power base by using any tactics that can mobilize more people whom they know rather than competing for leadership through performance. Such political entrepreneurs believe that they can build a national *Oromummaa* on the clan or regional bases.

Realizing that clan or regional politics perpetuates Ethiopian colonialism, Oromo nationalists started to develop *Oromummaa* in the early 1960s. Consequently, an independent Oromo national political leadership emerged in the form of a self-help association in the early 1960s and as a liberation front in the early 1970s. The *Oromummaa* that was conceived by Haile Mariam Gamada and his comrades through the creation of the Maaca Tuulama Self-Help Association, the Oromo Liberation Army (OLA) that was created by Elemo Qilixu and his comrades, and the OLF that was built by Baro Tumsa and his comrades by weaving together the principles that were laid by the farsighted Oromo leaders cannot be allowed to be misused or destroyed by such political entrepreneurs or opportunists and the collaborators of our enemies.

Although the line between Oromo nationalism and clan or region politics seems blurred, there is a serious political contradiction between these two lines. Without defeating clan or regional politics and building the national *Oromummaa*, the Oromo national movement cannot defeat its external and internal enemies and march toward national victory. Both the enemies of the Oromo national struggle and clan or regional Oromo political entrepreneurs use similar political strategies, i.e. dividing and weakening the Oromo national movement led by the OLF.

Without clearly articulating the essence of the national *Oromummaa*, and educating the Oromo people to raise their political consciousness and challenging and defeating the enemies and the Oromo political entrepreneurs, the Oromo national movement cannot achieve its political objectives. For these approaches to be successful there must be a single standard and the OLF should challenge its members from ordinary members to leadership to avoid in engaging in clan and regional politics.

The Illusion of Oromo Political Entrepreneurs

When Oromo nationalists do something for the promotion of the Oromo national struggle, Oromo political entrepreneurs advance their personal or group interests at the cost of the Oromo national struggle. Oromo nationalists stand for the national cause and the most conscious of them even sacrifice their lifestyles or lives for the national cause. Oromo political entrepreneurs attack those who sacrifice themselves for the Oromo cause and spend their times and energies in attacking the OLF and its national leadership; in public they try to show themselves as dedicated Oromo nationalists and in their private spaces they discuss how to promote their clans or regions. Such Oromos lie to themselves and to the Oromo people; they like to brag about their contributions to the Oromo struggle while attacking and belittling the Oromo nationalists that have built and promoted the Oromo national agenda.

For Oromo political entrepreneurs sacrificing and achieving something for the national struggle is not important. So for them any person or persons from their clans or regions are more

important than Oromo nationalists who have demonstrated their bravery and achievements. Consequently, they are more related to members of OPDO from their clans or regions. They are always anti-thesis of the Oromo national unity although they officially declare the importance of the Oromo unity; they want to make their clans or regions the foundation of the Oromo national movement. The Oromo national movement cannot be built on a clan or a region. Oromo political entrepreneurs contribute to the complex problems the Oromo national struggle that can be called structural limitation. Because of the ineptness some OLF member and leaders, these Oromo political entrepreneurs infiltrated the OLF from bottom to top leadership and increased the structural limitation of the Oromo national movement.

Political Ineptness and Structural Limitation

At the cost of offending all of you, I argue that we Oromo nationalists except members of WBO are politically inept and culturally lazy. We expect a miracle in the Oromo national movement without fully contributing our knowledge, expertise, and money. We do small things and then expect victory. We are not ready to pay important sacrifices when members of WBO are ready to pay an ultimate sacrifice to liberate their people and their country, Oromia. There is no a national liberation without an extraordinary sacrifice. So the Oromo national liberation is not different from other national struggles that achieved their political objectives.

If we want our freedom and Oromia, we must increase our determination and political performances; we do not need to wait for messiah from distance to do our work for us. We must start to reeducate and arm ourselves with liberation knowledge and do some specific things for our national struggle and our OLF. We must differentiate ourselves from pseudo nationalists by our practical actions. These actions must be individually motivated and collectively implemented. We should not expect that a few leaders will liberate us; the liberation Oromia can only be achieved by practical activities and contributions of all Oromo nationalists. Even if we are not ready to pay ultimate sacrifices like WBO members, we must accomplish what we can as individuals and groups. We must learn from history that ordinary people can accomplish extraordinary achievements.

We know that there are several internal, national, regional, and global structural limitations that have challenged the Oromo national struggle. Since we could not yet defeat our internal enemies because of the low level of political conscious and the shortage of revolutionary intellectuals, our internal enemies commit crimes against our people, struggle, and organization without paying any price. Millions of our people have joined the OPDO for their bellies to gain daily food items and basic necessities. Opportunist elites have joined the enemy because we are not stopping them from committing crimes against our nation. Oromo political entrepreneurs are also engaging in destructive behavior by using clan or regional politics.

Our neighbors and international powers are not ready to support our national struggle since we did not yet make ourselves indispensable by seriousness of our collective national actions. It is time now for self-respecting Oromos to be determined and be ready to pay sacrifices to further build *Oromummaa* and the OLF to overcome structural limitations and transform our people to a real indispensable political force in the Horn of Africa.

Discussion and Conclusion

As the Oromo national movement led by the OLF is entering a new phase by developing *Oromummaa* as the Oromo national ideology, both the external and internal enemies, which have a common goal in destroying the Oromo struggle, are throwing bombs at the OLF from all directions. Pseudo nationalists have joined these two camps by attacking the OLF and its leadership while claiming to be an OLF group. All of these reactionary forces are using clan, religious or regional politics to undermine the development of *Oromummaa* and the advancement of the Oromo national struggle. Under these conditions, we Oromo nationalists must take two important steps: First, we should clearly draw a boundary between *Oromummaa* and clan or

regional politics and defend the former with determination. Second, we must overcome our political ineptness and culture of laziness by following the footsteps of our heroines and heroes. How can we take these actions?

Let me suggest seven steps for defending and building *Oromummaa* and the OLF:

1. **Focusing our struggle on our primary enemies.** These are the Tigrayan colonial government and all its collaborators, including the OPDO.
2. **Exposing, challenging, and defeating both clan and regional politics.** This should be done through education and constant struggle. Since some Oromos are not politically conscious, they manifest such local identities rather than national *Oromummaa*. Through education we must transform these local identities to a national one. We must organize series of workshops and seminars and engage our people in such discussions.
3. **Developing Oromo nationalists as activists and leaders.** All Oromo nationalists must be trained as activists and leaders who can take serious actions in defending and developing *Oromummaa* and the OLF. They must be bridge builders and ambassadors between their organization, the OLF, and various Oromo organizations, sectors and communities and non-Oromo communities.
4. **Opening series of Dialogues among Oromo nationalists and OLF Leaders.** Ways of communications need to change in these efforts; the old styles of lecturing and answer questions need to change. We should develop styles of communications, in which roles can change. Sometimes leaders need to be students to effectively communicate to their followers and followers need to be leaders in discussion to learn the challenge of leadership. We should eliminate miscommunication and misunderstanding between the leadership and the followership.
5. **Developing Mechanisms of Promoting Liberation Knowledge.** Oromo nationalists must read and learn about the Oromo people and the world in order to equip themselves with liberation knowledge. For these, study groups must be initiated among a group fives to engage in this effort. *Oromummaa* and the OLF cannot be built without liberation knowledge. Since the world is mainly equipped with the knowledge of domination, we cannot challenge this frame of thinking without equipping ourselves with the knowledge of liberation.
6. **Searching for Mechanisms of Increasing our Commitment and Sacrifices.** We must dialogue always to search for ways of increasing our activities and performances to play a determining role in our national struggle. We Oromo nationalists should consciously decide that we are not part of the crowd, but we are movers and shakers in making the history for our people.
7. **Building an Oromo agency to mobilize our rich human capacity to enable our people to revolt and liberate themselves.** If we increase the political consciousness of our people, the development of *Oromummaa*, and the capacity of the OLF, our people can overcome their inferiority complexity and pacifism and take a coordinated cultural and political action in Oromia and the Diaspora and defeat all of our enemies in the near future. With increased determination, hard work, and sacrifice nothing is impossible.