

## A Roadmap for the #United Oromo Revolution

We are at a critical juncture in Oromo history. The popular movements that are sweeping Oromia open a new chapter in the Oromo struggle. The new generation has generated a new momentum on the ground to the Oromo cause. These mass movements are creating opportunities and posing challenges for Oromos in the diaspora.

The first challenge is how to defeat the TPLF regime that is fighting for its life. In other words, we have to ask ourselves the question that how can we finish the job of the Oromo struggle? The answer is simple: build a strong leadership out of the popular movement. That is a difficult job for activists to do under the watch of the TPLF government. Can the diaspora play a role in filling that gap?

The answer is a resounding yes. The Diasporas must lead. It shouldn't let the people back home fail. They are counting on us big time. This is a make or break moment for the diaspora activism. It is a time to choose between seizing this chance and letting it go by.

The Diaspora leadership has to leave behind the reign of intrigues, internal infightings and schisms that permeate its establishments. It has fallen into the trap of our adversaries. Contrarily, our people have overcome their differences, built unity, and found ways to outsmart the adversaries. Thus, our leaders must stop leading from behind. In fact, leaders have to lead, not to follow.

We know that there are complexities that lie beneath the surface of the Oromo struggle. However, we want to draw a simple formula to catapult to the struggle to the next chapter. The viewpoints we put forward may sound simplistic but provide some fundamental frameworks to various stakeholders in the Diaspora.

To begin with, the Diaspora organizations have to narrow a tension between ideology and pragmatism. Excessive ideology can kill the struggle and excessive pragmatism destroys the morality of the struggle. However, in the case of Oromo,

we are often bogged down in fighting over ideas and ideological purities. Of course, ideas are very important but always action speaks louder than words. Pragmatism, making short term decision and getting hold of opportunities to achieve concrete outcomes, is very important for a success of any struggle. Debates such as the formation of an independent Oromia or a democratic Ethiopia should never hold back the various Oromo camps from working together. For the sake of expediency, such questions must be left for the Oromo public at large to determine when an opportune time comes. As always, walking the walk is much better than talking the talk. And those opposing camps must rather focus on bringing their vision to fruitions than working hard to delegitimize the positions of the opponents.

Secondly, we must stop wasting time and energy over some mediocre issues and start focusing on substantive issues. Most of the time, we see Oromo camps fighting over the strategies we have to pursue in the struggle (violent versus nonviolent resistance) than fighting the actual enemy. The fact of the matter is it is necessary and important to use both strategies to advance our cause. For that matter, nations have used civil resistance and armed struggle side by side and have succeeded. The Oromo nation is not an exception to that. We don't see why Oromia cannot use both means at the same time. Therefore, our priority should be rather on how to design ways to enhance the effectiveness of the strategies and make activists advocating for those sides to work together.

Thirdly, the sooner we end fragmentation, division, and ineffectiveness, the better it will be. Fragmentation leads to failure such is the case of Syria, Iraq, and unity leads to victory such is the case of Eritrea, South Sudan, and Tigray. We have to improve our political union. Our formula is simple; the fragmented Oromo camps have to come together under one center of leadership.

We recommend all Oromo political stakeholders to come under the leadership of Bekele Garba. He is the equivalent of our Nelson Mandela, and we have to treat him the same way the African National Congress (ANC) treated Mandela. We recommend Jawar Mohammed to serve as his deputy. Jawar is required to build a Supreme Council of nine people are that serve as the supreme executive body of the Oromo Revolution. In other words, the Supreme Council is the executive branch of Oromo struggle. The idea of establishing a Council prevents the accumulation of

power in the hands of one person. For the membership of the committee, we mention such notable names such as **Dr. Asfaw Beyene, Pro. Hassan Hussein, Abba Naga Jaraa, Dr. Obsaa Hassan, Mr. Liban Waqo, Mr. Henock Gabbissa, Pro Ezekiel Gebissa, Dr. Tsegaye Ararsa, and Dr. Awol Allo.** We suggest the committee to unanimously appoint **Obbo Bekele Garba** to assume the position of the chairmanship. In the absence of **Mr. Garba, Obbo Jawar** exercises the functions of head of the Council. He directs and coordinates the Oromo struggle at home and in the Diaspora.

The committee also organizes three entities under its auspices that it directly controls. These entities are an international Oromo activists' association, an international Oromo media organization, and an international Oromo support association.

We recommend the formation of an association of the Oromo online activists around the globe because we need to centralize, strategize, and restructure the operation of online activists. It must be noted that activists have played a crucial role in mobilizing and organizing the people in Oromia and the Diaspora. Some of these individuals are **Garasu Tufa, Dr Birhanu Lenjiso, Sena Jimjimo, Kadiro Elemo, Negesso Oddoo, Najat Hamza, Toltuu Tufa, Girma Gutama, Edao dawano, Fixaa Motii, Ittanaa Habte, Birraa gemedi, Hamza Wariyo,** and many more online activists.

Establishing an international Oromo media organization is also very important because the Oromo media and communication landscape is fragmented. The traditional and online media have to be consolidated and we have to bring the best of our talents together. In the Oromo media, we have such reputable names: **Aliyi Galato, Abduljalil Abdalla, Abdi Fixee, Eyoob Bayisa, Dr. Solomon Ungeshe, Said Mohammad Ali,...etc.** We recommend **Mr. Jawar Mohammed** to remove himself from running media and focus on heading the Supreme Council. According to our opinion, **Mr. Mohammed Ademo** takes charge of the media and communication sector.

We recommend different factions of OLF and Front for Independence of Oromia to take charge of the armed resistance operations. The armed resistance will be organized under three command posts: the Southern Command Post, the Central Command Post, and the East and West Command Post.

***The Southern Command Post for the Front for Independence of Oromia (Kallacha Walabummaa Oromiyaa)***

We assume that General Kamal Galchu of Kallacha Walabummaa Oromiyaa (KWO) has a strong support in Arsi, Bale, and Eastern Shawa. Because of geographic proximity, KWO also controls the adjacent areas of Borana and Guji. KWO also has to work in a close collaboration with Adda Tokkuchummaa Oromoo and other Oromo groups operating in these areas. We also recommend KWO to establish itself in every districts of each zones it operates in. Each aanaa organizes its Qeerroo and tries to coordinate its activities with Qeerroos in neighboring aanaas. All the Qeerroos in aanaas report to the zonal chair who in turn reports to its respective command post.

***The Western and Eastern Command Post for the OLF of Daud Ibsa***

Daud Ibsa's Shane group will operate on the western and eastern fronts. Areas that fall under the jurisdiction of this command post include the Wallagga, Jimma, Illubabor and Hararghe. Olf also has work in close collaboration with FIDO and other groups operate in these area. In this case, OLF Shane organizes its activities in all zones it operates. It is also important for OLF Shane to work in close collaboration with the Qeerroos in its operation area.

***The Central Command Post for the OLF of B. General Hailu Gonfa***

The United OLF of Colonel Hailu Gonfa controls central Oromia, which includes West Shawa, East Shawa, North Shawa, and Finfinne. Colonel Hailu Gonfa must coordinates with Qeerroos in every aanaa and operates in all the aanaas. United OLF also has to work in close collaboration with ULFO and other groups operate in these area.

The third entity that committee organizes is a team on a financial capacity building. We came to this suggestion because finance plays a very important role in the success of any struggle. Furthermore, most of the fundraising activities in the Diaspora are fragmented and reactionary to some events. The Oromo struggle must have a consistent source of income and all fund raising activities in the diaspora must be coordinated. We can meet the needs of those people in the country who put their lives on the line for us only if we build a strong financial team in place. We can develop a model for this on different Oromo support networks such as Sikkoo Mandoo, Walda Maccaa Tuulamaa, Buusaa Gonofaa, Afooshaa Afran Qalloo, Oromo Relief Association (ORA), and so on.

The Supreme Council also organizes and oversees operational activities on the ground and abroad. According to our plan, there are five operational groups that carry out activities on the ground.

#### ***Foreign and Diplomatic Affairs for the Oromo Democratic Front***

We assume that the Oromo Democratic Front (ODF) is good at diplomatic efforts and in dealing with pro-Ethiopia groups. Leencoo Lataa and his team have to focus on running diplomatic and foreign affairs. His team takes its guidance from the Supreme Council which will issue diplomatic and foreign policy guidelines.

#### ***Domestic Affairs for the Oromo Federalist Congress***

As an Oromian based entity, Oromia internal affairs must be entrusted to the Oromo Federalist Congress (OFC). As an advocate for nonviolent resistance, the OFC leads and organizes the struggle in a peaceful way in Oromia. Designing strategies, issuing guidelines for activists on the ground, and exploring the loopholes that the FDRE Constitution gives the nonviolent resistance in Ethiopia are its responsibilities. Also, the OFC coordinates the Oromo struggle with the struggle of other ethnic groups and negotiates with other opposition groups in Ethiopia.

#### ***Armed Struggle different factions of OLF and Front for Independence of Oromia***



The Supreme Committee works to ease the communication difficulties and coordinate resources for these command posts.

#### ***Council of Arbitrators and Judges***

We know that problems may develop when these groups are working among each other. Experiences show that the Oromo diaspora groups are not good at resolving conflicts and building peace. Therefore, we recommend the formation of a nine-member council of arbitrators and judges (Jaarsota Araaraa). We encourage this Jaarsota Araaraa passing a unanimous decision if possible; otherwise, their majority voice binds. We recommend the following personalities for this position: such as ***Mr. Ibsa Gutama, Dr. Asafa Jalata, Dr. Mohammad Hassan, Dr. Abbas Ganamo, Dr Ibrahim Elemo. Dr. Birhanemeskel Segni, Pro Mohammad Tahiro Pro Tusso Hamda and Ms. Bonnie Holcomb.***

#### ***Conclusion***

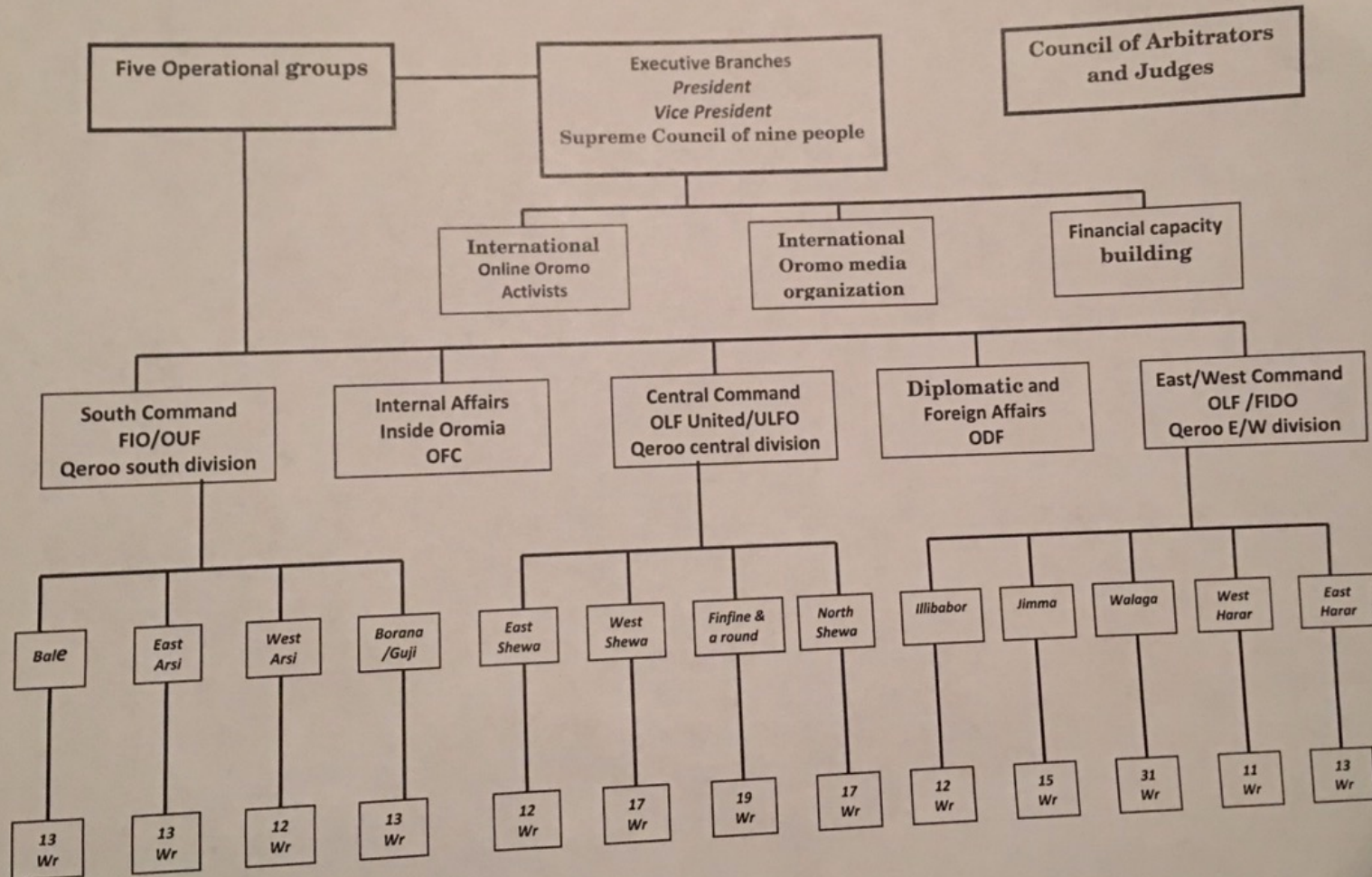
It is good for Oromos to work together and develop common understanding and goals. We underline that we don't have a control over the past. But the present and future are in our hands. Let's not squander this golden opportunity and make a history together.

Note: All the suggestion we provided in this roadmap are valid during the period of the struggle. Once we finished our goals, we must dissolve these structures for once and all. After liberation, groups and individuals can compete on a democratic platform.

Note: Some names we mentioned in this roadmap are used as an example. Therefore, changing them is okay.

Note: For the clarity of the roadmap we put forward, we have also produced the organizational chart that accompanies it. Check out the chart on page 1.

## A Roadmap for the #united Oromo Revolution



Note:  
Wr: Woreda



