MELES'S ETHNIC FIASCO

EPRDF: THE DEN OF NARROW NATIONALISTS

Warning: Before reading this article we suggest you read Bonapartism? In Reporter Megazine of Gunbot 1993

Wolde S. Asfaw

"Secessionist parties invariably have their claims on a list of grievances. Their people are exploited economically, ignored politically, treated as cultural inferiors, deprived of basic rights, or any combination of these. However, temporary grievances, no matter how strongly felt, cannot plausibly be put forward as a justification for breaking up an existing state, so long as the state provides some mechanism for the peaceful adjustment of its policies and the replacement of its governing parties."1

Contrary to the above correct policy, Meles has been continuously perforating the Ethiopian unity from within. Inevitably the TPLF/EPRDF is showing incongruity from within its ranks.

Now disaster has struck at the core of Meles's disruptive ethnic policy. The governments' design to divide and rule Ethiopia on ethnic lines had served very few narrow nationalists of all hues. Despite the continuous opposition from the Ethiopian public at large, the narrow nationalist TPLF/EPRDF leaders headed by Meles and Sebhate designed a constitution that helped these narrow-minded farce nationalists, to divide the Ethiopian society on ethnic regionalist lines. These are also schemes meant to help them hide and bury their atrocious misdeed that they committed during and after the armed struggle in Tigray. This is because they strongly believed that other Ethiopians would not be interested in their heinous contravention of civil and democratic rights of the past. The defensive war against the Eritrean aggression, culminated in uniting Ethiopian people that Meles and Co. had worked for eight years painstakingly endeavored to corrode the basic underpinning of Ethiopianess. The whole stratagem of Meles's grand scheme of dividing the country on ethnic basis is becoming apparent in the Bonapartist shambles.

Ten years ago, the Derg military dictatorship was replaced by another TPLF stage-managed dictatorship that equally terrorized the Ethiopian people in the same political philosophy of "Revolutionary Democracy". The perverted view of these individuals, such as changing the law of the country overnight to suit their immediate demand, imprisoning people for crime that is of no concern to them, is all done to cover up their blunder on sovereignty question that is hanging on top of them, is imposed on the Ethiopian public. Ethiopian judiciary is proving to itself that it is a political instrument of the legislative and executive branches of the government.

Ethnic federalism was sham and will remain so for the foreseeable future. Ethnic federalism has failed miserably. Although it has been vegetating since its birth, Meles and Sebhate have been trying to resuscitate it by the barrel of the gun ever since its inception. Today they are gasping for their last respite. Meles and his cohorts are in the last trickling minutes of the 11th hour panicking frantically

Is there anything that worked in the last ten years in Meles's government? Whatever

topic we raise, we cannot go far without confronting shambles. Ethiopian human resources drainage is unbelievably high. Tens of thousands of competent, able and welleducated Ethiopians are migrating to all over the world. It is tragic. We have a leader who advocates for disintegration rather than national integration, minority rather than majority culture. Instead of attracting the sons and daughters of Ethiopia who were forcefully uprooted from their country in the last two decades, Meles's government is continuously working with external enemies of Ethiopia to destabilize the hand full-educated Ethiopians that want to remain in their country. His government is not able to produce but is ready to directly force out and marginalize those valuable assets of the country. University lecturers, intellectuals, doctors, teachers, journalists, students, officers, etc are the main targets of the Meles and Sebhate duo. They cannot stand intellectual criticism. They do not want to know what is wrong in the country. In many respects, they are worse than the feudal lords of the medieval times are. Meles, Sebhate & co. has been abusing [including summary execution, torturing, imprisoning, etc] tens of thousands of Tigravans during the armed struggle. No one except the few die-hard & paid cadres would fail to recognize the intensity and brutality of the Meles & Sebhate criminal fraternity that they perpetrated on the Tigrayan society. No one would expect these villains to understand the meaning of human rights and respect other people's inalienable entitlement. They are irresponsible leaders with extreme narrow vision of Ethiopia, who wrongly were entrusted to look after the sovereignty of Ethiopia. It is like expecting poachers becoming gamekeepers.

Mele's xenophobia is expressed by attacking 'chauvinists' for all his failures of the last ten years. This paranoia started when he was in the field fighting his shadow and against EPRP. Today the victim is non other than the Ethiopian people. Meles has started terrorizing the Ethiopian public by carefully crafted messages which directly orders the public, that if they do not support the EPRDF, by implication the head of the EPRDF (i.e. Meles), Ethiopia will disintegrate. Unfortunately, Ethiopians have gone through such terror before. In the past, Mengistu also used to say that. It was a good weapon for physically, as well as, psychologically torturing the public. From two divers enemies of Ethiopia, today the public is armed with the felling of oneness and realizes the essence of unity and strength. The internal and external enemies of Ethiopia have always targeted the complex linguistic and geographic diversities as their focal point of their machinations. Despite their attempts to attack at the so-called weak link of Ethiopia, Ethiopians have repulsed all types of enemy conniving.

We have seen how Meles abused and manipulated the law to illegally incarcerate Seye. Meles is scoring a grudge for being exposed of attempting to assassinate Seye just after Hayelom was assassinated in Feb. 14 1996. "Seye Abraha, a former defence minister official who was close to Hayelom Araya, also narrowly escaped death in May in an abortive assassination where the attacker, Sherif Ahmed, claims from his prison cell that he was acting on orders from EPRDF security officials."2 To be spiteful, Meles has to flex his muscle to change the law. Where is the independence of the judiciary? For Meles the answer is in 'Revolutionary Democracy'. We know many honorable and decent Ethiopians, who were without any court hearing, imprisoned for ten years. Many more political prisoners are languishing for being critical to Meles's government. Meles and

Sebhate, in the name of Revolutionary Democracy, have imprisoned many innocent Tigrayans in remote areas of Tigray for over ten years. The whole problem emanates from the perverted picture that Meles has on democracy. For Meles staying in power is the ultimate goal of politics. While serving, the public is at the bottom of the agenda. For Meles, Sebhate & Co., the 60 m. Ethiopians are subjects to be ruled with condescension.

These and many more accounts that are contemptuous are the records of the last ten years Meles's reign of terror. Vulgar and un-sanitized politics of Meles is contaminating and smirching the Ethiopian society. Although Meles is used to giving quick-fix excuses for any problem, the current crisis is without any short-term solution. The only short-term rationalization for the long-term problem is to get rid of Meles peacefully. That would be the biggest gift that any body would give to Ethiopia. As the Derg's former leader, Mengistu Haile Mariam used to believe in his, but only his, own songs; Meles has perfected to sing his gloomy songs to self-destruction.

The public in the Diaspora is asking Meles to do the honourable thing to admit that he is not up to the job. He has made monumental blunders in the last ten years. You have caused mayhem and devastation in Tigray and the rest of the country. Be bold and resign. You will be remembered in history as a person who tried, failed and gave others the chance to try the right thing. The Ethiopian people will forgive but not forget what he did, if he did this on time, without a delay. The people want somebody that leads them with dexterity, and humility, but not arrogance and aggressive posturing or in short a dictator. The people do not want a minuscule short tempered and short fused, vulgar, and uncultured leader, but one who consults them and takes them out from the misery and agony they are in towards economic prosperity, and political stability.

The reasons why we are asking you to resign immediately is that you have been incompetent and inadequate to resolve endemic problems with vision, agility, optimism and farsightedness. Instead, Meles has been attempting to divide the Ethiopian people, more than any body, by using ethnic regionalism. You have never consulted the people on important and strategic issues that are of concern to everybody. Meles has been willynilly, imposing his will on the people without any consultation. You have used your one-dimensional and insolvent outlook, at times inherently xenophobic stand, to sort out minor problems. Your revulsion toward intellectuals is driving Ethiopia naked of its own educated people, let alone attracts other people, which she needs it badly. You have politically indefinable fanatical hatred particular towards Amhara and Tigrayan intellectuals. You depend, on egnoromious loyal and subservient people whose thinking capacity is limited, (like Samora) than those who take the stride to correct you. Like any dictator, your ego is always greater and highly inflated than your own capability of positive thinking.

Most Ethiopians believe that your regime is crippling the social fabrics of under developing Ethiopia. You have thousands of innocent people imprisoned for as long as you have been in power without any court hearing. You have, as your stooge Samora told us recently, your regime practices summary execution as a norm, not even as an exception. Many people had been thrown into the gallows for reasons they do not know

for ten and fifteen years.

Meles said, "Ethiopia will either be governed by Revolutionary Democratic path, or else in the near future will disintegrate. The reason for this is due to the role the National Question has in Ethiopia."3 The xenophobia he has is not curable. What is equally bad is the terror of Ethiopian disintegration, you are unleashing on the public. Meles created ethnic federalism and now he is using it to blackmail the Ethiopian people. Mengestu also used to say that if you do not obey me, Ethiopia would disintegrate. The means of scaring people was the secessionists are coming. This ethnic division of Ethiopia that you have perfected for the last ten years is a mechanism you schemed to lengthen your stay in power. The reason for your wanting to stay in power is probably for two reasons:

- a) As a megalomaniac, you crave for power, and absolute dominance on others:
- b) To protect personal and organizational crimes committed, in particular on the people of Tigray, and in general on the Ethiopian peoples.

Otherwise why would you have it to corrode on what you believe is a sensitive issues of Ethiopia. However, our history shows that all the emperors of Ethiopia fought for the unity and integrity of their country. It is ironic. In Ethiopia, today, we have a head of state that, not only inherently believes in, but also works towards the disintegration of the country. It is amazing how Isayas primarily from inside and later from outside, on both occasions with the help of the Ethiopian fifth column, attempted to destroy Ethiopia. On the second round, when the previous attempts failed, the Head of State of Ethiopia is openly advocating for the disintegration of Ethiopia. Meles acts not as a head of state, but as a despondent guerrilla fighter. Even worse, at times, Meles acts as a delinquent student who attempts to destroy anything and everything in front of him unless his trivial demands are met.

In his Bonapartist argument Meles said, "The existence of {Revolutionary} democracy in Ethiopia to implement and ascertain the right to self-determination is not a matter of choice but a question of the country's stability and existence." Meles is either a mediocre or a lunatic who should belong in an asylum. Could you tell us where the right to self-determination has ever worked properly? You are not going to tell us it worked during Stalin's era! The only two places where we have recorded peaceful secession are the secession of Belgium from the Netherlands in 1830, and the secession of Norway from Sweden in 1905. The rest are through terror and bloodbath. Nevertheless, instead of defusing the main factors that split up by, encouraging social, economic and political integration, etc., Meles is telling the people that Ethiopia will disintegrate if he does not rule the country for eternity like Kin El Sung. The world is getting smaller and smaller as modern technology is advancing faster. Unfortunately, Meles's conviction is, socially, economically and politically in primordial stage.

Why should Ethiopia at this time and age of its history disintegrate, unless Meles and his stooges continue to forcefully flex ethnic regions to be "independent"? The Ethiopians have lived for centuries under one umbrella, through compromise, tolerance and sharing both power and recourses, in peace or war. Because of geographic complexity, divers

arrangement of governing certain areas were set up for expediency. When an external enemy threatens the boundary of the country, the issue of defending the sovereignty of the country was not left to boarder citizens alone. The entire country stands to defend its land, people and historic pride.

The Ethiopian Head of State is known for his narrow nationalist outlooks until today. Imprisoned by his personal imaginary phobia and antipathy, Meles leads the country to elongate his reign of terror on the people.

In the battle of Adua (1896), between Italy, one of the European colonizing forces, and Ethiopia, Emperor Menelik did not have a rough time in uniting the Ethiopian patriots to defend the country against the foreign invader. Every body stood firm and spoke the same language, the words of patriotic defensive war, unity, mutual support and admiration. Every one, Christians and Moslems, highlanders and lowlanders, in unison, physically and spiritually, participated in the patriotic war to defend the country. Every body participated in the defensive war and Ethiopians won a glorious victory. Different peoples with diverse cultures & languages came to build Ethiopia with their flesh and blood. The Ethiopia we have today is the outcome of a united struggle that was built and enhanced from time to time since our recorded history. In short, it is not a country built one hundred years ago.

Ethiopia, seemed more fragile then than today. Why should anybody tamper the age old, time-tested unity of the country at the beginning of the 21st century? From 1991-1998, Meles let the EPLF to pillage the Ethiopian economy at will, without any inhibition or restriction. The plunder was both legally sanctioned by the government and through illegal acts, while the government was pretending as if nothing was happening. (The Asab petroleum Refinery unequal and unfair exchange, Eritrean use of Birr with unequal exchange rate, the preferential market given to Eritrean Co., drainage of goods to Eritrea while local markets were in shortage of commodities, etc., the uprooting of over 200,000 Ethiopians from Eritrea). Up until recently, many people died to expose the issue to the public. Through public pressure, and Isayas's lunacy, however, reluctantly Meles was forced to confront the Eritrean quagmire. In the defensive war against Eritrean aggression, (1998-2000), it was historical spectacle to all what the ordinary people of Ethiopia displayed. The people, once again true to their proud history, said, "united we stand divided we fall". From corner to corner, people of all ages and diversity wanted to participate in the patriotic war. Sadly, it was Meles and his cronies that did not like what was happening. Nor did they learn anything from the last two years struggle. It is now transpiring that Meles and his cronies were the fifth column in the patriotic war. No wonder why panic-stricken Meles is today informing us that Ethiopia will be like Somalia, Afghanistan, Yugoslavia, etc. The theoretically bankrupt and obsolete dogma of "Revolutionary Democracy" and the so-called right of nations to self-determination up to and including secession is a genuine peoples issue diverted to be a ploy used by bonopartists to divide and rule different cultures and peoples. Isayas attempted and failed to forcefully disintegrate Ethiopia, however, Meles is, from within, threatening to implement the job of Isayas.

Meles, a construed leader would attempt to create a hill out of a mole. The issue of wanting to speak in once language does not necessarily equivocate it to be an ultimatum to wanting to secede or to be destructive. The reason why the people of Tigray fought for nearly 20 years was to bring democracy and not dictatorship. It was never for the creation of "an independent republic of Tigray" although Meles and Sebhate wanted to hijack the genuine democratic national question into a colonial issue in 1976. The whole period of struggle was marred with a hyphenated clause which included "either or " (i.e. Either we will live together or we will opt out for secession). Ever since, Meles led the TPLF to stand on the fence. His hidden agenda is that when it is not viable for him to assume the highest office, he will threaten to secede. If by any chance he becomes the head of the country, secession will be shelved temporarily. This is what the aberrant head of state of Ethiopia is attempting to do. He clearly knows that the right to self-determination is, as a slogan, an appealing sentiment to high school students. However, as a practical alternative, it is a left over option used by a degenerated mind to attempt to hoodwink the innocent and unsuspecting.

Meles cannot accept and realize the extent of voluntary human and material contributions the Ethiopian people made in the recent Ethio-Eritrea war. The ordinary people understand and practically applied the essence of unity, purpose and identity of being Ethiopian. While the tormented head of state is singing, the national anthem of our enemies ['ethnic disintegration of Ethiopia' will be like Armageddon, Ethiopia will be like Somalia, Yugoslavia,] Meles without any reservation is telling us in his unambiguous message, within the article, that he will disintegrate Ethiopia. Therefore, unless Meles is simply implementing Isayas Afework's instructions and intentions, Meles cannot bring the right of national self-determination as a motto for Ethiopian disintegration. Let us see, by simple deductive analysis, who would want to leave the union of nations in Ethiopia?

Let us see why the people of Tigray would not opt out for secession. It is our firm belief and understanding that, Tigray, being one of the component parts of Ethiopia, has political, historical, cultural, economic underlying principles to remain within Ethiopia. It is our understanding also, that the people of Tigray, against the PM's intentions, stood firm with the rest of the Ethiopian people to defend their country's sovereignty. When Meles and his cronies were shilly-shallying for Isayas's appeasement, the ordinary people could not believe their eyes, when the head of state was vacillating and giving wrong information to the Ethiopian people while passing other information and protecting the Eritrean interest and leadership. For all intent and purposes, it was the people of Tigray who stood firm against the Eritrean economic plunder of Ethiopia initially. On the other hand, Meles was ordering civilians to be shot on the spot in Adigrat, Adua and else where in 1997 for opposing Eritrean economic aggression. It seems that Meles, Sebhate & Co. are still conniving to give away parts of Ethiopia, mainly Tigray, to Eritrea. As head of state of Ethiopia, one would expect Meles to be a positive thinking leader, with an optimist attitude, but not certainly a doomsday forecaster of the worst Armageddon. Who could believe the Prime Minister of a country stating such filth? "If Ethiopia does not follow the Revolutionary Democratic path, the other remaining alternative is to disintegrate like Somalia. It is not going to be an ordinary disintegration, it will be followed by Armageddon." 5 Meles, the prophet of misery and the forecaster of evil,

continuously inflates his role in history. The real Armageddon will be over provided Meles come out clean. Instead of informing the public the tens of thousands, he exterminated in Tigray and the rest of Ethiopia, (so as the people to come to terms with their grief). The tragedy is that, Ethiopia is continuously bleeding without anesthetic in the surgery of Meles.

The ethnic "federal" arrangement that Meles formulated based on Stalin's Russia is obsolete by any standard. It did not work in Russia why should it work in Ethiopia. The ethnic tension that Meles tries to impose and exploit was almost non-existent in 1991. Nor will it ever have any ground to survive today, provided it is handled properly.

Any head of state sets a commendable precedence toward lofty ideals such as the advantages of integration. However, Meles proliferates hate and antagonism among peoples. He has belligerently exemplified the 'unwanted' people in his government in very belittling and derogatory manners. He said, in his party, the numbers of unwanted people in the government are more than the wanted once. He also said like flies that swarm over sugar, these unwanted people are greater in number than the bees. If only the people whom he is addressing the issue know, that he is dehumanizing them. Nevertheless, what the Ethiopian people are saying is that, if Meles & Co. the biggest and unwanted swarm of fly go out, even to Eritrea, they will be happy.

Meles has led a corrupt regime for ten years and today he is making lamentable excuses to accuse innocent individuals. He does not want to imprison the real corrupt officials like Arkebe, Sebhate, Jamaica, Tedros Hagos, and many others. As long as he has his main enemy Seye behind bars, the mission of tackling corruption is not important. Meles seems to be waiting for the TPLF congress to take place, secure his vote, and then imprison few more. The issue of corruption will most definitely rest in Meles's courtyard. As they say, the "chickens will come home to roost". In the meanwhile, he rather terrorizes the Ethiopian public with his theory of Armageddon than challenge other issues. It is unfortunate that Meles started his vulgar language against other ethnic minorities, to frustrate them and strive to implement his theory of Armageddon. There is filth but the one that Meles is throwing is the worse of them all.

The EPRDF has based its hopes on pessimism rather than on the objective analysis of international and local fundamentals. Meles in his article said, "As we have seen it previously, without Revolutionary Democratic line, neither democracy nor development can be ascertained... In Ethiopia, anti- (revolutionary) democracy means permanent crisis and eventually disintegration."6 Meles is the head of a state of a country that obviously needs clear thinking leadership. With such bogus and obsolete thinking, however, one would say either the man is a lunatic or on the verge of mental vegetating stage. The simple question is where has Meles been in the last ten years when the whole country was swamped with corruption. Where has he been when the whole country was sold to international and national mafias of the worst type? Where was he when the TPLF/EPRDF led Ethiopia with corruption of the most flagrant nature? Was it not he who brought all the flies to the highest offices of the country? Who created the super institutions like Mega, Tower, Walta, Mesfen Engineering, Wogagen, etc. etc? Why is

Meles trying to be clever, by airing his rotten ideology as if it is novelty? His filthy language accuses others with the most vulgar words. "Moribund reactionary outlooks", "Obsolete reactionary outlooks", these are some of the worn out languages that the PM uses daily.

Mengistu Haile Mariam used to say to the effect that, without him, Ethiopia would not survive. The new megalomaniac of Ethiopia was hidden for ten years running a corrupt regime. When he is exposed, Meles is becoming frantic and he has lost his bearing completely. That is why we say Meles is on borrowed time.

There are a number of reasons why Bonapartist Meles is using the very defunct idea at this time in history.

- a) When majority of the TPLF CC members were cornering Meles to face the truth about the soveirenity question, he knew there is no escape except to be court marshaled for his treason. He realized that he had made a serious blunder. Therefore, it was either a question of expelling the TPLF CC who stood firm for the truth or go to the gallows himself.
- b) Meles was running a corrupt government for the last ten years. He did almost nothing in all these years, except rush for Eritrean independence and closes his eyes while the EPLF was ripping Ethiopia apart for most of his time in power. [As far as the rumor goes, Isayas was allowed to dump other countries nuclear waste in the Dalol area]. Suddenly he wanted to appear as if he is an apostle sent to save Ethiopia. What a travesty of justice! He is still in a make believe world of his own.
- c) The Bonapartist ploy of Meles is another mechanism of swindling the innocent mind. He confused, muddled and appeared to come out victorious in his personal crusade for absolute power. He even told the Ethiopian public that the issue with the expelled TPLF CC members is finished. He said, "The drama is over". What a charade! In reality the problem is beginning and far from over. Today majority of the TPLF leaders are expelled. Who knows who will follow next? Could it be Seyume Mesfine? Negaso?
- d) The Ethiopian opposition have a very fertile ground to forget their petty squabbles and stand for a firm and resolute unity, like our grandparents and recent brothers, and get rid the dictator Meles Bonaparte.
- e) Now the enemy is from within. He is non-other than the MP who is bartering the country for the lowest bidder. Through his Bonapartist ideas advocating the Armageddon of Ethiopia. While Meles, is through his ethnic federalism, practically implementing the disintegration of Ethiopia.

As it is said, "Nationalism was an invention of nineteenth century Europe and, just as it had a beginning, so also could it come to an end."7 Today Europe is forming an economic and political union to survive in a highly competitive world. Developing countries has a lot to gain by uniting their human and material resources and even more

so Ethiopia, one of the poorest countries of the world. Thanks to leaders like Meles, they have been concocting their wretched personal agenda. The divisive narrow nationalism of Meles has no place in Ethiopia. Realizing that he has embarked on the wrong end of the thesis, Meles should refrain from implementing what archenemies of Ethiopia want him to execute. Therefore, Meles should be seriously contemplating for the peaceful resignation and transfer of power immediately. The struggle to get rid of the Ethiopian Bonaparte has started earnestly.

Opposition parties have attempted to do what is expected of them. They should be commended for the brave struggle they have waged wherever they are in adverse circumstances. Nevertheless, realizing opposition groups are circumvented by their own inherent limitations, it is up to individual Ethiopians to sacrifice their precious time themselves to one or more organizations and give new imputes and direction. Individuals have a great role to play in the current historic circumstance against the enemy within.

- 1 A.H.Birch: Nationalism and National Integration: Unwin Hyman Inc. 1989, P: 63/64
- 2. The Indian Ocean Newsletter: No. 733, 21 September 1996, P:1
- 3 Reporter: Media & Communication Centre: Addis Ababa; Genbot 1993 (May 2001) P:19
- 4 Reporter: Media & Communication Centre: Addis Ababa; Genbot 1993 (May 2001) P:19
- 5. Ibid: P:37
- 6. Ibid P:22
- 7. N.Harris: National Liberation; University of Nevada Press, Reno, Nevada: 1993; P. 27