



## What is to be done?

Inspiring Words:

Albert Einstein When asked what he wished to become, as a young man, Nobel Laureate Albert Einstein said,

- *"I want to become a useful person, not a successful person."*
- *"Asked what he meant by it, the eminent physicist replied,*
- *"A successful person is one who takes from society more than what he gives it.*
- *"A useful person is one who gives the society more than what he takes from it."*

### Preamble

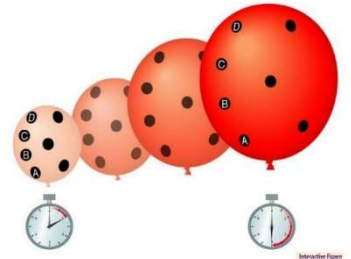
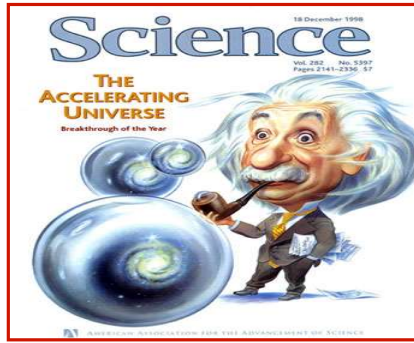
A useful beginning point for discussion is the distinction between liberalization/ reformation and democratization/fundamental change. Political liberalization implies an easing of repression and extension of civil liberties within an authoritarian regime, whereas a transition to democracy implies a change of regimes. Democratization has been used in different ways, but as used here it refers to a movement toward democracy, that is, toward a different political regime. In recent transitions, this movement has occurred through an expansion of political contestation (competition); in most Northern European cases, it occurred primarily through an expansion of participation in politics that already had some competition. All-inclusive transitional democratic government can give any revolutionary party purpose, direction, and legitimacy. Liberalization is mostly aborted and leads to renewed repression, and successful transitions to democracy are usually characterized by constant vicissitudes: the rise of the old tyrant's ostentatious behavior in soothing the public anger. Thus, although liberalization usually begins with a split within the authoritarian elite, this does not mean that democratization is a product of these elite (déjà vu historical reality in Ethiopia: authoritarian leaders (Mengistu Hailemariam, Melesse Zenawi, and Abiy Ahmed) have had always vast advantages in distributing patronage and in controlling and in gaining access to publicity, but they never succeed in structuring a viable democratic political party). The distinction between these two concepts is essential; it calls attention to the value of democracy as opposed to changes within authoritarian rule, and to the fundamental difference between the two. Transition from one ethnocentric regime to another ethnocentric regime is a trend of changing the form without changing the content. ***Ethiopians must think critically in making the distinction between Prosperity party (led OLF-bandits) and the TPLF (the puppets of colonialists)-two sides of the same coin!***

### What is to be done in time of anarchy orchestrated by ethnofascists?

1. Writing numerous letters, directives, editorials, public addresses and lectures, intra-party memoranda, poems, polemical rejoinders against adversaries, and interviews with domestic and foreign correspondent. We must always conduct our everyday work and always be prepared for every situation, because very frequently it is almost impossible to foresee when a period of outbreak will give way to a period of calm. In the instances, however, when it is

possible to do so, we could not turn this foresight to account for the purpose of reconstructing our organization: neighbors with neighbors, youth and women associations, peasants, laborer's, students, urban workers, soldiers, etc.; for in an autocratic country these changes take place with astonishing rapidity, being sometimes connected with a single night raid by the ethnocentrist cadres and its satellites. And the revolution itself must not by any means be regarded as a single act (as the opportunist elites apparently imagine), but as a series of more or less powerful outbreaks rapidly alternating with periods of more or less complete calm. For that reason, the principal content of the activity of our vanguard grass root organizations, the focus of this activity, should be work that is both possible and essential in the period of a most powerful outbreak (genocide, starvation, gross human right violation, unheard and untold internal displacement, anarchy) as well as in the period of complete calm, namely, work of political agitation, connected throughout Ethiopia, illuminating all aspects of life, and conducted among the broadest possible strata of the masses. However, this work is unthinkable in present-day Ethiopia today without an all-Ethiopia media agitation working int tandem to save the country and its inhabitants, issued very frequently. The organizations, which will form round these political agitations against the chaotic regime, the organization of its collaborators (in the broad sense of the word, i.e., all those working for it), will be ready for everything, from upholding the honour, the prestige, and the continuity of the vanguard party in periods of acute revolutionary "depression" to preparing for, appointing the time for, and carrying out the nation-wide armed uprising.

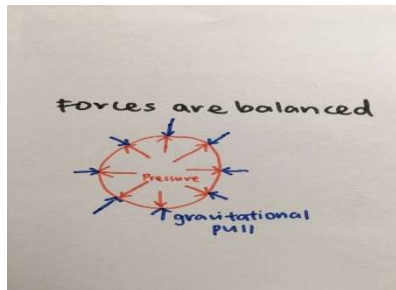
2. Surreptitious (hole-and-corner/covert/hush-hush/artful) of connection. Assert, *"politics is the concentrated expression of economics."* Direct response to the ever-changing socio-economic environment. In reality, it is possible to raise the activity of the working masses only when this activity is not restricted to "political agitation on an economic basis. A basic condition for the necessary expansion of political agitation is the organization of comprehensive political exposure. In no way except by means of such exposures can the masses be trained in political consciousness and revolutionary activity. These comprehensive political exposures are an *essential and fundamental condition for training the masses in revolutionary activity*.
3. Exegetical methodology: Political wing functionaries: Guerrilla leaders spend a great deal more time in organization, instruction, agitation, and propaganda work than they do fighting, for their most important job is to win over the people. "One must patiently "Explain," "persuade," "discuss," "convince"—these words recur with monotonous regularity. Martyrs have **aptly compared guerrillas to fish, and the people to the water in which they swim**. If the political temperature is right, the fish, however few in number, will thrive and proliferate. It is therefore the principal concern of all guerrilla leaders to get the water to the right temperature and to keep it there.
4. A political party can be a metaphor (personification) to expanding universe. A balloon can be used as model to metaphorically exhibit the party growth. As the balloon expands, the dots move a part in the same way that galaxies move apart in our expanding universe. The EPRP's visions/objectives and principles have the inherent characteristics of transformative praxis (action/reflection) which can induce social revolution to change ethnocentric system. This dialectical change can be generated by the immutable sprit and revolutionary zeal of the contemporary youths, who need the change for all citizens!



A balloon's surface expands but has no center or edge

A recent discovery and of unknown origin, the concept of Dark Energy, 73% of the universe (the EPRP of the 60<sup>th</sup>) is an integral part of Einstein's theory of gravity → social revolution ignited by the Martyrs (73%-of the population).

5. Another metaphorical example of a hydrodynamic-equilibrium-type balloon, our nation. As the diagram below displays the balance of both internal and external force (particle pressure versus gravitational pull), Our Ethiopia will stay undisturbed if and only if the following conditions are satisfied:
  - a) Elimination of the balkanizing ethnic politics and its “MEDEMER-higgledy-piggledy.”
  - b) Removal of the monkey-type constitution which balkanized humanity into monkey-style territorial vision and replace is social/human constitution that depicts social justice, equality, freedom, democracy for all.

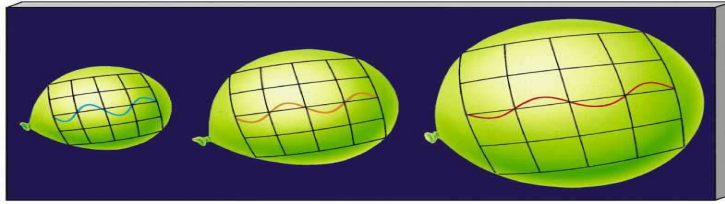


- Detailed description of degeneracy pressure: confinement by quantum repulsion (Pauli exclusion principle) leads to additional resistance to compression (wave-particle duality; Heisenberg uncertainty principle).
- Electron degeneracy pressure, white dwarf stars, and the prevention of black holes less than 1.4M (mass of the sun)
- This confinement must do not only with the electric repulsion they may experience; there is an additional quantum-mechanical repulsion of electrons by each other, which sets in at very small distances, such that wave properties are displayed.
- If the separation is small enough that this quantum repulsion is bigger than the electric repulsion, the electrons are said to be **degenerate**.
- Note for those who have taken physics or chemistry before you may know this quantum repulsion as the **Pauli exclusion principle**.

- Protons can confine each other in a similar fashion; so, can neutrons. Because electrons are less massive, though, they become degenerate with less confinement (a space roughly 1800 times larger, as we have seen).
- Photons do not do this; the Pauli principle does not apply to light

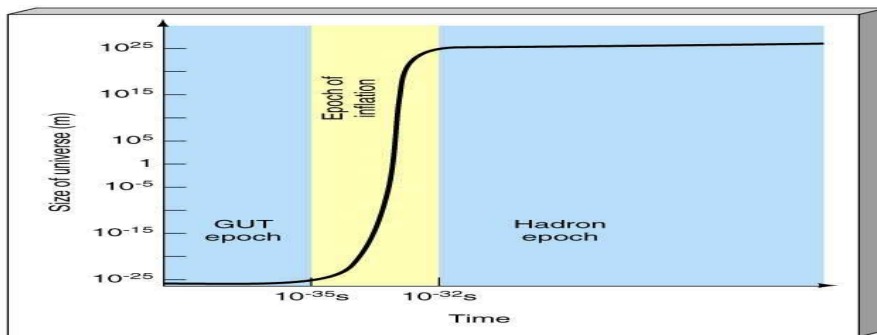
*The metaphoric comparison to this is to ask questions “if concerned populations of the country are not participating/flowing into this precious party (EPRP), how can the balance be maintained when neocolonialists and their ethnoracist servitudes are against it?”*

- c) Fighting against opportunist elites. Why do the Ethiopian downtrodden masses still manifest little revolutionary activity in response to the brutal treatment of the people by the police, the persecution of religious sects, the flogging of peasants, the outrageous censorship, the torture of journalists, the persecution of the most innocent cultural undertakings, etc.? Is it because the “economic struggle” does not “stimulate” them to this, because such activity does not “promise palpable results”, because it produces little that is “positive”? To adopt such an opinion, we repeat, is merely to direct the charge where it does not belong, to blame the working masses for one’s own philistinism (or **MEDEMERism**: Ostrich-like, they bury their heads in the sand and imagine that everything around has disappeared but prosperity!). We must blame the reactionary elites, their lagging behind the mass movement, for still being unable to organize sufficiently wide, striking, and rapid exposures of all the shameful outrages. When we do that (and we must and can do it), the most backward worker will understand, or will feel, that the students and religious sects, the peasants and the authors are being abused and outraged by those same dark forces that are oppressing and crushing him at every step of his life.
- d) Be recognizant of the working masses as vanguard fighters for democracy: We have seen that the conduct of the broadest political agitation and, consequently, of all sided political exposures is a necessary and a paramount task of our activity if this activity is to be truly democratic activism. However, we arrived at this conclusion solely on the grounds of the pressing needs of the working masses for political knowledge and political training. But such a presentation of the question is too narrow, for it ignores the general democratic tasks of establishing **democratic institution free of ethnocentrism, of present-day Ethiopian neocolonial servitudes**. To explain the point more concretely we shall approach the subject from an aspect that is” nearest “to the economist, namely, from the practical aspect.” Everyone agrees “that it is necessary to develop the *political consciousness of the overwhelming majority*. The question is, how that is to be done and what is required to do it. The economic struggle merely” impels “the workers to realize the government’s attitude towards the working masses. Consequently, however much we may try to” lend the economic, struggle itself a political character “, we shall never be able to develop the political consciousness of the working masses (to the level of democratic political consciousness) by keeping within the framework of the economic struggle, for that framework *is too narrow*.



Expansion of universe stretches out the wavelength of a photon – like wave drawn on a balloon that is stretched with time:

*Therefore, galaxies appear to be redshifted! NOT those galaxies move relative to one another – but that universe expands during the time it takes light to travel from another galaxy to us. Can we say, metaphorically, the contemporary EPRP is red shifted? Receding from the overwhelming majority! It goes without saying, the EPRP laid out the framework/ principles of all-inclusiveness in establishing people’s democratic government, then and now, though neocolonialist bandits, opportunists’ elites, renegades and the all-alike oppressors hijacked the social movement.*



The 60<sup>th</sup> revolutionary zeal with its social transformative praxis had been inflated dramatically for over three years and remained constant since then.

6. ***Unity of all citizens, irrespective of natural ethnic identities, is a necessary precursor.*** Indeed, picture to yourselves a very ordinary occurrence in the nation-the total round-up of our revolutionary people in one or several localities. In the absence of a single, common, regular activity that combines all the local organizations, such round-ups frequently result in the interruption of the work for many months. If, however, all the local organizations had one common activity, then, even in the event of a very serious round-up, two or three energetic persons could in a few weeks establish contact between the common centre and new youth circles, which, as we know, spring up very quickly even now. When the common activity, hampered by the arrests, is apparent to all, new circles will be able to come *into being and make connections with the centre even more rapidly.* The vanguards of the social revolution must expose all the conciliatory,” harmonious “notes that will be heard in the speeches of liberal politicians at legal meetings of the workers, irrespective of whether the speeches are motivated by an earnest conviction of the desirability of peaceful working mass

collaboration, by a desire to curry favour with the powers that be, or whether they are simply the result of clumsiness. Lastly, they must warn the overwhelming majorities against the traps often set by the government cadres and police, who at such open meetings and permitted societies spy out the "fiery ones" and try to make use of legal organizations to plant their agents *provocateurs in the illegal organizations*. **Note that it is precisely revolutionary vanguard's campaign of exposure that will help the movement to separate the tares from the wheat.**

## Synopsis

So, what is to what be done to achieve the goal/mission of all-inclusive people's democratic transitional government? Methodology

Most definitions of democracy now include the notion of respect for basic civil liberties: freedom of the press, freedom of speech, the right to habeas corpus, etc. This dimension is important because a regime can hold competitive elections with broad participation, yet in the absence of guarantees of civil liberties, it is not unequivocally democratic. State transition is the interval between one political regime and another: transitions are delimited, on the one side, by the launching of the process of dissolution of an authoritarian regime and, on the other, by the installation of some form of democracy, the return to some form of authoritarian rule, or the emergence of a revolutionary alternative. The EPRP is adherent to the trend of the provisional people's democratic government as the preferred *terminus ad quem*.

1. **popular mobilization and collective action:** to conduct revolutionary activities, the social revolutionaries must be organized with the aimed at destroying all vestiges of a society that are ethnically structured and adherent of neo-liberalists revolutionary activities consisted of undermining the half-backed ethnic's regime and bringing people to the cause through education: objective reality reaffirms that all of the past regime change happened through social revolutionary transition processes where a panoply of popular organizations struggled for the dissolution/dissipation of authoritarian governments and on behalf of establishing all-inclusive transitional democratic state. In organized social revolutions, the people see itself as a historically determined category, changing circumstances, which is not to be reduced to a pre-determined privileged classes nor to a collection of universally determined identities. And its internal structure as a hegemonic system includes articulation between part(y)ies and social movements and leaves no room for 'choosing' between one or another form of collective action.
2. **centralization:** the centralization of the more secret functions in an organization of revolutionaries will not diminish, but rather increase the extent and the quality of the activity of a large number of other organizations intended for wide membership and which, therefore, can be as loose and public as possible, for example, trade unions, workers' circles for self-education and the reading of illegal literature, and the social democrats and also democratic circles for all other sections of the population.
3. **citizen's social revolution:** exclusive focus on elite actors will not do for this reason; the efforts of popular sectors to redefine the political scene are also important. Labor unions, peasant groups, neighborhood and women associations, mosques, military institutions, and church groups must play prominent parts in the struggles that will end authoritarian rule. Without some initial cracks in the authoritarian coalitions, their impact is limited, but once such cracks appear, they bolster the efforts to oust autocratic governments: democratization involves a crucial component of mobilization and organization of large numbers of individuals. Social revolution for popular hegemony is impossible without organized and principled political party:

exemplary people's democratic and revolutionary party hitherto existing in our country is the EPRP (some are also trying their best!). **Note that popular hegemony = Transitional people's democratic regime: not the path leading to the dictatorship of the mono-ethnic regime or any single party system but to be represented on the council of state/national assembly within the transitionally governing people's democratic state**

4. **commitment of political elites:** while commitment of political elites and parties to democracy is a necessary condition if democracy is to thrive in the medium term, it is not a sufficient condition for stable democracy. It is also essential that elites create institutions that represent interests in society and exercise moderating power over those interests. Societal polarization makes this process more difficult; moderation does not depend exclusively on the will and skill of political elites. Nevertheless, commitment to democracy helps make possible the creation of effective democratic institutions, and it also generates a legitimacy that can help new democracies withstand less-than-excellent policy performances.
5. **democratic principles:** Ideology, values, and expectations affect how citizens evaluate public policy performance: mass organizations and revolutionary party have to put forward their own answers, thus enriching and giving concrete content to the revolutionary project and translating the idea of popular power into reality. Workers, peasants, and displaced people are demanding peace, equality for all, and country to inhabit, and this is taking place within an irreversible process of national consolidation in the context of an authentic social and political revolutionary transformation praxis. Support of youth and women participation in the transition to democracy through awareness-raising on economic, social and political rights with the aim of achieving equal citizenship which can be realized through the formation of the transitional people's government
6. **being recognizant of popular hegemony:** the integration of the minorities and majorities under the direction of the social revolution for a common goal is a necessary precursor. The conjectural situation, through a dialectical relation between revolutionary party and mass organizations determines which identities will be developed, at what speed and in which direction. The central elements of this project are the mass organizations and their dialectical relations with the EPRP's guiding principle and with any sect of the country who believe in one Ethiopia and the establishment of the transitional people's democratic government. These relations have to be mediated and facilitated through revolutionaries and all citizens in the processes of their struggle.
7. **Establishing a committee of professional revolutionaries:** there must be a committee of professional revolutionaries, and it is immaterial whether a student or a worker can become a professional revolutionary. Professional revolutionaries must and will make it their business to engage in this kind of pushing on a hundred times more forcibly than they have done hitherto. *These professional revolutionaries must be independent of demagogues, and demagogues are the worst enemies of the working masses or all the grassroots.* The worst enemies, because they arouse base instincts in the masses, because the unenlightened inert citizens are unable to recognize their enemies in men/women who represent themselves, and sometimes sincerely so, as their friends. The worst enemies, because in the period of disunity and vacillation, when people's movement is just beginning to take shape, nothing is easier than to employ demagogic methods to mislead the masses, who can realize their error only later by bitter experience. That is why the slogan of the day for the democratic activists must be – resolute struggle against Abiy-Prosperity party and opportunist elites, both of which have sunk to the level of demagogy.

**8. FINALLY:**

Organize!

Organize!

Organize!

Organize

Organize!

Organize!