

Eritrean Movement for Democratic Governance (EMDG)  
ምንቅስቃስ ኤርትራውያን ንዴሞክራሲያዊ ምሕደራ (ምኤዴም)  
الحركة الارترية من أجل الحكم الديمقراطي (حاد)

**EMDG-Launches Its Campaign to Mobilize the Eritrean People to defend the Nation!**

Eritreans for Democratic Governance (EDG), now the Eritrean Movement for Democratic Governance (EMDG) takes this opportunity to salute the decision of the United Nations Security Council for imposing long overdue sanctions against the government of Eritrea. This totalitarian, illegitimate, government has imposed sanctions upon its own impoverished people for the past 18 years by severely limiting Eritrean citizens' employment, movement, and trade activities. It is gratifying that an inclusive international organization has finally begun addressing the need to curb its destabilization of regional governments and its increasing threats to world peace. As for the Eritrean people, the power to remove this autocratic regime lies in their own hands. Given the dire conditions within Eritrea, it is time for her people to coordinate efforts to defend their very existence as people and nation.

The 53-member African Union deserves credit for its historic decision to raise awareness of the conditions within Eritrea in the United Nations Security Council and to insist upon the imposition of sanctions against the PFDJ ruling junta, siding firmly with the victimized people of Eritrea. Renowned human rights champion and Nobel Peace Prize winner Reverend Desmond Tutu once said that "freedom is free". The logic that operating a nation under a lawful system of government that allows freedom for its people costs less in both financial and human terms than does a system designed to control and oppress citizens using police and armed security apparatus is sound. Spending a disproportionate percentage of national wealth on repression contributes nothing towards the growth and development of its people. It's time for all African leaders to assure that they themselves are not a primary cause of instability inside of their nations. Hanging on to power indefinitely, at the justification of being under passive attack by a shadowy array of useable external forces, cannot go unchallenged forever. History teaches us that, with or without the moral support of the international community, there is always an end to state sponsored oppression.

Eritreans in the Diaspora will play an important role by utilizing the sanctions as a peaceful tool in the struggle to identify and expose PFDJ tax collectors. These individuals prey upon Diaspora communities worldwide, conducting illegal multimillion dollar collections of monies destined to support nefarious activities. The international community and nations hosting Eritrean refugees must also pay special attention to the "Young PFDJ" movement organized by party members. Through the political education and training they receive at the Sawa military summer camps in Eritrea, the youth movement poses a serious security threat to countries hosting otherwise peaceful Eritrean Diaspora communities. Be aware that there is an especially significant summer camp big one planned for 2010! Eritrean parents must closely supervise their children's activities and should not provide PFDJ representatives access to their communities for the recruitment of young children. You do not need your own offspring working for PFDJ in your own homes!

Eritreans for Democratic Governance (EDG), now the Eritrean Movement for Democratic Governance (EMDG) launches its anti-dictatorial mobilization campaign urging our citizens to defend the nation by all means to liberate themselves from unceasing oppression, unmatched even by occupation forces in its history of successive European or African invaders. After conducting extensive brain storming

sessions, and pre-conference assemblies from October 2008 to May 2009, EMDG released a press note to the public on May 11, 2009. It declared its formation by outlining its clearly defined political objectives, goals, and initiating a program intended to coordinate its efforts with other opposition organizations. The EMDG exists to support those who are paying the ultimate price by carrying arms to defend the nation. The movement is comprised of former fighters from both major liberation organizations-the ELF and EPLF, as well as a younger generation of men and women from the Diaspora ready to challenge the status quo on all fronts. Under the tagline of “*Good Governance, the basis for peace, security, and prosperity*”, (“*راهدزالاو نمألاو مالسلل ساسأ ، ديشرلا مكحل*” “*ጸቡቕ ምክደራ፣ መሰረት ሰላምን፣ ጸጥታን፣ ብልጽግናን*”), EMDG advocates strengthening the institutions necessary to build a democratic and constitutional government in Eritrea.

Members of EMDG understand that the Eritrean people are reluctant to support newly borne organizations. Until proven otherwise, EMDG will also be tainted by the presumption of underrepresentation as the organization is formed by individuals of similar upbringing, culture, and socio-political experience. We believe that this concern is valid. Over the past forty years, primarily because the society was programmed to believe that “only one organization can function better”, broadly representative civil organizations have been slow to develop. This notion goes back to the 1970’s when the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) attempted to scuttle the Peoples Liberation Front (PLF) by stating that “the Eritrean field of struggle cannot tolerate/carry more than one organization” (“*meda eritra kab hade widb nlae’li kisewr aykielenyu*”), which was later amended in its second National Congress of 1975 which concluded that two or more liberation organization can coexist and resolve their secondary contradictions through democratic dialogue. This thinking was expressed in current form by the now infamous vow by the president ‘un-elect’ when he said “from now on there will be no merry-go-round of organizations” (“*kab hiji nin’yew hashewyie nay widbat abkiuu’you*”). This was meant to exclude any viable political organization capable of surpassing PFDJ from developing.

We all remember the PLF’s popular dance style named “*kuda-tewedeb*” (get organized), coined only to benefit one organization. The rest of society has no right to participate but to join and ask what task one can take within that organization. This belief was the foundation for the tagline “one organization, one people and one heart!” “*Hade widib, Hade hizbi, hade libi!*” The truth of the matter is that we are a multi-ethnic society enriched by diverse cultures. This reality is negatively exploited by the regime or other enemies to divide the people along regional, religious, and sectarian lines. After organizing every citizen under one “widb”, the regime intimidates citizens considering joining any other organization, and has become increasingly suspicious of any group critical of its policies-be they civic or religious. We should learn from our mistakes. Vowing allegiance to any one political organization for eternity, particularly when quitting that organization is considered a taboo, or even “*haram*” or sin, is unhealthy for the individual and society. Leaders will not change their behavior unless they know that the loyalty of members is contingent upon their responsible stewardship.

EMDG believes that the organization has a unique role to play by implementing its vision of a united liberation army under one command- a beacon of hope for a national salvation. An army capable of reassuring members of the Eritrean Defense Forces that there is a national opposition army which is trustworthy, willing to receive and protect them if they join, and energize and rearm them if they plan to fight against a common enemy. Moving away from a political organization already intoxicated by negative propaganda and indoctrinated by “hade libi/one heart” sloganeering, one cannot expect that a member of the defense forces deserting its ranks will join a fighting force that represents a narrow

ideology, sect, religion or ethnicity. For these Eritrean Defense Force soldiers of today to be compatriot fighters tomorrow they need to clearly understand our message that the opposition army represents common Eritrean national interests.

Following the formation of the current umbrella organization, the Eritrean Democratic Alliance (EDA) (formerly the Alliance of Democratic Forces in 1999), various supporters—including global civic movements—have tried to address the importance of unity by demanding the formation of an army that is under one command. This fell upon deaf ears and was even mocked by certain leaders. Following the establishment of Eritreans for Democratic Governance (EDG) six months ago, we realized that the concept of “movement” adds value to our vision by reassuring our members and the general public that the organization pursues a very specific mission; the objective of the movement is to essentially put pressure on those organizations which have military wings to 1) assemble their military operations under one command and 2) lead the army as one liberation force fighting to fulfill the political aspirations of the Eritrean people. We respect each of these organization’s political beliefs, and the demands will ultimately be addressed in the constitution of future democratic Eritrea. However, in order to reach that goal, and in order to achieve military victory over the current regime, the military wings have to come under one command. The situation is so dire that we cannot afford to have fragmented armed forces fighting on various fronts with uncoordinated military strategies.

The international community is aware that the downfall of the regime in Eritrea is inevitable, even imminent, but cannot throw its support behind opposition organizations because of their fragmented military organizations. A unified opposition army is necessary now to secure a stable Eritrea and to safeguard the future of its people. Based upon recent events, there are glimmers of hope from within the Eritrean Defense Forces. With a united opposition the people can rise up and express their opposition to tyranny through various means including civil disobedience or even simple expression of dissatisfaction about a regime that is increasingly isolated from its own people and the international community.

The Eritrean people are waiting for the moment when they can say “yes! now we can express our feelings in the streets” of Asmara, Keren, Massawa or Aseb because there is a unified opposition army and polity that is beginning to coordinate the future security and stability of the nation. Unified opposition will have a positive influence on Eritreans in the Diaspora by tipping the balance of the momentum towards the opposition. Government support among the Diaspora communities is mainly driven by the untouchable appearance of the PFDJ crowd, mistreatment and constant harassment by their agents (tax collectors), and not merely from the fear that they would lose their property at home if they defy the regime and stand for justice and democracy. EMDG has a specific mission of mobilizing our people at home and abroad to rise up and defend themselves and their families.

We will campaign to discourage the youth from fleeing the country and support them in resisting, just like our former organizations did when fighting Ethiopian occupation. We are not going to dictate tactics to the young generation that wants to demonstrate its opposition against the current government, but we will openly tell them that **“fight” and not “flight”** is the key to destroying the regime. The great lyrics of Teklemichael Ghebru’s 1974 song say it best: *“tokormika motye, asafihka motye, n’anay nbahri nhade amet’ye”*. Loosely translated as *“whether you sit here (in the city) curled up in misery or laid back with indifference you’re likely to be killed (by the Derg), so you might as well go to the bush (the battlefield) for a year”*. The youth cannot continue to flee and die crossing the desert and the

Mediterranean Sea indefinitely, sooner or later they must take up their generational obligation to confront the PFDJ and defend the nation against enemies—foreign or domestic.

The movement hereby declares its firm commitment to and advocacy for:

1. Human Rights
2. Good Governance
3. Political Pluralism
4. The unconditional return of refugees to their homeland
5. Land to the *Adi* (village)
6. Return of power to its sole owners-the people.

We will closely work with other civic and political opposition organizations. We will serve in a supportive role to those organizations which show and prove full commitment to dislodge the current government militarily. This extremely authoritarian and doctrinaire regime does not understand peaceful means of transitioning Eritrea into a democratically governed state. It does not believe in peaceful means of engagement. The current government of Eritrea can survive years of diplomatic pressure and will continue to exploit the human and economic resources of the nation for an infinite length of time. We believe that in addition to military and diplomatic pressures, voicing full support for African Union and United Nations led economic sanctions is the correct path to follow in opposing this dictatorial regime.

During our liberation struggle for independence both ELF and EPLF practiced economic sanctions against the enemy dwelling in the major cities. Citizens in the rural areas were prevented from supplying food and energy sources to the enemy. Now we can apply the same rules against the new enemy in Eritrea, and declare economic sanctions with money transfers only focused on the elderly and the vulnerable. Financial transfers into Eritrea by the Diaspora should be limited to helping elderly parents. All investment and business ventures, luxurious vacations, 2% taxation, and scandalous "Mekete" exploitations must end.

In the following weeks and months EMDG will engage the public and media to spread its message. Paltalk sessions reaching all sectors of our society will clarify our mission and positions. We call for a summit of opposition political organizations currently operating militarily in Eritrea. We call for the formation of a central command of leadership to strike the enemy in its most strategically sensitive positions. We call upon all Eritreans to cut the chains and break the yoke from the shoulders of our people once and for all.

Victory to our people

EMDG

January 7, 2010

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الحركة الارتترية من أجل الحكم الديمقراطي (حاد)

**ፖለቲካዊ መርገጻትን ፕሮግራምን**

**ምንቅስቃሴ ኤርትራውያን ንዲሞክራሲያዊ ምሕደራ (ኤ.ም.ዲ.ም.)**

መቐድም፡

አብ ዓለምና ዓቢ ግሎባዊ ቍጠባዊ ምንጋዕ (ቅልውላው) አብ ዝርአየሉ እዋን ኤርትራ ሃገርና አብ ምንታይ ኩነታት ከም እትርከብ ንዝከታተል ዘበለ ኩሉ ንምግምጋሙ ከቢድ ኣይመስለናን። አብ ትሕቲ ዝኸውን ይኹን ጸቢብ ኩነታት ጸዕረኛ ህዝብና ንኸነብር ዓቕሚ ሓጺራዎን ኣማሪሩን ዘይፈልጥ፡ ሎሚ ብምክንያት መሪር ዲክታቶርያዊ ቀይዲ መነባብርኡ ጥራይ ዘይኮነስ ዘኸኑርዕ መንፈሳዊ ሂወቱን ባህላዊ ሰረቱን እንዳተጠቕዐን እንዳሃሰሰን ይኸይድ ብምህላው፡ ብተሪር ስምረታዊ ሰውራ ዘረጋገጸ መንነት ሃገራውያቱ አብ ቦትኡ ንምምላስን ናብ ዝምዕበለ ደረጃ ንምስግጋርን ብዘይካ ብስምረት ከም ቀደሙ ኣንጻር ዝኸውን ይኹን መድረኻዊ ቀዳማይ ጸላኢኡ ምቅላስ ካልእ ኣማራጺ መተካእታ ከም ዘይብሉ ነቕ ዘይብል እምነትና ምኅንንሕብር።

ዲክታቶርያዊ ስርዓት ካብ ስግር ዝመጸ ይኹን ካብ ከብድኻ ዝተወልደ መለለይኡ አብ መንጎ ህዝብን ኣመሓዳድርኡን ዘሎ ዝምድና ዘይተቐዳዊ ስለዝገብር ኢዩ። ዝምድና ብልጽግናን ሰላምን ክንዲ ዝኸውን ናብ ዝምድና ጨቋንን ተጨቋንን ይቕየር'ሞ ህዝቢ ብፖለቲካ፡ ብቍጠባ፡ ብማሕበራዊ ናብራ (ባህሉን ሰብኣዊ መሰላቱን) ተጋሂሶ አብ ሕሰረትን ዓጸባን ስደትን ይወድቕ። ነዚ ሓቂዚ ብዝመሳሰል ሃገርና ኤርትራ ድሕሪ ነጻነት ከንገፈናዮ ኣብዘይበልናዮ ፖለቲካውን ማሕበራውን ቍጠባውን ዓዘቕቲ ኣትያ ትርከብ።

ዲክታቶርያዊ ስርዓት ህግደፍ ኣፍ ህዝብና ዓጽዮ ንመላእ ሃገር ናብ ዓባይ ቤት ማእሰርቲ ብምቕያር፡ ብስም ወፍሪ ዋርሳይ ይከኣሎ ንኹሉ ክሰርሕ ዝኸእል ዘበለ ዜጋ ከም ባርነት ክግመት ብዝከኣል ኣገባብ ነጻ ጉልበት ውጽዕ ህዝብና ይምዝምዝ ኣሎ። እዚ "ካብ" እምበር "ክሳብ" ዘይብሉ ናይ ኣስገዳድ ኣገልግሎት ገሃ ብዙሓት ስድራ ቤታት ዓጽዮ ኣደራሽ መጋበርያ ህግደፍ ዝኸፈተ፡ ስጋን ኣዕጽምትን መንእሰያትና ኣማህሚኑ ክሳድ ኣሕሉቑ፡ ህግደፍ ዘሰወደ፡ ሞራል ህዝብና ባይታ ክዘብጥ ዝገበረ ተርእዮ ኩይነ፡ ብሰንኩ መንእሰይ ኤርትራ አብ ህንጻ ሃገሩ ክንዲ ዝሳተፍ ብጎረርኡ ተታሒዞ መፍትሒ ኣብ ዝሰኣነሉ እዋን፡ ነታ ዘፍቅራ ሃገሩን ዘፍቅሮ ህዝቡን ራሕሪሑ እግሩ ናብ ዝመርሖ ኣደዳ ፈቕዶ ስደትን ኣብኡ ዘሎ ሓሳራ-መከራን ይበታተን ኣሎ።

ብጠቕላላ ህዝብና፡ ወላድ መኻን፡ ርኽብብተኻ ዝኸውነሉ ናይ ግፍዒ ዘበን ኢና በጺሕና። ብምክንያት እዚ አብ ላዕሊ ዝተጠቕሰ ውሽጣዊ ግፍዕታትን ጉርብትናውን ኣህጉራውን ቀጥዒ-ኣልቦ ዝምድናታትን ህግደፍ፡ እታ ንራህዋን ሰላምን ህዝብና ዝተሰውኣላ ኤርትራ ሃገርና ምስ ዝቐረበን ዝረሓቐን ዞናውን ኣህጉራውን ርኽክባታ ከምዝበታተኻ ኩይነ ኣሎ። እምበኣር ሃገርና ኤርትራ አብ ከምዚ ዝኣመሰለ ኣስጋኢ ኩነታት ስለ እትርከብ፡ ንዝተዛናብዐ ሃለዋት ሃገርናን ህዝብናን ናብ ባህርያዊ ቦትኡን መንገዲ ግስጋሰን ንምምላስ ነቲ ቦኹሩ ዘሎ ምስጢር ምልላይ ክድልየና ኢዩ።

ህዝቢ ኤርትራ መን ከም ምኅኑ ጸላኢኡ ኣጸቢቐ ይፈልጥ ኢዩ። ብታሪኽ ዘረጋገጸ ሓያል ህዝቢ ምኅኑውን ዘማትእ ኣይኮነን። ሕቶ ውደባ ክምልስ ብዘይምክኣሉ ግን ሓሳራ-መከራ ከም ዝቕጽል ይኸውን ኣሎ። ንሕና ነዚ እማመ እዚ ንዝርግሕ ዘለና ናብ ናይ ተግባር መምርሕን ተግባራዊ ስጉምትን ዝሰጋገር ሕቶ ውደባ ኣይተመለሰን ብሃልቲ ኢና ጥራይ ዘይኮነስ ምስ ክምልሱ ዝኸእሉ ዝክኣል ዘበለ እጃምና ክክበርክት ዝተበገስና ምንቅስቃሴ ኢና።

እማመና ንተበግሶና ክገልጽ ከሎ ካብቲ ቅድሚ ሕጂ ዘጸንሐን ዘሎን ኣገባብ ኣቀላልሳ ደምበ ተቐውሞ ብሓፈሻ ብፍላይ ክኣ "ምሕዝነተ-ኪዳን" ዝተፈልየ ኢዩ። እዚ ድማ ባህሪ ዲክታቶርያዊ ስርዓት ኣስመራ

ብዝግባእ ስለ-እንርዳእ፡ ንሓደ መሰረታዊ ኣባይ (ጸላኢ) ዝኹነ መላኺ ስርዓት መሰረታዊ ተቓውሞ ክገጥሞ ስለዝግባእ፡ ንዘይምሕረካ ኣይተናሕሲ ዝብል መርገጽ ክህልወና ኸሎ፡ ብናይ ሓባር ፖለቲካዊ ኣመራርሓ ዝግዛእ ናይ ሓባር ናይ ተቓውሞ ሰራዊት ብምህናጽ ነዚ ዓማጺ ስርዓትዚ ሰር-ሰራውሩ ከምዝብተኹ ምግባር ይክኣል ምዃኑን ህዝቢ ኤርትራ ድማ ንዕኡ ዝበቅዕ ኣይሊ ካብ ከርሱ ከም ቀደሙ ከፍሪ ከምዝኸእልን እንዳምንን ተበጊስና ዘለናን ምንቅስቓስ ኢና።

እምንቶና ዓቕሚ ኣያል ህዝብና ብዘየማትእ ፍልስፍናዊ ተረድኦ ባህሪ ናይ ዲክታቶርያዊ ስርዓት ምስ ዘለልን ኣብ ትሕቲ ንጹር ዕላማ ምስ ዝውደብን ጥራይ ኢዩ ኣብ ረብሓ ህዝቢ ዝውዕል ንጹር ሓገዝ ዝረሓቕን ዝቐረበን ዝረክብ። ናይ ለውጢ ጉዕዞና ክኣ ትርጉም ከም ዝህልዎ ዝኸውን። ብዝተረፈ ንጹር ዕላማን ውደባን ዘይጸውዖ ግዳማዊ ሓገዝ ዕግበት “መራሕቲ ውድባት” እምበር ዕግበት ህዝቢ ክምልስ ከምዘይክእል ኣብ ካልእ ከይከድና ኣብ ተመክሮ ደንበ ተቓውሞ ብግቡእ ከነንብቦ ክኢልና ኢና።

ደንበ ተቓውሞ ብፍላይ ክኣ “ኪዳን” ነዚ ተንጠልጢሉ ዘሎ ሕቶ ህዝቢ ንዓመታት ክምልሶ ብዘይ ምኸኣሉ ዘሕዝን እኳ እንተኹነ፡ ሞኅተና ኣብኡ ክሕጸር ኣለዎ ማለት ከምዘይኮነ ነዚ እማመዚ እንዝርግሕ ዘለና ምንቅስቓስ ኣትሪርና ክንእምት ንፈቱ። “ኪዳን” ብናይ ሰላማዊ ኣገባብ ዝብል ክንፉ እንዳወገነ ክኸይድ ከሎ፡ ብናይ ሓይሊ ዝብል ክንፉ ኣብ ፍሕ ጭንግራሕን ብሕታዊ ላዕልን ታሕትን ተወሲኑ ስለ ዝርከብ ክልቲኡ ክንፍታት ምስ ኣድማዒ ኣገጣጥማ ጸረ-መላኺ ስርዓትን ባህርያቱን ዘይምክት ኣብ ትንቅታ ዝዕገት ምስ ትጽቢትናን ትጽቢት ህዝቢ ኤርትራን ዘይቃዶ ብምዃኑ ንባህሪ መንገዲ ምንቅስቓስና ፍልይ ዝበለ ክገብር ክኢሉ ኣሎ። እዚ ብምዃኑ ድማ፡ ብዛዕባ “ኪዳን” ጥራይ ምዝራብ ብዛዕባ ሕጽረታት ጥራይ ክትዛረብ ምንባር ዘየዋጽእ ጠጠው ኩይኑ ስለዝረኣናዮ ናብቲ ዝመረጽናዮ ኣገባብ ቃልሲ ክንሓልፍ ኢና።

ምንቅስቓስና ብዝነውሐን ብዝሓጸረን መልክዑ ካብ ዝተፈላለዩ ውደባታት ዝተዋህለሉ ንኹነታት ሃገርና ብግቡእ ዝተኸታተሉን ዝተቐለሱን ገናውን ዝቃለሱ ዘለዉን ምኹራት ተበጊስቲ ዝሓቆፈ ኢዩ። ኣካላት ምንቅስቓስና ብውዱብ ይኹን ብዘይውዱብ መልክዓት ኣብ ዝቐደመን ዝደሓረን ዝተዋሰኑን ካብ ምቅላስ ብዓቕሞም ዘየዕረፉን ኢዮም። እዚ ክንብል ከለና ግን ምንቅስቓስና ካብ ውሑዳት ናብ ብዙሓት ብመሰርሕ ዝመጸን ኣብ መስርሕ ዕብዮት ክኣ ዝርከብንምበር ብሃንደበት (spontaneously) ዝተወልደ ስለዘይኩነ ሰንሰለታዊ ታሪኹ ክዝንጋዕ የብሉን።

ገለ ንጉዳይ ኣወዳድባ ካብ ዝዕንቀፉ ረጅሒታት፦

- ሃይማኖታውን ብሄራውን ፍልልያትና ብደረጃ ሃገራዊ ሓድነትና ኣብ ግምት ብምእታው ክንርድኦን ከነተኣሳስፎን ዘይምኸኣልና፡ ማለት ንእምነትናን ንብሄራዊ መሰልናን ዝንዕጸጸ ስርዓት ክንኣሊ ኣብ እንቃለሰሉ እዋን፡ ብሕታዊ እንታይነትና ንናይ ሓባርን ቀዳማይን ሽቶና ክንትቶ ዕድል ክንህቦ ምዝንጋዕናን ዘይምግንዛብናን
- መኸሰባትን ክሳራታትን ሰውራ ኤርትራ ብምልኣትን ብዕምቁትን ዘይምፍታግናን ኣሰራርሓ ሃገርና ብመንጽር ሕብረ-ብሄራዊ ሂደቱ ዘይምግምጋምናን፡ ካብ ዳዩሊክቲካዊ ተረድኦ ናብ መካኒካዊ ተረድኦ ምድሃብናን፡ ንረብሓታት ጠለባትን ዝተፈላለዩ ብሄራትና ብደቂቕ ዘይምጽናዕናን
- ኣጀማምራን ኣፈጻጸማን ተጋድሎና (መኸሰቡን ክሳርኡን) ንኹላትና ዝምልከትን ብኹላትና ዝውነንን ምዃኑ ምዝንጋዕ፡ ብሓጺሩ ታሪኽ ድምር ኣሉታውን እወንታውን ሓቅታት ምዃኑ ዘይምግንዛብ፡ ኣብ ዝኣረገ ፍልስፍና ጀብሃን ሻዕብያን ተሓጺርና ኣብ ምጥቕቓዕ ምብላይና
- ስርዓት ህግደፍ ብዝተራቐቐ ስልቲታት ኣብ ውሽጢ መዓልታዊ ህይወት ሕብረተሰብናን፡ ክሳብ ኣብ ውሽጢ ተቓውሞ ደምበውን ከይተረፈ ዘተኣታተዎም ወገናዊ ማሕላኻታት ክንበታትኹ ዘይምኸኣልናን ካብ ናይ ሓባር ሃገራዊ ረብሓ ወጻኢ ኣብ ተዋጠጥ ምንባርናን

- ስርዓት ህግደፍ ዝጸሕተሮ ውዲታዊ ዶባዊ ውግእ ኣብ ክንዲ ወድዓዊ ሚዛን ኣንቢርና፡ ብትሪ ምቅዋም፡ ብጸቢብ ሃገራዊ ስምዒት ተደፊንና ንጉርብትናዊ ተጸብኦታት ብቅርሕንታዊ ዓይኒ ብምጥማት ህግደፍ ክግልገለሉን ክምዝምዞን ዕድል ምሃብናን እዚ ድማ ንቃልስታትና ናይ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ለውጢ ዓቢ ዕንቅፋት ስለዝፈጠረሉን
- ካብ ዘይብቕዓታዊ ኣመራርሓ ደንበ ተቓውሞ ዝነቐለ፡ ፍርሂ መጻኢ ዕድል ህዝብና ንሓድሽ ለውጢ ንምቕባል ቅሩባት ንምዃን ምምታእና
- ብዓቢኡ ድማ ተዓራቕን ዘይተዓራቕን ግርጭት ኣብ ግምት ብምእታው ንባህሪ ዲክታቶርያዊ ስርዓት ህግደፍን ኣተዓባብይኡን ብዘይምርዳእ ኣብ ኣገባብ ኣፈታትሕኡ ብምድንጋር፡ ብሰላምዶ ብሰነጽ ኣብ ዝብሉ ሚላታት ከነንሳፍፍ ምንባርናን ብሕጽረት ንጹር ኣወዳድባ ዝኣክል ኣብ ቀቢጹ-ተስፋነት ምዝዛውናን ወዘተ... ኢዩ ንብል።

እዚ ኣብ ላዕሊ ዝተጠቐሰን ልዕሊኡን ምክንያት ብምግባር ኣገባብ ኣተሃላልዎና ክነቓነቕን ክሕቆንን ከድሊ ኢዩ። ነዚ ክውንነትዚ ንምልዋጥ ክኣ ኣብ ብምልኡ ናይ ቃልሲ ህይወት ደንበ ተቓውሞ ዝተወደበ ይኹን ዘይተወደበ ናይ ለውጢ ወፊራ ከም ዝባራዕ ብምግባር ናብ ተግባራዊ መደብ ዕዮ ዘይይብ ኣወዳድባ ክንሰጋገር ክንበቅዕ ኣለና። ኣብ ከምዚ ዝኣመሰለ ኩነታት እቲ ምርጫ ብዙሕ ስለዘይኮነ፡ ወይ ብሓድሽ ኣወዳድባ ናብ ተግባራዊ ኣሰራርሓ ከምትኣቲ ምግባርዮ፡ ወይ ክኣ ብፖሊቲካዊ ኣላሽነት ተሳዒርካ ባህርያዊ ሞት ምጽባይ ክኸውን ኢዩ።

ከም ምርጫ ምንቅስቃስና ኣብ ነግ-ፈረግ (fear of the unknown) ተቐይዶ ካብ ምንባር ንሓድሽ ውደባ ብሓድሽ መንፈስን ኒሕን ተቐቢሉዎ ኣሎ። እዚ ኣወዳድባዚ ኣብ ምንቅስቃስና ንዝብገሱ ዘለዉ ኣካላት ጥራይ ዘይኮነ ንኹሉን ኣብ ኩሉን ኣብ ከምዚ ንሕና ዝመዘንናዮ ኣተሃላልዎ ዝርከብ ቅሙጥ ሓይሊ (potential) ዝምልከት ስለዝኸነ ኩሉ ወሳኝን ኣድማዕን ተበግሶ ክወስድ ዝጽወዓሉ መድረኻዊ ጠለብ ኢዩ።

**ደምዳሚ መርገጻት፦**

ብሕጂ ዝድለ ኣወዳድባ ኣብቲ ውድባት ደንበ ተቓውሞ ብስክፍክፍ ወይ ብምፍርራህ ከሰላስልኦ ዘይክኣላ መዳያት ተባዕ ውሳኔን ስጉምትን ዝውሰዶ ኢዩ።

- ቀንዲ ዕላማና፡ ስርዓት ህግደፍ ካብ ሱሩ ነቐልካ ስርዓታዊ ለውጢ ምትካእ ስለ ዝኾነ፡ ስትራተጂን ስልትን ክሰማማዕ ከም ዘለዎ ምግባር ኢዩ። ስትራተጂ ምንቅስቃስና ዲሞክራሲያዊ ስርዓተ-ምሕደራ ክኸውን ከሎ ኣገባብ ቃልስና ካኣ ኣብዚ እምነትዚ ዝጥመሩ ሓይልታት ብምውህሃድ ብናይ ሓባር ፖለቲካዊ ርእሲ ዝውጃህ ናይ ሓባር ናይ ሓይሊ ትካል መስሪትካ ናብ ተግባር ምስግጋር ኢዩ። (ብናይ ተግባር መምርሒ ናብ ተግባር)።
- ኣብ ሓያሎይ ኣብ “ኪዳን” ዝርከባ ኣብ ዕጥቃዊ ኣገባብ ንኣምንን ንምርሽን ኣለና ዝብላን ከምኡውን ብሰላማዊ ኣገባብ ዝኣምና ግንከ ኣብ ተመዝግዚ ግዜ ብረታዊ ክንፊ ከማዕብላ ተኸእሎ ዘለወንን ውድባት፡ ሃገራዊ ተለላይነት ዘየማልእ ናይ ዳንጋይ ዳንጋኻ ስጉምቲ ኣብ መጻኢት ኤርትራ (ኣብ ዝኸሰት ናይ ስልጣን ባዶነት)፡ ኣብ ስክፍታ ዘእቲ ኣሰራርሓ፡ ብምንቅስቃስና ቅቡል ኣይኮነን ጥራይ ዘይኮነስ ምስ ስልትና መሰረታዊ ፍልልይ ከም ዘለዎ ኢና እንምዝግብ። እዞን ውድባት እዚኣተን ነቲ ኣብ ውሽጢ ህዝቢ ኣሎ ዝብልኦ ማሕበረ ፖለቲካዊ ፍልልያት ብግሉጽን ዕቲብን መንገዲታት ኣብ ጠረጴዛ ኣውራጃን ብምክታዕ ከጸብብኦን ኣብ ምፍትሑ ድማ እዎንታዊ ተራ ክጻወታን ኣጥቢቕና ንጽውዕ።

- ካብዚ ብምብጋስ እምበኣር፡ ብናይ ሓባር ናይ ምልመላ ትካል ዝተሃንጸ፡ ብሓባራዊ ኮማንድ ዝተማእከለ ናይ ተቃውሞ ሰራዊት ኣዋፊርካ ንዕድመ መላኺ ስርዓት ህግደፍ ክንዲ ምሕጻር፡ ብዘይቅቡል ምኽንያታትን ትሕቲ ስምረታዊ ሃገራዊ መኸተ ዝዕቀን ኣረኣኢያን ሒዝካ ነንፋንግኻ ምኽብላል፡ ዘየወውትን መጻኢ ትጽቢታቱ ከኣ ምስ መላኺ ጠባያት ዝተኣሳሰረ ስለዝኹን ብምንቅስቃስና ብመትከል ይኹን ብተግባር ተቐባልነት የብሉን።

**ሕቶ መሰላት ሃይማኖትን ብሄራትን፡**

ሃይማኖታዊ ነጻነት ብቑዓም ሃገር ክወሓስ ዘለዎ መሰረታዊ መሰል ኣርትራዊ ዜጋ ኢዩ። ሕቶ ሃይማኖት ይኹን ሕቶ ብሄር ምስ ሃገራዊ ሓድነትናን ህሉው ስተራተጂያዊ ዕላማናን ክተኣሳሰር ኣለዎ። ዲሞክራሲያዊ ስርዓት ዘይተኸለት ሃገር ዝኹን ይኹን ናይ መሰል ሕቶ ክትምልስ ኣይትኸእልን ኢያ። ይትረፍዶ ሕቶ እምነትን ሕቶ ብሄርን ክምለስሲ፡ ወድ-ሰብ ወፊሩ ንምእታው'ውን ጨኒቑም ምህላወ ንመን ይጠፍኦ? ስለዚ ብመትከል ንዝነኣሰን ዝዓበየን መሰላት ክንኣምነሉ ከለና ከም ምንቅስቃስ መጠን ግዴናን ዘይግዴናን እዋኑን ዘይእዋኑን ቀደምትነት ኣብ ግምት ብምእታው፡ ብተግባር ነቲ ዕማም ድሕሪ ዕንወት ስርዓት ህግደፍ ንዝትከል ዲሞክራሲያዊ ስርዓተ-ባይቶ ኤርትራ ክግደፍ ስለዝግባእ ንዘልዓልዎ ሓይልታት ብሕታዊ ፕሮግራም ክኸበር ኣለዎ ኢልና ንኣምን። ብዝተረፈ ከምቲ ኣቦታትና ዝብልዎ ላም ፍርቂ ኅድና ስለዘይትሃጥር ውጽዕ ሃይማኖትን ብሄርን ሒዝካ ቀሲንካ ስለ ዘይትነብር ነጻን ዲሞክራሲያዊት ሃገርን ኣላትኒ ክብሃል ኣይክኣልን።

**ሕቶ ምሕደራ ብዝምልከት፡**

ብወገንና ኣብ መጽናዕቲ ዝተመርኮሰ ዘይምእኩል ኣገባብ ምሕደራ ዝብል እምነት ኣለና። ንሱ ከወይኑ ወይ ካልእ መተካእትኡ ግን ከምቲ ኣብ ላዕሊ ዘቐመጥናዮ ነፍሲ ወከፍ ኣጀንዳ ውልቀ-ውድባት ክኸበር ስለዝግብኦ እማሚታት ነታ መጻኢት ዲሞክራሲያዊት ባይቶ ሃገርና ክቐርብ ኣለዎ ንብል። መሰል ህዝቢ ኤርትራ ከነኸበር ስለ ዝግባእ፡ መጻኢ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ባይቶ ህዝቢ ኤርትራ እቲ ሓደ ዝዓበየ ነዚ ሕቶዚ ንምፍትሖ ዝዕጠቐሉ ትካል ክኸውን ኢዩ። ናይ ሕጂ ቃልስና ክኣ ነዝን ወዲ ኸምዝን ንምምቕቓእ እንተዘይከወይኑ ትርጉም ክስእን ኢዩ። ሕጊ እንዳባ ዘጠቓለለ (ዝተሰነደ)፡ ታሪኻዊ መበገሲ ዘለዎ፡ ምስ ትሕዝቶ መሬት ዝተኣሳሰረ ድዉብ ኣውራጃዊ ኣመሓዳድራና ግን መጀመርያ ኣብ ቦትኡ ክምለስ ኣለዎ።

**ሕቶ ውኅና መሬት ብዝምልከት፡**

መሬት መሰረታዊ-ን ዓብላልን ቍጠባዊ ሰረት ናይ ህልውቲ ኤርትራ ስለዝኹን ኣብ መንግስታዊ ግበታ ክኣቱ ምልካዊ ኣሰራርሓ ብምኻኑ ምስ ምልካዊ ስዕረት ይስዓር። ኩሉ ናይ መሬት ጉዳይ ብስርዓት ህግደፍ ዝተሰልዐ ውዱቕን ዘይሕጋውን ኢዩ። መሬት ዓዲ ናብ ዓዲ ብሕታዊ መሬት ክኣ ናብ ዋንኡ ተመሊሱ፡ ብዓል መሬት ብመሬቱ ብዓል ንዋይ (ገንዘብ) ክኣ ብንዋዩ ብዕግበትን ብምክብባርን ኣብ ነጻ ዕዳጋ ተራኺቦም ይዋገዩን ትሕዝቶኦም ይለዋወጡን። ህዝቢ ኣዘናቢልካ፡ ዳግመ ምጥያስ (Resettlement) ናብ ሕድሕዳዊ ጎንጽ ዝዕድም ፖሊሲታት ስርዓት ህግደፍ ኣትረርና ንኹንና። ህዝቢ ኸኣ ነዚ እከይ ፖሊሲታት እዚ ብንቕሓት ክምክቶን ነባሪ ሓድሕዳዊ ምክብባሩ ክሕሉን ነማሕጽን።

**መንግስትን ተርኡን፡**

ዲሞክራሲያዊ መንግስቲ ኤርትራ፡ ናይ ሃገር ባህርያዊ ሃብትን ንልምዓትን መገሃጫን (Pastoral) ዝሕዛእ መሬትን ኣብ ስነፍልጠታዊ መጽናዕቲ ተመርኸሱ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሃገራዊ ባይቶ ብዘጽደቑ መሰረት ይቆጻጸር፡ የማዕብል፡ ፍረ እትዋት ድማ ንምምሕዳራት ኤርትራ ከም ኣድላይነቱ ብምምዕርራይ (Proportional distribution) የከፋፍል። መንግስቲ ነቲ ገና ዘይተመዘመዘ ዘሎ መገሃጫዊ ቁጠባ (Pastoral economy) ጠመተ ክግበረሉን ይግባእ

**ሕቶ ልኡላውነት፦**

ኤርትራ ብደም ስወላት ዝፈረየት ልኡላዊት ሃገር ከም ምዃና መጠን ደባታን ወደባታን መሬታን ባሕራን ንዕኡ ዝውንን ህዝባን ንዘልኣለም ዝተኸበረ ይኸውን። ህልዊ ይኹን ክመጽእ ንዝኸእል ንልኡላውነት ዝትንክፍ መጎተ ብሰላማዊ መኸተ እምበር ብብረታዊ ጠመተ ኣይንርእዮን። ንዕኡ ዝትንክፍ መጻኢት ዲሞክራሲያዊት ሃገርና ዝኸተመትሉ ውዕላት መሰረት ብምግባር ድማ ንዓለም ለኻዊ ትካላዊ ውሳኔታት ነኹብርን ንምእዘዝን።

**ሕቶ ደቀ-አንስትዮ፦**

ደቀ'ንስትዮ ፍርቂ ሓይሊ ናይ ደሞክራሲያዊ ለውጢ ጉዕዞናን ምዕብልንኡን ከም ምዃነን መጠን፣ ንሳተን ዘይተሳተፍኦ መኸተ ክዕወት ይትረፍ ስድራ ከሰጉም ከምዘይክእል ስለ እንኣምን ንተሳትፎኣን ዘይሕለል ጸዕሪ ክካየድ ከም ዝግባእ ንኣምን።

**ሕቶ መንእሰያት፦**

መንእሰያት ተረከብቲ ደሞክራሲያን ምዕብልንኡን ከም ምዃናም መጠን፣ ክንብገስ ከለና ንተሳትፍኦም ብዘልዓለ እምንቶን ጸዕርን ንጠልቦን መጻዋዕታና ነቕርብን።

**ሕቶ ስደተኛታት፦**

ብዲክታቶርያዊ ስርዓት ህግደፍን ብተኻታተልቲ ገዛእቲ ስርዓታት ኢትዮጵያን ተገፊዑ ናብርኡ ተመዛቢሉ ናብ ፈቓድኡ ኣብ ስደት ዝከላበት ዘሎ ህዝብና፣ ናብታ ዝፈትዋ ሃገሩን ዓዱን መሬቱን ተመሊሱ ሂወቱ ክመርሕን ኣካል ምዕባሌ ሃገሩ ክኸውንን ዝክእል ዘበለ ጸዕርታት ክካየድ ደው ንብለሉ። ስደተኛታት ኤርትራውያን ኣብ ምሕራር ሃገርና ዝተጸወትዎ ተራ እናኣምገስና ሕጂ ኣብ መደበራት ስደተኛታት ዘሕልፍዎ ዘለዉ ከርፋሕ ናብራ ከምዘሕዝናን ላዕለዎይ ኮምሽነር ሕቡራት መንግስታት ዓለምን (ላ.ኮ.ሕ.መ.ዓ/UNHCR) ካልኣት ገበርቲ ሰናይ ማሕበራትን ከኣ ዝግብኡም ጠለባት ክልግሱሎም ክንጽውዕ ምዃና ነፍልጥ።

**ጉዳይ ኣብ ትሕቲ መላኺ ስርዓት ዝርከብ ናይ ኤርትራ ናይ ምክልኻል ሰራዊት፦**

ኣብ ትሕቲ ስርዓት ህግደፍ ዝርከብ ትካል ንስርዓት ህግደፍ ዘገልግል ምዃኑ ዘካትዕ ኣይኮነን። ብኸውንነት ኣቃውምኡ ግን በስገዳድ ከም ምዃኑ መጠን፣ ብመትከል ከም ጭቁን ከነለልዮ ከለና፣ ብተክኒካዊ ኣተሃላልውኡ ግን ኣብ ኣገልግሎት መላኺ ስርዓት ህግደፍ ስለዝውዕል፣ ነዚ ቅሙጥ ሓይሊ ናይ ለውጢ፣ ናብ ባህርያዊ ቦትኡ መሳርሒ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ምዕባለን ተጣባቂ ናይ ቅዋማዊት ሃገርን ንምዃን ክበቅዕ ክንቃለስ ኢና። ምንቅስቃስና ንደም ብመለሳ ስለዘይርእዮ፣ ደም ዝኸነ ይኹን ውጹዕ ህዝቢ ከም ደም ውጹዕ ህዝብና ክብረ ከም ዘለዎ ይኣምን። ንክንፍታት ዓማጺ መላኺ ስርዓት መሳርሒ ዝኸነ ኣዋፋሪ ሸነኻቱ ግን ብንሕስያ ኣይክጥመቱን ጥራይ ዘይኮነስ እዋኑ ብዘበጽሖ ኣብ ቅድሚ ህዝቢ ቀሪም ብሕጊ ክሕተቱ ምዃናም ንኣምን። መን ንመን ይሃርሞ ንዝብል ዘንባዕ ሕቶ ግን፣ ግፍዒ መላኺ ስርዓት ኣብ ልዕሊ ውጹዕ ህዝቢ ክወርድ ከሎ፣ ውጹዕ ህዝቢ መልሲ ክህብ ግዴታ ኢዩ ብማለት ንኣልፎ።

**ናይ ቃልሲ መሃርያና (መደበርና)፦**

መሃርያና ሃገርና ኤርትራ ኢዩ። ኩነታት ጸጥታ መኸተና ኣብ ግምት ብምእታው ግን ካብ ዝኸነን ንዓወትና ዝምነን ብመትከልን ብተግባራዊ ደገፍን ዝተሓባበረና ኩርንዓት ከባቢ ይርሓቕ ይቕረብ ክንጥቀም ኢና።

**ሚዛንና ኣብ ሰላማዊ ኣገባብ ቃልሲ፦**

ስርዓት ህግደፍ ብሰላማዊ መንገዲ ስልጣን ንህዝቢ ከረክብ ዝሰምዕ እዝኒ ከምዘይብሉ ጽኑዕ እምነትና ኢዩ። ሰላማዊ ኣገባብ ቃልሲ ብመትከል ኣይንኸኑንናን ኢና። ብተግባር ግን ምስ ባህርያት ውልቀ-መላኺ ስርዓትን ዝተሓልፈ ፈተነታትን፣ ፍሉይነት ምዕባሌ ነፍሲ-ወከፍ ሃገርን ከም ጭብጢ ብምውሳድ ኣብ ውሳኔ ክብጸኡ

አለም። አብ ክውንነትና እዚ ዝተጠቐሰ ረጅሒታት አብ ግምት ብምእታው ክትርጎም ስለ ዘይክእል ምርጫ ምንቅስቃስና ኣይኮነን።

ብዛዕባ ብሰላማዊ ኣገባብ ቃልሲ ዝጥቀሙ ሓይልታት፦

ምንቅስቃስና ንዘይተጸብኡዎ ኣይጸባእን ኢዩ። ካብ ብምስጢር ብግህዶ ምምራጽም፣ ብግሉጽነት ዝንበብ ምርጫም ኢዩ። ምስ ግፍዕኛን ብተሓታትነት ህዝባዊ ክሲ ዝጽበዮ ዘሎን ስርዓት ህግደፍ፣ ኩሉ ናይ ሰላም ኣፍ-ደገ ዝዓጸወን ሰላማዊ ኣገባብ ቃልሲ ከም ዝጽንቀቕ ዝገበረን ብቐጥታ ጸዊዖም ክሳብ ዘይተሻረኹ፣ ግን ብድንድል ተራኺብና ክንቃለስ ጸገም የብልናን።

ብዛዕባ ዞባዊ ምውህደድ፡

ብባይቶ ኣህዛብ ናይተን ዝምልከተን ሃገራት ዝተወሰነ ከም መሳርሒ ናይ ሕድሕድ ምርድዳእን፣ ምብልጻግን ሓያል ሰንሰለት ናይ ሓባራዊ ጸጥታ ምፍጣርን ክንግልገለሉ ብመትከል ተቐባልነት ኣለዎ። እንተኾነ ግን አብ ትሕቲ ምልካዊ ግፍዒ እትርከቡ፣ ቅዋማዊ ምሕደራ ዝተነፍጋ፣ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ስርዓት ንምትካል አብ ቃልሲ እተርከብ ሃገር ሒዝካ ንክትርጎም ሕልሚ ስለዝኸነ፣ ብቐዳምነት ናይ ኣሰራርዓ ዕማም ክርአ ከሎ፣ ነታ ብሕጂ እትውለድ ዲሞክራሲያዊት ኤርትራ ዝጽበ ኢዩ ንብል።

ብዛዕባ መንግስቲ አብ ስደት፡

መንግስቲ አብ ግዳማዊ ዓለም ክእወጅ ይክእል ኢዩ። እንተኾነ ግን ንዕኡ ዝኸውን ምድሪቤት ከዩጣጣሕካ ሰማዒ እዝኒ ክረክብ ኣይክእልን ኢዩ። ትርጉም ናይ መንግስቲ አብ ስደት ምእዋጅ ተፈላጥነትን ግዳማዊ ፖሊሲን ሓገዝን ብምውህላል መተካእታ ናይቲ አብ ውሽጢ ሃገር ዘሎ መላኺ ስርዓት ንምጅን ንወጻኢ ዓለም ከም ዝኣምኑኻን ከም ዝቐበሉኻን ዝተሓባበሩኻን ንምግባር ኢዩ። ኣዋጅ ብዘይ ትሕዝቶ ግን መትሓዚ የብሉን። አብ ኣኼባምበር አብ ኣሰራርሓ ዘይራኽብ ደምበ ተቃውሞ ሒዝካ ኣዋጅ ናብ ሃዋህው ምድርባይ ትርጉም ኣይሕለቦን ኢዩ። እዚውን ቅድም እንታይ ክንምድምድ ኣለና ዝርዳእ በሊሕ ኣእምሮ ዝጠልብ ኢዩ ንብል።

ብዛዕባ ሃገራዊ ዕርቂ

ትርጉም ሃገራዊ ዕርቂ ብተረድኦና ምምዕርራይ ናብራ ህዝቢ ደቂ ሃገር ኢዩ። እዚ ድማ መሰልን ዕድልን ናይ ዕብዮትን ምዕብልናን ንሓደ ዝቐርቦ ንሓደ ክኣ ዝርሕቆ ከይኸውን ምትክኻል ማለት ኢዩ። ብተግባር ክርአ ከሎ፣ ዝርግሓ ናይ ትምህርታዊ፣ ጥዕናዊ፣ ቍጠባዊ (ናይ ስራሕ ዕድላት)፣ ጸጋታት ሃገር ብመንጽር ረብሓታት ህዝቢ ከም ዝከፋፈልን ዝተኻኸልን አብ ርእሲ ምግባር፣ ብፖሊቲካዊ ሸነኹ ድማ ምምሕዳራዊ ስልጣን ብዲሞክራሲያዊ መዐቀኒኡ ነፍሲ-ወከፍ ክንፊ ናይቲ ህዝቢ ብዝምድናዊ ኣዘራርባ ክዓግበሉ ክርአ ከሎ ማለት ኢዩ።

ሃገራዊ ዕርቂ ምትዕራቕ መራሕቲ ማለት ኣይኮነን። ሃገራዊ ዕርቅን ፖለቲካውን ዘይፖለቲካውን ውደባታት ምትዕራቕን ፈላሊኻ ክርአ ዘለዎ ክልተ ዝዛመድ እምበር ብሓደ ዝምዘን ኣምር ኣይኮነን። ንመረዳእታ ዝኣክል እቲ ኩሉ ግዜ ዝዘረበሉ ሃገራዊ ዋዕላ ብብቐዓት ምስ ዝሰላሰል ጥጡሕ ቅድመ- ኩነታዊ ባይታ ናይ መጻኢ መንግስትን ብኡ ጌሩ ድማ ሃገራዊ ዕርቅን ክኸውን ይኽእል።

ምስትውዓል ዘድልዮ ነጥቢ ምስ ዝህሉ መራሕቲ ተዓራቓውን አብ ናይ ጭቆና ስልጣን ኮፍ ክብሉ ከም ዝኽእሉ አብ ታሪኽ ተራእዮ ኢዩ። ግን መሰረት ዘለዎ (አብ ናይ ሓባር ዕላማ ዝተጸግዐ) ዕርቂ ናይ መራሕቲ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ቅዋምን ካብኡ ዝውለድ ዲሞክራሲያዊ መንግስትን ግዝኣተ- ሕግን ፍትሕን ብምምስራት መተዓደይ ናይ ሃገራዊ ዕርቂ ከም ዝኸውን ነቕ ዘይብል እምነትና ኢዩ። ናይ ርሑቕ ዕላማና ድማ ነዚ ኣምርዚ አብ ግብሪ ንምተርጓም እምበር ካልእ ሕልሚ የብሉን።

ብዛዕባ ወተሃደራዊ ኢድ አእታውነት:

ምንቅስቃሴና ኣብ ጉዳይ ሃገርና ንወተሃደራዊ ኢድ አእታውነት ኣይኣምነሉን ጥራይ ዘይኮነስ ኣትሪፍ ይቃወሞ። እዚ ኣረኢያዚ ብደረጃ ሃገርና ጥራይ ዘይኮነስ ኣህጉራዊ እምነትናውን ካብኡ ከም ዘይፍለ ነጻጽ። ኣብሃህላና ኣብ ነጻ መትከልና ዝተመርኮሰ ምስ ማተሪያላውን (ነገራዊ) ፖለቲካውን ናይ ፖሊሲ ምትሕግጋዝን ታዕሊማውን (Training) ክተሓናፈጽ የብሉን። ደሞክራሲያዊ ፍረ ዝቕንጠባ ተኸሊ ኣብ ዝምልከታ ነፍሲ-ወከፍ ሃገር ቦቕላ ትዓቢ ክትከውን ኣለዋ።

ፖለቲካዊ ፕሮግራም

ስም: ኤርትራዊ ምንቅስቃሴ ንዲሞክራሲያዊ ምሕደራ

አርማ:- ንመትከልናን ዕላማናን ዘንጸባርቕ

ዕላዊ ልሳን:ዌብ : ተለዓል.ኮም : انتفض Teleaal.com

ዕላማና:- ብኸቡር መስዋእቲ ዝተረጋገጸ ነጻነት ሃገርና ኣዕቅብና: ደሞክራሲያዊ ሓድነታ ዘረጋገጸት ልኡላዊት ቅዋማዊት ኤርትራ ምህናጽ ቀንዲ ዕላማና ክኸውን ከሎ: ነዚ ንምግባር ግን ንኸብሪ ህዝብና ዝገሃሰን ንልኡላውነት መሬትና ከም ፍረ ዋጋ ደም ህዝብና ዘይቆጸረን: ንደም ህዝብናን መሬትናን ናብ ቃሕ ዝበሎ ናይ ስልጣን መናውሒ መተዓይዩ ብምግባር: ናብ ቀጻሊ ደም ምፍሳስ ዝመረሸን ግፍዕና መላኽ ስርዓት ህግደፍ ካብ ሱሩ ምምሓው ከም መሰጋገሪ ዕማምና ክውሰድ ኢዩ።

ዕላማና ሕብረ ሰልፋዊ ናይ ስልጣን ውድድር ዘፍቅድ ክኸውን ከሎ: መተዓይዩ ደሞክራሲያዊ ኣሰራርሓ ኢዩ።

ዲሞክራሲ:- ዲሞክራሲያዊ ኣሰራርሓና ብደረጃ ብብዙሓት ምምእዛዝ ዘይኮነስ ኩሉ ኩርንዓዊ ጠመተ ዘለዎ እናሳዕ ዝምዕብል ክኸውን ንኣምን። እዚ ማለት ንኣገልግሎት ብዙሓት ጥራይ ዘይኮነስ ውሑዳትውን መሰሎም ዝኸበረሉ ውሕስነት ዘጠቓለለ ክኸውን ብመትከል ንኣምነሉ ኣብ ግብሪ ክኣ እንቃለሰሉ እምንቶ እዩ።

ዲሞክራሲያዊ ግዴታ:-

- ምእዙዝነት ውሑዳት ኣብ ትሕቲ ብዙሓት ምእማን
- ውሳኔታት ብኣብዝሃ ድምጺ ህዝቢ ምኸባር
- መርሆ ነጻን ሰላማውን ናይ ስልጣን ውድድርን ምቅብባልን ምዕቃብ
- ብዓቢኡ ኣብ ትሕቲ ሃገራዊ ህዝባዊ ቅዋም ኣገልጋልን ተገልጋልን ምኻን ድሉውነት ምርኣይ

ዲሞክራሲያዊ መሰል:-

- ዝኸነ ይኹን ተቓውሞ ህዝባዊ ቅዋም ብዘፍቅዶ መሰረት መሰል ሰላማዊ ሰልፊ ብምዝውታር ጠለባቱን ወጽዕኡን ንመንግስትን ህዝብን ምምልካት
- ነጻነት ምእካብን ምጽሓፍን ምዝራብን
- ነጻነት ካብ ቦታ ናብ ቦታ ምንቅስቃሴን ምስራሕን
- መሰል ሃይማኖታዊ እምነታት
- ናይ ምእካብ መሰል
- መሰል ምምራጽን ተመራጽነትን (ፖለቲካዊ ውድድር)
- ተፍትሽ ይኹን ማእሰርቲ ካብ ውሳኔ ቤት ፍርዲ ወጻኢ ከይዝውተር ምርግጋጽ
- ዝውተራን ውሕስነትን ጾታዊ ማዕርነት
- ውሕስነትን መሰልን ጥብቅና ንዝኸነ ይኹን ክሱስ ወይ እሱር
- መሰልን ውሕስነትን ዜጋ ብሕጋዊ መንገዲ ሰሪሑ ንብረት ከጥርን ከራብሕን

- መሰልን ህላውን ምንቅስቃሴን ነጻ-ፕረስ (ብሔታዊ ጋዜጣ፡ፊደዮ፡ቲቪ) ወዘተ... ክህሉን መድያ አብ ትሕቲ መንግስታዊ ግበታ ከይኣቱን ምርግጋጽ

ፍትሓዊ ትካል፡- ግዴታን ግብጽን ከም ሚዛኑ አብ ኣገልግሎት ህዝቢ ምእንቲ ክውዕል ካብ ሻራ መንግስቲ ሓራ ዝኸነ አብ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ቅዋም ሃገር ዝጸደቐ ነጻነቱ ዝሓለወ ናይ ሕግን ፍትሕን (ቤት ፍርዲ) ትካል ክህሉ እምነትናን ቃልስናን ኢዩ።

መሰል ብሄራት ብዝምልከት፡- ኣሰራርሓ ሃገርና ብሄራውን ሕብረ-ብሄራውን ከም ምጅኑ መጠን አብ ኩሉ መዳያዊ ምዕባሌታት ማለት ፖሊቲካዊ፣ ቊጠባዊ ማሕበራዊ ማዕርነታዊ ተሳትፎን ተገልጋልነትን ክህሉ ንኣምን። ፍሉይ ጠለባት ብሄራት አብ ሃገራዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ባይቶ ይቐርብን ፍታሕ ይናደዩሉን። ማዕርነታዊ ዝርግሓ ሃብቲ ሃገር ብመጽናዕቲ ህዝባዊ ባይቶ አብ ግብሪ ይውዕል።

መሰል ሃይማኖታዊ እምነታት፡- መሰል ሃይማኖት ዝተኸብረን ካብ መንግስታዊ ምትእትታው ናጻ ከይኑ ድማ ናይ ባዕሉ ሚስጢራዊ ትሕዝቶ ስለዘለዎ ንኣባላቱ ዝምልከት ጉዳይ ምጅኑ ንኣምን።

**ቊጠባዊ መዳይ፡-**

- አብ ትሕቲ መላኺ ስርዓት ዝተገበተ ንብረት ሃገርን ህዝብን ከከም ዝምልከቶ ናብ ዲሞክራሲያዊ መንግስትን ዋናታቱ ህዝብን ይምለስ
- ቊጠባዊ ፖሊሲ ሃገር ነጻ ዕዳጋን ውድድርን ዘፍቅድ ከይኑ ብመጽናዕቲ ዝጸደቐ ብሕጊ ድማ ገደብ (Regulation) ከም ኣድላይነቱ ይህልዎ። ብተወሳኺ መንግስቲ ብናይ ወጻኢ ፖሊሲ ኣቢሉ አብ መንጎ መንግስታትን ኣህጉራዊ ትካላትን ዝግበር ፍሱማል (Foreign investment) ሕጋዊ ፍቓድ ይኸትምን የውሕስን
- ንሃገራውያን ወንንቲ ሃብቲ ዘበራትዕን ሰራሕተኛታት ደቂ ሃገር ዘፍርን ከባብያዊ ብከላ ዘይፍኑ ምስ ጥዕና ሸቃሎን ሰፊሕ ህዝብን ዘይጋጮ ፍሱማል (Investment) ምትብባዕ
- ንመጠነ እትዋት ኣፍሪይቲ አብ ግምት ብምእታው ደያቢ ቀረጽ (Progressive tax) ከም ዝህሉ ምግባር

ማሕበራዊ ጉዳያት፡- ዲሞክራሲያዊ ግንቢ ምእንቲ ክንደቕ ብውሕዱ እዞም ዝሰዕቡ ትካላት ክህልዉ ኢዮም፡-

- ትምህርታዊ ትካላት
- ውሕስነት ሰእነተ ስራሕን ጥሮታን
- ትካላት ውሕስነት ኣረጋውያን
- ጉዳይ ሓርበኛታት
- መንግስታውን ዘይመንግስታውን ናይ ረድኤት ትካላት
- ጥዕናዊ ትካላት
- ስፖርታውን ባህላውን ትካላት
- መእለይ ጥቕዓት ደቀ-አንስትዮን መንእሰያትን
- ክንክን ረድኤት ህጻውንቲ (ቆልዑ)
- ምስረታ ናይ ሞያ ማሕበራት .

ጸጥታዊ ጉዳያት፡- ፖሊስን ናይ ምክልኻል ሓይልታትን ሓለዋ ህዝቦምምበር መፈራራህቲ ህዝቢ ከምዘይከኑ ብመትከልን ተግባርን ምእንቲ አብ ኣእመሮ ህዝቢ ክሰፍር፣ ዕላምኣም ዝፈልጥሉ መበገሲ ትምህርታዊ ደረጃን ናይ ንቕሓት ስንቅን ክህልዎም ኢዩ። መለክዒታት (Standard) ክህሉ ድማ ኣዝዩ ኣገዳሲ ኢዩ።

- ጉዳይ ፖሊስን ኣተሃናንጽኣምን (ትምህርታዊ መበገሲኣም)

- ጉዳይ ምክልካል ሓይልታትን (ሃገራዊ ሰራዊት) አተሃናንጽኦምን
- ጉዳይ ሃገራዊ ሐለዋን (National Guard) ምልመላን
- ጉዳይ ሃገራዊ አገልግሎት አብ ወተሃደራዊ ዕዘት ጥራይ ከየትኳረ ብዓቢኡ ኩሉ ሜዳያት ሞያ ዘጠቓለለ ብዕግብታውን አፍራይን መጽናዕቲ ዝተሰነዩ ይኸውን።

ናይ ወጻኢ ፖሊሲ፡- ብፍላይ አብ ዘለናሉ (contemporary) ኣህጉራዊ ቁጠባ ዓለም፡ ዝኸነት ትኸን ሃገር ተነጺላ ክትምዕብል ስለዘይክኣል፡ አብ ሓድሕድ ረብሓ ዝተመርኩስ፡ ተቓዳዊ ዝኸነ ፖለቲካውን ቍጠባውን ማሕበራውን ባህላውን ወዘተ...እስራትን ዝምድናታትን ክትገብርን ከተማዕብልን የድሊ።

እዚ ስለ ዝኸነ ምንቅስቓስና ዝኣምኑሉ ናይ ወጻኢ ፖሊሲ፡-

- ካብ ኢድ አእታውነት ነጻ (Non Intervention) ዝኸነ ናብ ግስጋስ ዘምርሕ አብ ሰላማውን ሓድሕድ ምክብባርን ዝተመርኩስ ዝምድና ምፍጣር
- አብ ዓለምና ሰላምን ብልጽግናን ምእንቲ ክዓስል፡ አብ ትሕቲ ዞናውን ኣህጉራውን ትካላትን ዝሓቕፎ ውዕላትን ምእዙዝነት ምርኣይ

መገንዘቢ፡- ምንቅስቓስና ኤርትራዊ ምንቅስቓስ ንደሞክራሲያዊ ምሕደራ (ኤ.ም.ዴ.ም.) ብጽሙቕ ዝበለ አቀራርባ ነዚ አብ ላዕሊ ዝተጠቐሰ እምንቶታት አብ ግብረ ንምውዓል ተበጊሱ ኣሎ። ዕግበትና ህዝባዊ ተሳትፎ ምስ ዝስሕብ ጥራይ ኢዩ ዝዕወት። ከም መተዓይይ ግን ካብ ኩሉ ምኣዝናት ደንበ ተቓውሞ ሓገዝን ምትእስሳርን ክረክብ መጸዋዕታና ነቕርብ። ምስ ከማና ዝኣመሰለ እምነት ዘዕቆቡ ውዳባትን ዘይውዳባትን ናይ ለውጢ ሓይልታት ሓቢርና አብ መዓርፎ ዓወት ክንበጽሕውን ተወሳኺ ዕግበትና ስለዝኸነ ድልውነትና ኣቕዲምና ንዝርግሕ። እዚ እምነት'ዚ ስለ ዘለና ድማ ሰነድና መሰረተ-ሓሳቡ ማለት ዕላምኡ ከይስሓተ፡ ብውሳኔ ኣባላቱ ንምዕብልናን ምምሕያሽን ክፉት ኢዩ። “ክለሳ-ሓሳብ ናብ ተግባር ምስ ተቐየረት ነገራዊ ሓይሊ ትኸውን”። ከምቲ ናይ ፖሊቲካ ሊቃውንቲ ዝብልዎ ድማ ምእንቲ አብቲ ቅኑዕ ገጽ ናይ ታሪኽ ክንምዝገብ ንረብሓ ህዝቢ ደው ክንብል ይግብኣና። አብ ትሕቲ ንጹር ዕላማን ውዳብ ኣቀላልሳን ህግደፋዊ ጽኑቕ ናብ ህዝባዊ ዓወት ክልወጥ ኢዩ።

ዓወት ንጅግና ህዝቢ ኤርትራ!

ኤርትራዊ ምንቅስቓስ ንደሞክራሲያዊ ምሕደራ (ኤ.ም.ዴ.ም.)

ግንቦት 8-10, 2009

Victory to our people

EMDG

January 1, 2010

[HYPERLINK "mailto:emd2008@gmail.com"emd2008@gmail.com](mailto:emd2008@gmail.com)

Eritrean Movement for Democratic Governance (EMDG)  
ምንቅስቃስ ኤርትራውያን ንዴሞክራሲያዊ ምሕደራ (ምኤዴም)  
الحركة الارتيرية من أجل الحكم الديمقراطي (حاد)

## Eritrean Movement for Democratic Governance (EMDG)

### Political Statement and Program

In the present situation of global economic downturn, it is an inescapable truth that our country, Eritrea, is sinking deeper into economic devastation than other nations. Despite our long struggle and perseverance against a number of historical challenges, the Eritrean people have never been faced with such dire political, social, cultural, and economic suffering as we are currently facing under the PFDJ regime. We, the members of Eritrean Movement for Democratic Governance (EMDG), firmly believe that the only remaining option capable of restoring our people's freedom and dignity is that of a conscious, determined, and united fight against the PFDJ-led dictatorship of the government in Eritrea today.

Dictators, regardless of their country of origin, share one common characteristic of creating a system which disregards and often stifles the interests of the people, while at the same time promoting personal and/or party interests. No matter their national background, all dictators play by the same rules, imposing the relationship of oppressor and oppressed within their own nation rather than founding a relationship of peace and prosperity based on shared democratic culture and socio-economic progress and equality. The PFDJ regime turned the national victory of our people into a tragedy. There is nothing to distinguish the PFDJ regime from any other dictatorship that unexpectedly turns a people's victory into such a tragedy. We Eritreans, who gave our all for peace and prosperity, have become victims of poverty, torture, and exile under such inhumane conditions.

In the name of national service (Warsay Yikealo Project), the PFDJ regime is exploiting the labor of our people, turning our nation into a prison and our people into forced laborers. The diverse talents of the Eritrean people, including our scientists and intellectuals, who were supposed to be employed to rebuild a nation, are instead used to disseminate propaganda for the regime in a perpetual effort to prolong their rule. Thus, the present and future generations of our Eritrean nation are deprived of a thriving country and culture and are instead flung toward an unknown destiny.

While history is always a combination of positive and negative human accomplishments, today's generation witnesses only the negative; they know first-hand the travesty being perpetrated against our nation and society by the PFDJ. Eritrea and its people are alienated from every regional and international relationship. The regime has become a hindrance in our path to progress by destroying every attempt at political, economic, and social cooperation we attempt to establish with our neighbors and the international community. These types of obstacles are forcing Eritreans to seek a way to rescue the sinking ship that is our nation. As we all ought to know from our past responses to foreign invaders attempting to squash our independence, we must get organized and take action. But this time against our own devil! "There is no revolution without organization!"

The example of the Eritrean revolution provides us with a crucial point of reference assuring us that our people will not remain confused about the nature of our enemy forever. There is a time to retreat from deceptive enemies and a time to stand up and expose and challenge them. It is only because we never

resolved the issue of the absence of a unified organization—one committed to the downfall of the PFDJ dictatorial regime—that the potential of our people remains thwarted. Our movement is devoted to, not only, shedding light on this unresolved issue, but we are also ready to contribute to any collaborative effort aimed at establishing such an organization.

The opposition camp in general and the Eritrean Democratic Alliance (EDA) in particular are claiming to be genuine alternatives to the current regime in Eritrea. The question is: how effective are they really in opposing the oppressor's state machinery? No dictatorial system is ever destroyed simply because a number of organizations oppose it. Uncoordinated groups of opposition forces with no central command will never carry the opposition to victory. A strategy alone without the necessary tactics frustrates the attempt to achieve the goal or the objective of the opposition. EDA, a stagnant umbrella of more than a dozen organizations, did not grow for years and failed to think along fresh lines. This is the basic deficiency of the opposition that needs urgent fixing or we will miss a critical opportunity to bring about change in Eritrea. Bringing this present situation to the forefront of public awareness is also the central concern of our movement's objectives.

It is our belief that the strength of the Eritrean people can only be effective if there is a clear philosophical understanding of the nature of the dictatorial system, and if the people are organized under a clear political vision. It is in this preparedness that we can attract meaningful support from our neighbors and the international community. Any support obtained at the level of individual organizations will only serve to satisfy the goals of that particular organization.

The opposition camp, specifically EDA, remains incapable of resolving the question of organization in the manner we stated above and therefore provokes us to reorganize our movement in order to stay focused on the means of instituting a workable strategy. There is no path to follow when no one is leading. EDA is composed of various organizations with different understandings on how to dismantle the regime in Eritrea. Those who put forth peaceful means of struggle as their roadmap are on the verge of consolidating their positions. Others who think that the armed struggle is the only viable method are unaware of how much their disunity can put us in harm's way. After analyzing the ineffectiveness of these consistently failing strategies, we are obliged to reveal our movement's fundamental belief: only an armed struggle can succeed in bringing down the oppressive rule of PFDJ in Eritrea. However, it is also our contention that those already existing armed opposition forces must be organized under a structured central command.

Our movement is made up of individuals who have fought for—literally in terms of the struggle for independence—and continue to fight to improve the situation in Eritrea by urging the institution of a democratic government. These individuals have a wealth of experience and are gathered from a number of different organizations. This movement is not a spontaneous phenomenon, and as such, has grown over time to reach this founding platform.

### **Some barriers to forming a genuine organization:**

- Our inability to comprehend our religious and ethnic diversity in relation to our national unity, emphasizing on the individual rights to practice our faith and identify ourselves with our ethnic heritage resulted in little attention being paid to our primary common goal of dismantling the regime hence causing setbacks in our struggle.
- Our inability to assess and evaluate the outcome of our revolutionary struggle in depth, and failure to put our ethnic diversity into perspective, often not spending enough effort to study the demands and interests of our diverse ethnic entities.

- Our unawareness-that the independence achieved is the sum of our positive achievements and negative drawbacks in the lifetime of our revolutionary struggle, often forgetting that the gains and setbacks from the beginning to the end is our history to be shared; Sticking to the old divisive philosophy of the liberation fronts-ELF and EPLF.
- Our inability to challenge PFDJ's divisive intrigues introduced in to the daily lives of our people including the ranks of the opposition camp, focusing on our differences instead of our commonalities hence weakening our efforts.
- The narrow nationalism inhibiting our judgment to reach an objective assessment of the regime's antagonistic behavior towards our neighboring countries has been a distraction. Our reluctance to voice strong opposition to the border-conflict schemes that have been carried out by the PFDJ dictatorial regime was a critical obstacle to our ability to advance our struggle for democratic change.
- Failure to reassure our people in preparing them for "change" as a result of our own doubts about the effectiveness of the opposition camp.
- In general, the uneven understanding and confusion of the nature of dictatorship, its growth and development and its consequences among the opposition camp, leading to confusion, and engagement in a lengthy unnecessary debate of determining to change the regime by peaceful means or armed struggle lead to pessimism and hopelessness.

Considering the factors stated above, the opposition camp requires a centrifugal shakeup to create a new momentum, alter the whole traditional practice, and join forces to form a powerful organization with a clear vision of how to obtain the desired result that can rescue our nation from disaster: regime change in Eritrea. Our past experiences should not inhibit us in our future actions. Let us beware, that the options left in front of us are to resolutely change the approach of our opposition to the PFDJ regime or conclude in a political captivity of death.

Our movement prefers not to be deterred by "fear of the unknown" and is determined to continue the journey of our struggle in a new organizational mode. This kind of organization will be no one's monopoly and is open to participation of all concerned individuals and groups of the opposition camp. We therefore call on everyone to join hands in this long overdue national imperative.

**Concluding Statements:** Our task at hand focuses on the areas where most of the opposition organizations failed to act decisively.

- Our main objective is to bring fundamental change to Eritrea by uprooting (eradicating) the current totalitarian system and replacing it with a democratic system governed by the rule of law and will of the people. This goal can only be achieved by laying down a clear strategy and tactics. Eritrean forces with a common goal of removing the regime using military force need to organize a well-trained army under a unified central command to fulfill our common objective.
- We call on all opposition groups to courageously address and tackle all political, socioeconomic and cultural differences and play positive roles in resolving them or debate them by setting clear platforms to narrow down differences.
- We are opposed to the opposition camp's uncoordinated military operations currently being waged by the armed organizations, or by organizations who now claim peaceful means but

posses the potential to develop an armed wing in the future when situations change. This kind of decentralized military approach will not be effective in bringing about democratic change; in fact, it is reminiscent of warlordism, which if realized would eventually threaten the future of Eritrea.

**On the question of religious and ethnic rights:** Freedom of religion is a basic human right which has to be guaranteed by the constitution. Ethnic and religious rights must be seen within the context of our strategic objective. A nation with no democratic institutions cannot accommodate issues of ethnic or religious rights; Let alone these rights, but the basic right to move freely within one's daily life is not even guaranteed. Our movement, in principle, agrees that such rights must be constitutionally guaranteed, and we acknowledge and respect the rights of the individual organizations who are raising these issues. The implementation of these rights requires a discussion in the post-PFDJ national sphere, but at this point in time we must focus on our commonalities of abolishing the dictatorial regime. While ethnic and religious oppression exist within one society, people cannot live in peace and claim that they have a democratic nation.

**On the question of governance:** We believe that the historical “*Higi Adi's*” (Village law) and regional borders of “*Awraja*” administration, designed to ensure land ownership reflecting our traditional socio-economic structure, must be reinstated. We are of the opinion that forms of decentralized government be researched for the future of Eritrea. There could be several proposals on the table, and we are prepared to discuss them all with the Eritrean people and reach an agreement through a democratic congress of the Eritrean people. Our job at this point is to propose our respective visions of what this decentralized government will look like. After which we should leave the decision to the Eritrean people.

**On the question of land ownership:** The dominant economic activity of our society depends on land. Land monopoly by the state was brought about by PFDJ and must be abolished with the demise of the regime. All land appropriations by the regime are illegal and must not be validated. Any land previously owned by the villages (*aditat*) or legally acquired by private owners must be returned to the villages (*aditat*) and the private owners. We strongly condemn PFDJ's policies of unlawful resettlement designed to create conflicts, disrupt lives and people's unity. At the same time, we call our people to consciously challenge the PFDJ regime by respecting each other's longstanding tradition of peaceful coexistence and oppose the divisive policies of the regime.

**The role of the Government:** The role of government in a democratic Eritrea will be to provide national security, manage national resources, and distribute those resources fairly and equitably to the administrative regions in accordance with scientific studies and guidelines set forth by the House of Representatives. The government must lay an extensive plan to exploit the pastoral resources of the nation.

**On the question of sovereignty:** The Eritrean people built their nation as a result of years of struggle and the ultimate sacrifice of our martyrs. The sovereign nation's land, sea, and air space will be eternally protected. A democratic Eritrea will be committed to peaceful approaches to conflict resolution in sovereignty issues with all neighboring nations. In addition, Eritrea will respect and obey all international laws that have been established for common interest of nations.

**On the question of women:** We are strong believers that no nation can have full-fledged progress without the participation of women in all sectors of national activity, and we will actively encourage women's involvement.

**On the question of the youth:** The youth are the guarantors of the country's future, and modern democratic transformation cannot take place without them. Our movement calls upon their full participation in the struggle against the dictatorial regime.

**On the question of refugees:** The PFDJ regime has suffocated the whole nation of Eritrea and left our society nearly lifeless. People are forced to flee their beloved country and families to unknown destinations—where life is uncertain—often resulting in the loss of life. Our movement will fight steadfastly to reverse this situation, and make sure that Eritrean refugees have the opportunity to return to a peaceful homeland and become full participants in their nation's democratic reconstruction. We hail the role of the Eritrean refugees during the liberation, we sympathize with the miserable life they're enduring at the refugee camps, and call on the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other nongovernmental organizations to extend their hands in providing them with assistance to sustain the basic standard of life.

**On the question of Eritrean Defense Forces under the PFDJ regime:** It is unquestionable that the Eritrean Defense Forces are part and parcel of the PFDJ state machinery. It is also understood that the military does not operate under a ratified constitution, and they answer to the regime—not the people. This being the case, reality also tells us that the soldiers in the Eritrean Defense Forces are recruited by coercion and have no rights at all. Our movement recognizes the situation and will work hard to convey the truth of the situation to the Eritrean Defense Forces so that we gain their support. On the other hand, those high ranking officers of the military and members of the PFDJ leadership, who have been instruments of the regime, will be brought to justice.

**On the question of headquarters/base:** Our designated headquarters is our beloved homeland. But, depending on security circumstances, we will have no prejudice to locations which do not undermine or contradict our declared objectives.

**On the peaceful means of struggle:** We stand and believe firmly that the PFDJ regime is undemocratic and constitutes a dictatorship. Such a regime, with its systemic failures, is not open to dialogue or any peaceful means of negotiation. Our movement is in search of a peaceful means of struggle, but at the same time, we are cognizant of the reality that the only option left for our people is to rise up with arms and free ourselves from PFDJ oppression.

**On the opposition groups who believe in peaceful means of struggle:** Our movement does not harbor any animosity towards opposition organizations that believe the PFDJ regime can be removed through peaceful means. The fact that these groups have chosen to oppose the dictatorship means that they are on the side of the Eritrean people. As long as "peaceful means" does not mean collaboration with the regime, we are open to forging a unified opposition. In truth, a formidable joint opposition is the missing piece in the puzzle, and unifying Eritrean opposition forces is our fundamental aim.

**Regional Integration/Cooperation:** Regional cooperation among concerned parties in the region in various spheres of political, social, economic and security institutions should be a contract of mutual understanding between the people of the nations involved. However, our movement foresees that such plans are only feasible when a nation is healthy and free from brutal dictatorship. A nation in darkness, a society that is deprived of its rights is not capable of entertaining such notions. Therefore, at this moment, our movement is not ready to address such abstract, multi-lateral arrangements.

**On the proposal of government in exile:** Even though a government-in-exile can be declared, the facts on the ground always affect the implementation of any such proposal. In the case of Eritrea, this is not feasible because the groundwork—necessary for such a plan to be successful—is not in place. Our opposition has to establish enough diplomatic connections and gain the confidence of the international community as a serious alternative to the current government, in order to receive their support and cooperation. It has to earn the respect and esteem of both regional and broader allies, which is a first step towards obtaining legitimacy. Our movement’s stand on this matter is that the Eritrean opposition needs to mature before shouldering such a responsibility.

**On national reconciliation:** National reconciliation does not mean bringing together political leaders. National reconciliation is a wider citizen-participatory process which is critical to our move towards democratic change. We must also be aware that leaders coming from conflicting political backgrounds could reach a consensus amongst themselves in the name of reconciliation. If there is no citizen-wide involvement in the process, there will be no checks and balances for these leaders, who could themselves evolve into oppressors. On the other hand, we must promote a genuine reconciliation that benefits our people. National reconciliation will focus on the inclusiveness of all citizens of the nation in accessing the opportunities of political empowerment and social advancement. Health, educational, and employment opportunities will be made equally accessible to all citizens without discrimination or prejudice based on class, ethnicity, religion, or gender. In addition, the political power sharing must satisfy every citizen’s desire to be represented in their government. At the deeper level, a democratic culture should flourish and be reflected in the freedom of expression of the individual in all areas of life—including in the media and literary spheres.

**On matters of military intervention:** Our movement firmly opposes foreign unilateral military intervention in Eritrea or any other place for that matter. We do not accept transplanting democracy by this type of military intervention. However this should not be confused with material and training assistance that may be received to support our political programs and principles. We say that the fruits of democracy need to be harvested from a tree that grows in the native soil when it comes to changing one’s government.

## **POLITICAL PROGRAM**

**Nomenclature:** Eritrean Movement for Democratic Governance (EMDG)

**Logo:** to be determined

**Organ/ Website-** “Teleaal.com”: “ተለግል.ኮም” : “انتفض”

**Our goal:** Our main goal is to preserve the Eritrean sovereignty that grew and became reality through the sacrifices of our martyrs. To maintain this national pride from generation to generation, our immediate challenge is to get rid of the tyranny of the PFDJ regime. A regime that forced our youth into endless national service and exile, violated our people’s dignity, disregarded the fact the country’s sovereignty was earned at the expense of precious lives, eroded our people’s values and culture of respect, and put our infant nation in danger in exchange for a selfish and irresponsible grip on power must be uprooted and replaced by a constitutional democratic system. Our goal will be to ensure the establishment of a multi-party system based on democratic principles and institutions abiding by the country’s constitution.

**Democracy:** Our understanding of democracy is based on the belief that the majority rule also signifies an inclusion of the interests of the minority. The resulting government is accountable to all citizens, and not merely to party interests.

**Democratic obligations:**

- Abiding by the power of majority under the rule of law
- Accepting decisions passed by majority vote
- Observance of peaceful elections and transfer of power
- Overall respect and loyalty to the nation's constitution

**Democratic rights:**

- Freedom of demonstration and civic protest
- Freedom of speech and expression
- Freedom of movement
- Freedom of employment
- Freedom of religious worship
- Freedom of assembly
- The right to vote
- The right to legal justice
- The right to gender equality
- The right to work and own property
- The right of free press; the Eritrean constitution will not allow media monopoly by the state.

**Judicial System:** We strongly believe and struggle to establish an independent judicial system free of influence by any branch of government.

**The right of ethnic groups:** Eritrea is a multi-ethnic country. We believe in the equality and rights of every section of the society to live in peace and harmony. This means that we believe in equal distribution of resources, including political power. Distribution of national wealth will have to be executed proportionally to the needs of all ethnic groups. The specific demands of ethnic groups will be resolved through democratic processes administered by the democratically elected members of the Legislative Assembly of the future democratic state of Eritrea.

**The right of religious belief:** Government intervention in religious belief and worship is a violation of human rights and will be considered unconstitutional.

**Economic affairs:**

- All national and public properties confiscated by the present PFDJ regime will be reclaimed by the nation and the public. Unfortunate consequences of the current policy will be subject to compensation and adjustment by lawmakers of the nation
- Eritrean economic policy will be open to free market competition, guarded by legislated regulation where necessary. In addition government guarantees foreign investment agreements between nations and international corporations.

- Investments by citizens will be encouraged. The Eritrean state will demand environmentally safe investments and working conditions
- Progressive tax will be imposed depending on income ceilings
- Researched investments for mutual benefit of foreign capital will be encouraged

**Social affairs:** To ensure democratic progress, at least the following institutions need to be established:

- Educational Institutions
- Employment and Retirement insurance
- Pension System
- Veteran's Affairs
- Governmental and non-governmental organizations to support public needs
- Public and private health institutions
- Sports and cultural centers
- Women and youth rehabilitation and support centers
- Child support centers
- Trade unions, etc...

**National security affairs:** To guarantee public safety and develop confidence in the police and the army, the Eritrean state will set up educational requirements in addition to further arrangements of professional training. The following will form the pillars of our national security.

- Police
- Military
- National Reserve Forces
- Productive national service units

**Foreign policy:** In our contemporary global economy, no nation can stand and develop independent of regional and international cooperation. The Eritrean nation will be committed to laying all necessary political, social and economic foundations for cooperation based on a broad understanding of global affairs. Thus, we will develop:

- A policy of non-intervention that promotes relations of respect and peaceful co-operation between nations
- Respect international treaties and institutions that Eritrea is signatory to.

**N.B.:** The program of our movement (EMDG) is summarized above. We recognize that there will be no easy way or short cuts to achieve our objectives. However, it is our unwavering belief that only the power of the Eritrean people will make the difference. We also believe that our movement is an essential instrument in bringing about the change stated in our political vision and program. On this day, we call upon all concerned Eritreans to come together and join hands for democratic change. We welcome others to join our movement, and our program is flexible enough to accommodate broader concerns.

**Victory to Democratic Governance!**

**Eritrean Movement for Democratic Governance (EMDG)**

**May 8-10, 2009**

*Arabic Version Soon to follow*

Victory to our people

EMDG

January 1, 2010

HYPERLINK "<mailto:emdg2008@gmail.com>"[emdg2008@gmail.com](mailto:emdg2008@gmail.com)