

# The venomous despot **DIA** and The “**Kagnew Station CIA**” Connection



*Kagnew Station “Main Gate” - Asmara*

In the cold war environment of the 1950s, the Ethiopians had Western political support for the consolidation of their control over Eritrea, which given its location on the Red Sea was of strategic interest to the Americans.

During the Cold War period between the Western Bloc led by USA and Western Europe and the Eastern Bloc led by the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the world witnessed deadly wars and competition between the two blocs to exert their control over the world. During the process of Cold War competition, many wars were fought and many countries were the stages of their wars the result being the world being divided between East and West or being one of their satellites revolving around them. Eritrea, and specifically Asmara was an ideal place due to its altitude and location to be used as a Radio operating site by the USA to spy on the Soviet Union communications.

In March 1941 Roosevelt administration declared Ethiopia eligible for the military aid program known as the **Lend-Lease** program. This was done to support the British troops in Libya and

Egypt which were fighting Germany's Afrika Korps. The focus of the lend-lease program was in Eritrea, a former Italian colony which strategically bordered the Red Sea.

British forces had established a communications base at the former Italian radio communications base named called **Radio Marina**, which was located in Asmara, Eritrea. The British used the former Italian name for the base, Radio Marina. The United States received access to the base from the British beginning in 1942. The United States would initially call the former Radio Marina the "Asmara Barracks," but the name "Radio Marina" would become the more enduring name for the base until the base was officially named "**Kagnew Station**."

**Kagnew Station** was a United States Army installation in Asmara, Eritrea on the Horn of Africa. The installation was established in 1943 as a U.S. Army radio station, taking over and refurbishing a pre-existing Italian naval radio station (Radio Marina), after Italian forces based in Asmara surrendered to the Allies in 1941. Kagnew Station operated until April 29, 1977, when the last Americans left.

The station was home to the United States Army's 4th Detachment of the Second Signal Service Battalion. The Cold War listening station, Kagnew Station, was located nearly on the equator and at an altitude of 7,300 feet (2,200 m) above sea level. Its altitude and close proximity to the equator made Kagnew Station an ideal site for the Cold War listening station's dishes and the 2,500-acre (10 km<sup>2</sup>) antenna farm. In all Kagnew sprawled over 3,400 acres (14 km<sup>2</sup>) containing eight fenced or walled tracts. Kagnew Station became home for over 5,000 American citizens at a time during its peak years of operation during the 1960s.

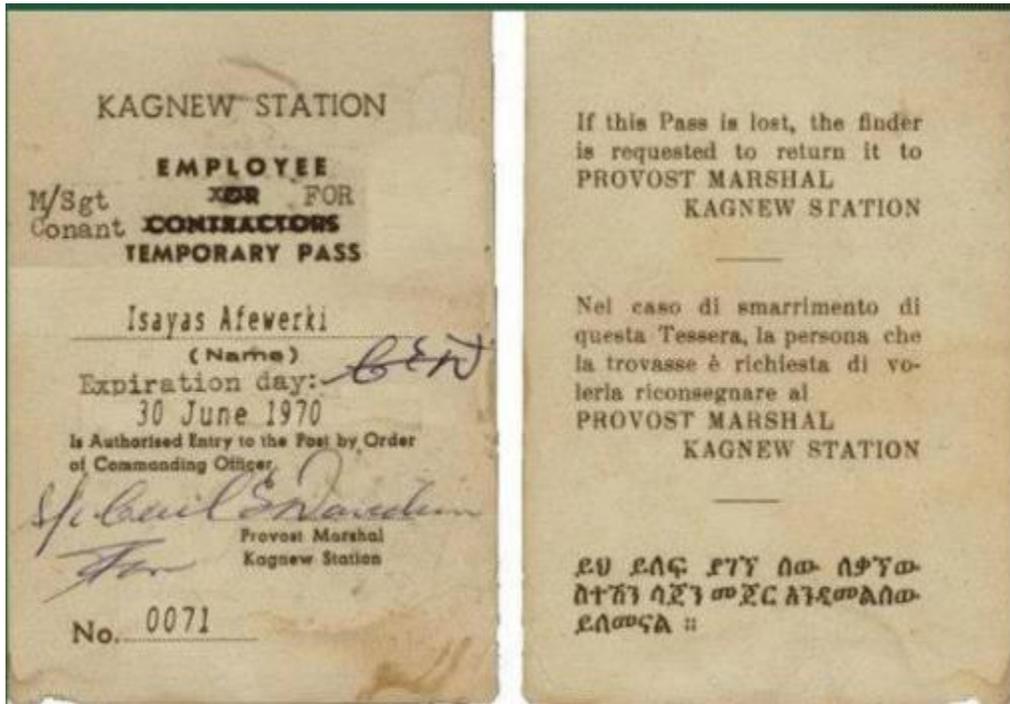
After the war (WWII), the United Nations conducted a lengthy inquiry regarding the status of Eritrea, with the superpowers each vying for a stake in the state's future. Britain, the last administrator at the time, put forth the suggestion to partition Eritrea between Sudan and Ethiopia, separating Christians and Muslims. The idea was instantly rejected by all Eritrean political parties as well as the UN.

The United States point of view was expressed by its then chief foreign policy advisor John Foster Dulles who said:

*“From the point of view of justice, the opinions of the Eritrean people must receive consideration. Nevertheless, the strategic interests of the United States in the Red Sea Basin and considerations of security and world peace make it necessary that the country [Eritrea] be linked with our ally, Ethiopia.”* John Foster Dulles, 1952

*(Source: Heiden, Linda (June 1978 1979). "The Eritrean Struggle for Independence". Monthly Review 30 (2): 15.)*

## Issays's hypocrisy concerning Anti-Americanism and CIA



By: **Resoum Kidane**

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One of the political deceptions which the public should know about is Issays's hypocritical anti-Americanism. The story of Issays's connection with the CIA goes back to April 1970 and to the Kagnev, US. base in Asmara.

Issays managed to keep this a secret for nearly 30 years, from 1971 to 2001, by covering up and systematically eliminating key figures who knew about the meeting between him and CIA at Kagnev Station. However, in the era of Internet nothing can be kept secret, and the true story has been published online by [Hagos Woldu](#) in 2003, [Alem Tesfay](#) in 2004, [Woldeyesus Ammar](#) in 2004, [Oqabanquel Tesfatsion](#) in 2007, [Aida Kidane](#) in 2007 and [Ruth Habtemariam](#) in 2008. In connection with this story, Alem Tesfay in 2004 explained the cause of Abrham Twoldeo death which is still secret, in the following words:

[After Issays came back to the Ala groups](#) from the meeting he held with members of the CIA, he decided to split from the ELF. Because of this there was an argument with Abrham Twoldeo who was against splitting from the ELF, and over the talks with the Americans and the Ethiopians. After one month of arguments between them Abrham Twoldeo died(1) suddenly on 17 May 1970, which is still a secret for most of us." Concerning this Erlich (1988: 97), states that

one of Issays's main rivals in the rebel movement was poisoned to death. After Abrham Twoldeo death, Issays succeeded to the leadership of the group and then he took steps to split from the ELF.

Regarding the story linking Issays and the CIA, most of the EPLF fighters who joined the Front in mid 1970s didn't know about the secret meeting. And it would never have crossed their minds because there was a lot of campaigning against Imperialism and the CIA within the Front. The author of this paper still recalls when young students from Petogo in Asmara who joined the Front were accused of being CIA agents, and they were forced to confess in our presence that they were sent by the CIA. It was also intended to convince the new recruited fighters that the rumour disseminated by the ELF about the above meeting was groundless. It was designed by Issays to serve as an excuse for liquidating anyone who was a threat to his power during the period of the Menkaa movement. The Issays group spread the rumour that there were up to one hundred and fifty CIA agents within the movement (Megiesteab Kidane 2005:49). For example Tewelde Tesfamariam, who joined from Hamburg in 1972, was wrongly killed as a CIA spy.

It was Tesfamichael Giorgio who first broke the news about the Kagnew deal in the Eritrea Liberation Front. He also presented a paper at the Massawa Symposium 'Secessionists and CIA Connection' in 1982. This paper is available for public reference from: [www.ehrea.org/TesfaMikegiorgioAmarina.pdf](http://www.ehrea.org/TesfaMikegiorgioAmarina.pdf). It gives full coverage to the entire story and should be recommended reading for everyone.

"At the end of the meeting, the negotiators went to Kagnew for dinner. Essayas and Wodi Giorgio spent the night at Copland's residence. The next day, Essayas and Wodi Giorgio were taken out of Kagnew Station in a Cadillac car driven by Copland himself, with curtains drawn, and flying the US flag". Excerpt from [Revisiting the Kagnew Station Incident](#). Amar(2004)

Amar(2004) states that Wodi Giorg , who was at the meeting with Issays and Col. Mamuzer Copland on 2 July 1970(note), had an interview with the local press in Addis which appeared in an Amharic newspaper called "Senay", volume 1 number 3 of February 1993. A short while later, Wodi Giorgio was shot dead in front of his Addis Ababa house in order to keep the meeting secret.

Others who knew about the meeting at Kagnew Station, [Habteselassie Ghebremedhin](#) and [Tweldeo Iyob](#) were killed on the pretext of Menka; and [Solomon Woldemariam](#) and [Haile Jebah](#) also were killed on the pretext of the conflict with Yemen. The remaining founder of Self Nistnet who knew the story, namely Weldemichael Haile (note) was killed shortly after the victory of Segeneti in 1977 by an unidentified gunman. Tesfa Ytbark and Beraki were killed in the battlefield. The only survivor from the founders of Self Nitsnet was Asmerom, who has never wished to tell this secret to the public out of loyalty to Issays. Both [Mesfin Hagos](#) and [Abdella Adem](#) who were members of the Central Committee knew this story but since both collaborated

with Issays in crimes against innocent fighters in the 1970s, I doubt that they will ever publicly tell the truth. Only [Haile Menkeros](#), who taught foundation politics to the new recruits at Beleqet military training camp in 1975, when the fighters were accused of being CIA agents could inform the public. He was also Ambassador to Ethiopia in 1993 at the time when Tesfamichael Giorgio was assassinated by the EPLF security. He arranged to return the body of Tesfamichael from Addis Ababa to Asmara.



[Tesfa Mikel Giorgio](#)

By and large, the Front systematically eliminated thousands of new recruits from among [progressive Eritrean students](#) under various pretexts in the 1970s., in contradiction to Issays's proclaimed anti- Imperialism. This was well documented by historians and journalists who were experts in the Eritrean liberation struggle. According to Dan Connell (2003:271) in the 1970s. Issays insisted that American imperialism has been our enemy, is our enemy and will remain our enemy as long as it exists as an imperialist force in the world. Furthermore, in his 1984 interview with Adulis he also called the U.S an imperialist power which had exerted considerable pressure to destroy the Eritrean Revolution ( Adulis, 1984).

But, unexpectedly he ceased to call the US an Imperialist power. An example of this was a 1986 interview in which he criticised the US policy in the Horn of Africa without calling the US either imperialist or an enemy of the Eritrea people. He simply claimed that “ a political solution to the Eritrean problem remained a secondary issue to the U.S. administration”(Levit, 1986). This occurred when he emerged as leader from the mid 1980s through eliminating his challengers (example [Ibrahim Afa](#) in 1985),

This was an attempt to revitalise his relationship with the USA which he had already established in 1970 . Indeed in the 1980s his relationship with the U.S improved, and he was invited for lunch with a senior member of the Bush Administration during the Atlanta meeting, 1989. Also he was invited to address a seminar at the Brookings Institution (Perlez 1990 ). Shortly after liberation, 1991, Issays chose to ally himself with the United States and Israel rather than have relations with liberation movements, despite this being in contradiction to what the EPLF had taught its members in the 1970s. This stance greatly contributed to enhancing his relations with

the Bush Administration which had led to the opening of the Israel embassy on March 15, 1993. This followed Issays being flown to Israel for medical treatment in 1993 ( Muhammed, 2003)

Throughout the 1990s America considered that "Issays was one of the new generation" of African leaders who could preserve the USA interests there, through protecting Israel's regional security, and combating the extremist regime in Sudan. The first step by the Eritrean government was to accuse Turabi of helping the Jihad in Eritrea, Ittihad in Somalia, and the Oromos in Ethiopia.(The Middle East magazine, 1995) Consequently, the Islamist regime in Khartoum began to distance itself from Eritrea and in 1995, the tension between Khartoum and the Asmara government grew worse, leading to the closing of the Sudanese Embassy in Asmara.

In relation to the above, during Issays official visit to Washington in 1995, there was an agreement between Isaias Afeworki and Washington that the Eritrean military would be trained in US army camps This was in line with the aim to overthrow the Sudanese government. Ruth Simon (1997) reported that Eritrean soldiers fought alongside rebels in neighbouring Sudan. The escalation of tensions between the Sudanese and Eritrean governments served to strengthen U.S –Eritrean relations. On 4 May 1997, it was announced that the US was providing as much as \$20 million in military supplies to the country (Timeline). This was due to the agreement reached between Issays Afework and Washington in 1995, and also to his great contribution in Laurent Kabila replacing Mobutu in Congo.

After a year of the military assistance from the USA, Issays, to ensure his hegemony in the region, ordered the Eritrea Defence Force to occupy Badema on 8 May 1998, which caused the Ethiopian –Eritrean 1998-2000 border war.

Despite the fact that Issays provoked the border conflict in May 1998, the following year he [received honours from a US group](#) for his leadership skills to end hunger, war and poverty (Visafrica, 1999). This was despite the fact that his conduct had opposed development, prosperity and peace by refusing to accept the U.S-Rwanda peace plan. He had rejected it on the grounds that Eritrea didn't have to raise its hands in surrender, indicating that he was not willing to end the war through peaceful dialogue. Thereafter, in 2001 he accused a member of the national assembly, who wrote a letter to him advising that Eritrea should accept the U.S-Rwanda peace plan, of being recruited by the CIA, a cover up for his humiliating defeat in the 1998-2000 border war.

Issays also accused the Central Intelligence Agency and the US envoy to Eritrea-Ethiopia, Anthony Lake, of plotting to overthrow him in 2000 (Gedab 2006) .Regardless of this accusation and the Government's poor human rights record which was reported by the State Department, in May 2002, National Security Adviser, Condoleezza Rice, made clear that, in the event that Eritrean extremists were to overthrow the regime, the US would be compelled to opt for the

“lesser evil” and would defend Issays’s presidency in order to prevent the possibility of Eritrea becoming a menace to Israel( Mengesteab Kidane 2005: 181)

Furthermore, when the U.S. secretary of defence Donald Rumsfeld visited Eritrea in December, 2002 he was asked about Eritrea’s abysmal press freedom record. Instead of condemning Afeworki as one of Africa’s most brutal rulers, he answered: “it is a sovereign nation, and they arrange themselves and deal with their problems in ways that they feel are appropriate to them.” (News Transcript , 2002)



These two "pleasant" people are, from left to right, Donald Rumsfeld and Issays Afeworki, actual Eritrean dictator: they are shaking hands with great affection. ([source](#) ).[Rumsfeld: My goodness Mr. President I expected to hear some words from you.President: I will go right after you.](#)

Despite the fact that there had been little criticism from the US, in 2007 Issays tried again to divert the attention of the international community from his dictatorial rule and internal problems by portraying the US as the "historic enemy of Eritrea". This contradicted what happened five years earlier when he had asked the US to set up a military base. Regarding this Kidane, Megisteab(2005:181) added that Issays’s offer to devote Eritrea’s scare resources to help America fight global terrorism, at a time when other countries in the region were working hard to use their geopolitical position as a leverage to squeeze more American aid, simply exposed Issays’s utter desperation to secure the regime preservation with U.S military patronage.

However, in 2007, only a year after he had tried to become a major ally in the US-led "war against terrorism", Issays made a u-turn, branding the US as the "historic enemy" of Eritrea, alleging it to be behind its conflict with Ethiopia,” (afrol News, 2008)

Regarding this Analysts stated: “Eritrea has in a matter of years gone from being a U.S. ally to a frontman for rival interests from Muslim north Africa and the Middle East” (Kimbal, 2006)

The US-Eritrean relationship has deteriorated not because the Issays regime is a dictatorship but because the United States has supported Ethiopian intervention and helped the Somali interim government. On the other hand the Eritrean government supported the Islamist insurgents in Somalia, which was in contradiction to Issays's earlier attitude toward Islamist extremism.

Issays has accused the US of an unjust and unfriendly policy in the Horn of Africa in 2007, he has never been a principled opponent of the U.S. In early 2008, during talks with US Congressman Donald Payne, he illustrated his hypocrisy by saying: "[Eritrea wishes to improve its relations with the U.S](#)"

In general, his hypocrisy of being Anti-American has existed for the last 40 years, and includes branding the US as the "historic enemy of the Eritrean people to manipulate and divert Eritreans from thinking about justice and democracy and to get support from them when he planned to crush dissidents.

In fact he has [betrayed the Eritrean people](#), more than anyone else since he has never wished to see a [bright future for the younger generation](#) of Eritrea. He has killed thousands of innocent young fighters under different pretexts accusing them of spying. His attitude towards the Eritrean people is no different from the former governor of Eritrea, [Ras Asrate Kassa](#) who said that he would leave Eritrea as bare as his bald head in 1967, just 40 years ago. Issays has still a desire for what he had in the mid-1990s to form a confederation between Eritrea and Ethiopia and to become the head of both states. Since he has this dream he has currently chosen to be allied with Kinjet (an Ethiopia opposition party which has never accepted the independence of Eritrea) in order to recreate a Greater Ethiopia.

In connection to his hypocrisy, the following questions should be raised:

1. Was the systematic purging of progressive fighters in 1970s related to the meeting between Issays and Col. Mamuzer. Copland on 2 July 1970?

One of the points in that meeting was Self Nitsnet (the new force which was founded by Issays after the death of Abrham Twoldeo who had been against the talks with the CIA at Kagnew Station) This organisation worked strongly against communist and socialist influences within the front. By the mid 1980s the front gradually abandoned its leftist outlook.

Issayas accomplished his task 10 years after his contact with the CIA in the 1980s through eliminating thousands of [progressive intellectual fighters](#) of the EPLF who had been Marxists. Issayas, was able to say in 1989: "[I don't think there is even a trace of Leninist-style structure in the EPLF now](#)".(Perlez 1990)

To find information about those who were executed in the 1970s by the Front and mentioned by Mengeisteab Kidane(2005:50) please visit this [web page](#).

2. Rumours were spread in the Menkaa movement, in the 1970s, accusing progressive fighters of being CIA recruits and this tactic was repeated in 2001. Why does Issays always accuse his challengers of being CIA agents ? Is he trying to cover up his 1970 secret meeting with the CIA?

3. How is one to explain the recent antagonistic relationship of Issays with the US? Is it going to develop a new anti-US relationship or is it mere demagoguery.

In conclusion, the author appeals for the second time to all former members of the EPLF who survived the war, especially those who were in the Central Committee between 1977-1987 (Abdella Adem, Haile Menkerios, Mesfin Hagos and Andebrhan Wolde Giorgis ) and other senior post holders, especially members of the 72 ( the EPLF Intelligent Centre ) to tell the public the truth about the EPLF leadership's crimes against innocent fighters. They should also break their silence about what they knew, concerning the conspiracy by Issays against the interest of the Eritrean people during their liberation struggle, and after liberation especially regarding to the proposal for the establishment of a confederation between Eritrea and Ethiopia and [the development of relations between Israel and Eritrea](#). This had been a surprise for most EPLF fighters in 1993.

Note 1.

አይ ኤይ) ክሕገዙ ክጽዕር ጀመረ። ብወገን ሽማግሌ (ሲ አይ ኤይ) ንሃብተስላሴ ገብረመስቀል ብዙብ ግምት አየንበርሉን ምክንያቱ ውግዳዊ ሓልፍነት ስለ ዘይነበሮ እዩ። ስለዚ ምስ ሓላፍነቱ አባል ቅያይል ዓማ ኢሳያስ አፈወርቂ ኮራኽቦም ሓተትዎ። ብዕለት 2 ሓምለ 1970 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ኢሳያስ አፈወርቂ ምስ ተስፋ-ሚካኤል ጆርጅ ናብ አስመራ ብምእታው ኣብ (ሳን ፍራንቸስኮ) ክባቢ (አልፋ ሮመዮ) ምስ ሚስተር ቦውሊንግ ሂነሪን፣ ርቻርድ ኮፕላንድን፣ ሂው ሪቻርድ ወልሰን ዝበሃሉ አባላት (ሲ አይ ኤይ) ተራኽቦ። ኣብቲ ርክባት ኣብዚ ዝሰዕብ መሳግምዒ ነጥብታት በጽሑ።

- 1) ነቲ ሓይሊ ክርስትያን ደቂ ከበሳ ሽክጉብዝ ዘድልዮ ሎጂካዊ ቀረባት ካብ (ሲ አይ ኤይ) ክምወል።
- 2) እዚ ሓይሊ እዚ ን ተ-ሓ-ኤ ክቃወምን ክጽንትን ክጽዕት።
- 3) አንጻር ዴሰነትን ጽልውኡን ከጥፍእ ክቃላስ።
- 4) ካብ ሕቅፊን ሓገዝን አዕራብን ምብራቓዊ (ዴሳዊ ዓለም) ክርሕቕ ከም ዘለዎ።

ብወገን ኢሳያስ አፈወርቂ ህጹጽ ጠለብ አጽዋር መካላኸሊ ነብስና የድልዮና ስለ ዘለዎ ክዋሃበና አለዎ ቀዳምነት ዝብል ጠለብ ስለ ዝነበሮ ብኸመይ መንገዲ ኣብ ዝሓጸረ ጊዜ ከም ትረኽቡ ክንገብር ኢና ዝብል መልሲ ተዋሂቡዎ ንዕላኡ ተመለሰ። ኢሳያስ ንዓላ ምስ ተመለሰ ብዕሊ ካብ ተ-ሓ-ኤ ክንፍለ አለዎና በለ። ኣብርሃም ተወልደ ድማ ብኸቢድ ተቓወመ፣ ድኸሪ ሓደ ወርሒ ኣብ መንጎ ክሊቲአም ክትዕ ብዕለት 17 ግንቦት 1970 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ኣብርሃም ተወልደ ብሃንደበታዊ ዘይተፈለጠ ናይ ሓጺር ስዓታት ሕግም ሞተ።

(ይኹን እምበር ተማሳሳይ ታሪኽ ዝትንትኖ እምነትን ድሌትን ኣብርሃም ተወልደ ቀድማይ ምስታ ብኢትዮጵያ ትልእኽ ዝነበርት ጉጅለ ርክባት ክቋረጽ ካልአይ ነቲ አመንጎ እተን ጉጅለትታ ዝነበረ ዘይምርድድእ ብጉባኤ መልክዕ መፍትሒ ክርከበሉ ዝብል ርእይቶ ምስ ኢሳያስ ስለ ዘጋርጨዎም ነዊሕ ከይጸነሑ ብመርዚ ተቐቲሉ

1. ዝብሃል ጽንጽንታ ይሰማዕ)።

Excerpt from [Kab Mezgeb Tarich by Alem Tesfay](#)

መሪሕነት ሻዕቢያ ግና ብንግሆኡ ብሰለይቲ ዝቐመ ኤርትራን ህዝባን ከጥፍእ ዝዓለመ ተብግሶ ኣዩ ነቢርዎ፡ ክሳብ ሕጂ እውን ተልእኾኡ ክቐጽል ንርእዮ ኣለዎና። መን ኢዮም ልኣኽቶም ንክንፈልጥ ግና፡ እቶም ንተስፋሚካኤል ጆርጅ ኣብ ጀብሃ ኢንተርቪው ዘግበርዎ ክትሓባቡና እልምን። ወያነ ትግራይ እውን፡ ኣዲስ ኣበባ ምስሓዙ ዝረኸብዎ ፍልጠት ይህልዎም ይኸውን ቢለ ይግምት። ኣነ ብወገነይ ግና እቶም ንኢሳይስ ዝልኣኹ ንዕንወት ኤርትራን ኢትዮጵያን ዝተግጠቑ ነዊሕ ስትራቴጂ ዘለዎም ሓይልታት ኢዮም ዝብል እምነት ኣለዎኒ። ምክንያቱ ኣብ መጀመርታ ግዜ እኪ መሪሕነት ሻዕቢያ ምስ ኮማንዶስ ትሓባቢና ንጀብሃ ከጥፍእ ቢለዎም፡ ኢትዮጵያ ልኣኽኦም ይኸኑ። ድሓር ግና ንሱ ዝያዳ ዝኸፍልዎ ረኪቡ ይኸውን። ምናልባት እውን ሳጽናኤል ስጋ ኢሳይስ ለቢሱ ንኤርትራ መደበና ክትከውን መሪጹዎ ይኸውን። በጃካትኩም ንተስፋሚካኤል ጆርጅ ኣብ ጀብሃ ኢንተርቪው ዘግበርኩዎ ኣብ ኢንተርኔት ዘርግእኩዎ።

[source](#) ከብ ሓለዎ-ሰውራ ብትኣምራት ተረፍኩ

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# EPLF: THE MOTHER OF ALL CIA POLITICAL SURROGATES IN ETHIOPIA - HOW RICHARD COPELAND (MILES COPELAND) OF THE CIA RECRUITED ISSAYAS AFEWORK: 1969

*As told by: Tesfa Mikael Giorgio*



Tesfa Mikel Giorgio

*(Senai magazine, Addis Ababa, February 1985 Eth.cal (1993) translated by us from the Amharic, and annotated)*

Before delving into the subject matter, we would like to say a few words about the CIA. Established in 1947, the CIA is the American spying agency in foreign lands with the objective of advancing the national interests of the United States. Similar to its rival the Soviet KGB, the CIA has been deeply engaged and has to a large extent met the responsibility entrusted to it.

This spy agency has been engaged since its establishment in 1947, in three principal areas it has been particularly successful in secret political infiltration and psychological warfare in foreign lands through the use of force and secret plots. Given American focus on fighting socialism, the CIA has been particularly active in infiltrating and plotting to overthrow socialist regimes, and designating in its place a puppet regime which it can manipulate as desired. Where it has not succeeded to overthrow a given regime through infiltration and secret plotting, America does not hesitate to intervene militarily and designate a puppet regime. All this is carried out in the name of “democracy and human rights”

It was thus that (in 1969) the CIA had launched a secret operation known by the code name of “**seed planting project**” (nursery), at Kagnew military base (near Asmara). At that date the United States had completely lost faith in Haile Selassie’s government. This CIA project was therefore intended to prepare an alternative means to defend American interests in the Red Sea and the Horn of Africa. And this alternative was plotting against and sabotaging Ethiopian unity, in collaboration with Ato Issays Afeework. This account may not be trusted by our readers. And yet this account is the truth as told by no other than **Tesfa Mikael Giorgio**, then a governor of a district in Eritrea, who had

participated in the negotiations at Kagnew between the CIA and Issayas Afework. America was alerted that her position in the Red Sea and the Horn of Africa was facing danger when she realized that a guerrilla organization called Jebha ( ELF, Eritrean Liberation Front) supported by closely allied Arab countries was gaining fame through its military campaigns in the Eritrean lowlands, while the Government of Haile Selassie battered from various angles was shaking unable to stand on its feet. The United States Government was worried that if the situation continued in this way, Eritrea and the Red Sea will fall under the control of extremist Arab countries (allied to the Soviet Union), while Haile Selassie's government will be overthrown and replaced by a socialist regime.

**(Our Note:**

*More importantly, due to PLO training and advice (and also due to the provision of arms and finances by Libya, the Sudan, South Yemen, and others ...the establishment of the PLF marked an important turning point. Until then, for instance, Eritrea fighters had rarely used mines and explosives...By 1969 the number of Eritrea's who had received training abroad (including Cuba, China) in advanced guerrilla tactics had increased considerably. With their new method and weapons the Eritreans began executing spectacular acts of sabotage and terrorism, including hijacking of planes, kidnapping of foreign diplomats, blowing up of bridges in front of cameras and ambushing and assassinating Ethiopian functionaries and collaborators **Hagai Erlich**, "The struggle over Eritrea", 1983 p.28).*

That is the background to the CIA secret operation known by the secret code of "seed planting project." And indeed the CIA has been able to anticipate and avoid a planned attack by the Palestinian organization known as "Black September" against the American bases in Asmara and Gura.

Once the project was launched the CIA and top officials of Kagnew were busy recruiting intellectuals and young Eritreans coming to relax at the "Top Five" and Golf Club in Asmara. Their spying infiltration activities convinced the CIA more and more that Haile Selassie's government, faced with both civilian and military opposition, could not last long, while on the other hand, the Eritrean guerrilla organization – the ELF – active in the Eritrean deserts, faced equally strong (*mainly Christian*) opposition whom it hunted down and eliminated physically(*see note below*). Among the Eritrean groups opposed to the ELF was Issayas Afework's "Selfi Natsnet"

**(Our Note:** *Kidane Kinfu had been sent as of 1965 by the ELF to recruit Addis Ababa University students for the ELF and sow the seed of student revolt against the government of Haile Selassie Government. "Eritreans at Addis Ababa university distinguished themselves by their political activism, and their immersion in the radical ideological currents that were beginning to surge in Ethiopian student circles in the mid 1960's (Markakis, "National and Class Conflict in the Horn" –1985, p119).*

*By coincidence or by design, the Ethiopian student revolt had also started in 1965: And that is where the future leaders of the EPLF, including perhaps Issayas, were recruited.*

*It is difficult to imagine that Kidane Kiflu entered Ethiopia and carried out his mission of recruitment and inciting revolt without attracting the attention of the Ethiopian security. We could imagine on the other hand, that he too was a CIA agent inside the ELF. Indeed given CIA expertise in destroying unwanted opposition parties through infiltration, and through the creation of parallel organizations, it has, either directly or indirectly, through Saudi Arabia and conservative Iraq, infiltrated the ELF Muslim leadership of the western Muslim lowlands, with its well-known divide and rule objective on religious and linguistic lines (Arab versus Tigrigna ). Although strongly resented by the Christian highlanders, Arabic was the official language of the ELF. Its literature was written in that language, and Arab nomenclature was adopted within the front, such as Jebha, and Shaabia. All that contributed to the Muslim-Christian contradictions. It is to such contradictions of divide and rule methods that the continuous massacre of Christian members within the ELF has been attributed. The creation of religious and linguistic zones similar to our “kilel” of today enforced by the conservative elements within the ELF and which had incited strong opposition among particularly the Christian highlanders, may also be attributed to such “divide and rule” anti-unity external infiltration. So also Ethiopia, certainly in collaboration with the CIA appears to have been engaged in secret contacts with the ELF:*

*Indeed about September 1969, that is a few weeks before the CIA story we are recounting here, “the leaders of the western regions were in constant touch with Idris (Mohamed) Adam (one time ELF Chairman and conservative element) were negotiating a deal with the Ethiopians in which the ELF would stop disturbing communications with the ports of Massawa and Assab in exchange for a free hand in the west (along the Sudan border. Mohamed (Ahmed )Abdu (member of the General command formed by the Adobha congress of August 1969) was accused of negotiating to this effect with the U.S consul in Asmara , Murray Jackson. The chief advisors of Eritrea’s Ethiopian Governor, Ras Asrate Kassa – namely , Tesfa Yohannes Berhe, Hamid Faraj, and Muhammad Umar Qadi – were to be in contact with members of the General command. In fact, sometime in early 1970, (1969?) the Ethiopian Ras clandestinely to a remote town near the Sudanese border to discuss the matter with Idris Adam” (Hagai Erlich , “The Struggle over Eritrea : 1962-1978 (Hoover Institution publication , 1983).*

*Issayas Afework was born in 1944 (Hagai says 1946, op.cit. p.29) in the Christian highlands of Hamassein, and is of Tigrai origin on the side of his mother who was a native of ancient and historic Yeha in the Adowa region. Dejach Solomon, one time Assistant Minister of Interior, and later Governor of Wollo was his uncle. Issayas had joined the ELF in 1967 (Markakis., op.cit p.286, says 1966) after dropping out from the Engineering college in Addis Ababa university.*

*Indeed in 1967, the Supreme Council of the ELF had sent him to Maoist China where he received a six-month military training, a strange opportunity for a newly recruited Christian element in the largely conservative Muslim leadership drawn from the Western lowlands and conservative ELF.*

*Hagai Erlich's story regarding the early days of Issayas in relation with the Italian half-cast Dr. Biasolo is false in some ways. Hagai writes, ("The struggle over Eritrea", 1983, p.29) of the school teacher Issayas who "as a youngster had been influenced by a Marxist-oriented economist from Asmara, Dr. Biasolo, a half-caste businessman". I have known Dr. Biasolo in Rome where he lived in exile under the Derg. He was not a Marxist. On the contrary he was very close to the Ethiopian leadership of the EPDA organized and financed by the CIA. One may therefore conclude that he might have been in those days in Asmara in the 1960's and early 1970's among the CIA collaborators, all, including Issayas – posing under the cover and cloak of Marxism. With the rise to power of Issayas, Dr. Biasolo who has been promised to regain the property of his house, has returned to Asmara.*

*In 1969 Kidane Kinfu would be assassinated in Kasala, at the height of an anti-Christian Hysteria among the Western Eritrea ELF Muslim leaders, apparently on suspicion of being a spy of the Addis Ababa Government. Several hundred Christians were thus executed accused of being spies of the imperial government. see John Markakis, op.cit p.120, 126. 127*

*For the Christian Eritreans then concentrated in the former "fifth" Christian zone reserved for fighters from the highlands of Serae, Hamasein and Akele Guzai, and "particularly for the radical former (Addis Ababa university) student contingent, this was the last straw. Some abandoned the movement entirely.; others fled to the Sudan. Others in the former "fifth zone" split and headed for a place called Ala on the eastern edge of the escarpment in Akele Guzai to join Abraham Tewolde, the former commander of the "fifth Christian zone". Among them was Issayas Afework the former political commissar of this zone." (Markakis,, National and Class conflict p.127).*

*It appears that Issayas group was initially (about this date) was no more than eleven.(Tesfa Tsion Medhanie, op. cit p. 35)*

***One other important point that has to be raised in relation with Issayas' membership of the ELF is that, as we now discover, justifying ELF suspicion, Issayas was indeed one of the spies in the service of the Ethiopian government paid to infiltrate the ELF and inform Addis Ababa. In fact, in an interview with the magazine "Menelik" (March 2001), General Daniel Menghistu, head of External intelligence Service at the Emperor's cabinet. As the General himself tells us their job was different from the internal security organization. Their job was to spy on anti Ethiopian and anti-Government activities on the part of our Arab neighbors inside Eritrea and Somalia, as well as to spy on Soviet Communist activities in Ethiopia, and protect the person of the Emperor while travelling abroad.. The General tells us that the Foreign Intelligence Service was working in close co-operation with the "our allies", and particularly, the CIA who helped them in the fights of what was considered the "principal enemy", i.e. the Soviet Union and Soviet Communism.:***

**“Paul Henze was our advisor for 27 months (1969-1972)”** the general tells us. Paul Henze was “advising” So Ethiopia while Issayas was plotting with Richard Copeland in Asmara to break Eritrea and dismember Ethiopia! It is no secret that the Ethiopian security was organized by the CIA and Monad , and may indeed be considered , under Haile Selassie , like the Savak of the Shah of Iran, an international branch of the CIA. General Daniel tells us that although the Eritrean secessionist movement led by the ELF was infinitely small and did not mobilize more than 2000 followers they kept close watch on its movements, through spies that had infiltrated the organization..

**“And one of these was Issayas Afework whom they had recruited to follow the Eritrean situation and report to them. It was precisely for that purpose that he was sent to join the ELF ”** Issayas was financed and equipped with all that he needed by Ras Asrate kassa ( the Emperor’s Enderasse – Governor – 1964-1970.) **Our agent in the Sudan was also co-coordinating the activities of our spies in the infiltration of the ELF. Our spies were largely Christians as they Christian highlanders in Eritrea were afraid of being overwhelmed by the Muslims “.**

*There could be no doubt that both the CIA and the Monad must have known this. The Israelis were since 1965 engaged in the formation of the Nebelbal commando para-military counter-insurgency units to tackle the ELF. in close collaboration with Ras Asrat, must have known this And this might support the suspicion that Issayas was already in contact with the CIA before leaving Addis permanently, and perhaps even as a student at the Engineering College about which certain ELF leaders seem to be convinced. )*

Once the Americans had discovered and identified the persecution suffered by “selfi netsanet” they were convinced that they could use it to fight back against the Muslim ELF and its ally the Palestinian “Black September” which threatened their bases at Asmara and Gura. It was thus that **Richard Copeland** (we believe the true name is the famous CIA agent at this time **Miles Copeland** who recruited Abdel Nasser) of the CIA launched the “seed planting project” and began hunting for members of that organization. Whether Eritrea will break away from Ethiopia , and whether human rights will be respected or not, does not bother American foreign policy. As long as American interests were served they were ready to ally themselves with the devil. And in order not to attract the opposition of the Ethiopian government, Richard Copeland had suggested what he called “Peace Conference” between the Ethiopian government and apparently, the ELF leadership.

*(Our Note: Whether the invitation letter was really sent to the ELF leadership or it was just another CIA ploy of announcing names without actually inviting the person concerned, as would seem most likely in this case, is for the survivors of ELF to tell us .*

A separate letter inviting “Selfi Natsanet” to attend the conference has been written by Dejazmach Gebre Yohannes Tesfa Maryam.. Upon receipt of Selfi Netsanet’s favourable response signed by *Abrham Tewolde (leader of the Ala’ Christian group at that date.)* and Solomon Wolde Maryam addressed to the Ethiopian Government, the date and place of the conference has been fixed. Accordingly a government negotiating committee made up of three representatives, - Lieutenant Colonel Gebre Egzi Abher Mehari, vice commissioner of the Eritrean Police force, and the author of this account , Tesfa Mikael Giorgio, governor of Deqe Mehari , with Dejazmach Gebre Kidan Tessema – judge at the supreme court, as Chairman, was established on Hedar 28, 1962 (November 1969). On 5 Tahsas , the negotiating committee had proceeded to the Ala desert but upon arrival the ELF leaders have not turned up because of the conflict between the two. Waiting for us were only the “Selfi Natsanet” faction of the ELF. Selfi Natsanet had therefore a good opportunity to discuss alone and freely with the Government delegation and meet the American officials at Kagnew. Several suggestions were forwarded by both parties. in the negotiations. The Selfi Natsanet group had requested for arms and material assistance to fight the Muslim ELF, but the government side having declined to meet that request saying they did not want to fuel a religious war among citizens; they had suggested instead to Selfi Natsanet to give their hands to the government and stop fighting. To this Selfi Natsanet having requested to talk to its members for their reaction, requested another appointment and the meeting was adjourned at that. Following this Richard Copeland had asked the author of this story, Tesfa Mikael Giorgio, to arrange a separate meeting between him and the Selfi Natsanet leadership. It was thus that a meeting between Richard Copeland and Habte Selassie Gebre Medhin at Kagnew military base.

At this meeting Copeland had learnt from Habte Selassie many major facts pertinent to his secret plot. He had concluded that it was important to ally himself with his new friends and attack both the Arab supported ELF and Haile Selassie’s government from the back by surprise. He did not mind to see Eritrea disintegrating as long as America’s interests in the Red Sea and Horn of Africa were served.

Habte Selassie briefed Abrham Tewolde and Issayas on his talks with Richard Copeland. He was then sent back to Deqe Mehari to arrange the agenda for the next meeting with Richard Copeland. At the fixed date, Richard Copeland and his friend **Richard Siwelen** had come up with a an arms catalogue in order to further sharpen the desire of Selfi Natsanet leaders, and induce them to accept to serve as American war proxies. At this meeting Richard Copeland appeared most interested to know the contradiction between Selfi Natsanet and the ELF. Richard Copeland was not worried by the secession of Eritrea from Ethiopia but by the influence Islamic fundamentalist with the ELF and the risk of losing the Red Sea to a rival power. Finally Richard Copeland asked Habte Selassie to bring a letter from the Selfi Natsanet leadership officially requesting for military assistance.

Accordingly a letter signed by Issayas Afework was addressed to the head of

Kagnew base **Colonel Mamuzer** with the following requests.

1. Given that the Christian fighters at Ala are daily massacred and slaughtered by the Muslim ELF which obtains massive political and military aid from Arab as well as Indirectly socialist countries.
2. Given that the ELF policy reflects above all Arab policy and is targeted mainly against American and Israeli interests.
3. Given that the political objective of Selfi Natsanet is fundamentally different aiming towards the establishment of a progressive democratic movement. To that end they requested American military assistance.

Selfi Netsanet addressed such letters not only to the United States but to all Western countries stressing always the fact of Arab and socialist assistance to the Muslim ELF. It was clear that the leaders of Selfi Natsanet saw only their rival the ELF whom they wanted to destroy. They did not however consider the danger of allying with imperialist Western powers who at any time could change their position to if they find other more profitable ways for advancing their interests.

After receiving the letter from Ato Issayas the Americans were happy to see that their “seed planting operation “ was advancing successfully. They fixed a budget and started financing the movement. However, as they had to finalize the agreement with Ato Afework, an appointment date was fixed. *(it is instructive that the letter to the CIA was signed by Issayas Afework, and that the CIA specifically ask to talk to Afework and not to the Selfi Natsanet Chairman Abrham Tewolde . In fact Abrham Tewolde would die in what has been described “mysterious circumstances” in reality poisoned by Issayas – prior to the 1st ELF Congress October-November 1971. Issayas will become the top figure –see Tesfa Tsion Medhanie, “Eritrea – Dynamics of a National Question,” p.37)*

On the appointment date, Ato Tesfa Mikael drove to Ala to accompany Ato Afework to Kagnew. The Americans having decided that, for security reasons, it would be better to hold the talks outside Kagnew, the group drove to the house of a security colleague near the Cathedral of St. Francesco at the Residence called Bowling. Richard Copeland had come in company of several American officials for the negotiations with Issayas Afework.

Ato Issayas repeated the request that he had already enumerated in his letter and concluded by asking American assistance. The Americans wanted to hear a clear commitment on the part of Ato Issayas that they will protect all American bases and citizens in Eritrea from terrorist attacks. Ato Issayas promised that he will do everything to protect American interests, but that he did not yet have the force to defend the American bases in Asmara and Gura. The Americans told him indirectly that as they are worried that following the fall of the weakened government of Haile Selassie’s, there might come a military government, unfriendly to the United States, they were ready to ally themselves even with anti-unity secessionist forces. Indeed they stressed the point that they desired to ally themselves with

an anti-socialist force committed to defend the Kagnew base as well as similar other American bases in the Red Sea., and committed to the establishment of a democratic government in Eritrea...

Ato Issayas Afework, not having appreciated the American indirect reference regarding their disinterest for Ethiopian unity, stressed that they wanted full independence and that they will not accept a federal solution that may be proposed by the new government after Haile Selassie. In reply Richard Copeland had assured Issayas that as long American interests were safeguarded., they care less about Ethiopian unity. “ If you satisfy our conditions, and you want independence in return you shall have your independence” Issayas was told. Richard Copeland went indeed further to advice Issayas not to accept the federal solution from a new government. Ato Issayas was further assured that if Selfi Natsanet could succeed in bringing the Red Sea coast under its control, they promised to supply unlimited quantity of arms by sea.

Ato Issayas wanted to know if the Americans were talking serious and asked what guarantee do they have that the Americans will offer what they promise. Richard Copeland Laughingly replied: “Politics is gambling. You want independence . We want our Red Sea position secured and strengthened. That is your guarantee and our guarantee.” And with that the meeting had come to an end. They had then gone to the house of Richard Copeland to drink to the success of the new plot. And there were festivities.

From now on Issayas avoided appearing in company of Richard Copeland and the Kagnew officials in order not to arouse the suspicion of Ethiopian security officials. So in the morning Richard Copeland arrived with an embassy Cadillac flying the American flag, curtained all over, so that no one could see who was inside, and drove out of Kagnew with Richard Copeland in the seat of the driver..

Following this Richard Copeland was busy putting into action his project of alliance with Selfi Natsanet. He had cheated Ras Asrate telling him that his agreement with Selfi Natsanet was only to safeguard American interests from the threats of the Palestinian “Black September”. He had then started bringing in lorries full of arms given to Selfi Natsanet which will soon be a powerful organization challenging the very existence of the ELF, and the unity of Ethiopia and Eritrea.

*(Our note: So while Richard Copeland was recruiting Issayas as a surrogate to fight Ethiopia and break away Eritrea , Paul Henze was “advising” the Emperor’s external intelligence Service, as we have seen above. Further this new agreement being signed between the CIA and Afework to start a new secessionist movement against the ELF was arranged together with Ras Asrat who had attended the meeting. But the fact that Issayas was now being organized also as a Christian secessionist movement to fight Ethiopia must have been opposed by Ras Asrate or it becomes an intriguing issue. Indeed the Emperor will remove Ras Asrate from his post as Governor of Eritrea , the next year , 1970, on account of what some observers*

*attribute to an alleged suspicion that the ambitious Ras was plotting to overthrow him in collaboration with the secessionists, and perhaps also in collaboration with the CIA and Mosad.*

“The Ras’ – political non-military- approach (as opposed to the military approach of Prime Minister Alkali) was dictated by his interest in turning Eritrea into a power base for himself. Ras Asrate concentrated on divisive tactics and on secret efforts to work out a “political solution” with various groups in the Eritrean movement. It seems he had the co-operation of Israeli and American military personnel in Eritrea in this Endeavour” (Tesfa Tsion Medhanie, op. cit p.41)

*What does General Daniel know about this? With this background you can imagine the lives of so many progressive intellectuals lost unable to unmask the true nature of Issayas who will decimate them one after another ( notably the Menkae who were opposed to the regional divide and rule and infighting within the Christian movement –among the Serae, Hamassein and Akle Guzai – once again a CIA ploy of divide and rule used by Issayas and Solomon Wolde Maryam - Tesfa Tsion Medhanie ,op. cit. p. ).*

*You can also imagine all the energy lost in ELF’s attempt to build a united secessionist front with Issayas, until he was strong enough to destroy them completely, and all the Ink lost by so many Western writers who year after year “brandished” the Marxist, “anti-imperialist” Issayas. We are not talking only of paid disinformation agents, but writers and parties who claimed to be Marxists of all colors. End of our note )*

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Various sources indicate that Information regarding the above secret agreement between Richard Copeland and Issayas had soon reached the ELF leadership in its generalities. Tesfa Tsion Medhanie ( Eritrea –Dynamics of a National Question ,p. 41-42) who is not aware of Tesfa Tsion’s story when he published his book in 1986, talks about “Issayas Afeworki’s secret talks with Ethiopia and U.S authorities in the Eritrean capital, Asmara in 1970 (sic)” Tesfa Tsion, in general, a very deep and critical analyst of Ethio-Eritrean affairs, attributes the CIA-Issayas secret agreement to the internal power struggle in Ethiopian politics between **Ras Asrate Kassa** and Prime Minister **Aklilu**. He attributes the secret negotiations to Asrat’s attempt to bring the Eritrean faction as well as Israeli and American support on his side, in order to wipe out the ELF. The author therefore draws the wrong conclusion. We have seen that the CIA had in fact avoided the presence of Ras Asrat or his representatives in the Government of Eritrea in the secret negotiations with Issayas. No wonder therefore missing that last crucial stage , he considers the negotiations a failure. ”The project was not implemented” he writes. And yet he himself shows in detail chapter by chapter , step by step, the ever growing power of the EPLF thanks to American military assistance, until the complete destruction of the ELF. The story regarding the ELF-CIA agreement had also been referred to in Africa Confidential,

November 1970, and by the ELF, with their usual sluggishness regarding propaganda literature, in December 1979, when they were about to disappear, in *The Eritrean News letter*, ELF Foreign Information Center, Beirut.

The Name: *Selfi Natsanet* of Issayas will change gradually with the development of alliances and counter-alliances. Following the massacres of Christians by the conservative Western lowland Muslim ELF leaders, and Selfi Netsanet's escape to Ala in eastern Akle Guzai, Issayas seeks the alliance of the rich and powerful Uthman Salih Sabi, leader of the Muslim Asaorta inhabited coast of Samhar – including Massawa and Arkiko, his birth place. In the history of secessionist Eritrea Salih Sabi has been lauded by several writers and acquaintances as “the most adroit politician” (Markakis, 1985) “relentlessly energetic secretary general and roving ambassador of the movement.” Hagai tells us (op.cit) that Sabi's “native language” is “Arabic” (Hagai op.cit p. 27) although the native language of the Asaorta is Tigre. He was married to a Syrian wife.

Liberal in his outlook Sabi had often identified himself with the cause of the Christian highlanders against the Western conservative Muslim lowlanders' leadership of the ELF. As the roving ambassador of the ELF, Sabi spent most of his time abroad at the courts of Arab Sultans and emirs, as well as presidents of Syria, Iraq and Lebanon. From where he collected the rich funding to the ELF. Sabi's insistence that the Eritreans were Arabs and that their struggle against Ethiopia of Haile Selassie was part of the war on Zionism made him a welcome guest in Arab capitals and in the camps of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). According to Hagai Erlich, it was in fact in a PLO camp in Amman that he laid the foundation in November 1969 of a new organization, aided by the veteran Christian leader Tedla Bairu, Taha Mohammed Nur, (head of ELF-PLF Rome office until very recently).etc. In June 1970, calling representatives from the three zones of the Anseba basin, the Christian highlands and the coast, to a conference south of Massawa, where a new movement – the Popular Liberation Forces (PLF) was formed, with Uthman at the head of its Foreign Mission.

Sabi is held to be a Saudi-CIA agent by some observers. He was a frequent visitor of New York, where he received press covering of the New York Times, as well as in Washington where he held talks with government officials and the State Department. On one occasion Sabi's entourage had explained their objective as being to liquidate one by one “those who espouse socialism and communism”.(Tsfatsion Medhanie, op. cit. p. 41). Bear in mind that western Muslim ELF leaders were not allowed to set foot in the United States!

Issayas Selfi Natsanet continued alone. Already in 1970, Selfi Natsanet had formulated in what was called “Nihnan Ilamanan” (translated as “Our Objective”), certainly with some intellectual support, their well articulated programme differentiating themselves as Christians with an ancient culture that goes back to Axum and enriched by their ancient Christian religion – Orthodox Christianity and an ancient script - the Ge'ez. A reading of “Nihnan Ilamanan” of which I have read the English translation, gives the perfect picture of the proud Ethiopian, proud

of his culture and identity. What a pity they had to later write another history of Eritrea under CIA dictation dissociating them completely from Ethiopia.

Issayas and his group were now gaining notoriety as an urban guerrilla movement using sophisticated arms, supplied naturally by the CIA. Hagai tells us that on 14 April 1970, a few months after the agreement with the CIA, in a bar in down-town Asmara, Issayas and his associates had machine-gunned two ex-judges who had sentenced some ELF guerrillas to death. Again in November 1970, the Selfi Natsanet group led by Issayas, Abrham Tewelde, and Ermiyas Debesai, ambushed and killed the commander of the Ethiopian army in the province (Hagai Erlich, op. cit. p.29)

Naturally the Issayas group will eventually be attracted into an alliance with Salih Sabi's Popular Liberation Forces (PLF) with whom he shared a number of common points including that of being a U.S surrogate. Indeed both had nothing political but business oriented and one can therefore not talk of political ideology but rather the absence of one. Marxism was in fashion in the 1960's and 1970's particularly following the Paris student revolt of 1968. CIA had therefore chosen to cover its surrogates with a Marxist cloak everywhere in the Third World, including we have seen Numeric of the Sudan, including as we shall see the TPLF, and even perhaps the EPRP. In any case from the very beginning Issayas would wear a Marxist cloak. In the strategy of the CIA, this helped, among others, as we have seen in the Sudan to identify the leftists and decimate them. Salih told Markakis frankly that Issayas' cloak of Marxism was a fake ploy of cover which should not be taken seriously. (Markakis, op. cit p.286, note 57).

Another observer had noted that the EPLF hiding its totalitarian and repressive nature (Tsfatsion, p.-68) assumed different images and colors towards different patrons: To the Arab financiers it appears with the Koran, and to the socialist camp with Marxist literature, while to the liberal West it appeared as a liberal democrat. (Tsfatsion, p.71).

Certainly Issayas appears brutally totalitarian and repressive. We have the famous case of the Menkae and other prominent EPLF leaders massacred by Issayas. Tsfatsion Medhanie writes that as of 1972 the Issayas group was officially represented abroad by Sabi's Secretariat: the Foreign Mission.

"There was no basis whatsoever to draw a distinction between Osman Sabbe's political line and foreign relations and those of the Issayas group." According to Hagai Erlich (struggle over Eritrea, p.31) following a meeting held from 3 to 12 February 1972, the PLF will unite with Selfi Natsanet to form the Eritrean People Liberation Forces (EPLF). In 1976 when the two groups separate, Issayas group will be named the Eritrean People's Liberation Front using the same acronym EPLF.

Professor Levine has said: "Being such a close and strong supporter of Ethiopia since World War II the United States has been a target for blame. Over the past four decades I have heard the United States being made responsible ..." for, among others, the secession of Eritrea and the takeover of the Derg in 1974. We believe we have answered the blame regarding U.S responsibility in the secession of Eritrea. The next chapter will deal with the rise of the Derg. We

will venture to make a preliminary attempt to show that the “Marxist” Derg was indeed made in Langley (Virginia ) Headquarters of the CIA

*( I dedicate this paper to the Ethiopian Hero Tesfa Mikael Giorgio , who through his courageous denunciation of the traitors has made an epoch making contribution to the writing of Ethiopian history . Tesfa Mikael Giorgio has been hunted and assassinated by the CIA dogs of war of the EPLF-TPLF on April 13, 1992, a year after their occupation of Addis Ababa. )*

\_\_\_\_\_Aleme Eshete\_\_\_\_\_

# Revisiting the **Kagnew Station Incident**

By: **Woldeyesus Ammar**

Mar 8, 2004, 09:01 PST

In their writings to Awate.com under the title of ‘Glimpses into the Kagnew Connection’, Zekere Lebonna (19 Feb. 2004) and Berhane Redda (6 March 2004) referred to my posting of 2 February 2004 which was about ‘Nhnan Elamanan’ and not about the Kagnew Station event of 1970. Zekere Lebonna observed that people are shying away from writing about that 33-year old incident, and Berhane Redda encouraged people to write all what they know about the Kagnew event and other important occurrences during the years of struggle. Unfortunately, I am not coming up with any new evidence on the Kagnew Station incident, but wish to reproduce an old material for the benefit of those who did not read what had appeared in the Dehai discussion forum on 10 August 1999 about that subject. Included in my article entitled ‘Talking of Traitors and Treason’, was a summary of what Tesfamichael Giorgio, one of the key figures in the ‘Kagnew Connection’, had to say about the incident before his death in 1993. Therefore, reproduced below is part of the said material – a summarized translation of the press interview with Wodi Giorgio as well as my introduction to that story in my posting to Dehai. Good reading.

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## **The Kagnew Station ‘Deal’ of 1970. What was it?**

The Kagnew Station story at one time evoked serious charges of treason perpetrated against the armed struggle. The alleged perpetrator was none other than Essayas Afeworki, the incumbent President of the State of Eritrea. Whatever its merit, the story is now little known among many Eritreans, the majority of whom were born or brought up after the year 1970, when the incident took place.

"The key figures who knew the full story were said to have included the following :

- a) **Abraham Tewolde**, head of the fifth ELF command in 1970 who was killed reportedly in a mysterious circumstance in 1971 for his alleged reluctance to secede from the ELF, and disagreements over the talks with the Americans and the Ethiopians. Abraham Tewolde was succeeded to the leadership of the group by his deputy, Essayas Afeworki. The group then took steps to split from the mother organization, initially calling itself "**Selfi Natzinet**".
- b) **Habteslassie Ghebremedhin**, a fighter who is said to have taken active part in organizing the meetings at Kagnew Station. According to a former EPLF prisoner (now residing in a

German-speaking region of the world and who asked to remain anonymous), Habteselassie was latter killed [according to Berhane Redda after 1974] for having known too much about the meetings at Kagnev Station and the differences that emerged among the leaders of the faction .

c) **Solomon Woldemariam**, a one-time chief of security for ELF/PLF-II (the name Selfi-Natzinet acquired when it joined Osman Saleh Sabbe's ELF/PLF-I): Solomon reportedly had differences with the leadership in the late 1970s but was eventually taken to the field where he did not live long. Some people allege that he disappeared, just like that.

d) **Tesfamichael Giorgio** (also known as Wodi Giorgio) escaped from ELF/PLF (Shabia, then composed of three factions) to the ELF (Jebha) in the mid-1970s. He was the one who first broke the news about the Kagnev deal in the Eritrean field. His Kagnev Station story was tape-recorded and kept in the political office of Jebha. Wodi Giorgio always feared for his life. When the ELF was weakened militarily, he went to Ethiopia. In 1993, the quasi-free press in Addis Ababa tempted him to divulge some facts about the Kagnev story. His interview with the local press in Addis appeared in an Amharic newspaper called "Senay", volume 1 number 3 of February 1993. A short while later, Wodi Giorgio was shot dead in front of his Addis Ababa house. The story below is a summary of how Wodi Giorgio has been narrating the story to close friends until he was silenced in the hands of 'unknown' gunmen.

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## **The Seedlings Planting Project**

Formulators of the project were CIA functionaries stationed in Asmara in the year 1970. Their objective was to promote US interests in the Middle East and the Red Sea littoral . The ELF was seen as a threat to the interests of the United States, of Israel as well as the interests of their major ally in the region, Haile Selassie's Ethiopia. The Eritrean front was perceived as an organization mainly composed of Eritrean Moslems supported by nationalist and radical Arab regimes that were [perceived to be] somehow allied to the then Soviet Union.

The purported threat that the ELF could pose on US interests increased when ELF activities obtained international publicity following regional press reports on guerrilla operations which included damages inflicted on the Massawa-Agordat railway at Ashi-Dira (near Keren).

A CIA operation code-named « Seedlings Planting Project » was thus established not only for the immediate defense of the Kagnev Station and US installations at Gura from Jebha infiltrators and their potential supporters like the Palestinian Black September, but also to protect general long-term interests of America and its allies in the region.

The Project stationed its experts in Asmara and first contacts were made through young officials frequenting places like the Golf Club and the Top Five Club in Asmara. They learned that the ELF was [suffering of] feuding among its forces on regional-cum-confessional basis. Head of the Seedlings Planting Project, **Richard Copland**, contacted **Tesfa-Yohannes Berhe**, the deputy Enderassie in Eritrea, and others and convinced the Ethiopian authorities about his plans of meeting Eritrean guerrilla fighters to discuss 'peace and reconciliation' with the Ethiopian government.

A letter dated 15 October 1970, signed by **Dejach Ghebre-Yohannes Tesfamariam**, was sent by the Ethiopian authorities in Asmara to the fifth command of the ELF in the highland 'peace talks'. An appointment was eventually fixed at Ala on 14 December 1970. Government representatives sent to the meeting were Dejach Ghebre-Kidane Tessema, High Court judge, Lt.Col. Ghebre-Egziabeher Mehari, deputy commissioner of Eritrean police, and Tesfamichael Giorgio, administrator of Dekamere District.

According to Wodi Giorgio, the government delegation asked Essayas and his team to make peace with the government of Ethiopia. The faction leaders implied agreement and promised to discuss the matter with their comrades-in-arms. In the meantime, they requested arms to make their faction strong, and requested that the meeting be kept confidential.

Richard Copland, who was behind the organization of the meeting at Ala, asked Wodi Giorgio to identify the key leaders of the group. A new plan of action was prepared at Kagnew Station in a meeting between Copland and a representative of Self-Natzinet, Habteselassie Ghebremedhin. After reporting his meeting at Kagnew to Abraham Tewolde and Essayas Afeworki, Habteselassie was again sent to Dekamere to meet with Wodi Giorgio so that both of them could prepare a meeting between the CIA team and a key representative of Selfi-Natzinet. A meeting was fixed in the field at which Richard Copland and Richard Sewellyn came with a catalogue on variety of American arms. The CIA representatives insisted that a formal request be made for American arms. A letter, addressed to Col. Mamuzer, commander of the Kagnew Station, was prepared by Essayas Afeworki. The salient points in the [letter by Essayas] were :

- 1- That the fighters at Ala, who were Christians subjected to constant persecution and murder by Jebha, which was supported by the Arabs who were channelling Soviet arms to Eritrea,
- 2- That the policies of Jebha reflected the policies of the Arabs and were primarily inimical to Israel and the USA,
- 3- That the faction (Selfi-Natzinet) was conducting a democratic struggle.

The Americans laid down concrete plans. Funds started flowing to promote the Seedlings Planting Project. When preparations were completed, Tesfamichael Giorgio went from

Dekamere to Ala to bring Essayas Afeworki to Kagnev Station for substantive talks. He drove him from Ala to Asmara in a Land-Rover and took him for tour around Asmara. They arrived on appointed time at Kagnev Station. However, the CIA functionaries suggested that, for security reasons, the meeting take place at the residence of the Intelligence Officer, Bowling, situated near the St. Francisco Cathedral.

At the meeting, Essayas raised points similar to those stated in the letter he addressed to Col. Mamuzer. Copland positively nodded to all statements made by Essayas and urged that the group (Selfi-Natzinet) should make its utmost to defend American interests. During the meeting, Essayas repeatedly reminded his American interlocutors that Selfi-Natzinet was not yet fully equipped and well manned to successful ward off aggressive Jebha onslaughts at Kagnev Station or the Gura installations and requested for increased support with arms and funds.

Copland opined that the Haile Selassie regime may be replaced by a military regime, and that his government was ready to make deals with any force that can defend the Kagnev Station and support installations of other facilities in the Red Sea region. The CIA representative promised substantial quantities of arms to Selfi-Natzinet if the group could succeed to control parts of the sea coast.

Another important issue Copland repeatedly dwelt on was the formation of commando units composed of Selfi-Natzinet and the Ethiopian government in order to fight the threat posed by Jebha and its supporters in the region. This idea was raised by the Ethiopian delegation in earlier talks and Essayas had agreed to it. When asked guarantees for the pledges made to Selfi-Natzinet, Copland quipped : ‘Mutual interests are the sole guarantees to each side’.

At the end of the meeting, the negotiators went to Kagnev for dinner. Essayas and Wodi Giorgio spent the night at Copland's residence. The next day, Essayas and Wodi Giorgio were taken out of Kagnev Station in a Cadillac car driven by Copland himself, with curtains drawn, and flying the US flag.

# ትዕዛብቴ ካብ መዝገብ ታሪኽ

መን ካብ መን ይሓይሽ ኣብ ልዕሊ መን ክውርዘ  
ዕንቅራብት ተመን ኩልኻትኩም ሕንዚ (የማነ ባርያ)  
(ካብ 1ይ ክሳብ 4ይ) መወዳእታን)

**አለም ተስፋ (ቶሮንቶ ካናዳ)!**

መጋቢት-ሚያዝያ 2004

ታሪኽ ፕሮጀክት ደሓ እምበር ፕሮጀክትና ክንጥቀመሉ የብልናን፤

ግንኙ ካብ ሕልፍ ታሪኽ ተማሂርና ንዝመጽእ ከይንዕሾ ከንስተባህል ይግባእ።

እቶም በጻብዕቲ ዝቐጥዱ መራሕቲ ውድባት ኢና ዝብሉን ኮራኽ-ሮምን ካብ ሰሳታትን ሰባታትን ኣትሒዞም ብጹሕፋትን ከምኡውን ብናይ ሓሶት ፕሮፖጋንዳን ንስልጣኖም ክበሉ ንዝዘቢ ኤርትራ ብሃይማኖት ይኹን ብዓሌት ዝፈላለዩ ገለን መርሕቲ ሃገር ኮይኖም ገለን ኣብ ዝተፋልለዩ ውድባት ፋሕ ኢሎም ዘለው ሕጂ ውን እንተኮፊ ነንሕድሕዶም ክመናጨቲን ክጸላለሙን እንተዘይሰላሰዩም እቲ ኣብ ልዕሊ ህዝቢ ዝፍጽምዎ ዘለው ኣሽክዕላልነት ኣብ ግምት ከየእተው ነቲ ኣነዋሪ ዝሰላነ ታሪኻዊ ብጉልቡብ ሚላ ፕሮጀክት ሕዝቢ ነቒሑ ክቃለሶም ይግባእ።

ካብዚ ዝቐጥል ጽሑፍ ብፍርይ ዝበለ ካብ ሱሳትታ ኣትሒዞ ክሳብ ዘለናዮ ግዚያት ዝተፈጸመን ዝፍጸም ዘሎን ዘይኸርዕ ታሪኽ መሪሕነታት እዩ። መሪሕነት ፈለምቲ ሰውራ ኤርትራ ካብ መስከረም 1961 ክሳብ 1970 ዓ-መ-ፈ ዝነበሩ፣ ድሕሪኡውን ኣካላዊ ወይ ተካእቲ ዝምባሌታቶም ዝተዋሰኹሉ፣ ነቲ ዝኸይድ ዝነበረ ሃገራዊን ናጽነታውን ሓርነታውን ቃልሲ፣ ናብ ዝተፋለለየ ሃይማኖታዊን ተቅባውን ቀቢላውን ድሑር ማሕበራዊ ዝንባሌታትን ኣብ ድሑር ታኼላታት ከም ዝኣቲ ስለ ዝገበርዎ፣ ኣብ ነንሕድሕዶም ኣብ መንጎ መሳፍንቲ ቀይሕ ባሕርን (ዑስማን ሳልሕ ሳበን) መሳፍንቲ ባርካን ሰንሒትን (እድሪስ ኣደምን - እድሪስ ዑስማን ግላውድዮስን) ዝላዓል ናህሪ ጥርዚ ሕናኔ መን ዓብለለ ብርቱዕ ውድድራዊ ቃልሲታት ካብ 1965 ክሳብ 1970 ዓ-መ-ፈ ድሕሪ ምክያድ፣ ሓደ ነቲ ሓደ ፕሮጀክት ክቀጥዱን ስለ ዘይቐጥዱሉ፣ ኣብ ፖለቲካዊን ወታሃደራውን ዓቕምን ዓይነትን ምጣኔ ዝተማዘነ ስለ ዝተኣትወን፣ ኣብ ሚዳ

ኤርትራ ናይ ተቓዋሚ ብዕላዊ ክውንነት ስለ ዝተራጋገጸ፡ (ዑስማን ሳልሕ ሳበ) ኣንጻር ውሳኔታት ዋዕላ ዕታራ ብጉባኤ ኣድብሓ ዝፍለጥ ንስጉምታታ ቅያደል ዓማ ብምቅዋም፡ ነቶም ኣብ ስሉስ ሓድነት ቀንዲ ተዋሰኒቲ ዝነበሩ ተጋደልቲ ኣብ ሜዳ ኤርትራን ሱዳንን ዝነበሩ ብምክሳብ፡ ኣብ የማን ርእሲ ከተማ ናይ ጅርዳን ኣምነል ዓማ ብዝብል ስያመ ነብሱ ብምስያም፡ ነቲ 1970 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ምፍልላዩ ሰውራ ኤርትራ ሃንደስ።

ኣብ ሜዳ ኤርትራ ዝተጋህደ ምንጽጻላት ኣብ መብዛሕትኡ ኣረዳድኣ ኤርትራውያን ይኹኑ ውጻእተኛታት፡ ኣብ መንጎ እስላምን ክርስትያንን፡ ኣብ መንጎ ደቂ ከበሳን ደቂ ቆላን ዝሰላኑ ኣምሲሎም ዝገልጽዎ ቑጽሮም ውሑድ ኣይሠላነን፡ ዋላውን ብኸምኡ ክገልጽዎ እንተፈትኑ ሓቀኛ መግለጺ ኣይነበረን ኣይሠላነንውን። ምክንያቱ እቲ ታሪኽውን ክውንነታዊ ሓቂ ኣይነበረን፡ እቲ ቀንዲ ሕምረት ናይቲ ግርጭታት ኣብ መንጎ ደቂ ምብራቓዊ ቆላታትን ምዕራባዊ ቆላታትን፡ ማለት ኣብ መንጎ (ዑስማን ሳልሕ ሳበን) ኣብ መንጎ (ኢድሪስ ኣደምን) ጭፍራታቶምን እዩ ዝተኻየደ። ኣብ መንጎ እተቅም ክልተ ሓያላን ደርባዊ መበቆሎም መሳፍንቲ ደርባዊ ቦቶኦም ንኡሳን ብርጅዎ፡ ነቲ ግርጭታት ውዕይን ዝሑልን ፖለቲካዊን ጎንጸውን ቃልስታት ደቂ ከበሳ ከም መሳርሕን ቀዳሞት ግዳያትን ከም ዝነበሩ ግን ዝዘንጋዕ ታሪኻዊ ክውንነት ኣይሠላነን። ኣብ ሜዳ ኤርትራን ላዕለዋይ ባይቶ መሪሕነቱን ዝካየድ ዝነበረ ግርጭታት፡ ካብ ደቂ ምዕራባዊን ደቂ ምብራቓዊን ቆላታት ሰጊሩ፡ ኣብ መንጎ ደቂ ምዕራባዊ ቆላታት ግርጭታት ሕድሕዳዊ ተናኻኸሰ። ሰውራ ኤርትራ ኣብ ከቢድ ምፍንጫላት ድማ በጽሑ። ቅያደል ዓማ ኣባላት መሪሕነት ክትኣስር ምስ ጀመረት፡ ንገለ ዲሞክራሲያውያን ባእታታት ውን ናይ ቃልሲ ፖለቲካዊ መድረሰታም ከተጸብብን ክትቀትልን ኣብ ዝጀመረትሉ እዋናት፡ እቲ ብዑስማን ሳልሕ ሳበ ዝምራሕ ዝነበረ፡ ኣብ ሜዳ ወታሃደራዊ ሓርነታዊ ክንፊ፡ ኣንጻር ስጉምታታት ቅያደል ዓማ ናይ ተቓዋሚ መግለጺ ብምውሳድ፡ ገሊኡ ንሱዳን ገሊኡ ከኣ ንስዑዲ ዓረብን ንየመን ዝተረፈ ድማ ኣብ ሜዳ ኣብቲ ተመዲቡ ዝሰርሓሉ ዝነበረ ተቅባ ሓኪሉ ድሕሪ ምዕጽናሕ፡ ተፈልዩ ቃልሱ ክቕጽል ስለ ዝወሰነ፡ ኣብ መዓስከር ዕሽራ (የመን) ዝተሰኸሰቡ (76) ተጋደልቲ ባሕሪ ሰንጢቕም ንደንከል ኣተው። ቀዳማይ ዋዕላኦም (ብ13 ማዝያ 1970 ዓ-መ-ፈ.) ኣብ ስድሐ ዔላ ብምክያድ፡ መጸውዒ ስሞም ህዝባዊ ሓይልታት ሓርነት ኤርትራ ከም ዝሰላነን፡ ሓሙሽተ ኣባላት መሪሕነት ማለት 1) መሓመድ ዓሊ ዑማሮ. 2) መሓመድ ዑመር ዓብደላ. 3) ዓሊ

መሐመድ ዑስማን. 4) መስፋን ሓጎስ. 5) መሐሪ ደበሳይ. ሠላታ ክልተ ደቂ ከበሳን ሰለሱተ ደቂ ምብራቅውን ምዕራባዊን ቆላታት መዘዘ።

አንጻር ቀዳማይ መግዛእትን ውሽጣዊ ምድሕርሓር ቀያደል ዓማ ከም ዝቃለሰን ንዑስማን ሳልሕ ሳበን ወልድአብ ወልደማሪያምን ከም ወነንትን ወከልትን ዘይሠላኑስ፡ ከምመሳርሕቲ ከም ዝተቐበሎም ብወግዒ አጽደቅን አወጀን።

እዚ ሓይሊ እዚ ካብ ምፍልላይ ኢሉ ዝእምት ክሳብዚ ደረጃ በጺሕዎ ዘሎ፡ ብዑስማን ሳልሕ ሳበ ዘድለዮ (ፋይናንሳዊን ሎጂስቲካዊን) ቀረባት እዩ ዝምወል ዝነበረ።

ስለዚ እዚ ሓይሊ እዚ ውጽኢት ናይቲ አብ ላዕለዋይ ባይቶ ዝቐረጸ ግርጭታት ቃልስታትን፡ አብ መንጎ ደቂ ምብራቅውያንን ምዕራባውያንን ቆላታት እዩ ዝነበረ። ጎድኒ ንጎድኒ እዚ አብ ሜዳ ኤርትራ ዝኸይድ ዝነበረ ምዕባሌታት፡ ንደቂ ከበሳ እውን ጸለወ። እቶም አብ አከለጉዛይ ዝነበሩ ውሑዳት ደቂ ከበሳ፡ ብአብርሃም ተወልደ ዝምርሑ እውን አብ ዝነበርዎ ቦታ ሓከሉ፡ ብ23 ወርሒ ኣርባዕተ 1970 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ከም ኣባል ቅያዳል ዓማ ኢሳያስ ኣፈወርቂ ተሓወሶም።

ኢሳያስ እቲ አብ ሜዳ ኤርትራ ዝካየድ ዝነበረ ናይ ምፍልላይ ኩነታት ዛጊት አብ ሱዳን አብ ዝነበረሉ ፈሊጥዎ ስለ ዝነበረ፡ ብወገኑ እውን ንደቂ ከበሳ ዝውክል ሓይሊ ክፈጥር ተበገሰ፡ ምስቶም 11 ተጋደልቲ አብ አብ አከለጉዛይ ዝነበሩ ብምጽንባር **(ንሕናን ዕላማናን)** ትብል ማኒፈስቶ ብምጽሓፍ፡ ነቲ ባዕሉ **(ሰልፊ ናጽነት)** ኢሉ ዝሰየሞ ጉጅለ ንምዕባይ፡ ምስ አቐዲሞም መማህርቲን መታዓብይቲን ዝነበሩ፡ አብ ኣስመራ ኣዲስ አበባ ኤውሮጳ ሰሜን ኣመሪካን ብደብዳቤታት ክራኸቡን ንደቂ ከበሳ ዝውክል መስቀላዊ ውደብ አንጻር ጀሃድ ውደብ ይንቃሳቕስ ከም ዘሎ ኣፍለጠ። አብ ውሽጢ ኣዲስ አበባ ዩንቨርሲቲ ጥሕሻ ዝስማ ፖለቲካዊ ውደብ ንሰልፊ ናጽነት እትድግፍ እውን ከም እትምስረት ገበረ። እቲ አቐዲሙ ብጽሞና ንሰውራ ኤርትራ ኩነታት ምግምማዕ ዝካታተል ዝነበረ፡ ሃጺይ ሃይለስላሴ ንማእከላይ ስለላ ምርበብ ኣመሪካ (ሲ ኣይ ኤይ ) ነቲ ተፈጢሩ ዝነበረ ኩነታት ብምምዝማዝ፡ ንሰውራ ኤርትራን ህዝባን ካብ ሓርነታዊ ምንቅስቃስ ንምብካሉ፡ ሓድሽ ፖለቲካዊ ውጥን ሰላም ብምስኣን፡ ዛጊት ካብ 1969 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ክሰርሓሉ ተናጣጠፈ፡ ብ17 ጥቅምቲ 1969 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ብደግያት ገብረዮውሃንስ ተስፋማርያም እትምራሕ ሽማግሌ አቐዲሙ፡ ንመጀምርያ ግዜ ብደብዳቤ ምስ ኣብርሃም ተወልደ ተራኸበት፡ ኣብርሃም ተወልደን ጉጅልኡን

ድልውንቶም ስለ ዝገልጽ፡ ንክልተ ግዜ ታሕሳስ ዕለት 7ን ዕለት 14ን 1969 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ኣብ ዓላ ተዛተዩ።

**ኣብዚ ዘተ ዝተሳተፉ ናይ ክልቲኦም ወገናት ብወገን ኢትዮጵያ፡**

- 1) ደግያት ገብረዮውሃንስ ተስፋ-ማርያም
- 2) ደግያት ገብረኪዳን ተሰማ
- 3) ግራዝማች ተሳፋሚካኤል ጆርጆ
- 4) ሌ/ሠላረኔል ገብረዝጊአቢሄር መሓረና፡

**ብወገን ተጋደልቲ**

- 1) ኣብርሃም ተወልደ
- 2) ሃብተስላሴ ገብረመድህድን
- 3) ወልደሚካኤል ሃይለ
- 4) ተውልደ ኢዮብ
- 5) ሰለሙን ወልደማሪያም
- 6) ኣስመሮም ገብረዝግአቢሔር
- 7) በርኼ ንጉሰ
- 8) ሃይለ ጀብሃ
- 9) ተስፋይ ይትባረኽ ነበሩ።

ኣብዚ ክልተ ዝተካየደ ርክባት ኢሳያስ ኣፈወርቂ ኣብ ሱዳን ስለ ዝነበረ ብኣካል ኣይተሳቶፎን ድሕሪ 23 ሚያዝያ 1970 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ናብዚ ጉጅለ ምጽንባሩ ግን ዕላዊ መዝነት ቅያደል ዓማ ስለ ዝነበሮ ነቲ ዝካየድ ርክባት ባዕሉ ከካይዶ ወሰነ።

ኣብ መንጎ እታ ሽማግሌ ኢትዮጵያን ኣብ መንጎ ልዑል ኣስራተ ካሳን ናይ ዕላማ ፍልልያት ስለ ዝተጋህደን ዕውት ስለ ዘይነበረን ነቲ ጉዳይ ብደረጃ ልዑል ኣስራተ ካሳን ማእከላይ ስለያ መርበብ ኣመሪካን ከም ዝትሓዝ ካነ።

ኣመሪካውያን ምስቲ ኣብ ማእከላይ ምብራቕ ዝኸይድ ዝነበረ ኩናት፡ ኣብ መንጎ ኢስራኤልን ኣዕራብን ተ-ሓ-ኤ ምስ ገድሊ ፍልስጥማውያን ርክብ ስለዝነበሮን ከምእውን (ብላክ ስፕተምበር) ብዝበል ስም ዝንቀሳቕስ ዝነበረ ፈዳኢን ኣብቲ ኣብ ኤርትራ ዝነበረ ትካላት ኣመሪካ ኣብ ግምት ብምእታውን፡ በቲ ሓደ ሸንኽ ከኣ ኣብ ቀርኒ ኣፍሪቃን ዓለምን ዝካየድ ዝነበረ ዝሓል ኩናት ኣብ መንጎ ምዕራባውያንን ሕብረት ሶቪትን ካልኣይ

ሸኽክ አብ ግምት ብምእታው ብዓቢኡ አብ ኤርትራ ዝነበሮም ወተሃደራውን ፖለቲካውን ምጣኔ ሃብታዊን ስትራቴጂካውን ረባሓታት ውሕስነት ንክህልዎ ንምርግጋጽ ንሰውራ ኤርትራ ካብ መሳርሒ ኣዕራብን ሕቅፎ እስላማውነትን ኣናጊፍካ ንረብሕኡም ዝግልገልሉ ኣፍደገን ምዕባሌን ብጋህዲ ስለ ዝገምገምዎ ነዚ ጉጅለ ደቂ ከበሳን ክርስትያናዊ ዝእምነቱ ንመሳሪሕኡም ንክቕይርዎ ተጓዩዩ። ድሮ ኣብቲ ክልተ ርክባት ኣባል ስለላ መርበብ ኣመሪካ ዝነበረ ግራዝማች ተስፋሚካኤል ጆርጅ ወረዳ ኣማሓዳሪ ደቀምሓረ ዝነበረ እኹል ጸብጸባትን ሓብሬታትን ሂብዎም ስለ ዝነበሩ ንቐጻሊ ኣበርቲዑ ክሰርሓሉ መምርሒታትን ሓበሬታትን ሃብዎ።

ተስፋሚካኤል ጆርጅ ምስ ሃብተስላሴ ገብረመድህን ጽብቕ ዝምድናታት ድሕሪ ምምስራቱን ሃብተስላሴ ገብረመድህን ናብ ኣዲስ ኣበባን ሜዳን ኣብ ዝንቀሳቐሱሉ ዝነበረ ዝተፋላለዩ ደገፊታት ብምሃብ ደጋፊኡም ከም ዝሰላኸ ስለ ዝኣመንዎ ናብቲ ጉጅለ ዓላ ክሰልጹን ተልእሳሞ ክትርጉምን ጸገም ኣይሰላኸን። ተስፋሚካኤል ገብረመድህን ንመጀምሪያ ጊዜ ብመንገኛነት ተስፋሚካኤል ጆርጅ ብ24 ግንቦት 1970 ዓ.መ.ፈ. ንኢሳያስን ነታ ጉጅለን ወኪሉ ኣስመራ ኣትዩ ምስ ኣባል ማእከላይ ስለላ መርበብ ኣመሪካ ዝነበረ (ሪፖርተር ሰላጥላንድ) ተራኸቦ ቀጺሉውን ብዕለት 11 ሰኔ 1970 ዓ.መ.ፈ. ምስ ኣባላት ስለላ መርበብ ኣመሪካ ናይ ፊደዮ ማሪናዮ በዓል መዚ ዝነበረ ምስ ሪፖርተር ስዋልስን ሪፖርተር ሰላጥላንድ ኣብ ደቀምሓረ ተራኸቦ። ሃብተስላሴ ገብረመድህን ቀንዲ ቀለቤት መርኸቢ (ሲ ኣይ ኤይ) ጉጅለ ዓላን ካብ መጅን ሓሊፉ ርክባት ክሰርዕ ን (ብ ሲ ኣይ ኤይ) ክሕገዙ ክጽዕር ጀመረ። ብወገን ሽማምንቲ (ሲ ኣይ ኤይ) ንሃብተስላሴ ገብረመድህን ብዙሕ ግምት ኣየንበርሉን ምክንያቱ ውግዓዊ ሓልፍነት ስለ ዘይነበሮ እዩ። ስለዚ ምስ ሓላፍነቱ ኣባል ቅያደል ዓማ ኢሳያስ ኣፈወርቂ ከራኽቦም ሓተትዎ። ብዕለት 2 ሓምለ 1970 ዓ.መ.ፈ. ኢሳያስ ኣፈወርቂ ምስ ተስፋሚካኤል ጆርጅ ናብ ኣስመራ ብምእታው ኣብ (ሳን ፍራንቸስኮ) ከባቢ (ኣልፋ ሮመዮ) ምስ ሚስተር ቦውሊንግ ሄነሪን፣ ሪፖርተር ሰላጥላንድን፣ ሂው ሪፖርተር ወልስን ዝባሃሉ ኣባላት (ሲ ኣይ ኤይ) ተራኸቦ። ኣብቲ ርክባት ኣብዚ ዝሰዕብ መሳማምሚ ነጥብታት በጽሑ።

- 1) ነቲ ሓይሊ ክርስትያን ደቂ ከበሳ ንክጉብዝ ዘድልዮ ሎጂካዊ ቀረባት ካብ (ሲ ኣይ ኤይ) ክምወል።
- 2) እዚ ሓይሊ እዚ ን ተ-ሓ-ኤ ክቃወምን ክጽንትን ክጽዕት።
- 3) ኣንጻር ዴሰነትን ጽልውኡን ከጥፍእ ክቃለስ።

4) ካብ ሕቅጌን ሓገዝን አዕራብን ምብራቕዊ (ዴሳዊ ዓለም) ክርሕቕ ከም ዘለዎ።

ብወገን ኢሳያስ አፈወርቂ ህጹጽ ጠለብ አጽዋር መካላኸሊ ነብስና የድልየና ስለ ዘሎ ክዋሃበና ኣለዎ ቀዳምነት ዝብል ጠለብ ስለ ዝነበሮ ብኸመይ መንገዲ ኣብ ዝሓጸረ ግዜ ከም ትረኽቡ ክንገብር ኢና ዝብል መልሲ ተዋሂቡዎ ንዕላኡ ተመለሰ። ኢሳያስ ንዓላ ምስ ተመለሰ ብዕሊ ካብ ተ-ሓ-ኤ ክንፍለ ኣሎና በለ፡ ኣብርሃም ተወልደ ድማ ብኸቢድ ተቐውመ፡ ድሕሪ ሓደ ወርሒ ኣብ መንጎ ክሊቲኦም ክትዕ ብዕለት 17 ግንቦት 1970 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ኣብርሃም ተወልደ ብሃንደበታዊ ዘይተፈለጠ ናይ ሓጺር ስዓታት ሕማም ሞተ።

(ይኹን እምበር ተማሳሳይ ታሪኽ ዝትንትኖ እምነትን ድሌትን ኣብርሃም ተወልደ ቀድማይ ምስታ ብኢትዮጵያ ትልኣኽ ዝነበርት ጉጅለ ርክባት ክቋረጽ ካልኣይ ነቲ ኣመንጎ እተን ጉጅለትታ ዝነበረ ዘይምርድድእ ብጉባኤ መልክዕ መፍትሒ ክርከበሉ ዝብል ርእይቶ ምስ ኢሳያስ ስለ ዘጋርጨዎም ነዊሕ ከይጸነሑ ብመርዚ ተቐቲሉ ዝብሃል ጽንጽንታ ይስማዕ)።

ሰልፌ ነጻነት ብግስ ከይበለ ካብ መጻወዲያታት (ሲ ኣይ ኤይ) ከምልጥ ኣይካኣለን። ሰልፌ ነጻነት ኣብላቱ ካብ 15 ዘይበዘሑ ስለ ዝነበሩ ነተቕም ውሑዳት ተጋደልቲ ድሃዮም ንምፍላጥ በብግዚኡ ዝላኸኹ ከይተመልሱ ይተርፉ ስለ ዝነበሩ ቀጽሮም ማዓ ልታዊ ይውሸኽ ነበረ። ካብ መሓከሊ ቦቶኦም በዓትታት ዓላ ሓዳቕኻም ብዕለት 15 ሕዳር 1970 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ንደንካልያ ገጽ ሰጉሙ። ብ29 ሕዳር 1970 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ኣብ (አድብሓ) ሰሜን ደንካልያ ብዑስማን ሳልሕ ሳበን ብኢሳያስ አፈወርቅን ዝምርሓ ጉጅለታት ተራኸባ። ኣብ ክልተ መስሪታውያን ሮቻሒታት ኣብ መንጎ ህዝባዊ ሓይልታት ሓርነት ኤርትራን ኣብ መንጎ ሰልፌ ነጻነትን ናይ ሓባር ኣራኣእያ ስለ ዝተረዳድኡ ድማ ብሓባር ክሰርሑ ወሰኑ።

**እተን ረቓሒታት ከምዚ ዝስዕባ እየን።**

- 1) አንጻር መግዛእትን ቅያደል ዓማን ምቅላስ።
- 2) ካብ ተ-ሓ-ኤ ምፍንጫልን መተካእታ ውድብ ምምስራትን።

ብ24 ነሃሴ 1971 ዓ-መ-ፈ. አብ ተኸሊ ሓበራዊ ጸሕፊት ኣብ ኣብራሃም ናይ ሓባር ፖለቲካዊ ውሳኔታት ጽሑፍ ኣውጽኡ። ኣስማቶም ድማ (ህዝባዊ ሓይልታት ሓርነት ኤርትራ ቀዳማይ ወገንን ህዝባዊ ሓይልታት ሓርነት ካልኣይ ወገን ማለት ስልፊ ነጻነትን ተባሂሎም ክጽውዑን ናይ ሓባር ውድባዊ ክታም መራሒ ስልጣን ህዝባዊ ሓይልታት ሓርነት ኤርትራ ተባሂሉ ክጥማዕ ወሰኑ።

ብኣንጻር እዚ ጉዕተቅ ምፍንጫል ኣብ ውሽጢ ተ-ሓ-ኤ ኣብ መንጎ ደቂ ባርካን ጋሽን ሰቲትን ግርጭታት ይባላሕ ስለ ዝነበረ መሰረቱ ካብ ቀቢላታት (ብንግምር) ዝፈልፈላ ኣንጻር ላዕለዎይ ባይቶ ቅያደል ዓማ ኣንፍታት ምዕብልና ሰውራ ኢርትራ ብምጽባእ ከም ኣንጻር ዓረብን እስላምናን ከም ዝሰኸኑ ከም ደሞክራሲያውያን መተካእታ ንነብሶምን ምንቅስቓሶምን ብምውሳድን ብምጥማቕን ህ-ሓ-ኤ መደባዊ መልክዑን ህላወኡን ዓቂቡ ክድንፍዕ ኣብ ዝተግዘብሉ ወቕቲ ነዚ ምንቅስቓስ ከም ናቶም ደጋፊ ሓይልን ውጽኢት ዘካየድዎ ቃልሲ ምኻኑ ንምርግጋጽን ንምክሳብን ብግንቦት 1971 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ኣብ ናባ ዑብል ጸሕፊት ብምክያድ ስሞም (ህዝባዊ ሓይልታት ዑብላውያን) ተባሂሉ ክጽዋዕን 13 ዝኣባላታ መሪሕነት ብምምዛዝ ኣንጻር ቅያደል ዓማ ምኻኑም ብምግላጽ ኣወጹ።

ኣብ ሴነ 1971 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ነዚ ሰለስቲኡ ሓይልታት ኣንጻር ቅያደል ዓማ ኣብ (እምባሃራ) ንስምረት ዘቃራርቦም ጸሕፊት ብምክያድ ሓበራዊ መግለጺ ኣውጽኡ። እቲ ብዋዕላ መዓ ስከር ዓወተ ዝፍለጥ ካብ 26 የካቲት ክሳብ 13 መጋቢት 1971 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ዝተቐንጹ ጸሕፊት ተ-ሓ-ኤ ነቲ ኣብ ሜዳ ኤርትራ ተኸሊቱ ዘሎ ምፍንጫላት ኣመልኪቱ ሃገራዊ ጉባኤ ንካካየድ ኣስናዳኢት ሽማግሌን ነቲ ናይ ምፍንጫላት ጉዳይ እትምርምርን ተቃራርብን ሽማግሌ ብደክቶር ፍጹም ገብረስላሴን ኢብራሂም መሓመድ ዓሊን ተስፋይ ተኸልዘግን ካልኦት ኣባላት ናይታ ሠላማቲ ዘይነበሩ ኢብራሂም ገደም (ኣቡ ሓየት) ኣማንኤል ገብረሱስ እውን ከም ሃገራዊ ግቡኣም ብምውሳድ ጸዓርሉ። ብምልኡ እቲ ተፈንጨሉ ዝነበረ ንቐዳማይ ሃገራዊ ጉባኤ ተ-ሓ-ኤ ተሳቲፉ ጸገማቱን ጸገም ውድባትን ክፈትሕ ተዓዲሙ ክነሱ ከይተሳተፈን ከይመጸን ተረፈ።

**ይቕጽል..... (2ይ ክፋል 28.03.04)**

(መከራከሪያ አብ ቀዳማይ ጽሑፍ ካልኣይ ገጽ ተስፋሚክኤል ገብረመድህን ዝብል ሃብተስላሴ ገብረመድህ ንክትካእ)

ቀዳማይ ሃገራዊ ጉባኤ ካብ ጥቅምቲ ክሳብ ሕዳር 1971 ኣብ ኣውራጃ ሳሕል ተኸየደ። ቀዳማይ ሃገራዊ ጉባኤ ብቅርጺ ሃገራዊ ብትሕዝትኡ ደሞክራሲያዊ መደብ ዕዮ ውድብን ብደሞክራሲያዊ ኣገባብ ዝተመርጸ ናይ ሓባር መሪሕነት እኳ እንተመረጸ ቀንዲ ቦታታት ውድባዊ ስልጣን ቡቲ ሕልፍ የማናዊ ክንፊ ስለ ዝተባሓተ ኣብ ጉብኤኡ ዘጽደቐ ውሳኔታት ውን ክሰርሓሉ ኣይከኣለን። ንኣብነት ካብ ውሳኔታቱ ኣብ ፖለቲካዊ መደብ ዕዮኡ ከምዚ ይብል፡ ንኸልኣዊ ግርጭታት ብመገዲ ዘተ ምፍታሕ ዝብል ነይሩ። ሓድሽ መሪሕነት ተሓራሪ ሰውራዊ ባይቶ ውሑዳት ሰውራውያን ደሞክራሲያውያንን ማርክሳዊ ባእታት እኳ እንተነበርዎ መሰረት ታሕትዎት ሓፋሽ ስለ ዘይነበሮ ኣድማዒ እይነበረን።

ኣብ ጥሪ 1972 ዓ-መ-ፊ. ህ-ሓ-ሓ-ኤ ቀዳማይ ወገን ህ-ሓ-ሓ-ኤ ካላይ ወገን ሓ-ሓ-ኤ ዑባላውያን ዝጠመረ መሰራቲ ዋዕላ ኣብ መንጎ ሰለስትኡ ጉጅለታት ኣምናል ዓማ ኣብ በይሩት (ሊባኖስ) ተኸየደ፡ ብሓባር ክሰርሓን ናይ ሓባር ወጻኢ ጉዳያት ልኡኽ ናተን ዑስማን ሳልሕ ሳብ ምዃኑ ብወግዒ ምስተነጸረ፡ ተሓራሪ ሰውራዊ ባይቶ ከም ተፈንጨልቲ ጸረ ሰውራ ብምክባርን፡ ነቲ ኣብ ጉባኤኡ ዘጽደቐ ውሳኔ ብምጥሓስ ብየካቲት 1972 ዓ-መ-ፊ. ነቲ ብዑስማን ዓጂብ ኣብ ከባቢ በዓል ተክረረት ዝነበረ ሓ-ሓ-ኤ ዑባላውያን ብወትሃደራዊ ሓይሊ ጨፍለቐቶ፡ ቀጺላ ነቲ ብኡቡ ሰለብ ዝምራሓ ኣብ ከባቢ በዓል መንሱራ ዝነበራ ጋንታት ሓ-ሓ-ኤ ዑባላውያን እውን ተዘበገ፡ ኩናት ሕድሕድ ብወግዒ ካብዚ ውቕቲ እዚ ብተሓራሪ ሰውራዊ ባይቶ ኣብ ልዕሊ ኤርትራውያን ጉጅለታት ተመረ።

ቀጺላ ኣብ መጋቢ 1972 ዓ-መ-ፊ. ንህ-ሓ-ሓ-ኤ ቀዳማይ ውግእ ኣብ ዒን ክጭፍልቐ ፈተነት፡ ህ-ሓ-ሓ-ኤ ካልኣይ ወገን እውን ተጸንበሮ፡ ካብዚ እዋን እዚ ሚሩ ስለላ ነጻነት ኣብ ዓይኒ ሰውራዊ ባይቶ ካብ ዑባላውያንን ሰምሃራውያንን ዘይፍለ ምዃኑ ገምገምዎ ንምጥፎእም እውን ብዙሕ ኩናት ተገበረሉ። ኣብ ኩናት ገረግር ሱዳን፣ ይሉት፣ ግህተብ፣ ገርግር ስመራ፣ ፋሕ፣ ቀብርውኣት ውዘተ. ብኣልማም ንኸሎም ማለት ንሰለስትኡም ጉጅለታት ክሃርምዎምን ክጽንትዎምን መሩ። ሰለስትኡ ጉጅለታት ናይ ሓባር ጸላኢ ስለ ዘጥረዩ ኣብ መመርታ 1973 ኣገባብ ግህተብ ብምክያድ ፍልልያቶም

ናብ ዝጸበበ ደረጃ ዝበጽሓሉ ገበሩ፤ ኣብ 1974 ዓ-መ-ፊ. ድማ ሓንቲ ውድብ ማልት ህ-ሓ-ሓ-ኤ ኩነት።

እተቐም ውሕዳት ተበለጽቲ ክሳብ ሕጂ ውን ንህዝቢ ኤርትራ ኣሸካሳላል ዝጸወትሉ ዘለው ንሓይሊ ጉልበት ሰውራ ኤርትራ ንውልቃዊ ፖለቲካዊ ረብሓታቶም ንምቕያርን ሓድነት ሕዝቢ ኤርትራ ንምልሕላሕን ከም ቀንዲ ዕማሞም ስለ ዝተተሓሓዘዎ ኣብ ሰውራ ኤርትራ ኣብ ነሕድሕድ ምንጽጻግ ዘይምጽውዋር ዘይምክብባር ዘይምትእምማን ነቲ ናይ ፖለቲካዊ ስልጣን መን ዓብለለ ውድድራት ከም ናይ ደቂ ከበሳን ቆላታትን ግርጭታት ኣምሲልካ ምግላጽን ምቅላስን ተጋህደ። ድሕሪ 1975 ዓ-መ-ፊ. ዑስማን ሳልሕ ሳብ ዘይውንና ህ-ሓ-ሓ-ኤ እድሪስ ኣደም ዘይውንና ተ-ሓ-ኤ ክልተ ዝተማጣጠነ ሓይሊ ዘለወን ሃገራውያን ውድባት ህላዌ ተራጋገጸ። ብኣንጻሩ ስርዓት ሃይለስላሴ ወዲቐ ኢትዮጵያ ብወትሃደራውያን ምክኑናት ኣንፈታ ናበይ ምዃኑ ዘይትፍለጥ ሃገር ኩነት።

ኩናት ሕድሕድ እውን ኣብ ገለ ገለ ቦታታት ከብሳ ክካየድ ምስ ተራእዮ ህዝቢ ኤርትራ ሓድነትን ስምረትን ክልቲኡ ውድባት ክረጋገጽ ጠለበን ደፋኣሉን፤ ነዚ ድሌት ህዝቢ ዝተገንዘቡ የማናውያን ህላዌኦም ንምርግጋጽ ኣብ ባቕዳድ (ዲራቕ) 1/8/1975 ዓ-መ-ፊ. ኣብ መንጎ ዑስማን ሳልሕ ሳብን ኣብ መንጎ ወከልቲ ፈጻሚት ሽማግሌ ተ-ሓ-ኤ ስውራዊ ባይቶን ርክባት ተኸየደ።

ቀጺሎም ብ12/8/1975 ኣብ በይሩት (ሊባኖስ) ርክባት ተኸየደ ኣብ መጨረሻ ድማ 1/9/1975 ዓ-መ-ፊ. ኣብ ካርቱም (ሱዳን) ብምርኻብ ናይ መጨረሻ ንስምረት ስምምዕ ክውስኑ ተራዳድኡ ዑስማን ሳልሕ ሳብ ንመሪሕነት ህ-ሓ-ሓ-ኤ ወኪሉ እዩ ዝዝቲ ዝነበረ፤ መሪሕነት ህ-ሓ-ሓ-ኤ ግን ነቲ ብዑስማን ሳልሕ ሳብ ዝካየድ ዝነበረ ርክባት ኣይተቐበልዎን ምክንያቱ?

- 1) መሪሕነት ህ-ሓ-ሓ-ኤ ብደሞክራሲያዊ ኣገባብ ተመሪጹ ዝመጸ መሪሕነት ስለ ዘይነበረ ኣብቲ ዝግበር ናይ ስምረትን ምትሕንፋጽን መድረኽ መጽኢ ፖለቲካዊ ስልጣኑ ብንጹር ክረኣዮ ስለ ዘይካኣለ፤
- 2) ኣብ ውሽጢ ውድብ ህ-ሓ-ሓ-ኤ ጌና ኣብ መስርሕ ዝነበሩ ዝተፋላለዩ ፖለቲካዊ ዝንባሌታትን ግርጭታትን ምድማይን ስለዝነበሩ፤

3) መሪሕነት ህ-ሓ-ሓ-ኤ አቅዲሞም ዝፈጸምዎም ገበናት ኣብ ወቕቲ ምሉእ ስምረት ከሕትቶም ምዃኑ ስለዝፈልጡ፡

4) ብዓቢኡ እቲ ውድብ መሳርሒ (ሲ ኣይ ኤይ) ስለ ዝነበረን ንተ-ሓ-ኤ ከም ዓብላሊ ናይ ዓረብ ጽልዋ ዘለዎ ውድብ ጌሩ ንምዕራባውያን ዓለም የረዶኦም ስለ ዝነበረ።

ነዚ ንምርግጋጽ መሪመሪሕነት ህ-ሓ-ሓ-ኤ ኣብ ፍጹም ስምረትን ምትሕንፋጽ ሰራዊት ክልቲኡ ውድባት እንተ ተፈጠሩ ፖለቲካዊ ስልጣኑ ኣብ ሓደጋ ከም ዝቃላዕ ስለ ዝፈለጠ ምስ ተ-ሓ-ኤ ናይ መስመር ፍልልያት ስለ ዘለና መበሊኡ ክገልጽ እንከሎ ውድብ ህ-ሓ-ሓ-ኤ ከም ማርክሳዊ (ጸጋማዊ)፡ ውድብ ተ-ሓ-ኤ ድማ ከም ሃገራዊ ብርጅቀዊ (የማናዊ) ብምዃኑ ብምግላጽ ንናይ ሓባር ጸላኢ ንምህራም ብመገዲ ስሙር ግንባር ምስራሕ እቲ እንሠላ ዘዋጽእን ኣማራጽን መንገዲ ስምረት ምዃኑ ይገልጽ ነይሩ፡ እዚ ኣበሃህላ እዚ ፍጹም ሓዕት ብጭቡጥ ኣብ ሜዳ ኤርትራ ዝነበረ ተመክሮ ኣይከነን።

ክልቲኡ ውድባት ሕሉፍ የማናዊ ክንፍታት ዝነበረ ኣብ ክልቲኡ ውድባት እውን ምትእትታው ኣእዳው ናይ ወጻኢ ሃገራት ዝነበሮን ኣብ ውሽጡ ብሃይማኖት ብሔራት ቀቢላታት ኣውራጃታት እንዳተዳመየን እንዳተዓ ባለለን ዝሸይድ ዝነበረ ንቕሎ ቃልሱ ከምኡ ዝሕምረቱ እዩ። ኣብ ውሽጢ ክልቲኡ ውድባት ጸጋማዊ ስውራውያንን ደሞክራሲያዊያንን ሱር ነቀላውያንን ዝምባሌታት ዝነበሮም ተጋደልቲ ከምዝነበሩ ዘጣራጥር ጉዳይ ኣይሠላነን፡ ፖለቲካዊ ኣንፈት እቲ ውድባት ከቃናንዕ ዘኸእል ፖለቲካዊ ስልጣንን ዓቕምታትን ግን ንሓንቲ ካልኢታውን ትኣክል ወኒኖም ኣፈልጡን እዮም።

እቲ የማናዊን ዝለዓለ ፖለቲካዊ መድረኽ ጨቢጡ ዝመርሕ ዝነበረ ኣብ ውሽጢ እዚ ክልቲኡ ውድባት ምስጢራዊ ፖለቲካዊ ሰልፍታት መስራቱ ፖለቲካዊ ስልጣኑ ኣብ መጻኢት ኤርትራ ንኸራጋግጽ ዝቃለስ ዝነበረ መሪሕነታት ከም ዝነበረ ውን ዘካትዕ ታሪኽ ኣይሠላነን። እዚ ናይ ፖለቲካዊ ስልጣን ሕቶ እዚ ከም መቐጻልታ ሕድሕድ ኩናት ዑስማን ሳልሕ ሳብን እድሪስ ኣደምን ዳግመ ኣብ መንጎ ኢሳያስ ኣፈወርቅን ዓ ብደላ ኢድሪስን ካብ 1975 ክሳብ 1981 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ተኻየደ። ከም መቐጻልታ ኣኼባ ሰሜናዊ ባሕሪ ህ-ሓ-ሓ-ኤ፡ መሪሕነት ንሱዳን ብምእታው ካብ ዕለት 18 ክሳብ 23 መጋቢት 1976 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ምስ ዑስማን ሳልሕ ሳብ ብምርኻብ ዘለዎም ዝምድናታት ርክባትን ከም እተቋረጸ ድሕሪ ምእዋጅ ንሜዳ ተመለሱ። እቲ ብኢሳያስ ዝምራሕ

ሓይሊ ህዝባዊ ግንባር ሓርነት ኤርትራ ተባሃለ እቲ ብዑስማን ሳልሕ ሳብ ዝምራሕ ድማ እቲ ናይ መመርታ ስሙ ህዝባዊ ሓይልታት ሓርነት ኤርትራ ህ-ሓ-ኤ ነበረ።

ጉዳይ ስምረት ህዝባዊ ድፍኢትን ጸቕጥን ስለ ዝነበረ፣ ህዝቢ ኤርትራ ህዝባዊት ሽማግሌ ስምረት ብምውካል ንክልቲኡ ውድባት ኣብ ሜዳ ኤርትራ ከቃራርብን ክዝትን ተበገሰ፣ ህዝባዊት ሽማግሌ ስምረት ብ28 መጋቢት 1976 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ኣብ መቐርካ ብ5 ሰነ 1976 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ኣብ ዓዲ ገብራይ፣ ብ31 ሓምለ 1976 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ኣብ ዓዲ ፈለስ 1 ጥቅምቲ 1976 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ኣብ ዓላ ቀጺሉ ኣብ ዓሸራ፣ ደራቡሽን ደንደንን ኣብ መምርታ 1977 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ኣካየደት።

ድፍኢትን ጸቕጥን ህዝባዊ ሽማግሌ ስምረት ኤርትራ ንምሪሕነታት ተ-ሓ-ኤን ህ-ግ-ሓ-ኤ ተጽዕኖ ስለ ዝገበርሉ፣ ካብ 6-16 መጋቢት 1977 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ኣብ ካርቲም (ሱዳን)፣ ቀጺሉ ካብ 22 ክሳብ ከባቢ መጨርሻ ውርሒ ሚያዝያ 1977 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ኣብ ሓጋዝ፣ ካብ 23-25 ሰነ 1977 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ኣብ ሃውሸት ድሕሪ ምዝታዩ ብ20 ጥቅምቲ 1977 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ኣብ ከረን ተርኪም ናይ ሓባር ሽማግሌ መዘዘ።

ዝገርም ነገር እንተሃልዩ ኣብ ዝበዝሕ ነጥብታት ተሳማሚያም ክንሶም ኣብ መጸውዒ ስም ናይቲ ዝተካየደ ስምምዕ፣ ተ-ሓ-ኤ መድረኻዊ ልፍንቲ ኢና እንሰምዮ ክትብል እንከላ ህ-ግ-ሓ-ኤ ድማ ስሙር ግንባር ኢና እንብሎ ብምባል ንመፋላለዩ ተጠቐምሉ። ስለምንታይ? መሪሕነት ህ-ግ-ሓ-ኤ ስምረት ብመስርሕ ስሙር ግንባር ክብል እንከሎ ምሪሕነት ተ-ሓ-ኤ ናይ ስትራቴጂካዊ ሃገርዊ ነጻነት ፍልልይ ስለ ዘይብልና ምሉእ ስምረት ክንገብር ምክንያቱ ዝተፈላለዩ ፖለቲካዊ መገድታት ኣድላዩ ኣይሠላነን ይብሉ ስለ ነብሩ፣ ተጋደልቲ ህ-ግ-ሓ-ኤ ምስ ዑስማን ሳልሕ ሳብ ድኣ እንታይ ፈላልዩና ዝብል ሕቶ ከልዕሉ ስለ ዝሠኻኑ ብዝብል ምስምስ ኣብ መጸውዒ ስም ንክይሳማምዑ ተሰማሚያም ዛዘሙ።

ብወገን ተ-ሓ-ኤ እውን እንተሠኻነ መገዲ ስምረት ብመስርሕ ስሙር ግንባር ልክዕ ከምቲ ኣብ መንጎ (ሻንጋ ሸክን ማዋ ጸቲግን) ዘጋጠመ ተመክሮ ኩናት ሕድሕድ ድሕሪ ቀዳማይ ግርጭት ምፍታሕና ናብኡ ኣንፈት ክውጥጠና ተኸእሎታት ስለ ዘለዎ ቅጽበታዊ ምትሕንፋጽ ክግበር ኣለዎ ዝብል ፖለቲካዊ ጉስጓሳት ክትዕን ኣልዒሎም ይንቃሳቑሉ ስለ ዝነበሩ፣ ዳግም ኣብቲ መሪሕነት ህ-ግ-ሓ-ኤ ኣልዒሉ ዝካታዓሉ ዝነበረ ስምረት ብመገዲ ስሙር ግንባር ዝብል ክርዕሙ ስለ ዘይመረጸን ዛጊት ምስቲ ሰውራ



ቀጣንን ዝምጸ ሰራዊት መግዛእቲ ክሃርም ቀሊል ስለ ዝሰኘ ምህንጻው ሕገ-ሓ-ኤ ንኣብ ደብዳቤ ታዓቕቦም ዝነበሩ ሲቪልዊ ህዝቢ ናብ ሰጠር ቀጽ ዝነበረ ክፍሊ ሕክምናን ውግኣትን ንኣብ ዜሮ ዝነበሩ ትሕተ ዕድመ ህጻናት ተማሃሮ ቤት ትምህርቲ ሰውራ ኣብ ቢልቓት ዝነበረ ክፍሊ ቕጠባን መደበር ታዕሊም ትሕተ ዕድመ (ፊተውራሪ) ናብ ማይ ጨው ዝነበረ ናይ ምሩኻት ኢደ ስራሓትን፣ ማእከላይ ምርመራ ሓለዋ ሰውራ፣ ናብ ፋሕ ዝነበረ ብዓቢኡ ቤት ጽሕፈት መሪሕነት ውድብ ህ-ግ-ሓ-ኤ ክፍሊ ዜናን ክፍሊ ዕ ቀባ ብረትን...ወዘተ፣ ክግዕዝን ካብ ከበባ ከውጽኦ ግድነታዊ ስለ ዝነበረ፣ እቲ እንግላ ኣማራጺን መገድን ድማ ደን ኣባላት ተ-ሓ-ኤ ዝንቀሳቐሱ ቦታት ምዕራባዊ ሳሕል ስለ ዝነበረ መሪሕነት ህ-ግ-ሓ-ኤ ንመሪሕነት ተ-ሓ-ኤ ደኑ ናብኡ ከእቲ ሓተቶ።

ብወገን ተ-ሓ-ኤ ዝተዋህበ መልሲ እንተነይሩ ኣብ ከባቢ ቀብርውኣት፣ሕሽክብ፣ግ ምበርበርት፣ሩባታት ክውክን ቀይሕን፣ሩባ ሰርሰርን፣ይክኣል እዩ፣ ካብኡ ንላዕሊ ግን ወታሃደራዊ ምዕከራትና ስለ ዝሰኘ ኣጸጋሚ ክኸውን እዩ ዝብል ነበረ።መሪሕነት ህ-ግ-ሓ-ኤ ነዚ ዝተፈቐደሉ ቦታታት ክፍልታቱ ኣስጊሩ ምስ ቶቓጸጸረ። ምስ ዕብዩት ክፍልታቱን ብዝሒ ሰቡን መስመር ቃሩራ ብምዕጻው፣ ነቲ ኣብ ትሕቲ ቕጽጽሩ ዝነበረ ዕቕብ ህዝቢ ትሕተ ዕድመ ህጻናት ውጉኣት ኣብዚ ግንባራዊ ደን ክሕተቅም ኣጸጋምን ዘያክልን ስለ ዝነበረ፣ ነዚ ዘይዕጡቕ እኩብ ዝነበረ ህዝቢ ንዓዩት፣ ልሃንቲ ደብ ሱዳን ከሕልፍ ዳግመ ሓተቶ።

ኣይካኣልን እዩ ዝብል መልሲ ምስተዋሃቦ፣ ኣብ ሓሙሽተ መዓልታት ተርግኣዊ ወታሃደራዊ ስርሒታት ብምክያድን ብምሉኡ ቀብር-ውኣት፣ሕሽክብ፣ግ ምበርበር፣ሓሊቦት፣ገረግር፣ ኣስመራ፣ዓራግ፣ግልዕ ጸዕዳ ጸላም፣ሂውልዕ ፣ዓዩት፣ ብምቅጽጻር ደን ህ-ግ-ሓ-ኤ ከም ዝኸውን ገበሮ፣ ነቶም ተማሃሮን ዑቕባት ስንኩላትን ተጋደልቲ ድማ ንልሃንቲ ኣእተዎም ካብዚ እዋን እዚ ሚሩ መሪሕነት ህ-ግ-ሓ-ኤ ኣንጻር ተ-ሓ-ኤ ካብቲ ኣቐዲሙ ዘካይዶ ዝነበረ ብጽዑቕ ስነ ኣእምራዊ ምሕጻብ ጎስጓጎት ከካይድ መረ። ጎድኒ ጎድኒ እዚ ውሽጣዊ ጎስጓጎት ከም መቐጸልታ ውዕል 20 ጥቅምቲ 1977 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ኣብ 1979 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ሓባራዊት ፖለቲካዊት ሠላሚቲ ክልቲኡ ውድባት ኣብ ሰሜነዊ ሳሕል ገረግር ኣስመራ ክሰርሕ ብሓባር ኣብ ወታሃደራዊ ንጥፊታት እኳ እንተመረ፣ መሪሕነት ህዝባዊ ግንባር ግን ንመሪሕነት ተ-ሓ-ኤ መሳኻኻት ይፍጥሩ ከምዘሎ ጌሮም ኣንጻር ተ-ሓ-ኤ ብሰሚናራት ጎስጓጎ ከካይዱ መሩ።

አብ ምጨረሻ ሽቶኡ አብ ድፋዕ ሰሜናዊ ምብራቕ ሳሕል ምስ ሰራዊት ህ-ግ-ሓ-ኤ አሲራ ዝነበረት ብርጌድ ሓሊብ ሰተ ብለይቲ ጸልማት ተጎልበቕባ ሓባሪ ከይሃትና አዝሊቓ፣ ጸላኢ ብኡኡ አትዩ ንሰራዊትና ብምጥቃዕ ሃስዩልና ብምባል ነቲ አብ ከባቢ ዓራግ፣ግልዕ ጸላም ጸዕዳ፣ ግህተብ፣ ዒታሮ፣ ናህባይ፣ ግዓት፣ ባድን፣ ጎቦ ሃገር፣ሸንኩለት፣ዓ ራርብ፣በረፍ.....ወዘተ. ሓኪሉ ዝነበረ ሰራዊት ተ-ሓ-ኤ. ምድምሳስስ ምሉእ ደን አብ ትሕቲ ሕዝባዊ ግንባር ከም ዝኸውን ሰላን። ብምሉኡ ሰራዊት ተ-ሓ-ኤ ሳሕል ገዲፉ አብ ባርካ ከም ዝኣቱ ሰላን ሳሕል አብ ምሉእ ምቀጽጸር ህዝባዊ ግንባርን ስርዓት ደርግን ሰላንት። እቲ ዝነበረ ጸገማት ብምሉኡ ንመሪሕነት ህ-ግ-ሓ-ኤ ተስክሞ ኣይሰላንን፣ ንገዛእ ርእሳ አብ ውሽጢ ውድብ ተ-ሓ-ኤ እውን ዳርጋ ዝተማልኤ ውሽጣዊ ርግኣት ነቲ ናይ ሓድነት ዝደፍእ ሕቶ ኣይነበረን። ምክንያቱ አብ ውሽጢ ኣንጻር መሪሕነት ተ-ሓ-ኤ ናይ መሳፍንቲ ምንቅስቓስ ነይሩ እዩ።

ስዒድ ሑሰን፣ ማሕሙድ ዲናይ፣ መሓመድ በሺር፣ መሓመድ ሲዕድ፣ ዑመር መሓመድ፣ ዑመር ሱባን፣ ሰዓ ብቶምን....ወዘተ ካልኣት ዘልውዎምን አብ ውሽጢ ተ-ሓ-ኤ እንከለው አብ ባቕዳድ (ዒራቕ) ኣዋጃት ብምዝርጋሕ ተነጺሎም ናቶም ውድብ ብምፍጣር ብ13 ግንቦት 1978 ዓ.ም-ፌ. ካብ የመን ንደንካልያ ክኣትው እንከለው ምስ ሰራዊት ተ-ሓ-ኤ ኩናት ሕድሕድ ከፈቱ።

እዚ መስፍናዊ ጉጅለ እዚ ቀንዲ ነቲ ዝካየድ ዝነበረ ስምረትን ሃገርዊ ሓድነትን፣ ሰውራ ኤርትራ ሰፊሕ ሓራ ቦታታት ከይቃዳዶ ዝጸባእ ጉጅለ ነበረ፣ ነዝን ካልእን አብ ውሽጢ ተ-ሓ-ኤ ዝነበረ ሃንፋ ብግቡእ መሪሕነት ህ-ግ-ሓ-ኤ እንዳ መዘኖ ይኸይድ ስለዝነበረ ቀጺሎም ነቲ ደኹም ውድባዊ ሰንሰለት ተ-ሓ-ኤ አብ መንጎ መሪሕነትን ካድረታትን መሰረታትን ተጋደልትን ዝነበረ ስዒ ጥርናፊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ማእከልነት ኣጸቢቐ ንክምዕብል ግዜ ብምሃብ፣ ጸላኢ ማለት ስርዓት ደርጊ እስትንፋስ ክሳብ ዝህቦ ምቹእ ኩነታት ይጽበዩሉ ነይሩ እምበር ንተ-ሓ-ኤ ንክድምስስ ኣቐዲሙ ቅድሚ ከም ውድብ ምጂኑ ዝሓንጸጸ ውጥን (ስትራተጂ) እዩ።

**ይቅጽል..... (3ይ ክፋል 28.03.04)**

ስርዓት ደርጊ ካብ ሰነ 1978 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ክሳብ ሓምሌ 1979 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ሓሙሽተ ተቃራኒ ወራራት ኣካየደ ድሕሪ ምርብራብ ሰራዊት ህ-ግ-ሓ-ኤ ብ2 ታሕሳስ 1979 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ጸረ ምጥቃዕቲ ኣብ ግንባራት ናቕፋ፣ ፍባ መራት፣ ብምንጣፍ ካብ ኣክራናት ናቕፋን ከባቢኣን ጸሪጉ ኣብ ሕሉ-ምሕሉ-ማት ከባቢ ኣፍፃቦት ብኣንጻሩ ድማ ብጎሳጎሳ ኖሮ ወራዳ ኣብ ሸመር ኣድግን ከም ዝግርድ ምስ ገበሮ፣ ሓይሊ ወታዕራዊ ሚዛን ህ-ግ-ሓ-ኤን ስርዓት ደርግን ኣብ ጃልነት ስለ ዝኣተወ፣ ስርዓት ደርጊ ነዚ ናይ ጃልነት መድረኽ ንክቕይሮ ንቅጽሊ ምጥቃዕቲ ክነጣጠፍ ግዜ ከምዘድልዮ ዝገምገመ መሪሕነት ህ-ግ-ሓ-ኤ ንወ-ድብ ተ-ሓ-ኤ ምስ (ህዝባዊ ሓርነት ወያነ ትግራይ) ብምትሕግጋዝ ካብ ትርኢት ሜዳ ኤርትራ ንምጽራግ ወትዕራዊ ስትራቴጂ ብ28 ነሃሰ 1980 ዓ-መ-ፈ. ብምሕንጻጽ ጀመሮ። መሪሕነት ህ-ግ-ሓ-ኤ ነዚ ዕማም እዚ ከሰላሰሎ እነከሎ ኣቕዲሙን ድሒሩን ዝጠመቶም ናይ ውሽጥን ወጻእን ሮቂሒታት ዝደፍእዎን ዝሕብሙቦን እስትራቴጂካዊ ዕላማታትን ረብሓታትን ነይሮም እዮም።

**ንሳቶም ድማ፡ ቀዳማይ! ውሽጣዊ እስትራቴጂካዊ ሮቂሒታት!**

- 1) ላዕለዎይ መሪሕነት ህ-ግ-ሓ-ኤ ፖለቲካዊ ስልጣኑ ብጭቡጥ ዝቃጸጸን ዝዋዳደሮን ዘይብሉ ዝራጋገጸሉ ህሞት ምፍጣር።
- 2) ነቶም ኣቕዲሞም ክቅንጽልዎ ላዕልን ታሕትን ዝብሉ ዝነበሩ ኣባላት መሪሕነት ተ-ሓ-ኤ ንምቅንጻል ካብ መኣዲ ቃልሲ ምንጻልን ሒነ ምፍዳይ።
- 3) ሜዳ ኤርትራ ብህ-ግ-ሓ-ኤ ከም ዝብሓት ጥራሕ ንምግባር።
- 4) ተ-ሓ-ኤ ምስ ፈረሰት ነቲ ምስኣ ተሰሊፉ ዝጋደል ዝነበረ ተጋዳላይ ከሲብካ ናብ ህ-ግ-ሓ-ኤ ከም ዝስለፍ ምግባርን ጉልበታዊን ሰብኣውን ዓቕሚ ንምስሳን።
- 5) ኣብ ትሕቲ ዋንነት ተ-ሓ-ኤ ዝነበረ ኣብ ውሽጢ ሜዳ ቀዋምን ተንቀሳቓስን ንብረት ኣብ ትሕቲ ሕዝባዊ ግንባር ከም ዝኣቱ ንምግባር።
- 6) ኣብ ተሕቲ ምቕጽጻር ተ-ሓ-ኤ ዝነበረ ስትራቴጂካዊ ቦታታትን ህዝብን ንምቀጽጻር።
- 7) ንቅጽሊ ዝስለፍ ዜጋ ካልእ ወ-ድብ ስለ ዘየለ ፈትዩ ጸሊኡ ናብ ህዝባዊ ግንባር ክስለፍ ከም ዝውሕዝ ምግባርን ስነ-ሓሳብውን ግብራውን ምርጫታት እምንቶ ዜጋታት ምጽባብ።

8) ናይ ሓደ ውልቀ ሰብን ሓደ ውድብን ካልእ መዋዳድርቲ ዘይብሉ ፖለቲካዊ ውርጻ እንዳ ሃንጽካ ምጉዓዝ።

**ካልኣይ! ናይ ወጻኢ እስትራቴጂካዊ ርቓሒታት!**

1) ንምዕራባውያን ክፍለዓለም እስላማዊ ዓብላልነት ዘይብሉ የማናዊ ክንፊ ናይ ወጻኢ ፖለቲካዊ ህላዌ ናይቲ ተቅባ ከም እተቋጻጸረ ንምርግጋጽ ሓጋዝነት ብዘይ ገለ ዕ ቋቋታትን ከምዘይውሕዝ ምምሳልን።

2) ኣብቲ ዝካየድ ዝነበረ ዝሓል ኩናት ኣብ መንጎ ምዕራባውያንን ምብራቓውያንን ደንበትታ ብሓፈሻ ኣብ ኣፍሪ ቃን ቀርኒ ኣፍሪቃን ብፍላይ ህዝባዊ ግንባር ክጸሉን ክዋሳእን ምጥኑ ውሕስነት ብምእታው።

3) ነቲ ኣቐዲመን ኣብ ሰብዓታት ምዕራባውያን ሓጽየንኦ ዝነበራ ፖለቲካዊ መዓላታት ይትግበር ከም ዘሎ ንምንጻር።

4) ብምሉኡ ንሰውራ ኤርትራ ዝልገስ ዝነበረ ናይ ወጻኢ ሓገዝ ንክልቲኡ ውድባት ይምቀል ስለዝነበረ ንህዝባዊ ግንባር ጥራሕ ንምባሓት።

5) እንሠላን ሓያልን ወተሃደራውን ፖለቲካውን ህላዌ ኣብ ሜዳ ኤርትራ ንሱ ጥራሕ ምጥኑ ንምርግጋጽ።

6) ኣብ ዲፕሎማሲያዊ ናይ ሰላም ዘተ ንጥፊታት ተጻራርን ዝተፈለየ ርእይቶ ዘለዎ ውድብ ከምዘየለን ወዳኢ ጉዳይ ኤርትራ ንሱ ጥራሕ ምጥኑ ንምርኣይን ምስሓብን።

7) ልክዕ ከምቲ ንሓደ ሰውራ ዝደምሰሰ፡ ንሰራዓት ደርጊ እውን ክድምስሶ ካብ መልእ ኤርትራ ከውጽኦ ከም ዝክእል ንማሕበረ ሰብ ዓለም ንምምልካት።

ድሕሪ ተሓኤ ካብ ሜዳ ኤርትራ ምውጻኣ፡ ላዕለዎይ መሪሕነት ህዝባዊ ግንባር ኣብ ድሮ ሻድሻይ ወረራ ብመንገዲ ሶማልን ቀይሕ ባሕርን ዘይተኣደኑ ሎጂስቲካዊ ቀረባት ክረክብ ጀመረ፡ ኣባላት ፖለቲካዊ ቤት ጽሕፈት ውን ንምዕራብ ዓለም እንዳተዛዋወሩ ዲፕሎማሲያዊ ንጥፊታታት ከካይድ ጀመረ። ላዕለውይ መሪሕነት ህዝባዊ ግንባር ኤርትራ ኣብዚ ከይተሓጸረ ንዓባይቲ ካድረታት ወታሃደራዊ ንመራሕቲ ተሓኤ ኣብ ተዕቕቦምሉ ዝነበሩ ሰግረ ዶባዊ ሃገራት እንዳ ዳህሰሰ ቀተለ፡ ክቐትሎም ዘይኣካለ ድማ ካብ ኣብ ከባቢኦም ዝነበሩሉ ህዝቢ ክንጽሎም ፈተነ።

ምስ ምዕራባውያን ብምስምማዕ እውን ዑቕባ እንዳተዋህቡ ካብ ኤርትራን ከባቢኣን ርሒቑም ዝነብሩሉን ቃልሶም ዝሓጽረሉን ባይታታት ፈጠረ። ኣብ ውሽጢ ተ-ሓ-ኤ ብዝተፋላለዩ ደርጃ ስለያ መርበባቱ ብምዝርጋሕ ኣብ ምምቕቓሎም እውን ዓቢ እጃም ተጣልዔ።

ኣብዚ ከይተንተነ ክሕለፍ ዘይብሉ፡ እቶም ብሂወት ዘየለውን ገለን ሃገር ዝመርሑ ዘለው ገለ ሽኣ ኣብ እተፋላለያ ውድባት እናሠላብለሉ ክሳብ ሕጂ ንውልቀ ረባሕኦም ክብሉ ብስም ሃይማኖትን ወገንን ንክሸቅጡ፡ ዝፈጸምዎ ናይ ቅንጻላ ገበን፡ ኣብ ልዕሊ ክርስታያን ዝወረድ ዝነበረ ቅንጻላ፡ ብሸፊል ንምጥቃስ ዝኣክል፡ ኣብ 1966/1967 መምህር ወልዳይ ካሕሳይን ሰዓብቲን ካብ ሜዳ ገለን ብቐጥታ ገልን ብየመን ኣቢሎም ንኢትዮጵያ ኢዶም ብምሃብ ኣብ ዝሃብዎ ምስክርነት ብዙሓት ደቂ ከበሳ ክርስትያን ከም እተሓርዱ ምስክርነቶም ብጋዜጣን ብረድዮን ከም ዝሃቡ ዝዝከር እዩ። ከምኡውን ተጋደልቲ ኪዳነ ክፍለን፡ ወልዳይ ግደይን፡ ነቲ ዝነበረ ሃይማኖታዊን ፖለቲካዊን ቅልውላውን ፍልልያትን ንምምያጥ ነቶም ኣብ ከበሳ ዝነበሩ መሪሕነት ቅያደል ዓማ ንምርካብ ንክሰላ ኣብ ዝሸፈሉ እዋን ኣብኡ ተቐንጺሊም ተረፉ፡ ካብ ኣዲስ ኣበባ ዝወሓዙ መናእሰይ ብስም ስረየት-ኣዲስ ዝፍለጡ እውን ግፍዓዊ ቅትለት ኣብ ልዕሊኦም ከም እተፈጸመ ደሞም ከእዊ ይነብር እሎ።

ኣብ ልዕሊ ጀጋኑ ተጋደልቲ ደቂ ሃገር እውን ነቲ ዘይቅኑዕ ኣሳሰራርሓ መሪሕነት ስለ ዝተቐወሙ ፋሉል ዝብል ስም ኣጠሚቑም ሀ-ሀ በል ፋሉላይ በ-በ በል ፋሉላይ እናተባህሉ፡ ገለን ኣደዳ ሞት ገለን ኣማራጺ ስኢኖም ናብ ሀ-ግ-ሓ-ኤ ንክዕቀኑቡ እንተኸዱ ኣብ ናይ ባጽዕ ውግእ ብምእታው ተሰውኡ፡ ገለን ናብ ኢትዮጵያ ብምስላም፡ ዝተረፉ ድማ ፋሕ ጭንግራሕ ኣተዎም። እዚ ብመንጽር መንካዕ ክጥመት ከሎ ፍልልዩ ብዙሕ ኣይከነን።

ከምኡ ውን ደክቶር ፍጹምን፡ መልኣከ ተኸለን፡ ብገፍዒ ከም እተቐንጸሉ ምዝካር። ብጭብጢ ኣቀታትልኦም ዘይተፈለጠ ደቂ ሃገር ከም በዓል ወልደዳዊት ተመስገን፡ ስዒድ ሳልሕ፡ ኣብርሃ ጋርዛ፡ ወዘተረፈ እውን ክዝከር ይግባእ።

ብኣንጻሩ እቲ ሕጂ ኣብ ኤርትራ ኣብ ስልጣን ዘሎ ስርዓት ውድብ ኣብ ዝመሰረተሉ እዋን፡ ንሕናን ዕላማናን እትብል መጽሔት ከም ናይ ክርስታያን ሓላዪ ተመሲሉ ንውልቀ ረብሓኡ ንክብል ከምቶም ክልኣት ኣብ ዝተፋፍልያ ውድባት ዝሸቅጡ ዝነበሩ፡

ንሱ ውን ንህዝቢ ከበሳ ንክኸሰብ ክብል፡ ነታ ኣብ ላዕሊ ተጠቒሳ ዘላ መጽሔት ዘርግሖ። ሠላይኑ ግን እዚ ብውልቀ መላኺ ዝምራሕ ውድብ ዘዝተፋላለየ ኣስማት እንዳ ኣጠመቐ ንኣብነት መንካዕ የሚን፡፡ኣውራጃውያን፡ሰለይቲ ናይ ሲ ኣይ ኤይ፡ሰለይቲ ናይ ኢትዮጵያ፡ሰለይቲ ናይ ዓማ፡ እናበለ ማእለያ ዘይብሎም ክርስትያን ቀንጸለ።

ብተዳጋጋሚ ኣስማቶም ኣብ ብዙሕ ጽሑፋት ከም ዝወጸ ክንዝክር ይግባእ ሠላይኑ ግን ታሪኽ ብሓቂ ምድግጋም ኣይጸላእን።

ገለ ገለ ካብቶም ብግፍዒ ዝተቐንጸሉ ኣስማቶም ንምጥቃስ ዝክል።

- |                       |         |        |
|-----------------------|---------|--------|
| 1) ደሃብ ተስፋጽዮን         | መጻሉ     | ኣ/ጉዛይ. |
| 2) የውሃንስ ስብሃቱ         | ጉራዕ     | ኣ/ጉዛይ. |
| 3) ተውልደ ኢዮብ           | ሰሳሕ     | ኣ/ጉዛይ. |
| 4) ሙሴ ተስፋሚካኤል         | ዓዲ ፍቲዕ  | ኣ/ጉዛይ. |
| 5) ሃብታስላሴ ገ/መድህን      | ሓሊቦ     | ኣ/ጉዛይ. |
| 6) ርእሶም ዘርኣይ          | እንዳደቆ   | ኣ/ጉዛይ. |
| 7) ጉይቶኦም በርሄ (ብጻይ)    | ዓዲ ካንታ  | ኣ/ጉዛይ. |
| 8) ተስፋ ኪዳነ            | አሽፋር    | ኣ/ጉዛይ. |
| 9) ሃብተ ኪዳነ (ጉሪላ)      | ማዕረባ    | ኣ/ጉዛይ. |
| 10) ኣብርሃም ገ/እየሱስ      | ሰገነይቲ   | ኣ/ጉዛይ. |
| 11) ጳውሎስ ተስፋዝጊ        | ኣፈልባ    | ኣ/ጉዛይ  |
| 12) ሃብተ (ዓንተር)        | ማይ ወይኒ  | ኣ/ጉዛይ. |
| 13) ተድሮስ ተሳፍሚካኤል      | ሓርዩን    | ኣ/ጉዛይ. |
| 14) ተክልማርያም ቀሺ ተ/ማርያም | ኩዓቲት    | ኣ/ጉዛይ. |
| 15) መምህር ኣለም          | ጉራዕ     | ኣ/ጉዛይ. |
| 16) መምህር ኣርኣያ         | ጉደይቲ    | ኣ/ጉዛይ  |
| 17) ወዲ ጭሩም            | ኣፈልባ    | ኣ/ጉዛይ  |
| 18) ግርማይ በህረ          | ዑና ፈርያን | ኣ/ጉዛይ. |
| 19) ኣማረ ትኩእ ምራጭ       | ድግሳ     | ኣ/ጉዛይ. |
| 20) ኣርኣያ ሰመረ          | ማይ ሰራው  | ኣ/ጉዛይ. |
| 21) ዑቕባኣብ ሰዩም         | ዓዲ ቕንጺ  | ኣ/ጉዛይ. |
| 22) ሃይለ ሓንሶ           | ሰሳሕ     | ኣ/ጉዛይ. |

23) ኢሳያስ ተ/ብርሃን	አሹፋር	አ/ጉዛይ.
24) ገብረመድህን እንድርያስ	አውህነ	አ/ጉዛይ.
25) ተስፋማርያም ፍታው	ሠላርባርያ	አ/ጉዛይ.
26) ዘርእዝጊ	ሐላይ/ድግሳ	አ/ጉዛይ.
27) ዮናስ ተስፋሚካኤል	ዓዲ ፍኒዕ	አ/ጉዛይ
28) ተስፋልደት	በራቂት	አ/ጉዛይ.
29) ዮሴፍ ተውልደብርሃን	እንገላ	አ/ጉዛይ.
30) ምስገን ዮሴፍ		አ/ጉዛይ.
31) ሓጎስ ሚካኤል	ጨዓሎ ሃዳድም	አ/ጉዛይ.
32) ሓጎስ ኦብርሃ	ሔቦ	አ/ጉዛይ.
33) ሃይላት ወልደሚካኤል	ሐላይ	አ/ጉዛይ.
34) ኢሳያስ ዑና	ዓንዶም	አ/ጉዛይ.
35) ፍረዝጊ ዓዲ	ካንታ	አ/ጉዛይ.
36) ሙሉብርሃን	ደርዓ	አ/ጉዛይ.
37) ሃይለ ተወልደ	አምሁር	አ/ጉዛይ.
38) ወልደሊባኖስ	ዓዲ ነብሪ	አ/ጉዛይ.
39) መሐሪ ኪዳነ	ሃዳሙ ደቀምሐረ	አ/ጉዛይ.
40) ተዓገስ ተስፋዝጊ	ዓዲ ቀረጽ/አድግና	አ/ጉዛይ.
41) ገብረስላሴ ክፍለማርያም	ዓዲ ነብሪ	አ/ጉዛይ.
42) ኪዳነ	ዓዲ አበይቶ	ሐማሴን
43) ገብረሚካኤል	ወደርባዕተ	ሐማሴን
44) አፈውርቂ ተክሉ	ዓ/ተከለዛን	ሐምሴን.
45) የማነ (መክሲሠላ)	ዓዲ ሸማግለ	ሐማሴን.
46) ዓወት ካሕሳይ	ክባቢ አስመራ	ሐማሴን.
47) ጳጥሮስ ክሕሳይ		ሐማሴን.

**ይቅጽል! (4ይን መጨረሻን ክፋል)**

48) ሰለሞን ወልደማሪያም		ሐማሴን
49 ተኸልኣብ ሚካኤል	ሰሐርቲ	ሐማሴን.
50) መጎስ ኣብርሃ	ዓዲ ንኣምን	ሐማሴን.
51) ዓንደብርሃን ስዩም	ዓደርዓዳ	ሐማሴን.
52) ዘርኣይ	ቤት ጊዮርግስ	ኣስመራ.
53) ሚካኤል ወዲ ዓቀይታይ	ሕምብርቲ	ሐማሴን.
54) ኣለም ኣብርሃ	ዓዲ ዛምር	ሐማሴን.
55) ታርቀ ይሕደጉ	ሕምብርቲ	ሐማሴን.
56) ጠዓመ	ዓዲ ገብራይ	ሐማሴን.
57) ሓጎስ ንጉሰ	ዛግር	ሐማሴን.
58) ኣብርሃ		ሐማሴን.
59) መሕሪ ግርማጼን	እምባደርሆ	ሐማሴን.
60) ወዲ ዘርኤ	ቤት ምኻእ	ሐማሴን.
61) መሲሕ ርእሶም	ዓዲ ቀድነት	ሰራዬ.
62) ደበሳይ ገብረስላሴ		ሰራዬ.
63) ገ/ኣምሳኽ ኢስቕ		ሰራዬ.
64) እስቲፋኖስ		ሰራዬ.
65) መምህር ተኸለ		ሰራዬ.
66) መንግስትኣብ ያሬድ	ዓዲ ኻላ	ሰርዬ.
67) ኣበራሽ መልከ	ከረን	ሰንሒት.
68) ጳጥሮስ ዮውሃንስ	ከረን	ሰንሒት.
69) መሕመድ ዓሊ (ክለይ)	ባጽዕ	ሰምሃር.
70) ኢብራሂም ዓፋ	ባጽዕ	ሰምሃር.
71) መሓመድ ሂላል		ደንከል
72) ዶክተር ኢዮብ ገብረልኩል		
73) ዶክተር ርእሶም		
74) ዶክተር ብእምነት		
75) ዶክተር ሚካኤል		

- 76) ኣማንኤል ቀሺ
- 77) በርሄ መሲሕ
- 78) ተኸላይ ገ/አየሱስ
- 79) ምኪኤል በረኸትኣብ
- 80) ገብርኣምላክ ይሳቕ
- 81) ተኸልማርያም ረሻይዳ
- 82) መምህር ጸጋይ ወዲ ራእሲ
- 83) ሙሴ ኪዳነ
- 84) መብራህቶም ወደባ ጎዳን
- 85) ፍስሃት ኪዳነ
- 86) እስቲፋኖስ
- 87) ኣባ ሳሙኢኦል
- 88) ሃይለ ጀብሃ
- 89) ተስፋሚካኤል ዘርኡ
- 90) ሃይለስላሴ በራኸ
- 91) ተኪኤ በርሄ ወይ ሃይለ

ብ1977 ኣብ ከተማ ከረን ዋና ጸሓፊ ሀ-ግ-ሓ-ኤ ኣብ ዝገበሮ መደረኡ ርእይቶኦም ዝገለጹን ናይ መሪሕነት ታሪኽ ይፈልጡ እዮም ተባሂሎም ብጠርጠራ ተወሲዶም ዝተረሸኑ።

- 92) ተወልደ በይን
- 93) ወልደማርያም ተስፋ-ዝጊ
- 94) እምባዩ ገብሩ
- 95) ብርሃነ ሓድጉ
- 96) መልኣከ በራኸ
- 97) ገብሪሕወት ክንፈ
- 98) ገብረጻድቕ ጊላኡ
- 99) መሓመድ ዑመር
- 100) ዑቕባሚክኤል
- 101) ነጋሽ ስብሃቱ

102) ዑመር በሺድ

103) ሓድጉ ማና

104) ሚኒቲ ሓለቻ ዛይድ                      ዓዲ ኃላ                      ሰራዩ.

105) ዕጩት ሒና

106) ፍትዊ ተሰፋዝጊ

እተቅም አብ ላዕሊ አስማቶም ተጠቂሱ ብግፍዒ ዝተቐንጸሉ ሰማእታት ደቂ ሃገር ካበዩናይ ኣውራጃ ምኻኖም ንጹር ሓበሬታ ስለዘይተረኸበ እዩ አስማቶም ጥራሕ ተጠቂሱ።

ድሕሪ ሃገር ምሕራር ካብ ዝተፋላለዩ ውድባት ነባራት ጀጋኑ ሓርበታትን ተጋደልትን፣ ከምኡ ውን አብ ህ-ግ-ሓ-ኤ ዕድሚኦም ምሉእ ዝተቐለሱ፣ እሞ አብ ምሕራር ሃገር ዓቢ እጃም ዘበርኩቱ ጀጋኑ ሓርበኛታትን ተጋደልትን፣ ካልኣት ንጹሃት ደቂ ሃገርን፣ ገልን ብመቐተልቲ ገለን ብማእሰርቲ፣ ከም እተሳቐዩን ይሳቐዩ ከምዘለውን ኣርሒቑ ክጥምት እንተዘይደልዩ ንማንም ስውር ኣይሠላነን። ኣስፍሒካ ምጽሓፍ ምተገበኤ ነይሩ፣ ነገር ግን ታሪኽ ድሕሪ ምሕራር ሃገር ነብሱ ዝሸከለ መድርኽ ስለ ዝሠላነ፣ ንጸሓፍቲ ታሪኽ ምግዳፋ ይሓይሽ።

ክቡር ኣንባቢ እዚ አብ ላዕሊ ዝተጠቐሰ ታሪኽ ደም ብደም ይታሓጸብ ማለት ዘይሠላነስ እቲ ሕሉፍ ታሪኽ ንሸይድገም ንምዝክኻር ዝዓለመ እዩ፣ ማለት እቶም አብ ዝተፈላለዩ ውደባት መዋእሎም አብ ስደት ከርተት ዝብሉ ዘለው መራኣሕቲ ፍልልያቶም ኣወንዚፎም ሽገር ሃገርን ህዝብን ብምቕዳም ጠልብ ህዝቢ ምዃኑ ክርድኦም ይግባእ።

አብ መደምደምታ ኦ ህዝቢ ኤርትራ ብኣሻሓት ዝቐጸሩ ብሉጻት ጀጋኑ ደቐኻ ብንጽህና ንነጻነትን ሓርነትን መሰልን ዝተሰውኡላን ዝሰንከሉላን ሃገር፣ እቲ ትምኒትካን ባህሻኻን ፍሬ ጸማኻን ብተቅም ውሕዳት ናይ ስልጣን ህርፋን ዘለውም ውልቀሰባት ገለን ሃገር ዝገዝኡ ዘለው ገለን አብ ስደት ዘለው አብ መደምደምትኡ ከይ በጸሖ ከም እተቐጸዩ ኩሉ ዝምስክር እዩ።

ብእንጻሩ ኣደዳ ጥምየትን ሕማምን ስደትን ከም ዝሠላንካ ናይ ዓለም ዜን መሳራጨውቲ ክዘርግሕኦ ይውዕላ ኣለዋ፣ ስልዚ ሃገር ብህዝቢ ዝመጸት ናይ ህዝቢ ምዃና ሓይሊ ድማ ናይ ህዝቢ ምዃኑ ኣሚንካ፣ ነተቅም ንዓመታት ኣሸካዕላል ዝተጸውቱልካን ዝጸወትልካ ዘለውን ብምግንዛብ፣ አብ ሰሳታት ዝጀመረ ምፍሕፋሓት አብ ሰብዓታት

ብግብሪ ዝተነጸረ ምፍንጫላት ሕጂ ውን ዝቕጽል ዘሎ ህዝቢ ተጽዕኖ እንተዘይገርሎም ተሳማሚዕም መፍትሒ ከምድ ማለት ናይ ለዋሃት ኣዘራርባ ጥራሕ እዩ ክባሃል ዝካኣል ምክንያቱ፡ (ዘይባኣስ የለን ዘይዕረቕ ሕሱም) ስለዝካብ።

እታ እንሰላ መፍትሒን ኣማራጽን ዘላ (ተምንሲ ንክብዱ ክብል ብክብዱ ይኸይድ) ከም ዝብሃል፡ ከምኡውን ህዝቢ ኤርትራ ንጠቕሙን ንጠቕሚ ሃገሩን ክብል ኣብ ወጻኢን ኣብ ውሽጢ ሃገርን ዝርከብ ወዲ ሃገር ነቲ ዝሓለፈ ናይ መፋላልዪ ተንሰላላት ብሃይማኖት ብወገን ብዓሌት ዝብል መርዛም ሕማም ኣስተባሂልካ ሃገርን ህዝብን ካብ ዓ ዘቕትን ሽግርን ንምንጋፍ ናይ ኩሉ ወዲ ሃገር ሓላፍነት ስለ ዝሰላኝ ብሃገራዊ ባይቶ መልክዕ ይኹን ብሃገራዊ ዘተ ወይ ተመሳሳይ ህዝብናን ሃገርናን ካብ ምጽናት ንምድሓን ንበራበር።

ለበዋ! ከምቲ ኣብ መእተዊ ናይዚ ጽሕፍ ዝገለጽክዎ ሕሉፍ ታሪኽ ብፍርይ ዝበለ ኢሉ ጠቂሰ ነይረ፡ ነገርግን ታሪኽ ዓይኛኻ ዓሚትካ ስለ ዘይሕለፍ፡ ነዚ ትሕዝቶ ናይዚ ጽሑፍ ብደቂቕን ብትክክልን ሕሉፍ ታሪኽ ኣፍልጦ ኣለኒ ኢሉ፡ ብዝመሰሎ ዘይሰላኝ ብዘይ ኣድልዎን ናብ ወገን ውልቀሰባትን ከምኡ ውን ውድባትን ከይዘዘወ፡ ኣራሙ ንመጻኢ ወለዶ ታሪኽ ብመጽሓፍ መልክዕ ንምቕራብ፡ ቅሩብነት ዘለዎ መድረኽ ክፉት ምዃኑ ዘይምዝንጋዕ።

ስውኣትና ንዘላለም ይዘከሩ  
ጽንዓትን ተጻዋርነትን ንኣካለ ስንኩሳትና  
እሜን።

## ተ ፈ ጸ መ

ትዕዘብቲ ካብ መዝገብ ታሪኽ፡ (ካብ 1ይ ክሳብ 4ይ) መወዳእታን)  
(ኣለም ተስፋ ቶሮንቶ ካናዳ 2004)

[http://www.jeberti.com/pdf/Kab\\_Mezgeb\\_Tarich\\_2004.pdf](http://www.jeberti.com/pdf/Kab_Mezgeb_Tarich_2004.pdf)

## **YouTube Link:**

Eritrea Smerrr for change

Salih Abdullah on

The Massawa Symposium (1982)

**By: Tesfamichael Giorgio**

The secret connection of Issayas Afeworki (Selfi Netsanet)

and CIA agent Richard Copland in 1960's and 1970's

**<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F53bSs8N1Vs>**