

**FOURTH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTION**

**Speech Delivered
by**

**Comrade Lt. Colonel Mengistu Haile-Mariam,
Chairman of the PMAC and the Council of Ministers,
and Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Army.**

**September 12, 1978
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AMSTERDAM

Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Army,

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and President of the Council of State and of the Government of Cuba,

Esteemed Comrade Fidel Castro,

Guests from fraternal socialist countries and African countries and representatives of various organizations,

Fighters of national liberation movements,

You, the broad masses of Ethiopia who have paid immense sacrifice in defense of your revolution and the unity of your country and have made this glorious anniversary possible;

The Revolutionary Army who with your blood and life have protected the territorial integrity of your motherland;

Genuine progressives who are prepared to die in the various fields of the struggle;

All those who have contributed to the defence of the motherland against external aggression.

There are several important reasons why September 12 is a unique day for workers, poor peasants, oppressed men-in-uniform and genuine progressives of Ethiopia. On this date, September 1974, the head of the feudo-bourgeois regime, the monarch, was deposed. Thus, the mass movement that spontaneously started in February 1974 confirmed its anti-feudal character in practice. On this date, the Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces, Territorial Army and the Police assumed state power in the interest of Ethiopia's workers, peasants, and the progressive section of the petty-bourgeoisie. On this date was born in the horn of Africa a revolutionary country which during the last four years has proved its anti-feudal, anti-imperialist, anti-neo-colonialist stand and its readiness to stand

alongside the socialist community of the world, working class movements and progressive forces. It became a member of the community of all those who stand for peace, democracy and socialism. Its popular and revolutionary character was confirmed by the far-reaching and revolutionary measures that were undertaken.

On this brilliant occasion of this 4th anniversary, we would like to recall the struggles we have carried out, the sacrifices we have made in terms of lives and property, the great revolutionary experiences we have gained and the military and political victories we have achieved during the past four years. Even though our economy is backward and our heritage is feudal, we were able to defeat our internal and external enemies.

When we celebrate this popular and revolutionary anniversary we remember with respect our comrades who under the slogan, "*Revolutionary Motherland or Death!*" "*We Shall Triumph!*" "*The Revolution is Above all Else*", have died in urban and rural Ethiopia, in schools and at the war front. Under the revolutionary and timely slogan, "*The victory achieved in the south and east shall be repeated in the north*", our revolutionary army is currently engaged in a war of liberation against the reactionary secessionist groups in the administrative region of Eritrea. The broad masses there are now becoming free and have begun to live peacefully.

There is another important reason that makes this occasion unique. The great revolutionary leader who has suffered prison sentence for the cause of the freedom and progress of his people, who turned the Cuban court into a forum of open struggle, who carried out with his comrades, an armed struggle and liberated the broad masses of Cuba from American imperialism and the military dictatorship of Batista is among us. I do not think it is necessary to tell you the name of this great revolutionary leader. We, his friends and comrades, mention his name with pride while our common enemies mention it with trepidation.

Comrade Fidel Castro is not new to the revolutionaries of Ethiopia. Not long ago, we used to hear of his decisiveness, revo-

lutionary quality and practical proletarian internationalism from a distance. But since the beginning of the Ethiopian revolution, we have been able to witness that the Cuban people, in particular their leader, Comrade Fidel Castro, have proven their solidarity with the oppressed people of the world. The unflinching comradeship of Comrade Fidel Castro was shown when we were challenged by the reactionary and expansionist ruling clique of Somalia.

The warm and fraternal reception which was accorded to me and my colleagues by the people of Cuba when we visited that country in April, 1978 will always be remembered. During this visit, we were able to witness the zeal of the Cuban people and their readiness to fight in defense of the victories they have achieved through bitter struggle and to withstand any imperialist challenge. We were overwhelmed with the spirit of proletarian internationalism when we witnessed the solid support and admiration that the Cuban people have for the Ethiopian revolution.

The broad masses of Ethiopia !

The history of the struggle of the broad masses of Ethiopia is written with blood. In retrospect, we can see vividly the tortuous path we have traversed. Overcoming the misery imposed on them by the age-old reactionary social system the broad masses are currently going through a new historical process.

We recall those who have fallen fighting for equality and justice during the past period of struggle. We recall those who have died in the bushes and in the fields fighting against that cruel feudal system. Can we forget the thousands who have perished and those who were on the verge of death crying for a drop of water in Wollo and Tigray regions during the famine of four years ago? How many did perish in the struggle to ignite the flame of freedom and class emancipation?

The broad masses of Ethiopia who are jealous of their unity and independence have a long record of anti-colonial struggle. Without flinching a bit from the bullets and swords of the enemy, our

forefathers have defended the honour of their motherland with great valour. The present generation which is armed with revolutionary courage, is also following the exemplary heroism of our forefathers. The courage it inherited from our forefathers is still in its blood. Therefore, the love of country and the warm valour of our forefathers is eternal.

The united action that the workers, the poor peasants and the men-in-uniform took against the oppressive system resulted in the popular uprising. This shows that revolution is a birth pang of a new social system. Thus, the long-standing contradiction between the oppressor and the oppressed masses of Ethiopia resolved itself in a revolution.

The feudo-bourgeois system was defused and burnt by a revolutionary fire. International imperialism and the internal reactionary forces who did not foresee the mass revolutionary movement were made to shiver by the revolution of February 1974. When they realized that the revolution was going to destroy the roots of their exploitative rule, they made feverish attempts to subvert our young revolution.

The broad masses of Ethiopia !

Even if you yourself is the witness of the protracted struggle of the last four years and of the victories you have won over your class enemies, it is necessary that we jointly reflect upon the form and content of the obstacles which the revolution met and overcame. It can be recalled that imperialism for its anti-revolutionary activities recruited and organized feudalists, the petty-bourgeoisie and the lumpen elements. It deployed the so-called Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party (EPRP), a Trotskyite group, carrying an apparently radical slogan. In unity with the feudalists, this organization established a network of counter-revolutionary bases throughout the country. Using the youth and the lumpen, as murderers and assassins, it destroyed the lives of radical intellectuals, many workers, peasants and leaders of urban dwellers associations. As a result, there are today many children who have lost their fathers;

there are many mothers and sisters who lost their loved ones. All these have paid a tremendous price and have contributed dearly for bringing the revolution to this stage. And when they see the progress of the revolution, their hearts are filled with pride. As I have said before, Ethiopia has lost many brave and tested revolutionary sons and daughters who cannot easily be replaced. The activities of EPRP such as the burning of crops, the sabotaging of factories, the campaign among workers to decrease production and among peasants not to bring their crops to the urban areas and the preventing of students from going to school can never be forgotten. On several occasions, it has tried to deprive the mass movement of revolutionary leadership by trying to hatch a right-wing coup d'etat. It has also openly supported the Somali invaders and the secessionists in Eritrea. By infiltrating its agents into the ranks of the armed forces and through reactionary agitation it has contributed to the temporary occupation of Ethiopia's towns and cities by the reactionary army of Siad Barre.

International imperialism and reactionary Arab ruling classes organized the feudal remnants into the so-called Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU) which tried to challenge the revolution in northern and north western Ethiopia. But this organization which once boasted of occupying some towns when our revolution was in great difficulty, is now disintegrating to pieces.

These are not all the obstacles which imperialists placed on our path. By giving moral and material support to the secessionists in the administrative region of Eritrea, whom they used to oppose prior to 1974, they made it possible for them to temporarily occupy many parts of the region. They have made immense contribution to the secessionists' attempt to weaken our economy.

Imperialism, which is always known for its maze of counter-revolutionary activities, encouraged the reactionary leaders of Somalia against the Ethiopian revolution and national unity. Thus capitalizing on the difficult situation, which the Ethiopian revolution was passing through, the reactionary Somalian leaders who were

intoxicated with the dream of "Great Somalia" were able to temporarily occupy vast regions in eastern and southern Ethiopia.

This was a period when imperialism and other reactionary forces felt that their design to encircle and isolate the Ethiopian revolution was effectively realized. By strengthening the secessionists in the north, by invading our country from the east and south, by coordinating the white terror of the EPRP in the central part of the country, they tried to put revolutionary Ethiopia into a major crisis. This was a time when the country was in a great difficulty and when counter-revolution seemed certain. It also was during this time that the right-roader, the All Ethiopia Socialist Movement (MEISON) betrayed the revolution and fled away from the revolutionary camp. This was also a time when imperialism and other reactionary forces made a major propaganda campaign to distort the image of the Ethiopian revolution.

Imperialism which is responsible for the oppression of the exploited peoples of the world, for the hunger and misery of millions, for denying its own people basic human rights, began to accuse revolutionary Ethiopia of violating human rights at international meetings and through its mass media. It made the broad masses of Ethiopia who were struggling for freedom and equality in a revolutionary determination suffer from war and terror. The very existence of the country was put to trial.

At this critical point, the choice of the broad masses of Ethiopia was clear. The choice was slavery or freedom; the choice was a weak and divided Ethiopia or a strong and united Ethiopia; the choice was fall prey to imperialism or build a revolutionary Ethiopia by repulsing the reactionary pressure of our enemies; the choice was peace with our class enemies or not compromising revolutionary Ethiopia and our revolutionary principles. We have demonstrated our choices in practice. Our goal is socialism and communism. Our revolutionary army which is shedding its blood in the Ogaden and in the administrative region of Eritrea has proved and is proving that "Revolutionary Motherland or Death" is the slogan that we follow

to the letter. It is still proving to the oppressed classes who are struggling against their class enemies in the open sing this same slogan and toil for it.

Comrade Fidel !

Victory is always the fruit of struggle. This is what Marxist-Leninist practice has taught us. This is what the great October Socialist Revolution has taught us. This is what the long struggle of the heroic peoples of Vietnam has taught us. This is what the struggle of the Cuban people led by the great revolutionary leader, Comrade Fidel Castro, against imperialism has taught us. The lesson which the broad masses and revolutionaries of Ethiopia have learnt from their comrades who have fallen in battle and who have sacrificed their lives in the struggle against counter-revolutionaries is similar. Struggle and victory, victory and struggle are dialectically interwoven. Our struggle will continue till we attain total victory.

Before I speak about the victories especially in military and political spheres which our revolution has scored over the external aggressors and over internal reactionaries, I want all of us to recall the bitterness of the struggle and the tremendous sacrifices it called for.

It is certain that the epic struggle which the broad masses of Ethiopia waged to counter the invasion of the reactionary regime of Somalia and to withstand and annihilate secessionists in the administrative region of Eritrea will hold a special place in the history of revolutions. When the expansionists started an open war of aggression and the secessionists in northern Ethiopia tried to dismember Eritrea from Ethiopia and deny the country all access to the sea, the broad masses of Ethiopia remained firm. Even if to these difficulties were added the sabotage to create scarcity of food in the country and to lower production in factories, the broad masses of Ethiopia were not disturbed. Since they began with the full determination to carry the revolution to its final victory, they increased their revolutionary participation by several fold despite all the obstacles. The sacrifices made in terms of human and material resour-

ces by the broad masses of Ethiopia to withstand these counter-revolutionary offensives, to defend the territorial integrity of our motherland, is incalculable. In cash alone they have contributed over one hundred million Ethiopian Birr from their subsistence in defense of our correct cause. The massive effort which was made in the preparation of food and other necessities for the men going to the war front showed the determination with which the people of Ethiopia are always prepared to safeguard the integrity of their revolutionary motherland. At that time, revolutionary Ethiopia seemed like a picturesque landscape of cottage industries.

Small and heavy industries will flourish in Ethiopia !

The struggle to provide housing, food and clothing to the broad masses of Ethiopia will intensify !

Economic justice will prevail in Ethiopia !

The broad masses of Ethiopia have paid tremendous sacrifices. The peasants and the workers have raised from among themselves thousands of politically qualified men and women for the peoples' militia. In a short period of time the militia was able to learn the operation of sophisticated weapons obtained from fraternal socialist countries. The peoples' militia has also absorbed Marxist-Leninist ideas. The regular army which has steeled itself through the struggle of the last four years, effectively resisted counter-revolutionary plots which were designed to create disunity between it and the militia, and together with the militia paid great sacrifices in defence of revolutionary Ethiopia from external aggression.

The heroism displayed and the sacrifices paid by the revolutionary army of Ethiopia in the eastern, southern and the northern war fronts, gives us great pride and confidence. Despite natural and physical obstacles, the revolutionary army has staunchly defended the integrity of our motherland with revolutionary valour and full confidence. So much blood is not shed in vain at Fedis, Jeldessa, Kore, Gode, Kebri Dehar, Degahabur, Dollo, Warder, Aware, Kelafo, Mustahill and in other mountains, hills, valleys and fields. It

has guarded our motherland from being split by the expansionists; our revolution has been saved from the verge of reversal. The bones of our fighters who fell on the eastern and southern war fronts will always remain thorns to all those who may desire to violate the integrity of Ethiopia in the future. They will also remain inspirations and symbols of courage and freedom for the present and future revolutionary generations. They will remain for the oppressed as eternal and concrete evidences of what love for a revolutionary country means.

As we celebrate this anniversary of our revolution with great splendour, we wish to express our thanks to the socialist countries, African countries and the peace-loving forces of the world who rendered to us material, political and moral support when our country was in a major crisis and when the enemies of the broad masses of Ethiopia, spearheaded by international imperialism, set out to subvert our revolution and to undermine our unity. On behalf of the broad masses of Ethiopia, I want to thank the Communist Party and Government of the Soviet Union, the first socialist country in the world and the bastion of support for working class, progressive and national liberation movements, for the tremendous material and political support they extended to us.

Comrade Fidel,

The blood which the fighters of revolutionary Cuba, alongside their Ethiopian comrades, shed at Kara Mara and at the other eastern and southern battle fields for the cause of our country and for the flourishing of socialism, will always remain as the affirmation of the unity in struggle between the peoples of Cuba and Ethiopia.

Today as they reflect upon the victories they have scored through their bitter struggle the broad masses of Ethiopia, remember with pride, the gallant sons of Cuba who have died for the honour of Revolutionary Ethiopia. It is proper to express to the revolutionary leader of the people of Cuba, Comrade Fidel Castro, our heartfelt admiration for his unflinching internationalism and consistent anti-imperialist stand. Since to a revolutionary, there is

nothing dearer and nobler than a revolution, if there is anything that the broad masses of Ethiopia can replay you, it is only their determination to intensify the struggle, to die for the revolution, to build, with their blood the Peoples' Democratic Ethiopia where equality and justice will reign.

— The solidarity of the peoples of Ethiopia and Cuba is sealed with blood !

— Cuba is a glorious example for the struggle of all oppressed peoples !

We promise to carry forward consistently the torch of proletarian internationalism as a way of repaying for the support that has been given to us by the Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen, Democratic German, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Libya and other socialist and progressive forces.

The broad masses of Ethiopia !

Even if we have scored victory over the invading forces of Somalia, in the east and the south, the reactionary leaders of Somalia who are intoxicated with the hope of realizing "Great Somalia" still seem to harbour their sinister designs. Still, they have not stopped infiltrating men who dynamite communication lines and do other damages. By retaining its forces at its own border, revolutionary Ethiopia has shown its willingness to respect the charters of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, other international agreements and the opinion of the peace-loving peoples of the world. But the reactionary ruling clique of Somalia has not given weight to all the patience and caution of Ethiopia. The leaders of Somalia still continue to test our patience by their intermittent provocative acts. Revolutionary Ethiopia does not wish to see the oppressed people of Somalia taken into a new war before they recover from the devastations brought on them by their reactionary leaders. We want to make one thing absolutely clear to all the peace-loving peoples of the world. Ethiopia has an honest desire for peace. But the patience of Ethiopia has its limits.

The broad masses of Ethiopia !

When we make an assessment of the political struggle and the victory gained internationally, we feel encouraged for the struggle that lies ahead. It cannot be forgotten that just as the domestic policy was controlled by imperialism, so was the foreign policy in pre-revolutionary Ethiopia. Still Ethiopia's foreign policy was born of the historic struggle which the broad masses of Ethiopia have waged against colonialist, imperialist and expansionist forces. The foreign policy of revolutionary Ethiopia which is guided by the Programme of the National Democratic Revolution reflects the spirit of proletarian internationalism. On the basis of the Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence, revolutionary Ethiopia will maintain its relationship with all countries of the world with different social systems and strengthens its solidarity with the socialist, progressive and democratic forces. In this connection, Revolutionary Ethiopia would like to make clear its strong desire to have close cooperation and live in peace with the neighbouring countries. Since the neighbouring peoples, especially those of the countries in east Africa, have many things in common, they should concentrate on their long-term interests, and work closely for their collective progress.

In the diplomatic sphere as well, Ethiopia carried out hard and consistent struggle, and was able to successfully foil the systematic campaign by imperialists and other reactionary forces which aimed at isolating it and giving it a negative image. Therefore, we believe that the world public is now fully aware that Revolutionary Ethiopia is a country that stands for peace, that does not violate the interests of others but is prepared to make all the necessary sacrifices to protect its own interests and defend its unity. In fact, by foiling the plan of external expansionist forces and thus ensuring its territorial integrity and protecting its revolution, it has contributed to the strengthening of those articles of the U.N. and the OAU charters which forbid interference in the internal affairs of other countries, the use of force in settling disputes and the violation of the territorial integrity of countries.

Regarding our African continent, Revolutionary Ethiopia strongly condemns and opposes all imperialist machinations designed to divide the peoples of Africa in order to spread and intensify its exploitation. Ethiopia is strongly opposed to the present frantic attempt of imperialism to create the so-called "African Peace Keeping Force" outside the control and competence of the OAU. We will strongly oppose the interference in Africa, especially the attempts to overthrow progressive governments through the use of mercenaries by imperialists and other reactionary forces. In this connection, we strongly condemn the counter-revolutionary activities that were undertaken against Mozambique, Angola, Zambia, the Congo, Libya, Benin, the Comoros, Sao Tome and Principe.

It is absolutely certain that the struggle which the oppressed peoples of Africa and the world are waging for their freedom, their human rights and equality will triumph over imperialism. In this connection, Ethiopia would like to reiterate its determined stand that the Indian Ocean remains a zone of peace; and it strongly opposes the establishment of military and intelligence bases by imperialism with the purpose to contain or destroy the emerging revolutions of the surrounding areas. Revolutionary Ethiopia fully supports the struggle of national liberation movements in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa to shatter the rule of oppression. For these struggles to attain their goals, Ethiopia will make its own contributions. At the moment, revolutionary Ethiopia is taking all the necessary steps to fulfil the pledge it made to the liberation fighters in southern Africa at the Libreville conference of African heads of state. In addition, the opening of offices by the Zimbabwe National Liberation Front and the Palestinian Liberation Movement in the capital of Revolutionary Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, has given the struggle an additional forum. We support the legitimate struggle of the people of Western Sahara as stipulated by the special resolutions of the United Nations and the OAU. We will take this opportunity to again express our heartfelt and comradely thanks to the socialist countries which are giving unreserved support to the peoples of Africa who are engaged in a legitimate self-defense against colonialism, imperialism and racism.

The racist government of South Africa which works hand in glove with imperialism, is daily intensifying the misery of the oppressed peoples of South Africa and the exploitation of the country's human and vast material resources. It is also making frantic attempts to become a nuclear power and to create a military alliance with some countries in South America in order to make it easy for itself and its allies, the major imperialist countries, to contain the growing national liberation movements of the people of the area especially those of Namibia and Zimbabwe. Revolutionary Ethiopia strongly condemns the vicious steps that South Africa is taking to undermine the national liberation struggle in Namibia and in particular its plan to separate Walvis Bay from Namibia and incorporate it into South Africa. Revolutionary Ethiopia wholeheartedly supports the struggle to eliminate racism and colonialism from South Africa.

Internationally, the struggle specially that of the African and Arab peoples against imperialism and other reactionary forces, has become more and more intense. The growing struggle which national liberation movements, other anti-imperialist organizations and democratic forces are waging against imperialism and other reactionary forces, has made the struggle sharp and real. It also strengthens their unity of struggle. Ethiopia will never shrink from making its contribution to the struggle of the international progressive forces. In this connection, national liberation movements, communist parties, mass organizations and in general, anti-imperialist and anti-reactionary organizations from all over the world will participate in the International Solidarity Conference with the Struggle of the African and Arab Peoples Against Imperialism and Reaction which is due to open here in Addis Ababa on September 14. We have a strong hope that the conference will be successful.

There is one thing which Revolutionary Ethiopia wants to make perfectly clear to the countries in our region. Recognizing that Ethiopia's desires as enshrined in her foreign policy, are the protection of her independence, non-interference in the internal affairs

of others and peaceful co-existence, all those who so far chose to become enemies of our revolution, all those who are still contemplating to conspire against us, and all those who made chauvinistic boasts that they will drown the Ethiopian revolution in blood, should re-examine their stand. We believe that they perhaps finally realized that it is not the enmity but the friendship of the broad masses of Ethiopia which have been steeled in four years of bitter struggle that is beneficial to them.

Still, even if the broad masses of Ethiopia have no antagonism with the peoples of the area and in general with all the peoples of the world, they do not deceive themselves that reactionary forces are friends of the revolution. Therefore, the broad masses and revolutionaries of Ethiopia should always be vigilant against our class enemies. Since we have learnt from our past experiences of our struggle, imperialism will attack us at an unexpected time and place, make use of every possible opportunity, avenue and art in its effort to undermine and subvert the revolution, we have always to remain vigilant.

Ethiopia strongly condemns the propaganda campaign being conducted by imperialism and other reactionary forces who work against the Ethiopian revolution because of the support Ethiopia gets from the socialist countries especially from the Soviet Union and Cuba. I want to make it known that this misdirected campaign is merely intended to cover their open and widespread counter-revolutionary interference. In addition, I want to make it clear that Ethiopia's right to ask and get aid and support from its friends to counter all aggressions from any direction and humiliate modern expansionists cannot be questioned.

In connection with the non-aligned movement, Ethiopia like it did at the recent Belgrade conference, will unhesitatingly continue to expose all attempts and conspiracies to change the movement's anti-imperialist stand or disband it. It is Ethiopia's strong belief that the movement's anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-racist stand will become even stronger at the conference of the heads of

non-aligned countries to be held in Havana next year. To this end, revolutionary Ethiopia will not hesitate from undertaking all that is expected of her.

Ethiopia wants to remind that immediate steps should be taken to reduce international tension and concerning the accumulation of arms which is contrary to the spirit of detent. Ethiopia not only supports genuine reduction of arms, but also believes that the inter-connection between international peace, security and development must be examined. Ethiopia, together with all peace-loving peoples of the world, strongly condemns the production of the neutron bomb.

Ethiopia fully supports the struggle of the Palestinian peoples. Ethiopia firmly supports the total withdrawal of Israel from all Arab lands occupied since 1967 and the right of the Palestinian peoples to a homeland. Ethiopia also opposes any steps taken by any government that excludes Palestinian national liberation organizations and other concerned groups. It asks for the immediate convening of a Geneva conference in which all concerned parties will participate.

The broad masses of Ethiopia!

In as much as your historic anti-colonialist struggle had contributed to paving the path of victory for the freedom of Africans and other developing countries suffering under the yoke of colonialism, and the defeat and downfall of the oppressive forces, your radical revolution too had contributed to changing the alignment of world forces and to the unmasking the true face of those pseudo-revolutionaries who were trading in the name of Socialism.

During the four years of bitter struggle, especially at the time when we were strained, encircled and invaded by internal and external

anti-people forces, those quarters which were saying that they were resisting oppression, exploitation, unlawful aggression, and were fighting on the side of justice, equality, peace and Socialism, were faced with a practical dilemma.

In this connection, we have been observing patiently and calmly the Asian, and particularly the Chinese situation, whose reactionary stance has become more and more evident.

The Communist Party of China which has been degenerating from time to time and the stand it took vis-a-vis the revolution of the peoples of Chile, Egypt, Sudan, Vietnam and Angola has been a matter of concern among the progressives of the world. Revolutionary Ethiopia has been expressing her concern on this daily worsening reactionary tendency to members of China's Communist Party and to Chinese diplomats who have been to our country on different occasions.

This reactionary tendency has grown more conspicuous and today China is in the process of playing a role which is not less anti-people than that of the imperialists; she stifles the revolutions and liberation movements around the world; she hosts selected ultra-reactionary leaders and praises their anti-people actions; she strengthens the anti-people forces in different continents and encourages them in their invasion and massacre.

She has become a third invading force against the unfortunate people of Vietnam before they have had even a year of recuperation from the thirty years of consecutive wars of aggression committed against them by French and American imperialism.

It is most depressing indeed. Is China's style any different from the Japanese imperialism which she eternally condemns, or from the other kinds of imperialism?

China, which has invaded Vietnam, eternally speaks of Japanese imperialism which has caused her much devastation. But where is the

difference between herself and Japanese imperialism and where is her support of the masses?

If we consider China's stand regarding the Ethiopian Revolution, when she posed as a supporter at the initial stage and wanted to give some petty assistance, we expressed our goodwill and friendly feelings believing that it was done in a revolutionary spirit.

True to the adage, with a handful of grain, approach the full sack, China continued to undermine us internally and divide Ethiopian revolutionaries.

Nor did she stop there. By arming the so-called EPRP and separatists in collusion with the CIA, China had also become instrumental for the massacre of many oppressed Ethiopians.

While all these machinations were in progress, apart from registering our concern and keeping the situation under control, we did not hasten to publicly expose her.

When a few reactionary Arab regimes claimed the Red Sea to be an "Arab Lake" as a pretext for triggering off hostility and thereby assail the Ethiopian Revolution, China fully supported that conspiracy.

By being the new supplier of bullets to replenish those which the reactionary forces of Somalia had showered on Ethiopia's oppressed and of weaponry which was destroyed by our Revolutionary forces, China had become one of the thirteen reactionary countries that had directly or indirectly launched a concerted assault against us.

Nor did China stop there. By slandering Cubans — who are shedding their blood on our side for the strengthening of the Ethiopian Revolution and the country's just self-defence within its borders — as mercenaries, China is also carrying out other anti-Ethiopia propaganda.

Over and above this, China trains mercenaries and separatists who infiltrate from neighbouring countries and fight against us. She arms them as well.

She says that it would be treachery not to expose our enemies — those who are fighting against our Revolution, unity and oppressed compatriots.

We declare that whoever may conspire against or try to sabotage our genuine Revolution, our stand will remain firm and strong and by re-affirming time and again that we will not refrain from exposing reactionaries and pseudo-revolutionaries and from attacking them. Our final goal is to build a Communist society. We thus condemn the reactionary party which trades in the name of Communism but is anti-Communist in practice.

We re-affirm our unity in struggle with the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan, Laos and the broad masses of China.

Ethiopia wants to affirm its solidarity with the struggle of the heroic people of Vietnam in defense of the territorial integrity of their country. Our unity of struggle with the people of Laos will also remain strong. We also want to express our support for the success of the radical programme of the new leadership of Afghanistan and for the unity of the country. We support the peaceful reunification of the people of Korea.

We affirm our unity of struggle with the peoples of Latin America. In particular, revolutionary Ethiopia condemns the United States for stationing its armed forces at Guantanamo, Cuba, and for refusing to evacuate the base. We demand that the base be evacuated immediately. We affirm our solidarity with the struggle of the people of Chile who are suffering from oppression by imperialism and Pinochet's fascist government. We support the legitimate struggle of the people of Puerto Rico. While admiring the people

of Panama for the struggle they have waged to bring the Panama Canal under Panama's sovereignty, we express our support for the intensification of the struggle.

The broad masses of Ethiopia!

While it had adequate human and material resources, pre-revolutionary Ethiopia was one of the most backward countries in the world. Out of the total population, 85% were tenants, 90% were illiterate, 85% had no any type of modern medical facilities, and all in all 90% of the peasant masses remained virtually forgotten. Although conditions in urban areas seemed to be slightly better, the beneficiaries were the same handful members of the ruling class. During the era of the feudo-bourgeois regime, Ethiopia was, in short, a land where the majority of the population suffered from poverty, starvation, disease and illiteracy while a small number of exploiters and oppressors was able to lead a luxurious life without having to work.

The growth of productive forces cannot remain fettered indefinitely. It is a scientific truth that when they reach a certain critical stage, the backward production relations give way to new ones. The upheaval which the long forgotten and oppressed broad masses of Ethiopia started four and half years ago to gain their rights and freedom proves the same.

Even if the broad masses only rose to bring an end to the exploitation of man by man and usher a system of justice, reactionaries who are responsible for injustice and the exploitation of man, were not passive spectators. Since they are opposed to the liberation of the broad masses of Ethiopia from hunger, poverty, disease and illiteracy, there is nothing they have not tried and there is not a plot they have not executed to subvert the revolution at its infancy.

In this struggle for genuine freedom, many revolutionary sons and daughters of the broad masses have sacrificed their lives. But since revolution is a school of practice, it is evident to us that the only road to victory is struggle. There is no short-cut to victory short of active participation in the struggle.

A revolution destroys reactionary structures, retains the better and builds new ones. Starting from this truth, when we examine the revolutionary process we have gone through, we have accomplished many things as regards the first while regarding the second we have been made to lag behind by the pressure of our enemies. Even if the control of the economy, which is the foundation for the existence of any society, has in the main been freed from the control of the exploiters and has been put to serve the interests of the broad masses, we have had no peaceful interval to be able to develop it. Forced by our enemies to concentrate on the political and military spheres, we could not attend to the economy as much as we would have liked. In fact, in some areas economic activities had virtually come to a standstill because of the escalation of the struggle from political to primarily military confrontation. Even today, we cannot say economic activities have fully resumed. The wound which the war has left on the economy has not yet healed. In fact, the struggle which has to be made in building the economy from now on requires tremendous sacrifices.

Before we pave our future course, it is necessary to sum up our present social and economic conditions.

Let us first look at agriculture which is the backbone of our national economy. Rural land which was wholly owned by the old ruling classes is now more or less being utilized under three types of inter-related systems: peasant associations, state farms and settlements. With the aid which the government provides according to its capability, peasants and settlers organized in the field of agriculture are improving their farms, while state farms are trying to increase their production. In connection with livestock, the prospect is also encouraging. It is known that we have 25 million heads of cattle, 23 million sheep, 17 million goats and other. Our fishery potential too cannot be underestimated. It is the major responsibility of the broad masses to improve the quantity and quality of this wealth while at the same time avoiding its wastage. Now a major popular effort is underway to carry out the afforestation of land which

becomes barren at the rate of 200,000 hectares a year. The work carried out around big farms in providing employment opportunities for the jobless is encouraging. From 1975 - 76 to 1977 - 78, the number of permanent agricultural workers increased from 8,485 to 21,362. During this same period, the number of seasonal workers increased from 57,709 to 64,584. Beginning with 1976 - 77, 255,935 families have been settled. Since the development of our water resources is crucial for the growth of our economy, a comprehensive study has been made and a plan to tap the resources of 52 rivers has been prepared. Many of our rivers go beyond our borders and flow into other lands. Recognizing the great need of the broad masses of the neighbouring countries for water, we are on our part, with the spirit of good neighbourliness, ready to reach a common accord and to cooperate with the concerned countries so that we can use these rivers for mutual interest.

All these are encouraging. Yet, there is a frightening situation in urban areas regarding the shortage of food items. Why did this happen? The answers are many and complex. The main source of the problem is not only that sufficient quantity of crops have not been produced; it is because it has not been possible to distribute properly, whatever is available to the urban population. In this connection, since the government has not been able to establish proper structures that can adequately withstand the pressure of counter-revolutionaries, the distribution process has been controlled by reactionary merchants; also there has been an incorrect view on the part of the farmers. The other reason for the shortage is the war reactionaries have opened against us. It is important to note that this war has not only contributed to the food shortage but also has forced us to import grains.

The importing of grains has to stop. Since we are in the process of overcoming the wars of aggression opened on us from many directions by our enemies, this is a time when, without laying down our arms, we have to start a major campaign of economic reconstruction and development.

Here and there, we see individualism on the part of the peasant producer. We have to fight against this heritage of the feudo-bourgeois system. This individualism on the part of the peasantry has manifested itself in relation to the food market. What we see in our country today is still the old anarchic relationship between the buyer and the seller. Not only has it not been possible to control this anarchic relationship between the buyer and the seller, but government participation in the marketing process has also not adequately increased. And the problem cannot be solved unless this is done. Unless this is done, we cannot develop a collective economy and cannot overcome individualism and the petty-bourgeois tendencies of the peasantry. In other words, the situation of the peasantry could lead us not towards socialism but towards capitalism. This drift towards individualism or self-enrichment can be very dangerous unless it is nibbed in the bud.

To produce only what is sufficient for one's own family, to refuse to bring crops to the market until prices rise, to underproduce in order to maintain prices at a very high level, all these are manifestations of individualistic and anti-socialist attitude. Reactionaries not only encourage this attitude, but they also make it an instrument for sowing disunity and conflict within the ranks of the toiling masses.

It has been concretely proven that the effort being made by peasants to farm their small holdings and to use their farm implements jointly is much more beneficial than the pursuit of individual interests. It has been shown in practice that collective enterprise leads to greater production than individualistic effort. This practice has to emerge from a revolutionary conviction. We have to appreciate more than ever the value of collective farming. But since this attitude cannot be developed overnight, the role of political cadres is paramount. Our struggle is not to replace the rotten feudalists with new types of exploiters; it is to build socialism.

— The pursuit of self-enrichment is an obstacle to the development of collective farming !

— We give priority to collective welfare over individualistic interests !

There is no doubt that collective farming will be enhanced by the support the government gives it. In accordance with its capability, the government will provide long term loans to the development of collective farming. It will provide fertilizers, will levy lower taxes on collective farms; and will provide various types of services at very low costs.

Special attention should also be given to state farms. Since they constitute one of the bases of our future socialist economy, they are targets of our enemies. For example, it is sufficient to recall that during 1975-76 our enemies destroyed crops worth Ethiopian Birr 80 million and put out of use vast quantities of modern farm machinery. Even if there were organizational and administrative problems when these farms were nationalized, today, as the result of the struggle of the workers and the cooperation of progressive administrators, they are showing signs of improvement. Still since these farms should become the backbone of our national economy, they have to be enlarged and be made to increase their yields by several fold.

The broad masses of Ethiopia !

In the fields of industry and trade, our weakness out-weighs our strength. The low level of industrial development is one of the indicators of our country's backwardness. Today even though we have few small scale industries, our backwardness in terms of heavy industry is glaring.

During the feudo-bourgeois regime, the contribution of industry to the gross domestic product was only 10%; its contribution to the total export was only 5%. The factories were owned by foreign capitalists and managed by foreigners.

Since the major industries were nationalized and put under government control in January 1975, 132 factories have been reorganized. As a result, the exploitation of workers has come to an end;

most temporary workers have become permanent employees; workers now have full pension rights; working conditions have improved. Since the beginning of the revolution, the number of factory workers has increased by 30% and Ethiopian nationals have taken over the management of these factories. With some aid provided by the government, the handicraft industry is making more contribution to our national economy.

This is encouraging. Alongside some of the modest victories recorded in industry, major difficulties have also been encountered. It is well known that factories in the administrative region of Eritrea constituting 30% of the total number of the factories in the country, were shut down because of the counter-revolutionary activities of the secessionists. A third of these factories have been dynamited and destroyed. Replacing them requires a big capital expenditure. After these factories were partially closed down, in 1974-75 alone Eth. Birr 120 million worth of goods were not produced. It is not difficult to imagine the total loss sustained when the factories were entirely shut down. As I said in the past, the government has been paying the salaries of 15,000 workers in Eritrea who have been put out of work.

Because of the counter-revolutionary activities of the reactionary government of Somalia and the separatists in Eritrea, we were forced to use only the port of Assab instead of the usual three outlets to the sea. As a result we faced many difficulties.

Since the port of Assab became congested, goods could not be moved from there fast enough. Since ships could not unload on time, the delay cost us a considerable amount of foreign exchange. Industries also faced major difficulties because it was not possible to provide them with materials they require in adequate quantity and on time.

Even though trade, like other development sectors, has been made a target of counter revolutionary sabotage, it has shown some improvement. Compared to that of 1973 - 74, our export earnings

has increased by 75% and import earnings by 68%. Government controls a third of the export and two thirds of the import activities.

In order to overcome the difficulties that face us in the field of industrial development, we have to solve the problem of shortage of goods, increase both the quality and quantity of goods that enable us earn foreign exchange and make a major effort to lay the foundation for general and comprehensive economic development. A plan has been drawn to build food, sugar, textile and cement factories and metal works worth Eth. Birr 600 million with the cooperation of fraternal socialist countries within the next few years.

In addition to this, during the last four years it has been possible to get from various countries and international organizations grant and aid totalling Eth. Birr 597 million for the development of irrigation, coffee processing, water resources, relief and rehabilitation, low cost housing, state farms and other projects. Although some projects have been started, we have not been able to fulfil all our plans because of the problems we have encountered. From now on a maximum effort will be made to implement these plans. We know that the aid we get from fraternal countries and international organizations is important. But what should be the foundation for our long-term economic development is the full participation and contribution of the broad masses in the building of Revolutionary Ethiopia by making the full use of the country's natural resources.

The labouring masses of Ethiopia!

New and heavy task awaits us in the building of our industry. Even if this task is new, big and complex, we have no choice but to face it because it is the only thing that can put us on the road to development. This is the only way to build a peoples democratic society. Therefore, all the citizens who, under the slogan "Revolutionary Motherland or Death" rallied in defense of this country must again rise up in unison and must utilize fully all their skills, knowledge and financial resources.

Socialism cannot be realized without the development of industry. To lay the foundation for the development of a free economy, there is

no alternative to heavy industry. Even the development of small industry and agriculture is partially dependent on heavy industry.

In order to overcome the present shortage of goods, our existing factories have to be put to full and effective use. While we develop the existing ones, we also have to build new ones. This is the only way that can satisfy our demand for goods.

The seriousness of the problems we have faced in terms of trade during the last four years have been mentioned several times. While trade expresses the relationship between the producer and the consumer, it is also a fact that it has both its weak and strong sides. It is sufficient to recall the extremely heavy prices that are asked for goods, specially for those that are in shortage. There are merchants who, relying on their large monetary resources, want to enrich themselves by capitalizing on the problems which the broad masses face. By employing various methods, these merchants buy and hoard large quantities of goods when the government, in order to reduce the exploitation of the broad masses brings goods to the market and sells them at fair prices. When these goods disappear, they secretly or openly put them on the market and collect excessive profits. In order to curtail the activities of these traders who have capitalist sentiment, the government has attempted to control the prices of basic goods which are in shortage and ensure their fair distribution. With the view to strengthen this method of distribution, the number of government distributing agencies have increased from 18 to 42. The government has also tried to strengthen cooperative shops. But it is only when the country develops agriculturally, industrially and technologically that we can satisfy all the needs of the people. When what people need is available in abundance, there will be no place for exploiters. But this goal cannot be attained easily; it requires a long period of hard and bitter struggle.

The other thing on which we have to concentrate is the maintaining of the correct balance between saving and consumption. All that is produced is not meant to be consumed. We have to think of the growing size of the broad masses.

The balance between the production of capital goods and consumer goods has also to be kept. If we concentrate only on the production of consumer goods and if we do not improve the existing instruments of production and produce new ones, retrogression is inevitable. Unless we come up with new and improved techniques of production, to say that we will increase production and that we will improve the living condition of the broad masses remain but only slogans.

In order to go forward, we have to devise new ways. The raising of the political consciousness of workers and the strengthening of their organizations should always be given top priority. The old way of doing things cannot take us too far. This is now the time when the sons, daughters and friends of the broad masses who have had the opportunity to become intellectuals, experts and professionals have to put their skills to practical test. In order to facilitate this, all the necessary equipment and materials must be made available. Therefore, the growth of the productive forces of this country has to show an unprecedented leap in a short time.

This activity should not be confined to a few big towns. It is harmful to direct attention to only a few areas to satisfy all the requirements for daily existence. Industry must be developed in stages in the various parts of the country. Cottage industries should be expanded. Since the factories that will be established in different regions will acquire raw materials from the peasantry, this will increase the income of the peasant. It will also greatly reduce the wide gap that exists between town and country. There is also no doubt that this will be an additional solution to the problem of unemployment which our revolution has still not been able to solve adequately.

The nationalization of urban land and extra houses is one of the major achievements of the revolution. As a result, the working people of urban areas have freed themselves not only from economic exploitation but also have scored political victory. Their being able to organize themselves into urban dwellers associations and assume

the leadership of the administration of towns, have laid a sound foundation for their advancement.

The broad masses of urban dwellers have a wide field for development and growth even if, like the peasantry and the working class, their major attention so far has been focused on the revolutionary war in defense of our country. Today, every working person has the right to obtain land free of charge, long-term loan to build his own house which will be paid over a long period of time. If for example, we take the city of Addis Ababa as a case, during the last two years 2,720,000 square meters of land to government and private institutions, 450,000 square meters to urban dwellers associations 1,130,000 square meters to urban cooperatives and 2,940,000 to individual citizens have been given. In the old days, reactionaries could have earned Eth. Birr 20 million by selling this total of 7,240,000 square meters of urban land.

Even though a good start is seen in the area of housing, we were not able to do all what we planned due to the economic difficulties imposed upon us by reactionary wars. Still, if we calculate in terms of the monthly income of the residents of Addis Ababa, out of the total population, 74% with a monthly income of Eth. Birr 200 has been able to enjoy a 30% reduction in rent.

The proclamation on urban land and extra houses led to the nationalization of 409,285 houses which were major sources of exploitation. Out of these, 390,627 administered by the urban dwellers' associations and 18,658 directly by the government.

10% or about 3 million of the population of Ethiopia live in urban areas. The construction of houses in these centres whose population increases at the rate of 6.6% annually is an additional responsibility. In this connection, during the next five years, 111,200 houses have to be built and the old ones have to be repaired.

In addition to the efforts made by individuals and mass organizations to overcome the housing problem, the government has spent Eth. Birr 55,537,060, on new and existing houses up to now. Yet,

compared to our overall needs, this is only a small beginning. Therefore, we have to realize that a lot of work lies ahead.

The construction of houses, bridges etc. was hampered by war. Now we should be fully prepared to repair those structures that have been damaged and build new ones.

During 25 years of the feudo-bourgeois regime, only 5,787 kilometers of road were built. But during the last four years alone, 4,400 kilometers were built. Another 1,480 kilometers will be operational very soon. Before the revolution, road building was done on the basis of isolated projects. But after February 1974 a comprehensive five year plan was drawn and on this basis roads are being constructed according to the overall needs of the country and with the purpose of advancing economic growth. This plan envisages the building of 8,800 kilometers of various types of roads during the next five years.

Our struggle is not only with man-made problems but also with nature. To meet this challenge, in 1977-78 alone, 174,250 quintals of grain and 138,711 quintals of nutritional food were distributed to a million people affected by natural disasters in six administrative regions; and for about a quarter of a million people affected by man-made problems; 311,558 quintals of grain and 265,745 quintals of nutritional food were distributed through the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission. During the last four years, Eth. Birr 132,018,423 was earmarked for road construction, agriculture, digging of water wells and for settlement through the Commission. We have to be much more prepared to challenge such problems that may arise in the future.

In the area of health, even though a great effort has been made during the past four years to make available medical facilities to the broad masses, the problem is still immense. Ours is a country where still the rate of mortality of those below one year of age is 200 out of a thousand, where there is only one doctor for every 80,000 people and where there is one bed for every 3,000 patients. This calculation is made on an overall basis but how many have ever had modern medical treatment?

This problem is one of the major areas of struggle which our revolution is faced with. Since there is no doubt that a determined people can fulfill its wishes, it is certain that we will overcome this frightening problem.

One of the decisive factors in the development of a country is education. In this field too, the demands of the revolution has been high. Let us look only at primary school education. In February 1974, out of 4 million young people between 7 and 12 years of age only 850,000 were in school; the total number of teachers stood at 18,650. The total number of primary school students has risen to 1,350,000. The number of teachers has reached 30,790. The number of primary schools is now 4,957. Even if this improvement cannot be under-estimated, the majority of the children of the peasant masses that are counted in millions do not still have educational opportunity. Out of 10 million adults who are actively engaged in production 94% are illiterate.

— The broad masses have to be able to read and write soon !

— Let us rise up to eliminate illiteracy from the face of Revolutionary Ethiopia !

— Let us wage a war on illiteracy !

The broad masses' of Ethiopia !

When the productive forces are freed from the old production relations and are made to follow a socialist path of development, it can then be said that a country has reached a stage of fast and an interrupted economic growth. This is what makes Revolutionary Ethiopia different from the old feudo-bourgeois Ethiopia. Over 85% of the country's rural manpower which has been freed from exploitation and has been organized is waging a multi-dimensional struggle. The working class alongside the other sectors of the toiling masses, is struggling hard to raise its political consciousness, strengthen its organizations and become better armed in order to carry out its historic mission. The favourable situation that has existed during the last four years has also helped the working class to increase its ranks. While the total number of workers organized into unions was 54,726

in 1973-74, today a total of 300,000 have been organized under 1,700 unions.

During the past four revolutionary years, a major effort has been made to improve the administration of justice and make the administrative machinery efficient. Before 1974, on the average, half a million cases used to appear in courts annually. When this number is compared to the 200,000 cases that appeared in 1976-77, it means that there has been a reduction by 60%. In the administration of the various regions of the country, a satisfactory result has been achieved by appointing at various levels, individuals who helped advance the revolutionary struggle.

In regard to criminal activities which is inherited from the reactionary feudo-bourgeois system, the number of criminal cases which was 107,246 in 1974 has come down to 35,642 by 1977-78. Even if what has been achieved in this field is satisfactory, the struggle has to continue until we build a Peoples Democratic Ethiopia which is free from criminal activities.

Now, there is a favourable condition to construct socialism and lay down a sound economic base. A new era of freedom has replaced the old dark era when the majority used to toil for the welfare of the exploiting minority and where their labour used to be wasted. This is now a period when we can utilize our human and natural resources for a planned economic growth.

Today, a great enthusiasm is concretely being manifested in Revolutionary Ethiopia to advance the growth of the productive forces of the country. Our hope for final victory rests on the liberation of the toiling masses from oppression and exploitation and their conscious desire to work. When to this is added the practical utilization of the creative power of the broad masses, we will be able to become self-reliant.

The question of whether we can overcome these vast and complex economic and social problems before us comes to our mind. Since the era of the reactionary production relations and false hope has ended, the present determination and readiness of the broad

masses to still carry forward the bitter struggle cannot be questioned. During the revolutionary process of the last four years, it has been proved that there is no force that stops the forward march of a determined and united people. The crushing of the various domestic conspiracies, the victory over the forces of the imperialist agent, the ruling class of Somalia, the foiling of the dream of separatists in the northern part of our country are obvious examples.

Today is the time when the toiling peoples of Ethiopia are fully awake and are entering a new stage of struggle in order to build a Peoples' Democratic Ethiopia which will be a land of peace and progress. This is the period when the toiling masses of Ethiopia are in a state of full readiness and have revolutionary zeal to carry out all the responsibilities which the revolution demands from them. This high revolutionary spirit which has always enabled us to overcome all the obstacles on our path and has allowed us to reach the current stage, must also be put into use in the building of our economy which has been one of the reasons for our weakness and poverty. Therefore, all who are on the side of the broad masses, all those citizens who love Revolutionary Ethiopia, rise up for a new economic reconstruction.

The labouring masses of Ethiopia !

Even today our revolution does not have the dependable proletarian leadership. However, extensive struggle has been carried out to bring about the working class party. In the process of the struggle many pseudo-progressives dropped out at various stages. Others came up further to a certain stage but these too fled away when they were overcome by their petty bourgeois tendencies. But the genuine revolutionaries, carrying the slogan of the broad masses, the **Revolution Above Anything Else!** have struggled with utmost determination and dedication. Today also they are actively participating in the struggle. In other respects too, they have eliminated their differences through ideological struggle, and have come to have the same political line. Now the birth of the working class party seems eminent. Therefore, the foremost slogan of the day is "Let the Common Front of the Ethiopian Marxist Leninist Organizations (C.F.E.M.L.O.) evolve into

Merger!" And this slogan echoes from the hinterland to the borders, from production centres to the war fronts.

The contribution of C.F.E.M.L.O .so far is more prominent in the political field. As of now, however, considering the stage of the revolution and the struggle that lies ahead of us, the nucleus of tomorrow's working class party, C.F.E.M.L.O. is expected to contribute to the struggle in the economic field as well as intensifying the ideological struggle. It has a heavy responsibility of preparing cadres that combine politics and skills, from among the workers, peasants and other sectors of the labouring masses. It is only if this is done that we can truly build a Peoples' Democratic Ethiopia which is strong and developed politically, economically and culturally.

Modern and essential implements for factories can be imported, especially from socialist countries. What should always be kept in mind is the availability of politically consciousness workers who can properly handle these instruments and who can develop our economy. Unless these conditions are met, it is unrealistic to say that the revolution will be free from sabotage and our economy will be developed.

You the broad masses who are determined to build a Peoples Democratic Ethiopia into a home of equality and prosperity!

We recall the patriots of Revolutionary Ethiopia who have died for freedom, for the unity of our country and who enabled us to celebrate this day with pride and revolutionary feelings. The victories which these revolutionaries have recorded with their blood will occupy a permanent place in the history of the struggle of the oppressed.

In addition to those revolutionaries who have fallen both in the hinterlands and the borders while struggling against counter revolutionaries and external aggressors there are many patriots who are wounded and have become disabled. Since these shed their blood for the triumph of the broad masses, for the freedom of the oppressed and for the supremacy of the working class, they are emblems of our victory and we will always honour them; we will take full care of them. But even if they are disabled, they can contribute to the

struggle in the economic sphere if the appropriate environment is created for them. Then, not only can these people help themselves, but they can also make an immense contribution to the building of a Peoples Democratic Ethiopia.

With this in mind, a special patriot's centre will be opened where these patriots will be trained to enable them become more productive members of the society. Since this training and rehabilitation centre at Debre Zeit alone will not be enough, the preparation to open similar centres should start soon. We are very grateful to all those who have helped us in establishing this centre and we are confident that they will always be with us in our future endeavours.

It is clear also that orphans too need care. These orphans who can be counted in thousands are, generally speaking, children of the broad masses and they place their hope for care upon the masses. If these children who need care today, can become productive members tomorrow they can play a role in the building of a Peoples' Democratic Ethiopia. The government is making preparations to bring such children to children's centres and help them become useful citizens. In this connection, we would like to note that what the people and government of Cuba have done by taking the 1,200 Ethiopian children is part and parcel of the support they are giving us in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. We have no doubt that the broad masses of Ethiopia will take this revolutionary deed as an example and will be prepared to do their share in this aspect as well.

As I said earlier, big and decisive victories have been won both in the political and military fields. We have come out victorious from repeated counter-revolutionary threats. We have become able once again to defend the territorial integrity of our revolutionary motherland and we have become able to put under control the fifth-columnists. In general, we have reached a higher stage in the process of our struggle. However, this does not mean that the class struggle is over. Neither does it mean that our class enemies have completely been annihilated.

At this time, there are some who show less vigilance and more relaxation thinking that peace has reigned, conditions have normalized, all the class enemies of the broad masses are under control. But this attitude is extremely harmful. Imperialism and its lackeys attack at unexpected place and time. Therefore, to be over-vigilant is primary responsibility of revolutionaries.

The struggle that lies ahead demands from us no less sacrifices than that which we have made in the struggles and battles that we have been able to win. The struggle that awaits us, the war that awaits us is against the heritages of the old reactionary order. These are hunger, disease, illiteracy, unemployment and prostitution.

The broad masses of Ethiopia !

As you have rose up by coordinating your strength and resources under the banner "Revolutionary Motherland or Death", to challenge and come out victorious from the reactionary wars that were launched against us, so also rise up today. Can you ever have peace while you hear the cries of your hungry, and disease ridden country-men ?

Unless you can emerge victorious on this front too, your overall objective cannot be realized. If the hungry are not fed, if the sick are not cured, if the unemployed and the prostitute are not employed and become productive, it is absurd to say that we are following the road to socialism. In order to make all this a reality, get prepared now ! Don't lose time !

In order to wipe out hunger, disease, illiteracy, unemployment, prostitution — enemies that are not different from your class enemies — from Ethiopia, be prepared for the economic and cultural campaign.

- Forward with the economic and cultural campaign !
- Long Live Proletarian Internationalism !
- Let C.F.E.M.L.O. Evolve into Merger !
- We shall build a strong Peoples Democratic Ethiopia !
- The world belongs to the Proletariat !
- We shall triumph !!!