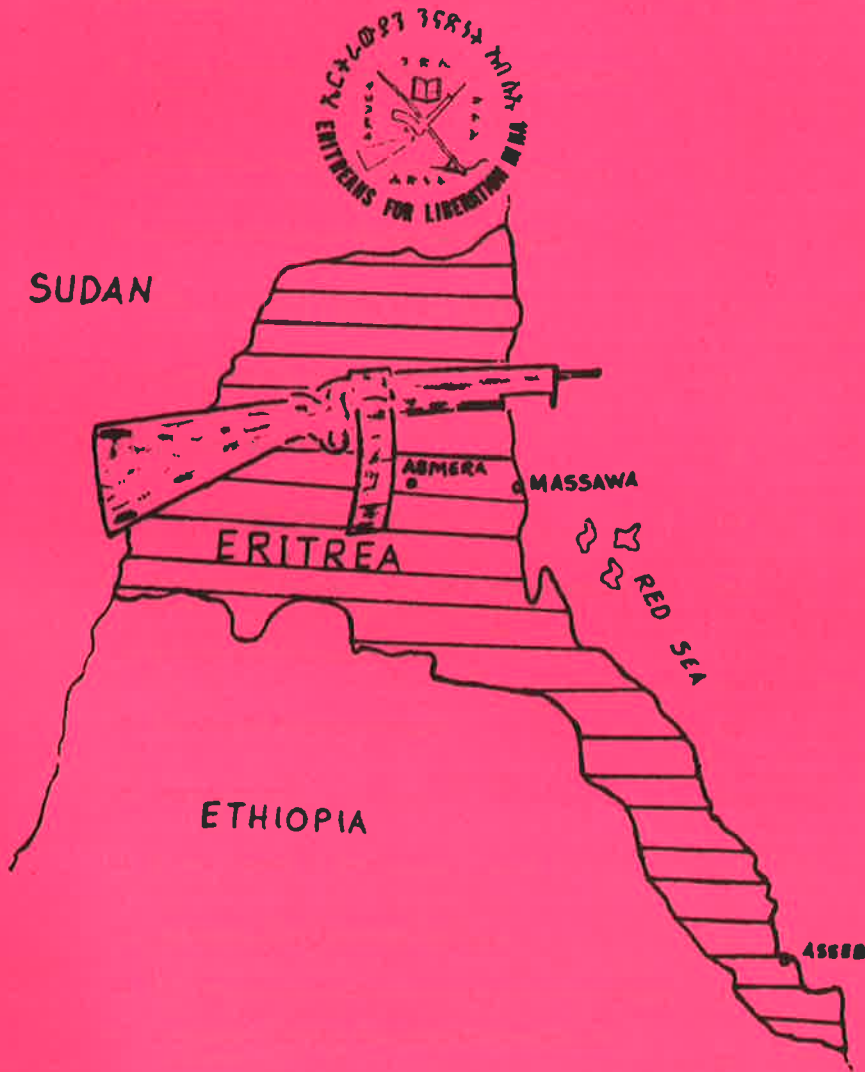


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# LIBERATION

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Editor's Note	i
2. Editorial	ii
3. Brown Ethiopia - What It Means to Black and Arab Africa	1
4. The Eritrean and Contemporary World Revolution	3
5. Comrade Martha: On Women and Revolution	5
6. Tekle - A Peasant Fighter of the EPLF	6
7. An Eritrean Girl Revolutionary	9
8. The Tigray Revolution	10
9. On Cowardice, Opportunism and Death	12
10. The Eritrean Revolution and the World Revolution	13
11. Message from Eritrean Refugees	17
12. Why Are We Waging a Struggle?	18
13. News in Brief	21
14. A New Chapter in Revolutionary Struggle	25
15. Statement on the Famine in Ethiopia	26
16. The Mozambican Massacres and other Related Incidents	28
17. The Eritrean Peoples National Liberation Struggle Advances	29
18. E.F.L. Indictment of Israel	30
19. Eritrea: A Victim of Haile Selassie's Colonial Aggression	32

EDITOR'S NOTE

The armed struggle for the liberation of our country will commemorate its 12th anniversary this coming September. The last twelve years have seen the ever-intensifying militancy of the popular resistance and the steady spreading of the protracted peoples' war to all corners of Eritrea, engulfing both the towns and the countryside. From the spontaneous eruption of the armed struggle in 1961 to the progressive consolidation of the revolutionary vanguard in the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Forces (EPLF) of today, the Eritrean Revolution has crossed through a long, arduous, bitter and most difficult terrain of struggle indeed. The heroic Eritrean masses, under the leadership of their EPLF vanguard, have administered decisive blows to the combined reactionary forces of Ethiopian feudal colonialism, U.S. imperialism and Israeli zionism in the region. Today, the Eritrean Revolution is producing a new breed of Eritreans who are committed to the complete liberation of their people and the total support of all peoples struggling against oppression and exploitation of any kind. And it is only through the leadership of these transformed Eritreans, that is, the new generation of Eritreans reborn and steeled in the process of revolution, that a new Eritrea can and will be created.

At the same time, ever since the beginning of the popular movement for national independence, many Eritrean patriots have selflessly given their lives for the struggle. In addition, whole villages have been wiped out and their inhabitants decimated, large scale massacres of unarmed civilians -- mostly old men, women and children -- carried out throughout the so-called "emergency areas", crop fields destroyed and watersprings sprayed with poison. Many are those who have died at the murderous hands of the enemy because they stood against oppression and for freedom. All of these martyrs died because the enemy wanted and had them killed -- ruthlessly, brutally and violently. They all died so that the Revolution can live and flourish and advance to inevitable victory; so the people can win liberation and live in freedom, equality and justice. These countless Eritrean men and women who have died on various fronts of the battlefield, in the villages and towns and in Ethiopia, died for all of oppressed humanity, in the fulfillment of their sacred patriotic, revolutionary and internationalist duty.

The recent death of Comrade Temesgen Haile is but only one link in this seemingly endless chain of murder and assassinations, that is the daily chore of tyrant Haileselassie's fascist thugs. We do not mourn the deaths of such beloved comrades for they continue to live in the people and through the revolution. Besides, to merely mourn their death would be to deny for ourselves and indeed to negate the lesson of their example of great dedication and spirit of self-sacrifice. The best way for us to remember all these martyrs of the Revolution is to rededicate our lives anew and totally to the continuation of the struggle they lived for and advanced so well. To that end, our forthcoming Fourth General Congress should serve us as a vehicle for the further consolidation and development of our organization, for finding the means for the cultivation of a basic common scientific grasp of the underlying conditions, nature and objectives of the revolutionary struggle of our people, and for forging a higher revolutionary unity and a firm resolve for the collective commitment to the revolution of our people. For the best way to vindicate the martyrs is to prepare ourselves to join and serve the Revolution.

This issue of LIBERATION is dedicated to all the men and women and children who have died and continue to die in the advance and defense of the Eritrean Revolution. To the young men and women who have been and continue to be murdered because they said "NO MORE" to oppression.

This issue of LIBERATION contains a complete reproduction (pp.1-12) of the first issue of TIHISHA, the publication of the Political Wing of the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Forces. The three immediately following articles (pp.13-21) are E.F.L. translations from the original Tigrinya in the first issue of VANGUARD, the monthly publication of the Eritrean Liberation Front - Peoples Liberation Forces (ELF -- PLF). E.F.L. has rendered this translation in order to avail interested readers of first-hand accounts, analysis and exposition of the nature, objectives and strategy of the Eritrean Revolution by those who are making it. Any errors of translation or misrepresentation thereof are solely the responsibility of E.F.L. and not that of the E.P.L.F.

EDITORIAL

Amidst raging battles waged by heroic Eritrean peoples, reverberating cries of freedom and liberation fill the air. These hardened, tempered and battle-tested peasants tighten their grips on their machine guns with clear determination to liberate their fatherland from ruthless Shoon oppression.

"Not a single day should pass without a spill of enemy blood; nor a single day must pass without liberating more land," they shout as they greet the day with combat and vision of victories.

Standing shoulder-to-shoulder with the men are a new breed of women-liberated women -- carrying guns to liquidate the enemy; and medical kits to treat comrades wounded in action. No more of carrying water pots like feudal beasts of burden, no longer existing as dehumanized house pets! These heroic Eritrean women vow to emancipate their mothers and sisters with the gun by shattering the chains of feudo-patriarchal and capitalist society, the breeding ground of male chauvinism.

And now to supplement the existing papers of the Eritrean Revolution, "SAURA" and "VANGUARD", and to bring the voices of victory and battle to the enemy's capital, to inject revolution into the veins of urban youth, to wake the oppressed masses and ignite their stored revolutionary capacities by inciting them to rebel, to knock at the enemy's door and tell him of his inevitable doom, a paper is born -- TIHISHA.

TIHISHA is only one in a series of victories won by the Eritrean masses and, in the tradition of the aforementioned progressive papers, it shall reflect the dashing trend of our revolution. The name literally means "that which dashes with violence."

TIHISHA, the revolutionary organ of the EPLF political wing, shall be the mirror of armed insurrection, a high tension wire transmitting fresh news of flaming peoples' war and battle cries. It shall penetrate deep into the battlefield, pick words of our heroic combatants and rush these news items to the cities and towns. It shall also plunge into deep political discussions and theoretical guidelines for future operations. Africa and the world shall know of our battles to break down imperialism and throw it to the gutter forever.

TIHISHA shall perform its internationalist duty by highlighting the struggles of all other peoples within the general context of World Revolution.

Unlike bourgeoisie-run and controlled papers, TIHISHA will be written in blood of revolutionaries and speak the authentic words of revolutionaries. Hence, it will speak for African revolutionary struggle against imperialism with a real revolutionary aspiration and language.



## BROWN ETHIOPIA - WHAT IT MEANS TO BLACK AND ARAB AFRICA

The second half of the 20th century witnessed independence and liberation movements throughout Africa and the world. The irresistible tread of history unfolded the tightly clenched fist of British and French colonialism. The moribund system was forced to give way to or at most be reinforced by the more subtle and systematic godfather - IMPERIALISM. This ruthless substitute for the die-hard and crude colonial system has become the number one enemy and oppressor of the peoples of Africa and the world. By means of its ferocious and intricate machinations, it has maintained terror and misery of incredible proportions on the peoples of the underdeveloped world. Nevertheless, the relentless fight of the oppressed peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America has frustrated the enemy's plans and largely disarrayed its mercenary troops.

Imperialism's design for Africa - to grab and rule Africa through Africans - seems to have worked for some time. It has succeeded to primarily eliminate firebrand African nationalist leaders like Nkrumah. It has intimidated into silence and impotence some of the relatively progressive African countries. Worst of all, it has crowned a despotic monarch, a slave owner, a traitor and a murderer as the leader of the present day Organization of African Unity. This White House messenger boy who once, during one of his homage trips to the USA, officially denied he was an African and certainly not a black man, this same slave merchant of the first class who still has black slaves, "Baryas," in his own palace and those of his feudal chieftains, sits at the head of an organization supposedly created to liberate the very people he buys and sells! This is Africa's shame and black man's tragedy nulli secundi!

Brother Africans! Let us examine the following facts:

-Black slaves of different origins still exist inside the emperor's "Grand Palace". The Shoan Rases, Dejazmatchs, Fitawraries and Kegnazmatchs who shared in the plunder of the eastern and southern territories still keep remnant "Baryas" in their houses though they claim to have "set free" those whom they could not sustain because of the introduction of feudal and capitalistic economic relationships.

-The running of open and disguised slave markets in Gindaberet, Armachiho, Wolkait Tegene, etc., with established prices for children, adult males and females. Professional slave brokers still roam the streets of Gondar and Debre Markos in spite of the government's official condemnation of slavery in Rhodesia and South Africa.

-The black people in the Empire have been forcefully pushed to the peripheries to serve as a buffer against neighbouring countries. Everytime these miserable black "Ethiopians" - the Shankilla, the Mursis, the Kulu Konta, the Dorzes, the Shogholle, the Benin Shangul, the Mao, the Kunamas and the Baryas - resisted eviction by official brown "Ethiopians"; they fell victims of aerial bombardment and massive extinction of their cattle. These destitute and neglected three million "barya" citizens of Ethiopia are still subjected to primitive life along major rivers like the Omo, Abai, Dabus and Didessa and never were incorporated even in the fake imperial development plans. Like the rare Nayala and Walia Ibex the "black" population of feudal brown Ethiopia is preserved for the "rich cultural resource it possesses." National cultural shows, especially dances, stress staging the sophistication of the various "barya" dancers.

-The official government policy is reflected in the treatment of "Wadaj Ager Baryas" - meaning Baryas from friendly countries. Let every African, except a fat diplomat, testify to the prevailing attitude towards a black man in Africa's Capital - Addis Ababa! The former 'African' graduates of the HSIU in ADDIS ABABA are the authentic witnesses. Doesn't the man in the street refer to OAU meetings as the emperor's reconciliatory acts between feuding Baryas? Or hasn't Ketema Yifru, the previous Minister of Foreign Affairs, designed and bluntly confirmed one of the most notorious African flesh markets at Nefas Silk "to amuse the Baryas and snatch their votes?" Since then the OAU has meant Nefas Silk! No wonder these beautiful brown girls determine the central cite for African "liberation".

-A very powerful American and Israeli spy ring enjoys direct access to first-hand information on liberation struggle documents, economic trends, social temperatures and even leadership diets! It was here that the fate of true African leaders like Nkrumah was decided, it is here that Portugal's anti-guerrilla designs were drafted, it is here that Arab delegates are embarrassed by sitting amidst virtually Israeli territory surrounded by Ethiopian security under Zionist mercenary chiefs. This is where Haile Selassie provides the rope to strangle Africa and its peoples.

Brother Africans! It is against the OAU charter that Haile Selassie still manages to keep the USA army colony, the KAGNEW Station in Asmara, providing a first class communication center to pick up and decode field directives of African and Palestinian struggles. This base plays a paramount role in connecting the Pentagon with South East Asian operations.

American and Israeli cooperation in transporting arms by ships waving Australian flags has been recently exposed along the Red Sea. USA Imperialism and Zionism have collided with France and some reactionary Arab states to turn the Red Sea into their own lake. But the heroic Eritrean people together with other progressive forces in the area will not yield to this. They shall be drowned in the "Red Sea" before they own it.

TRUE AFRICANS! This is the time of decision. These few facts are sufficient to assess the magnitude of the blunders committed in the past. The time has come to choose between independent Africa and neo-colonial Africa. We can no longer remain blind to our enemy's intrigue. To have the OAU in Addis Ababa with the present state of affairs is as good as having it in Pretoria. To allow Haile Selassie's feudal regime to lead Africa is as good as having Golda Meir or Nixon to head the OAU.

Let us face facts! We have to fight our own battles. Do we want to keep our brothers in Rhodesia, South Africa and the Portuguese territories including those "barya" Ethiopians under perennial slavery? Do we want our destiny and that of our peoples to be decided by our enemies? No! 250 million times No! We shall struggle until Africa becomes ours.

Hence, our primary move to remove the OAU from Addis Ababa and to get Ethiopia out of the OAU until it fills the requirements. Brown Ethiopia per se is no compromise between Arab Africa and Black Africa!



### THE ERITREAN AND CONTEMPORARY WORLD REVOLUTION

The Eritrean revolution is part of all successful African revolutions against colonialism. It is part and parcel of the concentrated anger of the black man organized to liquidate racism once and for all. It is a lever in the internationalist motor fitted and directed to stab imperialism and monopoly capitalism and erase it from the face of this globe. It is also the cry and expression of peoples who fell prey to feudalist machinations assisted by American imperialists.

The heroic peoples of Eritrea spearheaded the will of African peoples for freedom and independence. As early as the late 1940s the British colonialists who ruled Eritrea for eleven and a half years as a booty they acquired from the vanquished Italian fascists who, in turn, had colonized the country for almost 60 years, were convinced that they could not subdue the Eritreans to a colonial status. Faced with mounting pressure which could explode anytime heralding their doom, the colonialists promised to let Eritrea be 'free'. The British, however, would not leave Eritrea without accommodating imperialist interests in the Red Sea, the Middle East and the Persian Gulf. In Ethiopia they found an ally through which they could guard their interests and maintain their monopolistic control over the area. They, thus, rewarded feudalist Ethiopia, their inveterate lackey, to have a partial control over Eritrea by means of a grotesque arrangement known as federation. This was victory for both the imperialists and their ally, the Shoan feudalists of Ethiopia. The former were interested in the safety of their geo-political interests and the latter satisfied their insatiable urge for expansionism, domination and, of course, got an access to the Red Sea - a reward they never enjoyed any time in their history. The arrangement, however, was a bombshell to all Eritreans who had fought for independence from colonial Britain for they understood that colonial Britain and feudalist Ethiopia were one and the same.

Eritreans knew the type of shameful existence the Ethiopian masses were undergoing under Shoan feudalists. Consequently, they were determined to continue their struggle for self-determination. This was in 1952 just three years after Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party broke the backbone of imperialism and heralded the freedom of the Chinese people. It was the same year the expansionist policies of the bankrupt imperialists were tested in Korea, the same year that the Geneva Agreement on Indo-China was signed. As this last Agreement, i.e., the Geneva Agreement on Indo-China was abrogated so was the so-called federal status of Eritrea with feudalist Ethiopia. The same year (1956) that the Granma landed in Cuba, the Eritreans once more put up their resistance against the continued occupation of Eritrea by feudal Ethiopia. The Movement was mainly in the form of sabotage and civil disorder, like labour and student unrest. The same year ('61) as the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, or the Vietcong, mobilized all resources available to smash imperialist plots maneuvered to liquidate them, the Eritreans angered by the complete annexation of their country by Ethiopia qualitatively extended their struggle into the forests and formed the Eritrean Liberation Front. The Eritrean Liberation Front became the only hope to achieve the strong will of the freedom-loving peoples of Eritrea.

After nine years of armed struggle that shook the foundations of reactionary Ethiopia, the Eritrean Liberation Front underwent qualitative changes that are extremely decisive to the success of the revolution which has shown constant growth

in its dimension and intensity. With the birth of the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Forces (ELF - EPLF), a movement embracing the concentration of the valuable experience of the Eritrean peoples' struggle and those of other progressive movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America, a new form of combat and consciousness has been injected into the veins of the struggle.

With feudal Ethiopia shaken by its own internal contradictions and the inevitable bleeding and death of world imperialism on the one hand and the growing determination of the Eritrean peoples to fight for their total liberation on the other, the Eritrean revolution is approaching the inevitable victory! The imperialists have lost their last attempt to withhold the world progressive movement in Indo-China. Agreements reached at the Paris Peace Talks clearly portray the spirit of the 1960 Vietcong directives. The Americans, having lost the war in the battlefield, are desperately attempting to help a sick reactionary regime to survive in Saigon. Understanding the bankruptcy of imperialist plots from experience, we are not surprised to see the Americans trying to hang on to their age-old foolishness of never accepting defeat. In 1943, they did not recognize that the Red Army could be a great mighty power and later went even to the extent of preaching that the People's Republic of China did not exist in the world map and that tiny Taiwan with only 12 million people represented People's China with 800 million people. Similarly, the Yankees do not understand or, rather, fail to recognize that over and above their own geo-political and economic interests, there reigns in this planet a superior force called the will of the people. This will of the people could not be stopped in the USSR in 1917, or in China in 1949, or in Cuba in 1959, or in North Vietnam in 1942, or in North Korea in 1952, or in Algeria in 1962, or in Vietnam in 1973; nor can it be stopped in Eritrea and the rest of Africa in the foreseeable future.

All Eritreans understand the crawling of imperialism towards the west. Imperialist flirtations with the White Russians, the Kuomintang, and Thieu, were followed by an utter doom. Imperialists' faces have been disfigured, thanks to the gallant fighters of the Red Army, the Vietminh and the Vietcong. Imperialism is now getting stabbed in the back right here in Africa. The blow has now shifted from the Pacific to the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. Imperialism's fate in Africa and the Red Sea will not be different from that of South East Asia. Portugal is bleeding in Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Angola while South Africa and Rhodesia have tasted the blow from Azanian, Namibian and Zimbabwean nationalists. All these movements have reached different phases but all continue to travel in the same direction -- toward victory! The Eritrean people are fighting feudal Ethiopia, an imperialist lackey and a racist enclave. By shattering feudal Ethiopia, the Eritreans will shatter imperialist and Zionist monopoly over the Red Sea and the Middle East. Together with other progressive nations like South Yemen and others that will emerge in the future, the Eritreans will ensure that the interest of the peoples around the Red Sea overrides the geo-political and military consideration of the imperialists. They will also ensure that the Red Sea will be exploited to benefit the African and Arab peoples living in and around it.

The Eritrean revolution, to be sure, will spearhead other progressive movements in this area and will proudly contribute its share in paralysing imperialism and throwing it out of Guinea Bissau, Southern Africa and Ethiopia.

The status of black men in Ethiopia is appalling. In the country of the brown man, the black man is a slave. (Read "Brown Ethiopia..." above).



Using Marxist dialectical materialist concepts and analysis, Martha concludes that "the backbone of male chauvinism must be broken and made to crawl." For Martha, male chauvinism has its roots in feudo-patriarchate and capitalist socio-economic settings. This socio-economic arrangement advocates and practices exploitation as the chief instrument of existence. By accepting exploitation as a modus operandi for their way of life, Martha continues to say that feudalism, capitalism and imperialism have extended their precepts of the exploitation of one class by another into that of the exploitation of one sex by another. "Therefore," Martha reiterates, "(since) male chauvinism is the boat of feudalism, and capitalism, women must educate themselves to storm all reactionary institutions and economic relations that perpetuate exploitation."

With a burning anger and scientific mind, Martha delves into the role of women in the primitive (communal), feudalist, capitalist, socialist and communist socio-economic context.

"In the communal society," Martha wrote, "...there was a high degree of cooperation between men and women....Patriarchy or father right did not exist at this stage of society." Martha continues, "In fact, it is known as the period of matriarchy or mother right as the units of blood relatives descended through mother, developed and separated into different units, the men would leave their own units (gens) to join other units of other women."

The successive periods of economic relations, i.e., those of feudalism, capitalism and imperialism which are characterized by the exploitation of one class by another dealt women a big blow. The woman was exploited not only because of her belongingness to a class but also because of her sex. This is "double wretchedness" Martha writes and goes on to say "Even if a woman belonged to the class of exploiters in the purely economic sense, her role is reduced to that of a 'Sex Machine'."

Martha draws a parallel between the inception of slave society which was responsible for producing surplus (hence property) and the enslavement of the woman in free family. "Not only were they (slaves) useful to look after the cattle and (offered) a constant source of labour and working hands" Martha writes and goes on: "Thus, there was a constant trend toward the accumulation of wealth by the gens and then by the family...but as long as mother right existed, the father would never pass his property on to his children. Thus, mother right was dissolved and instead father right was established."

This, according to Martha, sowed the seeds of the woes of the woman and the further transformation of society into other stages via the increased accumulation of wealth furthered the miserable shadow existence of women. Martha wrote

1. The late Comrade Martha Mebrahtu was an Eritrean Revolutionary who in December, 1972 was mercilessly butchered by Ethiopian thugs together with another two Eritreans and four Ethiopian revolutionaries all of whom offered their lives for the masses in an internationalist spirit. Here we present excerpts from an article of comrade Martha, entitled, "The Role of Women In Changing Society."

"concentration of capital into fewer hands reduced the exploited into a savagery existence and concomitantly made the woman a helpless creature carrying the concentrated weight of misery and injustice."

Martha strongly asserts that the status of women in a society cannot be separated from the status of economic relations in that society. Class society perpetuates exploitation and henceforth discrimination in sex by giving the male an upper hand in all affairs of the society. "Breaking the backbone of male chauvinism is breaking the same backbone of oppression of the peasant and working masses -- our liberation and our responsible role is that of making a revolution and seizing state power and regaining economic and political control for the oppressed masses - half of whom are women."

Hence Martha emphasizes "that since the source of the shameful existence of women is economic, their efforts must be concertedly concentrated towards this." Martha quotes Ho Chi Minh who rightly said, "The woman should not wait for a government or party decree to liberate her" and shuns the so-called women's lib in the capitalist countries as sheer mockery.

Martha commends the women of China (People's Republic) and Vietnam "Who fought along with the men in the liberation of the peasant masses...."She upholds the equal rights enjoyed by women in China and North Vietnam and North Korea and attributes this to their role in the revolution.

"Women must put up a relentless fight against class society in all its forms," Martha wrote" and liberation of women in Ethiopia is congruent to the liberation of the Ethiopian masses through violence." Martha concluded by writing "Of course, to undertake such demanding sacrifices women should liberate themselves intellectually for breaking the feudo-patriarchate and capitalist order and this will require firm determination and belief in freedom."

NOTE: Martha stood by her convictions and died in an internationalist action to herald the formation of an Ethiopian Liberation Front when she attempted to hijack an Ethiopian plane. The enemy liquidated Martha physically but not her beliefs. There is Martha in all progressive forces in Eritrea, Ethiopia and the world. Martha's young blood which was mercilessly spilled by Haile Selassie's mercenaries is remembered by a fresh breed of angry revolutionaries. This dedicated daughter and sister of all the oppressed masses has laid the cornerstone of future sacrifices and progress. We hail Martha.

Death to the mercenaries and their masters!

\* \* \* \* \*

TEKLE - A PEASANT FIGHTER OF THE EPLF

He is now twenty, tall, slim and persistently projects an aura of confidence. He is more attached to his gun than to anything else and as he talks to the interviewer he concurrently moves his eyes left and right out in the distance. At times he clenches his strong fists and tightens his teeth and utters "Liberation will be born out of this" -- out of his CLACHIN machine gun.



This is Tekle, a peasant fighter from a village in Dembezan and a typical EPLF fighter at best. Tekle joined the rebels three years ago together with thirteen young boys from his village. Asked how he got involved in the movement, Tekle said "I remember since the day my brother (then eighteen) the breadwinner of our family, died run down by an Ethiopian Army truck, I started asking myself what that lousy truck was up to." Tekle wiped the sweat off his face and looked far into the mountains overlooking the Red Sea far in the distance. He continued, "after the breadwinner of the family died, I had to bear the responsibility of caring for my little sister and my mother." His father had died of malaria and pneumonia some three years back and his late brother stopped school to look after the family. Tekle said he was broken by the death of his beloved brother whom he felt was butchered like a beast by those irresponsible ----. He continued, "I was also sorry to stop school after finishing the second grade, not because I cared for education as such, but the words of one of our teachers concerning our country Eritrea, how it was annexed as a booty to the Shoans, etc. were instructive." Asked whether he cared for missing a paying job he would have gotten after completing high school, Tekle reiterated "How could I, when I knew that my brother Abraha had completed the tenth grade and unable to get a descent job for which he was trained, he died miserably learning the ABC of carpentry - a job without the slightest relationship to his academic subjects." Tekle became nervous, "I don't mean again I would have been happy if I had finished school (even university) and lived comfortably in town." Tekle remarked and pointing to a bearded guerrilla fighter nearby Tekle emphatically stated, "Look! that comrade is said to have finished grade eighteen and here he is with us, friend of his country and his people." Tekle looked around and said, "By the way, do you know that we have university girls in the rural movement?" "Again my cousin, a young man from Mendefera used to earn eight hundred dollars a month in Ethiopia and recently he returned after finishing commando training abroad." Tekle exuded an air of pride and remarked "These are the men and women I respect and love." "Even though we have different backgrounds, which ever course anyone of us took, here we are bound together."

Answering a question as to how he came to know and got interested in the movement Tekle said, "I don't exactly remember but I can speak of, I should say, the most remarkable incident in my life." He searched his pockets and handed the interviewer a piece of paper. "Read this talk I gave to our platoon some weeks ago and it will answer your question." Tekle said as he tossed the paper. The note reads:

Our village was frequently visited by armed men of great contrast. One group consisted of Eritrean youngmen all bearded, modestly clothed and wore sandals. They were gentle and wise. They usually came in the afternoons and gave lectures at the chiefs' compound. They preached liberation, progress and equality. They answered questions of the people very intelligently and comradely. The people liked and respected them and called them our "sons" or "brothers." The people admired the wisdom of these not so smartly dressed bearded young men. In particular, the young in our village asked them if they could join them. The guerrillas would gently say "brother, not now, wait a little but it won't be long."

The other group of armed men consisted of Ethiopians who spoke a language we did not understand and some Eritreans too. They were

usually rough and aggressive. Now and then they searched our Hidmos (homes), took liberties with women especially when the husband was away. Interrogated the elders and at times beat them. They never said a word to those boys between fifteen and twenty-five years of age. Reason? We did not know at that time.

Since childhood, I have understood who the enemies and who the redeemers were. The guerrillas knew every villager by his/her name. They sometimes treated the sick and, I remember, they gave my mother some medicine. Since the Ethiopians closed the clinic which served our village during the colonial days, our only source of medicine was the fighters. If the guerrillas saw our elders overworked or carrying heavy loads they would say "Would you care for any help Daddy (Mammy)?" and they helped.

The Ethiopian soldiers were robbers at best. If they see anything precious in you, they would shamelessly grab it.

So, we liked the fighters more and more, wished we would grow and join them, and we helped them all we could.

One Sunday at dawn I was carrying a pail of water when I saw the silhouette of armed men against the shining moon. Oh! our brothers are here I said to myself and ran towards them. As I approached them, a man's voice angrily shouted, "Kum." I was filled with apprehension, fear and disgust for I understood what that horrible word "Kum" came from. Pretending that I did not hear the shout, I made an aimless turn, jumped over a heap of stone and hid in a pit. Leaving the pit, I ran along an alley, past the village main square and returned to pick my load. Finding it too difficult to move fast, I spilled half of the water on the ground and hastened towards my house. I took no time and after leaving the pail of water on the Midri Biet of our Hidmo, I hastened towards the valley from which our brother fighters emerged. To be sure it was very cold. The ground was covered with frost but my feet did not at all feel the chilliness - after all, I was on a mission!

Down I ran, jumping over rocks, bushes and making hair pin turns. As I ran along a ledge along a perpendicular cliff, I tumbled twice, with the third tumble I stood shivering and despaired. I heard a whistle from nearby and from behind a nearby tree a man emerged. "Hei", is that you Tekle?" That was exactly my gentleman guerrilla fighter. I swung my arms around his feet and narrated my story. "That is a fine job Teklit, our future fighter", he said. The fighters (fifteen of them) asked me questions and discussed the matter among themselves.

Moments later we got onto our feet, avoided the path I had walked down and climbed the cliffs. We hastened along the hillsides making zig zags and destroying all traces behind. One of the fighters (now one of the commanders in our front) climbed the hilltop and came back with his binoculars hanging on his neck. "About fifty enemy soldiers, mixed Ethiopian Army and Commandos, check your mountains. We shall ambush them at gully number three, trap them in between the rocks and the bushes. It's a PX-type ambush. Shot guns, machine guns at alternate positions. Use bombs for close range targets! Long live our people's struggle."



I won't waste time telling other details. Even though the guerrillas instructed me to hide in a pit some thirty meters from their place of ambush, I evaded the orders and squashed myself between two rocks. As I waited shivering I heard a shot, then two, then a volley, ta-ta-ta. In a quarter of an hour's time, silence reigned and I rushed towards my assigned place of hiding.

Comrades, such activities as this are but routines to us today but as a first experience it is unforgettable.

A few days later, our village experienced one of the cruelest reprisals from the Ethiopian Army. Our village was literally burned to the ground. Men, women and children were slaughtered like beasts. All-in-all, 42 deaths and 80 injuries!

The next day thirteen youth from our village joined our front and here we are waging a relentless struggle bringing the Shoans on their knees.

All of us ex-workers, peasants, medics, sailors, etc. united by a common goal, we advance with determination.

After the writer ended reading the note, Tekle remarked, "Long live the Eritrean People's Struggle."

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#### AN ERITREAN GIRL REVOLUTIONARY

She was dismantling a machine gun as the training comrade watched her with astonishment. Under the scorching Sun of Guenbot (May) when the Eritrean eastern lowland is without any shade, a sweating Rahwa in Khaki guerrilla uniform was preparing to combine practice with theory. The stern look on her face and the harsh determination radiating through her eyes shatters the feudal male chauvinistic contention that a town girl cannot grab the gun and make revolution. Here was this Rahwa, together with her other girl comrades, a glaring testimony to the progressive nature of the EPLF struggle - the top priority given to the Woman Question. These ex-university students who have been officially performing their assignments of recruiting, politicizing and sending fighters to the field while inside the town, have volunteered to take up arms and fight side-by-side with their brothers. We were impressed by their short and precise answers to our questions. We shall limit this article to one of them - Rahwa, the revolutionary tigress of Bahri.

Her astonishment and surprise at our first question of why she was there burnt the face of this reporter. "Obviously, to liberate my people!" she said. A member of a graduating class, Rahwa denounced the purpose and motive behind bourgeois education. She explained how it was designed to produce selfish and opportunist intellectuals. She spoke of the emphasis of this type of education on careerism, pursuit of individual pleasure and contempt for any revolutionary change. "Professors in the university never present revolutionaries like Marx and Lenin in their true picture. If at all they mentioned them, they distorted

what they stood for or raised points strictly for academic interest. As a result, they produced petty reformists, cynical intellectuals and, at best, arm-chair revolutionaries who have no faith in organized struggle. We happened to be among those who believe in combining revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice."

I told her about the shock of many university students when they (the women revolutionaries) left a fat salary and an easy life to join fighting comrades in the field. She smiled a bit and said, "Ah! it is typical of male chauvinists who think women are inferior and find it hard to reconcile themselves to the fact that women were the backbone of all progressive revolutions." She went on to say, "Haven't they heard of Vietnamese women? Haven't they ever read about North Korean women patriots? The fruits of freedom and liberation are for both women and men, so is the struggle." "In fact," she continued, "women's fight is twofold: against the oppressive system and also against the oppressing husband." Comrade Rahwa, the courageous daughter of Eritrea, the internationalist fighter for freedom and world socialism, is a gallant guerrilla. She has no fear of the reactionary force -- not even a slight doubt or vacillation. Neither does she have illusions about the inevitable victory of the Eritrean Revolution, fully supported by the forces of progress.

Rahwa, turning to her instructing comrade gave him a sign to check her work. She has been fixing the machine gun during the entire length of the interview. I couldn't help asking her why she was so attached to her gun. "No! No!" she replied. "My love is for my people. It is only because my gun is the only means for the realization of my people's happiness that I stick to it." "In fact," she went on, "I spend more time in talking to peasants and learning from them for they are the best school of life under oppression. They listen to you attentively and ask you clever questions. When you tell them that the cause of all their misery is the system and not God, they nod with apprehension. Political education among peasants coupled with armed struggle against the enemy is our way. We are very careful not to antagonize our people. After all, they are going to make the revolution, and we are only showing them how to do it..." I got all that I wanted and left these special breed of honest and dedicated people. I felt as if the victory of the revolutionary struggle was coming next week. This surely marks the beginning.

#### THE TIGRAI REVOLUTION

After the Woyane peasant uprising in Tigray, the feudal Ethiopian government has thoroughly and consistently eliminated or jailed all the rebellious elements who took part in the great struggle. The violent Woyane uprising was crushed with the massive bombardment of innocent women and children by the British Royal Airforce. Even after the people were "vanquished" the sons and daughters of leaders of the peasant uprising were chased and persecuted. But the WOYANE TRADITION persisted. Today revolutionary Tigray youth have said enough to the matchless oppression of their people under feudalism and Shoan conquest. They have decided to fight.

Instead of the empty pride in past feudal, decadent history preached by the backward government to hungry people, Tigray youth today are learning how to make revolution and lead their people towards a new historical event - LIBERATION.



They have made Menghesha and his feudal overlord Haile Selassie together with the most archaic clergy as the symbol of their miseries. The cumbersome and crude land ownership perpetuated by Menghesha and the clergy, the abominable taxation imposed upon the Tigrai people through front organizations of oppression like TDO and TAIDL, the blinding role of the church in subduing the people to open robbery by lords and clergy, the ever expanding capitalist and monopolistic exploitation of the people by the Ras through the ownership of transport buses, hotels, huge farms, incense exports, and touring industry have surpassed the limits of tolerance.

The extent of the ruthless and shameless acts of Menghesha and his feudal clique was exposed when they split most of the relief grain provided by their patrons to prevent violent insurrection that could have arisen out of the shortage of food. The wise peasants of Tigrai have learned things the hard way. From the salt miners of REGED in the east to the miserable ox-less peasant of Adiabo in the west, the tricks of a bull-dozer operating Ras leaving thousands of cases freezing in the office, the cunning of the money bag "governor" who displaces thousands of peasants for modern farming are no longer new. The huge farms in Sembel, Rama and Sheketti were built by the sweat of the people and the revolution will return these lands to the people.

A whole generation of peasant youth that has been forced to flee villages in the hope of getting a better life in Humera, Tendaho, Wonji, Metahara and Jimma has been almost totally destroyed by malaria, hunger and epidemic. The disappearance of the most productive sector of the population left helpless old people, women and children who find it difficult to subsist on the farms against draught, disease and back-breaking taxation. The snatching and misuse of peasants' money under the pretext of self-help schemes has reduced the people to ashes. Tigrai girls and mothers alike have filled the bars of major towns throughout the Empire. Old men and women carrying countless children roam the streets of various towns begging for survival. Those who manage to reach the towns are ruthlessly rounded to fill the notorious concentration camps officially known as "Homes for the Poor." Thousands have died this way and still more die each day especially in the present campaign to "clean" the town for the international conference. These people are part of the filth.

For how long can the brave Tigrai people carry this misery? For how long can they submit to this subjugation? If not, how do they come out of it? The Eritrean Revolution has become a shining example.

This is why revolutionary Tigrai intellectuals have joined the EPLF to train and fight the feudal Shoan regime in Ethiopia. Together with other progressive trainees of EPLF from different nationalities in Ethiopia the Tigrai comrades are contributing to the success of the Eritrean Revolution by extending the battlefield to the lands of feudal Ethiopia. The future will decide whether Tigrai will emerge as an independent Soviet, a springboard for the upcoming Ethiopian Revolution or whether the Tigrai and the other Ethiopian national revolutionaries (Amharas, Oromos, Gurages, Sidamas, etc.) would form a coordinated programme of action to smash the Shoan's feudal clique in Addis Ababa - HISTORY WILL DECIDE. (Future issues of TIHISHA will report on the PROGRESSION OF THE UPCOMING ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE.)

ON COWARDICE, OPPORTUNISM AND DEATH

A coward is selfish. He is an egotistical individual whose mind has not developed beyond norms and mores of feudalist heritage. He is individualist and values his life in direct proportion to his life expectancy. Not only does he want to live, but he wishes to live comfortably, i.e., he wants to exploit. A coward is obsessed with death. He is horrified by the mention of the word. He values life highly even if it meant ignominy, failure (in his personal aspirations).

A revolutionary is but the contrary. For him, life is struggle. In the course of the struggle he knows that death awaits him. But unlike the coward, he doesn't consider it to be self-destruction. Instead, he regards it as liberation. A revolutionary lives in death and beyond death. He understands that the summation of the lives of all the revolutionaries is but the Revolution. In as much as the revolution progresses to victory every revolutionary is in it. With it he travels in the march of time - alive, intact and unscrupulous.

"We should welcome death as long as a revolutionary arm stretches and a handful of revolutionaries gives us a funeral with a staccato of machine guns...." (Che)

There goes the rattle of the guns. There moves the revolutionary in our hearts.

In death through struggle there is liberation because it is the highest form of expression of selflessness and it is only the revolutionary who is capable of facing such a death. Think of our beloved Eritrean brothers and sisters who have died in our struggle. They are the highest honors of our Revolution. The concentration of all championship due to our motherland. The masses owe them nothing for they are in them - in their hearts. They lived for the masses, fought with the masses and died for the masses. Liberation of the masses is the object of the revolution. That the revolution will triumph to victory is inevitable. All revolutionaries, dead or alive, are in the revolution, and the revolution lives in the hearts of the masses who transmit it to their off-springs. Thus, generation after generation will remember today's generation of revolutionary Eritreans - those Eritreans who lived and died in it and for it. They will write poetry about their selfless predecessors, admiring them and filling their hearts with pride, they will say:

Machine guns in one of their hands,  
Bombs in the other,  
Defiant look on their handsome faces,  
Outraged to destroy injustice,  
Fighting for Liberty, for Equality,  
Ready to die for love of humanity,  
Hail! our intrepid, stubborn, tough,  
Tenacious, selfless men and women,  
Who lived to die for and died,  
To live in our Revolution.  
Honors we bestow you,  
Assuring you of our confidence,  
That our Revolution will succeed to continue,  
Revolution perfecting the programs,  
Of the invincible Eritrean People's Liberation Forces.



THE ERITREAN REVOLUTION AND THE WORLD REVOLUTION

The primary motive for the Eritrean Revolution is the eradication of colonialism, imperialism and Amhara feudalism from Eritrean soil, the replacement of colonialism with freedom for the nationalities of Eritrea and the substitution of a popular democratic government for the present state of political oppression. With the exception of a few who are not fighting against colonialism and those who have sided with colonialism and imperialism, this revolution unites all Eritreans. The Eritrean running dogs of imperialism and feudalism are so small in number that we can truly say that the Eritrean Revolution belongs to all the people. In Eritrea, government power is in the hands of the imperialists, the Amhara feudalists and their servants-- their Eritrean stooges. We can then say that our revolution is a national democratic revolution fighting against imperialism and feudalism.

When we state that the Eritrean revolution is national democratic, what does it mean? The Eritrean revolution advocates "the right of a people to their country", "Eritrea for the Eritreans", that the destiny of the Eritrean people can be determined only by the Eritreans themselves. It is in pursuit of these goals that we are persevering in a struggle against foreign colonialism.

Democracy is people's government, meaning a government elected by and responsible to the people and whose constituent members can be replaced at any time. It is a government under which the people enjoy full political rights, such as freedom of the press and assembly, freedom of self-expression, freedom to organize political parties and labour unions, freedom of worship, the emancipation of women and the equality of nationalities. In short, a free government and people able to exercise basic human and civic rights and able to enjoy fundamental freedoms in every aspect of national life.

As a building must be erected on a firm foundation, so must democracy stand on a sound economic basis. If the foundation is not firm, whatever stands on it cannot stand firmly. Haile Sellasie, the butcher, constantly bluffs claiming that "each citizen has the right to elect his representative". The millions of subsistence peasant farmers suffering under feudal oppression cannot exercise these democratic rights. This is merely murderer Haile Selassie's ploy to camouflage the oppressive and repressive nature of his government and to blind people to the truth; otherwise, there cannot be any real democratic rights in a feudal society. The reason is simply that the exploitative feudal basis has not been destroyed. Democracy requires a firm economic foundation. For instance, in the countryside the produce of farmers and herdsmen must exclusively be put to their own use. If this happens, they will be spared from economic oppression. This can be realized only when all the land in the country is in the hands of those who work it. The so-called government domain and pasture land was stolen from the people, and all of it must be returned to the people. Land being held by both the small and big feudal lords must also be returned to its rightful owners - the farmers. Only then can the farmer regain his economic rights. This also means that feudalism would be destroyed and a solid foundation for democracy laid down in its place; in other words, a people's government could be established with solid, firm and unshakeable roots. This is the primary structural basis capable of sustaining democracy.

There is a second structural basis which assures national independence and consolidates democracy. And this is the establishment of firm control of the industries and natural wealth of Eritrea in the hands of the Eritrean people. At present, our industries and natural wealth are jointly controlled by the imperialists, the Amhara feudalists and their Eritrean lackeys. Let us ask the question: What does American imperialism gain from our country and from the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America? U.S. imperialism controls the natural resources of our country and those of the other countries as well. It exploits our countries as sources of cheap raw materials for its manufacturing industries, while our peoples, languishing under backward conditions- engaged in primitive farming and herding, are used as markets or, rather, as dumping grounds for its excess production. Our workers are paid only a tiny fraction of the wages of their American counterparts. All this enables the imperialists to augment their capital wealth by reaping superprofits from the exploitation of our peoples - the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Imperialism and feudalism are striving to perpetuate our backwardness; but they will not succeed. As imperialism and feudalism are the bases for colonialism, enslavement and national oppression, we must destroy these underlying sources of our exploitation and oppression by force of arms.

Then, what should replace these bases of exploitation? If we examine the nature of the industries in our country, we can observe two types of oppression. On the one hand, the national oppression of our country by the imperialists and the Amhara feudalists has prevented the rise of an independent Eritrean capitalist class capable of owning and running industries on its own. Consequently, the large commercial farms and industries are found in the hands of foreigners. It is their subjection to this kind of national oppression which causes some elements of the Eritrean bourgeoisie to oppose colonialism. On the other hand, there is the basic oppression of workers. The workers have no defined working hours; twelve-hour working days are very common. The factory owners can at any time fire any worker arbitrarily without any provision for pension and workers have no legal recourse. The working conditions are deplorable and extremely hazardous to health and the workers are denied adequate medical treatment for injuries sustained at work. On top of these miserable conditions, they are paid extremely low wages - it is very common for workers to receive less than a dollar (U.S. 40c) per day. Women workers are especially subjected to dual oppression. They are doing what used to be men's jobs at substantially lower wages, and this is because they do not enjoy equal status. The colonial government of the Amhara feudalists prevents Eritrean workers from collectively fighting these injustices by denying them permission to organize labour unions.

The Eritrean revolution will destroy this obstacle, for to change this basis of oppression is to defend the democratic rights of workers. If the working hours are legally defined, the minimum wage fixed, equal pay established for equal work irrespective of sex, adequate pension provided, and comprehensive medical treatment guaranteed for work-related accidents, then the fundamental rights of workers will have been safeguarded. It is only a people's democratic government whose power is based on the masses of the countryside (peasants and nomads), the workers and the patriotic bourgeoisie that can protect these rights.



If the people of any country, however large or small, are courageously determined to persevere in a protracted armed struggle, in following a correct revolutionary line within the framework of a broad-based and principled National United Front, and aided by the world revolutionary movement (in terms of providing arms, political support, and by weakening the common imperialist enemy in their respective spheres of confrontation), they are assured that victory is inevitable. The people of Eritrea, along with the dependent and oppressed peoples the world over, are waging a struggle that will lead them to final victory. When we speak of the world revolution, we are referring to the ongoing struggles of the peoples of the world to wipe out colonialism and neo-colonialism from their respective countries and to obliterate the regressive and reactionary order prevailing in the industrialized imperialist nations.

Our country, Eritrea, is suffering under colonialism. There are also many other countries suffering from similar colonial oppression. Most of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are dominated by neocolonialism. The industrial Western European countries and the U.S. are the major centers of imperialism. In our era, any form of oppression operates to serve first and foremost the interests of imperialism. Secondarily, their lackeys throughout the world (the Amhara feudalists, for example) derive certain benefits from it.

Before the First World War imperialism enjoyed worldwide supremacy. The big imperialist countries, competing among themselves, militarily and politically, had divided and subdivided the world. The supremacy of imperialism seemed complete and enduring. However, the burgeoning proletarian socialist movement was able to administer the first and most telling blow to imperialism. This was the great October Socialist Revolution which triumphantly exploded in Russia in 1917. This revolution gave the proletarian socialist and the anti-imperialist nationalist movements a tremendous momentum. In between the two World Wars, these movements developed and grew ever stronger.

After the Second World War, and especially in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, a dangerous situation was created for imperialism. In many countries of Asia, the masses became engaged in armed struggle and, fighting with their full strength, they scored decisive victories setting imperialism along the path of its eventual downfall. The most telling and memorable blows that imperialism received from the peoples of Asia during this time are the resounding victories of the Chinese people in 1949, which liberated China from neo-colonialism, and of the Vietnamese people in 1954 which liberated Vietnam from French colonialism. In addition, India became independent in 1947. These and other defeats for imperialism became an example to the national liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America. From this time onward, imperialism was forced to change tactics in an effort to ensure its continued domination of the world. It replaced colonialism with neo-colonialism and disguised nominal independence as real. Federating Eritrea with Ethiopia was merely a chapter in this new tactical adjustment.

The people of Africa have always fought against imperialism both in its colonialist and neo-colonialist forms. The Algerian and Kenyan struggles for independence stand out as shining examples of the anti-colonialist struggles of African peoples and, after the Second World War, many countries were able to win "independence". At present, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau are still under

Portuguese colonialism while Azania (South Africa), Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and Namibia (Southwest Africa) remain under the oppressive colonial rule of racist white settler regimes. In the three Portuguese "colonies" and in Zimbabwe, armed struggles for liberation are being waged. In the other colonized countries, peaceful political struggles are going on. This signifies that, along with the Eritrean armed struggle, there are five anti-colonialist armed national liberation struggles in Africa. There are also numerous peaceful political movements for liberation.

Most African countries are found under a new form of imperialist domination. When the imperialists "granted independence" to these countries, they retained full control over their natural and agricultural resources and all other sources of wealth such as the big commercial enterprises. In fact, imperialism was able to further consolidate its economic power and romp at will all over these countries. Thus, these countries are not truly independent as their domestic affairs and foreign relations are subservient to the interests of imperialism. Ethiopia is an excellent example of these neo-colonial, dependent countries.

The peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America are waging an active struggle against this kind of neo-colonialism. The anti-neocolonialist struggle in Africa and the struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism and zionism hold a prominent place in the worldwide anti-imperialist movement.

Thus, Eritrea has a historic relationship with the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. This is because the history of Eritrea under colonialism is in general similar to and closely tied with the histories of these countries. Because imperialism exploits and oppresses all peoples and has a reactionary nature, it is our common enemy. The world revolution is in general an anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-feudalist and anti-collaborationist movement.

Their common anti-imperialist struggle unifies the peoples of the world. The victory of one people is the victory of all peoples, while the defeat of one harms all. When a people fight for national independence, they are fighting for the independence and liberation of the whole world. This is because imperialism and its stooges are being destroyed in that front. When imperialism is destroyed on all fronts, the world will be wholly liberated. The Eritrean Revolution is, thus, an integral part of the World Revolution.

We believe that the popular struggles against Portuguese colonialism, the struggles of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Azania, the struggle of the Arab peoples against U.S. imperialism and Israeli Zionism, the struggles of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia against American imperialism, and also the political and armed struggles of all other peoples are of great help to the revolutionary struggle of the Eritrean people.

Victory to the Eritrean Revolution!

Victory to the World Revolution!

Eternal Glory to the martyrs of Revolution!



MESSAGE FROM ERITREAN REFUGEES

We would like to once more bring to your attention the plunder and destruction we are faced with and the miserable lives we have been forced to lead.

The Ethiopian army and their commandos murder countless of our old, our young, our women and destroy our homes along with our belongings. On top of this, they are now forcing us to carry the dead bodies of our children on our shoulders. So many of our children have already sacrificed their lives in the battlefield but we have ceased to measure the extent of this sacrifice for we have come to understand it to be the only way we can determine our own destiny. Prisons are overflowing and in them our people are suffering under deplorable conditions, a variation only in degree from the everyday suffering of the masses of our people. Still we are cognizant of the fact that the struggle is long and shall be tainted with more misery and death.

Of course, it is our principal enemy Haile Selassie -- the butcher-- who has driven us from our land and the land of our ancestors, forcing us into exile. Carrying nothing but our lives; hungry and ill-clad, we crossed the harsh desert under the scorching sun and through dusty winds to come to the Sudan where we are living in severely degrading conditions.

It must especially be known that as we live here under an alien label of "refugees" so many of us have been maimed and killed. We face starvation and suffer from communicable diseases. As a result, we have lost many of our old, suckling babies and pregnant mothers. Our wish and hope has been to return to our country in freedom and that our troubles would be over. However, the price of liberating our country is dear and our cause is the cause of all Eritreans who must fight together irrespective of religious or ethnic affiliation. Many of our fighters and civilians have died for the salvation of our country and many more will. However, it is well known that anyone, no matter how big or how powerful, cannot indefinitely intervene in the life of a society and impose his will against that of the people.

Prepared to endure whatever hardships may befall us, we take our destiny into our own hands; may your wishes be fulfilled.

In the name of the Refugees  
Sheik Ousman Alula

WHY ARE WE WAGING A STRUGGLE?

Ever since the advent of colonialism, the Eritrean people have been involved in a ceaseless struggle. As we look back into Eritrean history and examine the events of the past 90 years, not only do we see that Eritrea has been exploited by foreign powers and its people jailed and murdered, but also that in every case the Eritrean people have persistently fought against such domination. It is this experience that has steeled the Eritrean peoples' determination and given them courage to fight Ethiopian aggression and international imperialism.

The resistance during Italian rule generally took the form of uncoordinated rebellion. However, from 1945 onwards, organized political parties of a nationalist nature began to emerge. As the Suez Canal and the Mediterranean Sea were closed to trade due to the Second World War, a trade vacuum was created in the Middle East. This caused Eritrean industries to flourish temporarily and the number of workers grew. The timely increase of workers and the associated increase in awareness made the creation of political parties possible. In 1946, the "Eritrea For Eritreans" party was established. Then followed the "Unionist Party". In 1947 "Rabita Islamia" (the Moslem League) was organized. Thus, Eritrea became a hotspot of political activity and its people's participation in the determination of their future continued to expand.

These three parties initially followed divergent political lines. Thus, the Eritrean people were plunged into a state of rivalry and open hostility, thereby creating particularly opportune conditions for their oppressors.

On the other hand, the Amhara overlords of Ethiopia, with the aid of British and U.S. imperialists, have been feverishly sowing the seeds of dis-sention and strife among Eritreans in attempts to gain outlets to the sea and to plunder Eritrean agricultural and mineral wealth. The Amhara feudalists attempted to stifle the newly emerged people's movements by hiring bandits and spreading them in the towns and countryside to terrorize and assassinate leaders and members of the Rabita Islamia and the "Eritrea for Eritreans" parties. Abdelkader Kebire and Blatta Kahsai Malou are martyrs of that era.

Due to the strategically significant geographic location of Eritrea in East Africa and the Middle East, imperialist U.S. was determined to retain its military base, which it had established in Eritrea during the British colonial occupation. Consequently, the U.S. colluded in an evil conspiracy with the Amhara feudalists in order to exploit the natural resources of Eritrea and Ethiopia and to put Eritrea under Ethiopian control and, indirectly, under its own hegemony.

When the Eritrean case was brought before the United Nations General Assembly, the imperialist U.S.A. concealed its true motives for pushing the Federal Resolution in the guise of "peace and security" in East Africa, Ethiopia's interests on "historical, geographic and economic grounds" and "Ethiopia's legitimate claims of access to the sea." The U.S. also used its political power



to bring about the subjugation of Eritrea by Ethiopia so that the U.S. would not lose its economic interests and its military base. Contrary to the interests of our people, and utterly disregarding their wishes, the imperialist U.S.A. managed to push the Federal Resolution through the United Nations and ensured the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia, thereby securing the interests of imperialism and feudalism. As if it were not enough for Eritreans to have suffered under Italian and British colonialism, again they were put under a third colonial power. Oppression by the Amhara feudalists was thus taking root and imperialist exploitation consolidated its base in Eritrea and its neighbouring countries.

On the basis of Federal Resolution 390-A-/5/ of the U.S.-controlled United Nations, Eritrea was allowed to establish an autonomous government with its own National Assembly, Constitution and a Flag "under the Ethiopian Crown". Although Eritrea was allowed to have her own flag, assembly and constitution, affairs like foreign relations, defense, finance, transportation (air, sea, land) and telecommunications were still under Ethiopian control. There was only limited independence and Federation was only an interim arrangement to prepare for complete Ethiopian annexation and domination of Eritrea.

This was how federal union with Ethiopia was introduced; and subsequently the Amhara feudalists gradually eliminated the democratic newspapers, banned peaceful demonstrations, disbanded workers' unions and abolished civil rights - converting Eritrea into a police state. The patriots who courageously resisted political oppression were imprisoned or exiled in an attempt to quell the resistance.

During Italian colonialism, rich fertile lands were given to foreign settlers. By collaborating with such holders of large commercial farms as well as owners of factories and foreign traders in order to keep the ownership of these economic enterprises in the hands of their holders, the Amhara feudalists aggravated the oppression of the workers and peasants. It was this economic strangulation that led to the emigration of Eritreans en masse to the Middle East, The Sudan and Ethiopia.

On November 14, 1962, in violation of the Federal Resolution, the Ethiopian feudalists abolished the Eritrean Constitution, dissolved the National Assembly and officially annexed Eritrea to their Empire.

After removing the remaining obstacles in their way, they proceeded to replace Eritrean laws and institutions with their own laws which were alien to our people. They abolished the official languages of Eritrea and introduced Amharic in their place. They proclaimed Amharic to be the only language of communication in public offices, schools, courts and trade and they have not ceased to prevent the development of any of our national languages.

Eritreans were thus locked into a bitter state of political, economic and cultural oppression. Peaceful political means were used in an attempt to resolve the situation but they did not succeed. The heroic Eritreans who saw the futility of peaceful resistance against armed oppressors, understood that the solution could only be found through armed struggle; and in September 1961

the sound of the first gun shot reverberated across the Eritrean fields. The Eritrean people had set out to liberate their country through armed struggle. Unfortunately, this armed uprising lacked a clearcut political line and well-defined program of action, and instead of mobilizing all the people the uprising led to competition and disunity among various national elements. Almost dormant religious and ethnic hostilities were rekindled by the opportunists and counter-revolutionaries who took this chance to enhance their self-interests and bring the Eritrean struggle into disarray.

What does a correct analysis of the conditions of the Eritrean people show us? The oppression and injustices that the Eritreans are being subjected to are obvious to any observer, let alone to the Eritreans themselves. We are being ruled by foreign oppressors who have imposed alien political and cultural institutions upon us. There are also Eritrean collaborators who are oppressing and exploiting us in concert with our external enemies. We see large concession farms owned by foreigners while Eritrean workers and small traders are oppressed and being exploited.

Although many want and should be able to receive an education, we see this opportunity being given to only a chosen few. We see our people suffering from diseases, poverty and ignorance; living as they do, with their mouths shut for they may not speak out and their hands tied for they may not write.

While the fertile land is being given to big capitalists and feudalists, we find the Eritrean peasant downtrodden and poor, incessantly toiling to barely subsist.

The lack of freedom and equality has made prostitution the highest opportunity for Eritrean women, and the lack of work and education has forced many of our young men into becoming 'thieves' and 'murderers'.

Fully aware of these conditions and growing tired of bitter oppression and exploitation, we have picked up arms, gone to the battlefield where we wage armed struggle. It is not a desire to live as wanderers or the fancy to carry weapons that has driven us to the battlefield, but our desire to uproot and change prevailing conditions of exploitation, oppression, degradation and the deprivation of our human rights.

We fight:

So that the people may own the land and be the beneficiaries of its fruits.

In order to transfer ownership of factories and commerce into the hands of a people's government so that the democratic rights of workers may be fully safeguarded.

So that women may regain their full rights and participate in work and politics with equality.

In order to work for the development of industry and agriculture for our country cannot move forward without such development.



In order to eradicate diseases and ignorance so that our people can be enlightened and healthy.

In order to protect the rights of all nationalities in Eritrea so that they may develop with equality. To abolish war and aggression and bring about peace and prosperity for all our people.

In order to bring about conditions of progress for every Eritrean and to guarantee him/her adequate nutrition, clothing, health care and education, which are now exclusively enjoyed by the feudalists and imperialists who control the fertile land, industries and trade.

For complete independence from colonialism and imperialist and feudalist exploitation. We are waging a national democratic revolution and are fighting with all our might against Ethiopian feudalism and U.S. imperialism. And we will be victorious!

Victory to the Eritrean Revolution!  
Down with Imperialism, Feudalism and their lackeys!

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NEWS IN BRIEF

After a year of bitter fighting in self-defence and in the defence of the Eritrean Revolution, which was seriously threatened by the disgraceful civil war devised and perpetrated by the Eritrean pseudo-revolutionaries who call themselves the "Revolutionary Council" the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces (E.P.L.F.) are carrying out big military operations against the Ethiopian forces which, taking advantage of the civil war, had been trying to re-establish their domination on the liberated areas. All guns, indeed all means of war which are at the disposal of the E.P.L.F. are now directed against the forces of the principal enemy of Eritrea -- Ethiopia. In a series of audacious attacks, the freedom fighters of E.P.L. F. have already inflicted heavy losses on the enemy as the following account of the fighting can show:

-On 3/23-24/73, our forces attacked a strong unit of Ethiopian troops which was moving from its camp at Afabat, Nakfa, towards the northern zone known as Tebh. The fighting lasted for two days in which about 45 enemy soldiers were killed and an officer (lieutenant) by the name of Mulugheta captured.\* Moreover, three trucks loaded with enemy troops were destroyed by mines laid by our forces. On the second day of the fighting the enemy was compelled to bring in fighter planes one of which, an American F-85, was shot down by our machine guns. Our losses were two killed and five wounded.

\*He was released on 5/23/73. He was interrogated and subsequently given political education. During his stay in the liberated zone, he was humanely treated and well cared for.

-On 4/1/73, an assault unit of our forces launched an attack against a fortified enemy camp at Qurora. The attack lasted from 22:30 to 01:45 hours resulting in partial destruction of the camp and big enemy losses while our unit returned safely.

-On 4/2/73, our forces ambushed a strong column of enemy soldiers, attacking it with light and medium weapons. The fighting lasted for five hours and thirty minutes in which the enemy suffered heavy losses in men and equipment. The enemy column was forced to retreat, leaving behind twenty dead and six types of weapons, including a U.S. model carben machine gun.

E.P.L.F. Punishes Enemy Officers And Spies In Asmara

The commandos of the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces condemned to death two spies and an Ethiopian officer after hurling a bomb in an Asmara bar as punishment for their barbaric crimes against the people. The commandos managed to return safely to their base. It is worth mentioning that this was the second operation in the current year in which mercenary thugs and spies have been annihilated inside Asmara, the capital.

And in Beilul, Denkel Province, some mercenaries of the colonial authorities, who are called government militia, had infringed upon the local people following the attempt of their intoxicated commander to encroach upon the wife of a citizen. Three citizens were injured in the ensuing strife and were taken to Assab hospital. Later, the occupation authorities intervened to restrain their mercenaries in an attempt to tranquilize the indignation of the masses.

Revolution belongs to the people and not to a single class.

Long live the E.P.L. F.

Victory through Unity of the Eritrean people.

Ethiopian Colonial Authorities Order Removal of Three Factories From Asmara To Addis Ababa

Three factories of textiles, tanning and earthenware utensils have been moved from Asmara to Addis Ababa. The owners of these factories were threatened by the Ethiopian colonial authorities that their properties will be confiscated if they don't transfer their factories from Asmara to Addis Ababa.

As a consequence of this tyrannical and arbitrary order, more than 400 Eritrean workers have been rendered jobless.

The Ethiopian colonialist authorities aim at realizing and achieving two objectives. The first is to weaken Eritrea's economic capacity and make it economically impotent and dependent on Ethiopia. The second is political and aims at crippling and disrupting the labour movement in Eritrea which constitutes a



massive base that played and still plays an effective role in the anti-colonialist national movement.

It is worthwhile to mention that industrial revenue in Eritrea makes up more than 60% of the total industrial income of the entire empire. There are more than 400 factories for diverse light industries mainly concentrated in Asmara - the capital - and in some other towns such as Karen, Massawa and Dekemhare. These factories absorb more than 100,000 Eritrean workers.

The percentage of industrial and vocational workers in Eritrea is one of the highest rates in Africa for they comprise about 4% of the population.

The colonialist authorities had already forced a number of industrialists to shift their business locations to Addis Ababa. Likewise, the Ethiopian colonialist authorities had abolished, during the Federation period, the agreement reached by the Eritrean government, with the West German Volkswagen company to establish an automobile factory in Dekemhare where there are mines with a deposit of 250 million tons of iron ore. The Ethiopian colonial authorities had also abrogated another agreement concluded by the Eritrean government with the electrical company, SADAW, founded in 1912 with headquarters in Asmara and Zurich, whose capital fund in Eritrea reaches 50 million dollars. According to that agreement, the company would have established an agricultural project for cotton cultivation and a textile factory, as well as other industries which function with the help of hydro-electric power.

When the Ethiopian colonialist government abolished the two agreements in 1954-55, they based their argument on the allegation that the conclusion of treaties with foreign firms is the sole responsibility and the competence of the Federal Government.

#### Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference Supports The Eritrean People's Struggle

The Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference, in its 12th session held in Aden, the capital of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, during February 24-27, 1973, issued a statement in support of the Eritrean people's struggle for national independence. The statement is contained in Document No. 102/16G.

Many delegates, including the delegates from Somalia and Guinea, which was represented by its Economic Minister, took part in the discussion on the Eritrean question. They expressed support for the struggle of the Eritrean people in pursuit of their legitimate right to national independence.

The Guinean Minister exposed the machination that calls for abstention from raising the Eritrean issue in the OAU in order not to offend the other party - Ethiopia - which colonises Eritrea and is a member state of the Organisation of African Unity.

The Guinean Minister said "the cause of liberation should be supported even if it is directed against an African state."

An official delegation representing the People's Liberation Forces of the Eritrean Liberation Front took part in the conference. The delegation submitted a report to the conference which explained the development of the Eritrean question in its various stages. Moreover, a telegram sent by the Foreign Mission of the People's Liberation Forces was read in the conference.

Eritrea won full membership in the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation in 1972.

The conference was attended by 62 delegates representing the peoples of Africa and Asia. All the delegates paid tribute to the efforts made by the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen that guaranteed the success of the conference proceeding from its principles and revolutionary positions.

The conference also supported the struggle of the Somali people in the Somali Coast for independence from French colonialism. The conference called upon France to grant the Somali people the right to self-determination.

The following is the full text passed on Eritrea:

-The conference condemns the presence of American and Israeli bases in Eritrea and in the territorial waters of Eritrea because these bases constitute a perpetual threat to the advance of Africa and Asia towards realizing peace and progress. Thus, the conference demands the liquidation of these bases forthwith;

-Draws the attention of the world public opinion to the policy of suppression and domination practised by the Ethiopian military occupation authorities in Eritrea and their stepped up war of total extermination against the Eritrean masses;

-Draws the attention of the Organization of African Unity and all the African peoples to the fact that Ethiopia's policy on Eritrea constitutes a dangerous phenomenon in the sphere of African relations and hampers all the noble efforts that aim at realizing a full accord in these relations;

-Calls the United Nations to study the situation prevalent in Eritrea today which directly emanated from the United Nations resolution No. 390 of December, 1950 and to review that resolution in the light of the present-day situation in Eritrea and in accordance with the legitimate right to self-determination for the Eritrean people heroically fighting against the colonialist presence represented by the Ethiopian occupation of their homeland.



A NEW CHAPTER IN REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE  
[excerpts from a pamphlet published in the field by the  
Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Forces (E.P.L.F.)]

A new era was ushered in, in the history of the Eritrean revolution and the Ethiopian revolutionary movement when, on December 8th, 1972, seven dedicated and selfless Ethiopian and Eritrean revolutionaries attempted to secure the release of political prisoners through concerted militant action. The attempt to take control of the Ethiopian Airlines plane resulted in the martyrdom of six and the detention of one of the revolutionaries. Amanuel Yohannes, Marta Mebrahtu and Yohannes Fekadu were Eritreans while Walleign Mekonnen, Tadelech Kidane Mariam (the one detained), Getachew Habte, and Tesfaye Berega were Ethiopians. The heroic collaboration against oppression is a shining example of the growing internationalist upsurge within the ranks of Eritrean and Ethiopian progressives and decisively expresses the revolutionary solidarity between the Ethiopian and Eritrean peoples. This heroic effort in support of the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Forces and in opposition to the feudal, neocolonial regime of Haile Selassie signifies the determined struggle of all progressive Eritreans and Ethiopians against the continued colonial occupation of Eritrea on the one hand and the underlying structure of feudo-capitalist oppression and imperialist exploitation of the Ethiopian and Eritrean masses on the other.

This deed of the sons and daughters of the two neighboring countries exemplifies the struggle of Eritreans against foreign, colonial rule and for national independence, and the struggle of Ethiopians to destroy feudalism; in essence, it was done in an internationalist spirit to oppose world imperialism: an unforgettable day and an indelible page in history. These martyrs' performance of their national duties for the salvation of the people, for the benefit of oppressed people, rejecting linguistic, cultural and religious differences (and some apparent revolutionaries' sentiment of chauvinism) was a pioneering act for us. Its basis lies in a revolutionary duty linked by mutual benefit and standing upon an alliance sealed with blood.

They stood for a great aim; the price to be paid had by necessity to be great and dear. The liberation of oppressed people is the sacred desire of genuine revolutionaries, and the price for being for it is one's life, that highest and most valuable sacrifice a human being can offer.

It is for this reason that we do not regard the death of these beloved comrades as a sad fate but as an inspiring example because many people have learned by their blood that was spilt, and those (especially women) who have pondered over the circumstances are not few. We should regard the performance of Yohannes Fekadu's funeral ceremony in Asmara as an example. There is absolutely no greater testimony of victory. It was with this as the basis that Ammanuel's daily motto was: "either I shall dismantle Haile Selassie's regime or I shall die on the way."

By climbing onto the stage of struggle with a high degree of political consciousness to oppose the fascists' atrocities, Marta and Tadelech have earned the right of not only being in the vanguard of the women of the two countries, Eritrea and Ethiopia, and their rightful place in the ranks of revolutionaries, but also that of instilling courage in people and making them determined as well.

The recent attempt and the sacrifice of lives has raised the standard of the form of struggle one step higher and has become ample witness to the fact that our struggle does not discriminate upon the basis of sex, age nationality or religious belief and has a lofty internationalist line, work and duty as well.

The heroic deed performed is not one isolated blow upon the enemies of the people of the world (American Imperialism and Ethiopian Feudalism); it is one link in the long chain of our struggle and revolutionary development. The word of the sacrificed six comrades and Tadelech Kidane Mariam, who is suffering enchained by the enemy, is a great herald of the salvation and solidarity of the progressive peoples of the world (especially the peoples of Eritrea and Ethiopia) in their struggle for an assured peoples' and revolutionary victory.

There is no room for reactionaries, opportunists and oppressors. A progressive Eritrean is he who struggles and renders assistance to the oppressed peoples of the world and a progressive Ethiopian is he who believes in the independent existence of Eritrea, and in our just struggle and who shoulders his internationalist duties.

Because they are pure revolutionaries who know that they are mortals and yet work like immortals,

their lives are short due to love of the people and hatred of oppression. Their reward lies in the fruit of their work and in their immortality.

Victory for the Eritrean Revolution

Victory for the Ethiopian Revolution

Eternal Glory for the Martyrs

STATEMENT ON THE FAMINE IN ETHIOPIA\*

A large scale famine has once again erupted in Ethiopia this year, and millions of people are undergoing a terrible suffering. The last one which took the lives of 400,000 people was in 1958 in one province of Ethiopia. In terms of its magnitude, the present famine is one of the most disastrous ever to have hit the people of Ethiopia. It has affected almost the entire population of Wollo and Tigre provinces in the northern part of the country where the famine situation is most severe, as well as large parts of Shoa, Gojjam, Hararge and other places. The total population undergoing this terrible ordeal is estimated to hit a five million high, i.e., roughly a quarter of the total population in the country.

Although the Ethiopian government and the feudal ruling class have remained adamant about the situation and have conveniently refused to give any news of the famine to the international public lest they would be exposed for what they are, various reliable eye-witness reports aptly describe the horrible nature of this famine which has already taken thousands of lives and forced millions of people to leave their homes and travel for days on end in search of food and water. For the last several months there has been a large exodus of impoverished people from province to province and even to neighboring countries like the Sudan, and as a result, countless numbers of villages and communities have been deserted and completely desolated. Families have disintegrated; some members have perished, others have disappeared to unknown places.

How is it that this situation is taking place in our country, and who is responsible for it?

The so-called Ethiopian government claims, as usual, that nature and the draught are wholly responsible for this particular famine as well as for all the other famines and miseries that the people have always faced in the past. There is nothing novel about this argument. Throughout history, ruling classes have used the same absurd logic to cover up their numerous crimes against the people and to hoodwink the broad masses of the people so as to mystify and hide the real cause of their oppression and sufferings. Religious and other institutions have been effectively used to propagate the idea that famines and other miseries are willed by God to punish the people for their crimes, and that the people should turn to praying in order to appease the "Creator". However, this is utterly a useless schema that cannot hide the historical fact that the ruling classes have always been the root cause of all the problems of the people whom they have oppressed, exploited and kept in perpetual bondage; and the attempt by the Ethiopian ruling class to absolve itself of any blame by shifting responsibility to God. This tactic cannot deceive anyone. The parasitic landlord ruling class represented by Haile Selassie's government is in the main responsible for the devastation caused by the famine wave.

With regards to the present situation, the reluctance on the part of Haile Selassie's government to take precautionary measures to alleviate the famine when FAO and other organizations warned in advance that a severe drought was going to hit the country; the shameless attempt to hide the fact of the famine to the rest of the world and even to the Ethiopian people living in the non-affected areas, so that there would not be any relief coming from outside to assist the famine-inflicted areas, not to mention the government's own failure to undertake relief operations; the unleashing of the regime's mad-dogs (the police) to massacre students and innocent people when high school students boldly took the initiative to let the whole world



know about the severity of the famine; these and so many other crimes testify to the fact that the government and the class that it represents are principally responsible for the disaster that is presently raging in the country with such unprecedented intensity.

Our country is a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society. The ruling class (composed of landlords, the monarchy, the church hierarchy and a tiny capitalist class) controls absolute political power and owns almost the entire wealth of the country. The church alone owns 30% of the total arable land while the aristocracy and the monarchy own 50-60% of the remaining land. Foreign capitalists dominate the industrial and commercial sectors with local capital playing subservient role. Imperialist domination of the country has left the country a mono-crop economy which generates built-in instability in the political, economic, military and cultural aspects of life in Ethiopia which are wholly permeated by the imperialist poison. Whenever imperialist countries face internal crises, they shift the burden of oppression onto the Ethiopian people who are helpless being a mono-crop economic "power" having absolutely no control over the price of their products on the world market. The reactionary ruling classes, headed by Haile Selassie, has clearly made common cause with U.S. imperialism and Israeli zionism to suppress the just aspirations of the people and to keep them in misery, ignorance and hunger.

The famine in Ethiopia is a manifestation of the basic underdevelopment of the country. The feudal and neo-colonial oppression and exploitation of the Ethiopian people is based in the utter wretchedness of the peasantry in Ethiopia. In Ethiopia more frequently than any other part of the world, famines are likely to occur despite the potential of the country which is estimated to feed the entire population of Western Europe and which earned the country the title of the "Bread Basket of the Middle East". Proof that the question of famine is intimately linked with the particular social system of a given country is to appreciate critically the gap between the potential and the actual in Ethiopia. Where the people have freed themselves from oppression and exploitation, and have taken the destiny of their society into their own hands, famine no longer poses any problem because the factors that normally give rise to it such as unequal distribution and misappropriation of wealth, speculation and hoarding, exploitation, etc., have all been eliminated, and even in the event of natural disasters such as drought, etc., necessary preparations can be made to avoid the possibility of famine. A case in point is the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam where there is severe drought in some regions and severe flood in others and yet, despite the war, the government there was prepared to handle the drought before it turned into famine. On the other hand, in a society like Ethiopia where the social system is so rotten that ruthless oppression and exploitation is the lot of the masses, frequent outbreaks of famine are an unavoidable fact of life because the ruling class uses its political power to deny the masses their right to use their initiative and to reap the fruits of their own labor.

In Ethiopia, the peasantry which constitutes over 90% of the population, for instance, is required by the "law" of the state to turn 75% of its produce to the parasitic landlord class who also enjoys full rights to demand from the peasant various kinds of services as well as the right to evict him whenever he so desires. Very little left for itself, the peasantry is compelled to lead a life utterly bordering a famine situation even under normal conditions. Moreover, at times of drought and other disasters, the landlord ruling class takes advantage of the situation to create famine in the society in order to increase the demand for its hoardings which it had robbed from the peasantry, and to maximize its profits by further bleeding the people. Thus, while there is enough food on the market to feed the whole population, the profiteering of the landlords and the inability of the peasants and other poor people to pay the increased prices for their own produce, create a severe famine causing millions of people to starve and undergo terrible sufferings. It is therefore, a crude hoax to attribute any famine in Ethiopia to drought when it is an objective fact that it is the landlord ruling class which is creating even artificial famines through its speculation and profiteering activities, to say nothing of the basic structural dislocation that their rule implies in Ethiopia.

When the Ethiopian people overthrow the rule of landlords and other reactionary oppressing classes all supported by imperialism and zionism, and take their destiny into their own hands, famine and other chronic miseries of the people will be wiped out forever.  
**THE DAY OF TOTAL LIBERATION IS NOT TOO FAR OFF!!**

\* Worldwide Federation of Ethiopian Students

THE MOZAMBIKAN MASSACRES AND OTHER  
RELATED INCIDENTS [African Information Service Release]

A series of recent events underscore the successes and the importance of the wars of national liberation being waged by the people of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau). In these countries, the national liberation movements are liberating large areas of land; building schools and hospitals; increasing agricultural production; and involving the population in the creation of new and responsive social institutions. Portugal's response has been increased brutality resulting from its frustration and growing isolation.

In a barbarous action, Portuguese soldiers murdered almost 500 men, women and children in the Mozambican villages of Wiriyamu and Chawola. The victims were non-combatants. Both villages are in an area which the Portuguese claim to control.

The murders were committed on December 16, 1972 and were documented, along with other atrocities, by Spanish priests who had been serving in the area as missionaries. However, the story of these mass murders was generally ignored until Reverend Adrian Hastings, an English churchman, prevailed upon the London Times to publish the story July 10, 1973.

The British press then published a series of articles on these and other massacres carried out by Portugal since the inception of its colonial wars in 1961. Large numbers of demonstrators who had been mobilized to protest the visit (to Britain) of Portugal's Prime Minister commemorating the 600 year old Anglo-Portuguese alliance, also protested this latest manifestation of the inhumanity of colonialism. Throughout the British Isles, Portugal's Caetano was met by demonstrators and placards expressing solidarity with the people of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea (Bissau).

Subsequently, Rev. Hastings and Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) came to New York to make statements on the situation before the United Nations' Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization. Rev. Hastings called for a full public inquiry of the massacre at Wiriyamu; and Mr. dos Santos reviewed some of the numerous massacres which had occurred in the past and called for an end to Western military aid to Portugal.

Unfortunately, the United States and its major allies have no intention of ceasing. In fact, those who question U.S. support for Portugal can expect to be subjected to various repressive measures.

In June of this year, a private in the United States Army was courtmartialed in West Germany for challenging U.S. military support to Portugal. Twenty-one year old Larry Johnson grew up in Harlem, New York. At the age of eighteen he "kicked" a six year old heroin habit. Later he enlisted in the army to make a better life for his wife and child.

In February of this year, he read an article in Ebony magazine on the struggle to free Mozambique and conducted further research on his own. He discovered data on U.S. deliveries of napalm and herbicides to Portuguese forces and documents on the training of Portuguese officers at Fort Bragg, North Carolina and at several naval bases in California. As a result, Private Johnson tried to withdraw from the U.S. Army. Consequently he was courtmartialed.

Private Johnson's trial was interrupted for one hour when thirty other soldiers entered the courtroom as a gesture of solidarity with him. He was then convicted by the military court for his failure to assist in the commission of further war crimes.

Thus it is clear that the mass murders of Mozambican villagers did not occur as an isolated event. The wanton destruction of human life in Portugal's African colonies cannot be divorced from U.S. support for Portugal's military machine.

How many innocent lives would have been saved were it not for NATO weapons in the hands of Portuguese soldiers? How many more lives would have been saved were it not for NATO weapons in the hands of Portuguese soldiers? How many more lives will be lost as a result of U.S. counterinsurgency programs



tailored for Southern Africa?

**THE ERITREAN PEOPLES' NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE  
ADVANCES!**

[Reproduced from "The Patriot" - Newspaper of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Forum, Seattle - June 22, 1973]

An excellent situation prevails all over Africa. Colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism which for centuries lorded it over the African masses, are on the throes of their deathbed struggle. They are mortally afraid of the vigorous advance in the national liberation struggles of the African people. A clear example of this excellent revolutionary situation is the recent advance in the Eritrean people's national liberation struggle against the Ethiopian feudal regime and U.S. imperialism.

The Eritrean people's armed struggle for national liberation started in September, 1961. It started at a time when the Ethiopian feudal regime, with the complete backing of U.S. imperialism, was making its final preparation to dissolve the sham Eritrean-Ethiopian federation and forcibly annex Eritrea. From their experience of struggle against one colonial power after another, the Eritrean people had come to the conclusion that national independence can only be won through protracted armed struggle. The armed struggle which was started by 13 men with a few rifles, quickly spread to wide areas of Eritrea and, by 1964, the Eritrean national liberation movement had a guerrilla army of 400 men, 90% of whom were equipped with arms captured from the Ethiopian aggressor troops. The Eritrean struggle had become a major threat to imperialist interest in East Africa and the Middle East.

However, the Eritrean struggle suffered severe setbacks because the reactionary Eritrean bourgeoisie and feudalists seized leadership of the struggle. The reactionary leadership was more interested in advancing its class interests than it was in fighting colonialism and imperialism and liberating the Eritrean masses. Consequently it committed many crimes against the people. It massacred hundreds of progressive fighters and attempted to split the fighters and the people along religious and tribal lines.

The Eritrean patriotic fighters waged a protracted struggle against these internal enemies of the revolution. By 1969, almost all of progressive fighters had repudiated and denounced the reactionary "General command" leadership. Three groups of patriotic fighters split from the leadership and continued the struggle against the U.S. - Ethiopian aggressors. A struggle was waged to develop unity among the three groups on the basis of a clear and progressive political line, culminating in the formation of the Peoples' liberation Forces (P.L.F.) in 1970.

The reactionary bourgeois leaders of the "General Command" were in a frenzy. In a desperate attempt to maintain their hegemony over the struggle and "wipe out" the progressive forces of the P.L.F., the reactionary leaders provoked a civil war. This only served to heighten the determination of the progressive fighters to unite more closely in order to effectively fight the internal and external enemies of the Eritrean people. After ten months of civil war, the progressive P.L.F. forces fighting in unity, crushed the military might of the "Revolutionary Council" reactionaries.

On the basis of this victory, the P.L.F. held a military conference in October 1972, and cemented the unity of its forces on the basis of a clear anti-colonial, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist political line. The Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Forces was consolidated under the leadership of a Central Committee permanently based inside the country. This is a tremendous advance in the national liberation struggle of the Eritrean people. The E.P.L.F. has started the publication of a monthly organ, "Fite-Werari" (Vanguard).

In its first issue, dated January 1973, "Fite-Werari" sums up the struggle of the Eritrean people over the past century and especially since 1961, correctly points out that the Eritrean revolution is at a national democratic stage and stresses the necessity of a vanguard revolutionary party to lead the national democratic revolution. It correctly points out that the Eritrean revolution is part of the world proletarian socialist revolution which was ushered in by the Great October Revolution in Russia and expresses resolute solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggles raging in Ethiopia, Palestine, Indo-China, Africa and all over the world.

Inspired by the great advances in the armed struggle in the countryside, Eritrean workers and students have intensified their mass struggles in the urban areas. In December of last year, for example, the students in the capital city of Asmara, militantly denounced the Ethiopian feudal regime for its oppression and exploitation of the Eritrean people. They put forth a set of political demands and vowed not to go back to school until their demands were met. The feudal, colonial regime refused to meet the demands and attempted to crush the strike through brute force and political deception. Many students were imprisoned and tortured and attempts were made to break the strong unity of the students. The students smashed these attempts to crush their resistance, united more closely and persisted in struggle. For instance, at the funeral of an Eritrean patriot who was brutally murdered by the feudal regime, students attended the funeral procession en masse, expressing utmost indignation at the murder. In alarm, the feudal regime fired at the procession and many people were wounded.

This fascist repression has served to increase the students' hatred for the feudal regime and its imperialist masters. It has made them more determined to persist in struggle. Many students have quit their studies to join the E.P.L.F. in the fight against feudal colonialism and imperialism.

The tremendous advances in the armed struggle in the countryside and the mass struggles in the cities have shaken the U.S. - Ethiopian colonial rule in Eritrea to its very foundations. Eventhough the road ahead is long and arduous, the Eritrean people, persisting in protracted armed struggle, are bound to drive the U.S. - Ethiopian - Israeli aggressors out of Eritrean soil. The Eritrean people have a bright future; the day of the total liberation of their beloved country is not far off.

DEATH TO THE ETHIOPIAN FEUDAL REGIME  
DEATH TO US IMPERIALISM AND ISRAELI  
ZIONISM  
LONG LIVE THE HEROIC FIGHTERS OF THE  
ERITREAN PEOPLES LIBERATION  
FORCES  
LONG LIVE THE ERITREAN NATIONAL  
DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

E.F.L. INDICTMENT OF ISRAEL

[Delivered at the Israeli Consulate during a mass demonstration on African Liberation Day, May 26, 1973]

Today, Africa is at war against the combined forces of colonialism, neo-colonialism, zionism and imperialism. The African people are waging a relentless struggle for national liberation, a struggle that will end only with the complete destruction of the colonial, dependent and racist structures and relations that operate to oppress and exploit our people everywhere. Despite the enormous natural endowments of our continent, our people are forced to live under a crushing state of poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance. Their national resources, the wealth of their soil and the fruits of their labour are stolen from them and end up mostly in the hands of non-Africans. Whether it be in Guinea Bissau or in Eritrea, Namibia or Azania, the U.S. or the Caribbean, it is absolutely necessary for us to recognize and understand that the enemies of our people are the same world reaction led by U.S. imperialism. Therefore, the struggle of the African peoples is an integral part of the worldwide anti-colonialist, anti-zionist and anti-imperialist struggle for freedom, democracy and social justice.

In the African setting of this armed confrontation between the forces of national liberation and those of oppression, the zionist settler state of Israel represents the main agent-tool of imperialism. In the first place, let us not forget that zionist Israel is itself a creation of imperialism, it was established through the aggressive and genocidal occupation of the homeland of the Palestinian people. The operational manifestations of the policy of racialism and the doctrine of a super-race that underlie its zionist ideology underscore the reactionary and fascistic nature of the Israeli state apparatus. Its foreign policy is simply an extension of its internal structure.

We all know that Israel actively supports the apartheid regime of South Africa, the racist regime of



Rhodesia, the colonialist imposition of Portugal on the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, and the colonial domination of Eritrea by Ethiopia. It maintains a large and lucrative economic presence in our continent and realizes enormous returns stolen from the sweat and blood of African slave workers and peasants. In each of these countries, Israel supplements the efforts of imperialism and aids reaction. It supplies these colonial, racist, and reactionary neocolonial regimes with arms and ammunition to be used against the African national liberation movements. It provides money, arms, and training in the use of subversive counter-revolutionary techniques to the repressive police and military establishments of reactionary, neo-colonial African states, notably Ethiopia, Congo-Zaire, Chad, Ivory Coast, etc.

Israel has also directly seized African land - the Sinai - and continues to occupy it in defiance of U.N. resolutions and world public opinion. Zionist Israel remains ever ready to do imperialism's dirtiest work of subversion and sabotage against the peoples of Africa and the Middle East. To cite an example of how imperialism, zionism and their African puppets collaborate, let us take a quick glance at their conspiracies in the strategic Horn of Africa. The U.S. maintains a huge military and communications base in Asmara, the capital of Eritrea. This base was ceded to it by Haileselassie, the despotic feudal chief of Ethiopia who incidentally, has come to his masters in Washington more times than any other head of state. The allies of the U.S., including South Africa, Portugal and Israel enjoy full access to this base and use it extensively. Haileselassie has also ceded two entire Eritrean islands at the southern entrance to the Red Sea, off the port of Assab, as Israeli naval bases.

In addition, the Israeli zionists have occupied five islands in the Red Sea, with the connivance of the feudal regimes of Ethiopia and North Yemen, "in an effort to control the Strait of Bab el Mandeb, to impede the E.P.L.F. from using the Red Sea as a supply line, and to encircle the Democratic Republic of Yemen." It is very clear then that all these imperialist and zionist bases are intended to control the Red Sea basin in an effort to sabotage the Eritrean struggle for national liberation and to stifle the other revolutionary movements in the area - notably those of Ethiopia, Dhofar and the Somali Coast. The imperialists, zionists and their reactionary lackeys are also using these bases to harrass the progressive regimes in this region, mainly, the Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen and Somalia, in attempts to contain and undermine their revolutionary advances.

Besides, the U.S. base in Asmara is also used to locate guerrilla movements in Eritrea, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, etc., and to relay vital information leading to bombing missions against African freedom fighters and the civilian population in the liberated zones.

On the economic front, Israel operates the world's largest diamond industry - South African extracted by African slave labour of course. It owns and operates the "Incode" meat packing monopoly in Asmara which is fed from the plundered cattle of Eritrea and northern Ethiopia. Israeli businesses and commercial farms are fast expanding throughout the Empire. In fact, the design is to make the potentially rich, agricultural economies of Eritrea and Ethiopia appendages of the Israeli economy, supplying it with essential foodstuffs and raw materials.

Worse still a secret agreement between Haileselassie and Israel, reached two years ago, provides for the forced abduction of Eritrean youth, in the guise of scholarships and employment promises to be used as slave labourers in Israeli industries. This is designed to provide cheap African labour for Israeli factories on the one hand and to weaken the Eritrean national liberation struggle by taking away some of its potential youth support on the other. Israel also trains and equips (acting as a conduit for U.S. arms deliveries) the imperial navy, police and so-called "commando units" whose main task is to engage in counter-insurgency and anti-guerrilla activities against the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Forces.

Of course, zionism cannot afford to do all this on its own, but only as an agent of U.S. imperialism. Right this very moment, the heads of "independent" African states are debating whether or not they should change the seat of the O.A.U. to another African city, as the present Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa has become the hotbed of zionist and imperialist espionage, sabotage and subversion in Africa.

Brothers and sisters, this overview merely gives us a bird's eye view of the national liberation struggle of the Eritrean people and the array of reactionary forces fighting or posed against it. In a region dominated and surrounded by the imperialists, zionists and their puppets, the Eritrean struggle stands out as the strong-

est and best organized popular revolutionary force in the whole of Northeast Africa. Therefore, to fail to actively support the Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Forces at this moment of stark confrontation between the region's revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces, often using philistine or sophistic arguments, practically amounts to siding with the reactionary forces. The struggle in Eritrea must be understood for what it actually is and fully supported by all progressives: the struggle for Eritrea on the one hand, the struggle for continued colonial subjugation and imperialist control of one of the most vital and strategic regions of the world, with its rich natural resources, the Red Sea waterway and the Middle Eastern oil adjoining it. On the other hand, it is the struggle of an African people for national liberation against the forces of colonial aggression represented by an African stooge of imperialism and zionism. The inevitable victory of the Eritrean people will also deprive the enemies of Africa of their most strategic African base of sabotage and suppression against the African people. Better still, the birth of an Eritrean state as a fraternal member of the world socialist community will diminish the area of human bondage and exploitation while correspondingly expanding that of freedom and social justice.

It is thus that on this historic day of solidarity with the national liberation struggles of the African peoples, we:

- indict Ethiopia for its continued colonial war of aggression against the Eritrean people;
- condemn zionist Israel for its aggressive, expansionist, exploitative, subversive and racist role and activities in Africa and the Middle East;
- demand the immediate and total abolition of all imperialist and zionist military bases from African soil, especially those in Eritrea;
- affirm that no African will be free anywhere until the whole African continent is fully liberated.

African people will win and Africa shall be free.

VICTORY TO THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES  
OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE!  
LONG LIVE THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION!  
LONG LIVE THE ERITREAN PEOPLES LIBERATION FORCES!  
DOWN WITH COLONIALISM, ZIONISM, IMPERIALISM AND RACISM!

ERITREA: A Victim of Haileselassie's Colonial Aggression

[E.F.L. statement on Haileselassie's visit to the U.S.A.]

Once again, Haileselassie has come to his masters in Washington to beg for more arms so that he can ensure the continuity of his tyrannical regime and its subservience to imperialism. According to United States sources, he had, in the last 10 years alone, received more than \$1 billion in military aid. This, the same sources assert, is more than two-thirds of all military aid given to all the countries of Africa combined. Needless to say, all this is used to oppress and exploit the Eritrean and Ethiopian peoples. The U.S. government has transformed both Eritrea and Ethiopia into its centers of espionage and sabotage for the neocolonial control of the African and Middle Eastern peoples.

The Kagnev Station, a huge military and communications base in the Eritrean capital of Asmara, is the largest and most important foreign base for the U.S. Eventhough Haileselassie's privy purse is stacked by an annual rental of \$25 million (\$500 million from 1953-1973 alone) for this base, this amount is never reported in any of the regime's budgetary publications. Along with large portions of the foreign loans, this money is stacked in Haileselassie's private Swiss accounts and the demands of the Ethiopian peoples for progress and development are met with bullets. The U.S. Senate's Foreign Relations Committee has now made public the originally secret pact establishing the base and U.S. official commitment to protect the government of Haileselassie from the oppressed peoples of Ethiopia and colonized subjects of Eritrea.

Haileselassie rules through the help of U.S. supplied money, arms and Zionist personnel which he uses, among other things to:



- dictate one of the most repressive states in the world;
- oppress, suppress and exploit all the Ethiopian peoples;
- maintain his brutal colonial control over the people of Eritrea;
- exterminate the valiant Eritrean people who have risen up in arms against his feudal colonial oppression;
- bomb, napalm and burn Eritrean villagers and all their property
- convert Eritrean towns and their surrounding communities into jails and concentration camps in the name of "strategic hamlets"; the discredited strategy that failed in Vietnam and is failing in Eritrea as well;
- turn rural Eritrea into a desert by killing, bombing and burning anything that moves in the declared emergency zones.

The most outrageous criminal atrocities committed by Haileselassie and his colonial army on the people of Eritrea include :

- slitting open the wombs of pregnant women;
- raping our mothers and sisters;
- burying "suspect" Eritreans alive;
- torturing to death and then hanging the corpses of captured Eritrean freedom fighters for public display in order to terrorize and further dehumanize our people;
- issuing and executing a secret order to murder any Eritrean male over the age of 12 in the contested zone.

We condemn Haileselassie for his criminal atrocities against our people;

We condemn the U.S. government and its Zionist agents for enabling Haileselassie to commit all these crimes on the Eritrean People.

We demand the immediate evacuation of all U.S. and Zionist military and naval bases from Eritrean soil.

We urge the people of the U.S. to prevent the eventuality of an African Vietnam in Eritrea by putting pressure on their government to withdraw its troops from our country and to stop its support for Haileselassie's colonialist expansion.

Down with colonialism, imperialism and Zionism!  
LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF ETHIOPIA!  
VICTORY TO THE ERITREAN REVOLUTION!

The Executive Committee, E.F.L.  
May 15, 1973

Expressing its full support to the valiant struggle of the Eritrean people against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and having considered the activities of imperialist forces in the Red Sea basin, in collaboration with Ethiopia and other puppet states, and the existence of American and Israeli bases in Eritrea, the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization:

- \* Condemns the presence of American and Israeli bases in Eritrea and Eritrean territorial waters, which bases constitute a perpetual threat to the advance of the peoples of Africa and Asia toward peace and progress, and demands their immediate liquidation;
- \* Draws the attention of world public opinion to the policy of suppression and domination practised by the Ethiopian military occupation authorities in Eritrea and their stepped up war of aggression against the Eritrean masses;
- \* Draws the attention of the Organization of African Unity and all African peoples to the fact that Ethiopia's policy on Eritrea constitutes a dangerous phenomenon in African relations, and will hinder all honest endeavours to bring about complete harmony in African relations;
- \* Calls upon the United Nations Organization to reconsider the situation prevailing in Eritrea today, it being the direct result of the U.N. resolution No.390 of December 1950, with the view to revising the said resolution in the light of the events occurring in Eritrea and in accordance with the principles of the right to self-determination for the people of Eritrea who are heroically fighting against imperialist-backed Ethiopian colonial occupation.

-- The Resolution of the 12th Session of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference, held in Aden, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, February 24-27, 1973.





Nothing can save the frantic feudal puppet and his imperialist masters from total defeat in the hands of the ERITREAN PEOPLES LIBERATION FORCES!!!