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**ABYOT**



● *information bulletin*  
*of the ethiopian peoples' revolutionary party*

“the philosophers have only interpreted  
the world in various ways. the  
point however is to change it.”

marx



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 REVOLUTIONARY PARTY - FOREIGN COMMITTEE

*Akwen-Roberts*

EDITORIAL

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A TRIBUTE TO COMRADE TESFAY DEBESSAY



Comrade Tesfay  
Debessay

On the 25th of March, 1977, Comrade Tesfay Debessay, member of the Central Committee of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party killed himself than falling in the hands of fascists who tried to arrest him in central Addis Abeba. In the gun battle with the fascists, he ran out of bullets and jumped through the window from the Kidane Building.

Comrade Tesfay was born in 1941 in Alitena villege, Irob, in the administrative region of Tigrai. He was from the Saho minority nationality. Coming from a poor peasant family, Tesfay could not go to school until he was ten when he was recommended by a local catholic priest in Alitena to the Catholic Mission School in Adigrat. In 1957-58 school year, when political debate flared up in the school, Tesfay was the only student to argue for the "system of the east", i.e. soviet system.

In 1958, he joined the high school in Adigrat, but soon returned to the Catholic Mission School the next year. In 1969, he went to Rome for higher studies. He joined the Pontifica Universita Urbaniana,

(contd. on page 48)

"ARMING" (?) AND DISARMING AT THE SAME TIME

To anyone who ~~does~~ <sup>has</sup> not a nodding acquaintance to Marxism-Leninism, what is confusing about the regime in Ethiopia is the contradictions in the regime's talk of socialism while it kills communists; in its declaration of "unrestricted democratic rights to the broad masses" while it massacres workers who staged peaceful demonstration using their declared "rights", in its declaration of land reform while depriving the peasants to defend themselves from counter-revolutionary landlords, and so on. The latest act in this historical drama of self-contradictory double talk is the March and latest proclamation to disarm the people with the bluff of "arming the people" at the same time.

On the 6th of March, 1977, handpicked notorious bootlickers of the regime and bandas of the Haile Pida clique were summoned to the Grand Palace and were said to have been armed by the regime "with a view", as the leading government paper The Ethiopian Herald put it, "to advancing the revolution from the defensive to the offensive position." The number of the armed persons was said to be "600".

The Herald said, "In response to the demands of members of the urban dwellers' associations for arms in line with the revolutionary slogan that an awakened, organized and armed oppressed people will triumph and as a result of the steps so far taken, 80 defence squads of Addis Abeba urban dwellers' associations have already been armed." The demand for arms to the proletariat and peasantry is not a new thing. Eversince the huge demonstrations held throughout the country at the time of the declaration of the decree on land, the popular demand of the masses was

"Arm the Peasantry!" to make it defend the land it had won at a juridical level. Two years after the decree, now, because of the failure of the regime to arm the peasantry combined with the complete absence of democratic rights; the landlords could have the time to put up a counter-revolutionary resistance which caused the death and massacre of thousands of peasants. The peasants were forced to fight both the feudal bandits and the fascist regime which objectively sided with the feudalists in the armed conflict. The same was the demand of the proletariat when the decree on "nationalisations" was proclaimed. Two and a half years have elapsed since. On the contrary, the junta suppressed the working class, shot active labour union leaders, closed down their authentic labour organization, CELU, put up a fake yellow trade union in place of CELU and instituted a complete fascist reign of terror.

On the other hand, the revolutionary violence waged by the EPRA both in the countryside and cities got intensified. In the wake of this armed resistance on the one hand and the decision of the Derg to reduce the power of Mengistu forced the latter to undergo clandestine counter-revolutionary activities. They hired assassins, stooges and committed crimes against revolutionaries, democrats and innocent people. The success of the February 3rd coup by Mengistu enabled him to formalize the white terror by what he called "advancing the revolution from the defensive to the offensive." Whatever Mengistu called his putch, whatever the lies he, the Haile Fida clique and other revisionists spread around both internally and externally, the resistance continued unabated. Scores of political criminals were punished. Mengistu's best men like Senay Like and Colonel Daniel were killed and the others have been punished

by death. The shivering Mengistu screamed that he would "crush the anarchists". But, the "anarchists" raided the Addis Abeba Bank in central Addis Abeba by day light and took close to two million Ethiopian birr. They still punish the most notorious agents and social fascists.

It was amidst this intensified armed actions of the party and the independent actions of the people in this direction that the Mengistu-Haile clique declared a new decree to launch massive house-to-house searches for the sole purpose of disarming the revolutionaries and the people. The regime resorted to such moves as a result of the growing armed resistance and the considerable victory the resistance achieved in this direction. It is for this, and for nothing else, that the house-to-house searches were launched: to DISARM the revolutionaries and the people.

We then see the regime bluffing that it has "armed workers, peasants and kebele associations. One may be surprised why a regime that just declared emergency decree to disarm the population would again "arm" the people. Truly, why is this "arming" amidst DISARMING? The riddle resolves itself by seeing WHOM is the regime arming. Would Mengistu ever arm the people, who had cried for arms? Of course, not. On its move of house to house searches, the regime was met with fierce resistance by revolutionaries and the people. Search squads have in many places been attacked. The process of the disarming was not successful even though it was reinforced by the notorious kebele fascists. Thus, Mengistu had to pick up his loyal men from the kebeles and yellow trade unions, and arm them. Such selective arming of fascists has been carried out in the other

major towns where the class struggle is also acute.

Mengistu begged for arms almost from every-one he met. But, this nut does not understand that it is not the tank nor the gun that commands revolution; on the contrary, it is the man in the tank that commands the tank and it is revolutionary politics that commands revolution. Likewise, it is the Ethiopian masses, the makers of Ethiopia's history, and not any paid mercenary army nor any "liberator" from far away places that determine the fate of our glorious revolution. Mengistu can ask not only for arms but also for troops from "some champions of national liberations", but the armed resistance will continue. The "liberators" have already arrived, but they must know that they would not meet the same terrain as they did somewhere else. This time, the masses, organized and politicised by their communist party -EPRP- will storm heaven and earth to smash whoever stands in their way of the long march towards people's democracy and socialism. As Comrade Troung Chinh said, "The Resistance Will Win!"

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N E W S

The official policy of terror launched by Mengistu with the fascist slogan "From the Defensive to the Offensive!" has been escalated against children, old men and women, the unemployed, poor peasants, semi-proletarians, proletarians, revolutionary youth, militant intellectuals, students, oppressed soldiers, and so on. In one week alone, i.e. from the 21 to 28th of March, the regime of outright terror and callous murder assassinated workers from the Railways, transport, Cement Factory, the Lazardis company. Numerous peasants from the administrative regions of Wollo, Tigre, Arussi, Harrar, Sidamo, Bale are being mowed down with cruel ferocity. Even hungry workers, unable to live off the starvation wage they receive, while walking on the way to buy bread in the supply short Addis Abeba city, become victims of the sadistic Nebelbal and banda mercenaries. Rarely do they make it back home once they are out.

The evidence for the junta-banda's mindless pursuit of a vanguardship over the Ethiopian people through sheer terror and barbaric brutality can be gleaned from the fact that in a spate of only two months close to 4000 people have been brutally murdered. Addis Abeba is besieged with the whitest terror in its history. Scores of militants, democrats and suspects of EPRP sympathisers have been killed. Their bodies are deliberately left lying in the streets, huddled in ditches and floating on rivers sometimes with scripts on them written "Death to EPRP" so that others may see the fate they would meet if they support the EPRP. What is very amazing is the fact that the parents of the victims are

fined with upto 400 Ethiopian Bir (+190 US\$) because "bullets have been spent on the bodies." A poor old woman, who lives on selling Injera ( a local bread) near the Paulos Hospital had to pay 400 Bir to recover the body of her slain son. The money was raised by the people in her kebele (zone.) The towns of Dire Dawa and Jimma are also subjected to white terror. In Jimma, up to 1500 people are estimated to have been killed. In Dire Dawa, Mengistu has armed the few fascist gangs in the Kebeles to intensify the killings against EPRP supporters and the revolutionary youth.

The following killings are a record of the last week of March, 1977:

- In Kolfe, Addis Abeba, weaving workers were murdered. Exact figure is unknown.
- In the Grain Veranda area of the new market in Addis Abeba, the junta murdered 28 youth while they were acting on a stage in a drama putting up a show for the Kebele residents. The play incidentally passed the censors in the Ministry of Information.
- Members of the 5th Police Station, who tried to prevent the murderous Nebelbal-Banda assassin squads, were all imprisoned and killed.
- The death toll from the killings at the Cement Factory were 25, Lazardis Company 15, Indo-Ethiopian Textiles 20, Customs 5, Railways 7, Pepsi Cola 23.
- In many Kebele associations, militant women, and youth together with their democratic parents were murdered. University, secondary and elementary students have become objects to the cruel fascist assault of the regime.
- Outside Addis Abeba, killings and mass arrests have mounted in Wolliso, Jimma, Dire Dawa, Awasa, Yirgalem, Goba, Dessie, Gondar, Mekelle,

Ambo, Metu, Gimbi, Assela, Adama, Harrar and so on.

- In prisons, specially in the former security compound, Addis Abeba prison, Entoto, in police stations, in the execution camp at shola, etc... the condition of the prisoners is as bad as those who are outrightly slaughtered.

-After jailing families with their militant children, the sadists torture both by shitting above them on their heads thus covering them with their excrements.

-During the house-to-house search, these crude and bestial "nebelbal-Banda" bandits enter a premise, point their guns at the temple of little boys and girls, (3-4 years old) and force them to speak about the whereabouts of the hidden guns and pistols of their families. With threatening voice, the bandits coerce the little children to speak or face outright death. In the course of this cruel and crude torture, mental breakdowns became the lot of boys and girls, whose effort of protestation of the lack of weapons of their families and/or their lack of knowledge of the existence of any often fell on deaf, crude, bestial Nebelbal-Banda ears!

-A militant woman worker, Daro Negash, secretary of the workers' union of Berhanena Selam Printing Press and mother of eight and pregnant for eight months, fell victim to the Nebelbal-Banda beasts. First, the beasts pulled out her eyes with a knife, mutilated her body, cut her breasts off, and opened her stomach with a bayonnette. This is indeed the most horrifying thing to a human being, but for the fascists they feast in the orgy of beastly muderings of the sort.

Over a thousand women have aborted due to the psychological and physical pressure of the house-to-house searches. Property of the residents has been robbed by the fascists. Watches, earrings, gold rings and other ornaments as well as money was robbed from the residents because "it is the property of the country."

-In Addis Abeba and many other towns Democratic people who have no association with EPRP and with absolutely no ground for suspicion and with no evidence at all have been victimized and killed.

-By falsely writing all sorts of "crimes", the Nebelbal-Banda assassins force their victims to sign it. Consequently, they find pretexts to imprison and kill at will.

-Nebelbal-Banda fascists have tried to parade militant workers, intellectuals and students with placards on their backs carrying the "crime" of "I Distribute Democracia." (Democracia is the organ of EPRP.)

-Eritrean working people have been subjected to dispossession of property, jailing and killing on purely false charges.

\*In the town of Sekota, border town between the administrative regions of Wollo and Tigray, 1500 people, all children, women and the old, have been killed by Nebelbal in their search for what they call "bandits".

#### POPULAR RESISTANCE

Long before the Mengistu-Haile clique launched its house-to-house searches, the party had undertaken the necessary preparation for a revolutionary armed defence. As far back as last August, the party warned the fascists and social-fascists that it would respond with bullets to those who wanted to "destroy" it with bullets.

The particular condition of the Ethiopian situation at this particular stage necessitates armed reprisals in form of punishments apart from the strategic guerrilla war in the countryside. Therefore, the armed resistance to these house-to-house searches included punishment actions against notorious spies, assassins and social-fascists who do police work; and combat operations in some strategic places in the city. In this respect, the resistance has been carried out effectively. Hundreds of leading fascists, social-fascists and spies who were directly responsible for assassinations of democrats and mass murder of civilians have been punished by death; scores of weapons including the Russian AK 47 (Klaskhinkov) have been captured; banks have been raided and about 300,000 birr have been liberated. Most important is the fact that the searches have ~~been~~ a total failure due to the heroic resistance of our fighters and the spontaneous, independent actions of the masses. This increased the confidence of the masses on our party.

When notorious social-fascists led by Girma Kebede murdered several workers from the Birhanina Selam Printing Press; workers of the Press joined by workers from other firms and the youth took a daring action against the killers. About one thousand workers stormed a certain kebele where the alleged assassins resided and threatened to hang the assassins alive for their crimes. Among those murdered by the Girmas was the well-known militant Comrade Daro Negash, who was a mother of eight. In the incident, troops had to beg the enraged workers promising them that they would bring those alleged assassins to trial. That was a major blow to the regime's house-to-house searches. The next day, the curfew had to be relaxed and the Girma Kebedes had to be publicly executed after a few days.

CUBAN SOLDIERS ARRIVED IN ETHIOPIA: In a further involvement to siding the hangman Mengistu, the Cuban government had sent about 250 soldiers and military experts to Ethiopia. The Cuban soldiers and experts are supposed to "save" Mengistu's tottering regime from its inevitable doom. They are also supposed to assist Mengistu in his frantic, desperate and mad preparation for a second peasant march on Eritrea. The participation of Cuban troops in this most counter-revolutionary and out and out anti-proletarian scheme of getting the peasant poor of both Ethiopia and Eritrea slaughter each other would be not only the complete renunciation of proletarian internationalism but also fanning this grave danger of mass slaughter that might affect the fraternal solidarity of both oppressed peoples.

ASSAB BATTALION REPORTED MUTINYING : The 26th battalion of the armed forces stationed in Assab is reported to have gone on rebellion. Though their intentions and demands are unclear, they are said to have already decided not to obey the orders of the regime. The Assab 26th battalion has a good revolutionary reputation since its popular rebellion a few months ago.

PRESS RELEASE BY THE EPRP: March 5, 1977  
Addis Abeba

Fascist Atrocities Reached a New Level: More Than 500 Progressive Workers, Students and Teacher Prisoners Massacred in a Week.

The atrocities perpetrated by the Hitlerite Col. Mengistu and his collaborators' clique on the oppressed people of Ethiopia has now reached a qualitatively new high, and has taken a turn for the very worst. As of the last week of February of this year, a campaign of acute repression, characterized by the mass execution of progressive political prisoners has been unleashed. Carried out on a nearly daily basis and especially concentrating on the elimination of progressive student, worker and teacher prisoners, this current orgy of fascistic bestiality has in the period of one week claimed the lives of over 500 of those who were languishing in several places of confinement, especially in the notorious Special Branch of the Addis Abeba No.3 Police Station.

Arbitrary arrests and summary executions of prisoners in full and obvious disregard for even the most elementary demands of legal ethics are, of course, nothing new to the regime. It will be recalled that the fascistic Military Junta had, a couple of months after its usurpation of power, promulgated a Special Penal Code and set up a Special Military Tribunal by decree. Though fascistic in essence and worse-than-Kangaroo in procedure, they were soon shelved away. The reasons were simple. As the opposition to the junta increased, and, most important, it became very obvious to the junta that its empty demagogy and tongue-in-cheek pronouncements to the broad masses was not having the intended

effect of hiding its Fascistic essence from the eyes of the populace and was, in fact, acting as a catalyst to the widespread ferment of the opposition, such facades became superfluous. Even this semblance of legality had to be abandoned, in favour of faster and more direct methods.

Prisoners arrested on the most trivial of charges on mere suspicion alone or, even worse, on being unfortunate enough to belong to the particular nationality, faith or age-group which the regime considered the current number one threat to itself filled the jails, and were, sooner or later, dragged out of jail and taken to the firing squad. If though expedient, such executions were publicly announced, most of the time they went un-reported and any news of them was purposely muffled. Still, dozens of such cases, involving hundreds of prisoners have broken through the seal of secrecy imposed upon them to reach the public ear. The case of the hundreds of Eritreans from every walk of life picked up by simple virtue of being Eritrean nationals and were secretly and systematically liquidated; the execution of 70 workers (mostly trade union officials) who took part in the general strike of September 1975 near the town of Asbe Teferi (Harrar) in November 1975, and a further 30 six months later in Nura Era (Middle Awash); the series of arrests and immediate executions of hundreds of progressives in Jimma, Agaro, Bonga (all in Kaffa), Endibir, Wolkite, Wolliso and Butajira (Shoa) during a period covering the first ten days of May 1976 by the direct order of the two top axemen of the Dergue - Major Getachew Shibeshi and Ali Musa (understandably both lauded by the DUCÉ Mengistu, as "the staunchest of revolutionaries" and holding key positions in the post-coup hierarchy) the revolting case of 67 prisoners rounded up in Mekelle (Tigray) in late May 1976, taken out of town (on the pretext of being moved to Addis Abeba) and driven a day's journey to a point a few kilometers north of Haik (Wollo) and dumped under a

bridge after being horribly murdered and then having their faces burned to impede possible identification - are but a few of the dozens of such cases.

The recent orgy of killings, though a continuation of all these, has attained a new qualitative level. The government's general policy of viewing both the Left and the Right as equal threats to its existence and hitting them accordingly whenever it could, gave place, after May of last year, to a situation wherein the persecution the Left rapidly escalated. Following the government's official labeling of the EPRP as a "counter-revolutionary, imperialist backed, CIA financed group of anarchists working in league with the reactionary EDU" last September, a campaign of terror with the EPRP as its main and sole target was unleashed. Thousands of suspected EPRP members and sympathizers, most militant workers, students, teachers, peasants and soldiers were rounded up and jailed. Hundreds were indiscriminately killed openly, secretly in prisons, in the streets and in their very homes. Arbitrariness reached the stage of imprisoning and even shooting the relatives and friends of some suspects, whether the suspects themselves were arrested or gone underground. In certain cases, the brutality reached the level of horrible cynicism whereby relatives of the deceased had to pay a sum of up to \$250.00 to cover the cost of ammunitions expended before they were given the bullet-ridden corpse. Now even this has been surpassed.

The shooting of progressives stopped being a means to an end and became an end itself. Mass execution of prisoners "Irrespective of sex and age" (as officially put), some of whom did not even undergo preliminary questioning became the admitted top policy of the regime. This is complimented by the activities of government inspired, financed and protected squads of killers who with the help of uniformed troops, go around shooting, garroting, flaying, etc..., progressi-



ves in particular youngsters. The official and often reiterated position of taking "the middle roaders" as "no less enemy than the anarchists" being played up after Mengistu's coup has provided the fascists with a much wider field of with much fewer democratic rules in which to play out their atrocities. The fact that the vast majority of victims of these atrocities are trade union leaders and other workers, students, teachers, soldiers and peasants who have been staunch fighters on the side of the revolution proves without any shadow of doubt that the colonel and his gang are out and out counter-revolutionaries working in the interests of and hand-in-hand with those very same enemies of the people whom they so-vehemently castigate verbally. It also shows that the socialist demagoguery put out plentifully by the mercenary intellectuals is a yet novel "skill" of not only providing a socialist fig leaf to cover the regime's fascist and reactionary essence and hence justify its crimes (as if brutal murder can ever be justified by socialist incarnations!) but also hiding its hideous true face behind a mask acceptable to world public opinion.

The magnitude and method of these executions demonstrate, not a sudden upsurge in the "zeal and determination of the government to defend the revolution by switching from a defensive to an offensive position" as the regime's mouth-piece try to tell the world, but the mood of utter despair and sense of imminent doom reigning amidst the colonel's narrow circle. It would be needless to point out that the political, economic, military, social, etc., conditions in the country and sharp intensity and multiplicity of the forces opposing the regime have now reached the magnitude where even illusions can no longer

bolster optimism. Mengistu and his loyal axemen have always foreseen their doom and been always clear on what their death act will be. Their often repeated maxim of "annihilate and get annihilated" is un-ambiguous, and they are staying true to their words. They are carrying out this annihilation and plan to carry it out even more strongly. Only factors and circumstances beyond their reach and control are preventing them from making it, as they dream, total and complete.

The EPRP, spear-heading, as it does, the struggle of the oppressed masses against bestial rule of the fascists, and consequently being the main target in the eyes of the enemy has fully realized that it has the double duty of protecting the broad masses and itself from fascist atrocities, and going beyond this, of leading the struggle for the overthrow of this regime and setting the revolution back on its path to socialism via the New Democratic Revolution. It also realizes that to carry out this task it must intensify the over-all struggle, in particular by stepping up those activities which, it feels, the present situation demands. But, these and only these cannot be adequate. Others have to carry out their tasks too.

In face of the fascist threat prevailing, the world owes it to its sense of rationality not only to condemn this act but do everything possible to help stop this insane dream from being realized and further. The EPRP calls upon all progressive and democratic forces to expose and condemn the atrocious crimes committed on the oppressed masses of Ethiopia by the Hitlerite gang of Col. Mengistu and his thugs and frustrate this nihilistic plan by denying them any and all moral or material support. No progressive and democratic forces condoning, leave alone supporting, this state of affairs can, at the same time, remain true to its stated principles; not when a total campaign of extermination is

being carried out against the progressive and democratic forces of Ethiopia.

DOWN WITH FASCISM CLOAKED IN SOCIALIST  
DEMAGOGY!

DOWN WITH THE FASCIST CLIQUE OF MENGISTU  
AND HIS THUGS!

DOWN WITH THE DOUBLE-PRONGED ATTACK OF  
IMPERIALISM!

THE BROAD MASSES SHALL VANQUISH!!

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#### NOTICE

It has come to the attention of the party foreign committee that a certain individual from W. Germany is distorting the party's line and is nearly working as an impostor. A few months ago, this individual published a poster bearing the insignia of our party and without any reference as BY WHOM the poster was published. Recently, he had our News Release of March 14, 1977 translated into German and had distributed it on behalf of a certain committee. The EPRP-Foreign Committee would like to notify all progressive and revolutionary organizations that it got nothing to do with the alleged individual whatsoever. It also expresses its firm disapproval of individual actions such as these in conditions where to get organized is more than a possibility. We are not against individuals who try to help us in our struggle in general. When it comes in terms of actions, however, we only recognize organized and collective actions. As such, we appreciate and recognize the actions that are undertaken by all Ethiopian Student Unions under the World Wide Federation of Ethiopian Students.

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#### EPRA: REPORT ON THE MILITARY TASKS OF THE NORTHERN FRONT

The Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Party (EPRP), since its inception, was clear that only through the resolute persecution of people's armed violence will peoples' revolutionary democratic power be set up. Hence, its armed wing the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Army. The EPRP is thus building simultaneously both armed and political forces, conduct both armed and political struggle, combat the counter-revolutionaries with propaganda, agitation and organization of the masses, closely combine the revolutionary movements in the cities and countryside with the latter as militarily strategic, carry out military offensive in different localities together with the popular mass uprisings in the cities.

Assimilating Marx's teachings that "The primary condition for proletarian dictatorship is a proletarian army. The working class must liberate itself on the battlefield," the EPRP has formed the primary condition which will guarantee peoples' democratic dictatorship. This force is none other than its peoples' army - the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Army.

EPRP is at present leading, as Stalin said, "the armed revolution against the armed counter-revolution". In its armed actions, the EPRA always relies on the masses, combines political work with armed force, and has thus gained strength in the process of this fighting. It fights and multiplies with startling mobility and flexibility and always acts on a tactical offensive, being everywhere but not being found nowhere, with orderly scattering and concentration of forces. The essential character of the EPRA is that it is the organized armed force of the people, the organizer, leader and mobilizer of the broad masses to fight the counter-revolution headed by Colonel

Mengistu and Haile Fida.

EPRA conducts a long-term protracted war, building up armed forces, creating economic, cultural, political and military bastions. As EPRA destroys the counter-revolutionary order it builds a new revolutionary order, carrying out radical agrarian reforms, meeting the basic needs of the people with the establishment of a thrift economy, fulfilling the war time demands of the people on the basis of self-reliance etc..

The EPRA has many advantages over the counter-revolution led by Mengistu and Haile Fida.

a) EPRA conducts a just revolutionary war against an anti-democratic and anti-popular fascist and social-fascist joint alliance, b) the people not only support but participate in various forms and methods against the fascist enemy, c) the moral of EPRA and its mass base, the entire people, is high vis à vis the enemy, d) EPRA has a political command which is overwhelmingly superior to the Mengistu-Haile counter-revolutionary assortment, e) EPRP has genuine friends the world over.

The enemy is waging a counter-revolutionary war. This makes the people spit their hatred at it. The enemy is not monolithic, internal strife leading to periodic outbursts of self-annihilation, a law governing the character of the internal situation in the enemy camp. The moral of the enemy is very low, the army is disintegrating in Eritrea and in the areas where EPRA is operating. The enemy has no popular support. The economy of the regime is in shambles. Its forces thin out as they must be scattered all over the country in proportion to the developing people's resistance. The enemy may be acquainted with the country, perhaps it knows the terrain. But it still lacks the fundamental guarantee of victory - popular mass support. It has large quantities of modern armament, well trained troops, cohesive organizational structure, and all these

combined with high level propaganda. In spite of all these advantages, the EPRA is winning the masses in the arduous task to build a new democratic state as a first prelude to a socialist revolution.

At the moment, the military phase of the Ethiopian national democratic revolution is that of strategic defensive and tactical offensive with revolutionary Red Base areas, initial successes necessary to establish liberated territories and a democratic peoples power in the northern regions. The following is a chronological military report.

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Since 1974, the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Army has made political and logistical preparations for armed struggle by conducting armed propaganda in the Tigrean field. During this period, our army had to surmount certain difficulties. When operations began there were a number of unfavourable factors: a) the party, EPRP, was not declared, b) the Dergue had assumed a demagogic posture mouthing out "socialism" in words, c) the real fascist features of the ruling junta was as yet not exposed. Consequently the propaganda spread by the EPRA was essentially close to what the Dergue used to say. This difficulty served some forces, who exploited the similarity of our army's propaganda to the Dergue's socialism in words, to cast our army as the Dergue's army thereby making the people to fear us and be aloof from us. Nevertheless by tackling the timely problem of the people in the area (especially the poor peasant and oppressed people), for example, destroying robbers, brigands and roving bands, instituting popular justice, judging cases, liquidating spies, enforcing respect for women's rights; a new type of

revolutionary army issued from, by and among the people; our army could win the full support and confidence of the masses. This army has acquired the experiences of a democratic style of work so that the people can rely and develop full confidence on it.

After the party was declared, the struggle moved a step higher from armed propaganda to armed struggle to completely wipe out the false propaganda spread around against our army by carrying out the urgent and timely tasks of the revolution based on the people's needs and sentiments. Moreover, in order to insure the continuity of the revolutionary struggle, following the revolutionary political line of our party, affirming our proletarian party's leadership of the revolution, EPRA has accomplished generally the following: wherever it operates profound organizational work has been accomplished; poor peasant associations, youth and women associations have been set up. Timely directives have been issued. Appropriate struggles to democratize the work style of village (kebele) associations have been conducted, EPRA has functioned as the armed force for the implementation of a radical agrarian revolution with peasant associations under the control and leadership of poor peasants. Examples are to be found in the already accomplished agrarian revolutionary changes in Agane and Adwa districts. The process of creating people's combat militias is also underway. Economic self-reliance and building popular authority have begun to produce useful results.

#### Military and Political Actions

January 1976:

In a place called Sava Kilde in Awlalo District, the government's customs center for the collection of tax on salt production that brings windfall gains to the enemy; EPRA's resolute military operation brought in the wake a) 16,000 Eth. Dollar in cash, b) all the guns from the customs'

guns and different materials were found, extensive political education was given, extensive organizational work has been carried out, peasant, zonal, youth and women organizations were formed to carry out the security and administrative tasks with self-organized power.

#### JULY 1976 - Enticho

Hand in hand with the fraternal EPLF, our army won a great victory by wiping out a military camp at Enticho. In this engagement, much ammunition and other property were found. The red flag with EPRP insignia waved and fluttered in the breeze for three days. Over 50 enemy soldiers were killed and over 40 captured.

#### August 1976

In the surrounding of Sero town, our army in cooperation with the fraternal EPLF conducted guerrilla operations against military convoys targeted towards Eritrea to supply much needed material to the war weary soldiers in Eritrea. Not only could the ambush prevent the convoy from reaching Eritrea (its destination) abundant material were also captured. Among them were some M14's and a large number of bazookas. Among the 4 tanks involved in the fight, two were completely destroyed.

#### August 1976 - Adigrat

Our army, hand in hand with the fraternal EPLF, entered Adigrat during the night and liberated medicine and different health equipment without any difficulty. It liberated 30 typewriters from the local secondary school. This is in spite of the presence of over 1000 army men and Flame Brigade forces.

#### October 1976

- a) In Tembyet district at Imba Worki and Adigba sub-districts, our army ferreted out and seized numerous government spies, disarmed them and gave them rigorous political education before releasing them, and carried out overall and extensive political education in the area.
- b) Seizing again the town of Samren (since the

local state organs and police stations were re-erected). Our army redestroyed the machinery of oppression in the area for the second time. To those police and government civil servants the army gave political education and let them leave the district. Our army executed 2 traitors from the so-called "peoples' organizing office". 1 American carbine and 2 pistols given to these traitors by the Dergue in order to kill the "anarchists" were captured.

c) Using guerrilla tactics, our army scattered the Flame Brigade forces who were sent out to recapture the town of Samren. Moreover, it captured materials such as numerous bullets, few guns, hand grenades, uniforms and different military equipments. In this engagement, the number of Flame Brigade casualties was not known since helicopter aid reached the town and lifted only Flame Brigade casualties leaving behind police bodies. A sajin major known to work for the Dergue's security was burnt to death when the car he was riding was blown up. The sub-machine gun he held was found. In this battle, two army trucks were burnt and one was badly damaged. One Landrover reached Mekele carrying the dead and wounded. Later, prisoners (teachers and workers) held as EPRP members were freed by our army. Wounded and captured so-called militia were given back their weapons after political education and warning not to join with the enemy. Even their families condemned them for joining the ranks of the enemy.

d) One major Flame Brigade force trying to enter Assimba was undercut on reaching around Adi Awlio since it was engaged with an EPRA unit. It sustained 15 deaths and 20 wounded and in disarray went back to Adigrat.

#### December 1976 - Gergelta District

Flame Brigade forces attempted to launch a "surprise" attack on our forces. Our army, without determination, defended itself and brought under its control strategic places after inflicting heavy damage to the enemy. Our army sustained no casualty. Beginning in the morning, enemy

helicopters ferried the wounded and the dead throughout the day.

#### BEGEMDIR ADMINISTRATIVE REGION

July 1976, EPRA started operating in Begemidir: After seizing a town called Adi Eslam in Tselemt district and smashing the local police, station and state apparatus, EPRA revealed its presence. Since then, it has concentrated on armed propaganda and conducted high level political agitation. It has defeated the false propaganda of the regime against the EPRA and defeated its schemes designed to divide the army from the people. The regime sent mercenaries or "wodo zewatch" 3 times from district zones far from where EPRA is operating to bring the people into collision with their army. Nevertheless, our army carefully and patiently avoided the bloodshed of the oppressed and released them after giving them wide-ranging political education. To those whose record of notriety is common knowledge to the people, the EPRA expressing the desire of the people disarmed them. After making profound propaganda and foiling the Dergues's plan, EPRA has been able to win the confidence of the people.

November 1976

a) At May Tsamri District town: Our army seized the town and destroyed the state organs. The police and government spies have been captured and their weapons confiscated. EPRA gave them political education for a full day and sent them home. During this time, EPRA burnt down one heavy army convoy.

b) In Ras Dashen Area (or Ras Dejen according to the people), the parks Chenki, Ginchi, Sanka Ber, were under our army's control and all the properties found in them were confiscated. Among the confiscated materials, there were 27 binoculars, spades, blankets, etc... The tourists in the area, who were from Germany, United States and Australia, were given political education for three days and were sent away.

#### EPRP AND THE PROLETARIAT

NOTE: The following is the translation from Amharic of DEMOCRACIA, official organ of the party, issued in December 1976 as Vol. 3, No. 12.

#### EPRP AND THE PROLETARIAT

There are many social truths which history proved ~~beyond doubt, once and~~ for all. Of these many truths, the one and the fundamental one at that, is that in every country, where exploited classes and oppressed peoples are found, genuine liberation can be grasped only in a social revolution under proletarian leadership, in alliance with the peasantry and with the co-operation of other oppressed classes. In our era such a social revolution in the economic, political and social fields can, with revolutionary power, destroy age-old reactionary remnants, anti-development and exploitative relations in order to herald the birth of a new order only by a Marxist-Leninist Party, armed and built with the scientific and most correct proletarian ideology.

The Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Party is the organized, armed and fighting vanguard force, led by Marxist-Leninist ideology, accepting the social revolution of the proletariat's decisive role to bring with peoples' struggle the liberation of itself, the peasantry and other oppressed peoples to ascertain their joint dictatorship.

Based on Marxist-Leninist principles it co-ordinates the nation-wide struggle of the broad masses. Since the party's existence is conceived and born in accordance with the country's objective process of struggle, the party, in all directions, endeavours to strengthen and forward this struggle. For long, it has made numerous sacrifices in order to build a society free of exploitation and oppression. At present and in the future,

marching along with this proletarian line it will struggle with determination. Proceeding from the economic, political and social realities of Ethiopian society, it will provide correct leadership to the ongoing peoples' democratic revolution and the up-coming socialist revolution. Exploited classes, oppressed nationalities and peoples, degraded social groups, all being confident on the party's leadership, accepting its programme, putting in practice its struggle tactics and methods are conducting bitter struggle to bring the inevitable peoples' proletarian victory. EPRP fully and firmly believes that the support for it stems from the objective facts, its clarity of line and its political essence. Its power and strength can be realized from its dependable and revolutionary integration with the oppressed. Because of this, it does not doubt even for a moment that it will be victorious. EPRP is without any exaggeration and without any doubt a Marxist-Leninist vanguard proletarian party. This is one truth.

EPRP clearly knows that a social revolution is not a daily dinner preparation. It very well understands that struggle demands ups and downs and numerous preparations and is far from the sweet dreams and philosophical hypotheses of the palace revolutionaries. This it has learned from the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism, the experience of the international proletarian movement and from the revolutionary truths of the Ethiopian society. It has learned from (world) history and the history of the Ethiopian peoples that co-ordinating and organizing the nation-wide democratic struggle is not as easy as guiding a person who lost his way or pointing the Sun's rise and Sun's set. As learning by struggle and from struggle is a principal character of a proletarian party, EPRP is without any exaggeration and without any doubt a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party.

Ethiopian society's complex contradictions can be resolved only through and with a scientific analysis that is free from opportunism and modern revisionism, which fights and exposes these bourgeois and anti-proletarian desires; and on the basis of this scientific analysis, agitating the workers and the oppressed, making them politically conscious, mobilizing and organizing them, only with this, and this alone will it be possible to lead the revolution to victory. In this too our party has been capable of leading and organizing workers, peasants and oppressed social groups. But this does not make it conceited, nor does it create useless complacency and self-satisfaction. It will not make it exaggerate the victories it has attained over all sorts of anti-people forces. It does not make it forget the numerous anti-revolutionary impediments it is facing and is sure to face. On the contrary, it creates adequate methods of struggle by contrasting and comparing the past experiences of the struggles with the present one. It puts forward leading slogans to study the present concrete economic, political and social conditions. It correctly defines the revolutionary line after soberly estimating the class alignments and the power balances and after patiently investigating the anti-people and anti-revolutionary force's essence and form. Along with this, it will struggle at all times and to the finish by alternating political and armed, peaceful and illegal methods of struggle for the realization of a genuine peoples democracy, for peace and progress and for a society fully free from exploitation and oppression. Nothing will prevent it from this stand. The crimes and threats, prisons and blind massacre of the anti-people and anti-revolutionary forces; the bloodletting by feudalists, imperialists, and fascists; none of these will prevent the party from its rock firm stands. This is another truth.

Today, the revolution that is going on in our country has reached a high and decisive stage. Revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces have stood out with sharp (distinct) lines. The economic, political and social crises have been deepened. The dissatisfaction and bitterness of the masses have been intensified. The victories of the February revolution are trampled down. The life and death, and last ditch violence of the anti-revolutionary forces has exceeded limits. The inhuman massacre carried out on the peoples of the oppressed nationalities specially on the Eritrean peaceful masses has been intensified. A silent war is declared on the Oromo peoples. With this or that pretext the oppressed of Bale, Sidamo and Arussi are being bombarded. The barbaric crimes committed against the proletariat, peasantry, intellectuals and youth have become the regime's profession. The society's peace is covered with dust. But the revolutionary struggle, which burst out in February 1974, overcoming numerous tests under the vanguard leadership of the EPRP, is continuing to win still new victories.

At the present, the Mengistu Haile Mariam and traitorous intellectuals' counter-revolutionary clique, servant of the international monopolists, dreams of bourgeois democracy for good and to crown the man-eat fascism; it conspires, it organizes. At present, feudal fall-outs and remnants of history associated around the hoodlum association called EDU, conspire to abort the revolution. They organize and arm themselves to this effect. International imperialism specially US imperialism and Israeli zionism, train anti-revolutionary forces, arm and finance them thereby frantically running to pour cold water on the mass struggle. They always remain united in their opposition to the oppressed peoples' resistance.

We are in a historical period when the counter-revolution is under no circumstances in a position

to defeat the revolution, on the contrary, when the revolution is in a position not capable, powerful and strong enough to totally smash and destroy the counter-revolution once and for all. In order to fill the gap of this fluid situation, to create sufficient condition and to make the revolution victorious, the only and only way open at present or in the future is to make the proletariat politically conscious in order to enable it to fulfill its historical mission, to agitate and organize it, and by disarming the anti-people forces, only to arm the proletariat itself. Along with this it is imperative to strengthen in an organized manner the proletarian-peasant revolutionary alliance and to win the support and the participation of the oppressed social groups. It is a great obligation, one that cannot be postponed for tomorrow, to coordinate in a common programme the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist, anti-bureaucratic capitalist and anti-fascist democratic forces and to rally them around a united front. This in turn requires the preparation and struggle of the proletariat through its vanguard party and its own determined participation. Since EPRP is without exaggeration and doubt a Marxist-Leninist vanguard proletarian party, it will not turn its back on this responsibility.

How does EPRP's integration with the proletariat, its capacity and adequacy to organize and lead in struggle the proletariat for its class and the entire society's emancipation, the proletariat's unwavering and full support to its vanguard party be expressed? How does our party, with full confidence, declare that its vanguardship to the proletariat? Why do we say that the proletariat has accepted the vanguardship and leadership of our party? Our answers are clear and unambiguous. They are:



## 1. EPRP is The Vanguard Party of The Proletariat

Never and nowhere has the proletariat acquired the political and historical consciousness which will enable it to accomplish a social revolution by its own. The economic struggle it conducts to improve its wellbeing alone will not enable it for thoroughgoing class and social liberation. The proletariat embraces the instrument of its class struggle, the Marxist-Leninist ideology, from intellectuals who betrayed their previous class and who resolutely rally for the rights and liberties of the oppressed. Those who can agitate, mobilize and organize it are those progressive and fortunate social forces. Intellectuals agitate, mobilize and organize the proletariat not like prophet's prophecy, not like a soothsayer's preaching, not like the commands of a war commander. Agitation, mobilization and organization are not their charity which they dispense voluntarily. On the contrary, in the isolated and unified struggle for the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, to win respect for the life of the proletariat itself, its rights and legal rights, its economic interests; the intellectuals, who concretize and analyse (concentrate) its struggle are the proletariat's objective life products who give back in a concentrated form its consciousness. The proletariat pushes its struggles forward by being mobilized and agitated by these tested (natural) knowledge of its conditions (life). In the vanguard party too, that is formed by genuine intellectuals who are the progressive leaders of the proletariat, conscious and revolutionary members of different sections of the population, progressive individuals who are representatives of the oppressed nationalities, the proletariat reinforces its clarity. It leads too. In Russia, China, Albania and Korea and all the other socialist and people's democracies, this was the path of their struggle. In the future, it will be done in this and only this way.

The vanguard party of the proletariat can truly earn the confidence of the proletariat only when it is guided by the strategy and tactics worked out on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideology free of adulteration, when the day to day struggle of the proletariat is integrated (coordinated) with its long term objective in a manner that does not go counter to its ideology. Its exposure and struggle, opportunism and revisionism, to gain and test experience of struggle must be its character. The building of its organizational structure and method should be based on the principles of democratic centralism at one and the same time. It has to protect the rights of its members for discussion and expressing their ideas, create the conditions where the efforts of its members are encouraged and their experiences developed. That the party is mass-based and is rooted on a broad democratic foundation has heavy weight. The party has the unflinching responsibility to make full and all-round preparations so that preparation for struggle would not be one sided. To provide all-round support to the proletariat's struggle for economic rights and its struggle for cooperation with the broad masses in the democratic movement is the artery of its existence. To cooperate with the world democratic forces and to learn from their experience must be one of its principal characters. A vanguard party of the proletariat is born and develops when it sides with the masses and participates together with them in their struggles. Only then can it become genuinely the vanguard of the proletariat.

EPRP from its inception and outset is a vanguard party of the proletariat. This is not a silly wish. It is an open secret that it is a tested and purified product of the February 1974 people's struggle. We would have liked to refute the hired-coolies (social-democrats) of fascism, who claim that EPRP is not a party of the proletariat by refuting one by one their

opportunist village theories and their isolated and out-of-context quotes which they use as supportive arguments, thereby exposing themselves as common charlatans. Thus, we shall be forced only to show the clear truths since the ongoing struggle process has refuted their empty clamour. That the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Party is a proletarian party, because:

- a- it believes and is guided by the profound power and correctness of Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of the proletariat;
- b- its organizational building and day to day working style is based on democratic principles;
- c- its programme and its methods of struggle embraces the class needs of the proletariat;
- d- numerous class conscious and deeply advanced proletarians are its members;
- e- it supports in both ideas and practice the proletariat's economic and political interests;
- f- it struggles to attain the liberation of the proletariat and other oppressed classes; and other evidences of the concrete social struggles.

A genuine proletarian party always grows in a struggle against opportunist and revisionist lines. Its acquisition of power and strength stems when the political line and the method of struggle it follows reflects the objective conditions and when it embraces the struggle of the people. As genuine proletarian vanguard parties around the world could become mass-based parties by taking firm stand on opportunism and revisionism, which are the footprints of the bourgeois class and by exposing and struggling against them and as they could deprive them of mass base, EPRP too has been crowned with victories in its struggle against opportunism and revisionism of the traitors. And above all, it has won without doubt the capability to be the proletarian vanguard party based on the above mentioned basic reasons.

## 2. The Proletariat Is Confident on the Vanguardship of EPRP

It is common knowledge that the organization's principles alone do not prove the popular character of any political organization. As much weight as clarity in political line and strength in ideology have, the confidence of the masses on the leadership of the party has equal value and plays a big role. As correct party building and struggle enables the party to attract the masses, unify and lead them, so also the full support of the masses, their confidence on the party's programme in turn proves the correctness of the party. It will also serve as evidence to the undoubted acceptability of the party by the masses.

That EPRP authenticates its being accepted and supported by the proletariat is, above all, not only when what it strongly advocates and struggles for, that is, peoples' democratic rights, are released and recognized. Along the fight with this basic and timely questions, the contribution of numerous proletarians, who resolutely rally inside the party and between party organizations is enough evidence by itself. That we say the proletariat believes in the vanguardship of the proletariat is because:

- a- many proletarians, with courage and responsibility, participate in the party's tasks;
- b- many proletarians exist as members within the party organizations;
- c- numerous proletarians, accepting with full heart the party's programme, are rallying under its banner;
- d- in different demonstrations and occasions, they have struggled accepting the party's slogans e.g. September 12, May Day, Land Decree Demonstrations, Urban Land Surplus House Nationalization Demonstrations, etc... are evidences for the proletariat's high sentiments and warm struggle spirit);
- e- the fact that the number of those killed with

bullets while holding the party's banner by the fascists is many (Air Lines, Awash, Assebe Teferi, Akaki, etc massacres.)

Accepting EPRP's programme, becoming members in its organizations with their aims as its own, with their goals as its own, with their lines as its own, with their struggle as its own; many proletarians have paid in the price for this by being fired. Leaving their wives and children, they have been left suffering in dark in prisons. They have been thrown out for the mercy of the hawk and hyena. When we see and observe Ethiopia's proletarians expressing their loyalty to their party by paying the price including their lives; to the naive fascists, who yawn while performing wonders as killers that their yearning... "until the proletarian party(?) is formed"; we say that it is illusory as the second coming of Christ. The proletarians with ever increasing number and with too vivid spirit of struggle are already fighting for their party. They will struggle and under their party's leadership, they shall win.

### 3. The "Grazianni" Mengistu's and the Social-Fascists' Anti-Proletarian Violence

The oppressed peoples of Ethiopia desire liberation, people's democracy and peace. The power which usurped the fruits of struggle of the broad masses is antagonistic to the people's desire. It has preferred slavery in place of liberation, iron hand oppression in place of people's democracy, reactionary war in place of peace. It cannot satisfy the demands of the proletariat, the peasantry and oppressed social groups since it is a regime of the imperialists and bureaucratic bourgeoisie organized with a new face. The truth will not vanish from fear with this regime's declaring a thousand times proclamations to prove that it stood for liberation and the people using meaningless words

such as goodwill and good sentiments which have no place and value in class struggle. This will not change, in any way, the fundamental contradiction between the state and the people. The contradiction between the state and the people is tilted to the question of state power, which is the key to class struggle. Unless the proletariat, peasant, oppressed social groups build their democratic dictatorship; liberation, democracy, peace and bread will not exist.

There is no social group which has not been provoked by the Mengistu Haile Mariam and traitorous intellectuals' joint regime. There is no stone it has left unturned to hang the peasant with bureaucratic noose, to fell the urban petty-bourgeoisie with the barrel of a gun, to silence nationalities with bombs and reactionary wars. With teachers, students, women and oppressed soldiers it has developed antagonistic relationship and is stained with blood. Whenever the revolution pushes forward and increases in depth and as the broad masses get drawn into the struggle with courage, determination and new life and death spirit, the question of the struggle of the proletariat has become the biggest problem causing restlessness and anxiety to the infantile fascist regime, which like a desperate blind cat knows where to enter and where to make the exit. Indeed the fatal disease that will kill this bloody gang is the proletariat.

Of all sections of the society, it is the proletariat which seeks democracy and consistently fights for it. It struggles for an undeformed, unwavering, genuine people's democracy to the end; since democracy is the basis of building the cooperation, alliance and organization of the oppressed classes with the proletariat. The Ethiopian proletariat did not shirk from

this universal law of revolution. To strengthen its alliance with the peasantry and, under the banner of democracy and socialism, together with the oppressed nationalities and peoples, in the struggle for land, freedom, equality, and peace, to associate in unity and struggle, the proletariat seeks democracy. Democracy is not obtained by search as a buried diamond (pearl) to be mined. Since it springs from the society's economic, political and social development laws, it will follow these laws to fan the struggle. Contrarywise, fascists and social-fascists struggle very hard to narrow the base of democracy, to gag the mouths of the oppressed peoples and arrest their hands.

The fascists and social-fascists wish to strengthen and build an isolated beauty of democracy from above down to deceive the people and protect their interests and control the peoples. This is the "holy" task of the traitorous intellectuals, who flocked from all places (could it be the exodus?) in the name of the "organizaing office". Although they roam in factories and industrial compounds to kick off a campaign of deception in the vain hope of developing a base by hunting down conscious leaders of the proletariat, jailing killing them, it has been sometime since their efforts have become a pipedream.

The cruel massacre that the joint regime of Grazianni and banda intellectuals' committed against the proletarians in Assebe Teferi, Awash, Akaki and other places enflamed on the existing contradiction between the regime and the proletariat. After September 1976, the anti-democratic violence that the regimes enflamed has been more concentrated on the working class. The proletariat has become a target of imprisonment and gun fire because it is fighting with strength and organization to protect the economic and political freedom. Those many proletar-

ians who are displaced from their places of work went into hiding to avoid the fascist regime's hateful murder, who are thrown into prison darkness, who are killed, are live evidences to show the contradiction between the regime and the proletariat.

The proletariat's struggle for organization is part and parcel of its struggle for democracy. Organizations, which have legal existence, have become day after night increasingly controlled by the regime's bureaucracy and are assuming other organizational forms and are taking other organizational directions. Organizaing in clandestinity is continuing. The anti-proletarian organizational building of the traitorous intellectuals from above to below is being eroded day after day by the proletariat's organizational building from below up. The anti-democratic and anti-proletarian campaign of the traitorous intellectuals is being pushed aside by the proletariat's conscious and popular campaign.

Since EPRP is the vanguard party of the proletariat, it struggles with resolve for the proletariat's fundamental demands. For the proletariat's democracy, for the proletariat's organization, for the organizational unity, for the proletariat's economic and political rights, it will struggle more than anybody else. It will continue to fight and the proletariat is getting around the party after assessing the genuine nature of EPRP.

The bitter struggle that is going on at present has been forced to change its course and face on account of the DUCÉ fascist Mengistu anti-people violence. The violence of the fascists has caused the peaceful political struggle to change to armed struggle. EPRP and the proletariat will never retreat. The time demands strengthening clandestine organizations, creat-

ing unified struggle, arming the people and conducting armed struggle. The proletariat and EPRP are ready for this. With this they will achieve victory.

EPRP AND THE PROLETARIAT ARE FISH  
AND WATER!

EPRP AND OPPRESSED MASSES ARE FISH  
AND WATER!

EPRP WILL WIN THE BROAD MASSES!!

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MAN MADE FAMINE THREATENS THE URBAN PEOPLES  
OF ETHIOPIA

The civilized world was shocked four years ago by the news of the greatest famine in Ethiopia's history which claimed the lives of five hundred thousand peasants. The cunning regime of Haile Selassie put news blackouts on the famine affected regions by preventing foreign correspondents from visiting the affected areas. The news of the famine was first exposed by Ethiopian students at home and abroad who were instrumental in convincing J. Dimbleby, a British journalist whose films of the famine affected areas shocked the civilized world.

What was Haile Selassie's regime doing then? He was whitewashing the streets of Addis Abeba, decorating them with neon lights and lavishly entertaining African Heads of States for the Tenth Anniversary of the the founding of the O.A.U.

The same story is being repeated in Ethiopia today. The present military dictatorship which usurped power riding over the back of popular anger against the autocratic regime and toppled

it, is creating another kind of famine in Ethiopia. It is often said history repeats itself, but on a different level.

Honest and democratic Ethiopians exposed the autocratic regime of Haile Selassie for mass death of poor peasants not because of drought alone but primarily because of feudalism, which did not see profit in transporting food from other regions to famine affected areas. In the great famine of four years ago, in the drought areas, not a single landlord died of hunger. On the contrary, they made fabulous profits by trading in foodstuff as their mentors in the big cities controlled the grain market, and manipulated prices.

In fact, Haile Selassie's regime exported grain and other foodstuffs to foreign countries, including foodstuff donated by friendly people all over the world in order to get foreign exchange for its luxurious life styles.

The present military regime is repeating the same thing. It fleeces the Ethiopian peoples and begs foreign governments for money in order to purchase arms to violently suppress the broad masses of the Ethiopian peoples, and conduct its genocidal war in Eritrea and the Oromo and other nationalities. The fascist junta accused EPRP of "stopping the rain" in some parts of the country and thus brought about famine just as the European bourgeoisie used to accuse European communists for causing sea storms in the West Indies in the nineteenth century. In September 1976 the junta accused EPRP in a lengthy statement for crops not being harvested in time; for rusting farm tractors, for lowering industrial production; in short for all the economic ills of the country. It even claimed that because of "EPRP's economic and other sabotages" the country lost about 80 million Eth. dollars. If the party could bring

about such huge loss; then, who is really ruling the country? Mengistu or EPRP?

It is, of course, true that the party enjoys wide popular support and sympathy from the labouring masses of Ethiopia. But what are the causes of the present famine, which threatens not only the peasantry in some parts of the country, but also, for the first time, affecting people in the cities.

Harold Jackson, an English journalist writing for the "Guardian" tries to give some of the reasons behind the present famine which threatens the urban working peoples of Ethiopia who number about 3 million. He mentions three factors, namely 1-economic mismanagement by the junta, 2- disorganization of the transport system, 3- and the failure of state farms. But, these are not the basic factors behind the present state of affairs in Ethiopia.

Although the landless and the land poor peasants in all parts of the country forced the junta to issue a land reform decree, at least on paper, the military junta did not permit the peasants in the north to take over land because of the collusion of the regime with traditional feudal barons and large priests. Thus, whatever fertile land there is in the north, it is still in the hands of landlords.

In the south, peasant farmers are still withholding grain from the market or demanding higher prices. A quintal (100 kilos) of teff (a staple food) which used to cost 35 Eth. dollars in 1975 now costs 70 Eth. dollars if it can be found on the market. The big grain merchants who are protected by the Derg hoard grain; but supply the armed forces at reduced prices so that they can rob the working people

of the cities, by manipulating grain prices. But why are the peasants withholding grain or wait for the prices to rise?

Light industrial products needed by the peasantry are either simply not on the market or their prices are beyond the purchasing capacity of the poor peasants. Inflation has increased by 100% in the last two years during the terrorist rule of the Derg. So, necessities like matches, salt, blankets, sugar, coffee (it is ironical that in the native country of coffee, coffee price increased by 300% in one year!), khaki, cotton, linen, soap, etc... became too expensive for the peasants. A person, a few months ago, had the chance to chat with some peasants in the southern part of the country. He asked the peasants why they withholding grain. The peasants replied unanimously, in order to buy a cheap blanket they have to sell one fifth of their total produce. They said that they might as well barter their grain for hand-woven shamma produced by primitive methods. When asked about salt; they replied that they would rather fill their stomach with food without salt rather than buy salt and nothing else to eat with. These are some of the methods with which the peasantry in the countryside is overcoming the dire necessities of daily life. The fascist regime resorts to mass murder of peasants accusing them of "sabotaging the economy" and of "being in league with 'anarchists'", meaning EPRP. Over 4000 Guji Oromo peasants were massacred in late 1975 alone.

Why has industrial produce of daily necessities gradually disappeared or too expensive to buy? The anti-people terrorist regime, under the pretext of its so-called "nationalization of industries", appointed the former owners of the firms as managers. These managers continued to maltreat workers, thanks to the support the managers get from the junta. The managers are not only maltreating workers but are actually

sabotaging industrial production. Industrial production declined, machines break down, no spare parts are imported and no repairs done.

To overcome industrial sabotage by the junta's managers, workers in several factories established workers' committees in order to protect machine and ensure production by their own initiatives. What was the response of the junta? Loyal to its stooges and bureaucrats, the junta cracked down on the workers under the pretext of enforcing labour discipline. It killed several workers and dismissed others accusing them of being duped by "anarchists" meaning EPRP.

On May Day demonstration 1976, workers carried placards and banners saying "our salary is 30 dollars per month, but teff is 60 dollars per quintal for one month for an average family of five"; "We cannot live on this salary!"; "Fix a minimum wage!"; "Institute price control!"; and many other slogans. What was the response of the Derg? Several of the demonstrators were shot dead and several others wounded! Why? Because the terrorist junta accused the workers of being duped by "anarchists" and being sympathetic to EPRP. It was of course true that the workers proudly carried slogans of EPRP and shouted "EPRP is our party!" The military junta was stunned by the support the heroic Ethiopian working class gave to EPRP.

State farms produced less because agricultural workers could not live on the miserable wages they are paid. Instead, they preferred to go and till the land and at least ensure their daily bread. The wage of all civil and industrial workers is frozen for the last three years while inflation increased by 100% in the last two years alone. Only the soldiers of the Nebelbal special brigade get their pay increased. A case in point is Mengistu Haile Mariam himself, the "revolutionary socialist", who promoted himself to Lt. colonel last November.

Just as Haile Selassie was decorating the streets of Addis Abeba amidst the great famine four years, the new dictator in Addis Abeba, Mengistu, is also inviting selected journalists and visitors from socialist and other organizations for pre-arranged tours to advertise his so-called "Ethiopian Socialism" while people are starving to death in the streets of Addis Abeba.

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#### TORTURE IN JUNTA'S PRISON CELLS

##### Political prisoners made to eat their own flesh! An eye witness account

Human and democratic rights violations in Ethiopia defy description. Premises are searched, properties are seized, innocent people are arrested, children less than 15 years of age are executed - all this happens without any attempt at judicial recourse. Arbitrary arrest has become normal. To be detained has become tantamount to give oneself to known assassins and executioners.

Prison conditions are appalling. They are overcrowded. They are not even fit for animals. A horse stable is cleaner than an Ethiopian prison. Prison conditions create the factors for either a spiritual collapse and/or physical liquidation of the prisoner.

The military junta claims those arrested are "criminals". Nothing is further from the truth. All Ethiopian prisons are filled with political prisoners. In fact the regime suffers from lack of prison so much so it has found it a big priority question to build concentration camps in remote areas of the country. The only

a reign of terror rule a normal way of life for the people.

The Mengistu and Haile clique introduces its executions and bestial killings with songs of joy and happiness. The extent of the sadism of the little colonels and their "intellectual" mentors is boundless.

At present, although the exact number of political prisoners is unknown, the estimate is well over 10,000. The increasing number of concentration camps provides a clue to the inordinate number of political prisoners. The bestial "science" of torture is duly practised on suspected EPRP members to extract information from them. The foreign committee of our party has just secured a short report about the practices of torture in Ethiopia. Here are some excerpts from the report:

A. GENERAL:

Searching houses without warrant to look for a suspect, and if they do not find the person they (the torturers) are looking for, to torture his family; to kidnap people on the way to their place of work or on their private business; to murder them after taking them from their place of work; and to burn their bodies, these have become a daily companion of Ethiopians.

The fascist regime has prepared concentration camps in known arid deserts of Ethiopia. All existing prisons are filled with people whom the regime thinks are its opponents. Those in prison are secretly taken out for investigation and after that their whereabouts becomes a mystery. In general in the prisons, the torture extends from interrogation to the molestation of sexual organs (presuming that prisoners are not killed). Those suspected of being EPRP members or sympathisers are made to suffer more. To alleged EPRP members the torture extends from flogging



to cutting a part of the prisoners' flesh and forcing him to eat it.

Prisoners are subjected to daily flogging, beatings, flogging after putting a ball inside their mouth and hanging them upside down naked, to pull them naked on a bed of cutting rock pebbles or granular sand after tying their hands and feet with rope (on that which even walking on good shoes brings discomfort.) After pulling them in rounds (like in a Russian Roulette) the torturer submerges them into ice cold water. It is not only that. In a fit of anger torturers burn the naked body of a prisoner with a red-hot ironing machine. Burning bodies using electric shocks is common. Those taken in automobiles to far away places for beating and who die being hit on sensitive organs are innumerable. As an example, the prisons in administrative region of Gomu Gofa are cases in point.

When they could not succeed with physical torture, they try psychological torture and the way is to try to buy the prisoner with money. Nevertheless, the innocent prisoners have rebuffed them. "Our death with the oppressed" and "Your death with your money and power", have become the firm response to brutal torture.

#### B. PERSONAL:

When I was in prison here are some of the techniques of torture widely used on the youth to extort information:

- to place a pistol in one's mouth and temple and threaten execution, to insult and bully around and to frighten;
- to make one overhear when others are being flogged;
- when they flog another prisoner to make his comrade hold his feet, to force the friend to flog his comrade;
- to tie the hand muscles above the elbow on one's back and to hang down the prisoner and to

flog and beat the soles of the feet, to pit the forehead against the wall and press the sexual organs;

- After tying hands in front, raising the knees to pass through the fastened hands, inserting a stick through the joints of the hand and foot and overturning the body on a table to flog the sole, to cover the eyes, to insert a dirty ball of cloth in the mouth;
- prisoners after torture remain with sores from flogging, burns and bone fractures;
- with an iron-fist nicknamed "make him confess", to constantly hammer at the finger nails and repeat the process until the fingers swell and the nails decay and then to bend them backwards and to break them;
- to flog by standing the body on the fingers;
- to place an iron rod on the toes and to hammer them on the floor;
- to dislocate the hands and to flog any part of the body, to shave off the head and beat it;
- to leave a prison in a cold room, to feed one's own flesh, to insert hot iron-rod in the rectum;
- to feign one's execution;
- to debate loudly with the intention of making others overhear-should one's eyes be covered or not;
- to torture psychologically by saying a friend has spoken, the incriminating paper has been found, etc...;
- to burn the body using electric power. As we know, cruel tortures are meted out to those who are taken to a section called NO. 7. After torture in NO. 7, the prisoner is not returned to his cell;
- to make prisoners run and to make others overhear the march.

We thus see that the colonels and banda intellectuals indulge in brutal physical and psychological torture, combining barbaric and modern techniques of torture. These fascists subject

political prisoners to severe beatings, sustained flogging from the sole to the shaved head, extraction of finger nails, crushing and breaking fingers, electric shock to sexual organs, thrusting hot iron rod in the anus, rectum, mock executions, raping women political prisoners, threats or actual rapes of a prisoner's wife and children, etc... The barbaric cruelty of the regime is as grotesque as reprehensible!

The practice of torture in Ethiopia now is very widespread. The peoples of Ethiopia oppose the brutal military junta and this means virtually the entire peoples of Ethiopia are liable to face all sorts of harrasement from the junta. Fascism rules by the law of the jungle. It has absolutely no popular base. It is a desperate emergency regime. That is why in its desperation it is bound to make torture and execution its normal way of rule. But the empire of torture and execution bears the germs of its own destruction. This logic, if illusive to the torturer regime, is clear to the masses. The people know the junta has no future and that like all reactionaries will roll down to its graves before long!!

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A TRIBUTE TO COMRADE TESFAY DEBESSAY  
(contd. from inside cover)

studied theology and got his B.A. He then switched to philosophy in the same university. Discouraged by the limited scope of the philosophical studies he started to look for other sources for references and to look for a certain field in philosophy that is much related to the practical reality. Then, he began to concentrate on pragmatism. He started with pragmatism with the intention that knowing bourgeois philosophy thoroughly would deepen his knowledge about Marxism-Leninism.

After his return to Ethiopia, he had worked in the ministry of information in the research department. He had also lectured philosophy in the university of Addis

(contd. on the back page)

COMMENTARY

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM: THE HERITAGE  
THE REVISIONISTS HAVE LONG RENOUNCED

By Mulu Negersa

"There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism; and that is working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting ("by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid") this struggle, this, and only this, line in every country without exception."

LENIN

Eversince Soviet Russia bridged the alliance between the first socialist state on the globe with the anti-imperialist revolutionary movements of the peoples in the colonies and dependent countries; not a single people's revolution, except the Cuban revolution, not even a single national movement, has ever been waged without the support of socialist states. However, we are today witnessing quite a different situation in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian peoples' revolution has not only been deprived of such support. Beyond that, it is currently being opposed and sabotaged by modern revisionism.

In spite of revisionist obstruction, thanks to the correct and courageous leadership of EPRP, the revolution is still advancing, growing in leaps and bounds and engulfing wave upon wave millions of oppressed people lending proof to the central truth: revolution is not the exclusive monopoly of few "socialist" countries. "Revolution", says Comrade Le Duan "is the work of the masses." On the other hand, the fascist regime, which is rendered moral and material

support by revisionism, is getting evermore isolated, ever more resisted with arms by the masses, evermore losing political as well as military battles; therefore becoming evermore desperate that it resorts to committing untold crimes against the people.

Since the February 3rd coup of this year, which brought the absolute and autocratic rule of Colonel Mengistu and the social-fascists, modern revisionism has come into an unholy alliance with the blood-thirsty fascist regime and are waging propaganda campaign against our party. As if diplomatic overtures would bring support to the bloody fascist regime, a regime that kills hundreds every day, delegations after delegations from the revisionist countries have been flocking to Addis Abeba and pledged support to the regime. And finally, Fidel Castro paid a state visit to "socialist" Ethiopia, where his ride from the airport to the palace had to be camouflaged, for exposing the extreme isolation of the fascists he came to lend support to.

The support modern revisionism renders to the regime in Ethiopia is not just moral nor political. The Soviet Union has now started arms shipment to the regime, that include tanks, anti-aircraft guns, helicopters and trucks. The commander of Cuban troops in Angola is said to have visited Eritrea; and 250 Cuban soldiers have already arrived in Ethiopia. All this official political and military backing had been preceded by propaganda support by this or that "correspondent" writing on leading East European party organs and government papers.

We presume, as a matter of course that the foreign policy of a communist party or a socialist state should be based on the principle of proletarian internationalism upholding

the undying Marxist-Leninists motto "Workers And Oppressed Peoples of All Countries, Unite!" Modern revisionism, however, is doing the opposite. The kernel of the foreign policy of the revisionists is based NOT on the principle of proletarian internationalism, or a correct and scientific assessment of a given situation with a view of lending active support to the proletarian element. Nevertheless, it is based on a revisionist policy, ~~which is subordinated to the~~ vagaries of expediency and narrow calculation of state interest and political control even at the expense of the suppression of the revolutionary proletarian movement. In the semi-feudal and neo-colonial countries, the revisionists' policy aims at attempts to "exploit" the NON-ANTAGONISTIC or even Temporary contradiction certain regimes, which subscribe to "national socialism" or "Arab Socialism", have with this or that imperialist power in general and US imperialism in particular. To realize this scheme, the revisionists put pressure on the proletarian vanguard to collaborate with the local class enemy of the worker-peasant masses namely the bureaucratic-comprador bourgeoisie, which according to the revisionists' wrapped logic, is said to have "contradiction" of some sort with imperialism. The revisionist strategy then becomes "to bring the bureaucratic bourgeoisie to the side of the revolution" in a trade off against the real politico-military preparation and mobilization of the broad masses.

The experience of Egypt is too fresh for Ethiopian revolutionaries to fall prey to this revisionist hogwash. That is why EPRP is adamant and relentless in its fight against modern revisionism.

The revisionists are giving all moral, political and material support to the blood-thirsty fascist regime. They are also conducting a propa-

ganda campaign against our party. They are pressurising neighbouring countries not to give support to either our party or the Eritrean Liberations Fronts. And they are suppressing pro-EPRP Ethiopian students who are studying in their own respective countries. This is not only a shameful renunciation of the principles of proletarian internationalism; but also counter-revolution pure and simple. Giving moral, political and material support to a blood-thirsty fascist regime, which is **TOATALLY** opposed and resisted by the masses, and opening propaganda attacks **AGAINST** our party cannot be described as anything but counter-revolution. EPRP is an ardent enemy of revisionism and champions proletarian internationalism. Today, revisionism is directly involved in the counter-revolutionary plot hatched up by fascists and social-fascists against the Ethiopian revolution which is led by our party. Therefore, as a genuine vanguard of the proletariat and broad masses and shouldering the weightiest responsibility thereof, it is our revolutionary duty to say with Lenin, "... the fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism."

What is proletarian internationalism? What should the duty of socialist states and communist parties be towards the national democratic revolutions, national liberations and national movements in the colonies and backward countries? How should internationalism be expressed? What is the consistently Marxist-Leninist position on this fundamental issue? As Lenin said, internationalism can only be expressed by developing the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and by rendering active support to the struggle of the socialist proletariat in the advanced capitalist countries, national democratic revolutions led by the proletariat and its

communist party in the neo-colonies, national liberations directed against colonialism and genuine national movements directed against national oppression. There is a dialectical relationship between the struggle of the proletariat in the advanced capitalist countries for socialism and the national democratic revolutions in the semi-colonies and backward countries on the one hand, and that of the colonies and oppressed nations for self-determination and independence on the other in the world-wide struggle against imperialism. However, as a matter of emphasis, Lenin teaches us that the imperialist chain on the world scale has its strongest and weakest links. The ideological, economic and material stronghold of imperialism, the advanced capitalist world, represents the strongest links while the colonies, semi-colonies or neo-colonies represent the weakest links. Weakening and defeating imperialism in the colonies and semi-colonies with revolutionary struggles fully supported by the proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries and the socialist states constitute the principal rear of socialism on a world scale which will have direct effects in the capitalist countries. As Stalin says, "The colonial countries constitute the principal rear of imperialism. The revolutionisation of this rear is bound to undermine imperialism not only in the sense that imperialism will be deprived of its rear, but also in the sense that the revolutionisation of the East is bound to give powerful impulse to the intensification of the revolutionary crisis in the West." Therefore, active support to the national democratic revolutions led by their proletarian parties and the national liberations together with the support rendered to the socialist proletariat of the West constitute the kernel of proletarian internationalism. In the semi-colonies and backward countries the

attitude of Marxists should be to pay special attention to proletarian (communist) elements and give them support so as to help them lead their revolution; or ASSURE their independence, sovereignty and democratic rights to do propaganda and organizational work among the masses under conditions when they are at their embryonic stage. Giving support to the anti-imperialist struggle in general and paying a special emphasis to the communist nucleus should constitute the basis of the foreign policy of socialist states and communist parties. To this effect, Lenin says, "*The Communist International must enter into a temporary alliance with bourgeois democracy in the colonial and backward countries, but should not MERGE with it, SHOULD UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES uphold the independence of the PROLETARIAN MOVEMENT even if it is in its most embryonic form;...*" (Our Italics.) And as Comrade Enver Hoxha said, "Just as the Marxist-Leninist parties and the progressive peoples everywhere in the world have helped us, in the past, in our struggle for national liberation and the establishments of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we, too, are duty bound to help the proletariat, the Marxist-Leninist parties and all the progressive forces in the struggle they are waging so that their peoples, too, will win their freedom and build socialism."

EPRP is a strong mass-based proletarian party. It has now its peoples' army and is launching political and armed struggle both in the countryside and the cities. It has the full support of the broad masses of the people. It is conducting agitation and propaganda on a nation wide scale by integrating Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions in Ethiopia. It mobilizes and organizes the masses under the difficult conditions of the underground. EPRP firmly

believes on self-reliance and has hitherto been so self-reliant that its influence spreads to the remotest corner of the country. However, the Ethiopian revolution, as all other revolutions in the past, needs international support from the genuine socialist states and proletarian parties. We count heavily on international support for it would help advance the revolution on the one hand and would lay down the foundation of international solidarity between our people and the peoples of the genuine socialist countries. Although EPRP holds fast the principles view that regardless of the evolution of temporary shifts in imperialist and revisionist power equations in the region; the fate of the ongoing national democratic revolution in Ethiopia can only be determined none other than by its very motive forces, - the oppressed, exploited, degraded and dehumanised masses of Ethiopia as/ied, educated, organized, guided by EPRP. The masses that rose in February will never rest for a minute nor lay down their arms until people's democracy is fully realized under the guidance of their authentic vanguard, EPRP. International solidarity and active political as well as material support to the people's revolution would undoubtedly accelerate the speed of the revolution, which is well under way on the long road towards its inevitable victory: people's democracy and socialism. The masses of the people are evermore conscious, evermore organized and evermore determined to continue the national democratic revolution, led by their valiant and correct communist party, EPRP -, through to the end till final victory over the exploitative system.

Although our party has sunk its roots deep in the masses and although the intensity and advancement of the revolution is steering on a firm course, modern revisionism has chosen to

stand blindly on the side of the counter-revolution whose doom is inevitable and whose crisis after crisis makes it hang on a threadbare. But, what kind of regime are they giving their support to? Notwithstanding the fact that it is neither socialist nor revolutionary; is it even bourgeois-democratic that respects unconditionally the rights of communists to do their propaganda and organizational work? No! Absolutely not! What the attitude of Marxists towards such regimes that curb these rights of communists ~~must be~~ summed up by Lenin when he told the Second Congress of the Communist International, that, "... we, as communists, should and will support bourgeois-liberation movements in the colonies only when they are genuinely revolutionary, and when their exponents do not hinder our work of educating and organizing in a revolutionary spirit the peasantry and the masses of the exploited. *If these conditions do not exist, the communists in these countries must combat the reformist bourgeoisie, to whom the heroes of the second international also belong.*" (Italics ours.) Beyond being bourgeois reformist, the regime in Ethiopia is essentially counter-revolutionary. And as a form of regime of a bureaucratic bourgeois state, it is fascist pure and simple. Fascism is, by definition, anti-democratic in general and anti-proletarian in particular. It is outrightly chauvinist; it tries to divert the long march of the proletariat to people's democracy and socialism by putting forward slogans like "Deutschland über alles". It tries to dupe the proletariat with the non-existent "national socialism" in a vain attempt to diffuse scientific socialism. It can go to any extent in its demagoguery to prostitute Marxism-Leninism. It destroys all organizations that are not under its jurisdiction; and never affords any autonomous organization to function legally. It is extremely demag

ogic, "constantly plays with the burning feelings of the masses" and resorts to perverted economic "reforms". Fascism arises at a specific period at a particular conjuncture of the general crisis of capitalism, in which the exploitative system as a whole is threatened by a generalized class struggle that opts for scientific socialism or in that direction via the road of people's democracy. Thus, fascism generally comes as a structural response to such acute class struggles. It resorts to demagoguery of "socialism", economic "reforms" and so on; simultaneously trampling underfoot the communist proletariat, --its main and conscious enemy. That is fascism in general. That is exactly what the the "national socialist" regime in Ethiopia is.

The revisionists laud the regime in Ethiopia for the "nationalizations" it declared. This is at least their official pretext to render it support. But, this is wretched economism. For Marxist-Leninists, what is important on such issues is not the regime's pompous paper declarations on nationalization, but the nature and direction of the generalized class struggle that forced the regime to do so. Above all, *which class* is carrying out the nationalization is most crucial. Fascism in Italy, for example, was pinning down communists at the same time resorting to "nationalizations". Lenin nor the Communist International did sell out Italian communists because Mussolini's regime talked of "socialism" and resorted to "nationalizations." It must be seen on the contrary. The resort to "nationalizations" and "socialist" talks quite obviously presupposes the intensity of the class struggle. The regime in Ethiopia did not voluntarily grant the decree on land. On the contrary, it was the victory of the popular masses. Secondly, Lenin teaches us that land reform can only be successfully carried out by the revolutionary proletariat through its

party.

On the other hand, the revolution is not only alive and popular but also growing in breadth and depth. The proletariat, peasantry, youth, teachers and women led by their valiant party -EPRP- are waging heroic struggle. On many occasions, they have shown their determined rejection of the regime and unequivocal support to EPRP. As a result, the fascist regime has intensified the reign of terror. In this campaign of "annihilating EPRP", thousands of people, conscious and militant workers, youth, women and oppressed soldiers have been brutally murdered. The regime in Ethiopia is pinning down Eritrean masses, EPRP communists, democrats and oppressed nationalities at the same time trying to give a socialist image to the outside world. That is what fascism is. And such is the regime in Ethiopia, which is supported by the revisionists.

Trampling proletarian internationalism underfoot and hugging shoulders with the fascists in Ethiopia, whose hands is stained with the blood of communists; the revisionists are pledging loyalty to proletarian internationalism! On the congresses of their parties and publications, the revisionists pledged "support" to and "sympathy" with all communists throughout the world "who are fighting under the most difficult conditions." These are just words; while in actual fact they the Soviet government and others, slap on the face of those brave communists in Ethiopia "who are fighting under the most difficult conditions", and give tanks and thousands of Klashinkovs to those who brutally murder these same communists. And we are told that that is "proletarian internationalism!" But, Lenin teaches us that proletarian internationalism is "... working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary struggle in one's own coun-

try, and supporting ("by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid") this struggle, this, and *only this*, line, in every country without exception." Fidel Castro, too, pays lip service to proletarian internationalism. After hugging the most blood-thirsty fascist, Mengistu Haile Mariam, who had then slaughtered 500 communists and democrats in one week, Castro said in Luanda (Angola), "Marx, Engels, and Lenin spoke of proletarian internationalism; but we, our generation, have had the privilege of seeing and putting internationalism into practice ... . . . When has mankind ever known another era such as this?" Oh, Yes! Never!! Mr. Castro! Truly, never has mankind in general and the international proletariat in particular ever seen "communists" hugging and kissing Hitlerite fascists, who had slaughtered 2500-4000 communists, democrats, workers and youth in two months! Was that the kind of "internationalism" the founders of scientific socialism taught us?

Proletarian internationalism requires a correct attitude towards the national question and the national movements as well. Opportunism on the national question manifests itself in many ways; ranging from "great nation" chauvinism and narrow nationalism to social-chauvinism and social-fascism. Lenin and Stalin had fought against those filthy social-chauvinists, who had objectively stood with their own bourgeoisie in the plundering of other nations with their treacherous slogan "defence of the fatherland!" Lenin had always warned all communists throughout the world to respect and recognize the right of all nations to self-determination upto and including secession. Marxism is against the violation of equality of nations and upholds the right to self-determination of nations. What makes Marxism different from petty-bourgeois

"socialism" or bourgeois democracy in this regard is firstly it agitates not only for the equality of nations, but along with it, the recognition of the right of nations to self-determination. Marxism does not stop there; it also agitates that "only the Soviet system is capable of ensuring genuine equality of nations" (Lenin) and for the unity of the workers and peasants of all nationalities in a common struggle against capitalism. Secondly, Lenin warns us that the petty-bourgeoisie as "champion" of nationalism would even be more dangerous than the bourgeoisie for it uses demagogy and other revolutionary phrases. "Petty-bourgeois nationalism," says Lenin, "proclaims as internationalism the mere recognition of the equality of nations and nothing more." That is exactly what the essence of the nine-point policy of the Derg on the Eritrean question is. What is the attitude of the revisionists towards the Derg's policy on the Eritrean question? They say that the Derg's nine-point "peace" policy, which is an annexationist declaration with "socialist" colouring is "correct". Lenin was familiar with the Derg type "solution" to the national question too, and warns us, "Recognition of internationalism in word, and its replacement by petty-bourgeois nationalism and pacifism, in all propaganda, agitation and practical work, is very common, not only among the parties of the Second International, but also among those which have withdrawn from it, and often even among parties which now call themselves communist." The revisionist's qualification of the Derg's policy on Eritrea to be "correct" is by itself a basic distortion of Leninism. Extending this position to impose diplomatic pressure on the Eritrean fronts through other countries to accept the Derg's annexationist formula is a betrayal of the struggle of the Eritrean masses.

To a people, whose history of struggle against European colonialism, annexation and for national independence is rich as the heroic peoples of Eritrea, such betrayal of the revisionists would not, for the slightest degree, lessen their determination and fighting spirit. To the contrary.

Born through struggle, ~~having grown through the~~ revolution and pursuing a consistent and correct policy, guarding itself both from right and "left" errors, the EPRP has become a mass-based revolutionary party. After having exhausted all possible means of legal struggle, combining both political and armed violence in the cities as well as the strategic countryside, EPRP has emerged as the only revolutionary party of the proletariat, ~~whom~~ the masses have absolute faith. No doubt that EPRP is the authentic vanguard of the revolution.

As regards the bases of its relation with other parties, EPRP believes in equality, fraternity and mutual respect between proletarian parties, big or small in all countries. EPRP unconditionally recognizes and respects the sovereignty of fraternal parties. It believes that each party engaged on the particular struggle in its own country knows the problems, alliance of forces and the concrete situation of the given country, than anybody else; and therefore respect and recognition of its analysis, though not absolute, is essential. As such, EPRP has always rejected and will continue to do so the revisionist position of class collaboration as was paternally entertained by revisionists.

EPRP believes in the independence of the proletariat in its class organization, in its strategic alliance with the peasantry till the final victory of socialism and in its strategic alliance with the other oppressed classes till



the attainment of people's democracy and in the independence of this revolutionary peoples' struggle. EPRP has hitherto moved cautiously, and continues to do so, to utilize all the revolutionary means possible to advance the revolutionary struggle. Unlike the "left" opportunists, EPRP did not remain as the party of extreme opposition at times of possible relaxation of hostility, when the regime vowed for "unrestricted democratic rights for the broad masses." (April 1976.) EPRP is not right opportunist either. It simply could not come out in the open, when a fascist regime, which trampled all democratic rights underfoot, murdered hundreds of democrats and workers, and massacred demonstrating artists of the National Theatre the very next day after the "unrestricted democratic rights to the broad masses" was announced by "Adolf" Mengistu Haile Mariam. Correctly assessing the situation, realizing the alignment of forces and analysing the concrete situation then (April 1976), our party put forward certain pre-conditions to **START THE DISCUSSION** on the issue of the "united front of progressives" that was called by the regime. The pre-conditions put forward by our party, all demanding the implimentation and assurance of the democratic rights promised, exposed the insincerity of the regime; that the call for a united front was a mere manoeuvre to buy time. Instead of meeting the pre-conditions put forward, the Derg intensified the repression. The revisionists are expecting us to collaborate unconditionally with such regime that kills democrats, who demand the implimentation of the declared decrees, which they won in their struggle.

The stage of "relaxing hostility" has passed. A violent class war is being fought out. Therefore, no matter what the revisionists may say,

the Ethiopian people have found in the EPRP the party they need for their struggle and in the EPRA the people's army they need for the use of revolutionary violence against their enemy. Backed by the genuine socialist states and revolutionaries the world over, the Ethiopian masses would, beyond doubt, "do away with all pests" and would erase the dust of Ethiopia's history through their national democratic revolution. China has done it, Albania has done it, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos have done it; and there would be no force in the world that stops the masses of Ethiopia, guided by their vanguard party, EPRP, from taking that - **ONLY THAT** - road.

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COMRADE MARKOS BAGOS; CELU'S PRESIDENT KILLED

(contd. from the back page of the back cover)

had to go underground. He had actively ~~take~~ part in the struggle of the Ethiopian working class from the underground.

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RELEVANT QUOTATIONS

"Without faith in itself, without faith in the people, grumbling at those above, trembling before those below, egoistic towards both sides and conscious of its egoism, revolutionary in relation to the conservatives, and conservative in relation to the revolutionists, distrustful of its own mottoes, intimidated by the world storm, exploiting the world storm; no energy in any respect, plagiarism in every respect; bare because it lacked originality, original in its baseness; haggling with its own desires, without initiative, without a world historical calling; an execrable old man, ... sans eyes, sans ears, sans teeth, sans everything - such was the Prussian bourgeoisie that found itself at the helm of the Prussian state after the March revolution."

Karl Marx

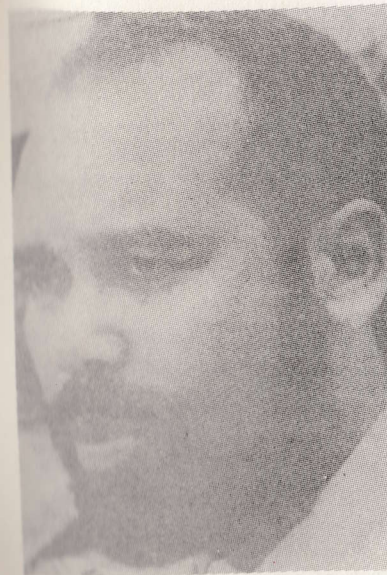
"... It is not guerrilla warfare which demoralises, but UNORGANISED, irregular, non-party guerrilla acts. We shall not rid ourselves one least bit of this MOST UNQUESTIONABLE demoralisation by condemning and cursing guerrilla actions, for condemnation and curses are absolutely incapable of putting a stop to a phenomenon which has been engendered by profound economic and political causes. .... a Marxist cannot regard civil war or guerrilla warfare, which is one of its forms, as abnormal and demoralising in GENERAL. ...In certain periods of acute economic and political crises the class struggle ripens into a direct civil war i.e., into an armed struggle between two sections of the people. In such periods a Marxist is OBLIGED to take the stand of civil war." Lenin

A TRIBUTE TO COMRADE TEFAY DBESSAY

(contd, from page 48)

Abeba. In 1969, he was appointed as Director which he flatly declined. However, since his decision would put him in trouble, he left the country for Switzerland. In Swiss, though he was formally registered as a student, he had done his individual study on Marxism-Leninism extensively. In 1974, he went back to Ethiopia to carry out the task he was assigned by the party. In 1975, he had to go underground as he was to be arrested. After two years of underground work, he was spotted by the social-fascists while performing his contact duties. The area was immediately surrounded by troops; and they started to chase him. He went into the Kidane Building and exchanged fire with the fascists. But, he ran out of ammunition and had to commit suicide than falling into the hands of bloodthirsty fascists.

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COMRADE MARKOS HAGOS; CELU'S PRESIDENT KILLED

Comrade Markos Hagos

Comrade Markos Hagos; the president of the Confederation of Ethiopian Labour Unions (CELU) was killed on March 24 in a gun battle with fascists, who attempted to arrest him. In the fierce gun battle, the valiant revolutionary fighter had finished off well over 20 of the search squad soldiers before his death.

Comrade Markos had served the Ethiopian working class as chairman of CELU in the most critical hours of the struggle of the working class. Soon after CELU passed its historic resolution on its annual Congress in September 1975, Comrade Markos had been arrested without any charge. Not long after the May Day demonstrations of last year when Comrade Markos

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#### POINTS OF THE EPRP PROGRAMME

- *To destroy the rule of feudalism and imperialism and to establish a Peoples' Democratic Republic of the broad masses.*
- *To establish a broad, democratic and progressive political system.*
- *To establish a planned democratic and national economy free from foreign domination and to improve the material and spiritual wellbeing of the masses.*
- *To declare and safeguard the unrestricted right of nations to self-determination and to settle the Eritrean question peacefully and democratically based on the aspirations of the Eritrean masses.*
- *To safeguard the interests and rights of the working people.*
- *To establish a national democratic culture and educational system and to run public health services catering to the masses.*
- *To build a Peoples' Army wholly devoted to defend and serve the broad masses and the country.*
- *To ensure equality between men and women politically, economically and socially.*
- *To pursue a foreign policy of peace and non-alignment and active solidarity with all the forces fighting for peace, democracy and socialism.*