### Oppose the Counter-Revolutionary Meddling of the Soviet Revisionist Renegade Clique in the Ethiopian Revolution (Part I)

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The Workers' Advocate is serializing the Statement of the Central Committee of the Ethiopian Students Union in North America (ESUNA) which came out under the above title in Vol. VI, No. 2, of the Journal Combat dated March 1977. This excellent statement provides vivid material exposing Soviet revisionism and the aggressive meddling of the Soviet New Tsars in Ethiopia. It shows how the Soviet revisionists collaborate with the fascist Mengistu regime, praise its suppression of the people and outrageously slander the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party, and the statement refutes a number of revisionist theories, such as the road of "non-capitalist development" to socialism.

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Today in Ethiopia both superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, are competing with each other to strangle the Ethiopian revolution and keep Ethiopia as an object of plunder and control by the world system of imperialism. In our opinion, this is a good example refuting the opportunist theses of those who have capitulated to one superpower on the plea of allegedly fighting the other superpower, but who are really fighting the revolution. The Statement by ESUNA restricts itself to criticizing the Soviet revisionists. But, in our opinion, the statement's description of Soviet meddling and refutation of the Soviet revisionist theses provide good material to illustrate the utterly reactionary nature of the social-

chauvinist and revisionist theories that are creating disunity in the U.S. Marxist-Leninist movement.

There are those revisionist yellow journalists who claim that although the Soviet Union may have bad intentions, nevertheless it is much weaker than U.S. imperialism and thus out of selfish reasons it will aid the liberation movements. On this plea, they prettify Soviet aggression and subversion and seek to impose revisionist sabotage on the people's movements. The situation in Ethiopia refutes this fallacy. The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party is valiantly fighting the U.S. imperialist-dominated Ethiopian regime. The Soviet social-imperialists did not, however, back the EPRP in order to weaken the U.S. imperialists. On the contrary, they seek influence among the reactionary classes in Ethiopia, among the classes which are the local base of imperialist domination, and help these classes attempt to suppress the Ethiopian revolution and the Eritrean national liberation struggle. The Soviet socialimperialists seek influence on the basis of being better able to suppress the revolution than the U.S. imperialists, thus showing once again that Soviet social-imperialism is an aggressive superpower.

There are also those U.S. great-power social-chauvinists who deny the existence of the U.S. neo-colonial empire, prettify the U.S. imperialist puppets around the world, take refuge under the U.S. nuclear umbrella and oppose revolution. Exposure of the Soviet revisionist theses distorting the class character of the Ethiopian regime and of the revisionist "road of non-capitalist development" also strikes straight at the heart of U.S. social-chauvinism and of its denial of the existence of U.S. neo-colonies. Both Soviet revisionism and U.S. social-chauvinism prettify the same fascist Mengistu and paint imperialist lackeys as "anti-imperialist fighters". Both theories negate the road of the

new-democratic revolution. Both hold that the way out for the neo-colonies is to develop the productive forces by a series of reforms within the old neo-colonial system. Of course, U.S. social-chauvinism is adapted to serving U.S. imperialist interests, while the road of "non-capitalist development" is advocated by the New Tsars, but their theoretical and ideological basis is similar. This is no accident, as revisionism is the main danger in the international communist movement. This exposes U.S. social-chauvinism as revisionist and opportunist and totally opposed to Marxism-Leninism.

We hold that everyone should pay attention to the developments in Ethiopia. We are convinced that by committing aggression in Ethiopia, the Soviet social-imperialists are only putting a noose around their neck, and the revolutionary masses led by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party will give them the same beating that they are administering to the U.S. imperialists.

### **EDITORIAL NOTE**

This material exposing Soviet revisionist intrigues and subterfuges against the Ethiopian revolution was prepared in the first half of January. Between then and now, several important events have taken place in rapid succession, all confirming the fact that a' radical realignment of forces is in progress in and around Ethiopia.

The bloody dog-fight which took place on February 3 and which resulted in the victory of the Mengistu Haile Mariam-Haile Fida faction, the visit of Fidel Castro to Addis Ababa to confer with the victorious faction of the Derg, the arrival of 200 Cuban mercenaries to prop up the shaky rule of the military regime, the decision of the Soviet Union to supply the military Junta with 100 to 200 million dollars worth of

military hardware, the intense Soviet-Cuban diplomatic activities to reconcile the border disputes between Somalia and Ethiopia and their clashing interests over the future of the Territory of the Afars and Issas (Djibouti), prove that the Soviet Union is engaged in an all out effort to convert Ethiopia into its neo-colonial stronghold at the expense of its rivals--the U.S. imperialists.

Meanwhile, the increased support of the U.S. imperialists and reactionary Arab states to counter-revolutionary Eritrean groups (like the Sabbe faction (1) and to the so-called Ethiopian Democratic Union, coupled with the intensified military activities of these right-wing forces in northwestern Ethiopia show that the U.S. imperialists are desperately attempting to maintain their neo-colonial control of the country by using reactionary warlords, and separatists as their pawns.

Though contending for power among themselves, the various cliques of reactionaries inside Ethiopia and their imperialist backers have all stepped up their attacks against the people's democratic revolution which is led by the Marxist-Leninist E.P.R.P. The unprecedented Fascist terror unleashed by the victorious factions of the Derg against the E.P.R.P. under various watch words ("house-to-house search", "search and destroy operations", "renunciation campaigns", etc.) have resulted in the death of between 2,000 and 4,000 Communist and non-Communist revolutionaries in the past two months alone.

In view of this, the Editorial Board of E.S.U.N.A. pays tribute to all fallen martyrs and vows to continue its relentless struggle to expose the Soviet revisionists, U.S. imperialists and all criminal accomplices of the bloodthirsty regime. The people's democratic revolution in Ethiopia is bound to win. Imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries are bound to be defeated.

### INTRODUCTION

Many months have passed since Soviet propaganda organs unleashed a barrage of vicious slander and misinformation directed against the Marxist-Leninist Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Party. Throughout this period, all major organs of the Soviet press and media such as <u>Pravda</u>, <u>New Times</u>, Radio Moscow and <u>Tass</u>have issued one statement after another which slander the E.P.R.P. on the basis of completely groundless and outrageous charges.

The campaign of vilification which the Soviet press and media have been engaged in for a long time reached a high tide last September, which was precisely the period in which the Fascist clique of army officers headed by Mengistu unleashed a most unprecedented white terror and committed most outrageous crimes in a desperate attempt to "wipe out" the E.P.R.P.

Since then, the Soviet press has sunk so low as to give publicity to and echo many of the preposterous charges which are being hurled on the E.P.R.P. by. the desperate clique of Fascist officers and the Haile Fida clique. These include such outrageous and slanderous charges as "E.P.R.P. is a C.I.A. tool"(!!), "E.P.R.P. has carried out price hiking"(!!). In sum, short of accusing the E.P.R.P. of "controlling the rain in order to subvert the revolution" (!!)-as the Junta did--the Soviet press has echoed almost all the brazen lies which the shaky regime fabricated in its vain attempt to damage the prestige of the E.P.R.P.

Apart from slandering the E.P.R.P. on the basis of absurd and trumped up charges, the Soviet press and media have issued one statement after another which shamelessly laud the blood-thirsty Junta by putting forth such notorious propositions as the "Junta has adopted a socialist orientation", "the Junta is leading the Ethiopian revolution, etc...."

In addition, the Soviet press and media have trumpeted all sorts of sinister views and analysis clearly intended to whitewash the monstrous crimes of the Junta, turn facts upside down, mix up the class lineup in Ethiopia and spread ideological confusion.

In our opinion, the all-out campaign being carried out by the Soviet press to laud the Junta to the skies and madly oppose the E P.R. P. is not something accidental but is a reflection of the growing counterrevolutionary collusion between the Soviet Union and the Ethiopian Military Junta.

The growing counter-revolutionary collaboration between the U.S.S.R. and the military Junta is taking place against the background of an excellent revolutionary situation in Ethiopia.

In Ethiopia, we witness the uninterrupted growth of the revolutionary struggle of the broad masses and the sharpening of all social antagonisms. The intensification of the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Party's armed struggle in the rural areas against the organs of rule of the military regime, the emergence of armed self-defense squads in urban areas to mount attacks against enemies of the people, the tremendous growth of E.P.R.P.'s influence on the masses of workers, revolutionary intellectuals, oppressed soldiers, etc., show that the people's democratic revolution is gaining strength and momentum despite the feverish efforts of imperialists, revisionists and local reactionaries to turn back the wheel of history.

The growing counter-revolutionary collaboration between the U.S.S.R. and the military Junta, which is taking place against the background of excellent revolutionary situation in Ethiopia, has led to a steady deterioration of relationships between the U.S. imperialists and the Junta. The military Junta is still connected to U.S. imperialism politically, militarily and financially. But, if present trends continue, it will be only a matter of time before the U.S.S.R. squeezes out the U.S. imperialists as the chief prop of the military regime.

In the face of their diminishing influence over the military Junta, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys (such as Saudi Arabia and Sudan) have stepped up their support to and collusion with diehard warlords and aristocrats grouped around the arch-reactionary organization called the Ethiopian Democratic Union and counter-revolutionary groups in Eritrea (witness Osman Sahle Sabbe's recent appeal for military "aid" from the U.S. imperialists). With the increased backing of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, the E.D.U. is now waging powerful armed struggles in several provinces and has fielded 0,000 troops in the province of Begemdir alone.

This show's that the contradiction among the different cliques of reactionaries in Ethiopia is growing.

In light of all the above, it is clear that the intensive campaign being conducted by the Soviet press and media to eulogize the military regime and slander the revolutionary opposition is not something accidental, but is part and parcel of the overall Soviet strategy to contend for spheres of influence, drive a wedge into Ethiopia and squeeze out the U.S. imperialists. To accomplish this same objective, the Soviet revisionists are using other methods including military pressure (through Somalia), giving economic "aid",

sending group after group of "experts", and offering military "assistance".

Naturally, the Soviet press and media have done and are doing everything they can to cover up the hegemonic and counter-revolutionary schemes of the Soviet Union in Ethiopia. In fact, the Soviet press has continuously bragged that its views and analysis are based on "Marxism-Leninism", that the Soviet Union is a "natural ally" of the Ethiopian revolution, that the Soviet Union is "anti-imperialist", ad nauseum.

But, in our opinion, all this bragging is a hoax designed to deceive people and to lull the vigilance of our freedom loving people.

Far from supporting the revolutionary struggle of the Ethiopian people, the Soviet Union has rendered all-out support to the most criminal acts committed by the Junta to liquidate Communist and non-Communist revolutionaries. To see to what depth the Soviet revisionists have degenerated, suffice it to note the following incident.

When the military Junta announced in September that it had executed 23 members of the E.P.R.P. and when it simultaneously unleashed a barbarous and large-scale white terror which resulted in the massacre of hundreds of revolutionaries and the inhuman torture and imprisonment of thousands more, all democratic and anti-imperialist forces in the world were filled with grief, sorrow and indignation. However, Radio Moscow and other organs of the Soviet press shamelessly hailed the Junta's execution of "23 anarchists (sic) found guilty of political assassination, economic sabotage, and subversive actions against the Ethiopian revolution."(!!)

This incident proves that the Soviet revisionists harbor a mortal dread and hatred for the revolutionary struggle of the Ethiopian people. It also proves that far from being a natural ally of the Ethiopian revolution, the Soviet revisionists are, in reality, a rank bunch of shameless traitors and renegades who do not support the Ethiopian revolution, who do not approve of it and who are against it.

Similarly, the repeated bragging by the Soviet press that its views and analysis on Ethiopia are based on "Marxism-Leninism" is an out-and-out hoax.

The views advanced by the Soviet press that Ethiopian military regime is "a national democratic regime of the radical petty-bourgeoisie", that "it is marching along the non-capitalist path to socialism", ad nauseum, have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. In fact, as we will show later, such views fully expose the anti-socialist, counter-revolutionary and revisionist stands of the Soviet press.

Here, we must state in all seriousness that with the dark clouds of Soviet revisionism hanging over Ethiopia, our revolutionary and anti-imperialist student movement is faced with new and urgent tasks. We feel very strongly that in the Ethiopian Student Movement today, one's attitude towards Soviet revisionism is not a minor question that concerns not just the future but the immediate direction and orientation of the Ethiopian revolution. It is a question that concerns not just one or two details but all major questions of the Ethiopian revolution.

It is a question of whether to distinguish real friends from real enemies or be incapable of doing so. It is a question of whether the anti-imperialist struggle of the Ethiopian people will be carried through to the end or be discontinued half-way.

It is a question of whether to uphold the New Democratic Road or to uphold the so-called Non-capitalist Road; whether to uphold the leading role of the proletariat (and its Communist Party) or to uphold the leading role of the "radical petty-bourgeois state power", whether to uphold the road of people's revolutionary struggle or to uphold the road of bourgeois reformism, whether to uphold the road of violent revolution or to uphold the road of "peaceful transition", and whether to uphold class struggle or whether to uphold class collaboration. In the final analysis, it is a question of whether to adhere to Marxism-Leninism or to wallow in the mire of modern revisionism.

For this reason, we strongly believe that all Ethiopian revolutionaries must urgently carry out the task of concentrated exposure and repudiation of Soviet revisionism.

For our part, we have issued this brief statement for the purpose of laying out some preliminary ground work for this most urgent task, which in the future must be carried out in an all-round, deep-going and sustained way.

In this statement, we will not offer "rebuttals" to the totally absurd and defamatory allegations hurled by the Soviet press on the Marxist-Leninist E.P.R.P. The said allegations are so preposterous that they only serve to reveal the vileness and effrontery of their fabricators. Therefore, they are not worth refuting.

Furthermore, in this short statement, we do not propose to refute all the distorted facts and counterrevolutionary views trumpeted by the Soviet press. Here, we shall only provide a number of examples of how the Soviet press turns facts upside down and then expose the anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary nature of their views on several key questions of the Ethiopian revolution; namely, the question of the class character of the state power in present-day Ethiopia, the question of nationalization of industry and the question of the road to socialism in Ethiopia.

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# HOW THE SOVIET PRESS DISTORTS ETHIOPIAN REALITY

In order to step up their flirtation with the Fascist clique of army officers running the Ethiopian state, the Soviet revisionists have used and are using their press, radios and journals as a weapon of political cajolery. In line with this sinister aim, the Soviet press and media have turned facts upside down, confounded truth and falsehood and reversed right and wrong, thereby, distorting the objective reality in Ethiopia.

Below we will provide some glimpses of how the Soviet press distorts the February Upsurge and also the situation in present-day Ethiopia.

Soviet accounts and analysis of the February Upsurge in Ethiopia are filled with all sorts of distortions and omissions clearly designed to glorify and eulogize the "revolutionary" and "vanguard" role of the military Derg and downplay and denigrate the role of the people.

The military coordinating committee is portrayed as the initiator, organizer and leader of the people's revolutionary upsurge which toppled successive "new cabinets" and finally led to the dethronement of Haile Selassie. The mammoth mass uprisings in both cities and rural areas which united all oppressed classes and sectors into an

invincible revolutionary avalanche are either ignored altogether or presented as having had a mere supportive role to the army rebellion.

To have a good idea of how the Soviet press tampers with the history of the glorious February Upsurge, suffice it to note the following example.

It is common knowledge that before it finally usurped state power, the military coordinating committee harbored all sorts of illusions about tyrant Haile Selassie. In fact, for many months, it attempted to make one dirty deal after another with that despicable tyrant with the purpose of strangling the people's revolutionary struggle at an early stage.

Only under the pressure of the unyielding revolutionary struggle of the people did the military committee finally make its move. However, Soviet journals, in complete disregard of the facts, claim that the Derg's equivocations, waverings and double-dealings were all tactical moves dictated by the lack of consciousness of the masses. (!!)

Concerning this, Boris Pilyatskin, in a <u>New Times</u> article said:

"At the first stage, the leaders of the revolution (i.e. the military committee) thought it precedent not to remove the Emperor and demanded only a reform of the monarchy and the ousting of the most compromised officials. It was a tactical move dictated by the fact that for decades official propaganda had been building up in the Emperor's image until millions of illiterate people came to regard him as a demigod, infallible and unassailable."

What shamelessness!

Needless to say, this account of the February Upsurge is a gratuitous slander against the oppressed masses, who alone waged a bitter and uncompromising struggle against the monarchy, despite the ferocious repression to which they were subjected by the military committee which not only wanted "to give time" to each so-called "new cabinet" but also wanted to sabotage the people's revolutionary upsurge by a compromise with the monarchy.

Let us compare Pilyatskin's views with the following candid confession of one of the members of the military council which appeared on a <u>Stern</u> magazine interview. <u>Stern</u>: Why did you let Haile Selassie, even when under the control of the military, play so long, at least formally, the role of head of state?

Council Member: Listen, we had offered the Emperor, to place himself at the head of our movement -- he refused. We reminded him of the Shah of Persia, who made a revolution from above, as his throne and land were endangered by a revolution from below -- the old man didn't listen to reason.

This candid confession of a council member thoroughly exposes the out-and-out fraud which is peddled by Pilyatskin and his likes. It shows clearly that it was the military committee and not the oppressed masses who considered that man-eating tyrant as a "demigod", "infallible" and "unassailable".

It also shows clearly that the committee's protracted waverings and equivocations on the question of the monarchy were not tactical measures made to advance the revolution, but counter-revolutionary tactics clearly intended to sabotage the people's revolutionary upsurge by winning minor concessions from "above".

These are the facts.

Therefore, when Soviet journalists so brazenly attempt to turn facts upside down, they only expose themselves as counter-revolutionary collaborators with the fascist military dictatorial regime in Ethiopia and an enemy of the masses.

In respect to the more than two year period of the Junta's rule, the Soviet press has trumpeted and continues to trumpet even more distorted and fallacious statements.

Here is a brief summary of the overall picture presented by Soviet newspapers and journals about Ethiopia under the military rule. (Source: Soviet <u>New Times</u> magazine)

- 1. "The military government is leading the Ethiopian revolution along the non-capitalist path to socialism."
- 2. "The programme drawn up by the provisional Military Administrative Council sets the task of uniting all the progressive forces for the building of a society in which there will be no exploitation of man by man."
- 3. "The Derg's main document, the Programme to the National Democratic Revolution...specifies the immediate tasks, placing political education of the masses and achievement of a greater measure of their organization among the priorities."
- 4. "The military government... launched an all-out offensive against... the domination of the economy by private capital. At the beginning of 1975 banks and insurance companies were nationalized and hundreds of leading firms placed under the people's control."
- 5. "In March, 1975, the military Junta made "the long awaited land reform proclamation" which "gave land to the

illiterate and ignorant peasants", "who are not aware of their class interests".

- 6. "The Ethiopian government devotes much attention to the satisfaction of the people's vital needs. For the first time in the history of that country, a law has been passed guaranteeing the right to work and limiting the working day to eight hours."
- 7. As a result of the above measures "Socialist Ethiopia is casting off the burden of her feudal past, poverty and backwardness and is ever more confidently catching up with the times."
- 8. "The Council and the Provisional Military Government are looking for ways of peacefully settling one of the most acute problems, that of Eritrea. The Ethiopian leaders are seeking to get the people of Eritrea to take part in progressive transformations."
- 9. "As has to be expected, the efforts of the revolutionary government have met with bitter resistance from the reactionaries who are directed by the so- called Ethiopian Democratic Union, established in London by feudals and other followers of the overthrown monarchy who had fled the country."
- 10. Another relentless foe of the military regime "which seeks to frustrate socio-economic is the E.P.R.P. which "despite the superficial appeal of its high-flown slogans, intended chiefly for the gullible...in fact, speaks for the former ruling classes." (!!)
- 11. "The policy of the Provisional Military Administrative Council enjoys broad popular support... Impressive demonstrations of workers and peasants in support of the

government... were held recently in the capital and other parts of the country."

This, in brief, is how Soviet renegades portrayed the reality in Ethiopia in consecutive issues of their <u>New Times</u> magazine.

Ignoring altogether <u>New Times'</u> absolutely absurd slander against the E.P.R.P. and postponing for later examination of its views on land reform, state ownership of industry, and the non-capitalist road, we select just four main fallacies for refutation and exposure below.

First, as could be seen from the above, Soviet renegades have the audacity to claim that the military Junta is "leading the national democratic revolution", and that it places high "priority" on the "political education" and "organization" of the masses.

Needless to say, there is nothing further from the truth.

Far from leading the Ethiopian revolution, the demagogic and dictatorial Junta has done and is doing its utmost to sabotage and strangle at birth the New Democratic Revolution which the masses of workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, etc., are waging under the leadership of the working class (and its Communist Party).

Far from placing "priority to the political education" of the masses, the demagogic Junta, with the help of the traitorous and nefarious Haile Fida clique, has and is striving to disarm the working class and sow ideological and political confusion in the ranks of the people. The regime has also done everything in its power to restrain the revolutionary impetus and paralyze the combative spirit of every oppressed group, class and strata. Finally, far from placing "priority" on the "organization of the masses", the fascist Junta has done everything possible to convert every mass organization into a servile and obedient tool of the bourgeois state power, and failing in this it has dissolved virtually all revolutionary organizations of the masses (workers, teachers, students, women, etc...). Hand in hand with all the above, the regime has carried out savage persecution of Communist and non-Communist revolutionaries in a vain attempt to deprive the masses of revolutionary leadership.

All these are indisputable facts known to the world at large.

We would like to ask those who are bent on denying hard facts: Unless it is your intention to confuse people, how can you claim that the Junta is "leading the revolution", "organizing the people", "politicizing the people", etc...?

Second, Soviet journals also claim that the Junta has issued a "progressive labor legislation" which, among other things, "guarantees everyone the right to work", "improves the well-being of the workers" and "gives them freedom".

This is sheer nonsense.

The legislation being referred to is the labor law issued by the Junta in December, 1975.

First of all, the claim that this law "guarantees the right of everyone to work" is an outright fallacy. This fantastic claim is contradicted by facts and also by elementary Marxist theory which states that the bourgeoisie has neither the interest nor the ability to wipe out unemployment.

Secondly, the law which <u>New Times</u> magazine calls "progressive" is, in reality, a law which has been vigorously

and unequivocally opposed by the heroic working class right from the outset. Defying arrest, torture and mass shootings, workers in both urban and rural areas have staged repeated strikes, factory occupations and demonstrations in opposition to this law which they have dubbed the "law which legalizes our slavery".

The workers have vigorously opposed and continue to oppose this law because, among other things, 1) it deprives them of the right to strike, 2) it legalizes the dissolution of the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions, 3) it denies the workers the right to freely form their own labor unions and 4), it does not meet their minimum demands on wages, social security, etc....

Again, these are indisputable facts.

We would like to ask those who are bent on denying facts: Unless you are speaking from the class angle of the imperialists and local bourgeoisie who are sucking the blood of the Ethiopian working class, how can you call the December law "progressive"?

Third, the Soviet journal, <u>New Times</u> also tells us that the military Junta is looking for ways of peacefully settling" the Eritrean problem.

Here again, the facts are just the opposite.

If pouring reinforcements into Eritrea and escalating the war is a peaceful solution, if strangling Eritrean youth with piano wire in the streets of Asmara is a peaceful solution, if napalming populated villages by saturation air strikes is a peaceful solution, if deliberately poisoning water wells and destroying farmlands is a peaceful solution, if imposing a food blockade on famine-stricken Eritrean regions is a peaceful solution, if coercing tens of thousands of "peasant"

volunteers" to march into Eritrea and if strangling Eritrean youth with piano wire in the streets of Asmara is a peaceful solution, if napalming populated villages by saturation air strikes is a peaceful solution, if deliberately poisoning water wells and destroying farmlands is a peaceful solution, if imposing a food blockade on famine-stricken Eritrean regions is a peaceful solution, if coercing tens of thousands of "peasant volunteers" to march into Eritrea and commit genocide is a peaceful solution, then we would like to ask New Times editors: What in your opinion constitutes a military solution?

Fourth, Soviet journals also claim that the Junta's terroristic rule "enjoys broad popular support" and that "impressive demonstrations of workers and peasants" are held in Addis Ababa and other cities "in support of the government".

This is another preposterous lie.

As is known to the world at large, the barbarian and antipeople Junta has not yet succeeded to establish a stable social base despite its terrorism, demagogy and reformism.

The dictatorial rule of the Junta is opposed by the broad masses of workers, revolutionary intellectuals, peasants, women, soldiers, etc.... Through endless strikes, demonstrations, rallies, uprisings and fierce armed struggle, the masses have shown and continue to show their opposition to the regime.

The so-called "impressive" pro-Junta demonstration which Soviet journals have referred to are actually ones staged by the Junta. The participants of such "impressive" demonstrations and "spontaneous" rallies are none other than people who have been forced through the bureaucracy, the "political office" neighborhood associations and spies,

to come out and demonstrate. The rest are plainclothesmen, units of the Nebelbal (flame) brigade, socialfascists, freaks, rightists, hired hooligans and other scum.

Again, these are indisputable facts.

In conclusion, we would like to reiterate the point that these are not the only facts about Ethiopia which the Soviet press has attempted to distort. In fact, whether speaking about the Zemetcha campaign, or the peasant militia or whatever question, Soviet newspapers, periodicals and radio stations have always confounded truth and falsehood. Some Soviet journals have even gone so far as peddling with the rotten ideas of the landlord class (such as the Queen of Sheba legend) and passed it as "Ethiopian history".

This prompts the question: Why are Soviet journals and the media distorting the objective reality in Ethiopia in such a big way?

Is it, perhaps, because they lack information?

No. We don't think so.

To think that the Soviet press and media are distorting the Ethiopian reality because they lack information is tantamount to spreading a supra-class view of the press and journalism. Marxism teaches that journalism has a class character and partisanship, and supra-class "objective reporting" and "objective analysis" does not exist.

This means that the political tendency of a given system of press and journalism, in the last analysis, represents either the views of the proletariat or those of the bourgeoisie; it propagates either Marxism-Leninism or bourgeois, revisionist ideas, it reflects the demands and

serves the interests of either the overwhelming majority of working people or that of the few exploiters.

In examining the ulterior motives of the Soviet press and media, if one firmly keeps these principles in mind, there can be no confusion as to whom they serve.

## CLASS CHARACTER OF THE STATE POWER IN PRESENT-DAY ETHIOPIA

The Soviet revisionists distort and adulterate fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, first of all, on the question of the class character of the state-power in present-day Ethiopia.

Soviet revisionists claim that the coming to power of the Ethiopian military Junta represented the "coming to power of the radical petty-bourgeoisie". They say that the present Ethiopian state (just like Burma, Egypt and other states allegedly following the "noncapitalist road") is a "national democratic state of the radical petty-bourgeoisie". They also say that the class character of the state in such countries is "classified as a revolutionary dictatorship of the progressive middle strata". (V. Solodov-Nikou, Noncapitalist Development)

The renegade and arch-traitorous Haile Fida clique who have turned themselves into informers, executioners and hatchetmen of the military Junta, echo precisely this same fallacy when they say the class character of the military regime is petty-bourgeoisie".

According to the above-mentioned theory, since statepower has now passed into the hands of the radical pettybourgeoisie, the Ethiopian state is no longer the instrument of imperialism and the domestic reactionary classes for oppressing the overwhelming majority of working people, but has become an instrument "leading the revolution" or has developed "two aspects", etc...

A natural complement of this is that the armed forces of the Ethiopian state are no longer the instruments of imperialism and the domestic reactionaries for repressing the people. In fact, according to Yesefew Hizb Dimtz, "The Army as a whole is now on the side of the people".

From this it is crystal clear that the "theory" of "petty-bourgeois state power" is not something new but is simply a refurbished version of the stock arguments and "theory" of the old-line revisionists like Bernstein and Kautsky who saw the bourgeois state as an organ of class reconciliation and who, therefore, repudiated the Marxist principles of class struggle, repudiated the Marxist principles of class struggle, violent revolution and the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Clearly in attempting to refurbish these bankrupt theories in the form of "petty-bourgeois state-power", the Soviet revisionists and their local running dogs are -- like their predecessors -- repudiating the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the state which among other things says that:

"the state is an organ of the rule of a definite class which cannot be reconciled with its antipode", that "the forms of bourgeois state are extremely varied, but their essence is the same; all these states, whatever their forms, in the last analysis are inevitably the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie". (Lenin: The State and Revolution)

Evidently, the Soviet revisionists and their likes feel that these basic Marxist teachings are outmoded and need to be discarded. But whatever cunning argument they may contrive, the reason why revisionists of all stripes trumpet this out-and-out fallacy is not hard to seek. The Soviet revisionists use this fallacy, among other things, to justify their counter-revolutionary collaboration with regimes such as the one in Ethiopia who are savagely suppressing the people's revolutionary struggle under the demagogic signboard of "socialism".

The renegade and arch-traitorous Haile Fida clique, on their part, use this "theory" to justify their complete renunciation of revolution and class struggle, and their open desertion to the camp of bourgeois counter-revolution as its servants, and their complete betrayal and sellout of our people and country. But is the "theory of petty-bourgeois state-power" something that can be defined from the angle of Marxism-Leninism?

No. It is not.

The theory of "petty-bourgeois state-power" has been refuted long ago by Ethiopian revolutionaries. Therefore, for our purposes, suffice it to note the following points. Lenin said:

"the petty bourgeoisie do not wish and cannot take power alone and independently, as has been proved by experience of all revolutions, and as is proved by economics, which explains that in a capitalist country it is possible to stand for capital and it is possible to stand for labor, but it is impossible to stand for long, in between". (Lenin: <u>Collected Works</u>, Vol. 26, p. 125)

Here, Lenin shows in a clear-cut manner that a pettybourgeois state-power (which is independent of both the big bourgeoisie and the working masses) cannot exist.

Upholding this Leninist theory and developing it further, Chairman Mao Tsetung brilliantly expounded the view that in neo-colonial countries too, the intermediate class is objectively incapable of holding real state power alone or independently.

In this respect, Chairman Mao said: "its aim (that of the intermediate class) of establishing a state under its own rule is impossible". (Mao Tsetung: <u>Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society</u>)

This Marxist-Leninist principle is universally applicable and, of course, applicable to Ethiopia, too.

In the case of Ethiopia, no one denies that the class origin of many members of the military Junta is petty-bourgeois.

However, only diehard revisionists can conclude from this that the class character of the present state-power is petty-bourgeois. The fact of the matter is the military officers in power have long ago ceased to be part of the intermediate strata. By virtue of their new position in the state, they have become an integral part of the domestic bourgeoisie.

One last point. It is true that under the relentless pressure of the people's revolutionary struggle, the military Junta was forced to take several measures which deprived the monarchy, the royal family and the aristocracy of their former economic and political power.

But even this does not mean that a fundamental change in the class character of the state power has taken place. This is because the Junta still uses the old state machinery to oppress the masses; and also because bureaucrat-capitalists, comprador-capitalists (and even certain representatives of the landlord classes) still hold key positions in the various sectors of the state, including the Army.

Therefore, contrary to the sermons of the Soviet revisionists and the local renegades, the present state power in Ethiopia is not the state-power of the petty-bourgeoisie, but is still the state-power of the bureaucrat-capitalists, the comprador-capitalists and the imperialists. Similarly, the armed forces of the Ethiopian states are not forces "on the side of the people" or "forces leading the revolution" but are still instruments of violence of the imperialists and the domestic reactionaries for repressing the masses of workers and peasants.

Therefore, Lenin's dictum that

"the liberation of the oppressed classes is impossible not only without a violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the apparatus of state which was created by the ruling classes"

is still applicable to the Ethiopian revolution.

### Note

1) The U.S. imperialists have been promoting the Osman Sabbe faction, a faction with no base whatsoever inside Eritrea, as a "third force". This clique is denounced in a pamphlet issued by the Eritreans for Liberation in North America entitled "Reactionary Clique Forced Out of E.P.L.F.!" --Note by The Workers' Advocate