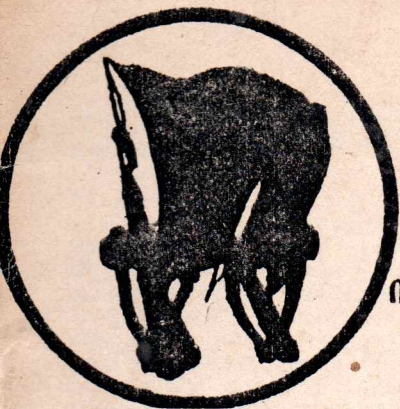




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REVOLUTION &
COUNTER
REVOLUTION



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REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN ETHIOPIA:
WHO IS ADVANCING AND WHO IS COUNTERACTING THE ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTION?

"A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another". "...for a revolution to take place, it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the class-conscious, thinking, and politically active workers) should fully realise that revolution is necessary, and that they should be prepared to die for it; second, that the ruling classes should be going through a governmental crisis, which draws even the most backward masses into politics (symptomatic of any genuine revolution is a rapid, tenfold and even hundredfold increase in the size of the working and oppressed masses-hitherto apathetic-who are capable of waging the political struggle), weakens the government, and makes it possible for the revolutionaries to rapidly overthrow it." (Lenin, "Left-wing" communism, an infantile disorder page 68) In its development a revolution uninterrupted brings about a sharp class polarization. It brings about a continuous class shift - correlation of forces continuously change. Old class alliances and class groupings rupture and new alliances and groupings form. The whole process goes on until the completion of the revolution. This is the law of revolution affirmed both scientifically and historically.

The unprecedented February 1974 revolutionary mass movement - in which the broad masses of Ethiopia raised their hands at one and the same time all over the country in resistance to the age-old exploitation and oppression of feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism - erupted because the contradiction between the developing productive forces and the archaic production relations became acute. The oppression and exploitation of the broad masses by feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism were so intensified and perpetuated that the masses were no longer able to bear their suffering. Nor was the outdated feudal-bourgeois regime of Haile Selassie able to rule the masses in the old way.

Since the burst of the Ethiopian revolution in February 1974, the Ethiopian masses have unrelaxingly continued their struggle and have made many revolutionary achievements. In its fast and continuous development, the Ethiopian revolution has also brought about a fast and continuous class shift - a change in the correlation of forces.

However, the world knows very little about the Ethiopian revolution and whatever knowledge it has is often inaccurate. It is a distorted or a fabricated story deliberately pursued and sowed by imperialist mass-media as well as Ethiopian reactionaries who are working to poison world opinion and thereby isolate the Ethiopian revolution.

We believe that in the age of imperialism and hegemony, no country can carry out a successful revolution nor consolidate its victory without broad international solidarity and support. We believe, moreover, that broad international solidarity and support is possible only when there is sufficient and correct international knowledge about the struggles concerned.

In their progress towards building a new society free from oppression and exploitation, the Ethiopian masses are faced with strong internal and external reactions. To sweep away these reactions the Ethiopian

masses very badly need international solidarity, the support of all progressive and oppressed forces of the world. But this requires that such forces have sufficient and correct knowledge about the Ethiopian revolution. Our article, which aims to reflect the true picture of the Ethiopian revolution will hopefully have some contribution to this.

Now to reflect the true aspect of the Ethiopian revolution and fight back all the deliberate misinterpretations, distortions and misinformation made by reactionaries, we shall begin with a brief discussion of its characteristics, class basis of tactics, strategy, tasks, achievements and weaknesses. Then we shall proceed to our main issue of revolution and counter-revolution in Ethiopia, and analysis of the forces of revolution and reaction.

CHARACTERISTICS, TACTICS, STRATEGY AND TASKS OF THE ETHIOPIA REVOLUTION:

Just as the current principal contradiction in Ethiopia is between the broad masses on the one hand and feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism on the other, the Ethiopian revolution at this stage can be only a national democratic revolution, an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution of the broad masses led by the proletariat. Thus, it is not, nor can it be, a socialist revolution, though it is a revolution through which Ethiopia advances to socialism.

The motive forces of the Ethiopian national democratic revolution are the proletariat, the peasantry, the left-wing petty-bourgeoisie, and to a certain extent, the national bourgeoisie. In order for these forces to successfully carry-out the democratic revolution together, certain basic prerequisites must be fulfilled. These prerequisites are organizational, ideological and military preparations.

Organizational preparation: 1) The working class party, without whose leadership no real revolution, even the democratic one, can be possible, must be established. The peasantry, which is the main force of the revolution, and all other oppressed classes and groups of people must be organized; 2) a worker - peasant alliance must be established; 3) A united front of all anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and anti-bureaucratic forces, whose basis is the worker-peasant alliance and whose leadership rests on the proletariat and its party, must be formed.

Ideological preparation: "Without a revolutionary theory, there cannot be a revolutionary movement". This requires that a revolutionary theory seizes the masses, that scientific socialism is fused with the working class movement, which in turn requires that revolutionaries go among the masses as educators, propagandists and agitators.

Military preparation: "Without a people's militia the people have nothing". Organized and awakened, the Ethiopian masses must wage a class war against their enemies. But their enemies are militarily and financially far better off. Therefore, in order to win the class war and therewith wipe out their enemies, the Ethiopian people must be armed, must establish a revolutionary people's militia.

Organization, consciousness and people's militia are as necessary to a revolution as food, clothing and shelter are to a human being. Without these revolutionary conditions being fulfilled, no decisive people's revolution, including the Ethiopian revolution, is possible.

The political task of the Ethiopian democratic revolution is to annihilate the system of feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic-capitalism, and in its stead, to establish a people's democratic republic, a dictatorship of the united front of the proletariat, peasantry, left-wing petty-bourgeoisie, and other oppressed classes and groups of people under the leadership of the proletariat and its party.

The economic goal of the Ethiopian democratic revolution is to liberate the country's productive forces from the fetters of feudalism and imperialism. To this end, under the slogan of "land to the tiller", land will be redistributed to the peasants. Big industrial establishments, banks, insurance companies and other financial establishments will be nationalized. Private ownership will, however, be allowed under state regulation as long as it does not dominate the lives of the masses. At the same time a consistent attempt will be made to lay the ground for a socialist economy.

Culturally the aim of the Ethiopian democratic revolution is to abolish the most backward feudal culture and the most decadent imperialist culture that prevail today. Just as the politics and economy will be anti-feudalist and anti-imperialist, the Ethiopian people's culture will also be an anti-feudal and an anti-imperialist culture. The motto will be to develop the culture and cultural activities of the broad masses.

Now that we have briefly outlined the characteristics, tactics, strategy and task of the Ethiopian revolution, we shall next give a short account of the achievements it has made since February 1974 and the weaknesses it is suffering. We believe that an analysis of this type will make it easier for the reader to get a comprehensive understanding of the Ethiopian revolution - the advance it has made and has yet to make on the road of the national democratic revolution.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTION:

Following the February 1974 revolutionary mass upsurge, the Ethiopian masses have attained numerous anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and anti-bureaucratic victories. But because of its weaknesses, the revolution has not yet been able to destroy feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism once and for all. What are the achievements and what are the weaknesses? We answer as follows:

Haile Selassie, the notorious tyrant, the prominent lackey of American imperialism and Israeli zionism has been deposed. With him the crown, the symbol of the Ethiopian people's exploitation, oppression, poverty, ignorance and backwardness has been done away with. Top feudal figures and military men have been executed. Rural and urban lands have been nationalized as a result of which the sale and purchase of land is impossible. Following the agrarian reform the vast number of landless peasant population (70% of the 90% of the Ethiopian population who derived their living from agriculture), out of whom about 65% farmed on a plot of size 2-3 hectares and who paid about 50-75% of the produce to the land lords acquired land reaching 10 hectares, whose produce would be enjoyed by the direct producers themselves. A development programme as a result of which about 60,000 students, teachers and intellectuals have been able to integrate with the rural and urban masses has been declared. This has, among other things, speeded up the implementation of the land reform and the organization of the peasantry and the urban oppressed masses. Banks, insurance companies, industrial establishments, whose ownership belonged mainly to foreign imperialists and the

feudo-bourgeois class, have been nationalized. Following this, the ruthless repatriation of capital out of the country has been, to certain extent minimized. A new legal tender, which has broken the financial power of the former landlords and bureaucratic capitalists, has been issued. Most important of all, a national democratic revolution programme has been issued. In this programme it has been unequivocally envisaged that the three main enemies of the revolution are feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism, while the friends of the revolution are the proletariat, peasantry and the left-wing petty-bourgeoisie. It has also been made clear that the task of the revolution is to wipe out feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism through armed struggle and to establish a people's democratic republic under the leadership of the proletariat and its party. In this programme the right of nationalities to self-determination, though limited to regional autonomy, has been recognized; following this, a 9-point policy to solve the Eritrean problem peacefully and democratically has been issued. The Eritrean masses have responded positively to the peace policy and many are returning from the fronts and from exile.

In respect to organizing, arousing and arming the masses too, tremendous progress has been made, though much remains to be done in all these fields. Let us consider each one separately and discuss what is being done, what is not being done and what should be done in each field.

Organization: As a result of the student-mass integration which was possible due to the campaign programme, millions and millions of peasants and town dwellers have been organized. Peasants have been organized in more than 20,000 peasant associations. Even peasant women have been organized in more than 2,000 women organizations. In the towns about 2,000 town dwellers' associations have been formed. In Addis and Asmara alone, there have been formed 291 and 107 associations respectively. In many places numerous youth leagues have been formed. The industrial working class, too, has, as a result of the new labour legislation, been organized on factory as well as on general trade union levels. Out of the 9 general trade unions necessary to establish the all-Ethiopian trade union, 8 have already been formed - all free from petty-bourgeois and anarchist influence. A provisional office for people's organizational affairs, whose main objective is to help all anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and anti-bureaucratic capitalist forces to organize themselves and then to establish a revolutionary united front has been set up. Moreover, numerous underground Marxist-Leninist organizations which work, through their organs, to organize all the oppressed masses, particularly the working class have appeared.

But though much has been done in the organizational field the big weakness of the revolution is organizational in nature. The working class party, the soul of the revolution, has not yet been established. Much remains to be done. The different real Marxist-Leninist organizations have not yet merged. United, they have not yet integrated with the working class. Scientific socialism has not yet been sufficiently fused with the working class movement. Moreover, no worker-peasant alliance has been formed nor is there yet a revolutionary united front.

Consciousness: Ever since the acceptance of scientific socialism the proletariat's ideology as a guide to development, revolution, much has been undertaken to spread this ideology and thereby to arouse the masses. It has been possible to make use of the government mass media newspapers, radio and television - for educational, propaganda and agitational purposes. Under the guidance of the propaganda and philosophy section of the provisional office for people's organizational

affairs, a cadre political school (which has so far trained more than 2,000 political cadres) has been opened. Many have been sent to socialist countries for short-period political training. Study forums have been formed in every walks of life. Study guidelines and educative pamphlets are prepared and issued by the propaganda and philosophy section of the polit bureau. Moreover, progressive book shops have flourished and propaganda and agitational activities are carried out by underground progressive organizations and individuals.

Nevertheless, even in this respect, there still remains much to do. The broad masses have not yet acquired sufficient consciousness necessary for carrying out a decisive revolution. Though there is a big shortage of conscious political cadres, an extensive and effective politicization of the broad masses must be carried out. Real progressives must, as they have done so far, untiringly intensify their revolutionary work in this field too.

People's militia: In this field, too, great changes have undeniably taken place. Today every peasant and town dwellers association has its own security squads consisting of at least twenty members some of whom are partially or fully armed. In many places and particularly in southern Ethiopia many partially and fully armed people's militia have been established.

However, these are only the embryonic parts of a revolutionary people's militia, and thus the strong revolutionary people's militia - the red army - has yet to be formed. Without such a militia the Ethiopian masses cannot defend the victories so far attained, let alone carry out a successful revolution.

Moreover, due to the revolutionary changes in the production relations brought about by the revolution, the vast economic problems inherited from the old system and due to the different administrative and economic sabotages deliberately pursued by reactionary bureaucrats, big merchants, distributors, "petty-bourgeois revolutionaries", etc, the country is being faced with a great economic crisis. This has become another problem of the revolution.

Without organization, consciousness and militia the Ethiopian masses cannot execute a decisive revolution and seize political power. Never! These conditions are the main weaknesses of the revolution and realizing this, real progressives and the broad masses are today fully engaged in their solution to hasten the time of political takeover by the masses.

This is more or less the real picture of the three-year young Ethiopian revolution. The truth is, in short, notwithstanding its problems and weaknesses, the revolution, has, in such a short time, made a great advance along the path of the national democratic revolution.

However, just as every class has its own ideology and views and interprets everything from its own class point of view, different interpretations have been made about the same truth.

The reactionaries and "petty-bourgeois revolutionaries" blindly shout that "no positive change has been made. Instead they maintain that a "fascistic system has been established". They prefer the archaic feudo-bourgeois regime of Haile Selassie to the present system. To this end, they struggle to establish a "people's provisional government" and thereby restore the old order of oppression and exploitation.

As opposed to the reactionaries and "petty-bourgeois revolutionaries", true revolutionaries maintain that with all its weaknesses and problems the Ethiopian revolution has made a tremendous, revolutionary progress. They maintain that the revolution has laid many political, economic and social grounds which favour the interests of the masses while those of the feudalists, imperialists and bureaucratic capitalists have been partially or fully destroyed. They maintain that due to the different economic, political and social changes brought about, the contradiction between the masses and feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism, has become so intensified that Ethiopia finds itself in an ever more revolutionary tide, in an ever more acute class struggle. They maintain that the revolution has gone a long way along the road of the national democratic revolution and not the "fascism" that the reactionaries and "petty-bourgeois revolutionaries" try to create in futility. Without contenting themselves with the revolutionary progress made thus far, revolutionaries are consistently struggling for a revolutionary people's government whose only organ is an insurrection and are bitterly fighting all the reactionary and petty-bourgeois ideas of a "provisional people's government" through secret ballots.

Thus we see that present day Ethiopia is characterized by a bitter revolution and counter-revolution - revolutionaries advancing and reactionaries counteracting the revolution.

In the next part, we shall discuss the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary struggles both abroad and inside the country and their respective forces, geographical concentrations and methods of struggles.

THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION AND ITS FORCES:

The forces - internal and external - that wage the counter-revolution are those whose political, economic and social foundations have been encroached upon by the nationalization of rural and urban lands, banks, insurance companies and industries, the issue of a new legal tender, etc. They are those forces that have been threatened or challenged by the proliferation of mass organizations, the awakening of the masses and by the speedy development of the total revolutionary process. Such forces constitute feudalists, imperialists, reactionary Arab neighbouring governments, comprador bourgeoisie, bureaucratic capitalists, reactionary soldiers and higher military officers, big and middle merchants and the right wing petty-bourgeoisie. We shall deal with these forces one by one and show where and how they pursue their counter-revolutionary struggles.

1. THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION OUTSIDE ETHIOPIA

The forces of counter-revolution abroad are imperialists, reactionary Arabs and neighbouring countries, "Ethiopian Democratic Union", an organization of exile feudalists, prominent figures of the old feudal order, ex-governors, etc., and "World Wide Federation of Ethiopian Students", a youth league of feudal off-springs.

THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF IMPERIALISTS

"When a revolutionary civil war develops to the point of threatening the very existence of imperialism and its running dogs, the domestic reactionaries, imperialism often adopts other methods in order to maintain its rule; it either tries to split the revolutionary front from within or sends armed forces to help the domestic reactionaries directly".

In our short account (above) we have tried to show how much the Ethiopian revolution has advanced and, with that, how much it has threatened the very existence of imperialism and its lackeys, the domestic reactionaries. It is to this very truth that imperialists are, today, more than ever, working openly as well as secretly to counter-act the Ethiopian people's revolution, to curb it from advancing towards socialism through the national democratic revolution and instead to bring it under their control and make it part of the capitalist bloc. To this end, they resort to the following.

1. In an attempt to isolate the Ethiopian revolution and poison the international solidarity and support, one of the necessary conditions for a successful peoples revolution, they spread and sow such reactionary propaganda that miscredit and misinterpret the Ethiopian revolution. Instead of reflecting the truth, they tell lies. They confuse the world public through fabrications, distortions and misinformation. They echo such lies as "Ethiopia is tending to anarchy", "Ethiopia finds itself in a serious and dangerous political, economic and social crisis", "There is food shortage in the towns because the peasants have dislocated grain supply in their protest against the existing system", "Unparalleled total massacre of workers, peasants, revolutionaries is being continuously carried out", etc. etc.

2. In an attempt to foster and promote counter-revolutionary conditions they strive to create an artificial economic crisis in Ethiopia by executing different kinds of economic sabotage. In collaboration with reactionary big merchants, they carry out a massive purchase of commodities necessary in the country so as to decrease the market supply of such commodities. These commodities are later either exported to the imperialist countries or stored in warehouses.

3. Using aid, diplomacy, experts, missionaries and tourists as instruments, they carry out a highly sophisticated espionage, through which they point out where an effective counter-revolution can be possible and which force can be used to this end. Based on this, they carry out their counter-revolutionary attempts. They give directions to reactionaries, and they organize the most effective counter-revolutionary forces. Here we would like to give a concrete example, the case of John. H. Spencer's report of August 1976 to the American Senate where he made an account of effective counter-revolution in Ethiopia. This CIA agent who lived in Ethiopia for 40 years as an "expert of Ethiopian foreign policy", clearly and shamelessly wrote that "there is... scant reason to believe that the movement for replacement could originate in the provinces. The Ethiopian Democratic Union based in London, has no longer a direct link with either Gondar or Tigre since General Nega Teguagne and Ras Mengesha Seyum are abroad.... It is in Addis Ababa that the initiative of the movement must be found. Here the mass arrests and executions have struck terror into the population. Here the resentments among the military are focussed.... The recent executions of more than 30 Army and Air Force officers point clearly to the area where the leadership of the opposition is to be found". This is a CIA "advice" to American imperialism to concentrate its reactionary activities more in Addis Ababa than anywhere else. The recent counter-revolutionary measures carried out in Addis Ababa by EPRP and Air Force officers are surely the result of this and other CIA findings and conclusions that they concentrate their activities in Addis.

4. They mobilize, directly or indirectly, countries under their control, particularly the neighbouring countries to be against the Ethiopian revolution. To this end, they encourage these countries to create

conflicts, to open war and to stop trade or diplomatic relations with Ethiopia. Besides, they use them as camps for counter-revolutionary practices. Mr. Spencer in his report, for instance, very clearly states that America could use the Sudan, which is of central importance geographically to initiate a counter-revolutionary movement against Ethiopia. Let us quote him. "... the Sudan and in particular Nimeri, can be of great assistance with the mass of knowledge available on military and political development in Ethiopia. The constant flow of personalities into and out of Ethiopia has made Khartoum, as it were, a second Addis Ababa. Furthermore, Sudan alone controls the flow of arms into Ethiopia. It could properly become the channel and control center for such a flow". It is in the Sudan and Kenya, among others, that the CIA organizes, recruits and prepares the former feudalists, ex-governors and feudal offsprings and where it smuggles arms into Ethiopia for counter-revolutionary purposes. It is the Sudan, Kenya, Somalia that imperialists push to create conflicts with Ethiopia, to threaten Ethiopia by using border problems as causes.

5. They organize all those reactionaries which fight the Ethiopian revolution. They assist them politically, financially, militarily, morally, etc. They campaign and propagate for them in order to win international sympathy and solidarity. England has officially made it known that it is assisting and financing "EDU", which is the leadership of the feudalists counter-revolutionary movement. So do all the other imperialists.

The meetings, held to organize and to strengthen the Ethiopian feudalists, arranged and financed by imperialists in Jeda and Khartoum at different times, are solid evidences of the imperialists' resolute decision to, by using these feudal remnants, counter-act the Ethiopian revolution. No wonder, therefore, that the mass media, and the newspapers of imperialist countries echo the attempts of the feudalists. It must be noted, here, that it is not only the feudal remnants that the imperialists assist, but also the feudal offsprings in particular "EPRP", the vanguard of all counter-revolutionary forces. Imperialists, particularly American imperialism have, directly or indirectly, orally or practically, made it known that they are behind EPRP and the EPRP is not alone. Today they praise EPRP and their newspapers blindly write "EPRP is the only revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party in Ethiopia". How come? How on earth could such an appraisal of EPRP by imperialist newspapers be possible? Is it because these newspapers are Marxist-Leninist Organs? Or is it because EPRP is a reactionary and anti-Marxist-Leninist organization? The correct answer is the latter.

6. In order to create an extreme rightist puppet government, they attempt to strengthen the rightwing within the Derg and therewith control the Derg, or they attempt to displace the present Derg by a rightist coup d'etat. To carry out the coup d'etat, they use reactionary forces inside or outside the Derg. All the coup d'etat attempts made so far, lay within the frame work of these tactics. The coup d'etat under the leadership of General Aman Andom, who was an imperialist lackey and chairman of the Derg; the coup d'etat under the leadership of General Kebede Worku, a retired General; the coup d'etat under the leadership of Major Sisay Habte, a member of the Derg and chairman of the political committee with the collaboration of EPRP; and the attempt to murder the first vice chairman of the Derg on Sept. 21, 1976, were all undertaken by lackeys close to the Americans, within or outside the Derg, in collaboration with CIA.

7. One of the reactionary tactics imperialists employ to strangle countries under their grip, and to prevent them from taking anti-imperialist measures is threat. When imperialists feel threatened by a growing people's struggle, they mainly begin to resort to direct threats such as "Stopping of Aid", "boycotting trade", "Cutting diplomatic relations", "initiating an invasion", etc. Here we would like to mention two of the direct threats American Imperialism pursued in a futile attempt to throttle the storming anti-imperialist struggle of the Ethiopian people. The first was made on August 8, 1976, right after the coup d'etat under the leadership of Major Sisay Habte in collaboration with EPRP failed. The threat mentioned the measures, including "the initiation of socialist construction", an "anti-American propaganda, undertaken by the Ethiopian government that could affect the American-Ethiopian relationship and ended with "if things develop in an adverse fashion it could affect our programs". The second was made on October 9, 1976 right after the failure of the attempt to murder the first vice chairman. This time, having gone insane and angry because of the failure of the execution attempt, America complained about the "strong pronouncements" against America and the "accusations and allegations" made by the Ethiopian government concerning CIA-EPRP, "the only revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party", collaboration. Having stated that these "accusations" were not substantiated either by the Ethiopian government or CIA itself - ridiculously enough, of course - America clearly stated "... We have been disappointed, we are disappointed and will continue to do so".

8. Another method, probably one of the dirtiest, that imperialists employ to counteract a people's revolution is outrightly murdering progressive individuals and harass progressive organizations, by using professional mercenaries. The disappearance of comrades like Fikre Mered and Gebre-Egziabher, and others from the arena of the Ethiopian people's struggle were the result of these comrades' falling victim to the CIA employed murderers.

In the short account made above, we have tried to show how imperialists are fighting the Ethiopian revolution. However, it must be noted that we do not imply that it is only the mentioned methods they are using to counteract the Ethiopian revolution. Now let us go over to the second counter-revolutionary force.

THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF REACTIONARY ARAB AND NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES' GOVERNMENTS:

Countries like Iraq, Syria, Tunisia and Morocco which have had an age-old conflict based on religion with Ethiopia, and countries like Saudi-Arabia, North Yemen, Kuwait, Sudan, Kenya and Somalia, which have been scared of the revolutionary development in Ethiopia and its possible spread to these countries, are fully working to directly or indirectly counter-act the Ethiopian revolution. To this end, they practice the following counter-revolutionary activities.

1. Using the Eritrean question as an instrument, they strive to intervene in the internal affairs of Ethiopia. Like Osman Salah Sabe and other Eritrean reactionary elements, and countries like Iraq, Syria (a country at present engaged to wipe out the Palestine liberation movement), Libya, Tunisia and Morocco and especially the first two have

for a long time maintained that "Eritrea is an Arab region", "Eritrea is and should be a member of the Arab league", "Eritrea does not have nor has it ever had any relation with Ethiopia", "Eritrea is a colony of Ethiopia". With such unfounded, unhistorical and unscientific petty-bourgeois creations as a basis, they are untiringly pursuing a heavy counter-revolutionary struggle against the Ethiopian masses, and for that matter against the Eritrean masses, as well. The Sudan, Saudi Arabia and Kenya, countries, which, at the time of Haile Selassie, fought the Eritrean liberation fronts, are today, because of their fear of the development of the Ethiopian revolution, fighting the Ethiopian revolution under the screen "Liberation of Eritrea". Even the CIA agent John H. Spencer has witnessed this in his report. Let us quote what he said with regard to the Sudan. "Before the revolution, the Sudan frequently cooperated in cutting off the flow of Soviet arms into Eritrea. With the Derg, however, relations have deteriorated because of its communist orientation." This is valid to all neighbouring countries of Ethiopia. Somalia, which claims that "Harar, Sidamo and Bale are part of the great Somaliland", is also using the Eritrean question to hit its target of expansion.

2. They work in collaboration with feudalists, imperialists and other reactionary elements engaged in counter-acting the Ethiopian revolution. They help feudalists and other reactionary petty-bourgeois elements financially, politically and militarily. Syria, Morocco, Saudi-Arabia and Kuwait pour Millions of dollars and arms to Osman Saleh Sabe, who for his own personal and class interest, works day and night to fight the Ethiopian revolution by using the Eritrean cause, thereby collaborating with former feudal-lords and ex-governors. Saudi-Arabia, the Sudan, Kenya and Somalia serve as camps and hostages of EDU, EPRP and their cohorts. They serve as concentration centres, mercenary recruiting centres and as channels and control centres to the flow of arms into Ethiopia. Note what John. H. Spencer wrote about this: "... Sudan alone controls the flow of arms into Ethiopia. It could properly become the channel and control centre for such a flow". That is why during the time of the coup d'etat attempted under the leadership of Major Sisay Habte, American air craft carriers were anchored at Mombassa port as well as in the Red Sea ready to fly into Ethiopia in case the coup d'etat succeeded and there arose a resistance movement. That is why reactionaries easily flock to these countries, enjoy warm receptions and are given great care. That is why the mercenaries of EDU, EPRP and CIA recruited in these places and elsewhere easily go to and fro Ethiopia via these countries and frequently loot and at times kill peasants.

3. Neighbouring countries^{work} to create conditions for the reactionaries engaged in counter-revolution inside the country. The method they use here is to intensify border conflicts and enhance provocative activities. Such frequent accusations/pronouncements as "Ethiopian fighting planes flew over our air", "Ethiopian army crossed our border and attacked villages", "This and that place belonged and belongs to us", carried out by the Sudan, Kenya and Somalia are part and parcel of the counter-revolutionary struggle of these countries.

We shall now turn to the other counter-revolutionary forces - "World Wide Federation of Ethiopian Students" (WWEFS) and "Ethiopian Democratic Union" (EDU).

THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLES OF WWEFS(FEDERATION) AND EDU

Federation, a youth league of feudal fascists, is a counter-revolutionary divisive clique within the revolutionary Ethiopian Student movement abroad. It has duped itself by this name without fulfilling the slightest prerequisite necessary to deserve it. Masked by Marxist-Leninist phrases, it has posed itself to many as progressive. Unmasked, it is a CIA-EDU agent in the Ethiopian peoples struggle in general and the student movement in particular.

EDU is an organization of former royal family members, feudolists, ex-governors and other reactionaries under the leadership of the ex-crown prince and the notorious ex-governor Mengesha Seyum.

Federation and EDU are therefore forces which intensively work hand in glove with imperialists and other reactionaries particularly with CIA and EPRP, a well known reactionary petty-gouergeois organization functioning mainly inside Ethiopia.

Let us mention some of their counter-revolutionary activities.

1. Both oppose and condemn all the victories attained following the February revolution for which the Ethiopian masses paid in blood and soul. Federation through it's various reactionary publications as well as through its trash tracts and EDU through its organ "Advocate" disseminate lies and misinformation about the Ethiopian revolution at the international level to deliberately poison the world's attitude towards the Ethiopian revolution.

2. Both work in collaboration with imperialists and by using their newspaper and massmedia, they spread their reactionary and distorted propaganda against the Ethiopian revolution.

3. Aided by CIA both work in America, Europe, Middle East and Africa to recruit as mercenaries the reactionary and confused youngsters who fled from the campaign-Zemetcha. These are later smuggled into Ethiopia to enhance the terrorist struggle which EPRP is, at least physically, leading under the guidance of CIA.

4. Both, particularly Federation, work to introduce EPRP and its "revolutionary" struggle at the international level and in international support. In this respect Federation has succeeded in convincing imperialists, reactionary Arab and neighbouring countries, reactionary organizations, and reactionary journalists to praise EPRP as "the only revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party in Ethiopia" and gain their support. The Ethiopian masses, however, call it the "Ethiopian Princes Restoration Party" and fight it. Federation functions as a foreign mission of EPRP. It serves as an intermediary of EPRP and EDU, EPRP and CIA and EPRP and other reactionary forces.

5. Both spew out a torrent of lies, slanders, defamations, etc. about revolutionary individuals and revolutionary organizations. They carry-out police work among revolutionaries. They give a list of revolutionaries and genuine democrats complete with personal data to the CIA and other imperialist security services.

Moreover, reactionary forces working to "liberate Eritrea from Ethiopia", particularly those under the leadership of the Osman Saleh Sabe cliques, are also directly or indirectly pursuing similar counter-revolutionary activities against the Ethiopian revolution. In the writings they publish and interviews they give, they discredit, distort and tell

unfounded stories about the Ethiopian revolution in front of the world masses. Like EDU, EPRP and Federation they vainly maintain that "in Ethiopia nothing positive has occurred, rather fascism has developed". They tell that "the Ethiopian revolution has not resulted in anything positive concerning the Eritrean question". Instead they lie that "the situation has become worse than at the time of Haile Selassie". In collaboration and close coordination with reactionary Arab and neighbouring governments, the EDU, EPRP and Federation they exchange material and military assistance, and fight the Ethiopian revolution.

2. THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION INSIDE ETHIOPIA

As we pointed out earlier, the organizational, ideological and military strength of the reactionaries are interdependent with the organizational, ideological and military strength of the masses in particular and the pace of the revolutionary process in general. With the masses getting more organized becoming more aware and better armed, the reactionaries have organized and armed themselves better and are pursuing counter-revolutionary activities everywhere in the country. At present the spearhead of the counter-revolutionary forces inside Ethiopia, is the EPRP, a reactionary petty-bourgeois organization, with CIA as its backbone. We shall now consider the counter-revolution in the country-side and urban areas separately and make a brief assessment.

THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN THE COUNTRY-SIDE:

Following the land reform, particularly in Southern Ethiopia, the reactionaries (mainly the landowners) have been more or less ousted from the countryside. The main force here is the peasantry, the cornerstone of the revolution that has attained the greatest fruit of the revolution. The counter-revolutionary EPRP, with its futile slogans of "Provisional People's Government" and "Fascist junta" has no listeners.

The forces engaged in counter-revolution in the country-side are:

1. "Somalia Sergogebotch" - "Somalia infiltrators". They are composed of both Somalia and Ethiopian reactionaries though most of them are Somalian natives. These reactionary forces based and trained mainly in Somalia and also in Kenya are active mostly in the South. In the regions of Bale, Sidamo and Gemugofa, they carry out such reactionary activities as looting and killing honest peasant farmers.

2. The so-called Ali Mirah soldiers:- Ali Mirah is a former notorious Sultan and a big land owner, who is now residing in Jeda, Saudi-Arabia, and from there carrying out his counter-revolution together with his other feudal counter-parts residing in New York, London, Khartoum or elsewhere. These forces who are now more or less on the verge of disappearance, have been active mainly in the North Eastern part of Ethiopia, particularly in the Afar region. Ali Mirah "soldiers" have been engaged in such reactionary activities as planting explosives under bridges, stoning and burning public busses as well as trucks, looting and killing passengers as well as peasants in the area.

3. The so-called Tagedlo:- These are EDU "combatants" mostly active in the Northern part of Begemidir. Like the other reactionaries mentioned above, they are engaged in looting and killing peasants, destroying public properties, etc.

4. TPLF, EDU and EPRP:- This bunch of reactionaries is functioning hand in glove mainly in the Northern part of Ethiopia and at present mostly active in the Tigre region. As the other reactionaries mentioned above, they too, probably more intensely, are engaged in looting and killing peasants, looting and destroying public property, looting and killing of passengers, sabotaging bridges, stoning and burning of busses and passengers, spreading their reactionary propaganda among the peasant masses and thereby sow confusion, terror, etc.

5. Other individual outlaws who have gone to the bushes. These are feudalists and other reactionaries whose interests have been adversely affected by the revolution. These outlaws, who have recently begun to surrender en masse, have been and are now and then carrying out such reactionary measures as mentioned above here and there in the country.

In general, however, the condition in the country side is less favourable for counter-revolution than for revolution. Here there are more revolutionary forces than counter-revolutionary forces and as the CIA expert John H. Spencer, who has made a long period research on Ethiopia for a counter-revolutionary purpose sadly witnessed, "there is ... scant reason to believe that the movement for replacement could originate in the provinces".

THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN THE URBAN AREAS:

In comparison to the rural areas, the urban areas, and particularly Addis Ababa, are concentration centres of reactionaries. Here the former feudallords who have run away from the country-side; the retired big government authorities, generals and higher officers; conscious reactionary bureaucratic capitalists, big businessmen, comprador-bourgeois, EDU collaborators, EPRP and international organization which are filled up with CIA agents, etc. concentrate. Here the shortage of food grain, inflatory prices, mass unemployment, housing problems, etc. have caused mass resentments and social unrest. Here the reactionary and confusing propaganda sowed by EPRP, a reactionary petty-bourgeois organization, and other reactionary organizations has created terror, fear and restlessness. Here, just as Spencer witness there is good reason to believe that "an effective counter-revolutionary movement can be initiated and be found". We shall now consider each counter-revolutionary force, and its methods of struggle.

THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF THE BUREAUCRATIC CAPITALISTS

The Ethiopian bureaucracy is, like any other bureaucracy in a semi feudal and semi-capitalist society, established to serve feudalism and imperialism. Its life and death is, therefore, interconnected with the life and death of feudalism and imperialism. It benefits as long as the latter are existing unaffected and is doomed to lose when they are being challenged.

Thus, it can easily be said that the victorious Ethiopian revolution that has adversely affected the political, economic and social basis of feudalism and imperialism, has also brought about an adverse effect on the bureaucratic capitalists. This class though it still holds political power, has been singed by the revolutionary flame. Economically in particular, the bureaucratic capitalists have lost following the nationalization of rural land, urban land an extra houses, industries, banks and insurance companies, etc. They have lost all incomes in the form of rent, kickbacks, bribes, gifts, etc. Particularly since the declaration of the national democratic revolution programme, this class knows that it has been one of the primordial targets of the

revolution. For such and other reasons the bureaucratic capitalists are, in an endeavour to restore feudalism and imperialism, fully engaged in counter-revolutionary struggle. The bureaucratic capitalists pursue their counter-revolutionary practices as follows.

1. Taking advantage of its political power, it accomplishes different kinds of sabotage in an endeavour to hinder the implementation of the victories gained through a long and bitter people's struggle.
2. In a futile attempt to hasten the counter-revolution, it works, hand in glove, with its creators feudalism and imperialism. To this end, it supplies information, passes over public money at its disposal to EDU and other reactionaries.
3. Taking the slogan of "provisional peoples government", EPRP's slogan, as its own, it collaborates and closely works with this reactionary petty bourgeois organization which is composed of full time counter-revolutionary elements.
4. It misuses public finance and other public facilities as its disposal for counter revolutionary purposes. In this respect, the Ethiopian Air Lines, Telecommunication, Ministry of National Resources and CELU have consistently been at the service of EPRP.
5. It commits different kinds of sabotage, such as refusing to arrange meeting places, refusing to supply facilities, hindering all necessary information flow, etc. All this is done to hinder the study forums from functioning properly.
6. In an attempt to cause economic crisis and enhance dissatisfaction among the labouring masses, it undertakes different kinds of economic sabotage. In this respect the Ministry of National Resources plays the biggest role. This ministry has deliberately discouraged farming activities, proper use of agricultural equipment, harvesting activities, proper distribution of the harvested grain, proper handling of livestock activities, which altogether resulted in the loss of about 80 million Eth. Birr as well as a total shortage of food grain supply.

THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF GENERALS, HIGHER OFFICERS AND REACTIONARY SOLDIERS:

These elements have, like the bureaucratic capitalists, lost the economic interests such as extra houses, urban and rural land, etc., that they acquired under the system of feudalism and imperialism in different forms. Therefore, they too, are struggling against the revolution. To mention some of their counter-revolutionary activities:

1. In an endeavour to overthrow the existing PMAC, they participate in CIA-instigated and coordinated coup d'etats. The successive coup d'etats so far attempted in which General Aman Andon, General Kebede Worku, General Getachew Nadeu, Major Sisay Habte, lieutenant Bewketu Kassa, etc. participated prove this very well.
2. They work in close collaboration with other reactionary forces engaged in counter-revolutionary tasks. To cite one example, some reactionary policemen have, in collaboration with EPRP, stolen arms and police uniforms and disappeared.

THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF THE LANDED-ARISTOCRATS, BIG BOURGEOISIE BIG MERCHANTS:

These, too, have been adversely affected by the revolution and they are fighting the revolution in any way they can in an attempt to regain their lost interests.

1. They give financial military and moral support to organized reactionaries. They offer underground shelter and supply information for EDU and EPRP activities.
2. By withdrawing from the banks all the money which they accumulated during the past "golden" days they try to create an economic crisis favourable for counter-revolution.
3. In an endeavour to create mass unemployment, businessmen engaged in housing constructions have ceased to construct houses. Private investors, too, have ceased to make new investments, and have been gone so far as to closing down their industries. This has worsened the employment situation.
4. The comprador bourgeoisie, the big merchants, and distributors, are continuously engaged in creating shortage of food and other consumer goods. They buy cheaply from the peasants and store them in Warehouses or export them, so as to limit the supply and increase the price. Economically they make high profits and politically, they create dissatisfaction among the labouring masses, who suffer most from such a situation, thus enhancing the conditions for counter-revolution.

THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF EPRP AND ITS C OHORTS

Ever since they appeared in the image of the Ethiopian revolution organized under the leadership of the counter-revolutionary EPRP, the Ethiopian "petty-bourgeois revolutionaries", have done great damage and committed crimes against the Ethiopian revolution. These "petty-bourgeois revolutionaries" are, in collaboration with CIA and EDU as well as the bureaucratic capitalists, waging a relentless counter-revolution and for that matter are the leaders of the counter-revolutionary struggle. If there is anything that distinguishes them from the other reactionaries, it is their sham usage of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist phrases as cloaks - their pretence to be revolutionaries - their attempt to enhance the counter-revolution from the "left". How do these petty-bourgeois revolutionaries - EPRP and its cohorts enhance their counter-revolution from the "left"? How do they fight the revolution? We answer as follows:

1. Like the feudalists, imperialists and bureaucratic capitalists, EPRP and its cohorts oppose all the revolutionary victories, the fruits of the February revolution for which the Ethiopian masses paid in soul and blood. Besides they strive to hinder the implementation and consolidation of these victories.
2. They vainly strive to divert the peoples revolution and to conceal the real targets of the revolution. To this end, they preach that the main enemy of the revolution at this stage is the "fascist Derg" and not feudalism, bureaucratic capitalism and imperialism. They shamelessly agitate for the creation of an "anti-fascist united front" instead of an anti-feudal-imperialist and - bureaucratic capitalist united front. They struggle for the formation of a "Provisional Peoples Government" instead of a revolutionary peoples government.

3. In an effort to hinder the organization of the masses and the establishment of a real Marxist-Leninist working class party they have tried to sow confusion in the working class. They have opposed the development through cooperation programmes, resulted in the establishment of thousands of peasant and town dwellers' associations. They bitterly opposed the provisional office for people's organizational affairs, established to assist the masses to organize. They have striven and are striving to, by playing on religious and national differences, divide and thereby liquidate the labour unions, peasant and town dwellers associations, etc. This is the anti-people and anti-organization nature of EPRP and its cohorts.

In an attempt to impede the spread of scientific socialism, the ideology of the proletariat, and thereby hinder the awakening of the Ethiopian masses, EPRP and its cohorts have: 1) Opposed the campaign programme; 2) burned down progressive bookshops, murdered and intimidated individuals selling and reading progressive books, tried to demolish the different study forums by creating calculated disturbances and by vainly agitating that "the study forums are but the Dergs' "spying institutions", 4) opposed and still oppose the political cadre school, which has in such a short time as 6 months, graduated more than 2,000 political cadres.

4. In order to create economic conditions for counter-revolution, they have conducted and are conducting such reactionary activities that would encourage the workers and peasants to cease production. Moreover, by working, hand in glove, with bureaucrats in economic and other institutions, they have pursued economic sabotages.

5. In an attempt to get rid of true revolutionaries, who, without fear and hesitance, have worked and are working to organize, arouse and arm the masses, to mercilessly expose the reactionaries and opportunists and thereby give the revolution a correct leadership, EPRP and its cohorts have spewed and are spewing out a torrent of lies, slander, allegations, defamations, etc. about such true revolutionaries. They serve as CIA and EDU agent provocateurs and continuously supply a list of names and data of progressive individuals as well as progressive organizations. The names of progressive individuals and organizations that are today in the register of CIA and other imperialists and which often come in the imperialists mass media have come as a result of the long period of work of EPRP and its cohorts as agent provocateurs.

7. To kill or to try to kill true revolutionaries who are untiringly and relentlessly working to foster and promote the revolution, looting and destroying individual peasant and public properties is the other form of counter-revolutionary struggle EPRP and its cohorts are practicing. This terrorist method of struggle which EPRP and its cohorts are forced to practice, came as a result of their political bankruptcy which they realized on the 2nd anniversary of the Ethiopian Revolution Day. It is a method, which all reactionaries including EPRP and its cohorts, employ when they realized that they are, well exposed and ousted from the political struggle. Historically terrorism is a sign of political bankruptcy and so is it for EPRP and its cohorts. EPRP and its cohorts resort to such a terrorist struggle because their reactionary nature has been unmasked by the consistent political struggle carried out by true revolutionaries. They have become politically bankrupt and it is to breath their last breathe that they are pursuing such

barbaric killings of progressive individuals or looting and destroying of peasant and public properties.

Since they began to take terrorism as their main form of struggle, the EPRP and its cohorts have committed successive crimes against the revolution.

To mention some:

a) They attempted to hinder the celebration of the 2nd Anniversary of Ethiopian Revolution Day on Sept. 12. To this end, they shouted "Sept. 12 is the day when fascism stretched its feet on Ethiopia". "It is the day when the Ethiopian masses were robbed of their victories. "EPRP shall takeover power on this day". "On this day EPRP will declare war, so don't go out" etc. This was done in order to terrorise the people and thereby make the celebration a failure. However, their reactionary attempts were in vain. The masses were not frightened. They went out en masse and with revolutionary enthusiasm and discipline, they celebrated the day on which they overthrew Haile Selassie, the despot. Instead it was EPRP and its cohorts, initiators of terror and fear, who were frightened and never dared to come out and face the revolutionary terror that was poured on them by the masses. They preferred to stay in and to sadly register via radio and TV. the gigantic demonstrations, the revolutionary and the anti-EPRP slogans carried by the masses, the revolutionary enthusiasm and discipline of the masses shown all over the country. That was an inevitable result of the development of the Ethiopian revolution of course.

b) Having gone made after the revolutionary scene which they unreluctantly noted on September 12/1976, the EPRP and its cohorts called upon a general strike. They told that workers of Air Lines, Telecommunication, Commercial bank, Post office, etc. would go on a strike. They warned the people to buy necessary things in time because "shops and other service sectors would go on a strike". Unfortunately nobody was terrorized nor ready to go on a strike. The attempt failed this time too.

c/ When they realized that the masses were deaf to their empty phrases EPRP and its cohorts arranged their own "demonstrations" whose participants were paid lumpen proletariat, children, confused and reactionary youth. The "demonstrations" were held here and there in Addis Ababa with 10-20 "demonstrators" in each. On this occasion they stoned public buses and residence houses and with that they tried to bring despair and terror into the urban population.

d) On Sept. 23/1976, EPRP and its cohorts, with the collaboration of CIA and EDU, attempted to shoot the first vice chairman of the Derg.

e) On Sept. 26/1976 EPRP and its cohorts barbarically shot five comrades, out of whom Abubeker-Abdu Mejid, Kifle Asfaw and Gebre-igziabher immediately died while the other two survived with dangerous wounds. The comrades fell victims to these terrorists while doing a theoretical study. The terrorists broke into the house where the comrades sat discussing.

f) On Sept. 31/1976, EPRP and its cohorts shot comrade Fikre Merid, who, until he fell victim to the CIA-EDU employed EPRP mercenaries, consistently stood in the service of the Ethiopian masses and the Ethiopian revolution. The late comrade Fikre, member of the polit-bureau and a chairman of Provisional committees within the polit-bureau, stood 4th on the list of 105 true revolutionaries and anti-EPRP individuals. EPRP and its cohorts had prepared to kill. On the same day, they shot comrade Getachew Engida, who, had served the Ethiopian revolution as a chairman of a town dwellers' association and as a member of the people's organization office of the Addis Ababa branch. They shot him at the gate of his residence.

g) On Oct. 6/1976, EPRP and its cohorts burned down one of the government warehouses and thereby brought about a big property damage.

h) In the same month EPRP and its cohorts killed a number of town dwellers' association leaders and active members who were strongly against EPRP and its cohorts.

i) On Oct. 12/1976, EPRP and its cohorts shot comrade Gebregziabher Hagos, while sitting in a bar. Comrade Gebregziabher, until his death devoted his full time and energy to give the youth a correct political line and to consistently serve the Ethiopian masses and the Ethiopian revolution. In the list of revolutionaries the CIA-EDU employed EPRP murderers have prepared to shoot, comrade Gebregziabher was given the first place.

j) On Oct. 25/1976, EPRP and its cohorts burnt down Yekatit '60 political school which had been fostering and promoting the growth of political cadre and thereby the awakening of the masses. In these very dirty deeds, they, like Hitler and Mousoloni, burned the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao into ashes. They also succeeded in killing one comrade and wounding three other comrades.

k) Having continued their terroristic struggle, EPRP and its cohorts have managed until recently to kill a number of revolutionaries, active anti-EPRP-EDU-CIA workers, peasants, town-dwellers associations activists.

All the counter-revolutionary measures undertaken by EPRP and its cohorts have been carried out mostly in Addis Ababa and mainly after September 12/1976 the day on which EPRP noted its political bankruptcy. Why? was it because CIA accepted the advice ("there is, in my opinion, scant reason to believe that the movement for replacement could originate in the province.... It is in Addis Ababa that the initiative of the movement must be found") its expert John H. Spencer forwarded in August 1976, and concentrated more in Addis Ababa and on EPRP and its cohorts? There cannot be any correct answer than YES! Therefore the counter-revolutionary deeds EPRP and its cohorts undertook shall not be seen isolated from the counter-revolutionary activities of CIA, EDU and the bureaucratic capitalists. They are CIA-financed, CIA-coordinated and CIA-instigated. EPRP and its cohorts are only instruments.

So far, we have tried to investigate the attempts reactionaries, pursued externally and internally, to counteract the Ethiopian revolution. In our assessment we have shown how well coordinated the external and internal counter-revolutionary struggles are. We have shown that the counter-revolution is growing stronger and that its forces are well organized, conscious, armed and financially better off. In the next part we shall try to survey the revolutionary struggle in a similar way - externally and internally.

THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OUTSIDE ETHIOPIA.

Just as the counter-revolution has forces outside Ethiopia the revolution has also forces which work to foster and promote the Ethiopian revolution from outside Ethiopia. These external revolutionary forces consistently fight the anti-Ethiopian revolution propaganda that is pursued world wide by the reactionary forces mentioned above. The external revolutionary forces work to reflect the true picture of the Ethiopian situation so as to obtain international support for the Ethiopian masses. These forces are: Socialist countries, progressive forces, the left-wing section of the external Ethiopian Students Movement - Ethiopian Students Union in Europe (ESUE), United Progressive Ethiopian Students Union in North America (UPESUNA), Ethiopian Students Union in Middle East and Africa (ESUNEA) and Ethiopian Women Democratic Union in Europe (EWDUE).

SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND OTHER PROGRESSIVE FORCES:

These forces support and advance any peoples' struggle against oppression and exploitation. They look at it from the world socialist revolution point of view. The Ethiopian revolution is one such revolution, since it will advance to socialism through the national democratic revolution. Therefore socialist countries and world progressive forces relate it to the world proletarian revolution. They support it and fight any force that stands in opposition to it. To assist and enhance the Ethiopian revolution they execute the following.

1. The information that they carry in their massmedia reflect the true picture of the Ethiopian revolution and they expose the distorted propaganda disseminated worldwide by the counter-revolutionaries. They propagate and agitate so as to obtain international solidarity for the Ethiopian people and their revolution.
2. They give political, economic and moral support to the struggle of the Ethiopian people.
3. Realizing the shortage of conscious political cadres in Ethiopia, socialist countries collaborate in the promotion of such forces. They give, for instance, scholarships for the training of political cadres. They give progressive books in order to foster the spread of scientific socialism.

THE LEFT-WING PART OF THE ETHIOPIAN STUDENT MOVEMENT ABROAD.

As mentioned above this includes the Ethiopian Students Union in North America, Ethiopian Students Union in Middle-East and Africa, Ethiopian Women Democratic Union in Europe and Ethiopian students Union in Europe. This wing is politically as well as numerically dominant in the Student Movement abroad. It has relentlessly and steadily worked and is working side by side with the Ethiopian masses to fight all reactionary campaigns against the Ethiopian revolution so as to advance it. We shall here mention some of the revolutionary deeds of this wing of the Ethiopian Student Movement abroad.

1. By correctly analysing the fast changing Ethiopian situation concretely and scientifically, it sets forward correct strategy and

tactics suitable for each stage, and therewith works to give the student movement a correct political line.

2. By supporting all the revolutionary victories the Ethiopian masses have won through their long and bitter struggle, by pointing out their weaknesses and point out the victories that have yet to be achieved, etc, this wing struggles to advance the Ethiopian revolution.

3. It consistently fights the reactionary campaigns waged against the Ethiopian revolution by imperialists, the governments of reactionary arab and neighbouring countries EDU, EPRP and WWFES. By giving the true picture of the Ethiopian revolution, it unmasks the counter-revolutionary nature of the propaganda of these reactionary forces.

4. In an endeavour to obtain as many friends as possible for the Ethiopian revolution, it works in close collaboration with progressive organizations and individuals.

5. It gives political and moral support to those political organizations that strive to advance the revolution inside Ethiopia, eg. the All-Ethiopian Socialist Movement. At the same time it fights and exposes those reactionary forces that which are struggling to counter act the revolution, e.g. EPRP.

At present, however, the revolutionary struggle abroad pursued by socialist countries, other progressive forces and the left-wing part of the Ethiopian Student Movement is, as outlined above, very limited due to different problems and is thus excelled by the counter-revolutionaries. This is evidenced by the little and distorted knowledge that the world, particularly that of the capitalist block, has about the Ethiopian revolution.

THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE INSIDE ETHIOPIA:

In the preceding parts we have assessed the intensity and the forces of counter-revolutionary struggle outside and inside the country as well as of the revolutionary struggle outside Ethiopia. Now we shall deal with the intensity and the forces of the revolutionary struggle inside Ethiopia. We shall closely observe the revolutionary struggles the proletariat, the peasantry, the progressive organizations and the left-wing petty-bourgeoisie are pursuing to advance the revolution to its fullest.

PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS

All progressive organizations that have appeared since the February 1974 revolutionary mass movement are through their organs sternly working among the working class, the peasantry, the soldiers, the youth, etc., to give the revolution a correct direction, that is, to assist the burning struggle of the masses follow a correct political line that would enable the masses to wage a decisive revolution.

In this respect, the All-Ethiopian Socialist Movement, (Miesone) holds the leading position. Through its revolutionary organ, Yesefiw Hizib Dimitse (The Voice of the Masses), the All Ethiopian Socialist Movement, has worked and is working in the following ways.

1) To give the people's struggle a correct direction to whose end it has consistently enhanced a correct political line;

2) To assist the Ethiopian masses to distinguish between their real and potential enemies as well as their real and potential friends.

3) To mercilessly expose and unmask EPRP in order to cleanse the peoples struggle of petty-bourgeois influence.

4) To establish the ironstealed Marxist Leninist working class party. To this end, it has, in addition to endeavouring to fuse scientific socialism with the working class, taken the initiative to realize the principled merging of real Marxist-Leninist organizations and study circles. The revolutionary common newspaper Ewnat (truth) issued by AESM and MLRO (Marxist-Leninist Revolutionary Organization) which calls upon the principled unification of progressive organizations and study circles is a solid evidence.

The All-Ethiopian Socialist Movement is a Marxist Leninist Organization that has, by supporting the revolutionary victories achieved so far, by pointing out their weaknesses by struggling for their proper implementations, by pointing out the victories that have yet to be achieved, by showing what to do at each stage and how to proceed forward, has relentlessly struggled and is struggling to assist the Ethiopian revolution to follow a correct political line. Its struggle has been tremendously fruitful. Its political slogans have become the slogans of the masses. Its political line has been accepted as the guiding line of the Ethiopian peoples revolution. Contrary to the stark hatred of the enemies of the revolution, AESM enjoys great support and sympathy of progressives and the broad masses.

Moreover, progressive individuals, without any fear, selfishness and hesitance, have, by combining legal and illegal forms of struggle, made and are making great revolutionary contributions in the struggle to organize, arouse and arm the broad masses. Today there are plenty of such resolute revolutionary individuals who are working in the open at great danger and sacrifices to bring the Ethiopian revolution to its logical conclusion - the political takeover by the masses -. Many have, of course, been shot by the enemies of the revolution who became insane by the successful revolutionary deeds of the revolutionaries in organizing, arousing and arming the masses.

THE WORKING CLASS

The Ethiopian Working class has a long history of anti-feudalist and anti-imperialist struggle. It has also along history of struggle against the CELU leadership whose leading figures Bayene Solomon and Fiseha Tsion were servants of the pseudo-bourgeois system and enemies of the working class. It has also waged a two year struggle against the "pettybourgeois revolutionaries" under the leadership of EPRP, which took the opportunity of infiltrating into the working class while the latter was dealing a hard blow to the CELU leadership. Today the Ethiopian Working class is waging a multiple struggle an anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and anti-bureaucratic capitalism as well as an anti-petty-bourgeois infiltrators and traitors gathered around the counter-revolutionary EPRP. The Working class is now on the verge of completely wiping out the petty-bourgeois infiltrations thanks to the organizing and politicizing work of the revolutionary organizations - particularly the All-Ethiopian Socialist Movement. It is cleansing itself of petty-bourgeois influence thereby making it possible for the establishment of a determined working class party that will be able to lead the working class to power. To EPRP's

futile appeal "EPRP is your party, support, embrace and direct the EPRP - your advocate and your vanguard", the working class is answering "EPRP is not the party of the working class", "EPRP does not represent the interest of the working class", "EPRP is the Ethiopian Princes Restoration Party", "EPRP represents the interest of feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism". To EPRP's deceptive demand for a minimum wage of \$ 120/month the workers are answering "We do not sell our revolution for \$ 120". With these and similar answers to the phoney words of EPRP and its cohorts, the working class is dealing a hard blow to the "Petty-bourgeois revolutionaries". This is a necessary condition for the formation of a real Marxist-Leninist working class party.

The working class struggle against EPRP and its cohorts has been more intensified after the establishment of the General Trade Union of factory workers. This took place in the beginning of October at a general meeting in which 650 worker representatives from 283 different factories participated. The leadership of this workers union is the first to be democratically elected, revolutionary and true representative of the working class since the CIA-Haile Sellasie appointed Beyene Solomon clique took the leadership.

The working class, having been able to distinguish between its enemies and friends, is also fostering the struggle against feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic-capitalism. On many occasions it has demonstrated its determination to wipe out these three enemies. The many spontaneous demonstrations held everywhere in the country in protest to the counter-revolutionaries, and in support of progressive measures with slogans with as "our main enemies are feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism", "EDU, EPRP and CIA are one and the same", "The slogan of Provisional peoples government is the slogan of reactionaries", etc. certainly, prove this. In short the working class is manifesting, to both enemies and friends of the revolution, that it is able to act instantly and in unity against any counter-revolutionary measure.

THE PEASANTRY:

The peasantry is the main force of the revolution. The peasantry in general, and that in the south in particular, has proved and is proving this. The peasantry, organized in 22,000 local associations on provincial and regional levels, is following the revolutionary political line "for an organized, conscious and armed peoples revolution" of the All-Ethiopian Socialist Movement. The peasantry, especially in the South, is struggling to defend and advance the revolution. We shall here mention some of the revolutionary deeds of the peasantry undertaken to defend and advance the revolution.

1. By intensifying its anti-feudalist struggle, it has more or less ousted the feudal lords and reactionary rural bureaucrats from the country-side and thereby making it favourable for revolution.
2. It is wiping out the "petty-bourgeois revolutionaries" under the leadership of EPRP, who, as "friends" of the revolution succeeded in infiltrating the peasantry thereby replacing the ousted feudal lords and reactionary rural bureaucrats. Under the slogan "Peasants! guard your revolution! Be careful with infiltrators!" it is vigilantly guarding against further infiltration of "Petty-bourgeois revolutionaries".

To EPRP's futile dreams of "Provisional Peoples government" and "fascism" the peasantry's answers are "Provisional peoples government is a reactionary slogan", "To shout about a non-existent fascism is to open way for fascism", "Peoples government through organized, conscious and armed peoples struggle". The peasantry is telling EPRP and its cohorts to go to the woods just like the other counter-revolutionary elements. The peasantry is telling them that they don't have any place in the revolution but rather in the counter-revolution.

3. It fights, unarmed or partially armed, with those reactionaries who, organized or on an individual basis, have gone to the woods to carry out their counter-revolution from there. The many counter-revolutionary elements that have been killed or caught by the peasants and their militia while pursuing counter-revolutionary practices, are part of the revolutionary activities of the peasantry.

4. To survive the economic sabotages committed by bureaucratic capitalists, big businessmen, distributors, and EPRP and its cohorts, the peasantry has established cooperative shops and carry out themselves the purchase and sale of commodities. Understanding that farming on a cooperative basis yields more than farming on a private basis, the peasants have in many places begun to farm collectively. New collective farms are continuously being formed. By working with great impetus and revolutionary enthusiasm, the peasants have enhanced their agricultural production. Today the overwhelming majority of the peasantry has solved the food problem and instead been able to sell and store more than ever before.

5. Moreover, the peasantry participates in development activities. The peasantry participates in such activities as constructing feeder roads, schools and clinics and is partially or fully solving the economic and social problems prevalent in the different regions. In doing so the peasantry is assisting the ongoing revolution.

THE URBAN LABOURING MASSES:

Organized in about 2,000 town dwellers associations, the urban labouring masses are pursuing various revolutionary activities that strengthen the revolution. To mention some:

1. They fight the reactionary attempts made by feudal lords and bureaucratic capitalists, who have lost their privileges by the nationalization of urban land and extra houses.
2. Under the slogans "Town dwellers associations! cleanse yourselves of the influence of EPRP and its cohorts!", they are dealing a hard blow to the "petty-bourgeois revolutionaries" who, under different masks have been able to infiltrate the associations of the urban labouring masses. To this end, many associations have formed special anti-EPRP committees whose objectives are to hunt EPRP collaborators and other reactionary elements and thereby defend the revolution. On many occasions the urban labouring masses have demonstrated against, denounced and condemned EPRP and its instigators EDU and CIA.
3. In every association there are security guards consisting of 20 persons. These embryos of the people's militia are, day and night, guarding the security of the members of their respective associations

and therewith defend the revolution against the dangers of the reactionaries.

4. To solve the artificial food grain shortage caused by the deliberate actions of big businessmen, merchants, and other reactionaries, the associations have in many places established cooperative shops. In these shops they sell mainly necessary goods at lower prices than in private shops and thereby strive to, as much as possible, minimize the amount of the artificial shortages.

5. By using the income they receive from nationalized houses that are rented for upto 100 birr per month, they are participating in the construction of roads, schools, hospitals, residence houses, kindergarten, sport fields, etc. in their areas. In doing so they are contributing a lot to the struggle to solve the unemployment problem, the housing problem, etc. and also in the promotion of the revolution.

THE YOUTH:

The Ethiopian Students, who by integrating themselves with the urban and rural masses for two years, have done miracles of organization and consciousness raising, will hold an important place in the history of the Ethiopian peoples Struggle.

Participating in the development through co-operation programme, the youth has carried out such revolutionary activities as follows:

1. They have organized more than 5 million peasants into 22,000 peasant associations and town dwellers into 2,000 associations.
2. They have helped the implementations of the various reforms, particularly the land reform.
3. They have helped the people to distinguish between their real enemies and friends. They have constructed many schools, roads, bridges, water wells, etc.

However the class shift that has continuously taken place as a result of the development of the revolutionary process, has also taken place within the youth movement. Just like the student movement abroad the Ethiopian Youth has been split into revolutionary and counter-revolutionary camps and thus cannot be seen as having the same political stand or tendency concerning the Ethiopian revolution.

The students, now back to school after completing the first campaign programme, are organized in youth leagues on an area basis. These youth leagues can roughly be divided into three groups based on their political attitudes: reactionary youth leagues, progressive youth leagues and youth leagues consisting of both reactionary and progressive elements. Through these area youth leagues the reactionary students are practicing counter-revolutionary activities while the revolutionary students are pursuing revolutionary practices.

The reactionary students support EPRP and have EPRP's political line as their own. The number and strength of such EPRP supporters among the youth is continuously going down following the political bankruptcy and disintegration of EPRP.

The progressive students support the All Ethiopian Socialist Movement and have adopted AESM's political line as their own. The number of such AESM followers among the youth is drastically growing, following the political success the AESM is consistently making. The influence of AESM's supporters is growing daily among the youth and the tendency is that the youth will soon be cleansed of the influence of the "petty-bourgeois revolutionaries" and will hold fully its right place in the Ethiopian revolution. In this respect high credit must be given to the revolutionary organ Yeabiyot Fana, a political organ that struggles to organize the youth under a correct political line.

THE DERG:

The Provisional Military Administrative council- the Derg - has because of the different progressive measures taken and particularly after the declaration of the Ethiopian National Democratic Revolution Programme (to which the people's consistent struggle is the driving force), proved to be on the side of the masses in the struggle against feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism. This means that after the National Democratic Revolution Programme, it has become clear that the contradiction between the Derg and the broad masses holds a secondary and subordinate position vis a vis the principal contradiction which is between the broad masses on the one hand and feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism on the other. As to whether the Derg completely stands on the side of the masses, this will be determined by the vacillation or resoluteness the Derg shows in relation to the implementation of the different proclamations and particularly, the N.D.R. programme.

The Derg has taken a number of revolutionary measures after the declaration of the N.D.R. programme. We shall mention some of them as follows.

1. It has issued a 9-point peace policy to solve the Eritrean problem peacefully and democratically. It has established a special commission for implementing the peace policy. This is a victory attained by the long and bitter struggle of the Ethiopian and Eritrean peoples as well as progressives. A victory that will enhance the class unity of the Ethiopian and Eritrean masses. In fact this has been realized by developments favourable for revolution that have taken place in Eritrea after the peace policy.

Today the oppressed masses and true revolutionaries of both Eritrea and Ethiopia are strongly struggling for a peaceful and democratic solution of the Eritrean question. The spontaneous mass demonstrations held in many places in both Eritrea and Ethiopia in support of the peace policy, the masses' revolutionary call upon the fronts for initiation of the peaceful negotiation, the growing number of Eritreans who return from exile as well as from the fronts in acceptance of the peace policy, are evidences of the growing class unity of the Eritrean masses as well as progressives.

2. It has penalized by death members of the Derg who in collaboration with CIA attempted several coup d'etats. The Derg has also executed big businessmen and bureaucrats who tried to cause economic crisis so as to create favourable counter-revolutionary conditions. Since then attempts at economic sabotage have been minimized.

3. It has issued a new legal tender in place of the old legal tender which reflected the feudo-bourgeois system. This has once again broken the financial power of former feudalists, bureaucratic capitalists, high officers, big businessmen and others and created better revolutionary conditions.

4. It has issued a proclamation according to which the schools will be under the control of the broad masses. According to the proclamation the peasants and the urban labouring masses will have more power to participate in the curriculums, budgets, administration, etc. of the schools.

5. It has issued a proclamation to re-organize the town dwellers' associations according to which the town dwellers will have more chances in participating in decision making and in the revolution.

6. It has penalized by death affirmed reactionaries and "petty-bourgeois revolutionaries" who, in collaboration with CIA, EOU and bureaucratic capitalists, have killed workers, peasants, soldiers and progressive individuals; looted and destroyed peasant and public property. At a time when reactionaries are in futility, attempting to counteract the revolution by harassing workers, peasants, soldiers and progressive individuals, such a measure is imperative so as defend and advance the revolution.

All in all, the Derg and the broad masses of the soldiers are at present participating in defending and advancing the revolution. The soldiers are siding with the working class and the peasantry, are dealing a hard blow to the reactionaries engaged in counteracting the Ethiopian revolution.

CONCLUSION

The Ethiopian revolution which burst in February 1974 has, in such a short time, made an unparalleled advance along the National Democratic Revolution. It has shaken feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism to their very roots. It has laid basic economic, political and social grounds favourable for the improvement of the welfare of the masses as well as for the consummation of the National Democratic Revolution.

Being threatened by the speedy development of the revolutionary process, reactionaries both on internal and external levels are pursuing a strongly coordinated counterrevolutionary struggle. On the contrary progressive forces and the broad masses ^{are} highly struggling to promote the revolution.

The two struggles - the counterrevolutionary and the revolutionary - are at present so acute that the country finds itself in a higher revolutionary tide.

The counterrevolutionary forces are better organized, more conscious, better armed and their struggles better organized than the revolutionary forces. Hence, in the fierce class struggle, there is a greater danger for a successful counterrevolution.

Nonetheless our union firmly believes that the present balance of power can be changed and the present situation be used to defend and advance the revolution to its completion. To realize this, however, our union holds that such imperative measures as the following need to be undertaken.

1. The working class party, without which the revolutionary enthusiasm of the broad masses cannot be brought into full play and without which a decisive struggle is impossible, must be established. This requires, most of all the merger of true progressive organizations and the various Marxist-Leninist study circles. This has been initiated by the All-Ethiopian Socialist Movement and the Marxist-Leninist Revolutionary Organization. Therefore, our union calls upon all progressive organizations and study circles to learn from AESM and MLRO and coordinate their struggles in the formation of the ironsteed working class party. Moreover, all other oppressed classes must be organized and the revolutionary united front be established under the leadership of the working class party. All this requires that progressives integrate themselves into the working class and the peasantry and work as educators, propagandists and agitators. ESUE realizes that this has been carried out for the last two years or so. But the present situation requires that these tasks be carried out more intensively. Thus we call upon progressives to intensify their activities in politicising and organizing the masses.

2. The fundamental democratic rights of the broad masses must be recognized and respected. Without democracy the consolidation and the consummation of the ongoing revolution is impossible. This has been clearly recognized in the Ethiopian Democratic Revolution Programme but not yet realized. ESUE does not deny that, at present, there is a restricted democracy. But a restricted democracy will restrict the progress of the revolution. The works of politicising, organizing and arming the broad masses will be restricted. It will be difficult for progressive organizations to carry out open discussions in front of the masses which is important to establish a principled unity of progressives. The full participation of the masses in the revolution will be strangled. Moreover, the participation of the masses in administrative distribution and control which is necessary to fight the various sabotages that are pursued by the counterrevolutionaries will be hindered. Such a restricted democracy will give more service to the counter-revolution than the revolution. Therefore, ESUE deems it imperative that the unrestricted fundamental democratic rights of the broad masses be immediately recognized.

3. "Without a peoples militia the people have nothing." The enemies of the revolution are armed to their teeth while the revolutionary forces are unarmed or poorly armed. At present it is mainly with sticks that the masses are defending their revolution. But this cannot hold longer. Resisting and crushing the well armed enemies by the masses requires that the latter are better and consciously armed. Though ESUE realizes that certain progress has been made in this field, too, it highly demands that arming the masses be carried out immediately and intensively. The question of arming the masses is the most burning and decisive question of the day necessary to defend and advance the revolution.

4. ESUE maintains that without the support and solidarity of the oppressed masses of the world, the Ethiopian revolution cannot win nor can it

be consolidated. At present the international support and solidarity that the Ethiopian revolution is enjoying is less than the counter-revolutionary campaign directed against it. If this continues, ESUE believes that it is dangerous for the Ethiopian revolution and with that to the world proletarian revolution. Therefore, ESUE calls upon all progressive organizations and individuals to intensify their opposition to the counterrevolutionary struggle that imperialists, feudalists, EPRP, "Federation" and other reactionary forces pursue and at the same time to strengthen their solidarity with the Ethiopian masses and true progressives.

In this respect, ESUE would like to make it known that it will, as it has always done, 1) consistently fight back all the reactionary propaganda spread by imperialists and other reactionary forces; 2) mercilessly expose the reactionary nature of the so-called Federation and EPRP, which, under the mask of Marxist-Leninist Phraseology, are struggling to counteract the Ethiopian revolution; 3) Continuously support the struggling Ethiopian masses and true progressive organizations, particularly the All-Ethiopian Socialist Movement. It will untiringly work to introduce them on world scale so as to obtain them international solidarity. As to the Derg, our stand is conditional and at present it is a critical support,

Down with the counterrevolutionary collaborators CIA, EDU, EPRP & Federation!

Down with feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism!
Long live the international solidarity of oppressed masses!
Long live the All-Ethiopian Socialist Movement!
The Ethiopian masses will triumph!

Executive Committee of
The Ethiopian Students Union in Europe.