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Prepared by the Ethiopian Students Union
in Europe

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**POLITICAL RESOLUTION
OF THE 15th
CONGRESS OF THE
ETHIOPIAN STUDENTS
UNION IN EUROPE
(ESUE)**

Monthly Journal of the Worldwide
Union of Ethiopian Students

November 1975

IMPORTANT NOTE TO ALL REVOLUTIONARY AND PROGRESSIVE ORGANISATIONS AND PERSONALITIES

The counter-revolutionary divisive clique grouped around the "Federation/ESUNA" leadership has begun publishing journals using the name of ESUE and its organs (Tiglachin Zena, Tiglachin, and Tatek). This reactionary group - the youth organisation of the monarchists [Isfawween- Mengesha Seyoum Clique) - is trying to disguise its counter-revolutionary activities by using the names of our revolutionary organs, which have gained wide popularity through the ten years of revolutionary struggle against feudalism and imperialism.

We therefore, call upon all revolutionaries to pay attention to this filthy work of reactionaries. We remind all our sympathisers and readers, that the publications, on which the membership in the so called "Worldwide Federation of Ethiopian Students" is mentioned, belong to the reactionary youth organisation of Isfawween and the like.

The organs of ESUE- Tiglachin Zena, Tiglachin, and Tatek are publications of the Worldwide Union of Ethiopian Students; and this will always be mentioned to that effect.

Editorial Board - ESUE

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The Ethiopian Students' Union
in Europe

28.10.1975

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AGENT PROVOCATEURS AT WORK

The Ethiopian Student Union in Europe has for the last 10 years consistently fought on the side of the people in the struggle against Feudalism and Imperialism. It has fiercely and mercilessly combatted all enemies of the Ethiopian revolution - and always put itself in the service of the historic liberation struggle of our heroic peoples.

No wonder that the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe is thus hated by the enemies of the Ethiopian people. The spectrum of these enemies ranges from the imperialist governments to the ESUNA/Federation leadership. These counter-revolutionary forces leave nothing undone to discredit, weaken and liquidate our revolutionary union.

The method they use to this end are the well tried weapons of all reactionaries in history - lies, slanders, forgeries, etc... In this field it is the ESUNA/Federation leadership that distinguishes itself and plays the loathsome role of an agent provocateur.

Their newest gag is an article praising the military government the ESUNA/Federation leadership sent to the Ethiopian herald signed with our name. This forgery is so clumsy and ridiculous that anybody acquainted with the differences in our movement and the methods of struggle of the ESUNA/Federation leadership will immediately recognize who its authors are.

The forged article entitled "A Year of Revolution and Struggle" begins with the following note:

"Bearing in mind the first anniversary of the national revolution in our country, we feel we are duty bound to make our assesment and views heard by our people. Thus we have enclosed to your paper an article which we hope will be published in the name of Amare Tegbaru, Dereje Alemayehu and Tedla Seyoum in the name of the executive committee of the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe.

We remain yours with fraternal gratitude and revolutionary commitment. E.C. of E.S.U.E."

Just to show how incredible and clumsy this police work is, let us point out the following:

- a) Firstly, these three comrades do not belong to the executive committee at all, and for all that matters live in three different countries thousands of miles apart from each other;
- b) Secondly, it is so incredible that these comrades asked that their name be publicly mentioned and that they sign in the name of the executive committee although they do not belong to the executive committee;
- c) Thirdly, the note is supposedly signed by the executive committee. If so, why did then the executive committee hope that the names of comrades that do not belong to it be published?

But these are things that do not bother the ESUNA/Federation leadership so long it can bring out its filth. Moreover such base police work is nothing new to the ESUNA/Federation leadership. Let us recall the forged interview of the thug Eyasu Alemayehu, which was denied by the interviewee himself. Or one can also recall the Federation inspired dangerous article in the CIA magazine L'Afrique et L'Asie. We also have the odious slander suggesting that the former members of our union are "advising" the military government.

Such disgusting forgery and police work which is systematically being carried out by the ESUNA/Federation leadership has its reasons. Firstly, the ESUNA/Federationship is absolutely unable to hold its own in the field of the political

and ideological struggle that it has to take recourse to such vile and despicable gangster methods. Secondly, it seeks through such methods to be able to distract from and cover up its essentially counter-revolutionary political line. Thirdly, it hopes through such fabrications to discredit and isolate our union, so that its members can be easy prey for the blood path the rightist restorative forces in Ethiopia are preparing. Another thing that has to be noted specifically about this article however is its anti-Eritrean tirades which seeks to foment chauvinism in Ethiopia and to alienate Eritrean and Ethiopian progressives.

The history of the revolutionary movements and revolutions clearly teaches us that one of the best means the counter-revolutionary forces have against the revolutionary forces is the weapon of lies and defamations. On the other hand, just as much the revolution is true, the truth is also a revolutionary weapon. Only the forces of the old order resort to lies and intrigues to preserve their privileges, while the revolutionary forces enlighten the masses about their real and true conditions of oppression. Revolutionaries do not deceive the masses, but seek the overthrow of the deciet of the old order. These is the teaching of historical materialism on truth and revolution.

The forged article in the Ethiopian Herald is also a striking example of how the lack of democratic rights in Ethiopia benefits the counter-revolutionaries. It shows how they can cause great damage to the Ethiopian revolution, through such forgeries for example, without the progressive forces being able to openly expose them.

We call upon all sincere democrats and revolutionaries to discuss the forged article in the Ethiopian Herald, to compare its content with the revolutionary resolution of our 15th Congress, to analyze the counter-revolutionary intent of this article, to draw lessons and bear to mind the methods of reactionaries and condemn with one voice this police work of the ESUNA/Federation leadership.

Executive Committee and
Editorial Board of E.S.U.E.

EDITORIAL

The 15th Congress of the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe will go down in history as the most revolutionary, militant and successful congress ever held. Not only did the congress succeed in smashing the counter-revolutionary offensive of the ESUNA/Federation leadership and confirming the line of revolution, but also developed this line further on the basis of a profound analysis of the concrete reality obtaining in Ethiopia. In its deliberations, which were earmarked by scientific sobriety plus revolutionary enthusiasm, the congress thoroughly discussed the present socio-economic reality in Ethiopia, summed up the historical experiences of the people's struggle and correctly determined the fundamental tasks essential for the progress of the revolutionary movement.

Among the topics, that took a broad space in the discussions of the Congress, was the question of the development of capitalism in Ethiopia. The Congress ascertained that Ethiopia finds itself in the period of transition from feudalism towards capitalism - and that this process builds the economic foundations of the February revolutionary movement. This is an objective process independent of our will. However, in order to be able to correctly chart out the path of struggle the revolutionary forces in Ethiopia have to take into account the bearings of such an economic transformation on their tactics and strategy. For instance, one has to take into account that in this transitional period the classes of feudal society are rapidly disintegrating and that of capitalist society are developing and consolidating themselves - that the class relationships have become complicated and are in the process of being relevelled.

Nevertheless, the congress held it for incorrect and inadmissible to draw from the fact of the development of capitalism in Ethiopia the conclusion that the tasks of the democratic revolution have outlived themselves and become superfluous. Nothing is more erroneous than that. For example in Ethiopia, although the capitalist mode of production increasingly determines the livelihood of the people, the superstruc-

ture - the state apparatus, ideology, etc. - is still under the influence of the feudalists, the bureaucrat. capitalists and the imperialists. The relationship between the economic basis and its superstructure is not mechanical and one-sided - both do not develop mechanically parallel to each other but in a complexity of contradictions. Lenin, referring to similar developments in Tsarist Russia and Prussia determined the relationship between the two as follows: "The adaption of the superstructure to the base is a complicated and sprunghaft (jerky - Ed.) process." This complicated adaption between the changing economic base and the old superstructure can be effected in Ethiopia only within the context of the national democratic revolution.

Another theme which drew the attention of the congress was the agrarian question. The Congress after having thoroughly discussed the significance of the Land Reform Decree unanimously acclaimed it as a great victory of the people's struggle. Particularity because of two points - the nationalization of land and no compensation for the landlords. These two points hit the nail on the head - and with their implementation thoroughly solve the land question in Ethiopia in a revolutionary way. However, in order to implement the Land Reform Decree with its full bearings, it is necessary to break the political power and resistance of the landlords. No landlord will give away his land without compensation - one must take it away from him. And one must do it against his furious resistance and all those that stand behind him - the bureaucrats, the imperialists and the rightist forces in the Derg. That is why the Land Reform Decree can be correctly implemented only via the agrarian revolution and not through the bureaucracy as the military government intends.

The congress further called upon the peasantry not only to break the backbone of the political power of the feudal lords, but also to sieze local political power and to set up organs of people's rule - which will create favorable conditions and serve as a springboard for the completion of the democratic revolution on a national scale. The call for the establishment of local popular organs of power in the rural areas is not arbitrary demand, but a necessity dictated by the realities of the class struggle in the

in the countryside. The whole logic of the struggle compels the peasantry to smash the rural state apparatus - the police and bureaucracy - which is standing on the side of the feudal lords and to establish its own organs of power to defend the revolution. Not only is the establishment of local organs of political power a necessity, but also something within the realm of possibility. In the countryside, the resistance of the feudal lords (who have mostly fled to the cities), bureaucrats, police and other reactionaries is very much weaker as in the cities, and with the arming and organization of the peasantry the establishment of local organs of power won't be too much of a difficult task.

The congress was clear about the fact that the existence of local democratic organs of power is in the long run incompatible with a reactionary central government - that a showdown between the two is inevitable. The guarantee of their success in this showdown will be above all, their alliance with the workers in the cities.

The 15th congress couldn't have failed to take notice of the counter-revolutionary position taken by the ESUNA/Federation leadership against the slogan, "Land to the tiller." The whole year long, the ESUNA/Federation leadership was trumpeting against the American Way of solving the land question - which is nothing but agrarian revolution and cannot be otherwise - stating that it made no difference for the peasantry if it gets land or not. That being not enough, the ESUNA/Federation leadership started talking of the peasantry being fascistic if it gets land. The congress unanimously condemned the counter-revolutionary position of the ESUNA/Federation leadership and resolved to intensify the struggle against these anti-people forces that objectively work hand in hand with the feudalists and the rightist forces in the Derg.

Another point in the agenda of the Congress was the question of the arming of the masses. The Congress considered the arming of the people as the burning and most crucial task of the present period - for to arm the people, means under the present condition to organize the revolution. The arming of

the people is currently the only way of defending and advancing the revolution forward and the sole guarantee for the realization of democratic rights. He who does not speak of arming the people (or worse as the ESUNA/Federation leadership oppose it), better keep silent about democracy.

The Congress further resolved to struggle for the demolition of the so-called security forces - the police, Petno Derash and the secret service - and that the task of defending the revolution be taken over by a people's armed militia. Furthermore the Congress discussed the question of the abolition of the standing army - the liberation of the soldiers from the slavery of barrack life - and its integration, with the exception of reactionary officers, with the armed people's militia. Not only would the people learn the use of arms from the soldiers, but also would the soldiers have something to learn from the people about democracy. And such a people's militia - an army of the whole people - can thoroughly do away with feudalism and imperialism and serve as an invincible bulwark against all internal and external enemies of the Ethiopian revolution.

In this respect, the Congress sharply condemned the counter-revolutionary agitation of the ESUNA/Federation leadership against the arming of the people, with the silly argument that the Derg will use it against the national liberation movements, particularly the Eritrean. (See Statement of WWFES March 15/75). That is not only an arrogant insult to the democratic consciousness of the people which imputes that the people cannot differentiate between friend and enemy, but is also an argument which favors the reactionary forces who are hatching their counter-revolutionary schemes.

Moreover, talking about national oppression, anybody acquainted with the history of Ethiopia knows that the supremacy of the Amhara nationality is based on its weaponry and that the arming of the whole people can only break the basis of this supremacy - but that is something which the ESUNA/Federation leadership cannot understand due to its inconsistent position on the national question, something to which we will turn our attention to.

The national question occupied a central space in the deliberation of the Congress. The Congress reaffirmed the position taken on the national question by the 11th Congress, reiterated its support for the struggles of the oppressed nationalities and condemned the chauvinistic, reactionary and barbarous policy of the Derg in regards to the national question. Moreover it condemned the reactionary forces who under the pretext of the national question are pursuing counter-revolutionary goals and called upon the progressives of the concerned nationalities to energetically fight these. The Congress made it clear, that the oppressed nationalities can never attain true freedom, along the path of counter-revolution.

Summing up the experiences since the 11th Congress, it gave a more precise, clear and scientifically correct formulation of the national question and the right of self-determination. In comparison to the 11th Congress, its resolution well screened against both right and left deviations.

The position of the ESUNA/Federation leadership on the national question was also under scrutiny. Despite the assertions of the ESUNA/Federation leadership to the contrary, the congress ascertained that Federation leadership has an essentially chauvinistic position on the national question. This could be substantiated by the following examples.

Example Nr. 1 - Our 14th Congress had among other things called upon the oppressed nationalities to get organized and struggle for their struggles. This call was considered by the ESUNA/Federation leadership as "a sabotage of the Ethiopian revolution" (The Proletariat) or as "dividing the Ethiopian working class" (Combat). Only die-hard chauvinists can view the organization of the oppressed nationalities as a sabotage of the Ethiopia or division of the working class. The organization of the oppressed nationalities in the struggle for their democratic rights does not in any manner stand in the way of a multi-national working class party, nor is it "a sabotage of the Ethiopian revolution", as the agent provocateur Melaku Tegegne maintains, but rather a mighty impulse for the revolution. But that is not an argument these chauvinists understand. One

dare ask these gentlemen, if the organization of the Eritrean peoples for their struggle is also "a sabotage of the Ethiopian revolution"?

Example Nr. 2 - Let us look at their position on the Oromo question. In their criticism of the Ethiopian National Liberation Front one of their arguments was that it was filled with Oromos ('ሰላሳ ጥቅም') and that it is narrow nationalist minded. It is natural - perhaps unnatural for the Federation leadership - that in any mass organization in Ethiopia, that the Oromos, who constitute about half of the population will at least numerically seen predominate. Moreover, considering the specific history of the E.N.L.F - its origins in the Western Somalia Liberation Front - it won't wonder at all if Oromos have by far the largest share in the membership. Therefore, although one could criticize the E.N.L.F on many points, to argue that it is stocked up with Oromos ('ሰላሳ ጥቅም') is the crudest form of chauvinism that one can ever meet.

Beyond the above mentioned examples, we have the refind attempts of the exposed agent provocateur, Melaku Tegegne, and his cohorts to divide the Oromo nationality, for which they were unanimously condemned by the 15th Congress of E.S.U.E and the meeting of the Oromo Students in Europe.

The ESUNA/Federation leadership carries out a sophisticated form of chauvinism which vociferously pays lip service to the recognition of the right of nation to self-determination, to cover up its basically counter-revolutionary and anti-oppressed nationalities line, which we have already seen. The question of the right of nations to self-determination is not a matter of principle for the ESUNA/Federation as the only and just means of solving the national question in the spirit of democracy and internationalism - but an instrument to further their ulterior interests. This can be clearly seen in the Eritrean case. But the Eritreans are seeing it through and, ^{increasingly} sensing the ESUNA/Federation Leadership as false friends. Despite the rabid attempts of the ESUNA/Federation leadership to antagonise Ethiopian and Eritrean progressives and its vile methods of slander against E.S.U.E. in regards to the national question - we are confident, that these reactionary attempt

will be brought to nought by the struggles of the peoples of the oppressed nationalities.

Another main issue in the proceedings of the Congress was the role of the military government, its class content and determinations in the present reality in Ethiopia. The resolution on the military government passed by the Congress is so precise and detailed that it is not necessary to once again delve upon this question here. A problematic that may require a little explanation however, is the strengthening of the right wing in the military council. The strengthening of the right-wing forces and the weakening of the progressive forces in the military council, a process which has been going on for the last few months, is due to the following factors

a) the feverish activity of the imperialists - particularly the American CIA and the West German BND - to strengthen the right wing.

b) the development of the people's struggle, has brought about that a large parte of the petty-bourgeoisie has gone to counter-revolution, including those in the military council.

c) the progressive (which is a relative term) and patriotic soldiers in the military council don't have the sufficient theoretical clarity, steadfastness and experience to see through and thwart the intrigues of the right-wing forces.

d) these patriotic forces have no social base and the whole weight of the political superstructure-bureaucracy, state apparatus, etc... works in favor of the right wing forces.

That the right-wing forces in the military council are gaining the upper hand is a classic confirmation of what August Bebel, said is a law of bourgeois revolutions, that when the left coalesces with the right, it is the right that always wins and the left that loses. In any case revolutionaries must closely follow the future developments in the military council.

Further, the Congress discussed the tasks of revolutionaries in Ethiopia which can be summarized as follows

- a) arming of the people
- b) organization of the broad masses, particularly of the working class
- c) establishment of the worker-peasant alliance
- d) intensive revolutionary agitation within the army.

With the fulfillment of these tasks - which can be summed up under the term as "the organization of the revolution" - the day of the liberation of the Ethiopian people's won't be far off.

The 15th Congress of the Ethiopian Student Union in Europe rightly bears the name of being the Congress of victory and unity. The Congress of victory because it signifies the brilliant victory of the revolutionary line over the counter-revolutionary tendency grouped around the ESUNA/Federation leadership. The Congress of unity because it succeeded in uniting the vast majority of students on a revolutionary platform, as evidenced by the fact that twice as much students participated in it, as compared to the illegal counter-revolutionary congress organized by the Federation leadership. This testifies to the fact that the revilutionary forces are on the advance, and the counter-revolutionary forces in retreat - and that is good. The same process is also taking place in North America and the Middle East. This process reflects the development of the revolutionary struggle in Ethiopia, and that the balance of forces is changing in favor of the people and revolution - and against the forces of reaction.

The ESUNA/Federation leadership which had been pursuing an erroneous political line has now openly gone over to the side of counter-revolution. This treachery is not accidental, but has its material conditions and social base in the going over of a large part of the petty-bourgeoisie to the counter-revolutionary camp in Ethiopia. The petty-bourgeoisie, has, as a class, won nothing in the wake of the February movement -

rather it has lost some of its privileges. It has not got the salary increments it has hoped for - instead the soaring inflation is biting on its standard of life. It is scared by the climate of general insecurity and the prospects of the future - and no wonder calls for a "popular government" in order "to avert a civil war". (ESUNA/Federation)

Under the present reality in Ethiopia, the ESUNA/Federation leadership objectively works hand in hand with the feudalists, imperialists and the rightist forces in the Derg. We have already seen how the ESUNA/Federation leadership is opposed to the agrarian revolution and the arming of the people.

In regards their "anti-imperialism", as the foreign enterprises were nationalized, besides the imperialists, it was the ESUNA/Federation leaders that distinguished themselves by protesting against this move. One can enumerate lots of other concrete examples, that testify to the fact that the Federation leadership has gone over to the side of counter-revolution - which however will be dealt with elsewhere.

The revolutionary wing of the Ethiopian Students movement must carry out a fierce ideological and political struggle against these renegade forces grouped around the ESUNA/Federation leadership and strive for the restoration of the unity of the Ethiopian Student movement on a revolutionary basis. The resolution of the 15th Congress of the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe is one step forward in this direction.

The political resolution of the 15th Congress of the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe held in W-Berlin from the 3 - 8 Aug. 1975

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF THE FEBRUARY MOVEMENT - OR THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM IN ETHIOPIA

Presently, Ethiopia finds itself in the historical period of transition from feudalism towards capitalism. This period of transition, where the new replaces the old, is of an extremely complex nature and characterised by an uneven and a varying tempo of development.

Although its development is uneven, the capitalist mode of production has penetrated the economic life of the country. The feudal relations of production are disintegrating and being replaced by capitalist relations. The type of production is changing from being that of a natural economy and assumes the character of commodity production. Speaking generally, the formal subsumption of labor under capital has become a foregone conclusion, while the real subsumption of labor under capital is making rapid progress.

The feudal relations of production and the former government had strongly impeded the development of the capitalist forces of production. The present government, however, is paving the way for a freer and wider development of capitalism. It has taken various measures that break the economic backbone of feudalism and clear the way for capitalist development.

The economic basis of the February peoples' movement was/is the contradiction between the developing capitalist forces of production and the feudal relations of production. Due the fact, that there exists a relatively integrated economic life that covers the country, it was for the first time in history possible to simultaneously engulf the whole of Ethiopia in revolutionary storms.

Although, the economic base is being transformed in the direction of capitalism, the superstructure still remains under the influence of the feudalists and bureaucratic capitalists. Hence, the contradiction between the old political superstructure and the changing economic base becomes more intense. This contradiction can thoroughly be resolved only within the context of the national democratic revolution.

ON THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

The question of democracy, as all great questions of history, can be decided only by revolutionary violence and struggle. The anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution lays the foundation for democracy - both are the two aspects of an inseparable historical unity. This historical truth has been vindicated in the experiences and practice of the February revolutionary movement. The experiences of the February peoples' movement show that the people can attain democracy neither through the goodwill of the ruling classes nor via reforms, but as a result of their anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle alone. In other words, to bring about democracy for the broad masses in Ethiopia, it's necessary to carry out the national democratic revolution.

Presently, the struggles of the Ethiopian peoples is on the eve of the national democratic revolution. The anti-feudalist and anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the broad masses has raised demands objectively pertinent to the national democratic revolution. Moreover, since the class content of the national democratic revolution is the agrarian revolution, the revolutionary struggle currently being carried out by the peasantry creates a favorable situation for the transition to the national democratic revolution. Nevertheless, in order to effect this transition towards the national democratic revolution, the working class must assume the leadership of the revolutionary struggle.

To this end, it must be the main task of revolutionaries to struggle to bring about the national democratic revolution and the establishment of a people's government under the leadership of the working class, a goal our union has been agitating for ever since it started taking a revolutionary stand. It means that the struggle for the completion and full victory of the present democratic revolution must determine the tactics of the revolutionary forces. This task is not as some opportunists maintain a distant dream, but an immediate one that arises out of the concrete conditions in Ethiopia and the present level of the struggle. To this effect, to help bring about the national democratic revolution and create conditions for the destruction of feudalism and imperialism by revolutionary violence, the following three tasks have to be accomplished.

- a) The working class must be organized and wrest the leadership of the revolutionary movement from the petty-bourgeoisie;
- b) a united front of struggle of the broad masses based on the worker and peasant alliance must be created;
- c) the broad masses must be armed and a long and protracted military struggle be carried out.

ON THE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

A people's government can come in Ethiopia only with the destruction of feudalism and imperialism through the national democratic revolution and the establishment of a government of the broad masses under the leadership of the working class. In connexion with its revolutionary character the class content of such a people's government is "the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry". It can have no other meaning and significance.

The broad masses that took part in the February revolutionary movement have raised the slogan calling for the

"Establishment of a people's government". In order to make this wish of the people a reality, the progressive forces must explain to the broad masses the revolutionary significance of this slogan, the class content and revolutionary character of a people's government and prepare the broad masses for the national democratic revolution, which alone can bring about a true people's government.

ON THE SO-CALLED PROVISIONAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT - THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MONARCHISTS AND BUREAUCRATIC CAPITALISTS

In the past year, the thoroughly erroneous slogan which called for the establishment of a "provisional people's government" to be constituted out of the various sectors of the population had misled a number of sincere progressives. Although this slogan was first raised by a section of the petty-bourgeoisie, under the present concrete reality in Ethiopia it serves the interests of the feudalists, bureaucratic capitalists and imperialists, in that it creates favorable conditions for their counter-revolutionary plots by sowing confusion within the ranks of the people. These counter-revolutionary forces have realized the usefulness of this slogan and embraced it. For instance, among those that clamour for the establishment of a "provisional people's government" we have the former crown prince and Mengesha Seyoum.

This reactionary and misleading slogan had for a certain time gained acceptance within the ranks of progressive forces. This was due to the fact, that there lacked a working class party that could lead the struggle, elaborate a scientifically founded clear political line and point out the path of struggle. Nevertheless, as a result of the fierce ideological struggle carried out by revolutionaries and the experiences of the people's struggle many sincere democrats have come to realize the reactionary content of the slogan that calls for establishment of a "provisional people's government" and repudiating it, are turning their attention towards the arena

of revolutionary struggles.

Our union has from the beginning struggled against and exposed this reactionary slogan, since it primarily served to disarm and lull the peoples struggles. Because

a) so long feudalism and imperialism are not demolished by the revolutionary violence of the people, there can be no talk of a peoples' government in Ethiopia;

b) the so-called "provisional people's government" is in its class content a government of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the feudalists and not of the oppressed broad masses;

c) the so-called "provisional people's government" can not, as it's attributed to it, "give the people democracy". Democracy is not something to be given to the people, but as the February people's movement showed, it can come about only as a result of the revolutionary struggle;

d) a people's government can come only through revolutionary armed struggle and not via elections. It's our firm belief, that the task of the present is to prepare the people for the armed struggle and not for election.

Our union must in the future expose more than before, the reactionary character of the afore-mentioned slogan. It is imperative to show to all those sincere revolutionaries that have been deceived by this slogan, in a patient and comradely manner, the reactionary content of the slogan. However, it is the bounden duty to struggle mercilessly against the ECUA/Federation leaders who openly call for the establishment of a provisional government of the bourgeoisie (የፋሽዲናር መንግሥት) and are both in theory and practice, the enemies of the Ethiopian peoples.

ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION

During the February revolutionary movement the broad masses of the oppressed peasantry have intensified the anti-feudal struggle more than even before. To liberate itself from

feudal exploitation and oppression, the peasant arose under the banner of "Land to the Tiller". Everywhere the peasant started going about to confiscate the land of the feudal lords by means of revolutionary violence.

Being confronted with the revolutionary struggle of the peasantry, the provisional military government of Ethiopia was compelled to promulgate the Land Reform Decree. The decree has a revolutionary content since it abolishes private property on land and envisages the confiscation of land from the feudalists without compensation; and as such is to be considered as a great victory attained by the people's struggle.

Nevertheless, this decree cannot be correctly put into practice in accordance with its revolutionary spirit through the bureaucracy, which is bound by thousands of threads to the feudalists and imperialists, as the military government intends to have it implemented. Rather, it's beyond doubt that the bureaucracy, feudalists, imperialists and reactionary forces within the Derg will conspire together to do their best to thwart and annul this decree.

This decree can be properly implemented only when the peasantry is organized and carries out an armed struggle to destroy the feudal class and the columns of the state apparatus supporting it - meaning that the peasantry carries out the agrarian revolution. In order to implement this decree, it is necessary to break the political backbone of the feudalists via revolutionary violence. The agrarian revolution can't be divorced from the struggle for political power and liberty. In other words, it cannot be seen apart and carried out separately from the general democratic revolution.

Hence, in order to guarantee that the revolutionary content of the decree be maintained in its implementation, the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe

a) will fight for, that the peasant associations be organized in a democratic manner, independent of the influences of the feudalists, bureaucracy and the Derg as well.

b) will struggle to the effect, that the peasant associations go beyond the tasks foreseen for them in the decree and primarily serve as the carrier of political power in their localities and as organs of people's rule and administration. Our union shall struggle that the organs of repression of the old order, particularly the police and courts, be demolished and that questions of security, justice, etc... in general all administrative tasks be handled by revolutionary peasant committees;

c) demands and will struggle for the arming of the broad peasant masses.

The agrarian revolution can be carried out to its successful completion with the formation of a common front of struggle of the countryside and the cities based on the worker and peasant alliance. In the present revolutionary reality in Ethiopia, this solidarity of the cities and the countryside is expressed by the blood cemented alliance of the peasantry and student campaigners. However, the feudalists, who are fleeing to the cities are together with those counter-revolutionary elements there, whose interests have been hurt by the progress of the revolutionary movement, feverishly trying to transform the cities into counter-revolutionary fortresses. Although the recent decree that nationalized urban land weakens these reactionary forces, the danger to the agrarian revolution that can come from the cities will be averted only when the working class in the cities intensifies the anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist struggle and stretches out its hand to the peasantry. The creation of the worker-peasant alliance will be an invincible guarantee for the victory of the new democratic revolution.

SPECIAL RESOLUTION PASSED ON THE FEDERATION LEADERS

The Ethiopian Students Union in Europe strongly condemns the out and out counter-revolutionary agitation and propaganda carried out in opposition to the slogan "Land to the Tiller" by the counter-revolutionary tendency in the Ethiopian Student Movement, grouped around the Federation leadership.

ON THE ARMING OF THE PEOPLE

In the present period, when the revolutionary struggle of the Ethiopian people is marching forward, the arming of the people is of decisive significance. The arming of the people is necessary not only to defend the won victories, but also in order to march forward and to be able to annihilate the enemies of the people. Specially, at this time when the feudalists in collaboration with the police are engaged in persecuting the peasant struggling for land and liberty and extreme rightist forces assisted by the imperialists are hatching counter-revolutionary plots, it's more than ever imperative to arm the people in order to defend the revolution.

The secret police, the police and "Fetno Derash forces", were not only repressive organs of the former regime, but are also presently serving as instruments to oppress the people and will continue to do so in the future. Hence, the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe commits itself to struggle for the demolition of these repressive organs and their replacement by a people's militia that can defend the gains of the revolution against reactionary plots. The people's militia must comprise the whole population without distinction of sex. In particular

a) the industrial working class must serve in this people's army. Workers must receive their full wages for the period served.

b) the peasantry organized in revolutionary peasant associations must form the pillars of this people's army.

The arming of the people being one of the primary tasks on the order of the day, the people must be armed by the weapons it gets from the Derg and/or other sources. The people's militia must be organized and built up in a democratic manner.

The arming of the broad masses and the formation of a people's militia will create an immensely favorable situation for the national democratic revolution. In this respect, the people's militia

a) educates the broad masses in the practices of democracy

b) means that the feudalists, bureaucrats, and other reactionary forces can no longer oppress the people via the police forces, but that rather a favorable situation for the establishment of a people's order would exist;

c) enables the people to fight against the plots of reactionaries and to control their economic sabotage;

d) guarantees that the intended changes won't remain on paper but that they'll be put into practice.

ON ORGANIZATION

In order to advance the revolution forward in Ethiopia where a revolutionary situation currently exists, revolutionaries must both organize themselves and the people for the struggle. The revolutionary forces should realize that the question of organization is indissolubly linked with the further advance of the revolution, and in this respect must prepare the people for the political and military struggle in particular. In the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle

a) all oppressed classes that take part in the new democratic revolution must be distinctly organized on a class basis. The working class party must be primarily organized;

b) the oppressed religions, nationalities and sections of the population must be organized so that they be able to effectively contribute their part to the national democratic revolution;

c) it's necessary to struggle for the establishment of broad mass organizations that encompass various anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces and democratic personalities.

The revolutionary intellectuals have a great responsibility and historical duty regarding the organization of the people. It is the call of the day for revolutionaries not only to organize themselves, but also to integrate with the broad masses and to organize them for the struggle.

ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION

I. The Ethiopian Students Union in Europe reaffirms that it unconditionally recognizes the right of the oppressed nationalities in Ethiopia to self-determination, including and up to secession. Moreover, it reiterates its support for the democratic content of the struggles waged by the oppressed nationalities against national oppression.

II. Although in a somewhat differing form, the Ethiopian armed Forces Coordinating Derg has inherited the policy of national oppression followed by Haile Selassie. The fact that the Derg refuses to recognize the right of nations to secede leads it in practice to continue the policies of brute force and national oppression of Haile Selassie.

III. The right of the oppressed nations in Ethiopia to secede and form an independent state must be unconditionally

recognized. Not to recognize this right or to recognize it verbatim and deny it in practice, objectively means that one supports the policy of national oppression and exploitation carried out against the oppressed nationalities. However, the right of nations to secede must not be confused with the question of the advisability for a given nation to secede at a given time. The latter question is to be considered within the context of the general social development and the level of the class struggle.

IV. The only way to unite the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle of the oppressing and oppressed nationalities, and hereby be enabled to annihilate the enemies of the Ethiopian peoples, is through the unconditional recognition of the right of nations of self-determination. To this end the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe:

a) vehemently opposes the use of any kind of violence against the oppressed nationalities;

b) struggles for the democratic resolution of the national question in Ethiopia;

c) mercilessly struggles against those who support national oppression and against those that either curtail or oppose the right of nations to self-determination.

V. Since national chauvinism is double-edged, we have both the chauvinism of the oppressing nationality and the narrow-minded nationalism of the oppressed nationalities. However, the principal enemy and the cause of the narrow-minded nationalism of the oppressed nationalities is the chauvinism of the oppressing nationality. In order to combat national chauvinism, which is a great counter-revolutionary weapon in the hands of reactionaries, the progressive forces that come from the different nationalities must educate their peoples in the spirit of democracy and internationalism and strive for the creation of a common front of struggle on the basis of democracy. This task can be effectively implemented only when the progressives that come from the oppressing nationalities primarily agitate for the right of the oppressed nationalities to secede, while on the other hand

the progressives that come from the oppressed nationalities agitate for the right to unite.

VI. In the aforementioned respect, the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe condemns and struggles against the reactionary policy of the Derg in dealing with the national question. Shoulder to shoulder with the oppressed nationalities it struggles against the so-called "invioability of Ethiopia's unity" blind nationalist demagogogy.

VII. At the present period, when the revolutionary movement of the Ethiopian peoples is marching forward, the feudalists and reactionaries coming from the oppressed nationalities are with the aid of the imperialists carrying out their counter-revolutionary activities under the pretext of the national question. Progressives in Ethiopia, particularly those that come from the oppressed nationalities must expose and fight mercilessly against the deception of these reactionaries. To back away from this struggle, to consider these reactionaries as friends of the people or to tolerate them, etc... because they may come from one's own nationality objectively means rendering a great service to counter-revolution. It must be clear that the oppressed nationalities will never attain true freedom along the path of counter-revolution.

VIII. As part of the struggle to bring about national equality in Ethiopia, the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe raises the following concrete demands and will conduct a revolutionary struggle for their realization

- a) the abolition of all sorts of national privileges
- b) the abolition of a legal and compulsory official language. The creation of conditions that facilitate each nationality to make use of its own language.

IX. The oppressed nationalities in Ethiopia must be organized in the struggle for their democratic rights and against national oppression. Unless these oppressed nationalities

themselves fight for their own rights, there is not other force that can liberate them from national oppression. In this struggle, our union commits itself to stand on their side.

ON THE ERITREAN QUESTION

1. The Ethiopian Students Union in Europe reiterates its unconditional recognition of the rights of the peoples of Eritrea to self-determination, including and up to secession. Furthermore, it supports the struggles they are waging against national oppression.
2. The Ethiopian Students Union in Europe strongly condemns the provisional military government of Ethiopia for refusing to recognise the right of the Eritrean peoples to self-determination and for following a reactionary policy of national oppression and brute force against the peoples of Eritrea. Standing on the side of the Eritrean peoples it'll struggle against the policy of brute force carried out by the Derg on the peoples of Eritrea.
3. The Ethiopian Students Union in Europe supports the struggles of progressive forces within the Eritrean liberation fronts to give the leadership of the movement a consistent anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist line. It also states its strong opposition to certain leaders of the Eritrean liberation fronts that closely collaborate with the imperialists and feudalists to strangle the struggles of both the peoples of Eritrea and Ethiopia.
4. Since the basic enemies of the Eritrean and Ethiopian peoples are fundamentally one and in view of the level of struggle attained by the February revolutionary people's movement in Ethiopia, our union calls upon Eritrean and Ethiopian progressives to find ways and means of co-ordinating and

uniting the struggles of their peoples. At present, those elements that don't want the Eritrean and Ethiopian peoples to stand side by side and help each other in their struggle for freedom are only the imperialists, feudalists, anti-democratic forces and reactionaries in that area.

5. To enable, that the peoples of Eritrea and Ethiopia destroy imperialism and feudalism, our union will struggle for a peaceful and democratic settlement of the Eritrean question. This can occur when the rights of the Eritrean peoples to self-determination, including and up to secession is recognized and the Eritrean peoples can, without any outside interference, democratically decide upon their future relationship to the peoples of Ethiopia. In this respect, our union will struggle for that the military government unconditionally recognizes the right of the Eritrean peoples to self-determination and on this basis begins negotiations with the Eritrean liberation fronts for a peaceful settlement of the question.

ON MENGESHA SEYOUM

In his attempt to liquidate the revolutionary struggle of the Ethiopian peoples, Mengesha Seyoum, the main enemy of the Tigrean people, is with the help of the imperialists presently organizing a counter-revolutionary army under the pretence of liberating the Tigrean people. Our union considers all those opportunists, who giving lame excuses collaborate with this enemy of the Ethiopian peoples, also as enemies of the peoples of Tigre and the rest of Ethiopia.

ON THE AFAR QUESTION

1. The Ethiopian Students Union in Europe strongly condemns the massacres carried out by the Derg against the Afar people. It supports the struggles of the Afar people against national oppression and to determine their own destiny.
2. Our union will struggle for the maintenance of the usufruct rights of the Afar people on the territory they have occupied uptill now, and that in the process of settlement, they be given priority in the distribution of land.
3. Our union particularly calls upon the Afar people to struggle against Ali Mirah, who is an enemy of the Afar people and the other peoples of Ethiopia, and to thwart his counter-revolutionary plots.

ON THE OROMO QUESTION AND OTHER NATIONALITY MOVEMENTS

Since the age-long national oppression being carried out against the Oromo, Tigre and other nationalities is still continuing, the struggles for their national rights has been fanned more than ever. Our union strongly condemns any anti-democratic measure that the provisional military government might take against these nationalities for raising the question of democratic rights. We reaffirm that we'll stand on the side of these nationalities in the struggle for their rights.

This Congress calls upon the progressive forces from these oppressed nationalities to thwart the plots of the feudallords that make use of the national question in order to defend their class interests and to chart out the path along which this democratic question will be resolved in the interests of the broad masses.

ON THE PROVISIONAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT

The Armed Forces Coordinating Committee was able to take the reins of political power because it was the organized and armed force at a time, when on the one hand, the former ruling class was unable to resist and crush the people's struggle, and on the other hand, the broad masses didn't have sufficient strength to annihilate their enemies.

The provisional military government established by the armed forces Derg is in its class content a government of the petty-bourgeoisie. Its anti-democratic rule is the method by which the interests of this class are implemented and maintained in this period of transition.

The Derg encompasses different political tendencies. It has both a right and left wing. The struggles of these various political forces determine the political line of the Derg. The alternating reactionary and progressive measures taken by the Derg show that the relation of forces within it is fluid and subject to constant change. The political line of the Derg is determined not only by the contradictions and struggles within it, but also by the level of development of the people's revolutionary movement in Ethiopia.

In the relation of classes and forces in Ethiopia, the Derg wavers between the broad masses on the one hand, and the feudal and reactionary rightist and restorative forces on the other. It is in contradiction to both, but also subject to their influence. In its contradiction with the feudalists and reactionary, rightist and restorative forces, it seeks to appear as being on the side of the people, while on the other side, when the people's struggle develops, giving lame excuses, it strives to suppress it.

THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

In regards to the people's struggle, the military government, which by imposing upon the people its anti-democratic

rule and robbing it of its democratic rights thus hinders the preparation of the people for the new democratic revolution, plays an objectively counter-revolutionary role. Moreover, the Derg pushed by the reactionaries and imperialist agents within it persecutes, imprisons and kills progressives, that stand on the side of the people and fight for freedom and democracy. Such anti-people and counter-revolutionary measures taken by the Derg weaken the people's struggle and to this extent signify a strengthening of reactionaries.

Being cornered by the people's struggle, the Derg has been compelled to take certain progressive measures that hurt the interests of the enemies of the Ethiopian peoples. Nevertheless, these progressive measures have become under the anti-democratic rule of the Derg unreliable and of limited value.

With the fanning of the people's struggle for democracy and salvation, the continuance of the Derg in this manner can only mean, that the contradiction the Derg has with the rightist restorative reactionaries will cool down, while that with the people will be sharper.

THE DERG AND THE FEUDAL CLASS

Although the Derg is not a force that can destroy the feudal order, pushed by the people's struggle, it has deposed the former government, executed its high ranking officials and promulgated the Land Reform Decree. These measures have put it in an antagonistic contradiction with the feudal class.

The archaic feudal class is presently, with the help of the imperialists and reactionary arab governments, busy fighting the Derg from the right, with the intent to revise the gains of the people's revolutionary movement. The military government has repeatedly shown itself to be inconsistent in fighting these reactionary movements, and takes strong measures against them only when the circumstances are compelling and there is no other alternative.

THE DERG AND THE BUREAUCRACY

Despite its limited contradiction with the bureaucracy, the Derg has accommodated itself with the bureaucracy and bureaucratic bourgeoisie, in order to have the state machinery running. From the viewpoint of the class relations in Ethiopia and the level of the development of the revolutionary struggle, the bureaucracy and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, constitute the greatest danger to the Ethiopian revolution.

The bureaucratic bourgeoisie is closely bound by thousands of threads to the feudal class and the imperialists that bred it. Presently, it is a bastion of counter-revolution, and considered as being favorably suited and strong enough for counter-revolutionary activities - it is a class which represents the hopes of the feudalists and imperialists in this direction. Until this class is liquidated by the might of the people, it'll ceaselessly work to nullify the victories of the people and bear the danger of a counter-revolutionary restorative order that rules by anti-people violence. The bureaucratic bourgeoisie can regain full control of political power basically by the two following ways:

- a) the Derg will be able to stabilize itself and its right wing would dominate and be transformed into a bureaucratic bourgeoisie or
- b) the bureaucratic bourgeoisie succeeds with the help of the imperialists in carrying out a rightist restoration coup d'etat.

THE DERG AND THE IMPERIALISTS

The Derg has a temporary contradiction with the imperialists, which however is in the process of diminishing. The Derg has a thoroughly wavering stand on the imperialists. On the one hand it claims to be anti-imperialist and is to be seen taking certain measures that hurt the economic interests of the imperialists. On the other hand, the military aid it gets from

the imperialists binds it to them. In any case, the political and economic influence of the imperialists has not yet been eradicated. In the fear of losing control over the country the imperialists who are scared of the revolutionary movement in Ethiopia and displeased by the progressive measures taken by the Derg are feverishly seeking to create an extreme rightist and restorative puppet government. To this end, the imperialists are utilizing the following double tactic:

- a) to replace the Derg by a rightist coup d'etat and/or.
- b) to strengthen the right wing within the Derg, so as to be able to put the Derg fully under their control.

Particularly, the U.S. and West-German imperialists are the ones that work actively at this counter-revolutionary venture.

THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND THE ROLE OF PROGRESSIVES

Although the Armed Forces Derg has taken certain anti-feudal measures and finds itself in a temporary contradiction with the imperialists, it's not a revolutionary force that can destroy these twin enemies of our people. As a matter of fact, its anti-democratic rule is a big hindrance for the people's struggle, which alone can destroy feudalism and imperialism. Therefore, the progressive forces in Ethiopia, in opposing and condemning the anti-democratic rule of the Derg

1) must fight for that the people of Ethiopia distrust the Derg and show no confidence in it. It's their primary task to show that the anti-democratic rule of the Derg is a hindrance for the revolution, to rouse the broad masses to oppose this rule, to fan and support the struggle for democratic rights and to merge in these struggles and organize them.

2) Since the armed Forces Derg came to power, it has robbed the people of its rights and rules via its anti-democratic decrees. This anti-democratic rule fetters the anti-feudalist and anti-imperialist struggle of the people. The questions of democracy, salvation and freedom for which the peoples of Ethiopia are fighting for cannot be put into practice under

anti-democratic rule. Therefore, the progressive forces in Ethiopia must advance the struggle against the Derg along the path of the new democratic revolution, which can alone bring freedom for the people. To this effect, it's the historical task of the day to make the necessary agitational, propagandistic and organizational preparations for the success of the national democratic revolution and establishment of a revolutionary people's government over the corpse of the anti-democratic rule of the Derg.

3) The struggles waged and the victories won in Ethiopia have frightened not only the local reactionaries, but also the imperialists as well. The imperialists are presently engaged in organizing the counter-revolutionary forces and are attempting through various means to obstruct the people's struggle - and do represent a great danger to the Ethiopian revolution. Hence, it is the duty of the progressives forces to intensify the anti-imperialist struggle and to demand the expulsion of the Yankees from the country and the ceasure of american interference. Furthermore, they must struggle for the annulation of all the agreements signed by Haile Selassie with the imperialists, and that Ethiopia follows a progressive and non-aligned foreign policy.

4) In the February people's movement, the great mass of soldiers sided with the oppressed people. Presently, those forces that are preparing a restorative counter-revolution are making various attempts to divide the Ethiopian soldiers. On the other side, the armed forces Derg, which betrayed the democratic demands it used to pose before the desposal of Haile Selassie and issued its anti-democratic decrees, is also attempting to have the soldier betray the people and follow it.

Ethiopian progressives must carry out a broad agitation within the soldiers and win them over to the side of the people in the struggle for democracy, to defend the victories won and to carry out the revolutionary movement to its end.

I. CONFEDERATION OF ETHIOPIAN LABOR UNIONS

It is well known that the Ethiopian working class has since its birth carried out numerous struggles for its social and economic rights. The development of these struggles led to the knowledge of the need of a trade union that could unite and lead these struggles. In the efforts to establish a trade union and the ensuing clashes with the government, a number of leaders of the working class were imprisoned and killed. As the struggle to establish a trade-union began to bear fruit, Haile Selassie created ⁱⁿ collaboration with the imperialists, who were at that time frightened by the victories of working class in the people's democratic countries in Eastern Europe and were thus trying to control or hold up the struggles of the proletariat of the other nations, the state-controlled Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions (C.E.L.U.). Soon enough, C.E.L.U. became a member of the imperialist organization the International Confederation of the Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). Operating under the anti-worker motto "Employer and employee are like father and son" it served as an instrument in the hands of the enemies of the Ethiopian working class.

The Ethiopian workers carried out a great struggle to liquidate the anti-worker C.F.L.U. and build a trade-union that would fight for their rights and interests. As the C.E.L.U. leaders became isolated and their overthrow became on a question of time, the armed forces Derg, which seeks to put everything under its control, giving various reasons dissolved C.E.L.U. by a dictatorial measure. This attempt to control C.E.L.U. failed, and C.E.L.U. has been reconstructed under a new aim and leadership.

In consideration of this new situation and realizing the significance of a trade union in the struggles of the working class, the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe

1) condemns the dictatorial measure taken by the Armed forces Derg to dissolve C.E.L.U. and its interference in the affairs of the working class. It supports the struggles

carried out by progressives within C.E.L.U. and from without for a C.E.L.U. independent from government interference - for a C. E.L.U. of the working class and under its control.

2) Supports the new provisional leadership, since the resolution it passed is basically of a progressive nature and contains the urgent democratic demands, for which our union has long been fighting for. Our union stands side by side with C.E.L.U. in the struggles for the realization of the progressive demands contained in its resolution.

II. ETHIOPIAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

Among the sectors of the population that support the people's struggles in our country are the Ethiopian teachers. In the February revolutionary movement, the Ethiopian teachers have under the leadership of their association courageously struggled on the side of the people. Today, we also find them among the forces that fight to defend the achievements of people's struggle and to advance it forward.

Our union wholeheartedly supports the struggles of the Ethiopian Teachers Association, which standing on the side of the people, wages against the anti-democratic rule of the Derg. It shall also struggle together with the teachers Association for the implementation of the democratic demands contained in its recent resolution.

III. THE UNIVERSITY TEACHERS FORUM

Since the February movement, the University teachers forum association has stood on a number of questions on the side of the Ethiopian peoples. It is a union which has raised and fought for democratic rights. Presently, it is actively engaged in propagating progressive ideas in our country through publications in the Amharic language. It has

come to our attention, that in this struggle it has suffered under the repressions of the Derg and that a number of its works have been seized by the censure. Our union strongly condemns the repressive measures taken against this progressive association. Our union pledges itself to stand on the side of the forum association in the struggle for the urgent democratic rights in our country.

IV. ON THE WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION

One of the particularities of the February revolutionary movements is the fact that woman rose to fight for their rights and equality, and courageously participated in this movement. It is clear that the oppressed women of Ethiopia can further their struggle and take their appropriate place in the revolution of the Ethiopian peoples only when they get organized.

In realization of this truth and their historical responsibility, we have presently progressive Ethiopian women, who are actively struggling to form an organization of the oppressed women. One of the difficulties they encountered in this struggle was the interference of the armed forces Derg.

In view of this our union

- a) condemns the interference of the Derg in questions relating to the organization of the women of Ethiopia
- b) fully supports the struggles of progressive Ethiopian women to form a broad and democratic organization of the oppressed women.

V. ON THE STUDENTS MOVEMENT

A great majority of the Ethiopian students at home are currently carrying out the anti-feudal struggle in alliance with the peasantry. And those students that remained in the

cities are struggling for the recognition of the democratic rights of the people and that the students (Zemachoch) receive full security and guarantees.

Presently, in the great and historical struggle the youth of Ethiopia are carrying out in the countryside, they have, as a result of the anti-democratic nature and waverings of the Derg, suffered many inflictions. A great number of them have been arrested and many killed. Since any class or section of the population can intensify its struggle only when it is organized, the Ethiopian youth, whose struggles are our examples, must be organized in order to effectively contribute their part to the liberation struggle of the Ethiopian people. As it is to be recalled USUAA was dissolved due to the interference of the Derg and the lack of a correct leadership. The Ethiopian Students are as yet not organized on a national level. Presently we have conscious students, who realizing the necessity of USUAA and an Ethiopian Students Union to collect the scattered struggles of the youth, are struggling to build these organizations.

In consideration of the above, our union

- a) strongly condemns the repression of the Derg against the 'Zemachoch'. The Derg also bears the full responsibility for the damage inflicted upon the 'Zemachoch' by local reactionaries as a result of the vacillation of the Derg.
- b) supports the struggles of the Ethiopian students in the countryside, who together with the broad masses of the peasantry are fighting against feudalism, imperialism and the anti-democratic rule of the Derg.
- c) supports the struggles of the Ethiopian Students to reconstitute their dissolved union and to organize a national Ethiopian Students Union. It stands together with them in the struggle against the anti-democratic rule of the Derg to establish these organizations.
- d) calls upon the Ethiopian students to get organized on a national scale and to take their appropriate place in the struggle waged internationally, to participate in the efforts to strengthen the struggles of the Ethiopian Students Movement on a world-wide scale and to play the leadership

role to be expected from them.

VI. ON THE REPRESSION AGAINST PROGRESSIVES

Although the Armed forces Derg has meted out the deserved punishment against members of the former ruling class, it has also imprisoned candid patriots and progressives and killed some of them. Presently, the Derg is imprisoning a number of progressive students, land reform workers, intellectuals and peasant leaders at a time when they are carrying out an intense struggle against counter-revolutionary forces. We strongly condemn these measures since it weakens the revolutionary forces, and strengthens the counter-revolutionaries. Our union will struggle for the release of all progressive and democratic political prisoners.

ON THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST PROGRESSIVES AT HOME AND IN OUR MOVEMENT

It has repeatedly been seen in history that counter revolutionary forces have always during revolutionary periods left nothing undone to divide the broad masses and progressives, and to sow division among progressive forces. Presently, the Federation leaders and their cohorts, including the journal called "The proletariat", which have been vomited by the people's struggle in our country and are lining themselves on the side of Asfa Wossen, are in collaboration with the CIA pursuing the goal mentioned above and carrying out an out and out anti-progressive and counter-revolutionary campaign. Standing with these anti-people forces, they are engaged in disseminating poisonous and prefabricated lies against the former members of our union, progressive individuals in our union and lastly against the free newspaper "The Voice of the People". In all these cases, the federation leaders are playing the role of an informant, with the intent to hand over these progressive forces to the enemy. They are presently objectively collaborating with the agents of the CIA and the local

reactionaries who are out to liquidate the progressive forces in Ethiopia, by demanding they be hanged and imprisoned.

Taking this into account, the 15th Congress of the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe held in W-Berlin from 3/8 - 10/8/75

a) strongly condemns the police campaign by the federation leaders and their cohorts, like the L'Afrique et L'Asie, against progressive Ethiopians at home and abroad.

b) declares its full solidarity with the progressive individuals and newspaper, against whom this reactionary campaign is directed.

c) calls upon all progressive and organized Ethiopian to condemn with one voice this thoroughly dangerous campaign supported by counter-revolutionary forces with the intention to destroy the unity of the progressive forces in Ethiopia.

d) expresses its full confidence that the agent provocateur campaign waged by the federation leadership against the progressive forces in Ethiopia cannot destroy their unity, that the preparation for the new democratic revolution by the progressive forces by integrating with the broad masses cannot be prevented neither by the CIA nor by the campaigns of the opportunists that collaborate with it, that the Ethiopian people will in their struggle remove such obstacles and that their forward advance cannot be hindered by such intrigues.

RESOLUTIONS RELATING TO ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS PASSED
BY THE 15th CONGRESS OF THE ETHIOPIAN STUDENTS UNION IN
EUROPE HELD FROM 3/8/75 UPTILL 10/8/75 IN W-BERLIN

1. ON THE ETHIOPIAN STUDENTS UNION IN N.AMERICA
(ESUNA/FEDERATION)

The Ethiopian Students Union in Europe has continually tried to normalise and improve its relations with the

Ethiopian Students Union in N. America. It has repeatedly tried to maintain organizational contacts, despite the grave political differences between the two unions, so as enable exchange of ideas in a way beneficial to our movement. However, the ESUNA leadership turned a deaf ear to our repeated calls for unity and our relations instead of improving deteriorated steadily. The ESUNA leadership chose the path of defaming our revolutionary union, prefabricating lies about it and attributing to our union false positions.

The ESUNA leaders not being content with wrecking the relationship between our two unions, have today gone over to following a political line that excludes them from the struggles of the Ethiopian people in general and our movement in particular and that lines them up with Assfa Wossen Haile Selassie and the like.

Considering the fact that the ESUNA leaders are, hand in glove with counter-revolutionary forces, waging a campaign against our union and the progressive forces in Ethiopia and are at the present adhering to an out and out counter-revolutionary and anti-people line makes it impossible for us to work with them, the 15th Congress of the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe held in W-Berlin from the 3/8/75 - 10/8/75

1) decides to break off all relations with the Ethiopian Students Union in North America

2) calls upon all the sincere and democratic progressive Ethiopians in America to follow a political line that places them on the side of the Ethiopian people and to distance themselves from this counter-revolutionary group. It calls further upon them to contribute all that is required from them for the liberation struggle and to organize and strengthen themselves on an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal platform.

3) mandates the newcoming executive committee to call upon the democratic and progressive Ethiopians in N. America that follow an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist line to get organized and strengthen themselves. Moreover, it also mandates the executive committees to follow the process, clarification in North America and to inform the members of our union about its findings and to establish closer contacts between the Ethiopians in both continents.

2. ON GETACHEW BOGASHAW

The Ethiopian Students Union in Europe has ever since appreciated and considered the student movement at home as exemplary. Our union has variously expressed its solidarity with the students movement at home by echoing its correct slogans, occupation of embassies, publicising their struggles against Haile Selassie, etc.... Presently, our union also fully stands together with the students at home in the struggle against feudalism and imperialism and against the anti-democratic and chauvinistic role of Derg.

Last year, we have certain individuals that cropped up and sought to sabotage the tried and tested unity of struggle between and our union and the student movement at home. During the Federation Congress held last year, we have witnessed the President and the Secretary of USUAA, who without any mandate from the congress of USUAA condemned our union in complicity with the leaders of the Federation. The inability of these individuals to give a correct leadership and their unreadiness to follow the will of the students in general, was among one of the factors that led to the dissolution of USUAA.

Getachew Bogash, who left the country with the dissolution of USUAA, is presently parading around in Europe stating that he's still the president of USUAA and maintaining that he has "set up a committee for reestablishing USUAA". Just as if he were not elected only for a certain period by progressive students, but as if he were like Haile Selassie anointed by "divine power" to be the president of USUAA for life.

This Congress

a) strongly condemns the attempt to give USUAA, which has a glorious and long history of struggle, an exile leadership, and to trade with the name of the Ethiopian Students that are fighting Imperialism and Feudalism.

b) condemns the stand taken by this individual against our union in the name of USUAA at the illegal congress in collaboration with the federation leaders, something for which he has not been mandated and does not concern him at all.

c) mandates the newcoming executive committee to follow the activities of this individual and his cohorts, the federation leaders, against our union and the Ethiopian revolution, to regularly inform the students at home about these activities and to call upon them to condemn this "USUAA in exile" - which is to be established in the manner of the exile government of Assfa Wossen.

3. ON THE UNIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

In the previous year, there existed two unions with identical names in the Sudan, an Ethiopian Students Union in North Africa and the Middle East and a Regional Union of Ethiopian Students in the Middle East and North America. It is to be recalled that our union had refrained from recognizing any one of them until sufficient study of the question has been made. We have this year been able to understand that the "Ethiopian Students Union in the Sudan" which considers itself a member of the Federation, exists only on paper and has no members. Moreover, the Ethiopian Students Union in Cairo has democratically decided to abandon the "Regional Union of the Ethiopian Students in the Middle East and North Africa", which is also considered to be a member of the Federation. If there are any members left in this regional union, it is doubtful if they are even three individuals - and for that those well-known reactionary individuals in Algeria.

On the other hand, the Ethiopian Students Union in the Middle East and North Africa, which comprise the unions in Libanon, Iraq and the Sudan, and with whom the Ethiopian Students in Libya co-operate, has become an organization that daily grows stronger and attains a wider membership. It has also shown a great eagerness to establish good relationships with our union. As it is also to be seen from its journal TERAMED, it is pursuing a political line that places it on the side of the Ethiopian revolution and our union. The report of the executive committee which was mandated by the 14th Congress to study this question attests to this fact.

Therefore, this congress

a) decides to recognize the Ethiopian Students Union in the Middle East and Africa that comprises the Students Union in the Sudan, Libanon and Iraq, and has the cooperation of the students in Libya. It instructs the newcoming executive committee to establish official ties with this regional union.

b) supports the democratic decision of the Cairo union to distance itself from the reactionaries in Algeria. It mandates the newcoming executive committee to establish ties and further the co-operation with this union.

c) it is to be recalled that those reactionaries that maintain to be in Algeria, have for a long time incessantly made the futile attempt to liquidate the anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist movement of the Ethiopian students. After failing in their attempt to divide the students in North America and the Middle East and to roughshod democracy, they turned their attention towards dividing our union. Our union condemns the divisive work of these reactionaries and considers them as anti-people elements that stand outside the student movement.

4. ON THE WORLD WIDE FEDERATION

The Ethiopian Students Union in Europe has fought in the vanguard to encompass the Ethiopian Student Movement under the umbrella of an organization on the world-wide scale. As the so-called world-wide Federation was organized in cliques and an anti-democratic constitution, our union undertook many efforts to democratize this organization. Let alone encompass the organized Ethiopian students, the Cairo union for example, which was through reactionary intrigues enumerated as being its member, has announced that it has nothing to do with the Federation. After the Ethiopian Women Study Group in Europe announced that it is not a member, it is clear that the World-wide Women Study Group cannot be possibly a member of the Federation. The organization called Federation has in reality only ESUNA

as its single member and is but another name for it. Our union has already decided to break its relationship to this counter-revolutionary organization which is steadily losing its influence among the Ethiopians in America, and the Federation is

a) only another name for the organization called ESUNA

b) a collection of anti-people elements organized outside the Ethiopian Students movement in contradiction to its anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist platform and

c) the means through which anti-organization forces have managed to thwart the efforts to get organized on an international scale.

In view of the above and consideration of the efforts of the Federation to divide our union by calling an illegal congress in Berlin from the 31/7/75 - 5/8/75, the 15th Congress of the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe decides that it no longer recognizes the Federation.

The organization of the struggles of the Ethiopian Students on a world-wide scale is a demand required by the level of development of our movement and the struggles of the Ethiopian people. Continuing its vanguard efforts in the struggle to unite and rejuvenate the World-Wide Union of Ethiopian Students our union

a) decides that the Ethiopian Students in the Middle East and North Africa be invited to co-operate in the task of being organized on a world-wide scale.

b) calls upon the anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist Ethiopians in North America to be organized and to participate in the effort to coordinate our struggles on an international level.

c) fully supports the struggles of the students in Ethiopia to immediately organize the dissolved union of the heroic home student movement. It calls upon them to rebuild their union and be able to participate in the World Wide Union of Ethiopian Students of which they are a member, and to play the leading role expected from them.

d) mandates the new coming executive committee to establish contacts and to begin consultations in regards to being organized on a world-wide scale with the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist student organizations at home and at abroad. It requests the executive committee to make a report of its efforts in this field to the 16th Congress of the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe.

5. ON THE UNION IN HOLLAND, SWITZERLAND AND ITALY

The resolutions taken by the past three congresses condemning the union in Holland attest to the fact of its efforts to divide and weaken our union. It is an open fact that the Holland union has engaged itself in circulating tracts, whose contents are never to be expected from progressives but rather from police agents and informants. Since it started publishing a journal with the name of a revolutionary class so as to cover its anti-peoples activities, it has intensified its police work more than ever. This journal called "The Proletariat" has gone beyond the task of weakening our union, and has become a journal which propagates an anti-people political line, echoes the slogans of Asfa Wossen and treacherously gives away comrades at home to the enemy.

In consideration of the above, the 15th Congress of the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe which met in W-Berlin from 3/8/75 - 10/8/75

a) expels the Ethiopian Students Union in Holland from the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe

b) condemns the counter-revolutionary journal called "The Proletariat" which recruits supporters for Asfa -Wossen and tries to weaken our movement

c) condemns the editor of this journal, a certain Melaku Tegegne, who ever since he came to Europe engaged himself as an agent provocateur, who sought to destroy the unity of the Ethiopian Students and betray progressive individuals to the enemy. Moreover, the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe

condemns this agent provocateur for carrying out a sophisticated anti-Oromo propaganda and his efforts to isolate the Oromo progressives from the Oromo nationality. Our union heeds all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal Ethiopian Students to avoid this individual and the journal he publishes.

The efforts of the unions in Switzerland and Italy to weaken and divide our movement are to be evidenced by the resolutions condemning them taken by our previous Congress. In pursuance of their devisive activities, these unions have helped organize and participated in the illegal congress. Moreover, they are following a reactionary political line which contradicts the anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist platform of our movement.

Hence, in view of the aforementioned, the 15th Congress of the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe which met in Berlin from 3/8/75 - 10/8/75

a) expels the Ethiopian Student Unions in Switzerland and Italy from the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe

b) calls upon the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist progressives in these countries, namely Holland, Switzerland and Italy, to get organized and take their appropriate place in our movement. It instructs the executive committee of our union to assist them in getting organized.

6. ON BRITAIN

The Congress strongly condemns the chairman of the Ethiopian Students Union in Britain, who although knowing very well that the 15th Congress of the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe held from the 3/8/75 - 10/8/75 was called by the executive committee of ESUE and contrary to the mandate and responsibility given to him, instead participated at the illegal, counter-revolutionary and anti-organization meeting called by the Federation leaders.

7. ON THE ILLEGAL CONGRESS

Stating that the Congress called by certain individuals that refused to participate at the 15th Congress of our union is illegal, this congress

a) expels these individuals, that had for a long time tried to weaken and divide our union, and failing to take over the leadership of our union and hand it over to a counter-revolutionary line have taken now recourse to removing themselves from our ranks.

b) decides to allow only those individuals that either by mistake or wanting to know both sides participated at the illegal congress to take part at our congress, after their sincerity has been attested to by the executive committee of the country they are coming from.

8. RESOLUTION FORWARDED BY THE HUNGARY UNION AND PASSED BY THE CONGRESS

Our Union struggles against all reactionary forces on the basis of anti-feudalism and anti-imperialism and in support of the revolution in Ethiopia together with student and progressive organizations. A handful of counter-revolutionary elements implanted in our union by the reactionary organization, which calls itself Federation, have tried to weaken our union.

The 15th Congress of the Ethiopian Students Union held in W-Berlin from the 3/8/75 - 10/8/75 condemns these reactionaries

a) for attempting to create contradictions between the member of our union that come from different nationalities and thus divide our union

b) for transgressing our constitution and the democratic rights of our members

c) for embezzling for their private use money collected for the famine in Ethiopia to the amount of about more than 400 German Marks and 136 Shirts in the worth of 8 Marks each.

d) for attempting to liquidate our anti-feudal and anti-imperialist line

e) for participating at the illegal congress in the name of the Hungary union.

9. ON THE ILLEGAL "GERMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE"

It is to be remembered that at the German Congress held last March, two chapters had formed a so-called "German union executive committee" anti-people group. It is also to be recalled that the chapters that encompass the majority of members, considering that these two chapters have through their anti-people line removed themselves from the struggles of the Ethiopian people and the Ethiopian Student movement, had established a legal provisional executive committee that comprised the majority of students and chapters that had remained true to the revolutionary line.

Therefore, the 15th Congress of the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe that met in W-Berlin from the 3/8/75 - 10/8/75

a) considers the illegal executive congress that was organized with the help of German imperialism and the two chapters that support it, namely the Kassel and Cologne chapters, as an anti-people group outside the Ethiopian Students movement

b) supports the struggles of the legal provisional committee to establish a principled unity with the progressive Ethiopians that have nothing to do with the abovementioned anti-people group and to strengthen the union.

10. ON THE SOVIET UNION

Although the executive committee of the Soviet Union had, to participate at the legal 15th Congress of the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe, this congress

a) condemns its disorganizational activity for not taking part

b) expels the group led by the executive committee that participated at the illegal meeting held from July 31 - Aug. 5/75

c) states that the expelled executive committee of the Union in the U.S.S.R bears the full responsibility for any activity that it dares to take in the name of the union.

d) calls upon the progressive individuals that are participating at this congress and those that are in the Soviet-Union to purge themselves of this counter-revolutionary group and to reorganize their union.

11. ON THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN UNION

The Union in Czechoslovakia has through its statements dated 15/2/75 politically agitated contrary to the resolution of the 11th Congress of the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe. It has also sent messages, including to governments, condemning the Eritrean fighters.

The 15th Congress of the Ethiopian Students Union held in W-Berlin from 3/8/75 - 10/8/75

a) declare that the erroneous stand of the union in Czechoslovakia run contrary to the position of the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe and reiterates the support given to the Eritrean fighters and organizations by the 11th Congress.

b) condemns the union in Czechoslovakia for its anti-democratic and anti-organization step, and for its political stand, whose content runs contrary to the will of the broad membership.

c) instructs the newcoming executive committee, in view of the grave situation that has arisen as a result of the messages of the union in Czechoslovakia, to issue and send statements in this question to other progressive organizations.

d) authorizes the executive committee to take any measure deemed necessary, if the union in Czechoslovakia repeats a similar anti-democratic and anti-organizational move.

e) calls upon the union in Czechoslovakia, to seriously consider the measures taken upon it by the 15th Congress of the Ethiopian Students, to rectify its anti-organizational error, and to undertake a deep study of the national question and take a correct position that runs along the resolution of the 11th general congress.

STATEMENT ON THE WORLD SITUATION ACCEPTED PER
ACCLAMATION BY THE CONGRESS

In the past year, the struggles of the oppressed peoples and exploited countries for democracy, freedom and salvation have reached new heights and are forcing imperialism to its knees. The struggles of the working class movement in the metropolitan countries and the national liberation movements are dealing death blows to imperialism, which is already plagued by political and economic crises. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and peoples want revolution. This has become the irresistible historical trend of our epoch.

The vietnamese people, who have for a number of decades been struggling against colonialist and imperialist oppression and aggression, have under the leadership of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam brought the 30 years war of resistance to an end by scoring a glorious victory over imperialism and its running dogs. Today we have the flag of freedom crimsoned by the blood of the liberation fighters waving over the whole of South Vietnam, crowning a struggle unparalleled in history, which served as a shining example for peoples struggling for liberation and as a pillory for the imperialists and their lackeys.

The heroic struggle waged by the Cambodian people under the leadership of the F.U.N.K., ever since the U.S. Imperialists escalated the war in South East Asia by overthrowing the legal government of Cambodia through the CIA, has beaten the imperialists and their lackeys and regained the country's independence. This victory is one of which all oppressed peoples are proud of and repeatedly illustrates that no force on earth can subdue a people fighting resolutely for its liberation.

In Laos, the liberation fighters of the Neo Lao Haksat, after struggling against the Vientiane government in a long and protracted people's war, have now assumed a large share in the responsibilities of the government. This is a fruitful result of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the

Lao people to determine their own destiny. The Lao people are now on a path, where they are solving their own contradictions internally and marching forwards towards victory.

In the Near and Middle East, we have great struggles for democracy and liberation. The palastinian people have intensified the struggle against imperialism and Zionism to regain their freedom and have today won important political victories on the international scene.

Some reactionary arab countries and the Shah of Iran are waging a war of aggression to suppress the national liberation struggles of the people of Oman and Dhofar who have courageously continued their heroic struggle. The struggles of the Chilean people has been developing, ever since American imperialism overthrew through the CIA the democratically elected legal government of Allende and established a fascist military junta that has led the country to a great economic ruin. Just as much as the fascist junta has been isolated through the struggles of the progressive world, the struggles of the heroic Chilean people for democracy and socialism have the warm sympathy of the progressive forces and the oppressed peoples of the world.

In Portugal, the revolutionary process that began last year is developing more than ever before. After the portugese people overthrew the 40 year old Salazar/Caetano fascist rule, they are presently carrying out a struggle that has frightened world imperialism and the forces of reaction in Portugal. It is undoubtful, that the twin enemies that are obstructing the struggles of the portugese people will be washed away by the revolutionary storms under the leadership of the working class.

In our continent Africa, the torch of freedom is burning brighter and this has scared the colonialists and the racist governments. The peoples of Guinea-Bissao, Cape Verde and Mozambique have after a protracted and bitter struggle overthrown the 500-year old portugese colonial rule and regained their independence. The achievement of the independence of these countries has opened a new vista that enables the annihilation of colonialism, new-colonialism and racism in Africa. The struggle for Angola's independence is also striding for-

ward. Although it is regretful that the differences between the various liberation fronts in Angola, particularly between the MPLA and the FNLA, has led to bloodshed, we are confident that the struggles of this people will develop further than the achievement of independence.

The anti-apartheid struggles waged in Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe is developing from day to day and the Pretoria and Salisbury regimes are trembling. Although some reactionary African governments are striking secret deals with the Pretoria regime, the support of the African peoples for their South African brothers is continuing. Since the struggle of oppressed peoples is invincible it is certain that the people of Namibia, Azania and Zimbabwe will win.

THE INTERNATIONAL ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE WILL TRIUMPH !

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