



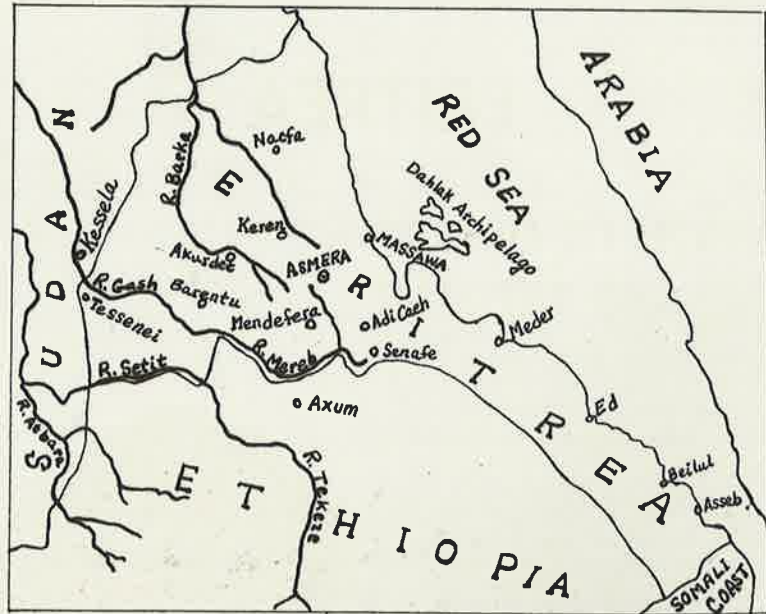
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September - December 1973



*Eritrea and its Strategic Geographic Location*



For comments, criticisms, or more information, please contact E.F.L. at Box 1247, N.Y., N.Y. 10027 or Box 101, Boston, Mass. 02123.

# ERITREA

REVOLUTION TO LIBERATE  
THE LAND AND THE MAN



# ERITREA

## 12 YEARS OF ARMED STRUGGLE



Political education is an extremely vital aspect of the continuous training of EPLF cadres and freedom fighters. The reading and discussions of great revolutionary works are an integral part of their daily experience of combat and struggle.



Eritrean freedom fighters take time from the heat of battle to enjoy a moment of cultural festivity during the celebrations of the 12th Anniversary of the Eritrean Revolution.

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EDITORIAL

The Imperative for the Principled Unity of Eritrean Youth

The people of Eritrea are engaged in a revolutionary struggle for national independence, progress and social justice. The present twelve year old armed phase of the Eritrean Revolution is the inevitable culmination of the proud history of gallant resistance and militant struggle of the Eritrean people against foreign occupation and colonial domination. During the past twelve years, the heroic people of Eritrea have made heavy sacrifices and won great victories in their just struggle against Ethiopian colonialism, U.S. Imperialism and Israeli Zionism. Still greater victories await the heroic toiling masses of Eritrea in the future, as they valiantly carry the revolution forward under the firm and tested leadership of the Eritrean revolutionary vanguard, the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Forces (E.P.L.F.). With the mobilization of all the resources and the patriotic and progressive elements of Eritrean society and the support of the proletarian and democratic forces the world over, there can be no doubt whatsoever that the just struggle of the Eritrean people will end in total victory for the revolutionary forces.

However, the ultimate victory of the Eritrean people will not be easy in coming. It is bound to be arduous and protracted. It will require that the Eritrean people overcome still greater hardships and make still greater sacrifices. In the final analysis, the complete victory of the Eritrean Revolution necessitates, as the E.P.L.F. have correctly recognized, the attainment of national unity, self-reliance and genuine internationalism. There is, and can be, no other road to the complete liberation of our people and the eventual building of a free society; that is, a society in which there will be no exploitation or oppression of man by man, and one which will allow the fullest development of the productive abilities and the fullest expression of the creative potential of man.

National unity, as the E.P.L.F. have consistently stood for, requires the consolidation of all the progressive, patriotic and democratic forces of the Eritrean people into a single National Front under the leadership of the Eritrean revolutionary vanguard. We hail and wholeheartedly support the E.P.L.F.'s correct and courageous call upon all genuine freedom fighters still remaining under the warlordism of the retrograde "Revolutionary council" clique to join them in the just struggle against the common national enemy—the feudal regime of Haile Selassie's Ethiopia. No antagonistic contradiction exists within the masses of Eritrean workers, peasants and nomads. On the contrary, there is a fundamental unity of interest, inherent as well as manifest, in a shared historical and present condition of imperialist exploitation and colonial oppression not only within, but also among these sections of Eritrean society. Thus the foundation of national unity is the solid alliance of all Eritrean workers, peasants, nomads and democratic forces, under the firm leadership of a national vanguard party—the organizational instrument of the Eritrean working class (proletariat) equipped with a scientific world outlook.

Self-reliance demands the total mobilization of all the material and human resources of the Eritrean people in the service of the revolution. The *raison d'être* and the lifeblood of the Eritrean Revolution are the Eritrean people—the masses of oppressed and exploited workers, peasants, nomads, and the patriotic and progressive sections of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. These broad masses, as well as our national resources, must be fully mobilized and effectively organized into a unified revolutionary force that can successfully wage the national struggle for independence and freedom. In the context of self-reliance, all assistance and support forthcoming from the friends of the Eritrean people, i.e. from peoples, governments, organizations throughout the world, even though extremely important, can only supplement and never substitute the underlying basis of concerted national effort.

The Eritrean Revolution is also internationalist. It is an integral part of the worldwide struggle for independence, freedom and social justice and against colonialism, imperialism and all forms of social oppression and exploitation. It stands for progress and resolutely opposes all reaction. It supports the just struggle of all the peoples of the world against colonial domination, imperialist exploitation, national oppression or class subjugation. The Eritrean people do not pay mere lip service to internationalism. They express it daily and concretely by resolutely and heroically waging their just struggle against colonialism, imperialism and zionism in their own part of the world. The Eritrean Revolution is the embodiment of our people's best expression of solidarity with all oppressed peoples in the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle for independence, freedom, progress and social justice. In the unequivocal words of the E.P.L.F., there is no room for reactionaries, opportunists and oppressors in the revolution. A progressive Eritrean is he who struggles for national independence and identifies with the oppressed peoples of the world. On the other hand, the Eritrean Revolution deeply appreciates, and is very grateful for the support it has received and continues to receive from the progressive world.

In the waging of the united, self-reliant and internationalist struggle of the Eritrean people, Eritrean students and workers abroad have a big historic obligation. What are the concrete features of this historic obligation and how can we fulfill it?

First of all, it is necessary to appreciate the conditions which successive colonialisms have historically created and continue to nurture for our people: general underdevelopment, exploitation, oppression, mass unemployment, harassment, repression, discrimination, etc. In an effort to personally avoid these consequences of colonialism, many Eritrean youth have historically been forced to leave their homeland and migrate to neighbouring countries in the Near and Middle East. This process of migration has been greatly accentuated during the last twenty years of aggravation under the colonization of the feudal Ethiopian Empire, as Haile Selassie's feudal autocracy has desperately tried to arrest the development of Eritrean society, to stifle the Eritrean national consciousness and to dismantle the Eritrean national resistance. And so, coming to the present generation of Eritrean students and workers abroad, it is important to bear in mind that, while the heroic popular struggle has been going on at home, many of us chose to pursue our private comforts and advance our personal interests outside, instead of committing ourselves to the struggle. This is a fact which we cannot deny. But, in as much as Eritreans outside Eritrea, i.e., in Europe, Africa, the Middle East and North America, represent an integral part of the Eritrean people, we should effectively organize ourselves and unite on the basis of a total commitment to the correct revolutionary line of the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Forces.

In the context of the ongoing revolutionary struggle of our people, we cannot afford to talk of unity in the abstract. That would be simple, idle talk. We want, and we shall seek, concrete and principled unity with all our progressive compatriots the world over. The only condition we present is that our unity be based on genuine principles that give primacy to the interests of the toiling masses of Eritrea and accurately reflect the concrete and practical conditions of the Eritrean Revolution. To fail to actively support the Eritrean revolutionary vanguard is tantamount to lining up with the enemies of the Eritrean people. In our view, there can be no general and abstract anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism or anti-feudalism that fails to face, and correctly come to grips with, the immediate and concrete questions confronting the Eritrean Revolution. To relegate oneself to the role of spectator and, therefore, to claim "neutrality" on the life-death struggle between progress and reaction and to maintain silence on the burning issues of revolution and counter-revolution, in the specific and concrete setting of the Eritrean Revolution, is to abdicate one's historic responsibility and to slide down the road of opportunism.

It is with this understanding therefore that we heartily welcome and hail the Pavia Declaration which represents a significant milestone in the movement for the principled

unity of Eritrean youth. It lays down the commonly shared fundamental principles that form the basis for the agreement, on the part of Eritreans for Liberation in Europe (E.F.L.E.), the General Union of Eritrean Students (G.U.E.S.-CAIRO), and Eritreans for Liberation in North America (E.F.L.N.A.), to implement the formation of a worldwide organization. The Federation will embrace all Eritrean students and workers in Africa, the Middle East, Europe and North America who are totally committed to the support of the revolutionary line of the Eritrean Liberation Front-Peoples Liberation Forces (E.L.F.-P.L.F.). Now, we all must responsibly undertake the essential task of implementing the Pavia Declaration to establish the Worldwide Federation. Fully realizing the importance of principled unity at this critical stage of the Eritrean Revolution more than ever before, we call upon all Eritrean students and workers everywhere to organize and work hard for unity in the spirit of the Pavia Declaration.

We recognize that Eritreans abroad, like our compatriots at home, share dissimilar backgrounds in divergent social settings and classes. It is also obvious that there exists tremendous disparity in the levels of our consciousness, which we can collectively raise through intensive political education. This should help us in the difficult task of liberating and transforming ourselves, which can become complete only through our direct participation in and total commitment for the revolution. In the meantime, we should always recognize that the *raison d'être* of our organizations and the basis for our desire for unity is the ongoing struggle of our people for independence and our proclaimed commitment to it. Besides, we should strive to build, strengthen and consolidate our unity on the firm foundation of a scientific world outlook, committed patriotism and genuine internationalism. In the final analysis, if we are to avoid becoming the disguised enemies of the Eritrean Revolution, it is absolutely imperative for us to heed the advice of Amilcar Cabral, the great African revolutionary. We must be capable of committing suicide as a class in order to be reborn as revolutionary workers, completely identified with the deepest aspirations of our people.

The people of Eritrea have gained valuable lessons from the accumulated experience of twelve years of heroic armed struggle. The emergence of the Eritrean P.L.F. marks a great victory for the Eritrean people, and represents the inevitable dialectical outcome of this rich experience of learning through struggle and sacrifice. The birth of a vanguard party is yet another great victory for the Eritrean masses and signifies a tremendous leap forward for the Eritrean Revolution. The creation of the new Man—i.e., totally liberated men and women, at once patriotic and internationalist, driven by a vision and committed to the realization of freedom and justice, tested in selfless sacrifice, and tempered by revolutionary practice—that has begun is a sure guarantee of the ultimate total victory of the Eritrean Revolution.

Because the Eritrean struggle for independence and total liberation is a just struggle, its final victory is certain and inevitable. However, we must also realize that the road to victory is going to be hard and long. As patriotic Eritreans, we have a historic responsibility to do our share in this protracted popular struggle. We must effectively organize ourselves and fully mobilize all the resources at our disposal; intensify our political studies and raise our revolutionary consciousness; effectively publicize the just struggle of our people for independence and freedom; and more concretely and actively support the E.P.L.F. revolutionary vanguard. In the final analysis, we should recognize that the best support we can give the Eritrean Revolution is to totally commit ourselves and dedicate our lives to its service. If we are not to remain merely radicalized chanters of revolutionary rhetoric, we must join our people and redeem our revolutionary potential through practice and sacrifice. Then, and only then, can we be reborn anew—as worthy sons and daughters of our people and of all oppressed humanity.

LONG LIVE THE ERITREAN PEOPLES LIBERATION FORCES!  
VICTORY TO THE ERITREAN REVOLUTION!  
VICTORY TO THE STRUGGLE OF ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE

THE ERITREAN REVOLUTION!\*

September 1973 is the 12th anniversary of the Eritrean people's armed struggle for national liberation. It marks 12 years of heroic armed struggle waged by the Eritrean people against Ethiopian feudal colonialism, U.S. imperialism and Israeli Zionism. It marks a new stage in the Eritrean people's long and militant history of struggling to liberate their country from foreign domination.

The Eritrean people have suffered from colonialism for over 90 years. Eritrea was first colonized in 1889 by the Italians and later in 1941 by the British. When the resistance of the Eritrean people forced the British colonialists to leave, the U.S. imperialists and their Ethiopian puppets started plotting to gain control of Eritrea. The U.S. imperialists wanted Eritrea to become part of their Ethiopian neocolony, so they could build their military bases in strategic Eritrea (at the mouth of the Red Sea) and exploit the labor and wealth of the Eritrean people. On its part, the Ethiopian feudal regime wanted to control Eritrean soil so as to gain access to the sea and plunder Eritrea's wealth. To prepare conditions for their Ethiopian puppets to colonize Eritrea, the U.S. imperialists used the United Nations which at that time (1952) was firmly in their hands, to pass a resolution federating Eritrea with Ethiopia. Ten years later, in 1962, the Ethiopian feudal regime, with the full backing of U.S. imperialism, dissolved the Eritrean-Ethiopian federation, dissolved the Eritrean parliament and forcibly annexed Eritrea.

Over the years, the Ethiopian colonial regime headed by the notorious fascist Haile Selassie, has trampled upon all the national and human rights of the Eritrean people, subjected them to vicious economic exploitation and fascist repression and brought them untold suffering. It has ruined the economy of Eritrea. It has closed the few factories in Eritrea and moved them to Ethiopia. It has sold out Eritrea's rich resources to the imperialist powers and specially the U.S. imperialists. The U.S. imperialists have built military bases on Eritrean soil (their biggest base in the whole of Africa is located in Eritrea) which they use to suppress the national liberation struggles of the African and Arab peoples. The Israeli Zionists have converted Eritrea's islands on the Red Sea into their military bases which they are using to suppress the Eritrean and Palestinian national liberation struggles. In turn U.S. imperialism pumps millions of dollars and sophisticated arms to prop up the Ethiopian feudal regime, while the Israeli Zionists train the Ethiopian aggressor troops in Eritrea.

Armed to the teeth by U.S. imperialism and Israeli Zionism, the Ethiopian colonial regime has imposed fascist oppression on the Eritrean people. It has sent tens of thousands of its aggressor troops into Eritrea and since 1970 has imposed martial law on the Eritrean people. It has forcibly moved peasants from their villages and established free fire zones in the countryside. It has bombed hundreds of villages, massacred tens of thousands and has caused 100,000 Eritreans to leave their homeland and live as refugees in the Sudan.

Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance and the Eritrean people have a long and militant history of struggle. The Eritrean people resolutely fought the Italian and British colonialists and through their own experience came to see that there

\* Statement of Eritreans for Liberation in North America (Seattle Chapter) on the 12th anniversary of the Eritrean people's armed struggle for national liberation.

was no peaceful road to genuine liberation. In 1961, the Eritrean people picked up arms to drive out the Ethiopian colonialists and their U.S. imperialist and Israeli Zionist masters and liberate their country once and for all.

Over the past 12 years, the Eritrean people's armed struggle for national liberation has tremendously advanced and the Eritrean people have won great victories. Tens of thousands of aggressor troops have been wiped out, weapons have been seized, planes downed and large areas liberated. However the most important advance has been in the political sphere. In 1969, The Eritrean patriotic fighters finally succeeded in overthrowing the reactionary feudo-bourgeois leadership which had tried to convert the Eritrean national liberation struggle into a religious and regional war and had massacred hundreds of patriotic fighters who opposed its reactionary line. The revolutionary fighters formed the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Forces on the basis of a clear anti-colonial, anti-feudal, and anti-imperialist political line. The E.P.L.F. has correctly pointed out that the Eritrean revolution is at the national democratic stage and has taken up the task of leading the Eritrean working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and all other sections opposed to the Ethiopian colonial regime, U.S. imperialism and Israeli Zionism.

Today, under the revolutionary leadership of the E.P.L.F., the Eritrean national democratic revolution is advancing rapidly. The E.P.L.F. has won fresh and brilliant victories in the military front, liberated more areas and is building stable base areas in the countryside.

The victories of the E.P.L.F. and the rapid advance of the national liberation struggle is inspiring the people of the whole country and building up their confidence in final victory. Great numbers of workers, peasants and students are joining the armed struggle. Eritrean women — long oppressed by colonialism as well as the feudal patriarchal society — are also taking up arms and standing shoulder to shoulder with the Eritrean men to wipe out the old oppressive society and build a truly independent and democratic Eritrea. The mass struggle of the people in the urban areas is also advancing vigorously. Mass discontent is extremely high and the general feeling of everyone is that the U.S.-Ethiopian colonial rule in Eritrea has to end if any of the problems in the society are to be solved. The masses in the urban areas are participating in various ways to end this oppressive rule.

Internationally too, the Eritrean revolution is making great advances. It is gaining more and more support from all peace and justice loving peoples of the world. The ties between the Eritrean people and the people of Palestine, Ethiopia, Africa is being strengthened in the course of resolute struggle against their common enemies— colonialism, imperialism and zionism.

The Eritrean people are celebrating the 12th anniversary of the armed struggle with great joy and determination to persevere in struggle till final victory. Their battle cry is " NOT A SINGLE DAY SHALL PASS WITHOUT A SPILL OF ENEMY BLOOD; NOR A SINGLE DAY MUST PASS WITHOUT LIBERATING MORE LAND". With such a determination, the Eritrean people are bound to overcome all obstacles and difficulties, and liberate their country from ruthless U.S.-Ethiopian oppression. Victory certainly belongs to the Eritrean people.

HAIL THE 12TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ERITREAN PEOPLE'S ARMED STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION!  
DOWN WITH ETHIOPIAN COLONIALISM, US IMPERIALISM AND ISRAELI ZIONISM!  
LONG LIVE THE ERITREAN NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION!  
LONG LIVE THE ERITREAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FORCES!

ERITREANS FOR LIBERATION IN NORTH AMERICA:  
THE FOURTH GENERAL CONGRESS IN PERSPECTIVE

Eritreans for Liberation in North America (E.F.L.N.A.) held its Fourth General Congress on September 1-3, 1973, in Washington, D.C. The major discussions, deliberations and decisions of the Congress focused on four main areas: internal organizational matters; the formation of a worldwide organization of Eritreans; the Eritrean Revolution; and EFLNA's relations with progressive organizations.

The question and issues raised pertaining to internal organization largely dealt with the activities, problem, accomplishments and recommendations detailed in the reports of the various chapters and the Executive Committee. In these discussions and deliberations, past errors and failings were openly discussed, frankly admitted and duly reprimanded in a spirit of criticism, self-criticism and comradely solidarity. Admittedly, some of these errors and failings had needlessly preoccupied the various chapters and almost strained the functioning of the Executive Committee itself. These preoccupation and strain were quite visible, specially in the proceedings on organizational matters, as they unfolded in the Congress's brief moments of relapse into petty recriminations, hearsay and gossip that were, in retrospect, more humorous than offensive. Of course, it was generally agreed that it is not the commission of honest mistakes but rather the failure to draw lessons from them that must be confronted and combatted. For the objective of criticism and self-criticism is not to blame, attack or insult any comrade but only to correct errors, resolve contradictions and, through the summing up of our experiences, build greater organizational unity.

The important organizational decisions and recommendations of the Congress include: the continued elaboration, in all publications and resolutions, of our total commitment to the correct revolutionary line of the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Forces; the strict enforcement of organizational status and discipline with respect to stated membership requirements so that privileges may be revoked whenever necessary; the thorough study of the Women Question in Eritrea as well as the conscious combatting of male dominance and female submissiveness with a view to improving the level of participation of women in our organization; the further intensification of our political education effort and the creation of a committee entrusted with this function, in order to cultivate a scientific world outlook, grasp the nature of the Eritrean Revolution, and promote a spirit of commitment and dedication to the just struggle of the Eritrean people; the creation (in principle) of an editorial board for more thorough preparation and effective dissemination of our publications, including a new biweekly organ -- in Tigriña to facilitate internal communication; the formation of different committees for mobilization, discipline, publicity, and fund raising in each chapter for more effective performance of our organizational tasks; and the convening of quarterly meetings of the Executive Committee and the chapter coordinators to appraise organizational activities and make recommendations. These decisions are the results of the analysis and summing up of the experiences of the various chapters of EFLNA in concrete practice and work.

In accordance with the express directives of the Third General Congress, EFLNA has strengthened its relations with the sisterly organizations of Eritreans in Europe, the Middle East and Africa. The Executive Committee presented an assessment of the conditions prevailing within the Eritrean student movement outside Eritrea and the current status of the fast developing relations among its various organizations. Inspired by the rapid advance of the Eritrean Revolution under the leadership of the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces vanguard, these revitalized relations among the sisterly organizations and the simultaneous recognition of the fundamental identity of their objectives and aspirations have generated an irresistible momentum toward the unity of all progressive Eritreans.

It was within this context, therefore, that the Fourth General Congress expressed its genuine desire for principled unity and accepted, in principle, the proposed Federation of Eritreans for Liberation in Europe (EFLE), the General Union of Eritrean Students (GUES-Cairo), and Eritreans for Liberation in North America (EFLNA). The congress, however, stressed that such unity be based on genuinely held principles that reflect the actual and concrete conditions of the struggle of our people and give primacy to the interests of the Eritrean masses.

The deliberations and workshop discussions on the Eritrean Revolution took most of the time and represented the highlights of the Congress. The working papers tackled various aspects of the Eritrean Revolution and were able to generate a more scientific, analytical and systematic discussion and understanding of the nature of Eritrean society; the historical development of the Eritrean struggle for national liberation; the problems, achievements and motive forces of the Eritrean Revolution; and the correct revolutionary strategy for the total victory of the just struggle of the Eritrean people. The quality of the papers, the level of the discussions in the workshops, and the spirit, enthusiasm and vigour with which they were conducted testify to the rapid development of EFLNA and the growing maturity of its political outlook. However, it goes without saying that we are still very far away from having a common world outlook or sharing a common understanding of the true nature, conditions and direction of the Eritrean Revolution. Nor have we yet developed a common grasp of the correlation of forces involved in it and of the historical inevitability of total victory for the forces of the Revolution.

The question of EFLNA's relations with progressive organizations was also raised and extensively discussed. The chapters and the Executive Committee described, in their reports the nature of the contacts, relations, and activities maintained with progressive groups in their respective areas. The Congress stressed that these relations are vital and should be strengthened and consolidated even more.

Any internal discussion of the issue of EFLNA's relations with progressive organizations inevitably raises the question of our relations with the Ethiopian Students Union in North America (E.S.U.N.A.). In general, the Congress expressed its uneasiness with ESUNA's contradictory position, in practice, on the question of the Eritrean struggle for independence: Is the Eritrean Question a national or a colonial question? If the Eritrean Question were merely a national question (like that of Wollo or Gojjam, for instance, as ESUNA claims), what has ESUNA done to publicize and mobilize support for the just cause of the "Ethiopian" peoples of Eritrea in their 12 year old heroic struggle against "feudalism" and "imperialism"? How can it remain neutral in the life-death struggle between revolution and counterrevolution in Eritrea when the vital interests of the "Ethiopian" peoples are at stake? Alternately, how is the colonial question in Eritrea different from that in Namibia or Guineau Bissau, for instance? Why does ESUNA deny the Eritrean national liberation struggle equality of exposure with the other national liberation struggles in its programs and forums?

The Congress reiterated that EFLNA does not operate subjectively on the basis of reciprocity in its relations with other organizations, but on the basis of internationalist solidarity. That EFLNA will continue to support all just and popular struggles against oppression. That the greatest expression of solidarity and support that ESUNA can render to the struggle of the Eritrean people and to all other popular struggles, is to concretely combat oppression and exploitation within Ethiopia itself. That, whatever happens here, EFLNA should never lose sight of the fundamental truth that there exists, and will always exist, a dialectical relationship between the Eritrean and Ethiopian revolutions and fraternal solidarity between the two peoples. In light of this, the Congress mandated the Executive Committee to study ESUNA's stand and practice on the Eritrean Question and to reexamine the nature of EFLNA's relations with it.

In conclusion, it must be stressed that the Fourth General Congress symbolized the development and growing maturity of EFLNA as an organization. The spirit of earnestness, concern and dedication that permeated it cannot be underestimated, and should inspire us to further intensify our organizational work. But, the Congress also signified EFLNA's continuing weaknesses. The lack of a common ideological basis, the propensity to personalize issues, and the failure to look at things politically are serious organizational problems that must be resolved. At the same time, we should always bear in mind that it is the revolutionary struggle of our people that lends legitimacy to our organized existence here. Yet, we still lack a collective sense of genuine, concrete commitment to, and total identification with, the valiant struggle of our people and their deepest aspirations.

#### THE ERITREAN REVOLUTION \*

The history of Eritrea is an integral part of the history of Africa in particular and that of the Third World in general. For many decades, virtually all of the African countries were colonized by the European imperialist nations. We may pose here and ask: What is colonialism? How did it come about? What has been its motive force? Colonialism is nothing but the crude system of direct and open domination and exploitation of one country, people, or nation by another through the seizure of state power by means of armed aggression and its maintenance under continued military occupation. It has been claimed that the Europeans came to Africa to spread "civilization". However, a historical look at the African condition reveals that the self-proclaimed "civilizing mission" of the European colonizers was a force. It was a deliberate lie concocted to cover up and justify the real reasons; for the motive force of colonialism has always been economic. Modern colonialism sprang from Europe as a result of capitalist development in search of new markets, natural resources and cheap labor. From the very beginning, the motive force of colonialism has been the extortion of super-profits from the exploitation of cheap labour power and raw materials on the one hand, and the dumping of surplus products at high prices in captive markets on the other. The people of the colonies were ruthlessly plundered as workers, as peasant producers, and as consumers.

It is to this history of colonial exploitation that we must turn in order to understand the roots of the economic backwardness of the Third World and the economic advancement of the imperialist camp; of the predominantly agrarian economies of the former and the industrial economies of the latter; and, of the perpetual impoverishment of the colonized peoples and the continued enrichment of the colonizer nations. In a very real sense, colonialism usurped the productive forces of the colonized peoples, displaced them from their own histories, arrested and distorted their development, and warped or deformed their societies. In short, colonialism is the cause for--indeed, the historical process that has generated--underdevelopment in all its forms. Development and underdevelopment are dialectically related. The very development of capitalism, as a historical process, produced and continues to create underdevelopment in the Third World while, at the same time generating economic development in the imperialist nations. "It is the structure and development of capitalism itself, penetrating and characterizing the Third World, that generated, maintains and still deepens underdevelopment." It is no accident, therefore, that scattered throughout the Third World today are societies whose structures have been determined by centuries of European and, more recently, U.S. imperialism.

It is as a result of colonial exploitation, therefore, that Africa is still economically backward while Europe is advanced. These two opposite realities of today, i.e., European development and African underdevelopment, indicate the true nature and meaning of colonialism. Colonialism in Africa is nothing more than the history of how Europe underdeveloped Africa; in other words, of how Europe developed at the expense of the peoples of Africa. (We are well aware of how colonialism plundered, oppressed and exploited the peoples of Latin America and Asia, too. But we will confine our discussions here only to Africa.)

\* An edited version of one of the working papers of the Fourth General Congress of EFLNA.

The colonization of Africa helped and sustained the development of capitalism in Europe. The cheap and forced labor in Africa went into the building of roads, railways and ports to provide the infrastructure for capitalist exploitation and to facilitate the export of cash crops. Similarly, the mineral resources of Africa allowed the rapid development of technology and skills within the metropolitan countries. It is quite true, as the French say, that the colonies have been created for the metropole by the metropole.

Capitalism is based on production for profit, and not on production for use. As a result its basic characteristic is destructive competition, one trying to swallow the other--on a small scale, between individual capitalists; on a larger scale, between capitalistic nations. Thus, the two world wars must be understood from this viewpoint. They were wars fought by competing capitalists to divide the world for the purpose of new markets, cheap labor and mineral resources.

The second world war resulted in the overtaking of Britain by the United States as the leader in international financial monopoly. Europe suffered severe damage from World War II. It had to undergo reconstruction. The then dynamic capitalism of America stretched its hands to Western Europe (through the Marshall Plan, i.e. "aid", loans). Proclaiming to "protect the Free World", it gradually began to spread its military and intelligence network over Western Europe. In this manner U.S. imperialism has been able to bring Western Europe under its grip. The story does not end here. Through Europe, American imperialism crept on to the European colonies.

Post war capitalism, which had already faced a blow from the birth of socialism in the Soviet Union, encountered another defeat in the foundation of socialist regimes in a number of countries in Central and Eastern Europe and China. It also had to face the rise of independent states and various national liberation movements.

At this point imperialism began to plot another mechanism for retaining the previously colonized countries. This was carried out, as we see today, through a new, more sophisticated, subtle mechanism of control--neocolonialism. The techniques are many and varied--it exploits a foreign country through short and long term loans based on a high rate of interest, 'aid' with many strings attached, exploitation of mineral resources by private enterprises; setting up military bases, etc.

Many African states, after years of painful struggle to gain national independence are still victims of neocolonialism. Countries like Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, present day Ghana, and many others, do not possess true political national independence today. All that they have is their respective flags waving in the sky. Behind the flags is real economic, political, military, and cultural domination, mainly by U.S. imperialism. U.S. neocolonialism in Africa finds its ally in feudal lords who are more than willing to maintain their parasitic position in society, the comprador bourgeoisie who by their economic activities have an interest linked with that of imperialism, the bribed and corrupted new elites who, as Jack Woddis correctly describes them, are "in a hurry to grow rich on the fruits of office before the undernourished millions demand a reckoning", the police chief and generals, the careerists and diplomats.

It is easy for us to understand the nature and meaning of neocolonialism and what it seeks to establish. As John Foster Dulles put it, the United States does not have friends, it has interests. Therefore, in the era we live in, for any national liberation movement to be a genuine people's movement, it must resolutely struggle against neocolonialism and domestic reaction until these twin enemies of the oppressed peoples are wiped out for good.

Now we come to the Eritrean struggle. The process of Italian colonization of Eritrea started with the Italian missionaries (as was typical of early colonization) under the disguised mission of spreading Christianity. Around 1869 an Italian priest, Father Stella



of Keren suggested to his superiors that Italy should administer his mission estates in the Barka valley. Similarly, another priest, Father Sepeto, tried to convince his government of the opportunities for acquisition of the vital sea route. These are a few examples that indicate how the early missionaries played the role of agents in the colonization of Eritrea. By 1869, Italy began to lay down foundations for its grand scale program of colonization. It established Rubbaltino Shipping Company to acquire a territory from the petty sultans of the Bay of Asseb near the straits of Bab el Mandeb. Around 1880 the same company began to increase its territory. As a result, it established a protectorate over Raheita. By 1883 the Italian Chamber voted for the territories under this company to be under control of the Government. Thus an Italian colony in the territory of Assab was legally established. As the process of colonization unfolded, Italy proceeded to occupy Massawa.

This Italian behavior of outright plundering was encouraged by another colonial friend, Great Briatin, which had a stake in the Italian colonization of Eritrea in its fight against the Mahdi of Sudan. The British imperialists were also anxious to avert the threat of French expansion into this part of Africa from the latter's beach-head in Djibouti.

The people of Eritrea never allowed any foreign intrusion or domination without putting up stiff resistance. On the contrary, they have fought bravely, resolutely, and persistently. A 500 man garrison of the enemy was completely wiped out at Dogali. However, the resistance of the Eritrean people was temporarily defeated after June 1889 when a 'treaty of friendship and cooperation' was signed between the notorious Emperor Menelik of Shoa and the colonialist Italy.

So Italy began to administer Eritrea under the strict rules of colonialism--i.e., naked exploitation and oppression. The Eritrean worker was forced to produce inexpensive raw materials for Italian industries, contributing to the development of the Italian economy through his cheap labor under inhuman working conditions. Eritreans were also forcefully conscripted in the colonial army.

Racism is one aspect of colonialism. As a result, the Eritreans suffered from various kinds of discriminatory laws. He had no say in his country's affairs. Trevaskis correctly remarked when he stated that in Eritrea the Italian was a first class citizen while the Eritrean, in his homeland, was relegated to a second class citizenship.

Any attempt at reform by the colonizer was meant to facilitate the exploitation of Eritrea and to benefit the Italian economy. Construction of roads and public works were all meant to facilitate capitalist exploitation and the mobilization of the colonial army. Colonial education was also geared in the same way. The school system was designed to produce educated Eritreans who would be interpreters, tax collectors and rank and file clerks within the colonial bureaucracy--no more, no less. True to the interests of the Italian economy, an Italian school director once stated that by the end of the fourth year the Eritrean student should be able to speak Italian moderately, to know the basic arithmetic operations, and to have knowledge of Italian history. It is not difficult to understand what this meant.

In general the colonial government never put a penny into the colony until it began making preparations for the fascist invasion of Ethiopia. All expenses were met by exploiting the labor and natural resources of Eritrea. The colonial taxation system was created to provide the necessary funds for the administration of the colony as an uncontested field of exploitation. In short, Italy was in a position to intervene directly in the economic life of the Eritrean people, having set up the police, army, civil service and judiciary to consolidate its full control.

The colony of Eritrea was a safety-valve for the economic problems of Italy. Fascism saw in Eritrea the solution to Italy's perennial southern problem and set out to

create a "heaven-on-earth" settler colony for its rank-and-file, which was made up of the handicraft petty bourgeoisie and the backward, poor and chauvinist peasantry.

Another basic factor in the Italian colonization of Eritrea was that it wanted to use Eritrea as a spring-board for its ambitions against other African countries, like Libya, Somalia and Ethiopia. As a result, Italy had to spend (solely for its own purposes!) millions of lire in Eritrea to establish small factories, commercial plantations, towns, and communication and transportation facilities. This is how we can understand the artificial economic development of Eritrea.

When Fascist Italy was defeated during the Second World War, it lost Eritrea and the rest of its East African Empire to the British in 1941. Despite their initial promises of independence to the Eritrean people, the British imperialists continued their colonization of Eritrea until 1952. The justification presented by the imperialists was that Eritrea was not economically or politically stable, and therefore it needed guidance for some time. We can see that the tactics of the capitalists are always consistent with their imperialist interests. History was later to prove what this false justification of the imperialists truly meant for the people of Eritrea. The then declining imperialist nation, Britain, thus began to show its true colors to the people of Eritrea.

It allowed the U.S. which, after the war, emerged as the leading imperialist power, to set up a medium military communication center, the Radio Marina. Internally, Briatin attempted to kill the national movement for independence. It used various methods -- fostering religious conflicts, promoting ethnic rivalries, creating a neocolonial bourgeoisie, etc. Before its period was over, Britain began closing down Eritrean industries; in fact, it physically dismantled many plants and shipped them away to its other colonies.

When the 10 years were over in 1952, the Eritrean case went back to the U.N. Britain proposed the partition of Eritrea on the basis of religion, i.e., between the then British colony of the Sudan and its neocolony of Ethiopia. The people of Eritrea opposed this imperialist operation. Finally, the imperialists brought another alternative. This time a very subtle one - a federal union with Ethiopia. To say that the Ethio-Eritrean Federation was an imperialist creation, contrived to facilitate the plunder and to consolidate the control of the imperialist powers in the Horn of Africa in general and in Eritrea in particular, is to state the obvious. The U.S.-sponsored Federal Resolution, which was dictated by the overriding interests of imperialism, was incompatible with and contrary to the wishes of the Eritrean people. For Ethiopia was, and remains, a backward feudal empire where: 90% of the population live under a cruel slavery-type tenancy; 95% of the people are kept illiterate; political parties (not even a ruling party exists!), freedom of press, assembly and trade unions are unheard of; there are more prisons than schools; and the different nationalities are oppressed and dehumanized by an archaic feudal Amhara ruling class.

Again we ask ourselves another question - Was Ethiopia alone capable of occupying Eritrea? Definitely no! But the most important question to ask is not Ethiopia's ability to occupy Eritrea - but whether Ethiopia (its economic, political, and social conditions being what they are) is able to maintain its grip over Eritrea? To this the answer is also definitely NO!

This is so because Ethiopia is a backward country compared to Eritrea.

Leave alone to maintain its occupation of Eritrea, it cannot even contain its own social contradictions that are daily boiling underneath the feudalist regime. But how come Ethiopia has "maintained" its grip over Eritrea for the last 20 years? Behind her, as the main force, are the imperialists and especially the United States. Behind Haile Selassie and his feudal regime we see U.S. imperialism, behind Ethiopian dollars, American dollars; behind Ethiopian generals, American military experts; behind the Ethiopian armed forces, modern American military equipment -- machine guns, bayonets, planes and tanks, that daily slaughter unarmed peasants and wipe out entire villages throughout Eritrea. In brief, this is how Ethiopia has been trying to "maintain" its grip over Eritrea for the last 20 years.

In exchange for the occupation of Eritrea, Ethiopia signed a "mutual defense pact" with the U.S. in 1953 and gave it the right to set up any number of bases in Eritrea. As a result, we have the Kagner Station in Asmara, and by the 1960s, an American naval base in Massawa and an army base near Decamare. As far as the federal relationship was concerned, Ethiopia gradually started to interfere in the affairs of the autonomous government of Eritrea. It set out to abolish freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, and to crush the trade unions, all of which were guaranteed by the Eritrean Constitution. With its typical feudalist characteristics of domination, it abolished the Eritrean parliament and physically occupied Eritrea by means of a mercenary army that was organized, trained, equipped and financed by the American and Israeli governments.

On November 14, 1962, at 11:20 a.m., a statement was read in Amharic over the radio to the effect that Eritrea was "united" with Ethiopia. Since then Eritrea has been officially claimed as one of the 14 provinces of the Empire of Ethiopia.

In this manner feudal Ethiopia began to drag the Eritrean people into backwardness. A bourgeois democratic Eritrea and a feudal autocratic Ethiopia were incompatible from the very beginning of the Sham Federation.

In Eritrea, a bourgeois democratic revolution was in full swing with free elections, free press, and the right of workers to organize and maintain labour unions. In contrast, all these were totally absent in the backward archaic Ethiopian empire. This fact partly explains also why sustained social revolution had to explode in Eritrea before it could in Ethiopia. We can easily see how Ethiopia has been fighting progress in Eritrea. Ethiopia devised and implemented a crude policy for the economic paralysis of Eritrea. It started shutting down factories, preventing the installation of new ones, and daily swelling the level of unemployment of Eritrean workers. As a result many Eritrean workers and their families have been forced to leave their homeland in search of jobs. It began the process of Amharaization. It attempted to destroy the culture of the people of Eritrea. It banned the use of, and burned books written in, the Eritrean languages and imposed Amharic as the official language. It attempted to falsify historical facts by presenting Eritrea as part of Ethiopia from time immemorial. It used many intrigues typical of the tactics of previous foreign colonialist intruders - i.e., to divide the Eritrean people along religious and tribal lines.

The Eritrean people, however, never ceased their relentless resistance against any foreign intrusion. The confederation of Eritrean workers, that went underground after its dissolution in 1953, staged the biggest demonstration in protest against economic and political oppression by the Ethiopian regime and demanded the national independence of Eritrea. As a result, hundreds of workers

were massacred. Student demonstrations and underground political activities were rampant. The various classes and communities of Eritrean society participated in this popular struggle on the basis of a collective consciousness of colonial oppression and a common aspiration for national independence.

After years of peaceful resistance, the struggle of the Eritrean people had to take another form. Consequently, the armed struggle erupted and the E.L.F. (Eritrean Liberation Front) was born in September 1961, not in the towns, but in the countryside - in the backward regions of Eritrea where the population is predominantly nomadic.

In 1964-5, progressive workers and students started joining the ELF. Still the great bulk of the force was made up of peasants (with all their fragmented, regional world outlook, superstitious beliefs, etc.). The leadership of "Jebha" (the Front) was composed of warlords backed up by opportunistic bourgeois intellectuals. The leadership was in a position to manipulate the movement, taking advantage of the composition of the Front.

The then leadership of the "Jebha" preached to free Eritrea. But we may pose here and ask the question: Free Eritrea for whom? For what class of Eritrean society?

In appearance, the leadership preached in the name of the oppressed people of Eritrea. In essence, however, it stood for its class interest - for the capitalist leaders of the "Jebha." The dreams of the leadership were the dreams of all bourgeois nationalists. They wanted to take the place of Ethiopian domination in Eritrea just as Kenyatta and his clique took the place of the British colonial bureaucrats after the formal independence of Kenya. To accomplish its selfish goals, it had to use various techniques that the objective conditions seemed to tolerate, if only temporarily, due to the low level of political consciousness among the peasantry; tribalism, religious conflict, terror, spy networks, and in extreme cases, the total liquidation of progressive fighters, were among its basic tools. At the same time it was amassing huge capital, by plundering the very peasants that it was purportedly fighting to free, and investing it in construction and transportation industries in the Sudan. In short the bosses of "Jebha" led a luxurious life in foreign capitals. At the same time the class contradictions in the movement were daily growing sharper and sharper.

In the history of social development no oppressive system has ever been tolerated without resistance (even though the degree of resistance might vary in time and place), resulting, in the final analysis, in the overthrow of the old by the new. This is a basic law of development of human society. As a result of the operations of this law of social development in the specific setting of the Eritrean struggle, a resistance movement from within the Front began to develop against the leadership of "Jebha." A relentless and determined internal struggle was waged until, finally, the old leadership was overthrown by the new. We can say quite correctly that the warlords of "Jebha" were the victims of the dialectical development of the Eritrean revolutionary struggle.

The conflict between the in-coming progressive youth (workers and students) on the one hand, and the entrenched warlords and their opportunistic "intellectual" advisers, with their base in the backward nomads and peasantry, on the other, began to develop into sharp contradictions within the Eritrean Liberation Front. The

basic class contradiction was hard to notice because the so-called "leadership" gave it a different picture, and that is one of religion, tribalism and regionalism. But human history shows that the motive force of social development is not religious, tribal or regional conflicts, but continuous class struggle -- i.e., between the oppressed and the oppressor; in other words, between progress and reaction.

As a result the new progressive elements began mobilizing the fighters, and on September 10, 1968, succeeded in breaking the power of the chieftainship in three of the five divisions of the Front. Until then, the Front had been fragmented into five quasi-autonomous divisions that were organized on a reactionary basis of regionalism, tribalism and religious chauvinism. To destroy this strong base of true unity, and postpone their downfall, the old leadership again asked for the unity of the five divisions at the military conference of Adobha in August 1969.

The progressive forces, always striving for national unity, accepted the proposal and agreed even to the undemocratic demands put forth by the reactionary faction such as the two-man majority in the new General Command (20 for the two divisions and 18 for the Unity of the Three). Here the General Command was established but it was to remain provisional and step down within a year when a National Congress of all the liberation forces and Eritrean mass organizations was to be held to chart a new and correct strategy programme and administrative structure for the revolution.

A Preparatory Committee was set up to prepare the National Congress and an Investigating Committee to document crimes and mistakes committed from the start of the armed struggle. The Supreme Council, the highest organ of the ELF, was to face its fate in the National Congress. In the meantime the progressives went on with their basic plan of mass mobilization and politicization. But the basic contradiction, which could not be resolved over a short period, started to develop acutely. Just two months after Adobha, the reactionary faction started to subvert the agreement. It arrested six of the eighteen members of the General Command from the "Unity of the Three"; two were abroad on missions and could not be trapped; one managed to slip through its fingers and, with a small band of fighters, retreated to the southern part of Eritrea, waiting for reinforcements. The rest of the 18 were either bribed or intimidated into silence. Using its now strengthened position of "leadership", it called all "suspicious" elements, ostensibly for missions, and murdered them cold-bloodedly. In this manner, it liquidated more than 300 revolutionary fighters and unleashed a reign of terror on the rest of the fighters and the people. The tasks of the Preparatory and Investigating Committees were subverted, the National Congress politely forgotten, and the "reconstituted" General Command became permanent instead of provisional. The "National Congress" was only later hastily resurrected and paraded in December 1971.

The struggle between progress and reaction had to continue. The small group that retreated to southern Eritrea and the progressive elements in the General Command who were regrouping in eastern Sudan forged an uncompromising revolutionary movement in 1970 under the banner of the Eritrean P.L.F. (People's Liberation Forces). The P.L.F. began on a clear and progressive political line of anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, anti-feudalism and anti-zionism to gain the national independence of Eritrea and, in the final analysis, to abolish the exploitation of man by man. The formation of the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces ushered in a dynamic new era in the history of the Eritrean struggle for national liberation.

Not surprisingly, the General Command exposed its reactionary nature when

its "National Congress" replaced the General Command by the "Revolutionary Council" whose elected members were the notorious members of the old leadership, the Supreme Council, a body which claimed to lead the Eritrean Revolution from foreign capitals, and thus had been kicked out by the General Command itself.

By considering itself as the only representative of the Eritrean people's struggle, it declared a program of "liquidation" on the E.P.L.F. (avoiding the main enemy of the Eritrean people - the Ethiopian regime and its neocolonialist master) and thus unilaterally initiated the civil war. The imposition of this eleven months' old civil war, which the E.P.L.F. has consistently strived to avoid, clearly demonstrates the failure of the "Revolutionary Council" to distinguish the principal from the non-principal contradictions of the Eritrean revolution. Thus, it resorted to an antagonistic method (civil war) instead of using a non-antagonistic method (democratic dialogue and persuasion) of resolution. Worse still, after creating the civil war, the "Revolutionary Council" denies the existence of the civil war in Eritrea. This clearly indicates that the leadership of the "Revolutionary Council" is not interested in solving the problem of a civil war that is simply benefitting the enemies of the people of Eritrea.

On the other hand the E.P.L.F. has clearly and correctly stated that it has no conflict with the Eritrean heroic fighters now forced by the reactionary "Revolutionary Council" to wage war against their Eritrean brothers. This testifies to the genuine desire of the E.P.L.F. to realize national unity. This dynamic struggle under the leadership of the E.P.L.F. is opening a new chapter in the history of the oppressed people of Eritrea.

The Eritrean Struggle is not alone; the armed struggles that are being waged all over the world in general and the Third World in particular, against colonialism, imperialism, neocolonialism, feudalism, and zionism are ample proof that the struggle of the Eritrean people is not isolated. Like every genuine revolution, it has its natural friends and allies. Thus when colonialism and imperialism are shattered by the Eritrean revolution, they are also being shattered, at the same time, in South-east Asia, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Palestine, Latin America, Ethiopia, etc.

The Eritrean Revolution will definitely have an effect within Ethiopia itself. The ruling class of Ethiopia, in its desperate attempt to halt the Eritrean Revolution, is daily sharpening the contradictions within its own society. The peoples of Ethiopia are gradually awakening from their three thousand years of slumber and slavery to find out two important facts - one, that the people of Eritrea are fighting for a just cause and have to be supported; and two, that they themselves are being oppressed and have to rise up in arms against their own ruling class. Here, then, is a timely revolutionary task for a progressive Ethiopian, wherever he is - to actively support the struggle of the Eritrean people under the leadership of the E.P.L.F. in terms of publicity and propaganda. But, he must, above all, actively struggle against feudalism and imperialism in Ethiopia. For, in the final analysis, the best support Ethiopian revolutionaries can give the Eritrean and world revolutions is to liberate the Ethiopian peoples from the yoke of feudalism and imperialism.

The anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle of the Eritrean people for national independence is completely interrelated with all progressive movements of the world. In this aspect, therefore, the Eritrean revolution is at the same time national and international. Failure to think in this perspective leads to a

dangerous trend of narrow nationalism and a belief in mere formal independence and the waving of a flag only, without totally wiping out the oppressive and exploitative colonial structure.

The question now is, which class can guarantee the successful realization of the Eritrean revolution? As the history of all revolutionary movements in the era of imperialism has proved, the only class that can guarantee the abolition of exploitation is the working class. That the national liberation struggle must, in the final analysis, also be a class struggle.

At present the Eritrean struggle is in the stage of national democratic revolution. This, however, must not be understood simply in the unity of all classes to chase away foreign enemies, This is so because oppression does not come only from outside. There is oppression within Eritrean society also - after all, there are classes in Eritrea. Therefore, in order to assure the socialist revolution in Eritrea, the leadership must be in the hands of the working class with its basic ally, the broad masses of the peasantry. This means the ideology of the working class must play the leading role in rallying the broad masses of laboring people and other democratic elements into a united front under a common programme - to smash Ethiopian colonial rule and U.S. imperialism, and to forge ahead the socialist reconstruction of Eritrean society.

The E.P.L.F. should be understood as the culmination of the dialectical development of almost three decades of political and armed struggle of the Eritrean people for independence and national liberation. Tempered by the struggle, these loyal sons and daughters of the Eritrean masses courageously exposed and rejected the warlords of Jebha and opted to pay whatever price in order to defend the revolution. The formation of the E.P.L.F. thus was yet another victory in the struggle of the Eritrean masses. It ushered in a new revolutionary spirit among Eritreans everywhere; workers, peasants, students and intellectuals are joining the struggle under its vanguard leadership en masse - more than ever before. The politicization of the masses is advancing at a tremendous rate and out of the struggle is being created a new national unity and a new revolutionary breed tempered by the struggle. Despite its limited resources, the E.P.L.F. is concretely expressing its internationalism by training Ethiopian revolutionaries for the task of carrying out the struggle against feudalism and imperialism in their country. The birth of a vanguard party should be hailed as a great step forward in the consolidation of the E.P.L.F.'s revolutionary programme. This would greatly facilitate the Eritrean revolution's present task of careful building, defending and expanding ideologically, organizationally and militarily.

The EPLF revolutionary vanguard has started in the correct direction and is fast advancing toward the liberation of our country; but, we should also recognize that the Eritrean people still have a long and difficult path of armed and political struggle to total victory, which is inevitable. In this painful and protracted revolutionary struggle of our people, all patriotic Eritreans, wherever they are, must carry their share of the burden and play their revolutionary role.

LONG LIVE THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF ERITREA!

LONG LIVE THE E.P.L.F. IN ITS LONG MARCH!

LONG LIVE THE ERITREAN REVOLUTIONARIES,  
THE DEAD AND THE LIVING!

LONG LIVE THE FRIENDS OF THE ERITREAN PEOPLE!

DOWN WITH THE ENEMIES OF THE ERITREAN PEOPLE!

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NEWS IN BRIEF

Liberation News:

September 1st, 1973 marks the 12th anniversary of the armed struggle for liberation of the Eritrean people. The armed militants of the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces (E.P.L.F.) commemorated this historic occasion by holding special celebrations throughout the liberated areas. The EPLF renewed their pledge to realize the unity of all patriotic forces, to protect the masses from the repressive and harrasing encroachment of the enemy, to drive the Ethiopian aggressor troops out of Eritrea, and to carry the revolution forward until final victory. They reaffirmed their internationalist duty to continue to extend full support to the democratic and revolutionary forces of the Ethiopian people in their struggle against Haile Selassie's neocolonial puppet regime.

In fulfillment of this pledge, the heroic Eritrean freedom fighters have escalated and intensified the armed struggle, carrying their daring military operations into the heart of Asmara itself to attack the Ethiopian enemy forces and administer a deadly blow to their spy networks.



Military Communiques:

Eritrean Commandos Execute Deputy Commander of Ethiopian Forces in Eritrea.

The commandos of the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces have executed Colonel Yilma Elma, Deputy Commander of the Ethiopian army's Second Division in Eritrea who was also the commander of the Dongollo military camp, situated about 40 kilometers northeast of Asmara. This is the biggest military camp for the Ethiopian army of occupation in Eritrea.

Colonel Yilma, one of the most notorious chieftains of the Ethiopian army of aggression, had recently been promoted to the rank of general and was about to assume the post of commander of the Ethiopian Army's Second Division in Eritrea. He was also among the Ethiopian mercenary troops who fought in the Korean War under the banner of U.S. imperialist aggression. He was, indeed, a veteran thug of imperialism and colonialism, a cruel enemy of the people, and a notorious mercenary against the forces of liberation and freedom.

Colonel Yilma was shot dead on September 12, 1973 at 6:30 P.M. near the Optical Hospital in Asmara. The Colonel and three other officers were about to get into a car, having saluted the Ethiopian flag in a nearby military camp, when the EPLF commandos suddenly charged out of a taxi and showered a hail of machine-gun fire at them. The Colonel, the officers and the driver died instantly on the spot. The commandos managed to withdraw safely under a screen of smoke bombs fired to cover their retreat. The Colonel's body was flown to Addis Ababa for burial. Following this incident, the Ethiopian colonial authorities have intensified their campaign of terror against the Eritrean masses and carried out large-scale arrests.

It is to be recalled that the Eritrean commandos had, in 1970, killed General Teshome Ergetu, the commander of the Ethiopian Occupation Army in Eritrea. It was in the wake of his death that the Ethiopian regime unleashed the Keren Massacre (where about 2,000 peaceful civilians were napalmed to death and over 30,000 made homeless in a savage aerial bombardment), carried out a barbaric mass murder of the Eritrean peasantry, wiped out whole villages on the Asmara-Keren highway (where the General was killed), and declared the state of emergency in Eritrea which is still in force.

Fierce Battles in Eritrea between Freedom Fighters and the Ethiopian Occupation Army:

A series of fierce battles have been raging between the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces and the Ethiopian Army of Occupation in Eritrea. In the battle of Durfo, 35 kilometers northeast of Asmara, 30 Ethiopian soldiers were killed, including a captain who was the battalion commander, and more than 50 enemy soldiers were wounded. There was another engagement in Kurmu, in the Adi Shuma area, about 50 kilometers to the east of Asmara, where the enemy troops sustained heavy casualties. Desperate and infuriated by their defeats and setbacks, the Ethiopian colonial troops have carried out vindictive operations of destruction and massacre on the villages in the neighborhood--killing unarmed villagers, including many women and children.

The main highway between Asmara, the capital, and Massawa, the port on the Red Sea Coast (114 Kms.) has become a theatre of guerrilla activities. EPLF freedom fighters have launched a series of strategic sabotage operations, ambushes and attacks on enemy troops and installations along the Asmara-Massawa

highway as well as destroying bridges, disrupting the flow of traffic, and incapacitating enemy reinforcements. The consequences for land-locked Ethiopia, which justifies its colonial occupation of our homeland partly in terms of its need for Eritrean ports as outlets to the sea, have been very grave. The flow of traffic and commerce has been seriously disrupted. Exports of citrus fruits, bananas, and vegetables from Eritrea to Saudi Arabia, earning more than ten million dollars of foreign exchange to the Ethiopian treasury, have been considerably affected. It has become extremely difficult and completely unsafe for U.S. military and support personnel moving to and from Asmara (where they maintain the huge military and communication complex at Kagnew) and Massawa (where they maintain a naval base). In fact, the destruction of the bridges has reportedly forced the U.S. to take a decision to liquidate its military base in Asmara by July 1974 and shift it to Massawa, as a supply station for the U.S. Navy.

In a related development, the EPLF freedom fighters had kidnapped a 30-year old son of Dana Dai and forced his father to pay ransom money to the liberation forces for the release of his son. It should be pointed out that Dana Dai arrived in Eritrea as a poor Italian soldier during the era of the Italian occupation. Over the years, and especially during the last decade of direct Ethiopian colonial occupation, he has amassed a huge fortune from the super-exploitation of Eritrean workers and natural resources. Like Baratollo and Melotti, he is an excellent example of the new breed of formerly poor Italian colonial soldiers who have been given a free hand by the Ethiopian colonial regime to extort huge fortunes from the continued enslavement and misery of Eritrean factory, plantation and farm workers. Today, he is a big financier and owns most of the modern commercial agricultural plantations and dairy farms in Eritrea. He also owns the ships which transport Eritrean agricultural produce across the Red Sea to Saudi Arabia.

A big battle took place on September 7, 1973, between the EPLF and Ethiopian commando troops between Durfo and Mirara in Hamasien Province. The Ethiopian troops had planned a surprise attack on the People's Liberation Forces. But instead, the liberation forces, who have been closely following the movements of the enemy troops, set an elaborate ambush and inflicted heavy losses on them. Thirty Ethiopian soldiers were killed and their deputy commander fatally wounded while the liberation forces sustained no casualties. Yet, the propaganda media of the Ethiopian colonial authorities tried to hide these defeats and claimed that they killed 15 Eritrean guerrillas. But the masses nearby knew who was telling the truth as they saw Ethiopian helicopters collecting the bodies of their fallen soldiers. Besides, the main hospital in Asmara has been vacated of all civilian patients for the exclusive treatment of battle-wounded Ethiopian soldiers since September.

On September 15, 1973, EPLF commandos threw explosives on the headquarters of the Finance Guard in Asmara, causing destruction and great material loss to the premises. It was here in this very premises that EPLF commandos heroically carried out a most courageous, daring and successful military operation in 1971 when they besieged the headquarters and seized large quantities of weapons and ammunition.

On September 27, 1973, EPLF commandos made a concerted attack on enemy troops in Asmara itself. In the ensuing battle, which lasted for four hours, the Ethiopian soldiers suffered heavy casualties while the liberation forces withdrew to their bases safely and intact. In the chaotic situation that ensued, the Ethiopian occupation forces unleashed a wanton campaign of mass terrorization,

indiscriminate shooting, open vandalism and savage looting on the unarmed civilian population of Asmara and surrounding villages. A great many people lost their lives, had their personal belongings (wallets, watches, rings, earrings, etc.) forcibly snatched away, and their homes ransacked and looted. Meanwhile, hundreds of Eritreans living in Ethiopia--in Addis Ababa and the other cities--have been arrested by the Ethiopian regime "because they are supporters of the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces". Many are being man-handled and tortured in jails by the regime's fascist thugs. There has been a marked escalation of the repression against Eritreans scattered throughout the empire.

In early November, the EPLF shot down an Ethiopian army helicopter on a flight from Asmara to Keren. The five officers aboard, including the pilot, were all killed as the helicopter crashed.

With the effective disruption of their communication lines, the virtual paralysis of their mobility, the steady intensification of the armed struggle in the countryside and its continued escalation into the cities, the Ethiopian colonialists and their henchmen are now completely isolated in and chiefly confined to their main fortified bases in the urban centers. Their principal activities have been reduced to occasional forays of rampage and terrorization of the unarmed population in the surrounding communities. They are now using most barbarous and fascist means to sow terror and carry out mass slaughter.

On the other hand, seeing through the desperate measures of the enemy, the people of Eritrea are daily strengthening their resolve and determination to persevere in the armed struggle. The Eritrean vanguard, fully conscious of the invincibility of the revolutionary force of the popular masses, is advancing forward, ever more confident of the inevitability of final and decisive victory.

#### Organizational News:

\*Eritreans for Liberation in North America (EFLNA) held its Fourth General Congress during September 1-3, 1973, in Washington, D.C. Since the Congress, new chapters of EFLNA have been organized in Buffalo (upstate New York), Oklahoma, Oakland, (northern California), Minneapolis (Minnesota), and Missouri.

The Seattle chapter of EFLNA sponsored a rally in support of the Eritrean People's armed struggle for national liberation on November 17, 1973. Messages of solidarity came from the African Progressive Study Group, Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Forum, and the Committee to Form the Seattle Branch of the Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists.

The Boston chapter of EFLNA participated in a conference on "Revolution and Counter-revolution in the Third World" on November 17, 1973, at Brown University, Providence (Rhode Island), which was attended by a number of anti-imperialist organizations in the Eastern and Midwestern states of the U.S. The Conference provided a good opportunity to discuss the nature of the Eritrean Revolution and its world-historic character.

\*Eritreans for Liberation in Europe (EFLE) held its Fourth Annual Congress on August 25-29, 1973, in Pavia (Milan), Italy. In addition to the member participants, the Congress was attended by representatives of the Foreign Mission of the Eritrean Liberation Front-People's Liberation Forces (the President and others from the Paris, Rome and Cairo offices), observers from various progressive Third World and Italian organizations, delegates from the General Union of Eritrean Students (G.U.E.S.-Cairo), and delegates from Eritreans for Liberation in North America (EFLNA). The recently organized EFLE chapter in Italy hosted the Congress.

\*The formation of a Worldwide Federation, uniting EFLE, EFINA and GUES-Cairo, has been agreed upon and accepted, in principle, by the three sisterly organizations which are now committed to the immediate implementation of the Pavia Declaration.

\*An Eritrean Liberation Support Committee (ELSC) has recently been organized in Boston. The ELSC is made up of representatives of progressive Third World and American organizations and individuals in the Greater Boston area who have come together to express their concrete solidarity with, and lend support to, the struggle of the people of Eritrea for national liberation.

Following is the statement of the ELSC.

ERITREAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE (ELSC)

As a gesture of internationalist solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Eritrean people against the combined forces of United States imperialism, Ethiopian colonialism and Israeli zionism, an Eritrean Liberation Support Committee has been formed. The Committee is made up of Third World (Afro-American, African, Afro-Asian, and Latin American) and North American progressive organizations committed to the cause of national liberation and proletarian revolution against world imperialism and reaction. It sees the Eritrean national liberation struggle as an integral part of this international struggle and it, therefore, wholeheartedly supports the cause of the Eritrean masses.

Among the organizations that have joined forces and pledged their support are: The African Liberation Support Committee, the Marxist-Leninists of North America, Resistance in the Middle East, New American Movement, May 15th Coalition, Women's Committee to Support Palestinians, Afro-Asian Student Organizations, Young Americans Against War and Fascism, as well as several progressive individuals, (African students from the Somali Democratic Republic, etc.), from the greater Boston communities and educational institutions. The unity of these forces coincides with the changing situation in Eritrea where the patriotic Popular Forces are daily inflicting heavy losses on the imperialist-backed feudal army of Haile Selassie of Ethiopia. Despite the conspiracy of silence and the deliberate policy of distortion which the imperialist and feudal press have for so long maintained, the world's people cannot fail to see the frantic attempts of Haile Selassie - witness his recent visits to Peking, Washington, Moscow as well as the deceptive "break" of diplomatic relations with Israel - to isolate and repress the just aspirations of the people of Eritrea for national independence and development.

Thus, although the Eritrean people have borne incalculable hardships and have inflicted heavy blows on the Ethiopian colonial forces (two-thirds of the country has been liberated), their cause has not received its due share of support and publicity. Hence, the Committee's immediate objectives are:

1. To popularize in every way possible the national and revolutionary nature of the Eritrean struggle.
2. To mobilize as many people as possible in order to expose the United States - Ethiopian - Israeli conspiracy to obliterate the Eritrean State, subjugate the Eritrean people, exploit the material resources

of Eritrea, and use Eritrean territory for military-strategic ends (Kagnew base, Israeli bases on the islands of Fatimah and Haleb at the southern entrance to the Red Sea, etc.)

3. To provide moral and material support for the Eritrean Liberation forces and the hundreds of thousands of Eritrean men, women and children refugees (primarily in the Sudan).
4. To assist in the national reconstruction efforts of the Eritrean people in the aftermath of the devastation and misery caused by the imperialists and their Ethiopian puppets (namely Haile Selassie and the Amhara ruling class).

The Committee calls on the people of the greater Boston area, the United States and the world to support the people of Eritrea at this critical juncture in their history to liquidate, once and for all, their colonizers and exploiters.

Long live the Eritrean Revolution!  
 Long live the African Revolution!  
 Long live the World Revolution!  
 Down with colonialism, imperialism, and zionism!









THE PAVIA DECLARATION

This is a joint declaration of Eritreans for Liberation in Europe (E.F.L.E.), Eritreans for Liberation in North America (E.F.L.N.A.) and the General Union of Eritrean Students (G.U.E.S.-Cairo) issued at the Fourth Annual Congress of E.F.L.E. held in Pavia,,Italy, from August 25-29, 1973. The declaration is hereafter referred to as the "Pavia Declaration".

We, the representatives of EFLE, EFLNA and GUES-Cairo, meeting at the Fourth Annual Congress of EFLE in Pavia, Italy, August 25-29, 1973, would like to take this opportunity to declare the common guiding principles of our organizations and reaffirm our genuine desire and determination to coordinate our activities and work towards principled unity of all progressive Eritrean organizations engaged in ensuring the continuation and intensification of the heroic struggle of the Eritrean masses for a true national liberation headed and guided by the Eritrean Liberation Front-Peoples Liberation Forces, the only genuine Vanguard of the Eritrean revolutionary struggle for national independence.

Thus, the EFLE, EFLNA and GUES-Cairo, reaffirm their complete adherence to the following principles:

A. OUR PRINCIPLES:

- I. The struggle of the Eritrean people for national liberation is a just struggle that every progressive Eritrean should actively support. We firmly believe that in this vital struggle of the Eritrean people for national liberation, there should not be, and cannot be, any neutral position. We are either against or for the genuine emancipation of our masses. We are therefore neither spectators nor sympathizers of the Eritrean struggle but active and committed members whose activities and commitments are geared towards the realization of the final victory of the Eritrean workers and peasants, the motive forces of the Eritrean Revolution.
2. We recognize that the struggle of the Eritrean people for freedom and independence is part of the struggle of the oppressed peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America against colonialism, imperialism, zionism and national reaction. We, therefore, believe that the content and guiding principles of the Eritrean revolutionary struggle should be anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, anti-zionist and against domestic reaction. The Eritrean revolutionary struggle should be mass-based, i.e., popular, democratic, secular and with internationalist outlook.
3. We strongly condemn the so-called "revolutionary council" of the Eritrean Liberation Front for its anti-people, counter-revolutionary policy of subverting the Eritrean struggle by its undemocratic, reactionary and fascistic program of "Liquidation" of the Eritrean revolutionary vanguard and for terrorizing the masses who are fighting for freedom and independence.
4. We further condemn the activities of the handful lackeys of the so-called "revolutionary council" who arrogantly call themselves General Union of Eritrean Students (G.U.E.S.-Bagdad). We call upon the misled members of this defunct organization to reject GUES-Bagdad and its reactionary policy and leadership and join hands with us in the interest of the Eritrean revolutionary struggle.
5. We recognize the Eritrean Liberation Front-People's Liberation Forces(E.L.F.-P.L.F.)as the only revolutionary force that represents the interest of the

Eritrean masses for genuine national liberation. We hail the E.L.F.-P.L.F. as the Vanguard of the Eritrean revolutionary struggle. We fully endorse the programs and activities of the E.L.F.-P.L.F. and reaffirm our commitment to its ideals.

6. We pledge to work towards the mobilization and unity of all progressive Eritreans and Eritrean organizations on the basis of the above mentioned principles in order to strengthen the Eritrean revolution and its Vanguard, the E.L.F.-P.L.F., for the final victory of the Eritrean masses.
- B. The E.F.L.E., E.F.L.N.A. and G.U.E.S.-Cairo: declare that the following continue to be the aims of these sisterly organizations:
- I. To mobilize all progressive Eritreans and Eritrean organizations under the above mentioned principles for the purpose of working towards the final victory of the Eritrean revolution led by the mass-based E.L.F.-P.L.F.
  2. To intensify our political, financial and material support to the E.L.F.-P.L.F., and above all to support the struggle concretely by joining the heroic fighters in the armed and political struggle.
  3. To intensify political education among members in order to widen our world outlook for the interest of our revolution, which is anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, anti-zionist and against domestic reaction.
  4. To affirm our full support for the heroic struggle of the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America and other progressive and democratic movements in the capitalist countries in their common struggle against imperialism. We pledge to work hand in hand with all progressive organizations wherever we are.
  5. We will intensify our activities regarding the task of propagating the cause of the Eritrean revolutionary struggle to all progressive groups, organizations and countries.
- C. The E.F.L.E., E.F.L.N.A. and G.U.E.S.-Cairo: solemnly declare that they shall consistently adhere to these principles and aims and, inspired by the revolutionary struggle of the Eritrean people under the leadership of E.L.F.-P.L.F., we have accordingly agreed to take the following measures:
- I. To achieve full solidarity and eventual unity among our three sisterly organizations and to initiate effective and concrete democratic measures against all elements that attempt to subvert and jeopardise the E.L.F.-P.L.F., the Vanguard of the Eritrean revolutionary struggle.
  2. To offer determined support to the intensification of our revolutionary struggle by continuing our efforts towards the coordination of our activities in political education and other activities necessary for the strengthening of our commitment to the E.L.F.-P.L.F.
  3. To set up a committee of three (one from each organization) that would study the form that the merger of our three organizations will be taking. The committee should decide the time and place of its meeting and present the final agreement to its respective organizations for approval.
  4. Until the formation of such Worldwide Federation is attained, the three sisterly organizations have agreed to work very closely and try to coordinate their

activities as much as possible.

LONG LIVE THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE ERITREAN MASSES FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION!

LONG LIVE THE E.L.F.-P.L.F. VANGUARD OF THE ERITREAN REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE!

DOWN WITH ETHIOPIAN COLONIALISM, U.S. IMPERIALISM, ISRALI ZIONISM AND DOMESTIC REACTION!

VICTORY TO THE ERITREAN MASSES!

LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF THE PAVIA DECLARATION!

Eritreans for Liberation in Europe (EFLE)	General Union of Eritrean Students (GUES-Cairo)	Eritreans for Liberation in North America (EFLNA)
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AUGUST 29, 1973

PAVIA (MILAN), ITALY

THE 4th EFLE CONGRESS AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PAVIA DECLARATION

The Fourth Annual Congress of Eritreans For Liberation in Europe (EFLE), which took place in Pavia (Italy), during August 25-29, 1973, is perhaps one of the most important and successful conventions ever held by Eritrean youth organizations abroad both in terms of representation and objectives. Over 120 delegates from its various chapters in Europe and representatives from Eritreans For Liberation in North America (EFLNA), The General Union of Eritrean Students (GUES - Cairo), The Foreign Mission of the Eritrean Liberation Front - Peoples Liberation Forces (ELF-PLF), and representatives of a number of progressive organizations attended the Congress.

The theme of the Congress focussed on: (1) the need to intensify the mobilization of Eritreans on a progressive programme; (2) the need to achieve greater unity among Eritrean organizations scattered throughout the world in order to coordinate their activities and effectively involve themselves in the rapidly advancing Eritrean revolution; and (3) to reaffirm their unequivocal support to the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces (EPLF), The vanguard of the Eritrean revolutionary struggle for national liberation and to channel the organization's efforts towards strengthening it. The Congress fully realized that the Eritrean youth have a historic obligation at this critical stage of the life-and-death struggle for national liberation against colonialism, imperialism, zionism and domestic reaction and warlordism. As was expressed in the declared principles of EFLE, EFLNA and GUES-Cairo in the Pavia Declaration: "In this vital struggle of the Eritrean people for national liberation, there should not be, and cannot be, any neutral position. We are either against or for the genuine emancipation of our masses. We are, therefore, neither spectators nor sympathizers of the Eritrean struggle but active and committed members whose activities and commitments

are geared towards the realization of the final victory of the Eritrean workers and peasants, the motive forces of the Eritrean Revolution."

The Congress also stressed the need to intensify political education among members and the need to work even closer with other revolutionary organizations everywhere engaged in fighting against colonialism, neocolonialism, imperialism and zionism.

The Pavia Congress also provided the forum for EFLE, EFLNA and GUES-Cairo to hold a series of meetings aimed at cooperation and eventual unity based on clearly defined principles. The outcome of the meeting was the joint declaration of these three sisterly organizations that support the E.L.F.-P.L.F. where they spelled out their common guiding principles and reaffirmed their determination to work towards principled unity and help to ensure the continuation and intensification of the heroic struggle of the Eritrean masses for a true national liberation headed and guided by the EPLF, the only genuine vanguard of the Eritrean revolutionary struggle for national independence."

The Pavia Declaration signifies one of the most important developments in the history of the Eritrean youth movement. It ushers in a new era of organized collective commitment on the part of the Eritrean youth scattered throughout the world, to the revolutionary struggle of the Eritrean people. It is indeed a concrete manifestation of the tremendous inspiration that the determined struggle of the Eritrean people under the leadership of the EPLF revolutionary vanguard has instilled in the Eritrean youth both at home and abroad. In a very real sense, the Pavia Declaration reflects the great development of the EPLF into a genuine vanguard of the Eritrean revolution. It is the popular and progressive programme and objectives of the EPLF that is creating among Eritreans a revolutionary unity tempered by the long and protracted struggle for national liberation. It is this same programme and objectives of the EPLF that continues to improve the three organizations to rededicate and commit themselves to the Eritrean revolution in unison. The eventual formation of a world-wide federation will be yet another victory for the forces of liberation and progress in Eritrea. The Pavia Declaration is thus a step in the right direction.

T E L E G R A M

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ERITREANS FOR LIBERATION IN NORTH AMERICA CONVEY THEIR HEARTFELT CONGRATULATIONS TO THE PEOPLE OF GUINEA BISSAU AND CAPE VERDE ON YOUR HISTORIC DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND WISH YOU STILL GREATER SUCCESSSES UNTIL TOTAL VICTORY. THE ERITREAN PEOPLE REJOICE IN THIS GREAT AFRICAN OCCASION AND, REALIZING THAT YOUR VICTORY HAS BEEN WON THROUGH THE PEOPLE'S HEROIC DETERMINATION ARE INTENSIFYING OUR OWN STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE. ONWARD WITH THE STRUGGLE.

LONG LIVE PAIGC AND EPLF (ERITREAN PEOPLES LIBERATION FORCES)!  
DOWN WITH COLONIALISM, IMPERIALISM AND ZIONISM!  
THE AFRICAN PEOPLE WILL WIN!

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### The Historic Victory of the Guinean (Bissau) People

On September 24, 1973 the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands, at The First National Popular Assembly, declared their independence from Portuguese colonialism. This historic event, which took place after a long and bitter struggle, shows the emergence of the victorious Guinean peoples under the leadership of their vanguard party—the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), as the second revolutionary people's movement (after Algeria's) to hand Western colonialism and imperialism in Africa its military and political defeat in the contemporary epoch. This means the peoples of Guinea-Bissau reasserted themselves as the undisputed masters of their own social, political and economic destiny. The revolutionary forces of Guinea-Bissau had this goal before they started their long and protracted armed struggle. In 1961, Comrade Amílcar Cabral (the first Secretary General of PAIGC) had this to say, "No power can shake us from our determination, nor prevent the rapid and total elimination of Portuguese domination in our countries." Even though Cabral did not live to see this event because he was cowardly assassinated by the agents of imperialism, the 'frantic and desperate' act did not stop his prophecy from becoming a reality. In other words, it means that 'the dialectic of colonial repression has proved today no colonial aggressor can overcome peoples who are determined to win their freedom.'

Cabral had said many times, "Our presence is in itself a cry of condemnation of imperialism and a proof of solidarity with all peoples who want to banish from their country the imperialist yoke." Therefore, all the genuine national liberation struggles, whether in the underdeveloped (the result of dreadful historical exploitation) or developed countries are dialectically united in the world-wide anti-imperialist movement. As the oppression and exploitation of man by man exercised by imperialism has neither limits nor boundaries, the struggle for liberation is also necessarily international.

The victory of the people of Guinea-Bissau over Portuguese colonialism, backed by U.S.-led world imperialism, is also the victory of all the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world. The struggle of the Eritrean people for liberation is also, by its very nature, part and parcel of the world-wide anti-imperialist movement. The people of Eritrea have, for the last twelve years, been heroically waging a resolute and determined armed struggle against the colonialism of the feudo-fascist regime of Ethiopia, backed by U.S. imperialism and Israeli Zionism. The Eritrean people will inevitably follow the path of the glorious example set by their Guinean comrades. The people of Guinea have, indeed, rendered the greatest act of solidarity to all peoples the world over fighting to free themselves from the "imperialist yoke".

The people of Guinea suffered under Portuguese colonial domination for over 300 years. This is also roughly the case with the peoples of Angola and Mozambique, who are still waging a protracted people's war of national liberation against Portuguese colonialism and its imperialist supporters.

Since the days of slavery, the resistance of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands has manifested itself in revolts, passive resistance and mass emigration to neighbouring countries. In the 1950's, demonstrations, strikes and petitions were repeatedly used as the chief means of popular struggle.

However, after the 1959 Pijiguite massacre, during which dozens of striking Guinean dock workers demanding higher wages were killed, the Portuguese colonial authorities intensified their campaign of terror and repression. These events convinced the PAIGC vanguard of the Guinean and Cape Verdean peoples (formed in 1956) of the necessity for a change in the strategy of popular resistance and heralded the inevitability of armed struggle as the only road to the just resolution of the colonial question in Guinea. Thus, in 1959, the PAIGC began to clandestinely mobilize and organize among all classes giving special attention to the peasantry which, because of its large relative size, represented the main physical force within Guinean society. These organizing, mobilizing and politicizing of the people was done to prepare them for the final and decisive phase of the struggle, namely, armed struggle. After a careful and painstaking mobilization of the people, the armed struggle was launched in 1963. During the last ten years, the peoples of Guinea and Cape Verde have been waging the struggle for independence and against colonialism with great heroism and resolute determination. The winning of national independence is the direct result of the victory of the armed struggle of the peoples of Guinea. However, this historic declaration of independence must be viewed in its proper perspective: it only marks the end of centuries of Portuguese domination and heralds the beginning of national self-determination. It represents a decisive, historic landmark in the continuous revolutionary process that has to still proceed with the difficult task of genuine national building and reconstruction.

On the other hand, the history of the Eritrean people for the past few centuries has been a history of continuous resistance and struggle against successive foreign imperialists: the Ottoman Turkish Empire, the Italian Empire, the British Empire and, now, the Ethiopian Empire. Episodes of various forms of peaceful and armed resistance and spontaneous uprisings abound throughout Eritrean history. However, it was only after the Second World War that political parties emerged and began to organize and coordinate the Eritrean resistance on a national level. Despite the unequivocal demand of the Eritrean people for immediate independence, the U.N. General Assembly imposed on Eritrea a U.S.-concocted Federation with Ethiopia.

Almost immediately, the U.S. established a military and communications base in the Eritrean capital of Asmara. Haile Selassie, in collaboration with his Zionist and imperialist masters, set out to strangle Eritrean national autonomy and to trample upon the democratic and human rights of the Eritrean people.

In spite of the attendant campaign of terror, assassinations and repression unleashed against them by the tyrannical regime and its fascist thugs, the Eritrean people intensified their peaceful resistance, by organizing demonstrations, petitions and strikes in protest of their worsening neo-colonial status under Federation. In 1958, striking Eritrean workers in Asmara were confronted with fascist repression in its ugliest and most brutal forms: a barbaric massacre took place in which more than 550 unarmed workers were killed or wounded. This event and the subsequent open intensification of mass terror and repression by the feudal Ethiopian regime, as in the case of the Pijiguite massacre of 1959 in Guinea, dramatized the futility of further peaceful acts of protest. The Eritrean people saw that the antagonistic contradictions existing between the "colonizer and the colonized" cannot be resolved by peaceful means. As Newton's law of

force states: for every action there is equal and opposite reaction. The more the Ethiopian regime resorted to fascistic methods to repress the people the more they became militant. The more it pointed its guns at the Eritrean people, the more the people realized the inevitability, indeed the necessity, of armed struggle as the only means of crushing the regime's colonial hold over their country.

With the firm grasp of the necessity of armed struggle, the Eritrean Liberation Movement (E.L.M.) was formed in 1958 and began to clandestinely mobilize and organize for a protracted armed resistance in the urban areas. However, when the Eritrean Liberation Front (E.L.F.) was born in the Eritrean countryside in 1961, the E.L.M. had become almost defunct. Since 1961, the Eritrean people have confronted the colonial enemy with bravery and great determination. In 1970, i.e., after nine years of struggle, the dialectical workings of the internal contradictions within the E.L.F. brought about the birth of the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces (E.P.L.F.). The Eritrean people, under the leadership of the E.P.L.F. revolutionary vanguard, have administered decisive blows to colonialism and imperialism. They have liberated large areas of our country and brought the battlefield into the heart of Asmara itself. The revolutionary processes of liberation continue. In the final analysis, the total liberation of our society's productive forces, as a historical reality, is inevitable.

There exists a remarkable similarity in the conditions and historical development of the peoples of Guinea and Eritrea. Both peoples have been victims of centuries-old colonial aggression by imperialism. The facts of underdevelopment of our two peoples are the direct effects of their common history of long and ruthless colonial exploitation. The nature and characteristics of their oppression and oppressor are also remarkably similar. First, the colonizers of Eritrea and Guinea (Ethiopia and Portugal respectively) are themselves neocolonies of U.S. imperialism. Second, both Portugal and Ethiopia are the most backward and underdeveloped countries in Africa and Europe respectively. Third, the Portuguese and Ethiopian regimes represent fascistic police states which subjugate and exploit the broad toiling masses of Portugal and Ethiopia through terror and repression. Fourth, not only do both Portugal and Ethiopia claim their African colonies as "provinces" of their respective empires, but they have also granted military bases to U.S. imperialism in these "provinces". Fifth, despite their backwardness and poverty, the two neocolonial states of Ethiopia and Portugal are conducting colonial wars, costing millions of dollars yearly. Sixth, both the Ethiopian and Portuguese regimes would have been hard pressed to maintain their oppressive rule over their own peoples let alone to wage colonial wars against the peoples of Eritrea, Guinea, Mozambique and Angola without their direct sponsorship and sustenance by imperialism. In fact, the only apparent difference in the Eritrean and Guinean colonial situations is that Ethiopia is an African neocolonial state while Portugal is a European neocolonial state. There is no other difference. And there can be no doubt that the Eritrean people will also attain decisive victory over colonialism and neocolonialism.

How is Portugal able to sustain three colonial wars in Africa? The answer is simple: through the military and financial support it receives from the U.S. and its imperialist junior partners, notably, West Germany, Britain, France and its other NATO allies. The same is true for Haile Selassie's fascist regime in

Ethiopia. Without the financial, technical and military support that it gets from U.S. imperialism and Israeli zionism, the autocratic Ethiopian regime would have long been wrecked by the internal contradictions brewing within Ethiopian society. Without such support, it would have been impossible for the regime to suppress, oppress and exploit the Ethiopian peoples and, at the same time, wage a colonial war of aggression against the Eritrean people. Yet, irrespective of what happens externally, the victory of the Eritrean revolutionary forces is, in the final analysis, inevitable.

How and why was the Guinean revolution successful? Liberation and social revolution, as Amilcar Cabral said, are the outcome of local and national elaboration, more or less influenced by external factors but essentially determined and formed by the historical reality of each people. One of the key factors here is Cabral's scientific analysis of Guinean society and his resultant assessment of the revolutionary forces and potential within the Guinean peoples. This led to: firstly, his recognition of the potential energies of all classes, especially the peasantry; secondly, his ability to identify the enemies and friends of the African peoples. In short, his correct analysis of the correlation of internal forces and external influences which, in the last analysis, decide the outcome of any revolution, led to the success of the Guinean struggle for independence.

Another key factor is the PAIGC itself. It is now a truism that there can be no revolution without a revolutionary theory, that there can be no revolutionary theory without revolutionary practice, and that there can be no revolutionary practice without a revolutionary party. The correct strategic line and the broad mass-basis of the PAIGC have played a decisive role in the victory of the Guinean people. Its internal cohesion and mass character enabled the PAIGC not only to withstand the tremendous loss of Amilcar Cabral but also to carry its programs forward, intensify the military and political struggle, and declare independent statehood on schedule. The PAIGC has been able to concretely prove the maxim that "you can kill a revolutionary but you cannot kill a revolution."

The strategic support that the PAIGC has continuously received from the people and government of the Republic of Guinea has also been vitally important. Of all the African peoples, the fraternal people of Guinea have consistently been in the fortunate position of extending the most concrete solidarity and support to the PAIGC and the Guinean people in their struggle for independence. Indeed, the Republic of Guinea has long remained the only true bastion for African freedom fighters in West Africa.

However, in order to fully understand and appreciate the success of the revolution, we must delve a little deeper into, and examine carefully, the tactics and strategy of the PAIGC under the leadership of Amilcar Cabral. First of all, the party has, since its inception, been cohesive and solid. The PAIGC has been built, seasoned and tempered by a long and hard struggle without any major internal crisis.

The Guinean revolution passed through two significant stages or phases. The first stage was the careful mobilization of the peasants and workers between 1959 and 1963. This political preparation was absolutely necessary to convince the peasants that they could, through active participation in the national liberation struggle, free and liberate themselves. We must realize that nobody, not even the

most radical group or individual can make a revolution for the people except with the people.

The second phase, which will be a continuous process, is the armed struggle & nation building launched simultaneously in 1963. It is necessary, in every national liberation struggle, to start an armed struggle at a given time and place in order to crush the existing colonial and imperialist power by violence, and replace it by a new and democratic peoples government.

The social changes, like altering the status of women, collective leadership within each and every community and political education for all, etc., in the liberated areas are some of the aspects that contributed to the success of the Guinean revolution. Of course, nobody can contest that it was the people's armed struggle and their ingenious military tactics carried out under the leadership of the PAIGC that were chiefly responsible for the success. To give one example on the military tactics: from the very beginning of the armed struggle, a wide zone of guerrilla activities was launched. This meant creating difficult conditions and weakening the enemy's capability for counter-offensive and repression as it is forced to divide up into smaller units in order to cover the large areas of guerrilla activity. The smaller units then become highly vulnerable to, and too weak to defend themselves from, the attacks of PAIGC combatants.

Cabral states that national liberation is the inalienable right of every people to have its own history, and the objective of national liberation is to regain this right usurped by imperialism, that is to say, to free the process of development of the national productive forces. In other words, national liberation is nothing but the social revolution carried out by the people who are fighting to recover their own historical development.

If we study the history of the past national and social revolutions, all successful revolutions were based on revolutionary theories. Therefore, in order to make our liberation a successful one, first of all we have to learn and study the success and failures of all, past and present, revolutions. Secondly, we have to arm ourselves not only with arms (guns, etc.) but also with the most effective weapon—the scientific theory of the working class (proletariat). The revolutionary theory should be based on scientific analysis of the concrete conditions existing within one's own society.

A revolution is a dynamic process not an event. It has a continuity. The struggle goes beyond the victory of the armed struggle. It is a protracted people's struggle that grows, matures and deepens with each and every minute, hour and day that passes by.

Man makes the revolution and the revolution in turn makes man. It is a dialectical process. It is we the oppressed that can free ourselves. The colonialist can free neither the exploited and oppressed nor himself. It is therefore, essential that the oppressed and exploited peoples should wage the struggle to resolve the contradiction they are caught in. The contradiction would be resolved by the appearance of what Cabral calls "the 'New Man'—fully conscious of his national, continental and international duties and rights." The new man is the man who, in the process of liberation, is tempered and seasoned by the struggle. A new man is born and a new society created in the revolutionary process of liberation.

Whatever it takes, the total victory of the Eritrean and Guinean peoples is inevitable.

Long Live the Guinean Revolution!  
Victory to the Eritrean Revolution!  
Long Live the PAIGC and the EPLF!  
Victory to the Africans and World Revolutions!

#### The Realities of Socialism

It is quite often argued by bourgeois "intellectuals" that socialism is good but it cannot be put into practice, and if put into practice it will not work but rather bring economic, social and political chaos. In order to "support" their argument, they claim that socialism is idealist and therefore its programs of action are not based on reality.

This deception is achieved in a very simple manner. First, they hide the fact that the basis of socialism is material production—that it asserts man's activity in production as being the principal, decisive and determining factor in his life. After this, the second part is easy; by using words beyond the comprehension of the listeners as well as by constant interchange of the terms ideology and idealism as if both meant the same, they manage to plunge their audience deeper into ignorance.

The principal propagators of this fabricated thesis on socialism are liberals and bourgeois professors of Marxism, two of the highest exponents of bourgeois hypocrisy and leading apologists for the contradictions of their own oppressive system. (We should keep in mind that there is a fundamental and qualitative difference between a professor of Marxism and a Marxist professor!!).

However, there are times when, confronted with too much evidence, certain sectors of bourgeois society are forced to make a token acknowledgement of socialist achievement. LIBERATION is hereby reproducing, in its entirety and without adding or deleting a single word, a recent dispatch from Cuba, by Reuter, one of the three leading world-wide news agencies.

#### REVITALIZED FISHING INDUSTRY NETS CUBA FOREIGN EARNINGS

Reuter

Caibarien, Cuba

Cuba's rapidly expanding fishing industry has become a major source of foreign currency and the Caribbean island is now second after Australia in lobster exports.

Meanwhile, living and working conditions in the island's fishing ports have changed dramatically with the nationalization of the fishing industry, the setting up of canning and processing factories and the modernization of the fleet.

When Fidel Castro's guerrillas toppled the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista in January, 1959, 10,000 people lived off the sea, operating along the coast with about 2,500 small wooden boats.

A good year would provide a total catch of 21,000 tons of fish, mostly consumed in

the coastal villages. Between 30 and 40 bigger vessels would venture out to the Gulf of Mexico to catch better quality fish destined for Havana's top restaurants. Fishermen lived a precarious existence, never knowing if they would be able to sell their catch.

#### Sleepy Village

Caibarien, a sleepy village of mainly wooden houses on the northern coast of central Las Villas Province, is one of the ports which best illustrates the changes.

Through a cooperative scheme, Caibarien's fishermen were first provided with engines for their craft and later, when the boats were no longer seaworthy, they were encouraged to operate from bigger vessels provided by the state.

The state guaranteed to buy the total of their catch at fixed prices and paid them a regular salary.

These measures were taken following the nationalization of the fishing industry in June, 1962.

When the state took over, the official fleet consisted of five tuna vessels bought from Japan and two Polish trawlers. It now boasts more than 3,000 modern vessels which catch more than 100,000 tons of fish a year.

Last year's catch reached a record 140,000 tons, with the result that fish is one of the few foodstuffs which is no longer rationed.

By 1975, the Cuban fishing fleet should be increased by 600 more shrimp, lobster and tuna boats. Smaller craft are also being built in several of Cuba's shipyards, including that of Caibarien.

#### Huge Freezer

Refrigeration facilities have been installed in many coastal towns, the latest addition being a huge freezer with room for 6,000 tons of frozen food, opened late last year in Santiago, Cuba's second largest city.

In Caibarien, a lobster processing factory equipped by Denmark, Britain and Japan was inaugurated recently. It is capable of processing 5 tons of lobsters a day and employs 150 persons.

Like many other seaports, the face of Caibarien is rapidly changing. Many fishermen have moved out of their wooden shacks to live in the "Ciudad Pesquera," or fishing city, a new district of modern apartment blocks and houses which are given to those living in the worst conditions.

These new districts are being built by the fishermen themselves. They devote part of the five days of rest they get--after spending 10 days at sea--to work on construction sites.

Eventually, the district is to rehouse all of Caibarien's fishermen.

Cuban fishermen enjoy other advantages. In a country where almost everything is rationed, they get a more generous food and clothing quota. They are also allowed to take home extra fish when they come back from sea.

Fishermen have a pension scheme, free medical care and a month's paid vacation, unheard of luxuries before the revolution.

### The Struggle of the Eritrean People

Brothers & Sisters: (This is the political message of the New York Chapter of E.F.L.N.A. delivered at the "Eritrean Solidarity Night", August 4, 1973).

On behalf of the New York Chapter of Eritreans for Liberation in North America (EFLNA), I would like to welcome every one of you to our Eritrean Night--which is a fund raising program for our gallant fighters who are waging a protracted war against Ethiopian archaic feudalism and U. S. imperialism with its military communications base at Kagnew Station in Asmara.

Eritrea is an African country situated in the northern end of the Horn of Africa, bordered by the Red Sea on the east, Ethiopia and Somalia on the south and the Sudan on the north and west. It has an area of about 119,000 square kilometers and a population of over 3 million. Its strategic position as a cross-roads between the Middle East, Africa and Asia has, from time immemorial, made it a tempting victim of foreign aggression.

The history of the Eritrean people has always been the history of militant struggle against foreign oppression. It has never known a period of peace that would enable it to realize the construction of its society. The present struggle is nothing more than an extension of the persistent struggle of the Eritrean people against foreign domination and oppression--this time Ethiopia, a backward regime.

The Ethiopian puppet regime is confronted with basic contradictions from within its own society. But, backed and aided by U.S. Imperialism and Israel Zionism, it has been able to sustain itself, and what is more, to colonize Eritrea. The relation of Ethiopia with world imperialism amply explains the present reality, i.e., how a backward society like Ethiopia was able to colonize a relatively advanced society like Eritrea. This further explains the Eritrean struggle against Ethiopian oppression as a basic conflict between progress and reaction.

The reactionary Haile Selassie's regime, in its death struggle to maintain its grip over Eritrea, is perpetuating untold terror on the Eritrean people. The Keren massacre is a living witness to the extent of the oppression and atrocities perpetrated on the Eritrean people. Haile Selassie's colonial army of occupation carried out a virtual bloodbath in the whole area.

A U.S. soldier from Kagnew, in a letter to a U.S. magazine said "The 2nd Division (of the Ethiopian Army) is murdering all males over 12 years old in the villages surrounding Keren. They are committing numerous other atrocities on a wide scale--decapitation, shooting off arms and legs, mutilation of women, bayoneting of children and worse." The letter further reads as a message to Americans that "This matter should be publicized, so that the American people know what kinds of government they are supporting here and for what purpose their tax dollars are spent. After all, they bought the bullets, bayonets, and uniforms." Haile Selassie, that messenger boy of the White House, sponsored by U.S. imperialism has driven away more than eighty thousand Eritreans, mostly women, children and old men from their homeland to the Sudan.

No matter how brutal the oppression, the Eritrean people have never bowed to foreign attempts of domination low-headed. Today, the Eritrean people under their true representative and vanguard of the revolution, the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Forces (E.P.L.F.), are waging their anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle to gain national independence. This makes the Eritrean struggle part and parcel of the present day world struggle against Imperialism.

In conclusion I would like to quote the E.P.L.F."

"The Eritrean masses are fiercely independent, and the P.L.F., true to this revolutionary sentiment, rejects any foreign coercion, and to guarantee this primarily depends on its own resources, the resources of the Eritrean people. But the masses are also for true human brotherhood based on mutual respect, and prepared to sacrifice anything toward that end. It is not too much to ask! But we ask the same of the other components of the world progressive anti-imperialist front.

Long live the Eritrean struggle under the leadership of P.L.F.!

Long live the struggle of the oppressed peoples of the world!

Down with U. S. imperialism and its lackeys!



SOLIDARITY MESSAGES:

The Message of African Youth Movement for Liberation and Unity to the 4th General Congress of E.F.L.N.A.:

Dear Comrades,

The A.Y.M.L.U., as in the past, sides with the glorious and courageous peoples of Eritrea in their legitimate struggle for national liberation against Ethiopian feudalism and colonialism and its imperialist allies.

We believe furthermore that, the Eritrean peoples, to achieve these noble aims, have taken a right and concrete step and have understood that only in mobilizing all the creative and potential resources of the masses, that they can effectively destroy the myth of the Ethiopian feudal establishment and its chief's, Haile Selassie.

The armed struggle going on, although sorrowful, has been proven throughout history to be one of the most effective methods of struggle for national salvation. We deeply feel that this course will inevitably bring a total victory and the instauration of a true democratic Eritrea and therefore, the betterment of its people's living condition.

Moreover, we would like to extend our salute to all our comrades of E.F.L. for their most righteous example in arming themselves theoretically and joining the liberation forces at home once they graduate from their schools. We believe that this courageous example should be followed by all true sons and daughters of Africa. For, Africa needs all of us and all our people's sufferings should be shared by all of us.

Besides, we would like to use this opportunity to suggest you to transcend national and organizational boundaries as often as possible, thus joining hands with all your direct allies to help sensibilize all African peoples and all progressive peoples around the world, on the scope of your just struggle for national salvation. It's without doubt that the final victory over the Ethiopian feudalism will mean the eradication of the Kagnew base and the further weakening of U.S. imperialist hold in Africa, which is the concern of all peace loving peoples in Africa and in the world over.

We hope you great success in your congress and we also hope that in the near future, we work closely together to share our experiences over our programs in our anti-imperialist struggles.

YOURS FOR AFRICA.

E.F.L.N.A. Message to E.S.U.N.A.:

Eritreans for Liberation in North America (E.F.L.) extends to you its comradely greetings and best wishes for success in your 21st Congress. E.F.L. heartily congratulates you and reaffirms its unflinching solidarity with the Ethiopian Student Union in North America (E.S.U.N.A.) in its firm and persistent struggle against feudalism, imperialist exploitation and the attendant degradation of the toiling masses. It is our sincere hope that this Congress will serve you as a vehicle for the further development and consolidation of



your revolutionary efforts in spearheading the struggle of the Ethiopian peoples against the triad oppressive forces of feudalism, imperialism and zionism. E.F.L. greatly values and hails E.S.U.N.A.'s continuing struggle against the vacillating and social-chauvinist elements within the Ethiopian student movement and, in the spirit of genuine internationalism, calls upon ESUNA to forthrightly confront the colonial question in Eritrea with historical concreteness and revolutionary courage.

We stand for the unity of all progressive forces in the fight against the feudalist and imperialist oppressors, for only a united action of the broadest popular masses can assure their total defeat. But, we believe that the form and content of this revolutionary unity must always be based upon a clear and precise understanding of the concrete historical conditions of oppression on the one hand and the degree of development of the popular forces of resistance on the other. There can be no other really relevant basis. The magnitude of feudalist oppression and imperialist exploitation of the Ethiopian masses attains its most incredible proportions in the present plight of the five million victims of the famine wave which is, in reality, only a further aggravation of the conditions of extreme poverty and destitution that normally characterize their precarious existence. Indeed, the enormous luxury, comfort and privileges of the ruling classes are the direct consequences of the unparalleled misery, suffering and deprivation of the toiling Ethiopian and Eritrean masses. Only by overthrowing the feudal, neocolonial and fascist regime through the organized revolutionary forces of the people can this situation find redress.

In this regard, the Eritrean people have heroically taken the lead. The Eritrean struggle for national independence will commemorate its 12th Anniversary this coming September. During the past twelve years, the Eritrean people have suffered immensely from Haile Selassie's policy of terrorization, mass murder and scorched-earth campaigns. Whole villages have been wiped out and their inhabitants decimated, large scale massacres of unarmed civilians--mostly old men, women and children--carried out throughout the so-called "emergency areas", crop fields destroyed and watersprings sprayed with poison. On the other hand the fratricidal civil war, unleashed by the reactionary, opportunistic and self-styled leaders of the "Revolutionary council" has been a terrible burden on our people, has taken a tragic toll from the ranks of our freedom fighters, and constitutes a lamentable setback to the anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist struggle of the peoples of the region. The decision to liquidate the Peoples Liberation Forces by means of armed combat, instead of attempting to resolve the then prevailing secondary or minor contradictions through peaceful, democratic means was unquestionably fascist and counter-revolutionary, and must be totally condemned by all progressive and democratic forces the world over.

At the same time, the last twelve years have seen the ever-intensifying militancy of the popular resistance and the steady spreading of the protracted people's war to all corners of Eritrea, engulfing both the towns and the countryside. From the spontaneous eruption of the armed struggle in 1961 to the progressive consolidation of the Revolutionary vanguard in the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Forces (E.P.L.F.) of today, the Eritrean Revolution has come through a long, arduous, bitter and most difficult terrain of struggle, indeed. The heroic Eritrean masses, under the leadership of their E.P.L.F. vanguard, have administered decisive blows to the combined reactionary forces of Ethiopian feudal colonialism, U.S. imperialism and Israeli zionism in the region. It is now incontestable that in a region dominated and surrounded by the imperialists,

zionists and their stooges, the Eritrean Revolution stands out as one of the strongest, longest established and best organized popular revolutionary forces confronting reaction in the whole of Northeast Africa. The Eritrean revolutionaries are conscious of their vanguard position and firmly committed to the fulfillment of their internationalist duty against the imperialist onslaught. Today, the Eritrean Revolution is producing a new breed of Eritreans who are committed to the complete liberation of their people and the total support of all peoples struggling against oppression and exploitation of any kind. To this end, the E.P.L.F. have openly declared:

The Eritrean Revolution, through its P.L.F. vanguard is ready for this historic mission; ready to persistently carry its own revolution forward; ready to share what is at its disposal with the revolutions in the region: to strengthen the already and partially successful revolutions and ready to help in the launching of new ones. The Eritrean masses are fiercely independent, and the P.L.F., true to this revolutionary sentiment, rejects any foreign coercion and to guarantee this primarily depends on its own resources, the resources of the Eritrean people. But the masses are also for true human brotherhood--brotherhood based on mutual self-respect, and prepared to sacrifice anything toward that end.

It is not too much to ask: but we ask the same of the other components of the world progressive anti-imperialist front.

Therefore, to fail to actively support the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Forces at this moment of stark confrontation between the region's revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces, often leaning on abstract, formalistic, or sophistic arguments, practically amounts to siding with the reactionary forces. A truly progressive stand on the question of Eritrean Independence must be based on a correct understanding of the concrete conditions attending and emerging from the historical reality of a politically unified Eritrean state that, for at least the last 80 years, has been wholly subjected to colonial oppression. This distinct history of colonial subjugation and the experience of common popular resistance against it have cemented the internal unity of the Eritrean people by giving birth to a common identity, a common psychological make-up and a common national aspiration among the various nationalities of Eritrea. In other words, the experience of a common national resistance against a history of common colonial oppression binds the Eritrean people together; and it is this commonly shared Eritrean national consciousness that has aroused the Eritrean people to persevere in armed struggle for the common objective of national independence. Therefore, within the framework of the present context, the struggle of the Eritrean people for self-determination has and can have no other meaning than that of total national independence.

The Eritrean national liberation struggle is a historical phenomenon that has developed as the inevitable culmination of the age-old resistance of the Eritrean people against foreign domination. Today the Eritrean people are waging armed struggle against the forces of fascist repression, represented by an African stooge of imperialism and zionism. At the same time, a new era of

collaboration and close alliance between Ethiopian and Eritrean revolutionaries has already been heralded. The martyrdom of our beloved comrades in the hijack attempt to secure the release of political prisoners and the presence of progressive internationalist Ethiopians in the field within the ranks of the E.P.L.F. stand out as shining examples of the growing internationalist upsurge within the ranks of Ethiopian and Eritrean progressives and decisively express the revolutionary solidarity of the Eritrean and Ethiopian peoples. The Eritrean and Ethiopian revolutions have already begun an "alliance sealed in blood". There can be no doubt that a liberated Eritrea will be the rearguard of the emerging Ethiopian Revolution.

Comrades, as it is the internationalist duty of all progressive Eritreans to actively support the just struggle of the Ethiopian Peoples against feudal-ist tyranny and imperialist plunder, so it is that of all progressive Ethiopians to side with the interests of the Eritrean masses against those of reaction from all corners. Such a stand clearly distinguishes between the interests of the oppressed and exploited Ethiopian and Eritrean classes on the one hand and those of the ruling class, disguised as the "national interest" on the other. This will help to consolidate the fraternal sentiments and revolutionary unity of the toiling masses of Eritrea and Ethiopia. Onward with the struggle.

VICTORY TO THE ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE!  
VICTORY TO THE ERITREAN REVOLUTION!  
LONG LIVE THE ERITREAN PEOPLES LIBERATION FORCES!

ዕግቂ ብሊት ምንጩ ናቦ ሳርነት

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ዲምዲ ናይ ጥይቲ ብርቲዕ'የ ብኪሕ፡  
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(ክብ ካዕኪ፡ ብምግን፡ ይቐጽል)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR\*

DOES ESUNA SUPPORT OUR STRUGGLE?

The reading of an insulting solidarity message from ESUNA at our recent convention in Washington, D.C., and the considerable anger expressed by many of us about the slippery nature of ESUNA's position on the Eritrean revolution and War of Liberation has disturbed me greatly. It seems to me that while our relatively young and inexperienced organization is trying to perform its internationalist duty by cooperating and working with ESUNA, the latter seems to be either sliding backwards or perhaps showing its true nature more audaciously. Is ESUNA a sincere organization with faults and infirmities like EFINA or any such student organization or is it an insidious instrument of Amhara supremacists? I rather doubt the latter but several recent incidents are very difficult to explain otherwise.

Why would ESUNA, a supposedly progressive organization willingly serve the forces of reaction by showing a film of Kiada without even consulting with and in defiance of the express opposition of EFLNA? Do they endorse the counter-revolutionary civil war that was imposed on the Eritrean struggle for national liberation? Was this an honest mistake or an insidious method of trying to create and maintain dissention and confusion? If the latter is the case, pity anyone who attempts it for EPLF has grown far beyond this stage of vulnerability and the only people whom they might hope to confuse are those of us who are still trying to learn from and cooperate with ESUNA. However they may also succeed in clouding up the issue, as I have observed several times, and cause many good intentioned American progressives to hesitate from supporting our struggle. Whatever happened to the letter and spirit of the joint communique put out by ESUNA along with EFLNA and EPLF?

Something else that bewilders me is that when ESUNA holds fund raising and educational evenings, the Eritrean case suffers from omission and the injection of mistaken assumptions. They talk loud and clear about Vietnam, Guinea Bissau, Cambodia and Mozambique in one vein and about Godjam, Balle and Eritrea in another. During the cultural segments the dance and music of Eritrea is presented as Ethiopian music from Eritrea (or usually Asmara) with obvious colonialist implications. Such brainwashing activities have apparently been effective in some respects as one discovers in general discussions of the Eritrean struggle with many members of ESUNA. Their confused and uninformed arguments concerning the Eritrean revolution reflect, in no small measure, ESUNA's failure to carry out its declared mandate of "publicizing, and mobilizing support for, the struggle of the peoples of Eritrea" even among its general membership.

In addition to the contents of the letter read at the convention we understand that some members of ESUNA had mingled themselves among the participants and sat in during most of our proceedings. This partly points to the inefficiency of our organization in determining who should and who should not be at our congress. However, it also points to the complete disregard that these people exhibit toward the integrity of our organization. For example our chapter has been unable to

\*In this new section, Liberation invites independent articles and commentaries that do not necessarily represent or reflect EFINA's stand or opinions.

establish any kind of a working relationship with ESUNA, but when we held a lecture on Eritrea a member of ESUNA quietly sneaked into the meeting and temporarily muddied the issue by throwing out some memorized phrases like "secession, self-determination, and Ethiopian national question" at random. Fortunately some well informed Americans helped clear out the question. Yes, the question of Eritrean sovereignty!

Indeed isn't that question the central point in all this confusion and apparent treachery? Despite various changes of approach and phraseology, isn't the reluctance of ESUNA to accept the negation that Eritrea is NOT and never has been an integral part of Ethiopia, the point of insult in their solidarity message to our congress? Isn't this the lie hidden behind the high sounding and revolutionary-scented Press Release about the Massacre in Keren, wherein they wittingly or unwittingly echo the social-chauvinist line by "condemn(ing) this and all other murderous acts of Haile Selassie's regime against the Ethiopian People." Ethiopian comrades, we are Eritreans and to insist on calling us "Ethioplans" would be fascist and no less than Haile Selassie's claim that the Eritrean War of Liberation is an internal affair of Ethiopia. It is against such blatant fascism that our people have taken arms and we intend to fight it in all its forms and wherever it arises, and I hope side by side with our Ethiopian comrades. On the other hand, your persistence in such a reactionary position will be nothing less than a glaring challenge to Eritreans who will not have fulfilled their revolutionary duties.

It must be emphasized that the Eritrean Revolution is NOT a part of the Ethiopian National Question. So when ESUNA or its members write articles in some progressive papers discussing the various African Liberation Movements how does it escape their minds that there is a well organized and determined struggle against colonialism and imperialism, namely the EPLF which happens to be also in Africa? And yet they have the audacity to take credit for the exploits of this same EPLF and its functionaries by attempting to represent Eritrean heroes as Ethiopians. That would not only be a lie but also makes the claimants accessories after the fact to the crimes of Haile Selassie. If you deny us our identity as a nation then you must agree with the imperialists who claim that the Eritrean War of Liberation is a "shifta operation", "a local problem" or a "secessionist adventure". Not only would that deny the fruits of our people's long struggle but also their right to attain total victory.

Long Live the Eritrean Revolution!

Long Live the Ethiopian Revolution!

Down with Imperialists!

Down with Collaborationists!

### ጣወይ

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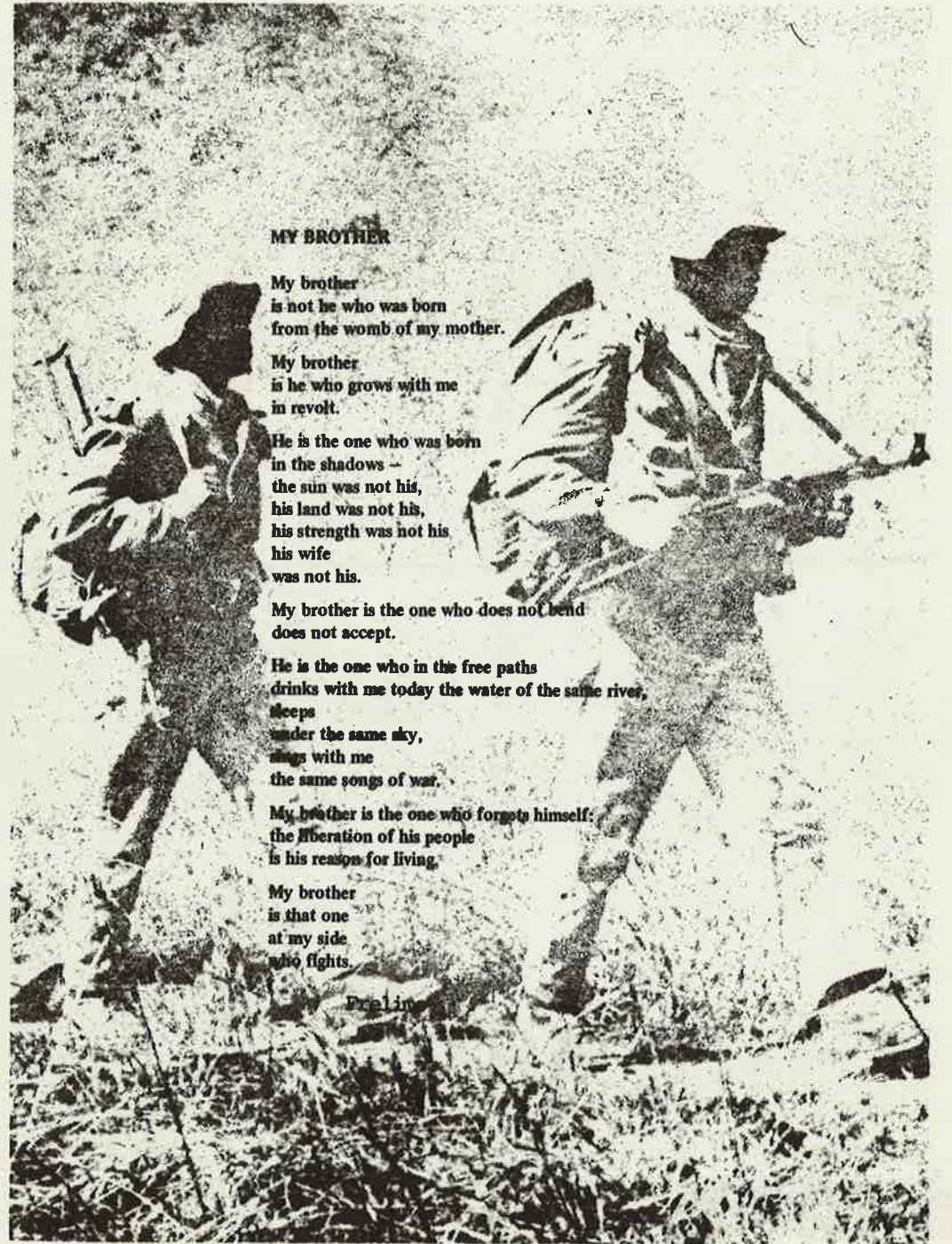
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### MY BROTHER

My brother  
is not he who was born  
from the womb of my mother.

My brother  
is he who grows with me  
in revolt.

He is the one who was born  
in the shadows --  
the sun was not his,  
his land was not his,  
his strength was not his,  
his wife  
was not his.

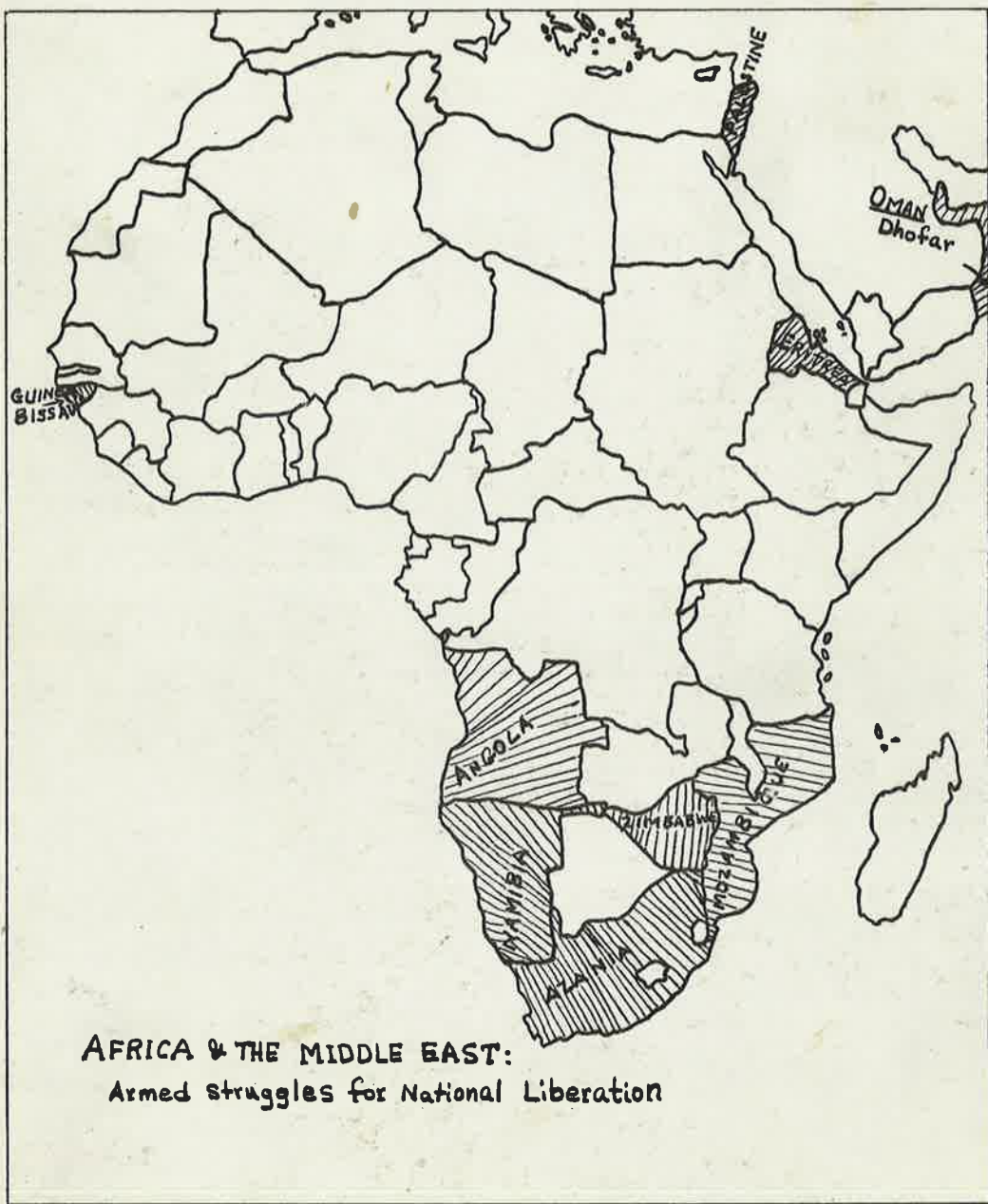
My brother is the one who does not bend  
does not accept.

He is the one who in the free paths  
drinks with me today the water of the same river,  
sleeps  
under the same sky,  
sings with me  
the same songs of war.

My brother is the one who forgets himself:  
the liberation of his people  
is his reason for living.

My brother  
is that one  
at my side  
who fights.

Prelim



AFRICA & THE MIDDLE EAST:  
Armed struggles for National Liberation