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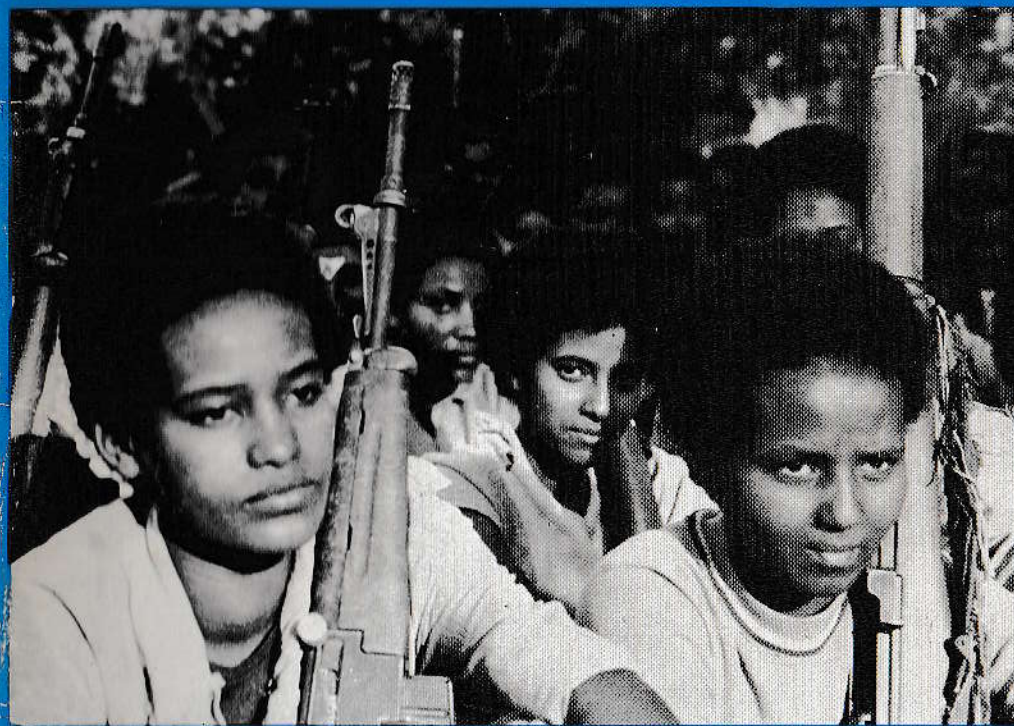
**LIBERATION**



ERITREA

ጠርኅት-ጠርኅት 1976 6ይ ጠርኅት ቁ.2

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**\*ERITREAN MASSES: IRON BASTION OF THE REVOLUTION**

**\*THE SMASHING OF THE "PEASANT" OFFENSIVE**

**\*EPLF ON THE "PEASANT MARCH"**

**\*EAST TIMOR'S STRUGGLE ADVANCES**

**\*PROTRACTED STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA**



# LIBERATION

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COVER PHOTO: Women fighters of the EPLF in a training base in Sahel.

LIBERATION is the bi-monthly organ of the Eritreans for Liberation in North America. For further information, suggestions and criticism, please write to EFLNA, PO Box 1247, New York, N.Y. 10027.

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## ERITREAN MASSES:

### Iron Bastion of the Revolution

Revolution is not the activity of a few individuals or of heroes but that of the oppressed masses. The masses are the makers of history, the decisive force in the struggle for national and social liberation. Without their conscious participation, no revolutionary struggle can attain victory.

The Eritrean masses are viciously oppressed and exploited. Their country is forcibly occupied by the Ethiopian aggressors, who enjoy the blessing and powerful support of U.S. imperialism and Israeli Zionism. To maintain their occupation of strategic Eritrea, there is no crime that the Ethiopian aggressors have not committed. "Eritrea: we want the land and not the people" is the callous cry of the backward, feudo-fascist Ethiopian expansionists. In addition to colonial aggression and occupation, the Eritrean people are also suffering under feudal culture.

The Eritrean masses—workers, peasants, students and other patriotic classes—want an end to this suffering and exploitation. They desire national independence and people's democracy. They are the decisive force in the struggle for the achievement of these goals.

The Eritrean people have a fine tradition of resistance to foreign aggression and social oppression. They have risen up a number of times to drive the colonialists out of their country. Due to the lack of revolutionary leadership, however, these struggles did not triumph and Eritrea became a victim of successive colonial powers.

In 1961, armed struggle broke out in Eritrea before sufficient



preparatory political work had been carried out. Moreover, the "leaders" of the armed struggle had no intention of mobilizing and organizing the masses for a protracted war of liberation. All they had in mind, in starting the armed struggle, was to shoot a few rounds, draw the attention of the U.N., sit on the negotiating table on behalf of the Eritrean people and emerge as the leaders of independent Eritrea.

In the backward and reactionary outlook of the leaders of the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), the masses had no role. The ELF leaders fancied themselves the "political leaders," looked at the liberation fighters as mere "soldiers" and regarded the masses as "spectators" or at best fans. The masses' only role was to contribute money and food so the "soldiers" can wage the fight against the aggressors while the bosses "lead" from abroad.

Throughout Eritrea, the masses responded to the beginning of armed struggle with enthusiasm. A large number of youth, in particular peasant youth, joined the Front. In the urban areas, cells were formed to raise funds for the ELF. Students stepped up their militant demonstrations calling on the Ethiopian aggressors to get out of Eritrea. Workers opposed the dismantling of industries and their removal to Ethiopia. The ELF, however, failed to provide leadership to the mass struggles. In the face of the occupationist regime's savage repression, these struggles ebbed.

In the rural areas, although the peasant masses enthusiastically provided food and money to the ELF, it made no effort to mobilize and organize them. In some areas where the peasants, because of their miserable conditions, could not provide food or money, cattle and grain was forcibly taken from them. In some cases, those who resisted were assaulted or killed. Faced with this situation, a few villages even accepted arms—which the Ethiopian expansionists were urging them to take for their own ends—to defend themselves from these injustices. Gradually, the ELF leadership isolated the masses from their struggle.

The ardent patriotism of the masses did not subside while continued and intensified oppression strengthened their determination. Meanwhile the democratic and progressive fighters within the front were gaining strength and influence. By 1970, although they were unable to transform the ELF because of harsh repression by the leadership, they succeeded in establishing a democratic and progressive front—the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces (EPLF).

Summing up the experience of the first ten years of the armed struggle, the EPLF stated: "It is an undeniable truth that the masses are the decisive force in any popular struggle. A people's history is made by the people themselves and not by a handful of individuals. However, in their struggle for liberation, the people need capable, seasoned and exemplary leadership. If the leadership is correct and experienced, the masses, in spite of their backwardness, learning and maturing in struggle, can become the solid foundation of the revolution.

"A piece of iron has to be tempered in fire before it can be used for a plow. The masses are like iron. Once they are steeled in the crucible of struggle and their consciousness is raised, no obstruction can prevent their inevitable victory . . . In Eritrea, although the necessary preparatory work for launching the armed struggle had not been carried out, a revolutionary leadership armed with a clearly defined political programme could have taught and prepared the masses while the struggle was underway. However, the "leaders" of our struggle were more backward than the masses they were to lead and thus the armed struggle was born deformed in 1961 and suffered severe setbacks until 1970."

The EPLF immediately set out to erase the negative attitude that the people had developed towards the armed struggle and to foster their conscious participation. It forged close links with the masses by working with and leading them in solving their problems. In this way the EPLF enables the masses to realize that it represents their interests and to proceed from this to an understanding of the higher tasks of the revolutionary struggle.

#### UPSURGE IN THE MASS STRUGGLE

The beginning of the Seventies saw intensification of the mass struggles, particularly in the urban areas. The student movement which had been suppressed since 1965 erupted forcefully. Throughout Eritrea, students boycotted classes for the whole year in opposition to the unmitigated oppression of the Ethiopian regime. Nationalist songs, plays, poems and slogans mushroomed everywhere. In 1974, during the historic mass uprisings in Ethiopia, Eritrean workers seized the opportunity to voice their economic and political demands. They staged militant strikes and demonstrations in all of Eritrea's major towns.

Under the powerful blows of the Ethiopian people's uprising and the Eritrean national liberation struggle, Haile Selassie's feudal regime crumbled in September 1974. Riding on the strength of the popular struggles and due to the absence of a strong revolutionary organization within Ethiopia, a reactionary military junta usurped state power.

As soon as it came to power, the junta attempted to deceive the Eritrean people into laying down their arms in favor of "peaceful solution." It set up a 38 man committee of "prominent" Eritreans in an attempt to create a puppet body with whom to negotiate the projected "peaceful solution." Strongly influenced by the masses, the committee called on the Ethiopian junta to "get out of Eritrea" and declared that the representatives of the Eritrean people are "those in the wilderness, carrying arms."

In November 1974, under the cover of going to call on the liberation forces to negotiate with the junta, 50,000 Eritreans from Asmara and the



surrounding villages met with the fighters of the EPLF and ELF, risking the bullets and defying the threats of the Ethiopian fascists. They called on the two fronts to stop the civil war that had been raging between them for the past two and a half years, and unite their forces against the occupationist regime. This historic intervention of the people was one of the main factors that brought about an end to the fratricidal war.

With the dramatic escalation of the liberation war around Asmara in February 1975, the mass struggles reached a high pitch. As the Ethiopian aggressor troops, armed to the teeth with U.S.-supplied bomber planes, tanks and armored cars, attacked the villages around Asmara, the masses fought side by side with the liberation forces. Using axes, sickles and captured enemy weapons, they hacked off the necks of the aggressor troops. Women took care of the wounded, supplied ammunition and food and fearlessly threw hot peppers into the eyes of the enemy soldiers.

In an effort to restrain the forceful attacks of the liberation forces, the Junta imposed a total blockade on Eritrean cities and threatened to use the urban masses as hostages. Sharing the little they had, the people stood firm in their support of the liberation struggle. In cooperation with



Members of a peasant militia during a session of political education. They are armed with U.S. weapons captured from the Ethiopian army.

the liberation forces, workers sabotaged power plants and other key industries. Hundreds of nurses packed up large quantities of medical equipment and medicines from the largest hospitals and left to join the fronts. Eritrean rank and file soldiers in the Ethiopian army, navy, air force, commandos and police, deserted en masse. Many took their weapons with them; others left after destroying important enemy installations. Thousands from all walks of life, among whom were a large number of women and youth (ages 8-15) joined the liberation forces. The popular nature of the Eritrean struggle had become incontestable

### ORGANIZING AND ARMING THE MASSES

The masses participated heroically in armed and political struggle. And yet their level of consciousness and organization was low. The effects of this weakness were readily apparent. When the liberation forces were on the offensive the masses were extremely joyful and thought victory was around the corner. On those rare occasions when the liberation forces had to retreat and the aggressor troops entered village committing all sorts of atrocities, the masses became downhearted. They were also dispirited by the existence of two fronts and called for an immediate and unconditional merger.

Right from its birth, the EPLF had grasped the importance of organizing the masses, as it is only when organized that the masses participate on a sustained and conscious basis. However, EPLF's program of building mass organizations was disrupted by the beginning of the civil war in February 1972. The EPLF had to concentrate its forces to defend itself from this "war of liquidation" launched by the ELF leadership. This restricted its movement and severely hampered its persistent efforts.

When the civil war ended in November 1974, the EPLF launched a vigorous campaign to organize the masses. It began to produce publications solely geared to raising the political consciousness of the masses. It set up mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth and students. In the liberated areas as well as in the cities under occupation, thousands have already become members of these organizations.

The main objectives of the mass organizations are to foster the active participation of every section of the oppressed masses in the struggle for national liberation. Within the context of the national democratic program, they also struggle for the particular demands of the section of society (workers, peasants, women, etc.) which they represent.

Take for example, the Organization of Eritrean Peasants. The peasant organization mobilizes the peasants to participate actively in the national struggle. It mobilizes them to attend political education and illiteracy classes, build air raid shelters, follow enemy movements, transport ammunition and supplies and assist in combat. From among the peasant masses, it prepares fresh recruits for the people's army.



The organization of Eritrean peasants also fights for the specific interests of the peasantry, foremost among which is the land reform. Working under the close guidance and leadership of the EPLF, the peasant organization carries out agitation among the peasants on the necessity of "redistributing land equally among those who till it." The peasant organization struggles to unite the poor and middle peasants, who comprise 90% of the Eritrean peasantry so as to overcome the resistance of the handful of feudalists and a section of the rich peasants. Throughout the liberated areas, the peasant organizations are playing a crucial role in carrying out land reform.

Not only is the EPLF politicizing and organizing the masses, but it is also arming them to defend the gains of the revolutionary struggle. People's militias are being set up throughout the liberated areas. For the most part, they are armed with U.S.-made weapons captured from the Ethiopian occupation army.

A militia man or militia woman must have a clear understanding of the political line and program of the EPLF. No one can join the people's militia before they go through the basic political education and literacy courses. In the people's militia, as in the regular army, it is politics that commands the gun.

Organized and armed, the Eritrean masses are participating consciously and actively in the liberation struggle. They are vigorously engaging in production so as to attain self-sufficiency and assist the front. Through their people's militias they defend their villages from the enemy. Through their own democratically elected popular administration, they solve, in cooperation with the front, their economic and social problems.

### NEW MAN AND NEW WOMAN EMERGING

Profound changes are taking place in the life and thinking of the Eritrean masses. Children play games depicting the heroism of the freedom fighters and the cowardice of the aggressor troops. An old woman, 90 years of age, marvels at the new life in the liberated areas: "I have seen Eritrea's independence with my own eyes. I don't mind if I die, now." Peasants whose houses have been destroyed by Ethiopian bombs are resolute: "What if our mud huts are destroyed by the Ethiopian aggressors, we will build modern houses in liberated Eritrea." With confidence, Eritrean women declare: "The fruits of the liberation struggle are for the whole people—men and women. Therefore both men and women should struggle against the enemy. Who says Eritrean women cannot fight?"

As the EPLF has correctly summed up: "A new man and woman are being created in Eritrea, a man and woman emerging in rebellion against reaction, in the struggle for liberation. The Eritrean revolution is bringing about new change in the thinking of the masses, new dimensions of outlook, a new culture based on love of liberty and self

## GAMES CHILDREN PLAY

[As recounted by a 13-year-old "Vanguard" in the EPLF]

"Before we left our homes to join the revolution we used to live it in our games. Kids of the village, seven years old or younger, would gather daily outside their homes and then divide into two groups: one group pretending to be the Revolutionary forces and the other the Ethiopian army. Sticks were our rifles and stones we took for bombs . . . and then the two sides entered a raging battle. But before we started, we would agree among ourselves that defeat is the fate of the Ethiopian army. The battle would take a sharp tone and there would be bruises and even bleeding. But in the end we would be happy in the outcome—the defeat of the Ethiopian soldiers, an outcome we knew in advance.

"We used to relish this game even though we did not yet see an actual fight between the guerrillas and the Ethiopian army. It was all based on what we would overhear from the village elders. But it was not long before we began to see Ethiopian soldiers entering villages, spreading death, puncturing women's bellies and beheading men. They did not spare children either. But we also saw the revolutionary forces avenging and protecting the people. It is them that we knew that our place was in the midst of the struggle and not at home. That is how we came to join."

sacrifice. The oppressed masses, from a 6-year-old child to an elder, 90 years of age, are immersed in the revolutionary path, their spirit and desires profoundly touched by the flames of revolutionary struggle. The elders encourage the people's army: "My children, victory be yours. God help you to drive out the aggressors from our country." Children imitate the daily activities of the fighters; handle their sticks like machine-guns and aim with them; perform drills and carefully prepare ambushes against the enemy. In the villages and cities, in the bushes and mountains, songs and dances depicting the people's revolution, the heroism and determination of the masses, their striving for liberation and independence, the atrocity of the enemy and his inevitable doom, are flourishing. All this shows that the people's struggle has profoundly affected the Eritrean masses who with a new outlook and culture are blazing the revolutionary path."

The masses are the iron bastion which no counter-revolutionary force can crush. Firmly rooted among the oppressed masses, and led by the revolutionary line of the EPLF, the Eritrean struggle for national liberation is invincible. □



## VICTIMS OF JUNTA'S OFFENSIVE

### Humane Treatment

### For Ethiopian Prisoners

Last spring, the Ethiopian Junta was feverishly preparing for an all-out onslaught on the Eritrean liberation struggle. Following Moroccan King Hussien's "peaceful march" on Western Sahara, the Ethiopian Junta was planning to stage an armed invasion of Eritrea using 200,000 Ethiopian peasants as a cannon-fodder.

Employing cynical deceit and force, demagogic calls for a "holy war" against "Arab invaders," promises of fertile land grants in Eritrea, burning the farms and houses of those who refuse to "volunteer," etc.—the military junta armed tens of thousands of peasants for its "march" on Eritrea.

The Junta had made long and careful preparations for this desperate move. They had purchased millions of dollars worth of ammunition and rifles. Large numbers of doctors and nurses from all over Ethiopia were forcibly transferred to Eritrea in anticipation of heavy casualties. All public buses and trucks were registered and made ready for transporting peasant "volunteers," ammunition and supplies. In order to impose a total news black out of the onslaught, foreign residents and missionaries were evacuated from Eritrea and foreign journalists were ordered to submit their reports for censure. After all the preparations had been made, the leaders of the Ethiopian Junta boastfully declared that, "The Eritrean problems will be solved within two to three months."

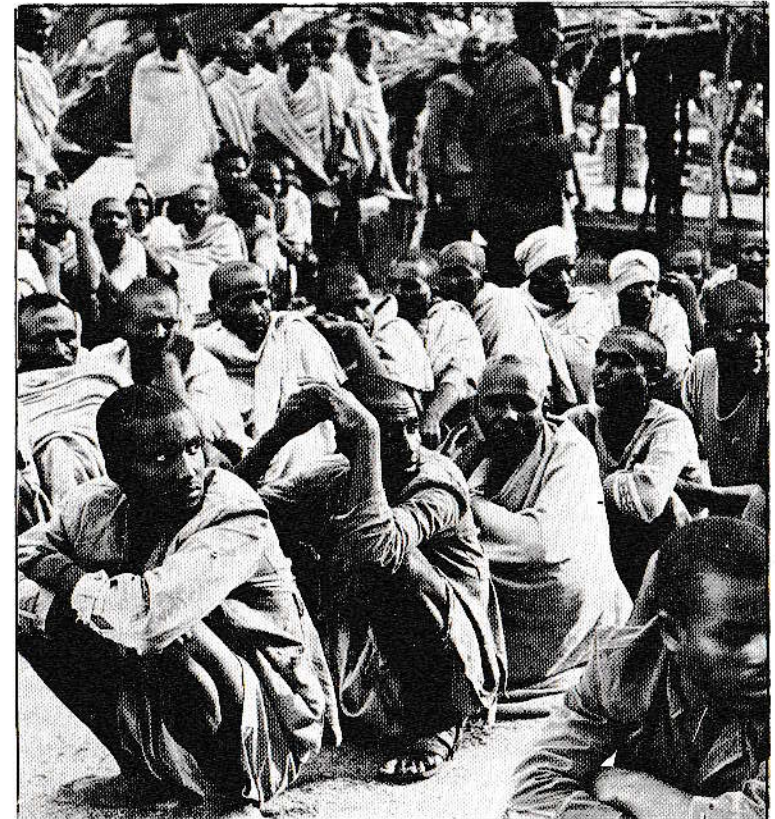
The Junta's prediction was a bit hasty. The peasant "march" ended up in further exposing its reactionary nature, rather than weakening or liquidating the Eritrean struggle.

The Junta's offensive met with strong opposition from the Ethiopian masses. A number of villagers refused to provide "volunteers" and clashed with the junta's troops. Progressive Ethiopian organizations carried out widescale agitation against the fascist offensive and called on the Ethiopian masses to resist.

The Eritrean liberation forces were ready to smash the fascist onslaught. They had carefully prepared the masses and armed them so they can defend themselves. They destroyed the bridges on the principal roads leading to Eritrea. In the beginning of May, they launched powerful attacks on the bases where the regular troops and peasant "volunteers" were encamped waiting to cross the border into Eritrea. Within a short time, the army of peasant "volunteers" was in disarray. As the peasants fled away from the scene of the battle, the junta's fascist troops fired on them from the back. More than 600 peasant "volunteers" and regular troops were captured by the Eritrean liberation forces (the EPLF and ELF).

### HUMANE TREATMENT

The Eritrean liberation forces and in particular the EPLF, conscious that the captured "peasant volunteers" are from the oppressed masses, have treated them in a very humane manner. Medical treatment was given to the wounded and the sick, and for many this is the first time in their lives to receive medical attention. Further, the EPLF is conducting literacy classes to enable the peasants, almost all of whom are illiterate,



Some of the more than 600 captured Ethiopian peasants. The peasants say: "We were tricked by the Derg [the Junta]."



to read and write. Instruction in the literacy classes are given in the peasants' own language, that is, Aharic, for those from Wollo and Begemeder provinces and Tigrinya for those from Tigray.

The EPLF explains the history and aims of the Eritrean struggle to the peasant "volunteers." It is attempting to teach them that the enemies of the Eritrean struggle are not the Ethiopian masses but the ruling classes, who are also the enemies of the Ethiopian toilers. The regular troops of the Ethiopian army captured in the battle are also treated in the same humane way.

The peasant "volunteers" were to be released as soon as they had mastered their alphabets and after undertaking basic political education. The Eritrean liberation forces had submitted their names to the International Committee of the Red Cross so that they could be handed over to the Ethiopian government. However, the junta has refused to take the "volunteers" back, shamelessly claiming that it "did not organize an armed peasant march" on Eritrea. Like Haile Selassie's refusal to admit the existence of widespread famine in Ethiopia in 1973, the Junta is showing callous disregard for the oppressed peasants. But it goes beyond callous disregard. The Junta is afraid that the freed peasants will go back to their villages and, in the words of one of the peasants, "tell our countrymen the truth about Eritrea"—and the truth about the military junta as well.

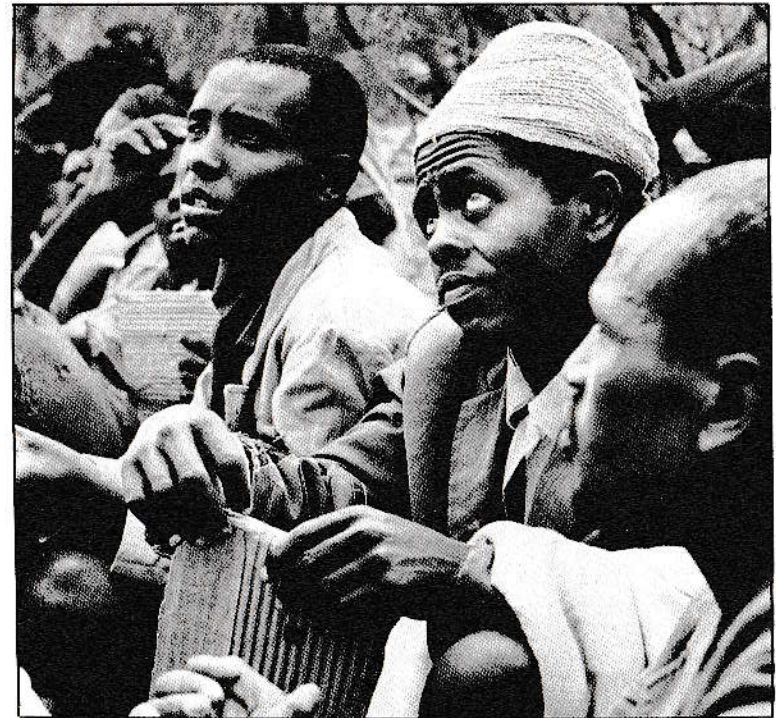
## EPLF on "the Peasant March"

In the last three years, Ethiopian colonialism has left no stone unturned in its campaign to liquidate the Eritrean revolution. It has waged ruthless military campaigns, ugly political maneuvers and economic pressures to bring the revolution down to its knees. However, the oppressed masses of Eritrea have heroically and resolutely smashed the daily fascistic attacks and frustrated all the enemy's schemes. The revolution has registered a multiple of brilliant victories in all fronts of the liberation struggle.

The victories and successes of the revolution and the decline of the enemy's strength has dangerously threatened the colonial and imperialist interests in our country. It is in fact in fear of the growing consolidation of the Eritrean revolution and the inevitable destruction of imperialism, as represented by Ethiopian colonial occupation that forced the Junta to devise a new type of invasion in May of 1976.

The goals of the Ethiopian colonialists' "peasant volunteer invasion" could be summed up as follows: to wage an extensive invasion campaign to totally liquidate the Eritrean revolution or failing this to weaken it so as to create favourable conditions for enforcing the junta's sham policy of "peaceful solution."

The Junta's cry of "Arab Invasion" as the basis for its peasant offensive, was a propoganda tactic designed not only to rally all the



Captured Ethiopian peasants in a literacy class.

forces it could muster against the Eritrean revolution, but also to arrest the ongoing popular resistance in Ethiopia. By forcefully recruiting the Ethiopian peasant masses as "volunteers" the junta attempted to disassociate them from their struggle. In another aspect, the campaign was aimed at sabotaging the growing, principled revolutionary alliance between the Eritrean and Ethiopian masses. Specifically, since the Junta believes that the main factor for the existence of revolutionary armed struggle in northern Ethiopia is the Eritrean revolution, it has done everything it can to break this alliance.

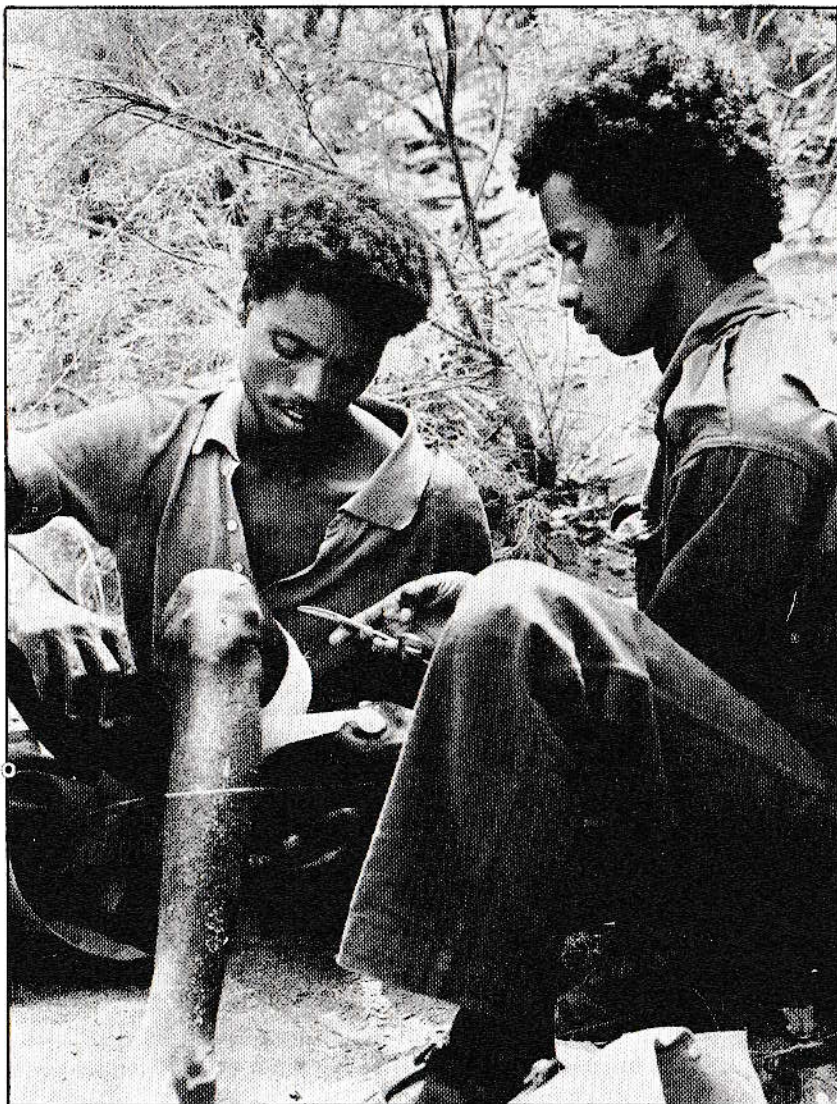
Why did the invasion of the "peasant volunteers" fail? The Eritrean revolution is conscious of its responsibility to guarantee the continuity and victory of the revolution and to safeguard the life and well-being of our people. It had prepared its forces politically, economically and militarily to frustrate the "peasant" offensive. The masses identifying themselves with the revolution fought alongside their liberation armies, thereby boosting the morale of our militants. There were three big battles jointly fought by our forces and the masses of our people against the invaders. All the battles ended with total victory for our revolution and complete defeat for the enemy.

In addition, the principled political struggle waged by progressive Ethiopians against the fascist military offensive had weakened the



poisonous political campaign that preceded it and lowered the morale of the junta's aggressive force.

The "volunteers" invasion met the fate of all foreign aggression—it was routed, disarmed and totally defeated. It is with this revolutionary verdict of the Eritrean revolution that the Junta's "volunteers" offensive was smashed. □



EPLF medic treats a wounded Ethiopian peasant.

## **EAST TIMOR: The Struggle Advances**

A fierce war of liberation is raging in East Timor.

After more than 400 years of Portuguese colonial rule, East Timor, a South East Asian nation neighbouring Indonesia and Australia, proclaimed its independence on November 28, 1975.

Independence came to East Timor after years of armed and other forms of anti-colonial resistance. But only a few days after the declaration of independence, the U.S. backed military junta in Indonesia moved to annex the territory. Immediately thereafter, the people of East Timor led by FRETILIN (Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor) organized themselves for armed resistance to repel the Indonesian aggression and defend their newly won independence.

Indonesian maneuvers to annex or in their conception "to integrate East Timor with the motherland" had started much earlier before the proclamation of independence. As in all other Portuguese colonies, the fall of Portuguese fascism in April 26, 1974 had led to the intensification of the struggle in East Timor. Up to this time, Timorese nationalists had looked towards Indonesia for support in their just struggle against Portuguese colonialism. However, it became increasingly evident that the Indonesian regime had its own design for the territory, and that it was collaborating with both the right-wing forces in Portugal and in East Timor in order to execute its grand scheme of annexation.

Thus, FRETILIN evolved as a movement of the patriotic and progressive forces in East Timor, joined together in opposition to Portuguese colonialism, Indonesian annexationist designs and Timorese reaction. Eventually, the reactionaries in East Timor, a sector of which was subservient to the Portuguese colonialists, and another sector standing in favor of integration with Indonesia, attempted to install a puppet regime. The reactionaries were a great obstacle to the establishment of genuine independence, which the majority of the Timor people led by FRETILIN were struggling for.

### **PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM**

The present-day struggle of the Timorese people is a continuation of their long standing resistance to Portuguese colonialism. The Portuguese first came to Timor island in the early sixteenth century, and were soon followed by the Dutch. A bitter rivalry ensued between the two maritime powers for the control of the island and its trade. This later resulted in the division of the island into two parts—the Portuguese held



the eastern sector and the Dutch dominated the Western sector of the island.

The primary Portuguese interest in Timor was in the sandalwood trade which they transported to their colony of Macao on the China coast, where it was sold to Chinese merchants. The Portuguese had the least interest in developing the Eastern half of the island they colonized.

The Dutch/Portuguese contention for the control of the sandalwood trade was not formally settled until 1904, when Timor was formally divided into two sectors. At the same time, the Portuguese had failed to consolidate their rule over East Timor until the second world war. Timorese resistance to Portuguese rule was persistent, and the Portuguese were largely limited to the coastal regions and few trading centers.

From 1910 to 1912 the Portuguese almost lost their hold of East Timor in the face of a strong rebellion led by Dom Boaventura, a local king, who managed to unseat the Portuguese and govern a large segment of the territory for 18 months. This rebellion was finally crushed when the Portuguese brought in large troop contingents from Lisbon and their African colony of Mozambique.

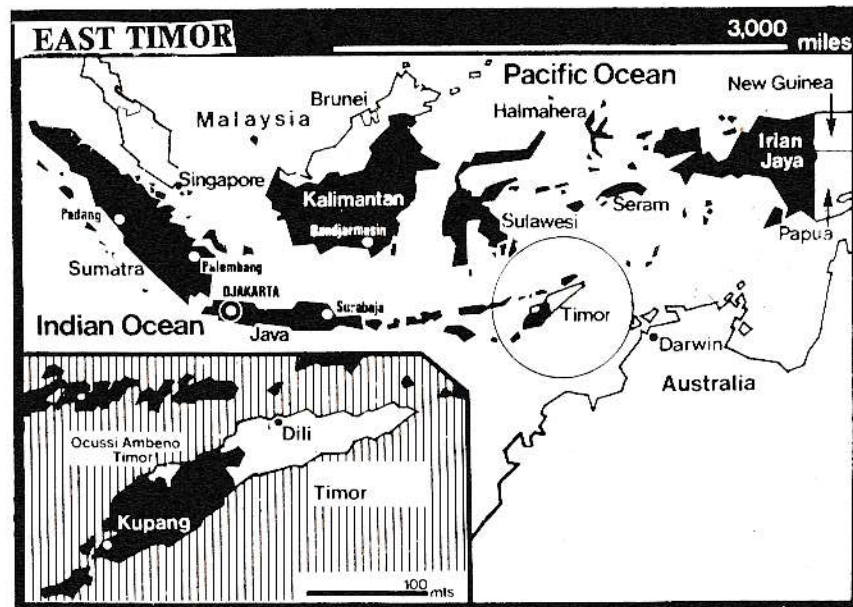
More than four centuries of Portuguese colonialism has made East Timor one of the most underdeveloped and backward countries. Under the Portuguese, the 600,000 people of East Timor were burdened with an illiteracy rate of 97 per cent. Almost the total population was without medical assistance; malaria and malnutrition were rampant and infant mortality stood at more than 50 per cent. The human and natural resources of East Timor were under the merciless exploitation of Portuguese colonialism and its allies the United States, Australia, etc. So much so, that by the time the Portuguese left, sandalwood, one of the major resources of the country, was totally depleted.

### THE FALL OF PORTUGUESE FASCISM

Many of the young Timorese nationalists, whose anti-colonial consciousness was heightened by developments within the Portuguese colonies and the imperialist war in South East Asia, were keenly aware of the above facts. In 1970, a few young patriots formed a study group in Dili. This small nucleus later evolved into a major movement—FRETILIN.

The fall of Portuguese fascism in April 25, 1974 as a result of the stunning blows it received in its African colonies led into the "liberalization" of political activity in East Timor. Suddenly the deep-rooted patriotism of the Timorese people began to express itself in organized political activity.

In Dili, the capital, several workers' strikes and demonstrations were staged for higher wages and better living conditions. There was intense political discussion and debate on the future of the country. Eventually



the expressed views began to concretize and shape themselves in the organizational programs of three political groups: Apodeti, the Timor Democratic Union (UDT) and FRETILIN.

### THE THREE MOVEMENTS IN PERSPECTIVE

Apodeti was an openly pro-Indonesia party. When it emerged in East Timor in 1974, it espoused integration with the repressive military regime in Jakarta. The Indonesian military regime came to power in 1965 through a murderous coup that resulted in the death of more than 500,000 Indonesian communists and patriots and the arrest to date of 100,000 political prisoners.

The collaborationist nature of Apodeti was clear to the East Timor people. In fact, Apodeti's sole support and propaganda came from the Indonesian regime and press. Apodeti leaders were clearly aiming at benefiting from whatever rewards they could receive in integrating East Timore with Indonesia.

UDT was formed by a group of civil servants in the colonial administration. They were, basically, for the retaining of the status quo which had benefited them. Many of the members of UDT were also active members of the Portuguese fascist party, Accao Nacional Popular.

Largely composed of the assimilado class, a small native elite assimilated into Portuguese culture, UDT politics was influenced by General Spinoza's book which advocated a Luso-Portuguese federation. Due to the support from the Portuguese administration, and its ability to manipulate traditional views of the people, UDT had initially gained a



large following.

However, it was FRETILIN that won the overwhelming support of the East Timor people. Its political program of anti-colonialism and anti-racialism, and its activist orientation, in particular its defence of the striking workers in Dili, gained it much popular support.

In time, the progressive nature of FRETILIN and the collaborationist character of UDT and Apodeti was increasingly exposed. FRETILIN emerged as the only genuine liberation movement in the country.

#### THE UDT COUP OF AUGUST 1974

Under pressure from FRETILIN, the Portuguese government agreed to hold a vote in September 1975 to determine the future of the country. Realizing its increased isolation from the masses and fearing a victory for FRETILIN at the polls, UDT staged a military coup on August 11 with the active help of the Portuguese Governor of East Timor, Lemos Pires, a former assistant of General Spínola and a well known U.S. lackey.

FRETILIN leaders were reluctant to have a military showdown with UDT. The latter had earlier broken away from a FRETILIN initiated coalition to gain independence from Portugal and thwart Indonesian maneuvers for annexation. Because of the Indonesian menace, FRETILIN wanted to resolve its differences with UDT peacefully. However, this move by FRETILIN was responded to by aggressive UDT attacks. The Portuguese administration collaborated with UDT by harrasing and arresting FRETILIN cadres and leaders.

On August 20, 1975, FRETILIN called for an all-out armed resistnace, and was joined by progressive elements in the Portuguese Army. This resistance succeeded in crushing the UDT coup and the Portuguese authorities consequently fled the territory.

The failure of the UDT coup provided Indonesia with a cover to intervene in East Timor. It sent its troops to aid remnants of a UDT-Apodeti force, calling itself the Anit-Communist Movement. FRETILIN continued to rebuke three months of border attacks by the Indonesian army.

On November 28, 1975, FRETILIN declared independence from Portugal and proclaimed the establishment of the Democratic Republic of East Timor. Nine days later, Indonesia launched a massive invasion by landing 6,000 marines in Dili. The marines were backed by air strikes, naval artillery, tanks and other heavy equipment.

Indonesian aggression against East Timor took place not only with the full backing but also at the instigation of U.S. imperialism. Just hours before the all-out Indonesian invasion of East Timor started, President Ford had visited Djakarta, giving General Luharto the green light. In the face of the all-out invasion, FRETILIN retreated from Dili, but to date continues to pin-point the huge U.S. backed Indonesian occupying army to the city perimeters.

#### FRETILIN VICTORIOUS IN MANY FRONTS

On April 12, 1976, Jose Ramos-Horta, FRETILIN Foreign Affairs spokesman told the UN Security Council:

"Seldom in world's history has a country of 600,000 people successfully resisted a powerful aggressor of 130 million, which still receives millions of dollars of military and economic aid from the United States of America, Australia, the United Kingdom, Canada and so on. Against 30,000 paratroopers and marines, against chemical and biological warfare, against tanks and warships, the people of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, under the correct leadership of FRETILIN, have shown their unshakable will to be free and to be masters of their own country during the eight months of heroic struggle against the neo-colonialist and reactionary forces and the Javanese army.

"What, in the final analysis, is an act of self-determination? When a whole nation for many centuries heroically resists the colonialists in such



Under the leadership of Fretilin many thousands of peasants wage a protracted guerrilla war against Indonesian armed aggression.



an unequivocal way, as is displayed in the bloody pages of the history of Timor, is this not an act of self-determination? When a whole nation—men, women and children—engage in a people's war of resistance against the foreign aggressor, is this not a supreme act of self-determination? When a whole nation pays with blood and lives for each inch of its soil in the struggle against the foreign aggressor, is this not a noble act of self-determination? When one tenth of our population has been massacred by the Nazi army of Java, but in spite of this the whole nation continues the struggle for liberation, is this not a sublime act of self-determination?"

Indeed, the people of East Timor have decisively moved to determine their own destiny and are waging a successful armed struggle for liberation. FRETILIN, the vanguard of the armed struggle, has rooted itself deeply among the broad masses of East Timor.

FRETILIN has widened the frontier of the struggle to include the social and economic transformation of the country. Literacy programs are being spread all over the country, and for the first time the East Timor people are getting medical attention from 200 bare-foot doctors utilizing and adapting traditional medicine to present-day needs. Many advances have been made on the economic front. Recently FRETILIN cadres opened a small sugar factory that processes sugar from palm for the liberated areas.

In the diplomatic sphere, the Democratic Republic of East Timor has won wide support from a number of socialist and progressive countries. The United Nations General Assembly and Security Council, as well as the Fifth Conference of Non-Aligned Nations, have passed strong resolutions condemning Indonesian aggression of the independent Republic and supporting the right of the East Timor people for self-determination. The Democratic Republic has also gained the support and wide admiration of the progressive peoples of the world.

The Eritrean people, led by their vanguard, the EPLF, are waging a victorious armed struggle against much similar colonial aggression and annexation, and are objectively posed on the side of the East Timor people. Like the people of East Timor, the Eritrean people were aggressed by a puppet neighbouring regime, at the time when they were preparing to throw off the colonial yoke and attain national independence. Just like Indonesia has gone through the charade of making East Timor its "27th province," so was Eritrea declared the "14th province" of Ethiopia. No annexationist force, however, can rule in peace without breaking the will of the people to resist occupation. Ethiopia and Indonesian expansionists backed by world imperialism have tried in vain to accomplish this, and they face a dismal future as the fighting spirit and action of the people intensifies.

Under the leadership of FRETILIN, the people of East Timor will emerge victorious over the Indonesian aggressors and their U.S. imperialist masters. Long live the Democratic Republic of East Timor! □

## **SOUTHERN AFRICA: Protracted People's Struggle**

Southern Africa has become the focus of struggle between the forces of national liberation and those of colonialism, imperialism, racism and reaction.

The demise of 500 years of Portuguese colonialism and the liberation of Mozambique and Angola have provided a powerful stimulus for the intensification of the armed and political struggles of the people of Southern Africa. The racist settler regimes and their backers, the imperialist powers, who have vast interests in Southern Africa, are moving frantically to subvert and liquidate the mounting struggles in the region. The peoples of Zimbabwe, Azania (South Africa) and Namibia on the one hand and the imperialist powers on the other, are locked in a fierce and complicated military and political struggle, which will inevitably end up with the victory of the oppressed peoples.

### **IMPERIALIST OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION**

Southern Africa is one of the richest parts of the African continent. Its people are talented and hard-working and its proletariat constitutes the largest and most concentrated working class in Africa. From its bowels come large percentages of the world's important minerals such as gold, diamond, uranium, chromium, copper and cobalt. It also contains fertile agricultural land and rich pasture areas. With important harbors on both sides of the African continent, in the Atlantic and Indian oceans, Southern African is one of the most strategic areas in the world.

The rich resources of Southern Africa are neither exploited by, nor utilized, in the service of the majority of its peoples. Instead, they benefit the racist minority settler states and imperialist monopolies. Close to 300 imperialist corporations, mainly from the U.S., Britain, W. Germany, France and Japan, exploit the natural and human resources of the region. They have investments amounting to several billions and make fabulous yearly profits of 20 percent plus, after taxes.





South-Africa's heroic and defiant youth battling heavily armed police in recent uprisings.

While the imperialist monopolies and the settler regimes are making superprofits, the African peoples are forced to live in miserable conditions. The minority settler regimes have expropriated most of the land from the African population. The white settlers who make up 18% of the population in South Africa, 12% in Namibia and 5% in Zimbabwe own 87%, 60% and 52% of the land respectively. The land reserved for the Africans is for the most part barren and dry, and although the people engage in agriculture, they can merely subsist on this. They are thus forced to work in the cities for the white settlers at extremely low wages, basically on year long contracts. The contract laborer cannot break the terms of the contract under any pretext while the employer is free to do so. During the contract period, the laborer leaves his family in the "homelands" and lives in company or government housing in appalling conditions.

Further, the African peoples in the minority racist dominated parts of Southern Africa are deprived of the most elementary rights. In South Africa, political power is in the hands of the minority settler colonialists. The African people are not allowed to vote and have no parliamentary representation. In Zimbabwe, the illegal and racist settler minority regime of Ian Smith has held the reins of political power since it unilaterally declared independence from Britain in 1965. For the African people, there is an indirect and token "representation" by stooges handpicked by the illegal Smith regime. In Namibia, which is under the

colonial occupation of the South African regime, only the whites are represented in the parliament. No trade Unions are allowed in the three countries. Draconian laws such as the infamous pass law are used to terrorize the African masses. Meanwhile, every democratic demand of the people and every act of resistance, no matter how peaceful (or minor) is met with swift and vicious repression.

## AFRICAN RESISTANCE

A people living under barbarous and inhuman conditions, such as those existing in Southern Africa are bound to rise up against their oppressors. The peoples of Southern Africa have a long and militant history of struggle against the oppressor racist settler states. They have resisted the colonialists from the moment they set foot in Southern Africa. Leaders like Chaka, Dingaan and Moshoshoe are the heroes of the early days of resistance to colonialism.

Over the years, the struggle of the people has grown and deepened. In South Africa, organized political struggle began with the formation of the Imbumba Yama Afrika—Union of Africans—in 1880. The African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) were formed in 1912 and 1959 respectively. The ANC and the PAC, both banned in South Africa, are the liberation movements of the Azanian people.

In March 1960, the Azanian masses stages militant demonstrations in protest of the hated pass law in Sharpeville which led to the massacre of 69 people by the S. African police. In the end of the 60s with the birth of the South African Student Organization (SASO), the struggle of the Azanian students surged. Beginning from 1971, workers in the mines, ports and in other work places embarked on a wave of strikes.

June 1976 witnessed the powerful upsurge of the youth of Soweto, which has spread like a bush fire all over South Africa. In the face of the bullets, tear gas and trained dogs of the fascist police and the murder of more than 1,000 of their comrades, Azanian youth are waging a death-defying struggle, showing their hatred of Apartheid and their determination to destroy it. For months on end, day after day, they have kept up their heroic resistance.

In Zimbabwe, organized political struggle began in 1911 with the formation of the Southern Rhodesia Native Association. April 1966 saw the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) launch the armed struggle against the racist regime and imperialism. One year later, in August 1967, the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) also began armed struggle in alliance with the ANC of South Africa.

The armed struggle was stepped in in 1972 spreading to more areas. As the masses became more and more convinced that armed struggle was the only road to liberation, they began to join the liberation movement in large numbers. Youth, men and women, continue to leave



school and work to go and fight for the liberation of Zimbabwe.

In Namibia, the armed struggle for national independence started on August 26, 1966 under the leadership of The South West African Organization (SWAPO) and has been intensifying steadily.

The development of the struggle of the Azanian, Zimbabwe and Namibian peoples has been marked not only by the growing number of fighters that have joined the liberation struggle, but also by the continuing radicalization of their political objectives and programs. With the progress of the armed struggle, the forces who stand for the fundamental transformation of the old, oppressive society and the destruction of imperialism are gaining an upper hand. The opportunists and the reactionary die-hards are being increasingly isolated. The imperialist powers are wary of this development and would like to stop it before the revolutionary elements gain complete hegemony. Nothing else can explain the frantic imperialist activity of the past few years.

### IMPERIALIST TACTICS

The imperialists and their agents have come up with counter-revolutionary dual tactics to sabotage and subvert the struggle of the peoples of Southern Africa. On the one hand, they are promising reform, "majority rule," "independence," etc. On the other, they are stepping up their fascist repression and counter-revolutionary war against the masses and their liberation movements.

In Zimbabwe, the U.S. and British imperialists and the racist regimes of Vorster and Smith have promised a change over to "majority rule" within a period of two years. The "Geneva Conference" was arranged to "facilitate the turnover of power in Zimbabwe to the majority." At the same time, the Smith regime is stepping up its naked terror. In order to deprive the liberation fighters of mass support the racist regime has set up "protected villages" where it has herded close to one million peasants. These "villages" are surrounded by high fences equipped with huge floodlights and are patrolled by armed guards. Africans living in these concentration camps have to abide by a strict curfew and are forced to display a police identification bracelet on their arms at all times. The Smith regime has also created a "free-fire zone" along the country's extensive borders with Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana. Africans caught within this zone are shot on sight.

Further, the racist Smith regime has committed aggression against neighboring Mozambique by attacking Zimbabwean refugee camps there. In one such attack, on the Nyazonia refugee camp, the racist troops killed close to 1,000 children, women and men.

In Namibia, the South African racists have organized a puppet conference at Turnhalle which has come up with proposals for a neo-colonial "independence" by 1978. SWAPO, the vanguard movement of the Namibian peoples, has denounced the Turnhalle Conference and has

declared its determination to continue the armed struggle until "the establishment of a popular democratic government."

While the show continues at Turnhalle, the South African racists are intensifying their attacks on SWAPO and the Namibian masses. As in Zimbabwe, they have created a 1000 mile long, half-mile wide "free fire zone" along the Angolan border. This "no man's land" was created by rounding up and killing villagers, burning homes and crops and in general, displacing the masses from their land. The racists have also declared martial law throughout Namibia since April 1976.

In South Africa, the imperialists and the settler regime are not promising much of substance, except for the fraud of "independence" for the bantustans. (The bantustans are what the racist regime regards as "homelands" for the various "tribes" that make up the African population.) Independence does not signify basic change in the status of the bantustans which will remain under the direct control and supervision of the South African regime. Such is the case of the Transkei, which on October 26, 1976, became the first bantustan to gain its "independence." The citizens of the "independent" Bantustan automatically lose their South African citizenship. In this way, the racist regime vainly hopes to "legally" deprive all Africans of their rights as citizens of South Africa.

The Bantustan scheme is aimed at dividing and weakening the resistance of the African people and deceiving international public opinion. The Vorster regime is advertising its scheme with great fanfare while it is simultaneously clamping down on the surging movement of the South African masses. Demonstrating youth are shot in cold blood. Hundreds of prisoners are tortured to death. With the active support of the imperialist powers and the Zionist state of Israel, the racist regime is piling up sophisticated weapons and refining its means of torture in an attempt to stem the rising tide of the oppressed people of South Africa.

### PROTRACTED ARMED STRUGGLE IS THE ONLY SOLUTION

It is clear that the racist regimes and their imperialist sustainers are not about to hand over their huge interests in Southern Africa. They are engaging in deceptive tricks and heightened repression and war to crush the people's struggle and frustrate their aspirations for genuine independence, and end to apartheid and exploitation.

The peoples of Southern Africa, except for a handful of opportunists, have not been deceived by the imperialist and racist machinations and they have shown their utter distaste for token reforms and compromises. The people realize that it is their unrelenting struggle that has forced the enemy to promise "majority rule," "independence," etc. Having suffered for so long under the most wretched conditions, the masses are determined to persist on the road of protracted armed struggle, no matter how hard and arduous it may be. □



## ERITREA 1977 CALENDAR

The 1977 Eritrean Calendar, prepared and published by EFLNA, details many historic dates and events of national and international significance. Many pictures depicting the struggle of the Eritrean people and those of the oppressed peoples of the world are also contained in the new calendar.

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*From the Pages of*

**VANGUARD**

*Beginning with this issue, Liberation is proud to introduce a regular column: "From the Pages of . . ." Vanguard, Spark and other publications of the EPLF. In this column, we will provide our readers with the translation of insightful articles by EPLF focusing on the vital and crucial issues facing the Revolution. Included in this issue of Liberation is an article on the necessity of mass organizations in the Eritrean struggle from EPLF's official organ, Vanguard, no. 17, June 1976. EFLNA is responsible for errors that may occur in translation.*

### "Organize the Masses"

The slogan, "Organize the Masses," expresses EPLF's principled stand and unwavering mass line. The masses: workers, peasants, nomads, youth, women and students should be organized in their millions. Every single Eritrean should belong to an organization. It is our revolutionary task and duty to support in principle and practice, the expansion of mass organizations throughout Eritrea—in the cities and countryside; in the liberated and non-liberated areas. Those who do not support or oppose the organization of the masses are opportunists, who want to exploit the backwardness and low level of consciousness of the masses to further their own interest.

Politics is not the profession of a few people. The political and social life of any society is determined by its economic activity. Politics, therefore, is the reflection of the economic life of a society, and this is precisely why any member of a society can not escape from political life and activity.

Those who advocate that politics is the exclusive domain of the few who studied it as a profession are only reactionaries, whose interest is against that of the masses. Such kind of thinking, that is, the separation of politics and political activity from the masses is an erroneous viewpoint propagated by bourgeois philosophers to consolidate the fundamental class interest of the ruling class. It is a mischief meant to keep the oppressed classes in a state of perpetual ignorance.

The reactionaries in our movement who seek to take advantage of the low level of organization and consciousness of the masses, say that it is not necessary for the masses to be organized, that it is enough for a few individuals in the "People's Committees"\* to serve as intermediary between the Liberation Front and the people. They further claim that

\* "People's Committees," in the ELF controlled regions, in a five-man committee organized along different areas of responsibility, one of which is to collect "taxes" for the ELF.



occasional lectures given in public gatherings are in themselves sufficient political education. But why should a wall be built between the Liberation Front and the masses? Why should the masses live in ignorance? And why should that mountain-shaking might of the masses be left untapped? All these are done to create favourable conditions for the opportunists, and it is totally against the interests of the masses of our people. There are many feudalists, for example, who having placed themselves between the ELF and the masses, and by virtue of the responsibility given to them to collect funds for the Front, forcibly collect these from the masses and enrich themselves by giving only a small portion to the Front while pocketing the rest.

The masses can, in general, be divided into two groups—those who are conscious of their class interests, and those who are not. The unorganized masses have not received systematic political education, and can fall prey to opportunists who fancy themselves very learned, thereby unconsciously standing against their own interests.

It is thus clear why the EPLF has advanced the slogan "Organize the Masses." It concurs with EPLF's goals and the mass line it follows. The revolutionary front and the masses must not be separated, for the revolutionary front cannot triumph over colonialism by relying on its liberation army alone; total victory requires the full participation of the masses. It is, therefore, the responsibility of the revolutionary front, the vanguard of the mass movements, to organize the oppressed masses and make them conscious of their interests.

The establishment of mass organizations is indispensable because it is only through such organizations that the masses can get a clear understanding of the strategy, tactics and goals of the Eritrean revolution and attain a higher level of political consciousness. The organized and class conscious masses will then fight with great vigor to guarantee the success of the Revolution, and many will join the people's militia to defend their interests with arms.

Colonial domination, imperialism and internal reactionary collaborators are not the only enemies of the Eritrean people; there are the logical effects of these such as disease, ignorance, etc., as well as obstacles posed by nature. Just like they can defeat their national and class enemies, the Eritrean people can also triumph over natural obstacles through organized and conscious struggle. Similarly the masses can raise production and improve their well being through collective effort.

To achieve victory, a people struggling against national and class enemies as well as natural obstacles has to be led by a clear anti-imperialist, anti-zionist, anti-feudalist political line, a line that enables the masses to distinguish between friends and enemies and to frustrate the schemes of various sham friends. Moreover, the masses must be solidly organized. It is from this realization that the Eritrean people's vanguard, the EPLF, is striving to expand and consolidate mass organizations throughout Eritrea.

## ውኅሪታት "ኅልዓይ ስሩህ ኅዜግ ገድካዊ ገዳቻ" ተ.ሓ.ኤ.

### ንስምረት ሰንቅፋት፡ ንክድሐርሓርቲ ግዚያዊ እስትንፋስ

ከፍ ት ሓይሎ ብጽግት ህዝቢ ኦርትዶ : ክብ ውሽጢ ተገደሉ ሰር ነት ኦርትዶ ዝጣዕበሉ ደወስራሲያዊ ሓይሉ ብዘወ ሰይ ጽኑዕ ተቓወምን ህዝባዊ ሓይልታት ክብ መትከላዊ መርገ ጸኒኻ ነቲላ ብዘከወደቦ ቀረጽ ቃልሰን ደግ ክብ ዝብል ሻሚሩ ተገዳላይ ህዝብናን ናይ ክልቲኦ ገምበራት ምዑታት ተገደልት ን፡ ንጽላኢ ክናደርግሞ ቀጽሊ ግዑታት ይሓፍሱ ክለው፡፡

ዲሕሪ ምጅም ከፍ ት ሓይሎ: ክብ መንገ ተገደልቲ ብ ዝሰግበ ውዕውዕ ምቅርራብ ህዝቢ ኦርትዶ ፍናኑ ክብ ኢሉ መ ተክላዊ ሃገራዊ ስምረት ንኺህ ነጽ ከጽዕርን ከተባብዕን ሻመ ረ፡፡ ብመስከረም 1975 መራሕቲ ተ.ሓ.ኤ. ናይ ህ.ሓ. ልኡብ ወጻኢ ጉዳይ ነበርን ሌ.ወ.ጉ.ነ. / ክብ ከንጂ ኦርትዶ ህዝቢ ዝጽበዩ ዝ ነበረ መትከላዊ ስምረት: ህ.ሓ.ሓ.ኤ. ዘይ ተኸፈለቦ ውሒታዊ ናይ "ስምረት ስምምዕ" ክብ ክርቱም ተፈራረመ፡፡ ህዝባዊ ሓይልታት ንስምምዕ ክርቱም ምስ ተቓወመ ት፡ ገደላዊ ባይቶ ሓራሽነት ተ.ሓ.ኤ. / በዚ ኮንታት ን ክብሉጽን ነቲ ክብ ማክክል ተገደልቲ ተ.ሓ.ኤ. ክንጸር ው ዕል ክርቱም ዝተሰዕሉ ተቓወም ንኺህ ዲኡን፡ "ህ.ሓ.ሓ.ኤ. ሓዳን ሌ.ወ.ጉ.ነ. / ብወጽኢት ስምምዕ ክርቱም ክይተሰማም ዑን፡ ውሽጢዊ ገርጭም ፈቲሞ ይምጽፍ፡ ብሓባር እንተተቐቢ



ሎ አብ ነብሪ ይወሰል አንተነጺጽም ደማ ካልኦ ሰምዎ 7 ነብር" በሉ፡፡

ብድህር ደብዳቤ አብ መጋቢት 1976፡ ል.ወ.ጉ.ነ. በቲ ንረብሐ ሰጠኛ ዘወከል ናይ ህ.ሓ. መትከላት ከቫይድ ስለዘይ ተሰማምዎ ከብ መዘነቱ ወረደ፡፡ ህ.ሓ. አብ ሰማዳ ደብረ ኣብ ዘገበረቶ ካልኣይ ኣኸባ፡ ል.ወ.ጉ.ነ. ንጻክ ከምዘይወ ከል ብወገዲ ኣኖሎ፡ ንወሰል ካርቶ ከምዘይትቐበሉን ብዘሰ ባ ሰምረት ዘለዎ መትከላዊ ርክይቶን ደጊማ ኣብርሀት፡፡ ኣብ መንገ ናይ ክልቲኡን ንምባራት ኣቀራረብቲ ሽማግሌታት ናይ ሰምረት ዘተ ንብድህር ንመሪሕነት ተ.ሓ.ኤ. ዕድመ ኣቕረ በት፡፡

ሰጠኛ ኤርትራ፡ መራሕቲ ተ.ሓ.ኤ. ነቲ ከብ ህ.ሓ. ዘተኣልዮ ብዘይከ ንነብሱ ንግንግ ዘይወከል ኣድሓርሰሪ ጉራ ለ ል.ወ.ጉ.ነ. ከምዘይፈልጥዎ ብወገዲ ኣኖሎም ስህ ህ.ሓ ዘተ ብምጥር ንሰምረት ዘገብሱ ደ ወይሰ ነቲ ኣድሓርሰሪ ጉራ ፈላጊ ንሰምረት ዘሰንቅፍ መርገጺ ይወሰኑ ኢሉ መል ሱ ብሃንቀውታ ይጸበ ነበረ፡፡ መራሕቲ ተ.ሓ.ኤ. ኣብ ነሐ ሰ 1976 ኣብ ዘገበርዎ "ሰልሰይ ሰረዕ ኣኸባ" ነቲ ካል ኣይ መንገዲ ወሲደም፡፡ ሰልሰይ ኣኸባ ብዘክ ውሳኔታት ውን ኣንተክለፈ፡ ኣቲ ንጊዚኡ ከንዘረበሉ ንፈቱ ንሰምረት ዚ ምልክት ስለዘኾነ ናብኡ ኪንሰልፍ፡፡ ጉራዳዊ ባይቶ ብዘሰባ ሰምረት ከብ ዘክለፍ ውሳኔታት ኣቲ ቀንዲ ኣዚ ዚሰሰብ ኢዩ፡፡

" 1. ህ. ኣታ ኣንደልዎ ሰምረት ሰጠኛ ሃገራዊ ደዎ ከራሲያዊ ንግብር ኣብ ማዳ ኤርትራ ምህ ናጽ ኢዩ፡፡ ኣዚ ደማ ሰጠኛ ውድብ ብሰጠኛ መሪሕነት ሰጠኛ ናይ ሰጠኛት ሰጠኛት ዘለ ዎ ኢዩ፡፡

ለ. ሃገራዊ ሰምረት ተ.ሓ.ኤ. ን ክልተ ኣካ ላት ህ.ሓ. ብዘካፈሉ መሰመሪ ገብኤ ይፍጸም፡፡ ኣገባብ ምስታፍ ናይ ወጻኢ ልኡብ ህ.ሓ. ከም'ቲ ኣብ ኣኖሎታ ኣም ንገኣ ኣብ መሰመሪ ገብኤ ዘረገገጽ ቶ ይኸውን፡፡ "

2. ምጥር ደዎከራሲያዊ ዘተ ስህ ህ.ሓ.ሓ. ኤ. ዕለምኑ ደማ ንኣብ ህን ለን ዚተጠ ቐስ ነብታት የረገገጽ፡፡ ገ.ህ.ቀ. 14 ገጽ 13-14 /

ጉራዳዊ ባይቶ ኣብቲ ሰጠኛ ሃገራዊ ደዎከራሲያዊ ንምባ ር ንምጥር ዘገበር መሰመሪ ገብኤ "ክልተ ኣካላት ህ.ሓ." ይካፈሉ ብዘብል ውሳኔ ንል.ወ.ጉ.ነ. ከም ሰጠኛ ክፍሊ ናይ ህ.ሓ. ብወገዲ ከምትፈልጦ ትኣውጽ፡፡ መሰረት ናይ ደብዳቤ ውሳኔ ከተባርህ ከላ ጉራዳዊ ባይቶ " ናይ ወጻኢ ልኡብ ብገላ ከብ መሪሕነትን ተጋይልትን ናይ ህ.ሓ.ሓ.ኤ. ብዘሰጠኛ ከብ ማዳ ርሲቶም ዘነበሩ ተጋይልትን ገራ ሰጠኛ ወተሃደራዊ ክንፊ ፈጠረት፡፡ " . . . " ነፍሲ ወከፍ ወገን ማዳን ል.ወ.ጉ.ነ.ን / ወከሊ ህ.ሓ.ሓ.ኤ. ምጥር ኣውጽ፡፡ " . . . " ነቲ ሰርዲታ ውን ፖለቲካውን ምፍ ንጠል ኣብ ህ.ሓ.ሓ.ኤ. ዘተረብብን ሰሰባ ተን ኣሉ ዘብ ል ንነጻን " . . . ወዘተ ትብል፡፡

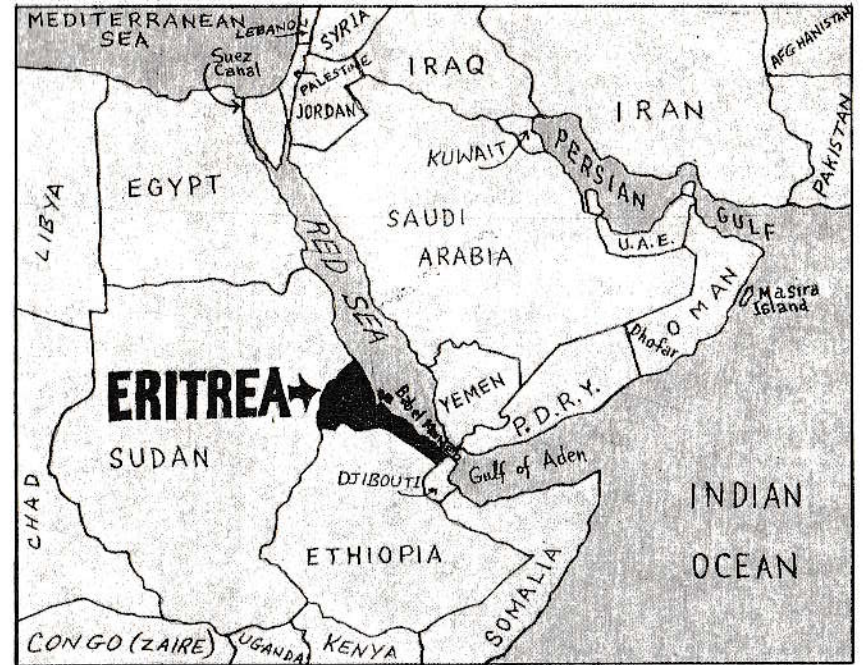
ብኣጸብዕ ክልተ ኣካላው ዘኸጸረ ኣባላት ል.ወ.ጉ. ነበርን ቀገጠር ዘኣከሉ ብመሰፍናዊ ምትግብላሉን፡ ዘተታለሉ "ተጋይልትን" ኣንተተኣልዮኡ ከመይ ገራ'ዩ ህ.ሓ.ሓ.ኤ. ተፈገጠሉ ዘብ ሃል፡ ምዕባላ ሰውራ ንረብሐኦም ኣሰጋኢ ናይ ዘኸጸም ሰጠኛ ውልቀሰባት ምንጻል ንሰውራዊ ውድብ ከብቲ ለገብዎ ዘነበረ ገፈል ደክ'ዩ ዘጸርፍ ኣምበር ተፈገጠሉ ኣኣብሉን'ዩ፡፡ ሰውራውያን መማሪን ከምዘብልዎ "ሰውራ ንጸላኢ ኣኖሪርግ ከብ ውሽጣዊ ርሰሰትና ኣንጻንጻ ሃናን'ዩ ዘኸጸዩ፡፡ "

ል.ወ.ጉ.ነ. "ወከል ናይ ህ.ሓ. ምጥር ኣውጽ፡፡ " "ሰልሰይ ወተሃደራዊ ሰጠኛ ኣኸጸም"፡ ትብል ጉራዳዊ ባይቶ ኣዚ'ቦ ዘገርዎ ኣይከነን፡፡ ኩሉ ኣድሓርሰሪ ክሰብ'ታ ዕለተ ምቱ ሰጠኛ ከይልድል፡ ነቲ ከብ ኢዩ ዘመሉኹ ሰል ጣን ኣንደገና ናብ ጭጠው ከኸቱ፡ መንገርቦር ታሪኽ ንድሕ ሪት ከመልሰ ናይ ተሰፋ ቀባጽ ፍሕተርተር ከምዘኖጅርጽ ታ ሪቭ ይምህረና፡፡ " ዕንቅፋት ምፍጠር፡ ምውዳቕ፡ . . . ደጊመክ ዕንቅፋት ምፍጠር፡ ደጊመክ ምውዳቕ፡ . . . ክሰብ ጊዚ ምቶም፡ ኣዚ ናይ ኩሉም ኣድሓርሰሪ ቲ ሰነውገት ኢዩ፡፡ "ል.ወ.ጉ.ነ. ደማ ከም ኩሉ ኣድሓርሰሪ ሰጠኛ መሪሕነት ህ.ሓ.ሓ.ኤ.

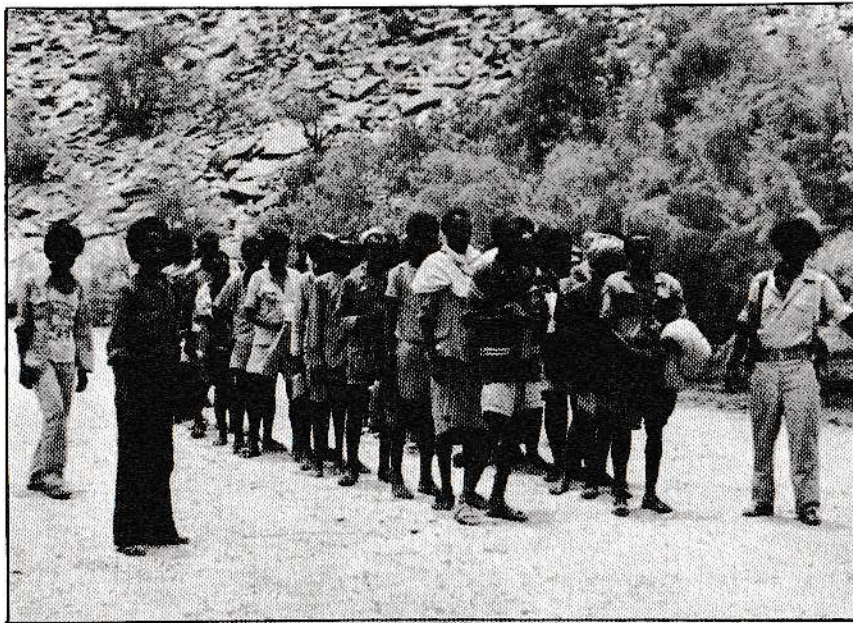




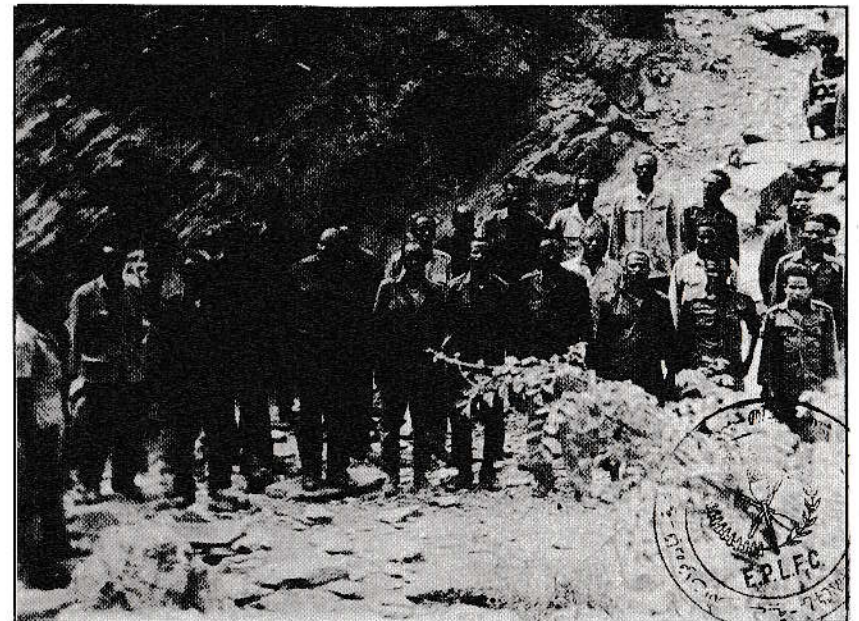
A village committee in session in an EPLF-controlled region of Eritrea.



Eritrea occupies a strategic location in the Horn of Africa and the Middle East.



Ethiopian prisoners on their way to take their weekly bath in a nearby stream.



Regular Ethiopian soldiers captured in a battle with EPLF fighters.