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*Common Front of Ethiopian Marxist-
Leninist Organizations*

(C.F.E.M.-L.O.)

ACTION PROGRAMME

Ethiopia

Yehibret Dimtse

(The Voice of the Common Front)

Organ of the Common Front of
Ethiopian Marxist-Leninist Organizations

July, 1977

Emblem of the Common Front of
Ethiopian Marxist-Leninist Organizations

- * The star depicts the unity of the oppressed peoples of the world.
- * The Hammer and Sickle depict the alliance of the working class and the peasantry.
- * The Sheaves of wheat symbolize peace, progress and prosperity.
- * The Ribbon enfolding the sheaves signifies the struggle, sacrifice and victory of the oppressed peoples.

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Leninist Organizations*

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ACTION PROGRAMME

As the Ethiopian Revolution scores victories day by day, advances forward, widens its base and gets firmer, those internal and external reactionaries whose interests have been affected and who want the momentum of the revolution to slacken rather than speed are intensifying their counter-revolutionary efforts.

At the moment, the Ethiopian Revolution is encircled externally, and internally, it is being undermined. The enemy forces that are against our revolution and the unity of Ethiopia are concentrated up in three major fronts.

1. In the north, Eritrean secessionist forces, namely the Eritrean Liberation Front (E.L.F.), the Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Front (E.P.L.F.) and the Eritrean Liberation Front - Peoples' Liberation Front, (E.L.F.-P.L.F.), supported by imperialism and the neighbouring reactionary regimes, especially those of the Sudan, Saudi Arabia and Somalia, are waging a war in order to secede Eritrea from Ethiopia and turn it into a base of counter-revolutionary forces from where anti-revolutionary activities can be launched throughout the whole of Ethiopia. In alliance with the Eritrean secessionists and also backed by reactionary Arab governments and directly supported by imperialists, the so-

called Ethiopian Democratic Union (E.D.U.), an organization of aristocrats, is attacking Ethiopia's oppressed soldiers and peasants in Gondar and Tigray Administrative Regions. In these same regions, it is now some time since the organization of the right-wing petty-bourgeoisie, the so-called Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Party (EPRP) has formed a united front with these forces and has been fighting the revolution.

2. In the central region of the country, especially in Addis Ababa, agents of EDU, EPRP, ELF, EPLF, ELF-PLF, the CIA and all other counter-revolutionary forces have formed an alliance and are jointly operating in assassinating leaders of mass organizations and other patriotic indivi-

duals. Having formed a common front with these forces, the bureaucracy which was inherited from the feudo-bourgeois regime and is linked to imperialism in numerous ways, on the one hand, provides them with all the necessary material and moral support, and on the other, undermines the revolution by carrying out sabotages in political, economic and social fields. While in the north, south and south-east reactionary forces are encircling and attacking the revolution, in the center of the country, the bureaucracy is subtly preparing the ground for a coup d'etat and a counter-revolution.

3. In the south and south-east Ethiopia, namely in Hararghe, Bale, Sidamo and Arssi, the Somali govern-

ment has assembled thousands of infiltrators and its regular forces — forces that are currently waging a war against peasant associations and Ethiopian troops.

To create confusion among Ethiopia's oppressed nationalities and bring them under their domination and control, these Somali agents, depending on the particularity of the region, label themselves as "Western Somalia Liberation Front" or "Oromo Liberation Front" and try to divide Ethiopia's broad masses on nationality, linguistic and religious grounds. In addition, the bureaucracy inherited from the feudo-bourgeois regime, directly or indirectly, has become an accomplice in these activities aimed at disuniting the oppres-

sed masses. By its activities, it has proved its alliance with Somali infiltrators.

All these organizations which have concentrated their forces in three fronts, are the varied manifestations of the forces of feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism. In contrast, the broad masses of Ethiopia, the workers and the peasantry, progressive elements within the armed forces, the left wing of the petty-bourgeoisie and patriotic individuals, which together constitute over 90% of the population support the revolution. In order to protect the gains of the revolution and at the same time crush the counter revolutionary encirclement, the revolutionary masses have raised the slogan "Revolutionary Motherland or

Death". Since the revolutionary struggle is part of the anti-imperialist struggle of the oppressed peoples of the world, socialist countries and all the progressive forces of the world are on the side of our revolution.

As it is clearly stipulated in the programme of the National Democratic Revolution of Ethiopia, the three major forces that are going to administer a final blow to feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism are the working class party and under its leadership a broad democratic front and the peoples' army. That the Ethiopian Marxist-Leninist Organizations establish a common front signals that they, on the one hand, have recognized the necessity and have accepted the responsibility for bringing to reality the formation of the long awaited

working class party and the unity of progressives and, on the other hand, to hasten the process of forming a working class party and a popular revolutionary front.

It is right to say that Ethiopia, at the moment, is in a state of total class war. Ethiopia's peoples militia and standing army are determined to put to practice the slogan "Revolutionary Motherland or Death" and go to war against the enemies that have encircled us. The war that Ethiopia's broad masses, people's militia and revolutionary army are waging is a class war. There are reasons why this war is different from those which the peoples of Ethiopia have waged in the past. The past wars were meant to implement the expansionist policy of the feudal class and at best to stop foreign invasion. They brought no social change but only defen-

ded the existing order. The present war is meant to defend the gains attained by the broad masses and defend the unity of Ethiopia. The past wars were at best meant for the defence of "the Motherland" while the present one is for the defence of "the Revolutionary Motherland". On the international level, it has the support of all anti-imperialist forces. Therefore, the broad masses of Ethiopia and all progressive forces are determined to struggle until final victory under the slogan "everything to the war front". They have to realize that the current struggle in which the revolution and the country are involved is a decisive one.

Through the process of the armed struggle now undergoing, a working class party, a popular revolutionary front and a peoples' army will emerge. Elements of

the regular forces and the peoples' militia that have armed themselves with Marxism-Leninism and are tested through the struggle will serve as the nucleus of the peoples army. At this stage of the revolution when the whole people of Ethiopia are readying themselves for the decisive struggle, it is obvious that the broad masses must be prepared to make a supreme sacrifice in order to defend the revolution and the unity of the country. The Ethiopian peasantry must raise its production so that it not only will be able to feed those engaged in the war front, but also to take good care of the families of those engaged in the fighting. Workers must also intensify their struggles by several folds not only to increase their own productivity, but also to compensate for the work of their comrades who have

gone to the front and to ensure full material support for the war effort. Ethiopian revolutionaries have to be ready to wage an immense struggle to agitate and organize Ethiopia's broad masses from corner to corner and to mobilize them into a unified whole.

In this life and death struggle, the broad masses of Ethiopia must above all be self-reliant and be prepared to work and die for the defence of the revolution and the integrity of the country. If all the steps undertaken in the economic, political, diplomatic and military spheres are based on the principle of self-reliance, it is certain that Ethiopia will be able to protect its revolution, territorial integrity and independence.

Recognizing the stage at which the revolution is, understanding the problems

of the revolution and the decisiveness of the current struggle, the common Front of Ethiopian Marxist-Leninist Organizations along with Ethiopia's broad masses, are determined to crush all the counter-revolutionary activities of the internal and external class enemies. In order to withstand our enemies on all the three fronts and achieve victory over them, it is necessary that the ranks of progressives must be consolidated. We have to be able to ensure that there is total unity among the working class, the peasantry, the progressive men-in-uniform and the peoples' militia and to arouse Ethiopia's broad masses all over. We have to strengthen the unity of all the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and anti-bureaucratic capitalist forces in the country. When we present the following outlined action programme

and indicate the immediate tasks that should be accomplished coordinatedly in the political, economic, social and military fields, we call upon all progressive forces and the broad masses to struggle diligently in all spheres of activity.

—This action programme is based on the March, 1977 Joint Communique and declaration of Common principles of the five Marxist-Leninist Organizations. The Common Front of the Ethiopian Marxist-Leninist Organizations calls upon the members and supporters of the five Marxist-Leninist Organizations to implement this Common actions program.

A. *Political*

Our task in this sphere must be based on a scientific analysis of the interna-

tional and domestic situation. The main objective is to maximize the ranks of our friends and minimize the ranks of our enemies both locally and internationally; to raise the political consciousness and revolutionary participation of the masses; to strengthen the Common Front and to hasten the process through which the working class party which must assume the leadership of the struggle emerges.

1. To jointly struggle in raising the political consciousness, organizing and arming the broad masses and to enable them counter their enemies and withstand external aggression;
2. To strengthen the Common Front of Ethiopian Marxist-Leninist Organizations and to hasten the process of their merger;

3. To struggle so that the Provisional Military Government, in accordance with the Programme of the National Democratic Revolution of Ethiopia sustains a favourable situation for the struggle and for the transition, provides material and moral support for the Common Front and for other progressive organizations and for all anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and anti-bureaucratic capitalist forces.
4. To jointly work in increasing the quantity and improve the quality of cadres who work among the broad masses in all parts of the country; encourage them to learn from them, and to be engaged in production. To issue a common guideline for the cadres of the Common Front.

5. To strengthen the newly established mass organizations, such as, of workers union, peasant associations and urban dweller-associations so that their exercise of Soviet power is increased and have more participation in governmental affairs; increase their control over the bureaucracy and enable them to get armed for the defence of the revolution;
6. To struggle for the establishment and strengthening of other mass organizations like the youth league, women's association, patriotic associations etc . . . ;
7. To support movements of nationalities that accept the Programme of National Democratic Revolution of

- Ethiopia; to work for the exercise of the rights of nationalities to self-administration in stages beginning from now; to struggle for the training of cadres from oppressed nationalities and enable them to work among their own nationalities; and to struggle for the establishment of an institute of nationalities; to struggle for the right of nationalities to be educated in their respective languages;
8. Based on the concrete reality of Ethiopia, to spread Marxism-Leninism as a guide of the revolution and to make it a weapon of the struggle;

9. To jointly devise slogans that are appropriate to changing situations.

A. *Foreign Policy*

After having prepared a detailed foreign policy directive based on the Programme of the National Democratic Revolution of Ethiopia:-

- a) Following the principle of proletarian internationalism, establish and strengthen relations for mutual support with the socialist countries and with working class movements all over the world; establish close relations with the democratic forces in the western countries;
- b) In order to strengthen the anti-imperialist front, to struggle to

establish strong relations with the third world countries, especially with African countries and liberation movements;

- c) To struggle to establish strong relations with Arab progressive forces and to be able to expose and isolate reactionary Arab governments in the area;
- d) In order to be able to give international publicity to the revolution and increase our supporters, strengthen the Ethiopian Revolution Information Centre already established and also establish other centres abroad;
- e) To struggle for the recruitment of Progressive diplomats, for

the establishment of diplomatic relations with revolutionary countries, and for the exchange of good will missions;

- f) To struggle so that Ethiopian students and other progressive groups abroad are given sufficient moral and material support so that they can increase their support for the revolution and withstand the counter-revolutionaries stationed abroad.

C. *Military Affairs*

1. In order to raise the political consciousness of the peoples' militia which is currently being established from the ranks of poor peasants, workers and from the standing army,

cadres, who accept the guidelines of the Common Front must be lined up starting from the recruitment stage up to the battle-field with the militia.

2. Since the defense against the external aggression and the internal class struggle has a protracted nature it is necessary to make every effort to give the war the character of a "war of liberation".
3. To try to undertake extensive work of political agitation within the standing army and enable the emergence of the peoples army from the advanced section of the standing army and the militia.
4. To expose the reactionary military bureaucracy and to see to it that

revolutionary officers, soldiers and members of the people's militia assume the leadership.

5. To agitate so that all the forces (like the youth, women and the aged) that can be rallied for the defence of the revolution are given military training in their localities and cultivate the culture of vigilance to defend themselves from enemy danger at all time.
6. To try to see to it that the recruitment of more people into the peoples' militia in all regions continues and agitate and organize them so that they always remain prepared to undertake both defence and production duties.

D. *Economic Affairs*

The aim of a revolution is to dismantle and destroy the unnecessary features of the old order. But the more difficult task entails that of construction. The two processes have inseparable dialectical relationship. Hence we destroy and construct at one and the same time.

When a struggle is going on, it is possible that counter-revolutionaries may bring a serious economic crisis on us. This situation exists now. The Russian, Chinese, Vietnamese, etc. revolutions experienced similar crisis before they became victorious. Therefore, following the principles of self-reliance and self-sustenance, workers, peasants, the peoples' militia, the armed forces, the petty-

bourgeoisie and patriotic individuals must:-

- a) be agitated to struggle to rely on their own creative potentials in all the problems they encounter;
- b) participate in efforts to solve the problems of unemployment and under-employment and encourage cottage industries as a means of creating new employment opportunities;
- c) be agitated to devise means to increase production in their localities under the banner of "collective responsibility".
- d) following the slogan, "everything to the war front", try to

give priority to the production and increase of material needed for the war effort;

- e) agitate so that the families of members of the peoples' militia (workers, peasants) are given full care and protection and their share of production is compensated for by the community;
- f) struggle to be able to support and consolidate state farms, peoples' shops, cooperative shops, cooperative farms and other collective enterprises;
- g) agitate so that workers can participate fully in the supervision and administration of enterprises, increase their productive capacity and continue to contribute over-

time work and the youth to engage in productive work;

- h) agitate so that the broad masses learn how to economize resources and decrease their wastage;
- i) struggle to enable the newly established mass organizations to participate in the control of production, price and other aspects of the economy;
- j) struggle so that all those forces who carry economic sabotages are mercilessly dealt with.

Recognizing that the whole economy is in the process of changing into a war economy, the broad masses must be made aware and prepared for shortages and

other problems that may arise and be urged to increase production. All in all, a struggle has to be made so that in line with the programme of the National Democratic Revolution, all the measures suggested in economic, political and Social spheres be put into practice.

