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Petty Bourgeois Radicalism And  
Left Infantilism In Ethiopia:  
The Case Of EPRP

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PETTY BOURGEOIS RADICALISM AND LEFT INFANTALISM IN ETHIOPIA: A GENESIS  
FROM STUDENT POLITICS TO PARTY POLITICS: THE CASE OF EPRP

By

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INTRODUCTION

Ever since protest and opposition politics by the Ethiopian Student Movement assumed a 'left' turn around the mid-sixties, the political tendency of petty-bourgeois radicalism and infantalism simultaneously emerged in various forms, and as a result, the Ethiopian left<sup>1</sup> has, from time to time, been faced with the political, ideological and organizational obstacles set by that dangerous tendency. Although some advanced elements within the Ethiopian left had waged an uncompromising struggle against this tendency on a rather desperate basis as early as its inception in the mid-sixties, most progressives either failed to realize the harmfulness of this tendency, or even when they did so, were not in a position to wage a stubborn struggle against it in due time. As a result, far from being crushed or weakened, this tendency continued to crystalize and has, of late, in fact, emerged in the realm of party politics.

<sup>1</sup> Although the term "left" is imprecise and deficient, designating, as it does, a political category comprising of individuals and groups of varied ideological and political colourations, the term is used here, in the absence of a better designation, to those individuals and groups that are, prima facie, marxists "in-the-making."

At the level of student politics, wherein it emerged and evolved, of course, petty-bourgeois radicalism and infantilism has cost the Ethiopian left in general, and the student movement in particular, a high price in terms of the premature loss of potential revolutionaries, the splitting-up of strong and militant anti-feudal and anti-imperialist student organizations, the alienation and disbanding of experienced activists and militants from progressive mass organizations, in short, a formidable loss of revolutionary potential that could have brought immeasurable ideological clarity, political maturity and organizational strength to the Ethiopian left. Among the most obvious costs borne by the Ethiopian left which are partly attributable to the omissions and commissions provoked by petty-bourgeois radicalism and infantilism are: -

- (I) the premature death of the late Tilahun Gizaw in 1969 and the student militants bayoneted to death in December massacre;
- (II) the politically-prompted suicide of the late Mesfin Habtu;
- (III) the premature death of six militants in the abortive hijacking incident of February 1972;
- (IV) the 1971 split in ESUNA;
- (V) the virtual impotence of the World Wide Union of Ethiopia Students;
- (VI) the split in E.S.U.E.;
- (VII) the fragmentation of the ESUNA/Federation faction into nationality-based, mini-organizations of Eritereans, Oromos, Tigreans, etc.

Recognizing these and other formidable costs, the Ethiopian left has to fully extricate itself from this dangerous tendency. Until recently, the sacrifices made as a result of this tendency have either been solely regarded as the makings of the Ethiopian feudo-bourgeois autocracy or are explained away by reference to accidental or trivial occurrences. Worse still, nearly all those self-evident, albeit avoidable, set-backs, far from being recognized for what they had been, were lightly taken as the necessary concomitants with the all too obvious positive achievements of the Ethiopian left.

The Ethiopian left has so far been at ease with those formidable costs partly because it was itself engulfed in, and sometimes intoxicated by, some of the spectacular and short-term exploits of petty-bourgeois radicalism and infantalism. Illusive as those short-lived successes and 'spectacular' gains were, the Ethiopian left was deluded into thinking that those exploits were the mark of correct political and ideological lines. Amidst the ups-and-downs in the achievements of the Ethiopian left within the last ten years there have, of course, been incidents which brought those illusions to a shattering test. Such was, for instance, the incident of 1969 which came at the peak of the 1966-69 student activism in the home detachment of the Ethiopian Student Movement, and the abortive hijacking attempt of 1972 preceeded and partly inspired by the two successful hijackings of 1969 and 1970.

The fact that the Student Movement spearheaded by the Ethiopian left was not totally crushed beyond recovery and that, on the contrary, it was quickly revitalized and consolidated inspite of the set-backs has again lulled

Ethiopian progressives into glossing over the dangerous trappings of petty-bourgeois radicalism and infantilism still besetting the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle. Now that petty-bourgeois radicalism and infantilism as a political tendency has transcended the bounds of student politics and has, of late, emerged at the level of party politics, the dimension of its dangerousness has increased immeasurably.

While a broader and exhaustive treatment of infantilism within the Ethiopian left in a historical-typological setting, identifying its general features and characteristics, the ideological parallel it finds in several "left" deviations within the international communist movement and an all-round exposure of its dangerousness in light of the pronouncements and teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin must still await another work, this essay is intended to examine infantilism only in so far as it finds full expression in the counter-revolutionary politics of the so-called Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Party (EPRP).

In the following discussion we shall try to locate the formation of EPRP within the birth pangs of infantilism in the Ethiopian student movement and examine the specific features of infantilism as it permeates through the formative process of EPRP, its political programme, its current political line and mode of struggle over the last two years of its official appearance in the Ethiopian political scene. In doing so, we shall try to underline the immense damage done by infantilism as epitomized by EPRP on the progress of the on-going Ethiopian revolution.

In so far as this essay examines the infantile politics of EPRP by going back into the origin of this party in the Ethiopian student movement it pays, in a way, a well-deserved tribute, inter vivos, to the author of "The New Infantilism: Problems and Prospects of the Ethiopian Student Movement," comrade Hagos Gebre Yessus<sup>2</sup>, by extending that sharp polemical work along the contours of the urgent political question of the day, i.e. the counter-revolutionary role of EPRP in the anti-feudal, anti-bureaucratic capitalist and anti-imperialist struggle of the oppressed people of Ethiopia.

<sup>2</sup> Hagos Gebre Yessus, "The New Infantilism: Problems and Prospects of the Ethiopian Student Movement," (unpublished monograph, Halifax, 1972).

PART I

THE GENESIS OF EPRP: ITS CONCEPTION IN THE BIRTH  
PANGS OF INFANTALISM WITHIN THE ETHIOPIAN STUDENT MOVEMENT

Writing this essay at a time when the EPRP has, by its concrete political action and not by its pretensions, exposed its true colours before all class conscious Ethiopian patriots and progressive democratic forces, it would appear that one need not go back into the origin of this party to substantiate what has already become self-evident. While it is true that the proof for the total bankruptcy of EPRP need not come from anyone else other than EPRP itself, it is still useful to probe into the origin of this party to have an all-round understanding of its dangerousness so as to settle accounts with this reactionary party and its incorrigible followers.

Before we go into the origin of this party, however, we wish to relate the juvenile jamboree associated with the event of EPRP's formation in certain reactionary quarters back in 1975. In a Combat issue of November 1975, entitled: "Festival of the Oppressed Heralding the Birth of a Marxist-Leninist Party in Ethiopia" dedicated for the occasion "honoring" the formation of EPRP where an "extra-ordinary" congress was held by ESUNA/Federation on November 1975 and in which Irwin Silber of the Guardian (New York) and Paul Sweezy of Monthly Review were among the "distinguished" speakers, the offsprings of the Ethiopian parasitic classes had the following fantastic and yet hollow statement to make: -

"The triumph of Marxism-Leninism is the triumph of the oppressed masses. Wherever such an occasion occurs there exists or will exist quite justifiably a great festivity among the oppressed, if only because the triumph of Marxism-Leninism is the beginning of the realization of their objective. That is why the oppressed Ethiopian masses on August 30, 1975 fervently rejoiced and welcomed the birth of the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Party (E.P.R.P.). The birth of this Marxist-Leninist party is the beginning of the realization of the objective of the new democratic revolution in Ethiopia. Such was the cause for the great amount of joy, happiness, jubilation, enthusiasm that was the atmosphere that prevailed at the extra-ordinary congress of ESUNA which was held on November 14, 1975...to celebrate the festival of the oppressed heralding the birth of a Marxist-Leninist party in Ethiopia - the E.P.R.P."3

Looking back from a hindsight and in retrospect, the political meaning of the above statement and the significance attached to the emergence of EPRP by the offsprings of the Ethiopian parasitic classes should never be missed. To begin with, the style and content of the statement is permeated by that typical sickness of infantilism which is marked by a presumptuous language with a boastful, over-inflated and super-revolutionary facade and a hollow and reactionary essence. Amidst a hullaballo of sentimental over-excitement, the authors of the statement as usual find themselves agitated by their own fantastic pronouncements. Their "joy, happiness, jubilation (and) enthusiasm" over the formation of EPRP was taken for the "joy, happiness, jubilation (and) enthusiasm" of the oppressed Ethiopian

people. Now that the EPRP has in fact proved to be the Ethiopian Princes Restoration Party, it is understandable why those juvenile offsprings of parasitic classes feathered their nests around it. What the "revolutionary" language used in the above statement betrayed, the class instinct of those spent offsprings of the parasitic classes unmistakably foresaw a year ago.

The juvenile jamboree of the infants aside, the official emergence of EPRP into the political scene on August 30, 1975 was the beginning of a curse to the Ethiopian revolution. To appreciate the magnitude of the potential danger implicit in the emergence of the EPRP at the incipient stage of the Ethiopian revolution, it is essential to understand the genesis of this party in the birth pangs of infantilism as it reared its head within the Ethiopian Student Movement.

The great leader of the proletariat, Vladimir Illich Lenin teaches that in order to understand the political orientation of parties it is useful to go back and examine their past, to probe into their origin. According to Lenin, "To regard the actions of political parties as whims means renouncing all study of politics."<sup>4</sup> An explanation for their action must be sought, among other things, in the "history of the development of those parties."<sup>5</sup>

4 V.I. Lenin, "From a Publicists Diary," Col. W., Vol. 25, p. 294, (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964).

5 Ibid.

The property of that method was again affirmed by Mao Tse Tung in 1945 with regard to the Koumintang when he taught that, in order to understand the behavior and political essence of parties, it is necessary to investigate their past.

"Look at its past, and you can tell its present; look at its past and present, and you can tell its future."<sup>6</sup>

That approach must, therefore, be adopted to understand the present counter-revolutionary role of the EPRP in the Ethiopian revolution.

In the historical genesis of this party, it is necessary to underline the fact that the individuals and groups that later formed the EPRP spearheaded that wing, within the Ethiopian Student Movement, which despite its internal lack of unity as a trend, can be placed within the distinct typology of infantilism, a tendency alien to communism and forming part of petty-bourgeois ideology. The political tendency of infantilism emerged in the Ethiopian Student Movement, particularly in the home detachment, as far back as 1966, i.e. about the same time as the Ethiopian Student Movement began to assume a clear anti-feudal and anti-imperialist political stand.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Mao Tse Tung, "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan." Sel. W., Vol. 4, p. 11.

<sup>7</sup> In dating the emergence of infantilism we completely disagree with some comrades who detect infantilism only since 1969. If anything, 1969 marks not the beginning but the precipitation of a crisis provoked by the first phase of infantilism. For a different interpretation see ESUNA/Union publication, "Towards An Analysis of the Ethiopian Student Movement and the Split in the Ethiopian Student Union in North America - ESUNA," (Jan. 1974, Oakland).

Infantalism as a distinct political tendency raised its head in the home detachment of the Ethiopian Student Movement for the first time during the sixth Congress of the National Union of Ethiopian University Students (NUEUS) in 1966. During that Congress and immediately following it there emerged two distinct lines on such issues as the role of youth (particularly students) in the New Democratic Revolution, the necessity of the proletariat party to lead the New Democratic Revolution, on the relationship between the political and military aspects of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle, and on the inter-connection between the class struggle and the national struggle in the Ethiopian revolution. Beginning from the time of that Congress, the most notorious of the infantiles openly advocated that students could play a vanguard role in the New Democratic Revolution, hence, totally denying the urgency for the formation of a proletariat party. That line which essentially stemmed from an illusory petty-bourgeois consciousness least tempered by a thorough grasp of Marxism-Leninism was further reinforced by, and received "theoretical" backing from, the writings of new-left theoreticians whose works found their way into the hands of the infantiles. The emergence and consolidation of infantilism in the soil of the home detachment of the Ethiopian Student Movement between 1966 and 1969 found a convenient climate to thrive amidst the proliferation of new-leftism in the international capitalist market of radical bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies in the sixties. The continental existentialist thoughts of Albert Camus and Jean Paul Sartre, and the Frankfurt School of New Leftism as embodied in the writings of Herbert Marcuse found easy access into the undeveloped and stunted

intellectual formation of a "rebel" youth whose curiosity for "radical" political ideas in a suffocating and culturally backward society was extremely high. The inter-marriage between the primitive consciousness associated with instinctual rebellion of a section of the Ethiopian petty-bourgeois youth and the "refined" new left theories that denied the vanguard role of the proletariat and its party in the social revolution, furnished Ethiopian infantilism with the hybrid theory that the Ethiopian Student Movement could spearhead the New Democratic Revolution, thus substituting the vanguard role of the proletariat party.

From being a political theme common to the cliquish circles of the infantiles of those days, that notorious theory unfortunately found its way, just before the student massacre of December 1969 by the fascist government of Haile Selassie, in the editorial column of STRUGGLE (the renowned progressive organ of the University Students Union of Addis Abeba, U.S.U.A.A.). The infantiles of those days, for instance, made the following estimation of the Student Movement:

"The revolutionary Ethiopian Student Movement has now reached such a high level of militancy and consciousness, that it has proved to itself and to the oppressed classes that it is capable of mobilizing the actual and potential revolutionary forces in Ethiopia. Its short but historically significant record is a witness to this. The bitterness of last year's struggle and particularly the hijacking incident have demonstrated the partisan and uncompromising nature of our Movement.

This revolutionary record of our Movement should be regarded as a prelude to the beginning of armed struggle and thus requires the maturity and purification of the students."<sup>8</sup>

Thus, the infantiles propounded, in direct opposition to the political line of genuine progressives both within the leadership of U.S.U.A.A. and N.U.E.U.S. and the genuine activists in the home movement, a theory that is akin to economism in its denial of the necessity of the proletariat party to politicize the masses and lead the social revolution. What economism à la Bernestien assigned to the Trade Union Movement, the Ethiopian infantiles bestowed upon the Ethiopian Student Movement.

The political tendency of infantilism was not, of course, limited to the theory that students as constituted in mass organizations and struggling within the framework of the Ethiopian Student Movement could substitute the leadership role of the proletariat party. It is important to note that the variant of the infantiles' denial of the vanguard role of the proletariat party manifested itself in the exaggerated claim that the Ethiopian Student Movement could play the role of the proletariat party in terms of raising the political consciousness of the oppressed classes. Hand in hand with that theory which in essence denied the necessity of prior political work within the masses as a prerequisite to social revolution, the infantiles began to propagate the proposition that an "excellent condition" (an expression dear to the hearts of all phrase-mongers) existed then (i.e. 1966-1969) for a small gang of courageous 'revolutionaries' to launch a guerilla foco in the countryside. In November 1969, that infantile position was expressed in the following terms:

"The bitterness of last year's struggle and particularly the dramatic hijacking incident have demonstrated the partisan and uncompromising nature of our Movement. This revolutionary record of our Movement should be regarded as the prelude to the beginning of armed struggle and thus requires the maturity and purification of the students."  
(emphasis ours)<sup>9</sup>

Thus, to the infantiles the "dramatic" hijacking constituted both the beginning of "fanoism" in the "cockpit" and a prelude to focoism on the ground. Here again, the infantiles assimilated "stock and barrel" the notorious theory of focoism as it found expression in the writings of Regis Debray, a theory which constituted a variant of new-leftism under the influence of which damaging consequences, including the death of Earnesto Che Guevara, had resulted especially in Latin American countries.<sup>10</sup>

In their sentimental and romantic proclivities, the Ethiopian infantiles drew the wrong lessons from the focoist adventures of Guevara in Bolivia. The obsession of the rebellious youth in the west with the Guevara "cult"

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> That the infantiles are still not free from new-left influence even to this day can be shown by a host of examples; their connection with American new-leftism in particular is reflected by no less significant an event as the extension of invitation to Paul Sweezy of Monthly Review and Irwin Silber of the Guardian (New York) to speak on key political issues on the occasion 'honoring' EPRP's formation back in November 1975; another clear case was the so-called "self-criticism session" in the Washington Chapter of ESUNA/Federation back in 1974 when in inter-clique struggles of the leadership such notorious focoists as Yitbarek Hizkias (a juvenile delinquent who was recently executed in Ethiopia for engaging in the terrorist killing of the late comrade Fikre Merid) were "derided" for their "outspoken" focoist proclivities.

at about the same period afforded the Ethiopian infantiles a "show of wisdom" to imbibe and imitate. The years 1968 and 1969, therefore, became the heydays of such "revolutionary" songs as:

"Fano Tesemara, Fano Tesemara;  
Bedur Begedelu Tiglun Litemarra;  
Ende Ho Chi Minh, Ende Che Guevara."<sup>11</sup>

In propagating focoism, the infantiles not only denied the necessity of, and the urgency for, the creation of the proletariat party but also totally neglected the crucial task of mass political work and mobilization as a prior condition for the prosecution of the armed struggle. In their characteristic petty-bourgeois subjectivism, voluntarism, and impatience, the infantiles assigned precedence to the strictly military as opposed to the political aspect of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle.

Infantalism as a political tendency again surfaced in connection with the problem of defining the relationship between the question of national oppression and the overall anti-feudal and anti-imperialist class struggle. Here again, the infantiles not only counter-posed the class struggle to national struggle, but also concocted the theory that the class question could be subordinated to the national question. From that erroneous standpoint, they advocated that unconditional support be given to all national movements in the Empire State of Ethiopia. While recognizing

<sup>11</sup> The authors and popularizers of this focoist hymn are to be found today in the very heart of the EPRP leadership.

the right of nations (nationalities) to self-determination including and up to secession, genuine Marxist-Leninists extended support only to the democratic content of specific national movements within the empire state of Ethiopia. In other words, as opposed to the infants of those days, genuine Marxist-Leninists were fully aware of the dual character of national movements in Ethiopia. In so far as national movements within the empire state of Ethiopia were directed against the autocratic regime and fought against all forms of national oppression, they possessed a progressive and democratic content, and as such, they had to be supported. On the other hand, genuine progressives maintained that the leadership in those national movements should be criticized for disseminating reactionary and obscurantist ideas and for promoting narrow nationalism and national rivalry between the broad masses of the oppressor and oppressed nationalities. Claiming that the class question could be subordinated to the national question and true to their infatuation with the strictly military aspect of the national movements, the infants of those days, on the other hand, advocated blind and unconditional support to national movements. In short, in those national movements, the infants found the fulfillment of their focolist dreams.

Some of the narrow nationalists of the infants who now parade as "internationalists" within EPRP (after all who is more "internationalist" than a Trotskyite!) in fact went to the extent of advocating the notorious "coalition" theory according to which all non-Amhara nationalities within the empire of Ethiopia should form a coalition to fight Amharas as a nationality. The infants of the latter variety totally denied then

that there existed in Ethiopia an objective unity between the exploiting classes of all nationalities on the one hand, and the broad masses of both the oppressor and oppressed nationalities, on the other. The narrow nationalists of the last category, in fact, went to the extent of sabotaging the essentially anti-imperialist struggle waged by activists of the home movement in 1968 in opposition to the fashion show programme at the Mekonnen Hall of the then Haile Selassie University. Some of the infants who are now in the leadership circles of EPRP, in fact, conspired to foil the struggle on the ground that American cultural imperialism was directed against Amhara supermacist culture, and that as non-Amharas, they had no cause to fight against the imperialist cultural show. Some of those infants who now brag that they are the "home-grown" veterans of the Student Movement in the hey-days of student activism in the late sixties not only stayed away from the preparatory struggles in the fashion show incident, but actually tried to sabotage it by persuading others not to participate in the final show down. When that struggle finally bore immense political results, it was no other than the 'visible' "militants" and big-mouthed infants who later (i.e. in the early 70's) used those exploits to win following in North Africa, Europe and North America on the mendacious claim that they were behind those militant struggles.

The struggle between the genuine Marxist-Leninist and the infantile narrow nationalist lines on the national question assumed special importance in those days, especially since the difference revolved around the Eritrean question.

In those days, genuine Marxist-Leninists recognized the right of the Eriterean peoples to self-determination including and up to secession. In that light, they supported the democratic and progressive content of the Eriterean peoples' struggle against national oppression. What made the stand of genuine Ethiopian Marxist-Leninists distinct, then, from those of the infantile Ethiopian narrow-nationalists was that at the same time as they extended support to the democratic and progressive aspect of the Eriterean mass movement, genuine progressives criticized the exclusivist and narrow nationalist tendencies as well as the pan-islamic persuasion of the E.L.F. leadership. As far as genuine progressives were concerned, the E.L.F. leaderships' political inclinations towards pan-Arabism and pan-islamism tended to make Eriterea the second SERBIA of the twentieth century.

On the other hand, the infantiles not only confused the question of recognizing the right of self-determination with the entirely different issue of support for the actual expediency of the manner of exercising the right, but also perceived the Eriterean nationalities struggle solely in its military dimension. Impelled by a purely sentimental, liberal and humanitarian drive of identifying with the underdog and lacking in the class parameters for judging the Eriterean nationalities struggle, the Ethiopian infantiles of those days, objectively helped, by their uncritical attitude towards the dangerous political orientation of the leadership of the Eriterean fronts, in letting the otherwise democratic and progressive struggle of the Eriterean peoples fall under the spell of the narrow

nationalist proclivities of the Eriterean 'national' bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie. In regard to the Eriterean nationalities struggle, as well as with respect to other nationality movements within the empire of Ethiopia, the infantiles of that period adopted an uncritical and subjective attitude partly under the direct influence of such bed-fellows of petty-bourgeois radicalism as Frantz Fanon. It should be noted, nonetheless, that not all of the infantiles of those days extended uncritical support especially to the Eriterean nationalities struggle out of sheer political infantilism and under the sole influence of petty-bourgeois ideology.

Among those infantiles of the period in question there were some who adopted a deliberate policy of uncritical support both from dubious motives and on the basis of a narrow-nationalist identification with the Eriterean nationalities struggle. Those elements, of course, cloaked their narrow-nationalist sympathies and sentiments under the ill-understood and most-abused slogan of self-determination. Some of the deliberately equivocal and treacherous stand of EPRP today on the national question can hardly be understood without identifying and exposing the role of those latter elements within EPRP in the definition and articulation of the Eriterean issue.

The political tendency of infantilism again manifested itself in the home detachment of the Ethiopian Student Movement especially between 1967 and 1968 in three major forms. The first manifestation of the political sickness of infantilism surfaced in the course of the struggle waged within the university-based student movement in Addis Abeba to give the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle an appropriate organizational form. The

struggle in question revolved around the extension of an earlier struggle to create a city-wide union embracing all students in the various campuses and colleges within Addis Abeba. The effort to create a city-wide union took place mainly between 1965 and 1966 and it consisted of a struggle waged against those stooges (later day 'friends' of the EPRP!) of the university administration who blocked the realization of a city-wide union under the reactionary banner of localism and separate campus unions. Once the city-wide union came into existence defeating the "local unionists" in 1966, the years 1967 and 1968 involved a further struggle between progressives who laboured to consolidate and strengthen the city-wide union (U.S.U.A.A.) on the one hand, and those reactionary hirelings of the university administration who fought to restore the old scheme of local unions by liquidating the organizational bastion of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle of the Addis Abeba University students, U.S.U.A.A., on the other. It was in the course of that struggle against the reactionary Restorationists that infantilism surfaced within those activist elements who were waging an uncompromising struggle against the localists. Although the infants of those period were in principle against the Restorationists, and sided with genuine progressive elements on the necessity of struggle against those reactionary hirelings of the university administration and tools of such C.I.A. planted agents as James Paul (then Dean of the law school and vice president of the university), there was a distinct political difference between genuine progressive activists and the infants on how to struggle

against those reactionary elements. That question was decisive not only for winning over the mass of the students to the side of the consolidation of U.S.U.A.A. and the neutralization, isolation and defeat of the reactionary elements, but also for the propagation of a clear anti-feudal and anti-imperialist outlook within a large segment of the student population which, owing to its political backwardness was hostile to progressive ideas as a result of a reactionary conditioning according to which supporting U.S.U.A.A. was regarded as a trap into the then feared and hated "communism." The struggle to win the mass of the students was particularly crucial then because the support-base of the Restorationists were mainly, the female population, the imperialist-groomed youth comprising the returnees from the American Field Service, the fanatic followers of the dangerous and reactionary "pente koste" sect, etc. which needed special care. With very few exceptions, the female population was negatively disposed towards U.S.U.A.A. partly because of the influence of one American agent, Lynda, who was then, the matron of the girls hostel and who did everything she could to sabotage the activities of U.S.U.A.A. by making use of some of the most vocal ones within the female population. The effort of Lynda to sabotage the freshman 'party' in 1967 (an event significant not as a "social" get-together but as a political one, both for fund-raising purposes and the political orientation of the in-coming youth) by taking the most influential girls to a "picnic" to Langano so that they would not participate in the event, and the fashion show event of 1968 which she organized with those same reactionary girls right in the centre of a university which was conducting an anti-imperialist

struggle, were among the many instances where the female population was under the clutch of reactionaries, in the face of which the winning of the masses of the female population to the side of U.S.U.A.A. was a crucial aspect of the anti-Restorationist struggle. Again, the returnees from the American Field Service constituted a potential ally for the Restorationists, if for nothing else, at least because of the superficial "hatred" they had for "communism" and their bizarre association of U.S.U.A.A. with that bogey. A culturally "white-washed" youth groomed in a subtle "anti-communist" one-year "upbringing" was, despite the lack of strong tenacity in ideological endurance that was likely to wane as the appurtenances of cosmetic flamboyance wear out, nevertheless, required delicate political handling. To broad-minded progressives and activists, those teenagers were easy to rehabilitate since their "anti-communism" was superficial and that in the same speed as they picked up fads and fashion-syndroms, they were likely to drop their juvenile fancies and easily reacclimatize.

The same situation presented itself as regards those religious fanatics who were victims of C.I.A. sponsored institutions which spread poisonous obscurantist ideas under the cloak of spreading religion. The proleferation of those institutions in the mid-sixties especially around campuses and school zones to trap the youth was deliberately foisted to diffuse the anti-imperialist militant fervour of the Ethiopian youth. While the external perpetrators of those counter-revolutionary activities, especially U.S. cultural imperialism and the complicity of the feudo-bourgeois government of Haile Selassie had to be fought against in every way possible, the

rehabilitation of the victims who were several then required special care.

Thus, the struggle against the Restorationists had to be both educative and organizational. Genuine progressives and activists on the one hand and infantiles on the other approached the problem entirely differently. As far as genuine progressives were concerned the problem had to be approached scientifically, i.e., by studying the problem from all aspects objectively and by seeking the cure to that malady. On the other hand, the infantiles ascribed the problems to the personal weaknesses of the elements involved, and generally gave a subjective explanation to the problem. The difference in understanding the causes of the problem ultimately led to differences in the approach to resolve it.

In the struggle against the Restorationists genuine progressives stood mainly for political and ideological modes of struggle while the infantiles opted for the emotional mode of struggle which ranged from character assassination to physical assault on the reactionary elements involved. What mattered most was not whether a reactionary was beaten up or intimidated but whether under the given conditions, that approach in fact helped in winning over the masses of the students to the cause at issue. As was to be expected, the infantile approach to the problem ultimately degenerated into vandalism, and hooliganism in the face of which the mass of the students tended to focus away from the cause. The infantiles of those days, in their subjective belief in the "propaganda of the dead" (the motto of the terrorist-in-embryo), resorted to the beating of reactionaries amidst the student

population in open gatherings and public assemblies. The effects of those acts of juvenile vandalism and hooliganism on the audience was such that, more often than not, most students tended to see the act as one in which the weak cause of a minority was imposed by sheer force. Anyone who has been in the University in those years and who closely followed the events would certainly recall how some of the notorious hooligans who now form the terrorist squad of the EPRP behaved in public gatherings only to besmirch a cause which did not need the dirty sanction of those gangsters to prevail over the reactionary platform of the Restorationists. Despite their anti-Restorationist stance, therefore, the infants of those days objectively helped the Restorationists by offering them the visible, albeit avoidable, cause to solicit sympathy and support from a large segment of the student population which was already negatively disposed to the progressive tasks of the moment. It is, therefore, no accident that today's EPRP draws its support from those who in the heydays of localism and restorationism, the flamboyance of imperialist cultural hegemonism, and religious obscurantism played the most reactionary and despicable role in the history of the Ethiopian Student Movement. The unity between the two categories of reactionaries today, cannot be comprehended without a clear understanding of the historically rooted hatred of both groups for the true champions of the Ethiopian Student Movement. Among the recent conspicuous reapproachment between these two reactionary groups in the Ethiopian Student Movement, the stand taken by a certain reactionary leader of the localists of 1965 in the North-American ESUNA split in 1971 on the side of the infants of later-day is a clear case in point.

The sympathies of ex-localists, ex-restorationists, ex-field service returnees, ex-religious fanatics, and ex-imperialist fashion promoters around today's EPRP cannot be thoroughly grasped without a proper understanding of the commonality of the reactionary essence of both wings and their common hatred for those who know the true past of these crass elements, a hatred which stems from a guilt-ridden suspicion those elements have towards those who bore the real costs associated with the building of a heroic student movement.

In tracing the history of EPRP, it is, therefore, important to note that its present anarcho-terrorist style of struggle and its subjectivism on the level of politics and ideology is nothing new. Neither is its reactionary essence and the damaging consequences of the acts of those who now make-up the core of EPRP on the anti-feudal and anti-imperialistic struggle, something accidental. To corroborate what the EPRP is today, therefore, it is important to place it in the perspective of the past activities of those elements who now make it up.

Political infantilism and petty-bourgeois radicalism of the anarchist variety again manifested itself especially in 1968 and in early 1969 in the home movement in connection with the question of how to struggle against the feudo-bourgeois government of Haile Selassie within the framework of the student movement. Both in 1968 and in early 1969, the activists within the home movement were divided on how to prosecute the struggle. Genuine progressives both within the official leadership of the student unions and the non-officio activists maintained that the best

way to fight the fascist government of Haile Selassie was to wage a planned and organized onslaught (both political and physical) against the regime by the conscious co-ordination of demonstrations, rallies, street fights, etc. between various detachments of the student movement especially elementary, high school and University students. Without conscious planning, synchronization and co-ordination, genuine progressives felt, the government could easily contain student militancy and easily crush student opposition. On the other hand, the infants of anarchist persuasion completely opposed pre-planning and extolled the "miracle-making" power of "spontaneity." In each of the major confrontations between students and the fascist government of Haile Selassie between 1967 and 1969 (the anti-public demonstration law protest, the demonstration connected with the fashion show incident, the protest against the education policy of the government), there was an internal political struggle between those who stood for thorough preparatory planning and those who stood for spontaneity. The difference between the "strategists" (the cynical reference used by the anarchists to "redicule" those who advocated planning) and the advocates of spontaneity was not simply one that merely reflected ideological and political differences. It also had practical implications on whether the student struggle was to succeed or fail. The practical problems posed were, for instance, whether prior political preparation and planned agitation had to be conducted within the mass of students before calling a strike or a demonstration; whether sufficient funds had to be secured before letting students in the streets, especially University students who had nowhere to go and nothing to eat when the fascist

University administration closed cafeterias and dormitories immediately following a demonstration; whether various clandestine committees had to be established before crisis precipitated; whether a clandestine leadership had to be prepared as soon as the confrontation begins and the official leadership was disbanded, etc. In other words, the differences affected logistics of battle, questions of overall leadership.

The worshippers of spontaneity saw prior planning, co-ordination and leadership issues as "bureaucratic" meddling (a favorite anarchist epithet) to mollify the "mighty" "torrent" of spontaneous struggle. Not only did they show scorn to such conscious preparations and scolded the "strategists," but they also directly sabotaged such preparations by provoking premature confrontation. One such incident occurred in 1968 where a group of anarchist elements who are now in the EPRP leadership circulated a name list soliciting support for a vote of no-confidence against the then leadership of U.S.U.A.A. which was making clandestine preparations for a confrontation with the government. The anarchists maintained that University students should immediately join spontaneous strikes and demonstrations of high school and elementary students and that when they were repeatedly told that a preparation was underway (not every detail could be divulged since that must be kept secret) to conduct a joint struggle, they insisted that no such preparations were necessary and that failure to launch immediate demonstration was bureaucratic treachery imputable to the "strategists." In the course of the wrangle, of course, the most militant within the official leadership of U.S.U.A.A. and

other activist elements were in the process of contacting high school student union leaders, making financial preparations, etc. with a view to launch the 1968 confrontation which was one of the most successful struggles ever made in the history of the Ethiopian Student Movement. Despite the anarchists' petitions and objections, there was, of course, no successful vote of no-confidence against the leadership; and in spite of the continuous sabotage of the anarchist elements who now make the absurd and mendacious claim that they have been associated with the struggle in 1968, the demonstration was a great success and the propaganda results against the regime were immense.

The other feature of infantile subjectivism characterizing the politics of those of later-day EPRP members and leaders between 1966 and 1969 is the reactionary and vicious mode of struggle they employed against their political opponents from among the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist activist elements of those days. Those who politically opposed their anarchist, trotskite, and new-left leanings were slandered behind their back. Reared in the most reactionary feudal traditions of intrigue, and well-disposed towards the habit of gossiping, scandal-mongering and petty-personalized politics, and lacking in the intellectual propensities of discussing great ideas and political events, enmeshed in the pettyness of the local, parochial and mediocre affairs of petty-bourgeois politics, those infants engaged in vicious campaigns of character assassination branding their opponents as spies, agents etc., in the hope of intimidating them into submission and conformity. The visible "militants" of Arat Killo found in the airy terrace of the Jokey (Jolley) bar, a conspicuous spot at an intersection from the vantage point of which they were able to backbite passer-bys and spread

deadly rumors about their opponents. The bankrupt style and mode of struggle employed by today's EPRP against its opponents nowadays cannot be separated from the vicious habit of character assassination, slander and vilification waged by those infants in the student movement against those who were in the forefront in the fight against feudalism and imperialism. One such incident of character assassination which originated from the infants of those period associated with today's key EPRP leaders was the case, where a deadly rumor was circulated against a comrade in retaliation against his just and open criticism in the November 1969 issue of Struggle against a bunch of infants headed by the late Mesfin Habtu who, in a state of despicable drunkenness, disrupted a rally organized by N.U.E.U.S. against the racist regime of Zimbabwe. We bother to mention that incident among the many cases of slanders mainly because, the author of that despicable conduct who later engaged in the infantile disruption of ESUNA in 1971, and who committed suicide mysteriously in 1972 is to this day extolled by the followers and sympathizers of EPRP as a "martyr" in dedication for whom they issued the notorious plagiarized "Manual on Organization." Anyone who knows those scums would not, therefore, be surprised to see the infants of EPRP now engaging in the same practice of reactionary rumor-mongering and character assassination.

Such, then, were the manifestations of infantilism in its formative stages in the home movement between 1966 and 1969. It was in that formative stage of infantilism that the cliquish circles of what was later to be EPRP emerged.

In the historical genesis of EPRP, the year 1969 represents a significant watermark. That year represented the crucial moment of transition from infantilism within student politics to infantilism on the level of party politics. The confrontation between students and the regime both in the early part of 1969 and the student massacre in December of the same year furnished the occasion for the home-grown infants to embark on the famous "exodus" to make preparations for a guerrilla foco.

The confrontation between the home detachment of the Ethiopian student movement and the fascist regime of Haile Selassie at the beginning of 1969 over the question of education policy reached such an unprecedented level that the infants of those days believed that the student movement should leave room for grooming 'militants' to immediately prepare for launching a guerrilla foco. Despite the fact that the regime sentenced a considerable number of activists to long years of prison terms, expelled and suspended several students from the university, and outlawed student organizations and organs, the immense success scored by that year's struggle against the regime created, in the mind of those infants unwarranted illusions about the strength and potential of the student movement, so much so that it further reinforced their limitless voluntarism to embark on the focoist experiment.

Having "discovered" that the level of confrontation between the autocratic government of Haile Selassie and the student movement at home had reached its "highest" stage and claiming that the form of struggle should change into armed struggle, some of the talkative and visible "militants" of the home-grown

infantiles, hijacked a plane to Algeria with the aim of making technical preparations for immediate armed struggle. Thus, the first phase of the "exodus" was inaugurated by those bunch of infantiles in the summer of 1969.

The first "exodus" of what were later to be the nucleus around which EPRP was created, was immediately followed by a larger "exodus" of people of a "different" extraction who now form the mass-base of support for EPRP in North America and Europe and consisting the membership of the so-called World Wide Federation of Ethiopian Students. The latter "exodus" consisted of the sons and daughters of aristocrats, parasitic bureaucrats, feudal lords and the landed gentry who found the home educational institutions beset by recurrent "disturbances" obstructing their speedy preparation to "inherit" what belonged to their parasitic parents. This lot found easy exit in its "exodus" abroad owing to the loosening of "visa-restrictions" as a direct result of the 1969 struggle, one of the demands of which was the abolition of visa restrictions to facilitate educational opportunities in favour of the sons and daughters of the lower classes. Thus, the sons and daughters of the parasitic classes reaped the fruit of a struggle they shunned and detested and against which they chose to flee. It is, therefore, important to note the significance of the latter "exodus" in order to understand the political identity of interest between the later-day leaders of EPRP and their support-base in the mass membership of the so-called Federation.

The second and significant "exodus" of the infantiles and their later-day supporters occurred, however, following the December massacre of 1969. Although the factors that led to the latter exodus were largely similar to

those that led to the first, the brutality of the fascist government of Haile Selassie gave further cause for the infantiles and their later-day supporters to flee the country en masse. What marks the December massacre of 1969 as far as the Ethiopian Student Movement was concerned, however, is not mainly that it furnished another occasion for a larger exodus to take place. What is more significant is that both the criminal killing of comrade Tilahun Gizaw and the subsequent massacre of innocent students by the fascist government were precipitated partly by the provocative acts committed by yet another bunch of infantiles between September and November, 1969. Among the most significant provocative incidents between September and November were the ambitious programmes expounded during the election campaigns of the student leadership, the "nationalization" of the alumni-run coffee shop which was later re-named "peoples" coffee shop by forceful take-over, and the adventuristic propaganda articles published in the student publications in November 1969. The provocativeness of those acts cannot be understood clearly without placing those incidents against the background of the 1966-1969 successes scored by the student movement against a regime which was seeking pretexts to settle accounts with a movement which it wished to nip in the bud. Far from recognizing the necessity of denying the regime avoidable pretexts, the infantiles of those days over-estimated the revolutionary potential of the student movement and completely under-estimated the strength of the fascist regime. Those infantiles were intoxicated by the success scored between 1966 and 1969 and entertained the illusory belief that the regime

was in the brink of collapse as a result of student opposition. That erroneous assessment of the strength of the enemy led those infants to embark yet on another offensive at a period when the student movement should have marked its time and consolidated its gains by concentrating on internal ideological and educational preparations for a timely offensive. Having just emerged from a protracted confrontation lasting more than six months, the student movement was prematurely dragged into another confrontation in the same year. The fascist regime of Haile Selassie which was marking its time for revenge was furnished with pretexts to inflict a heavy blow by the irresponsible, adventurous and provocative acts of the infants. The war of nerves employed by the government to isolate the student movement from the population immediately before the criminal killing of the student leader Tilahun Gizaw and the massacre of students revolved around issues and themes furnished by the provocateurs themselves. The infants not only paved the way for the death of comrade Tilahun Gizaw, but even after the assassination of the student leader, they continued to pursue their provocative acts during the rally that led to the massacre of innocent students. As anyone who was in that rally would recall, the behavior of certain provocative elements towards the soldiers who were called in to keep "law and order," was but an extension of the infantile adventurism of certain irresponsible elements who dragged the student movement into a defenceless and premature confrontation. Having, thus, exposed the student movement to major set-backs, the infants of those days launched the second major "exodus" to North Africa, Europe and North America.

Following the December massacre, therefore, not only did most of the remaining lot of the first generation of infants in the Ethiopian student movement went abroad but they were also followed by those sons and daughters of the parasitic classes who found the "local" educational institutions quite unsafe for pursuing careerist schooling.

If the period between 1966 and 1969 constituted the formative period of infantilism where the embryo of the EPRP began to germinate, the years 1969 to 1974 represented the time when the nucleus of EPRP took definitive shape.

Between 1969 and 1974, the infants who fled the country took refuge in Algeria, Europe and North America and continued to spread their erroneous political line within the foreign detachment of the Ethiopian Student Movement in Europe, North Africa, the Middle East and North America. Their physical proximity to the market of left-revisionist and new-left ideological and political tendencies in the West, facilitated, in the intellectual formation of those ill-schooled infants, the whole-sale assimilation of radical petty-bourgeois and bourgeois social and political theories. As always, culturally backward Ethiopia served (as Lenin would say with respect to Russia) "as an example of how the ideological microbes of West-European" new-leftism "produces whole epidemics on our savage soil."<sup>12</sup>

From a self-induced aura of "militancy" and on the ludicrous claim they represented the advanced elements of the home movement, hence identifying with the well-deserved heroic exploits of the Ethiopian Student Movement at

<sup>12</sup> V.I. Lenin, Col. W., Vol. 19, p. 541, (1968 ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow).

home in the creation of which none of them possessed any record of fearless sacrifice, the infantiles tried to impose their crude "theories" on the militant membership of the foreign detachment of the Ethiopian Student Movement. The infantile off-shoots in North America headed by the late Mesfin Habtu began to propagate the notorious theory of focoism in the successive issues of a New York Chapter Newsletter. In one of its December 1970 issues, for instance, the organ of the North American infantiles contained the following statement in its assessment of the role and state of the Ethiopian Student Movement after 1969.

"Once again (i.e. after the imprisoned students were set free in September 1969) the revolutionary Ethiopian Student Movement came out qualitatively higher and more profound in its impact. The militant struggle and in particular the hijacking heralded and launched the new form of revolutionary struggle to be followed. Thus, the Ethiopian Student Movement sought to solidify its ranks in order to be prepared to enter into the next phase of revolutionary armed struggle."<sup>13</sup>

Aside from the unbelievable muddle and confusion regarding the role of the student movement, that issue brought to the forefront the revival of the idea of the immediate launching of the guerrilla foco in Ethiopia. Thus, in their juvenile over-excitement, the "militants" of New York had the following "battle cry" to pronounce:

"We say 'basta' to philistine cowardice and half-heartedness. We say 'basta' to petty-bourgeois defeatism and opportunism. We recognize that there is only one way to liberation and that is revolutionary violence.....seize the time! And seize the gun!"<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> New York Chapter Newsletter, Vol. 1, No. 2, December 1970, p. 7.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p. 10.

At about the same period, the Algerian Fanonists wrote the notorious Tilahun Takele article on the national question, a piece of infantile theoretical muddle the authors of which blush in shame to this day. The theoretically bankrupt and mediocre Algerian infants "contributed," to the stock of muddled ideas, already rampant thanks to infantilism, such theories as the existence of "full-fledged nations" in Ethiopia; the so-called "era of rising capitalism" in Ethiopia, not to mention the petty-bourgeois, liberal and Wilsonian formulation of the national question with its total denial of the precedence of the class question over the national question. In support of the political line of their Algerian "comrades" on the national question, the infants of New York reproduced, with approbation, the notorious Tilahun Takele article in their newsletter as a platform to combat the essentially correct formulation of the national question adopted at the 19th Congress of the Ethiopian Student Union in North America.

On the basis of their erroneous political platform, the infants of New York and Algeria simultaneously launched their disruptive activities against ESUNA, ESUE (Ethiopian Student Union in Europe) and the World Wide Union of Ethiopian Students (W.W.U.E.S.). By rallying narrow nationalist elements around their erroneous formulation of the national question and by enticing as many sons and daughters of the Ethiopian aristocracy, feudal lords, bureaucratic and comprador bourgeoisie, who harboured grudges against the then militant leadership only because that leadership stood for a disciplined and serious study of revolutionary theory, the infants in North America precipitated a split in ESUNA in 1971 by usurping the

leadership in a coup d' etat - styled reactionary putch.<sup>15</sup> Having usurped leadership, they foisted a splinter group, and in concert with their "comrades" in Algeria, they ultimately destroyed the World Wide Union of Ethiopian students, and created instead, what they called the World Wide Federation of Ethiopian students - an organization which is neither world-wide in its representation nor a federation because of its centralist operation. The infantiles of North America and Algeria not only brought about immense ideological confusion within the ranks of the student movement but have also been responsible for the split of ESUNA in 1971, the rendering of the World Wide Union of Ethiopian students impotent, the split<sup>16</sup> within their ESUNA/Federation faction into nationality-based organizations of Eritereans, Oromos, Tigreans, etc.

A closer look into the misdeeds of the first and second generation of infantile leaders in the ESUNA/Federation faction who dominated the organization ever since 1971, reveals how harmful infantilism had been to the Ethiopian Student Movement. Ever since the infantile elements usurped the leadership of ESUNA in a coup d' etat - styled putch, that

15 For an excellent presentation of the cause of the split in ESUNA see, "Towards An Analysis of the Ethiopian Student Movement and the Split in the Ethiopian Student Union in North America - E.S.U.N.A. (ESUNA/Union publication, January 1974, Oakland, California).

16 For a thorough understanding of the political differences between ESUE militants and the European detachment of the infantiles until 1974, see "Liyunettochachin" ESUE publication, Tiglachin Zena, November 1975 No. 4, (Sweden).

mass organization had been completely wrecked ideologically, politically and organizationally. That organization was not only perverted internally, but its fraternal relations with other anti-feudal and anti-imperialist Ethiopian organizations had also been marred and disrupted.

The set back in the organizational growth of ESUNA/Federation since 1971 finds its reflection in the low level of political education and the disregard for a serious study of revolutionary theory within the broad membership; the poor mobilization of the unpoliticized Ethiopian youth in North America; the virtual absence of any serious theoretical contribution in areas related to the Ethiopian revolution; and the lack of a coherent platform of anti-feudal and anti-imperialist propaganda based on the concrete conditions of Ethiopia especially since the February 1974 mass upsurge.

In light of the solid tradition of the student movement in North America inherited from the period extending from 1966 to 1971 and considering the influx of already politicized youth from the home movement, the current level of political consciousness among the broad members of ESUNA/Federation under the infantile leadership is pathetically low. Because of the disdain of the infantile leadership for serious study of revolutionary theory which manifests itself in their contempt for revolutionary intellectuals and their contribution and owing to the ideologically eclectic leanings of the mediocre ESUNA/Federation leaders, the form and content of political education in the organization had deteriorated immeasurably since 1971. As a result, no serious effort has been made to combat the feudal and imperialist ideological and cultural influences afflicting the broad ESUNA/Federation faction membership. Far from hastening the transformation and moulding of the world

outlook of a feudally groomed youth, the superficial and eclectic ideological schooling in ESUNA/Federation has tended to reinforce feudal and petty-bourgeois prejudices and world outlook. Far from being a forum for a serious political schooling in revolutionary theory, ESUNA/Federation had mostly been an arena for petty-bourgeois gossip-mongering, and intra-clique intrigues - a feudal court in miniature. The regular membership meetings which were supposed to furnish the occasion for heightening the political consciousness of the membership had been used as hearing sessions for inter-continental correspondence between infantile cliques and the torrent of unending circulars from ESUNA/Federation's "Central Committee" to chapters and fractions. A sizeable portion of the time allotted for political education is thus wasted in intra-clique squabbles between warring infants providing virtually no political education of any consequence to the membership. Moreover, far from being educational, the regional conferences and annual congresses of ESUNA/Federation had become ritualist pilgrimages for some, occasions of site-seeing for others, a social get-together for old acquaintances, and a forum for outwitting one another in self-ascribed "revolutionariness" for the infantile ego-centric leaders.

Whatever little study of revolutionary theory there was in ESUNA/Federation, it has either been ideologically incoherent due to the leadership's lack of an integrated world outlook to guide the membership or it has been totally alien to Marxism-Leninism. One instant in that respect was the distribution of a reading guideline prepared under the leadership of the notorious Trotskyite - the late Mesfin Habtu - where the writings of Isaac Deutscher were openly encouraged as reading materials. Another recent case illustrating the

ecclectic character of the political education and ideological orientation of the membership was the presentation given by four representatives of distinct political persuasions in North America in November 1975 at the invitation of the infantile ESUNA/Federation on the occasion of the celebration of the emergence of the so-called EPRP.<sup>17</sup> In that "August" gathering celebrating the "festival of the oppressed heralding the birth of a Marxist-Leninist party," speeches were made by (1) a representative of the "communist" party of Canada (ML); (2) one Owusu Sauduki; (3) Irwin Silber; and (4) Paul Sweezy. The eclectic character of the gathering becomes even more ironical when one considers the fact that the "communist" party of Canada (ML) whose political stand on the recent Angolan Civil War was pro-savimbi (UNITA) was invited to participate in the celebration of EPRP's emergence when in fact EPRP's political stand on the Angolan question appeared to be pro-MPLA. Similarly, Owusu Sauduki, one of the "distinguished" speakers on the occasion was an outspoken supporter of UNITA's puppet role in Angola. The other speaker, Irwin Silber, editor of the Guardian (New York), is a well-known representative of new leftism and left liberalism in North America. The invitation to Paul Sweezy of Monthly Review is equally indicative of the degree of ideological eclecticism that exists within the leadership of ESUNA/Federation. While the extension of invitation to those four distinct political groups on the part of ESUNA/Federation's leadership may have been to impress the ideologically helpless and ill-informed membership that the leaders

<sup>17</sup> See Combat, Vol. IV, No. 3, November 1975.

had a "wide circle" of acquaintances within the mish-mash of North American new leftism, it nevertheless reflects the degree of ideological prostitution that permeates throughout the political education programme of ESUNA/Federation. What facilitates eclectic ideological influence within ESUNA/Federation is the ideological heterogeneity in the persuasion of the various cliques monopolizing the leadership. In a Combat issue of July 1975 (Vol. III, No. 1) for instance, the leaders in ESUNA/Federation pretended that they have dissociated from the political influence of new leftism (see p. 78). On the other hand, those same leaders of ESUNA/Federation circulated within their membership a publication issued by their Algerian "comrades" entitled "The Military Dictatorship, Bourgeois Rule and the Anti-Imperialist Struggle in Ethiopia" (March, 1975 by Bekele Anissa).

Anyone who has read that bankrupt article would automatically realize that nearly all the "theoretical" threads of that "piece of infantilism" borrowed everything from the writings of French and English new left "theoreticians." In "establishing" the so-called theory of the "fascism" of the Dergue, for instance, the Algerian infants quote at length the writings of such authors as Nicos Poulantzas, Daniel Guerin, Leonele Cliffe, etc., writings which are either impregnated with philosophico-ideological systems alien to Marxism-Leninism and only superficially congruous with it, or works devoted to the study of specific conditions hardly justifying generalized application to Ethiopia.

The deterioration in the form and content of political education and the prostitution in the ideological orientation of the ESUNA/Federation membership has no doubt serious political and organizational ramifications.

Within the student organization itself, it has either brought about general apathy and indifference among the broad membership or blind conformity to the unbridled opportunism of infantile politics.

The relative gap in theoretical "informedness" between the few infantile leaders on the one hand, and the mass of the membership on the other, has been so much accentuated that it has created a breeding ground for the development of personality cult in favour of certain individuals who tended to become focal points around which cliques developed. The aura created out of such petty elements as the late Mesfin Habtu, Abdul Mohammed, Mamo Muche, Solomon Tesema, etc. and the cliques that mushroomed around those political sychophants is a direct consequence of the abysmally low level of political consciousness within the broad membership. That state of affairs was partly fostered by those self-cultivated "GURUS" so as to maintain themselves in full control over the membership and monopolize the helms of leadership. The emergence of personality cult and the formation of infantile cliques around certain unscrupulous elements has no doubt its political and organizational implications. Politically, it has resulted in a passive membership which has become susceptible to mouth and amplify incorrect political lines and vascillate between one and another variant of infantilism, new leftism, Trotskyism and focoism. Organizationally, it has meant that the broad membership acted as tools and helpless pawns serving the cliquish interest of one group against the other. The so-called "purges" in the North California chapter of ESUNA/Federation instigated by the Solomon Tesema clique, the incident surrounding Merid in the Washington, D.C. chapter, the case of Anha in Boston, the Abdul incident and later, the Mamo Muche

scandal in the New York chapter, the Ayele-Bekele instigated organizational intrigues in the Canada chapter all attest to the same pattern of the mafia-like criminal activities of the infantile leaders of ESUNA/Federation which were possible only because of the low political consciousness of the members.

Moreover, the deterioration in the level of political education and the eclectic ideological orientation of the membership has ultimately produced the kind of elements that now make up such counter-revolutionary organizations as the EPRP. The recent anarcho-terrorist elements, Yitbarek Hizkias and Mulegata Sultan who were involved in the criminal assassination of the late comrade Fikre Merid were the direct product of the kind of political "mis-education" given by the Washington, D.C. chapter of ESUNA/Federation. It is the ideological teachings of focoism and Debryism that led some of the ESUNA/Federation "veterans" to launch the guerrilla foco "in the mountains of Assimba" only to find themselves helpless captives under the crushing hands of the gallant wollo peasants. It is the "exemplary" "Marydom" of the Lyla Kaled's that led the infants of ESUNA/Federation to extoll the "propaganda of deeds" surrounding airplane hijackings. It is the prescriptions of such notorious anarcho-terrorists as Carlos Marighella of Brazil that has led the misdirected "veterans" of ESUNA/Federation to engage in urban terrorism against Ethiopian revolutionary militants and progressives.

Again, it is the superficial and eclectic character of political education in ESUNA/Federation under the infantile leadership that accounts for the reinforcing of nationality prejudices within the membership of ESUNA/Federation which has led to the formation of mini-organizations of Ormos,

Eritereans, Tigreans, etc. Not only did the opportunist line of the infantile leaders on the national question since 1971 foster crude petty-bourgeois prejudices, but the indiscriminate assimilation of the pseudo-scientific theories of bourgeois "Ethiopists" on the national question has also led narrow nationalists to peddle such absurd formulations as Abyssinian "colonialism," thus serving the subtle ideologues of imperialism who wish to exploit nationality rivalries to weaken the all-too important anti-imperialist struggle and balkanize Ethiopia.

The criminal misdeeds of the infantile leaders of ESUNA/Federation is not, of course, limited to the disruption of serious political education. In terms of mobilization of new members into the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist camp and the consolidation of the existing membership, too, the infantile leaders show an extremely poor record of achievement. It may be true that quantitatively (that is in absolute numbers) ESUNA/Federation has more card-holding members and extra more chapters now than it had back in 1971. The growth in the absolute size of the membership is, however, less due to the mobilization efforts of the leadership than a host of extraneous factors. One such factor is the fact that already politicized and active participants who came to North America from the home detachment of the Ethiopian Student Movement joined ESUNA/Federation at their own initiative. Secondly, Ethiopian progressives who were members of other Ethiopian student organizations in North America joined ESUNA/Federation at their own initiative. Those organizations became virtually defunct and for lack of any other viable organization which could claim to be anti-feudal and anti-imperialist. And

lastly, the size in the membership of ESUNA/Federation has bolstered considerably especially since 1974, as a result of a self-induced influx of those sons and daughters of the Ethiopian parasitic classes (feudal lords and rural gentry, big bureaucrats, compradors, real estate speculators and profiteers) who have found in ESUNA/Federation an umbrella organization to wage a war against what they call the "fascism" of the Dergue. The recent formation of a new chapter in Vancouver (Canada) as a result of the initiative of the offsprings of the notorious aristocrat Ras Mengesha Seyoum is one of the many incidents of the post-1974 influx of new comers to ESUNA/Federation. Although, of course, the "anti-fascist" "United Front" line against the Dergue peddled by the infantile ESUNA/Federation leadership might have prompted the new influx, the initiative to join ESUNA/Federation on the part of the sons and daughters of the parasitic classes is largely self-activated.

While it is too obvious that the infantile ESUNA/Federation leadership has achieved very little on its own by way of mobilizing new members from among the hitherto unpoliticized youth in North America, its complete failure must be seen against the actual possibilities that could have been achieved given the correct approach of mobilization. The boistrous claims of ESUNA/Federation leaders at various congresses regarding mobilization "successes" becomes, of course, glaringly baseless when one realizes that in cities such as Boston, New York, Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, Chicago, etc. where hundreds of Ethiopians live, the proportion of participants in ESUNA/Federation to potential members is incredibly low.

The self-adoring leaders of ESUNA/Federation are not only poor organizers as the records clearly show, but they are also a poisonous nest of active demobilizers and disorganizers. Those who have been in ESUNA/Federation in the last five years would, of course, realize that within the last three years alone several chapters were disrupted and their members disbanded. Such was the case, for instance, with the North California chapter of ESUNA/Federation which was disrupted by the Solomon Tesema-Yafet clique; the Boston chapter whose disintegration finds its architect in a certain dubious element by the name of Bekele, and recently, the disorganization of the Canada chapter which had study groups in Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa as a result of the underhanded intrigues of the notorious feudalism, Ayele Bekele.

Far from attracting new members, ESUNA/Federation is unable, due to the infantile political (apolitical) line of its leadership, even to retain what has already been a considerable army of politicized youth. Here again, the failure to attract new members and retain existing ones stems from two basic maladies directly attributable to the infantile leadership of ESUNA/Federation. The problem of mobilization in ESUNA/Federation essentially stems from the leadership's confusion over the nature and tasks of a broad anti-feudal and anti-imperialist mass organization. The infantile leaders of ESUNA/Federation have especially since 1972 pursued, despite a congress resolution to the contrary, a policy of mobilization, internal discipline and overall internal organization which is predicated on the assumption (consciously or unconsciously) that ESUNA/Federation is something other than a mass organization approximating an entity closer to amorphous political party. That assumption is, of course,

a necessary corollary to the new left theory endorsed by ESUNA/Federation since the days of the Mesfin Habtu's that students could be vanguards to lead the Ethiopian revolution. Moreover, the failure of the infantile leaders of ESUNA/Federation to understand the real nature and potential of a mass organization such as a student union stems from the pathetic belief entertained by the infantile guru's that, while still in the student organization, they are "professional" revolutionaries thus creating a pretext both for justifying their idle, hippy-like, delinquent and vagabonish existence and for making the student movement a lasting home for years on end in North America (some of them have been away from Ethiopia for more than 10 years). Some of those juvenile delinquents not only do not go to school but also reproach others for going to what they call "bourgeois" institutions and yet, the organizations to which they cling for years are supposed to be "student" organizations. The mediocrity of those infants as regards theory and their "complex-induced" contempt for all intellectuals, revolutionary intellectuals included, is but the reflection of a world outlook of an ignorant lot who are rendered complacent by the conditionings of a traditional inertia of a rotten feudal milieu.

It should, of course, be stressed that we are not reproaching genuine professional revolutionarism and complete devotion to the cause of the oppressed. To be a professional revolutionarist is one of the highest ideals that all progressives should aspire, and that is no doubt a quality to be revered highly. However, it is one thing to join and work under an organization which is appropriate for the task of professional revolutionarism, and it is completely another thing to pretend to be a "professional"

revolutionary in a student organization having limited objectives and comprising of those whose principal engagement is essentially "studentship." The problem is, therefore, not only that infants who are neither "students" nor "professional revolutionaries" are ill-placed in a mass organization of students, but also because those ill-placed infants establish, for the mass organization, standards and modes of behavior totally inappropriate to the nature and character of the student organization. In other words, the infantile leaders impose such tasks and obligations on existing and prospective members of the student organization as cannot be ordinarily expected from participants in mass organizations. Such, for instance, is the problem associated with the least understood and most abused practice of "criticism and self-criticism" which has led to the still ludicrous practice of "purging." While the use of "self-criticism" is a necessity for a political party or other organizations approximating to it in objectives, where the level of political understanding and commitment is commensurate with the practice itself and where the object, subject and audience surrounding the practice understand and accept the propriety of self-criticism, in an organization consisting of members with low political consciousness and loose commitment and where feudal and individualist sentiments are still rampant, the practice has more often than not led to abuse and organizational disruption. It is not unnatural, therefore, that individuals with tenuous commitment and low political understanding are either easily driven away from the organization or become subject to blind submission for fear of ostracism from a fraternity kept together by the sanctions of vicious personal vilification and character assassination. It is equally not surprising why prospective members are

easily scared away from the organization since the threat of those practices loom high in the minds of the new-comers who are not ideologically and politically ready to endure the ordeal imposed by the infantile leaders.

Moreover, the problem of mobilization of new members and the retention and consolidation of existing ones is accentuated by the subjective behavior of the ESUNA/Federation leaders. The alienation that arises from the cleavage between the subjective belief in one's "revolutionariness" and the objective fact of one's existence as a petty-bourgeois or a de-classed proto-lumpen element, compounded by the assimilation of a hippy-like life-style of a degenerate imperialist culture nurtured by the juvenile perception of a quasi-religio-romantic fetish of the "revolutionary hermit," has created such a repugnant form of eccentricity in the way of life of the infants that they require from others similar "personality-syndromes" to join the juvenile club of crass "revolutionaries." Shabbiness in appearance is taken for revolutionary austerity or asceticism. Those who do not maintain the "requisite level" of dirtiness and shabbiness (the paraphernalia of beards, long hair, coarse jackets from the salvation army, etc.) are reproached for lacking the assumed personality - features of the "revolutionary." This infantile attitude has particularly been so marked among the leaders of the so-called Ethiopian Women's Organizations in North America that a large number of prospective "sisters" who may otherwise have been easily attracted into those organizations are scared away for fear of reproach by those infantile elements who attack them on grounds of their purely personal choices and idiosyncrasies in styles of dress, make-up, etc., which given time and political awareness was bound to change. The eccentric behavior

of such infantiles stems not only from a self-induced delusion about themselves and mass organizations, but also from their utter failure to understand why the non-politicized Ethiopian youth becomes a prey to imperialist cultural influence which manifests itself in life-style and behavior. Because of their limitless subjectivism, the infantile leaders of ESUNA/Federation choose to attack and reproach potential and prospective members before they prepare the latter ideologically and politically to drop (if that is at all necessary for eligibility to active participation in a student organization) a given life-style consciously, gradually and of their own accord.

Furthermore, as a result of the erroneous organizational norms and practices in ESUNA/Federation since 1972, the relation between the broad membership and the so-called leaders has been mediated along police-like lines. Unlike what some may wish to think, ESUNA/Federation is no more a willful association of members with conscious discipline but an organization where the helpless majority is cowed down by the psychological and physical bullying of well-knit cliquish grouplets dominating the organization. Members are kept within the lines either through fear of ostracism from what has now become more of a social than a political fraternity or through those tried inducements open to all types of "yes" men and women, conformists and opportunists. The control exercised by a bunch of infantile leaders over the broad membership has reached such an engrossing level that just before the formal cessation of relations between ESUNA/Federation and the fraternal Ethiopian Student Union in Europe (ESUE) the "Central Committee" of ESUNA/

Federation sent a circular to its chapters forbidding members of ESUNA/Federation from receiving and reading copies of Tiglachin and Tatek (publications of ESUE) simply because these publications could in the final analysis expose the reactionary politics of the ESUNA/Federation leaders in the eyes of the broad membership and tended to undermine the tight grip of the leaders over the helpless membership. In another instance, a member of ESUNA/Federation was expelled from the organization on the alleged ground that he was married to a Trotskyite! What was paradoxical, of course, was that the ESUNA/Federation leaders who are themselves the followers of Judah Trotsky to the letter (wit: their stand on the agrarian question in Ethiopia, their denial of the necessity of alliance with the populist, revolutionary, nationalist Dergue, etc.) would condemn somebody for being a Trotskyite. While a Trotskyite need not be "defended" at all, the practice of expelling the member from a mass organization on the alleged ground, nevertheless, illustrates the kind of inappropriate organizational principles followed by the ESUNA/Federation leaders.

The other organizational problem inhibiting broader participation of patriotic Ethiopian students and youth stems from the deliberate policy, on the part of the infantile leaders, of refusing to mobilize prospective members around issues concretely and directly affecting students and patriotic elements in North America. Anyone who knows the condition of life of the Ethiopian youth and students in North America could readily realize that there are a host of concrete and direct issues in the struggle

around which students could be mobilized to join the broader anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle. The problem of visas, deportation, employment, scholarship opportunities vis-a-vis the Ethiopian government all furnish concrete issues in the struggle for which new members could be attracted. The leaders of ESUNA/Federation not only shun the struggle for such issues on the ground that it amounted to "reformism," thus dabbling in the typical sickness of infantilism and confusing the struggle for reforms with the entirely different question of "reformism," but also forget totally that as mass organizations comprising of students, student associations (their limited political role notwithstanding) need to protect the sectional interests of students. That such is the case for student organizations can be confirmed by direct analogy even with Trade Unions whose membership consists of workers.

The refusal of the infantile leaders to mobilize students along sectional issues without relinquishing the political orientation and role of the student movement, again stems from a total confusion of the role of the student movement with that of a political party which is, and has to be, above strictly sectional interests.

As a result of the foregoing organizational malpractices, inappropriate norms and principles imputable to the infantile leadership, ESUNA/Federation has now ended up being an entity which is neither a broad anti-feudal and anti-imperialist mass organization embracing as many patriotic and democratic forces in North America as possible nor an entity approximating to a political party, hence fulfilling the role of neither with any measure of success.

Not only do we find hundreds of potential participants outside of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist sphere of influence in North America because of the infantile leadership, but we also encounter many instances where those who left ESUNA/Federation because of the misdeeds of the infantile leaders develop a special type of resistance against further re-habilitation. Because of the superficial political awareness they possess and the overall ideological ill-schooling they received from ESUNA/Federation, the latter elements develop a resistance against further inoculation in proper ideological training and join the increasingly sizable camp of "unteachables" in North America.

The criminal deeds of the infantile leadership of ESUNA/Federation on the Ethiopian Student Movement is not limited to political miseducation and demobilization of patriotic elements. It also manifests in the paucity of any serious contribution in the production and dissemination of progressive literature of an original and indigenous character and the preparation of theoretical works based on the concrete conditions of Ethiopia. The complete failure of ESUNA/Federation in this direction becomes clear when one contrasts the pathetic record of ESUNA/Federation since the split, against the background of the contributions made by the former ESUNA before the split especially by those who fought against the infantile splitters of ESUNA. The contributions made on imperialism, on the peasant question in Ethiopia and the national question by the comrades opposed to the infants finds no match in the work of the post-split infantile faction of ESUNA. What the infants have

succeeded in producing, since the split have either been verbatim reproductions and sometimes plagiarism of works by other revolutionary theoreticians on other countries; but worse still, they amount to "contributions" to the stock of left "revisionist," new left, Trotskyite or focoist mish-mash. Not only could the Ethiopian Student Movement in North America have made immense contributions by translating various useful works from foreign to Ethiopian languages, but it would have been possible, had the infantile leadership adopted a serious program of political education internally, to produce indigenous revolutionary intellectuals of the requisite calibre to come up with serious theoretical works on the problems of the Ethiopian revolution. Today's theoretical helplessness in ESUNA/Federation could have been avoided, and the oppressed people of Ethiopia could have been immensely politicized had the superficial political education in ESUNA/Federation been combated and the level of theoretical mediocrity avoided in time. The infantile leaders of ESUNA/Federation have not only made no contribution in this area, but have, from time to time obstructed that work by their deliberate discouragement. Not very long ago, the infants of ESUNA/Federation "produced" a work entitled "The National Question in Ethiopia: Proletarian Internationalism or Bourgeois Nationalism?" (March 1976) which has now become a "celebrity" among certain quarters. A thorough reading of this "contribution" reveals, however, that the theses pursued in that work were none other than those which the infants fought against prior to 1971 and in connection with which they precipitated the split in ESUNA. Anyone who has closely followed the polemics on the national question since 1969 within the Ethiopian Student Movement would readily realize

that yesterdays' proponents of the theses of the Tilahun Takele's have suddenly "discovered" in 1976 what other militants have understood ten years earlier. In a characteristic shamelessness of plagiarizism, the ESUNA/Federation leaders "appropriated" to their own, theses which they vehemently opposed not very long ago. Although that work contains nothing new as far as the stock of theoretical work on the question is concerned (wit: the solid work on the subject in 1972 by one Tumtu Lencho), the attempt of the ESUNA infants to parade their work as an original "contribution" is a good indicator of how those dishonest elements still shy away from accepting their errors in the past and shoulder the responsibilities for spreading immeasurable political confusion and precipitating organizational disruption.

Last but not least, is the virtual absence of a sustained effort and a consistent platform of anti-feudal and anti-imperialist propaganda by ESUNA/Federation especially since 1974. Anyone who had the patience and tenacity to read the publications of ESUNA/Federation since the February mass upsurge, the various issues of the notorious "Bulletin" of the Federation, the erratic publications of the Algerian infants and the "Labaders" of Holland, would readily realize the contradictory, inconsistent, utterly confusing and bankrupt propaganda line of the scum leadership of the Federalists. Not only do those publications reflect a total lack of coherent world outlook and a thorough grasp of theory, but also reveal the "innocence" of the authors as regards the elementary rules and techniques

of revolutionary propaganda. Without going into the rather tedious process of citing the many concrete instances where the publications of the federalists reflect a virtual absence of any consistent propaganda line, one may mention a few examples to illustrate what has already become a mark of notoriety for the infantiles.

Following the February mass upsurge and immediately after the take-over of power by the Dergue, the ESUNA/Federation "propagandists" peddled the notorious theory of bourgeois academics that the take-over resulted from a coup d' etat. In peddling that absurd theory, the infantiles totally missed the mass character of the February upsurge, and failed to realize that the Dergue was after all the direct product of the mass-based Armed Forces Movement. By confusing the puppet role of Aman Andom with that of the independent and spontaneous Armed Forces Movement which the Dergue represented in late 1974, the infantile "propagandists," in their typical "rashness," concocted the theory that the Dergue was an imperialist - pampered Junta. To this day, the ESUNA/Federation infantiles have closed their eyes to the naked contradiction between imperialism and the Dergue which even the U.S. government has openly admitted. In their criminal association of the Dergue with imperialism, the "propagandists" in ESUNA/Federation have no doubt spread immense confusion internationally and have inflicted irreparable damage on the image of the current progressive role of the Dergue and the correct alliance of progressives with it.

The so-called theory of "fascism" in Ethiopia which permeates the reactionary propaganda line of the federalists has now become the propaganda platform of such reactionary organizations as EDU and the central theme of

the barrage of the imperialist mass media against the Ethiopian revolution that the infants can no more pretend that they are not the paid agents of feudal restorers and imperialism. A cursory glance at the propaganda thread of EDU's "Advocate" and the imperialist press would readily reveal how the federalists degenerated from political infantilism into neo-feudalists and imperialist puppets within the last two years, thus, forming a fifth column within the Ethiopian Student Movement. Closely connected with the reactionary propaganda theme revolving around the ludicrous theory of "fascism" in Ethiopia peddled by the infants of ESUNA/Federation is the recent hullaballo on the alleged violation of human rights in Ethiopia. The leaders of ESUNA/Federation recently circulated, under the instruction of their reactionary masters, the anarcho-trotskyite and terrorist elements in the so-called EPRP, a document petitioning the U.N. to intervene in the internal affairs of Ethiopia. Among the organizations for which copies of the protest against alleged human right violations was sent, one finds included the notorious C.I.A. - financed International Commission of Jurists. In a recent book entitled "Inside the Company: C.I.A. Diary" by a certain C.I.A. agent, by the name of Philip Agee, it was disclosed that the International Commission of Jurists was "financed by the C.I.A." with the hope of using it, among other things, as a counter-weight against the anti-imperialist "International Association of Democratic Lawyers" (see p. 611 of the book).

The stand taken by the leaders of ESUNA/Federation on the human right "violation" issue is completely identical not only with the recent propaganda platform of the Carter Administration which claimed to be the champion of

"human rights" in places like Russia, Argentina, etc., but also with the long-standing policy of the imperialists on this issue. The history of the human rights question within the U.N. system itself is replete with instances of how that issue was used by the imperialist powers to wage counter-revolutionary ideological struggle against the champions of social progress.

The political history of the "Universal" Declaration of human rights within the U.N. system in the late forties, for instance, reveals clearly as to who were behind that Declaration and why. It was in the name of respect for human rights, and by using the U.N. as a cover, that imperialists waged counter-revolutionary ideological struggle against the Soviet Union under Comrade Stalin. It was not, therefore, without reasons that the true champion of real human rights, the Bolshevik government under Comrade Stalin abstained during the adoption of the so-called "Universal" Declaration of Human Rights back in 1948. It was in the name of respect for human rights that such counter-revolutionary mouth pieces as Radio Free Europe, etc. were launched on the door steps of the progressive regimes in Eastern Europe in the early fifties. While the so-called U.N. became a champion of "human rights" when it came to serving the ideological and political interests of the imperialists in the fifties and sixties, it has never even been an effective forum for voicing the violation of human rights of millions languishing under the criminal rule of ninety-nine percent of the fascist dictatorships bolstered by imperialists in countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia.

As far as the social plight of the broad Ethiopian masses under the fascist government of Haile Selassie was concerned, the "concern" shown by the U.N. was all too obvious. Far from being reproached for violating the human rights of millions of Ethiopians, the fascist dictator Haile Selassie was adored and revered by that organization. A mountain was made out of a mole-hill in the "achievements" of Haile Selassie for "peace," especially for having plunged Ethiopian soldiers in the imperialist directed and monitored interventions in Korea and the Congo under the false banner of the U.N. That same "August" assembly dominated by representatives of puppet regimes kept silent when millions of Ethiopian peasants were subjected to starvation under the irresponsible and inhuman government of Haile Selassie in the pretense of non-intervention in the "domestic jurisdiction" of states. That same organization as represented by Kurt Waldheim expressed in its typical show of double standards, its "shock" and "indignation" because 60 social parasites were executed in November 1974.

Now that the down-trodden and exploited broad masses of Ethiopia have decided to take just and revolutionary measures against a hand-full of their former oppressors and exploiters as well as their lackeys, the U.N. is being used as a forum for voicing counter-revolutionary protest. The recent clamour of the sons and daughters of the Ethiopian parasitic classes on alleged violations of "human rights" in Ethiopia is yet another helpless effort to rally the support of reactionary international bodies and C.I.A. front organizations to save the necks of feudal bandits and their

lackeys and to confuse the international public as to whose "human" right is being violated in Ethiopia. Seen in light of the foregoing, therefore, the leaders of ESUNA/Federation are again objectively serving Ethiopian feudalists and imperialists.

Thus, on the level of student politics wherein tendencies of infantilism emerged, the Ethiopian Student Movement has so far suffered immense damage imputable to this dangerous tendency. Infantilism has cost the Ethiopian left in general and the student movement in particular a high price in terms of the premature loss of potential revolutionaries, the splitting up of strong and militant anti-feudal and anti-imperialist student organizations, the alienation and disbanding of experienced activists and militants from progressive mass organizations, in short, a formidable loss of revolutionary potential that could have brought immeasurable theoretical clarity, political maturity and organizational strength to the Ethiopian left.

Such, then, has been, in a profile form, the genesis of infantilism and its bleak record in the Ethiopian Student Movement. Thus, the history of the emergence and consolidation of infantilism is at the same time the history of the formation of EPRP.

EPRP is the creation of individuals and cliquish grouplets of notorious infantile records in the Ethiopian Student Movement, and as such, it is fully stamped with all the dangers attendant to the manifold tendencies of infantilism. In fact, now that infantilism as a political tendency has transcended the bounds of student politics and emerged at the level of

party politics, the dimension of its dangerousness has increased "immensely."  
The damage that awaits the Ethiopian revolution as a result of EPRP's  
entrance into the political scene would no doubt be incalculable.