PROGRAMME OF THE ALL ETHIOPIAN

SOCIALIST MOVEMENT



ME'ISONE

- The hammer and sickle represent the alliance of the working class and the peasantry.
- The twelve small golden stars represent all of Ethiopia's nationalities, while the big golden star in the middle represents the socialist motherland which Ethiopia is to become.
- The sheaves of wheat represent the prosperity of the motherland, obtained through the labour of the laboring masses.
- The whole is set against the background of a red banner.

## ERRATA

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THE PROGRAMMS OF THE ALL-ETHIOPIAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

#### Part I: Introduction

The oppressed peoples of Ethiopia have a glorious history of heroic struggle to overthrow the yoke of feudalism and imperialism, which has weighed upon them for so long.

Particularly since the end of the second world war, the rise of the semi-feudal and semi-capitalist social order which has enmeshed the Ethiopian peoples in the mire of exploitation and oppression has thrown them into a condition of degradation, poverty and illiteracy to a degree unparalleled elsewhere in the world.

Nevertheless, just as much as the oppressed masses of Bthiopia never in their history have ever acquiesced to oppression, they have also been struggling against this inhuman enslavement with the appropriate preseverance, resoluteness and sacrifice in accordance to the circumstances, rather them accommodate themselves to their subjugation.

In this historic struggle waged with undaunting heroism by the peoples and progressive forces of Ethiopia against the morbund social order, many fighters have lost their lives, have been imprisoned, banished or forced into exile. However, despite such difficulties the struggle continued to force shead relentiessly. For a certain period the reactionary order which was armed to the teeth was able to suppress, at times, stifle the scattered popular uprisings, bespite these temporary setbacks, the

struggles of the Ethiopan peoples, particularly those of the last 30 years, were not in vain. Anidst the thick and through the people's struggle, there emerged a phalamx of vanquard fighters. This new generation of Ethiopa stretched out its hands to uphold the banner and carry forth the torch of the revolution. Students, young workers and progressives became the van in the struggle against the fascist regime of Haile Sclassie.

This historic and protracted striggle resulted in a popular mass novement, which since February 1974 has plunged Sthiopia into a great revolutionary storm. Although this revolutionary movement is characterised by ups and downs it has been advancing forward at an accelerated rate. It is incumbent upon the progressive forces that they spare no effort to see to it that the revolutionary movement moves along the correct path and schieves its goals.

In order to attain its aims, any revolutionary must fulfill three fundamental conditions. First, the movement must be guided by a revolutionary theory. Second, it must on the basis of this theory, formulate its minimum and maximum programme which charts out the path and delineates the perspectives of struggle. Third, it needs an organization that can correctly and effectively implement its programme.

In order to advance the struggle, a revolutionary movement must carry out a concrete and all-sided analysis of the concrete conditions of a given period and on the basis of this analysis formulate the appropriate strategy and tactics of struggle. To this end, it is first necessary to clearly differentiate between the friends and enemies of the revolution; to devise methods of winning oder the

wavering forces that stand inhetween to the side of the revolution, to which cause they could contribute whatever they can. Secondly, it is imperative to correctly assess, at any given time or place, one's own forces and those of the enemy. Finally, it is necessary to set up the corresponding organizations for the given forms of struggle, and be able to raise the correct slogans of the struggle.

At present, the principal enemies of the Ethiopian peoples are feudalism, buresucratic capitalism and imperialism - particularly US imperialism. It follows, therefore, that the Ethiopian revolution be anti-feudal, anti-buresucratic capitalist and anti-imperialist.

All the classes and social forces which are opposed to these main and fundemental enemies and constitute more than 90 % of the Sthiopian population must form a united front of common struggle against these. The popular revolutionary movement which has been surging since February 1974 has created a favorable revolutionary situation for the national democratic forces to form such a united front.

In Ethiopia, the hold of Feudalism on the reins of state power has been smashed. The 'egrarian decree of March 4, 1974 has dealt a heavy blow to the the land tenure relationships on which the feudal order rested. The broad masses of the peasantry and other democratic and patriotic forces are presently engaged in a bitter struggle for the revolutionary implementation of the decree. All in all, the time when the feudal class and its remnants will be completely annihilated is not far off.

Presently, the Porce which particularly in alliance with imperialism is truing to halt and liquidate the revolutionany revenent of the Ethionian meanles is the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The bureaucratic bourgeoisie is due to its class position, idealogy and experience bound by thousands of threads with Feudalism and imperialies which bred and ground it up at present the hureaugratic hourgenisie is etmining on the one hand to intensify its connections with the imperialists and with their aid be able to suppress the revolutionary structule. On the other hand, it nees the still intact feudal state appartus to foment countless anti-people plots, so as to deflect the course of the revolution and to weaken it. The feudal class and the imperialists are also feverickly trying to reverse the revolution by forging an alliance between the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the right wing of the Derg, and dividing the armed forces. The bureaucratic bourgeoisie itself is with the help of imperialism and in alliance with the feudal class leaving nothing undone to throw back the revolution and maintain itself in power.

The revolutionary movement has so far not struck down that much the various forces, which inperialism — particularly US-imperialism — has imposed upon the Sthiopian peoples. In order to liberate themselves from the political, economic, cultural and military pressure imposed upon them by imperialism and to safeguard their national independence, the peoples of Sthiopia must wage a long, bitter and protracted struggle against imperialism, especially US-imperialism. The present international situation is extremely favorable for their anti-imperialist struggle.

Imperialism, the principal enemy of the peoples of the world is today being exposed battered and breaking down in all places. The socialist countries are growing stronger politically, economically and militarilly. One third of the world's population now lives under the socialist system. Numerous countries and millions upon millions of people in all continents are marching towards socialism. The peoples of Africa, Asia and batin America more than ever indicment have arisem against imperialism and neo-colomialism. On the other hand, all the imperialist countries are being strained by the recurring economic crises. The struggies waged by the working class in each imperialist country (in North America, West Germany, Britain, Italy, France, Japan, etc...) and the contradiction between these countries will weaken imperialism even more.

The above sketched situation is very favorable to the Ethiopian peoples in their bitter struggle against imperialism. The Ethiopian peoples will in the struggle to safeguard their national independence against imperialism in practice stand together with all countries and anti-imperialist forces fighting for peace, progress und equality.

Nevertheless, this struggle waged under favorable conditions must be shaped by revolutionary theory and by drawing the correct lessons from the history of the struggles of the peoples of the world as well as from the past victories and failures of the oppressed masses of Ethiopia. Furthermore, it has to be clear that vithout a revolutionary organization there can be no revolution. It is therefore in order to enable the Ethiopian revolution schieve its aims, that some years ago a few Ethiopian progressives went beyond drawing the necessary lessons from past struggles, and began engaging themselves. in the effort to form a revolutionary organization which would gather together, unite and lead the dispersed struggles of the masses.

To this effect, these progressive forces went beyond struggling in the van against the fascist regime of Naile Selassic, and took the first steps in this direction by organizing thenselves in revolutionary study groups and small market circles. Long and thoroughgoing discussions were carried out between these scattered groups to establish a solid ideological unity, to attain programmatic clarity and on the organizational form necessary to implement this programme. It is as a result of these deliberations that the "All-Ethiopian Socialist Movement" (Nericone) was formed secretly some years ago at a founding congress attended by the representatives of these vanuard croups.

Me\*isone was organized at a time when not only Ethiopia was languishing under the yoke of imperialism and feudalism. but when the fascist regime of Haile Selassie was perpetrating innumerable crimes against the oppressed nationalities in Ethiopia - this prison of peoples. It was a period, where the progressives of the oppressed nationalities were engaged in a bitter struggle full of sacrifices for equality, freedom and their right to exist. At such a time, it was necessary not only to carry out the struggle against Feudalism and imperialism as such, but to also combat great nation chauvinism, which is the enemy of all the oppressed masses of Ethiopia and to establish, by resisting narrow-minded nationalism, the unity of the progressive forces. In the struggle for the rights of nations, freedom and equality, and to bring about a revolutionary change in Ethiopia, it was found necessary to unite all

the progressive forces on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism. As a result, the revolutionaries representing the various nationalities in Ethiopia established this socialist movement and called it "All-Ethiopiam".

Metisone is guided by the revolutionary theory of scientific socialism. Its final aim is to establish a socialist society in Ethiopia, and to struggle in unity with the workers of the world to bring about a classless society.

at the time of its founding, the majority of the membership of Me'isone were revolutionary intellectuals. It was not yet in a position to carry out acitational and organizational work among the workers and the broad masses in general, and as such couldn't provide the struggle of the oppressed masses of Ethiopia with the necessary leadership. It is due to this consideration, that it chose the designation "movement" instead of calling itself a party. Even at the present, although the resolute struggles waged by Me'isone to integrate itself with the working class and broad masses and to provide those with a correct lendership has borne great fruit. the designation "movement" has been retained because of two reasons. Firstly, to indicate the fact that the process of integration with the working class still requires a great deal of struggle. Secondly, to express the objective of carrying on a principled ideological struggle with other marxist-leninist groups with the intent to form a working class party that has a correct political line and a solid basis within the working class.

Me'isone was created during the dark days of the

be highly vigilant as not to let the organisation be nipped in the bud, it had waged by deploying a number of vanguard fighters in student and other mass organizations a resolute struggle against the Haile Selassie regime. In this struggle many of its steedfast members have been imprisoned, have undergone tortures and brutal sufferings and have been forced into exile. Today, at this historical moment when our movement makes its existence publicly known, we solemmly remember all those comrades, who by giving their lives bore the highest sacrifice in the cause of the liberation of the oppresses and masses of Sthiopids.

With the flaming up of the revolutionary movement in February 1974, Ne'isone intensified its organizational efforts so that the people's struggle follow the correct path and advance. After readjusting its organizational structure to the new conditions and strengthening itself, it unrelentlessly struggled to organize the people, and to give the people's struggle the correct orientation through leaflets and other agitational forms of struggle. As the struggle advanced and Me'isone developed and became stronger it began publishing the independent newspaper called "The Voice of the People", with the intent, through the application of revolutionary theory to the concrete conditions, to give the struggle a correct orientation, to expose obfuscating petty-bourgeoisie groups and to rally together all sincere progressives.

Since Me'isone has already taken roots throughout the country and the people's struggle is being intensified, it has become necessary to formulate a clear and general programme that would embrace all aspects of the people's struggle. Hence, Me'isone makes without revealing its

secret apparatus, its existence today publicly known and presents its detailed programme for the national democratic revolution.

The political programme of a national democratic revolution contains in general such main points as giving land to the tiller; establishing, developing and promoting peasant cooperatives as to hereby lay the basis for advanced collective farming; developing large and modern state farms; nationalizing big commercial and industrial enterprises; placing foreign trade under state control; guarantecing the laboring masses as well as the unexployed the right to work; building a national economy based on a centralized development plan and which is free From imperialist control and exploitation; guarantecing education and health care for the broad masses; uniting all the nationalities on the basis of equality; establishing equality between the sexes and guaranteeing the human and democratic rights of the broad masses.

In the realization that in the struggle to be conducted on the basis of this programme of the democratic revolution for freedom, equality and progress, the participation, support and unity of the broad masses is indispensible. Medisone calls upon the broad masses to rally and organize themselves around this programme.

Me'isone stands for socialism and the complete liberation of the oppressed masses of Ethiopia. It stretches out its hands to all those forces struggling for the same goal to form a unity of struggle. Me'isone vill unsworvingly struggle to realise its declared objectives and use different forms of struggle - secret and public; legal and illegal; peaceful and violent -, and apply different tectics as required by the circumstances obtaining, Despite the changing conditions of struggle, the revolutionary forces of Me'isone stand unflinchingly for the liberation and progress of the oppressed masses of Ethiopia. It will shoulder to the wery end the responsibilities it bears to the oppressed peoples and history to gather together and unite the dispersed stursgles of the oppressed peoples of Ethiopia and to give it a clear revolutionary leadership. It has the unshakable belief that the oppressed masses will advance forward in their structure, and that the members of Melisone, tested and steeled in the thick of the struggle, will never shrink back from Fulfilling their revolutionary duties. We are confident that the broad downtrodden masses of Bthiopia will artain final victory on the road to their liberation and to socialism, however long and arduous the struggle may be.

LONG LIVE THE ALL-HTHLOPIAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT !
THE OPPRESSED MASSES WILL TRIUMPH !

#### Part II - Aims

- To establish a peoples' democratic republic through an anti-fundal, anti-bureaucratic-capitalist and antiimperialist struggle, and to lay down the economic, political, social and cultural bases for the construction of socialism.
- To struggle for freedom, equality, peace and progress in unison with all anti-imperialist, enti-colonialist, anti-racist and anti-sionist peoples, governments, organisations and personalities the world over.

# Part III - The people's democratic republic

# A. The structure of the state

- The state is to be a people's democratic republic which
  exercises a people's dictatorahip based on the allience
  of the working class, the peasantry and the left-wing
  of the petty-bourgeoisie under the leadership of the
  working class and its ideology.
- 2. All the organizations and personalities that took part in the struggle against feudalism, bureaucratic-capitalism and imperialism and for the establishment of a people's democratic Ethiopia shall participate in the exercise of state power at all levels.
- The ultimate state power is to be vested in a national assembly whose members shall be elected by the people in secret and direct elections. The electorate has the

right to control at any time the activities of the members of the assembly. It can recall them whenever deemed necessary.

 The seperation of state and religion; the state shall grant no privileges to any religious denomination whatsoever.

# B. Administration

- Toassure the self-rule of the people, popular organs of adminstration which are interlinked at all levels are to be set up regionally under the auspices of mass organizations.
- 2. All oppressive institutions and machinery connected with feudalism, bureaucratic capitalism and imperialism (such institutions as the political police, the security, assassination squads and so on) are to be abolished with all their laws, regulations and procedures and be replaced by a people's army, people's defence committees and people's councils of justice.
- The anti-people and corrupt bureaucratic machinery is to be demolished and replaced by a revolutionary and democratic state apparatus in the service of the people.

# C. Human rights and liberties of the broad masses

 The unrestricted rights of speech, of press, of assembly, of organization, of demonstration and of strike of the people are to be guaranteed.

- The invioable freedom of person, domicile, movement as well as the right to communicate freely through the telephone and other such means of communication is to be respected.
- 3. Every citizen is to enjoy the liberty to follow any religion or philosophy of his choice. No person shall be discriminated against because of his adherence to a certain religion or philosophy, nor because of his non-belief.
- 4. The equality of the sexes is to be guaranteed. In particular, the right of women to participate equally with men in the political, economic, cultural and social life of the country shall be respected.
- 5. All persons who, because of their role in the struggle for freedom, democracy, equality and justice, have been imprisoned and persecuted are to be set free and given all necessary material assistance for their rehabilitation.

# D. Rights and freedoms of nationalities

- 1. The right of all nationalities to saff-determination up to and including secession is to be recognized. The unity of the nationalities in Sthiopis shall be based on their voluntary will to live together in equality, fraternity, and mutual respect, and on the benefits accruing from mutual respect, and on the
- Every nationality is to enjoy the right to use and develop its language, to enrich its culture and enjoy the benefits of its historical heritage.

#### E. National Independence

- Sthiopia's national independence, sovereignity, integritty and honour shall be staunchly defended and an end will be put to all forms of foreign interference in its internal affairs.
- All treaties and agreements to which Sthiopia has been a party of and which violate its national rights and independence are to be abrogated.
- Poreign relations are to be conducted on the basis of the principles of neutrality and free from any imperialist influence.
- 4. The country shall not be a party to military pacts and alliances of any sort. No foreign military force shall be harboured nor any foreign military base maintained on the Ethiopian soil.

## Part IV - Economy

- A strong, centrally planned and independent national economy is to be boult on the basis of self-reliance.
- All efforts will be made to put the country's stunted and logsided economy on a new and progressive footing and therefore build a prosperous and flourishing new Ethlopia.
- A national economic order, free from any direct or indirect economic control of imperialist countries

- is to be constructed on the basis of the principle of self-reliance.
- 4. The decree of March 4, 1975, that nationalised all rural lands is to be correctly implemented. To increase sprigultural production and thereby improve the living condition of the rural masses, the state shall assist in every way possible the establishment and development of agricultural co-operatives at various levels. In addition, to enhance agricultural production, the growth of state farms is to be promoted in areas where it is possible.
- 5. All economic enterprises owned and/or controlled by the imperialists and the comprador capitalists are to be nationalised. The industrial, distribution and commercial companies that have already been nationalised shall remain public proberty.
- 6. All foreign trade is to be put under the control of the state and to be further developed. The import of commodities is to be based on the criterion of their usefulness to the development of the country and the well-being of the broad masses.
- 7. Urgent and great efforts are to be made to redress the economic imbalance between town and country; and to establish a mutually beneficial system of exchange of goods between them.
- 8. With agriculture as the foundation of the economy, all possible afforts are to be made to establish and expand heavy and light modern industries that will play a leading role in the development of the

economy throughout the country.

- The state shall encourage and assist the handcrafts to get organized in co-operatives, and promote their further transition in light industries.
- 10. Small and middle tradesmen, as well as the national industrial capitalists shall be allowed to run their businesses and contribute their share to the economic development of the country in accordance with state dimentives.

# Part V - Culture and Education

## A. Culture

- An end is to be put to the imperialist cultural aggression that has putrified and disgraced the culture of the Ethiopian nationalities, and the free development of the culture of the peoples of Ethiopia shall be guaranteed.
- A national culture and a national system of education based on the world outlook of the working class shall be developed.
- Those parts of the people's cultural heritage that are good and beneficial are to be retained and promoted.
- The state is to render all the necessary assistance.
   to organizations and individuals active in the sphere

of literature, art, theatre, music and sports, so that they can contribute their part to the cultural development of society.

#### B. Education

- Education is to be so organized as to promote the development of the country, the prosperity and velface of the broad masses; it will be made to ensure a speedy development and progress of science and technology.
- The country's system of education, in its structure, content and methodology is to be liberated from imperialist influences as well as from the archaic feudal ideas and style of work.
- Since all citizens have the right to education, the principle of "free education for all" is to be observed and schools will accordingly be free from payments of any kind.
- 4. Primary education is to be compulsory for all school-age children. To realize this objective primary schools are to be built in villages, kebeles (localities), as well as in small and large towns. Furthermore, secondary and technical schools, colleges and universities shall also be built, expended and developed.
- Extensive and successive campaigns are to be launched throughout the country to wipe put illiteracy in a short period as possible.

- Efforts are to be made to offer and promote education in the language of each respective nationality.
- Students will be made to participate in production and the class struggle, as well as in scientific research and the administration of their schools.

#### Part VI - Health

- 1. Since it is the national right of all citizens to obtain adequate medical services, everything possible is to be made to guarantee free medical care, in accordance with the principle "free medical care for all".
- Hospitals, clinics, health stations, dispensaries pharmacies are to be established and expanded both in rural and urban areas.
- Traditional medicine shall be carefully studied, modernized and put to proper use.
- Intensive and successive campaigns are to be launched to wipe out contageous diseases such as small pox, venereal diseases and malaria.

## Part VII - Science and technology

 Science and technology are to be developed and geared to serve the broad masses. The state shall encourage and materially support scientists, technicians,

- scientific and technical institutions, so that they can carry out research work under optimal conditions.
- Traditional crafts, such as leather work, ceramics, iron working, weaving, etc... are to be encouraged and with the help of research be developed, so that they can serve in the development of the country. Import restrictions are to be laid on such commodities similar to those produced internally.

# Part VIII - To protect and defend the rights and interests of the working class, office employes and the toiling masses in general

- Since all citizens have the right to work, the government shall guarantee the security of employment.
- 2. In accordance with the principle "from each according to his ability, and to each according to his work", a minimum wage for the working class and the laboring masses in general shall be fixed by law. A labor code, based on and reflecting the interests of the broad masses is to be enacted.
- The working is to be limited to eight hours, while the work week shall not exceed forty five hours.
- 4. Each worker is to have a minimum leisure time of forty (40) consecutive hours in a week end an annual lowe of not less than 21 consecutive working days. The worker going on annual leave shall receive a month's

salary in advance, The annual leave of the working people shall be periodically readjusted upwards in accordance with the strength and development of the mational exponent.

- 5. Each worker shall receive pension of a minimum of fifty percent (50%) of his selary when he reaches the age of retirement. The pension may be increased for each worker with a large family and a small original salary.
- 6. Great efforts are to be made to improve the hygienic conditions and protect the health of the working class, office exployees and the laboring masses in general at work and in their dwelling areas; to this end strict sanitary controls are to be imposed.
- 7. Women worker and emplyees shall be entitled to a paid maternity leave of twenty-one (21) consecutive days before and forty (40) consecutive days after the delivery of a child.
- Working class families are to be given the necessary care and attention. To this end maternity clinics, and child care centres shall be established in various localities.
- The management of state owned production, distribution and financial establishments is to be organised according to the principle of worker's control.
- 10. The decree of Hamle 19, 1967 (i.e. Juli 1975) that nationalised urban land and extra houses is to be improved upon and implemented to serve the interests of the

working class and the laboring masses. The state shall take all the necessary measures to alleviate the housing shortage.

#### Part IX - Defence

- The defence of the country against internal and external enemies is to be based on a people's army, built and organized in the spirit of the revolution.
- Every citizen, without distinction of sex, race, creed or profession shall receive military training at the place of work or education, and fully participate in safeguarding the sovereignity of the country.
- 3. In times of peace, the members of the people's army shell participate in the sphere of production and distribution activities in order to accelerate the country's development and in view of strengthening the friendly relationship between the army and the broad masses.

# Part X - Foreign relations

- Foreign policy is to be based on the well-known five principles, which are:
  - a) mutual respect of the sovereignity and territorial integrity
  - b) non-belligerence
  - c) non-interference in each other's internal affairs
  - d) equality and mutual benefits
  - e) mutual respect and peaceful coexistence.

- All foreign relations shall be based on the above principles.
- Close and cordial fraternal relations are to be established with all countries who support the full national independence and wellbeing of the Sthiopian peoples.
- 4. Friendly relations are to be particularly established with the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Special efforts shall be made establish warm and fraternal relations with the neighboring countries.
- Bethiopia shall actively support the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America in their national liberation struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and zionism.
- Ethiopia shall support all the peoples of the world in their struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.
- While supporting the charters of the United Nations Organization and the Organization of African Unity, Ethiopia shall make all efforts for the realization of their fundamental tenets.