

COMBAT

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Report on the 25th Congress of the
ETHIOPIAN STUDENTS UNION
IN NORTH AMERICA

August 21 – August 27, 1977

Prepared by the

*Ethiopian Students Union
in North America*

*Member of the World Wide
Federation of Ethiopian Students*

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ERRATA

To all readers of **COMBAT** (25th Congress of ESUNA
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Comrades,

Due to typographical error 4 sentences have been omitted on page 25. It starts, "At the same time however, the 25th congress of ESUNA firmly opposes the sinister use which the Fascist regime is trying to make of the Somali aggression. Using the aggression as a pretext, the Fascist regime has called for a "general mobilization", has imposed even more burdensome compulsory "contributions" on the working people and has begun to re-arm and re-habilitate the Neftegna "gentry"stratum in Bale, Harrar, Sidamo and other administrative regions. In this and in many other ways the Fascist regime is doing everything in its power to divert attention from the mountain of difficulties facing the country, blur the class struggle in Ethiopia and create conditions for strengthening reaction and exterminating the people's revolutionary struggles and democratic national movements among the Harrari, Oromo, Afar, Gurage and other nationalities of South East Ethiopia. Considering all the above the 25th congress calls upon all anti-feudal and anti-imperialist movements in South East Ethiopia to strengthen their unity and develop their revolutionary struggle in principled opposition to both the Fascist regime and the Somali aggressors."

We demand of our readers to attach this paper with the Combat sent to you. We will shortly send you more copies of Combat with the above correction already made.

With Revolutionary Greetings,
Editorial Board



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I. EDITORIAL

The 25th Congress of the Ethiopian Students Union in North America (ESUNA), member of the World Wide Federation of Ethiopian Students (WWFES), was held in Washington, D.C. from August 21, 1977 to August 27, 1977. This Congress reflected in an all-round way the political maturity of ESUNA which has undergone through arduous struggle and revolutionary transformation.

Throughout the Congress there were the largest ever Ethiopian participants coming from all corners of the U.S. and Canada. This year's annual Congress had the record-breaking 40% more people attending the Congress than last year's. Attendance throughout the Congress was consistent and a large number of Ethiopians actively participated throughout the week-long political session. In terms of the number of ESUNA Chapters and Study Groups, there were 28 of them this year, which was again a significant increase over last year. All of this is a victory for the correct political line of the proletariat party EPRP. The growing consolidation of ESUNA ideologically, politically and organizationally as reflected correctly in the Congress is a victory for the New Democratic Revolution led by EPRP and a defeat to the fascists, social fascists and the arch-reactionary EDU.

The 25th Congress of ESUNA was a Congress of very strong unity under the proletarian revolutionary line of EPRP. The membership displayed high ideological clarity. Chapters and Study Groups having made adequate study prior to the convening of the Congress on the burning issues that affect the Ethiopian Revolution; the political, ideological and organizational discussions that ensued were conducted in a high revolutionary spirit and with strong unanimity of views.

The 25th Congress of ESUNA exposed and condemned all revisionist prescriptions including the counter-revolutionary theory known as the 'non-capitalist road' to Socialism propagated by the Soviet revisionists. The Congress unswervingly upheld the correctness of the New Democratic Road led by the proletariat through its vanguard party, the EPRP.

This year's annual Congress was a Congress of very high revolutionary spirit from the beginning to the end. The Congress was filled with revolutionary atmosphere; and it reflected the revolutionary determination of ESUNA to wholeheartedly serve, in a modest way, the New Democratic Revolution led by EPRP and oppose the fascist regime, the social fascists, the EDU, U.S. Imperialism and Soviet revisionism. Throughout the Congress

there was frequent militant chanting of revolutionary slogans in support of EPRP, in support of the heroic Red Army, the EPRA, in support of the Revolutionary Youth with EPRYL at the core, in support of the revolutionary base area Assimba; and fiercely denounced the enemies of the Ethiopian masses. The Congress also intermittently sung many revolutionary songs praising the valiant Ethiopian proletariat and its vanguard EPRP through songs such as "Lab-Ader"; Revolutionary songs such as EPRA's own song "Ye-Te Gelu New Hiwote"; songs hailing the victory of New Democratic Ethiopia as represented by Assimba such as "Assimba"; songs that herald the victory of the oppressed masses such as "Techequaange Me-Deb" (oppressed classes); these and more which are mostly the masses' revolutionary songs from home were sung frequently in tremendous intensity.

The 25th Congress of ESUNA was a Congress of an all-out support for the Marxist-Leninist Party EPRP and the EPRP-led New Democratic Revolution. It was a Congress of an all-out support for the people's army EPRA and for the revolutionary youth rallying around EPRYL. It was a Congress of an all-out support for the New Democratic Ethiopia as represented by Assimba. It was a Congress of fierce class hatred against the fascist regime of Colonel Mengistu and the social fascists, against the warlord group EDU, against the Soviet revisionist clique's counter-revolutionary meddling in the Ethiopian Revolution and against U.S. Imperialism.

The 25th Congress of ESUNA was in many ways an historic Congress. It was the first Congress after the declaration of the communist youth organization the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Youth League (EPRYL). The Ethiopian youth, aside from a handful of scabs - tools of the social fascists, is overwhelmingly on the side of the revolution, on the side of the masses and their vanguard EPRP. The overwhelming majority of the youth with EPRYL at the core is revolutionary, courageous and extremely heroic and valiant. The formation of the EPRYL is a great milestone in the history of the struggle of the youth and in the history of the Ethiopian revolution. The youth is a direct and inexhaustible reserve for the revolution. The EPRYL which accepted in its first National Congress the minimum and maximum programme of the EPRP, marks a qualitatively higher stage in the struggle of the youth. Today in Ethiopia, the heroic and revolutionary youth cementing flesh and bone ties with the masses is protecting the revolution and the EPRP like the apple of the eye, thus driving the fascist regime into wild frenzy and blind fascist repression on a scale unmatched in the recent annals of the

Ethiopian masses' history. The youth and their vanguard organization, the EPRP-led EPRYL, in their millions haven't submitted to fascist repression. To the contrary, it has greatly intensified its struggle. Many thousands have died heroically. But very many thousands more have picked up the red banner of the fallen comrades with dauntless revolutionary spirit; courageous in determination; uncompromising in their class hatred against the fascists, social fascists and the EDU; ever forward, ever for EPRP and the revolution, ever for victory! The Ethiopian Student Movement is part and parcel of the Youth Movement and ESUNA's 25th Congress was held at an historic time when the youth, siding with the people's revolutionary struggle, is in a life-and-death struggle with the counter-revolution.

This year's annual Congress was held at an historic time when the revolutionary red base areas with Assimba in the lead are steadily consolidating and spreading; at a time when the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Army is already engaging the enemy in various battle fronts. Particularly significant are the magnificent exploits of the people's army in mobilizing the masses of the peasantry in order to destroy the fascist regime's various "encirclement and suppression" campaigns. The EPRA is carrying out the EPRP's political tasks in mobilizing, organizing and arming the masses in order to defeat the enemy, undertake armed agrarian revolution and build revolutionary base areas. As the EPRA'S Northern Front Military Report has pointed out:

"... guided by the revolutionary political line of our party and ceaselessly reinforcing the leading role of the proletariat (through the Party), our Red Army, the EPRA, has carried out and is carrying out extensive organizational and political work in many localities all designed to carry out the urgent tasks of the revolution and guarantee its continuation. In this regard, it helps (the masses) set up peasant associations as well as mass organizations of the youth and women. It helps neighborhood (Kebele) associations to adopt a democratic style of work. And when the peasant associations, which are led by poor peasants, carry out land redistribution, it serves as an organized armed force of the agrarian revolution. For instance, in the sub provinces (awrajas) of Agame and Adowa, besides completing the agrarian revolution in all area, the Army has helped the masses to create their own militia and its efforts to help the masses build organs of people's power and a self-reliant

economy are bearing good results." (EPRA's Northern Front Military Report-translated from Amharic by ESUNA - see *Combat* special issue Vol. VI, No. 3; June 77)

Another factor that makes this year's Congress historic was a message of solidarity from EPRP in which valuable words of guidance and direction to the Ethiopian Student Movement are inscribed. In its message, the EPRP summed up the current situation in Ethiopia and pointed out the tasks of the revolution. Furthermore, the solidarity message of EPRP exposed the overall counter-revolutionary nature of present day Soviet Union and condemned both the Soviet Union and U.S. imperialism's counter-revolutionary machinations against the Ethiopian Revolution in collaboration with domestic reactionaries - the fascist regime and the EDU.

The EPRP solidarity message was listened to with great enthusiasm and there were frequent interruptions for standing ovation militant chanting of slogans and the singing of revolutionary songs. The EPRP's solidarity message raised the revolutionary spirit and morale of the Congress to a peak level.

It was in this annual Congress that we learned the Oromo People's Liberation Organization (OPLO) has in its programme accepted the leadership of the multi-national vanguard party, the EPRP. Present day Ethiopia is a prison of nations; one of them being the oppressed Oromo peoples. In its programme, the OPLO says it shall wage an anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and anti-bureaucrat capitalist and anti-fascist struggle. It also shall struggle for the right to self-determination including and up to secession of the Oromo people. The OPLO also pledges to struggle for the creation of the united front of all anti-feudal, anti-imperialist, anti-bureaucrat capitalism and anti-fascist organizations. The EPRP in its organ *Democracia* has widely agitated for the formation of the united front and the acceptance by OPLO of EPRP's leadership is a significantly higher step in the process of the formation of the people's democratic united front. The united front is an invincible weapon in the hands of the proletariat and people. The question of the united front is one of the indispensable weapons of the revolution that the proletariat cannot do without. The realization of the people's democratic united front based on worker-peasant alliance means that the Ethiopian masses and their vanguard EPRP will have all the three magic weapons that they need for the victory of the New Democratic Revolution.

The opening night of the 25th Congress of ESUNA was held on August 21, 1977 and it was attended by more than 1700 Ethiopians and progressives and democratic people from the U.S. and other countries. In addition to the large number of Ethiopians, there were also many participants from various Marxist-Leninist organizations in the U.S. There were also anti-imperialist, anti-revisionist and anti-Trotskyite mass organizations from various countries.

The opening night and hence the 25th Congress of ESUNA was begun (after singing the Internationale) by standing for a three-minute silence in respect and memory of the passing away of Comrade Mao Tse-Tung, Chairman of the Communist Party of China; founder, great leader and teacher of the Communist Party of China, the People's Liberation Army, and the People's Republic of China; who led the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people from victory to victory through the stage of the New Democratic Revolution, Socialist revolution and socialist construction, great leader and teacher of the International Communist Movement, who has led and contributed immensely to the struggle against modern revisionism and has maintained and raised the victorious revolutionary banner of the International Communist Movement high and who has inherited, defended, and developed Marxism-Leninism in an all-round way.

- In respect and memory of the heroic proletarian revolutionary, Comrade Tesfay Debessay, member of the Central Committee of EPRP, who died a hero's death in undertaking tasks, thus inspiring even further, the proletariat and people in their determination to defy death and achieve victory.
- In respect and memory of Comrade Marcos Hagos, leader and one of the founders of the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions (CELU); an exemplary valiant proletarian hero who was martyred after having eliminated more than 20 fascist search-squads.
- In respect and memory of Comrade Daro Negash, a valiant proletariat heroine and the mother of eight, who was brutally murdered by the fascist regime of Colonel Mengistu and the Haile-Fida social fascist clique.
- In respect and memory of all proletarian revolutionaries and heroic combatants of the EPRP, EPRA and EPRYL who died fighting the fascist regime.

- In respect and memory of the thousands and thousands of the valiant members of the working class, the peasantry, the youth, oppressed women and other labouring people who died resisting and fighting the fascists and social fascists.

Next, the Central Committee of ESUNA made a speech that briefly analyzed the current situation in Ethiopia. Speaking of the situation in and around Ethiopia, the Central Committee noted, "The regional situation in the horn of Africa reflects on the one hand the vigorous development of the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed classes and democratic national movements in the region, and on the other the shift of alliances of domestic counter-revolutionary forces between the United States and the Soviet Union to crush the revolutionary struggle of the peoples in the region. The shift of the fascist Ethiopian regime from the US to the Soviet Union, the efforts of the Soviet Union to federate Ethiopia, Somalia and South Yemen, the strengthening of ties between the US and the Sudan and the move of the US through its puppets to woo Somalia and its support to the EDU, etc. clearly reveals how the US and the Soviet Union are frenziedly working to realize their strategic aims in the horn of Africa."

The Central Committee of ESUNA explained the extent of the atrocities of the fascist regime before and after the February 3rd. coup: "It is well known even before the February coup, the fascist regime has massacred, tortured, imprisoned thousands of the gallant sons and daughters of Ethiopia. But presently fascist repression has reached an unprecedented scale and proportions. In two months alone more than 4,000 communists and non-communist revolutionaries have been massacred. On the eve of May day alone, over 1,500 youths have been slain in the streets of Addis Ababa by the fascist regime. These and other inhuman atrocities the fascists are committing on the workers, peasants, youth and oppressed peoples in Ethiopia is only comparable to those days of Hitler's rule in Germany." The Central Committee of ESUNA went on to explain how the masses have embraced EPRP. "Since its formation, the EPRP has been coordinating the nation-wide struggle of the masses. It conducts propaganda work and agitation among the masses. It has organized workers, peasants, and other oppressed stratas in the society. It has put forward the correct and timely slogans at various economic, political and social issues. It has shown the masses different forms of struggle: armed and political, legal and illegal, etc. The masses have witnessed the correct leadership of the proletarian vanguard,

the EPRP by its activities in their day to day struggle. The masses with unflinching boldness have come out into the open declaring "EPRP is our Party." They have done this not only in the streets of Addis Ababa but even more so in the mountains and valleys of rural Ethiopia." Speaking of the struggle of oppressed peoples the Central Committee of ESUNA said, "Some of the forces that put Mengistu's fascist regime into shambles are democratic national movements. The Eritrean, Oromo, Afar, and other peoples' struggle are but a few of the national movements in Ethiopia who contribute to the overall struggle of the people against feudalism and imperialism. One of such revolutionary struggles that significantly contributed to the downfall of the Haileselassie regime is the struggle of the Eritrean people for self-determination and independence. This heroic struggle of the Eritrean peoples, more than ever today, is giving telling blows to the Mengistu-Haile Fascist regime. The recent victories the liberation fighters have scored in the battlefield against the fascist regime is a vivid example of the unswerving determination of the peoples of Eritrea that no fascist force can stop them from determining their own destiny. Thus, at this juncture, ESUNA warmly hails these recent victories and expresses its firm belief that in the final analysis, the Eritrean masses will be victorious. Yet, faced with the unrelenting struggle of the Eritrean people, the fascist regime has once again launched another genocidal campaign to "wipe out" the liberation forces in Eritrea. This wishful dream of the fascist regime and its supporters will never be realized. As was the case with the previous fascist war campaign on the Eritrean peoples, this one also will ultimately fail through the combined efforts of the Eritrean and Ethiopian masses." The Central Committee also dwelt on the Ogaden question: "Presently the fascist regime under the guise of fighting Somali-infiltrators, though there are such infiltrators backed by the regular forces of Somalia, has launched an all-out fascist campaign to liquidate the revolutionary forces and democratic national movements of the Oromo, Ogaden and Harrari peoples in South-Eastern Ethiopia. The oppressed people of Ogaden have for years resisted economic exploitation, national oppression and religious persecution under the regime of Haile Selassie and presently under the fascist regime of the Mengistu-Haile clique. Today, the oppressed people of Ogaden are faced with a full scale war of mass slaughter between Somalia and Ethiopia, which in no way results in the liberation of the Ogaden peoples. Thus, ESUNA condemns this war of mass slaughter and reiterates its principled stand of support of the just struggle of the Ogaden people and their right to self-determination. Moreover, ESUNA denounces Somalia's expansionism, armed interference and war of genocide with the support of Arab reactionary forces

under the guise of supporting the just struggle of the Ogaden people."

In the opening night of the 25th Congress of ESUNA, the large number of Marxist-Leninist organizations in the U.S. and progressive organizations from various countries came to show their solidarity with the struggle of the Ethiopian peoples. All of them fully supported the proletarian vanguard party EPRP which is the inspirer, organizer and leader of the Ethiopian New Democratic Revolution. They supported the heroic Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Army (EPRA) and conveyed their unbreakable confidence in the victory of the New Democratic Road by smashing the three big enemies feudalism, imperialism and bureaucrat capitalism. They vehemently denounced the fascist regime, the social fascists and the reactionary EDU. They exposed and denounced U.S. and U.S.S.R. contention in Ethiopia. They denounced U.S. imperialism and the counter-revolutionary meddling of the Soviet Union in the Ethiopian Revolution.

One of the highlights of the Opening Night was a solidarity message to the 25th Congress of ESUNA from the 33,000 member Ethiopian Teachers Association (ETA). The solidarity message was a great inspiration. It stressed that the struggle of the Education Workers of Ethiopia against the fascist military dictatorship is inseparable from the struggle of the Ethiopian masses against feudalism, imperialism and bureaucrat-capitalism.

In the Opening Night and throughout the Congress, warm, fraternal and militant solidarity messages to the 25th Congress of ESUNA were read from the World Wide Federation of Ethiopian Students (WWFES) and member sister organizations of the WWFES such as the World Wide Ethiopian Women Study Group (WWEWSG), Regional Union of Ethiopian Students in the Middle East and North Africa (RUESMENA), Ethiopian Students Union in Europe (ESUE), Ethiopian Students Union in East Africa (ESUEA); the Ethiopian Women Study Group in North America (EWSGNA) member of WWEWSG. Similar messages of solidarity were forwarded through WWEWSG from its sister member unions of the Ethiopian Women Study Group in Europe (EWSGE) and the Ethiopian Women Study Group in East Africa (EWSGEA).

Also, there was warm and militant solidarity from the Tokkuma Oromo Organization in North America (TOONA). In its solidarity message, the fraternal TOONA summed up the current high tide of the struggle of the Oromo people against class and national oppression and for the right to self-determination up to and including secession. It supported the EPRP and denounced the fascist regime. It denounced U.S. and U.S.S.R. contention and counter-revolutionary collusion with domestic reactionaries. It denounced and exposed both big nation chauvinism and narrow nationalism.

The participation of Comrade delegates for the first time in several years from militant sister organizations such as the World Wide Ethiopian Women Study Group (WWEWSG) and the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe (ESUE) was another important event in the present annual Congress. This shows that the Ethiopian Student Movement abroad is closing in ranks more tightly, further consolidating its unity and closely rallying behind the red banner of the EPRP.

An important event of the 25th Congress was the concerted effort (more than ever) made by member Chapters and Study Groups of ESUNA, to produce revolutionary songs, skits and cultural shows reflecting the mushrooming anti-feudal and anti-imperialist multinational culture in Ethiopia. Particularly significant was the marked increase of revolutionary songs and skits of oppressed nationalities (e.g. shown were in Oromogna, Sidamenga, Tigregna, Gidolegna, Irobegna, Aderegna and Guragegna) of Ethiopia. The New Democratic Revolution in Ethiopia also embraces the struggle on the literature, art and cultural fronts. ESUNA has also embarked on the road to grasp this new culture, literature and art by combatting the decadent feudo-bourgeoisie culture, literature and art.

The day after the opening night, there was a demonstration in Washington, D.C. to denounce and expose US-USSR counter-revolutionary meddling and collusion with domestic reactionaries in Ethiopia. The close-to-one thousand demonstration organized by the ESUNA and EWSGNA saw the participation of progressive and democratic Ethiopians and non-Ethiopians. There were many placards and banners with anti-feudal and anti-imperialist slogans; this together with militant chanting of slogans exposed and denounced the fascist regime of Grazziani Mengistu and the social fascists, exposed and denounced the arch-reactionary feudal organization calling itself EDU, exposed and denounced US imperialism and the Soviet Union counter-revolutionary meddling in the Ethiopian Revolution. There were also militant slogans hailing the EPRP, the EPRA and the struggle of the Ethiopian people. There was also militant show of solidarity with the struggle of the Eritrean masses and against the fascist genocide in Eritrea. The demonstration was successful and it won sympathy from all progressives and peace-loving Americans as it passed the Soviet Union Embassy, the State Department, the National Press Agency and the Ethiopian Embassy.

Following the demonstration, the rest of the Congress was devoted mainly (i.e. other than organizational matters) to the serious discussion on burning issues that affect the Ethiopian

Revolution.

(1) In light of the current situation in Ethiopia where the masses led by the proletariat vanguard EPRP are conducting all-round struggles on the ideological, political, organizational and military fronts against the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, the US imperialists and their lackeys, the fascist regime and the arch-reactionary EDU:

(2) In light of the need to further consolidate in an all-round way ESUNA's years of unflinching position against modern revisionism

(3) In light of the March, 1977 call of the Central Committee of ESUNA on all chapters and study groups which said, in part, to ESUNA:

First: The slanderous and counter-revolutionary propaganda being carried out by the Soviet press against the E.P.R.P. must be firmly opposed and thoroughly criticized.

Second: The campaign by the Soviet press to prettify and embellish the diabolical rule of the Fascist Mengistu Haile Mariam regime and distort the reality in Ethiopia must be unswervingly and consistently opposed and combatted.

Third: The out-and-out counter-revolutionary theories being propagated by the Soviet revisionists (such as the "non-capitalist road", the theory of productive forces, the theory of peaceful transition, the theory of structural reform, etc.) must be criticized and repudiated in a deep-going, all round and sustained way.

Fourth: The activities and deeds of the Soviet revisionists and U.S. imperialists in Ethiopia, Somalia and the neighboring regions should be closely followed, monitored and studied. On this basis, their counter-revolutionary and hegemonistic ambitions, desires, tricks, plots and conflicts must be exposed in a sustained way." (*Combat*, Vol. VI, No. 2, March, 1977)

In light of all these the Congress penetratingly discussed the following:

- (1) Marxism-Leninism in struggle against modern revisionism.
- (2) Refutation of the so-called "Theory of Non-Capitalist Road" to socialism.
- (3) Counter-revolutionary collaboration of the Soviet Union with the fascist military regime.
- (4) The Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU) — the party of feudal reaction.

Brief exposition of these topics is to be found in the section entitled "Explanatory Remarks".

The 25th Congress of ESUNA profoundly discussed the above timely and burning issues in light of the current situation in Ethiopia and proceeding from objective reality and having studied conditions conscientiously, the Congress has passed a comprehensive resolution.

The 25th Congress of ESUNA also discussed important organizational matters and steps were undertaken to further enhance the organizational consolidation of ESUNA. Following is the resolution passed by the 25th Congress of ESUNA.

II. RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE 25th CONGRESS OF E.S.U.N.A.

1. The 25th Congress of ESUNA holds that the past year has been characterized by the further sharpening of the following major contradictions:
 - a) The Ethiopian Masses versus US Imperialism and Soviet Revisionism
 - b) The Ethiopian masses versus the internal social bases of U.S. Imperialism and Soviet Revisionism, namely, the E.D.U. and the Fascist Military Regime.
 - c) The Soviet Union and the United States, versus each other, for control of Ethiopia.

2. The past year has also seen the further intensification of the following contradictions:
 - a) The Ethiopian masses versus reactionary Arab regimes.
 - b) The internal social bases of the United States and the Soviet Union, the EDU and the Fascist Military regime, versus each other in the scramble for political power.

3. The 25th Congress of ESUNA recognizes that due to its position vis a vis the Red Sea, its proximity to the Suez Canal, the Persian Gulf, the Middle East and the Indian Ocean, as well as due to its political and economic traits, Ethiopia has become a theatre of fierce contention between the United States and the Soviet Union. As a result of this fierce contention, a number of major shifts of alliances have taken place (or are taking place) in and around Ethiopia. For more than two decades after World War II, U.S. imperialism was the dominant imperialist power in Ethiopia and the chief economic and military prop of Haile Selassie's Feudal Autocracy. Likewise, U.S. imperialism was the chief prop of the Fascist Military Junta which replaced the Feudal Autocracy in 1974. However, due to the intensification of the people's revolutionary struggle in Ethiopia, the Fascist Military Regime decided to switch masters last year, thereby opening the door wide open for Soviet penetration of Ethiopia. The Soviet revisionists, who have set a covetous eye on Ethiopia for a long time, gradually strengthened their sinister ties with the Fascist Military Regime by donning the cloak of "socialism", using economic, military "aid" and "credit" as a

but and through political channels. Soviet penetration of Ethiopia became all the more pronounced after the February coup this year, in the wake of which the Fascist military regime headed by Mengistu consolidated its dictatorial power. Since then, the Soviet Union and its puppets (particularly Cuba and East Germany) have established and strengthened all-round ties of collaboration and collusion with the Fascist Military Regime in all fields: political, economic, military and others. In view of these developments, the 25th Congress of ESUNA holds that, of the two major powers contending to dominate Ethiopia, the Soviet Union has the upper hand at present. This means that, even though it has not yet consolidated its new position, and even though it has not yet dislodged the entrenched economic interests of US led imperialism in Ethiopia, the Soviet Union is, nevertheless, the main backer of the Fascist Military Regime and the main prop of social-fascist repression and counter-revolution in Ethiopia.

4. The 25th Congress of ESUNA recognizes that the Soviet penetration of Ethiopia was accompanied by the weakness of the ties between the United States and the Fascist Military Regime. This is especially true after the February coup this year in the wake of which the military regime kicked out over 400 US advisers and ordered the closure of the US Information Service Centre, the Military Assistance Advisory Groups and the Naval Medical Research Centre, all in Addis Ababa, and the Kagnaw Military Base and the US Consulate in Asmara. The Fascist Military Regime has used and is using this opportunity to trumpet "anti-imperialist" demagoguery. However, the 25th Congress of ESUNA believes that these actions, deeds and shifts of alliances have nothing to do with "anti-imperialism" but merely paves the way for the replacement of one form of neo-colonialism by another.
5. The 25th Congress of ESUNA is of the opinion that Soviet penetration of Ethiopia has not eliminated but has actually sharpened the contention between the two hegemonic powers for control of Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa as a whole. Not reconciled to their setbacks, the US Imperialists have and are taking strong counter-measures with the aim of re-establishing their sphere of influence in Ethiopia. With this objective in view, the US imperialists have, more than ever, increased their assistance to the arch-reactionary organization calling itself the

EDU. At the same time, the US imperialists (directly or through their intermediaries) are taking energetic actions to establish ties with nationalist forces operating in Ethiopia with the hope of using them as their pawns. Simultaneously, the US imperialists are engaged in various covert intrigues and machinations which seek to instigate pro-US forces in the regime's army and bureaucracy to stage a coup d'état or, if possible, to woo the regime back to their orbit. Taking all these intrigues and machinations into account, the 25th Congress of ESUNA holds that the contradictions between the Ethiopian masses and the US imperialists is still very sharp and antagonistic. Therefore, the 25th Congress of ESUNA appeals to all nationality movements in Ethiopia to maintain vigilance against and vigorously expose the counter-revolutionary schemes and machinations of the US imperialists and to wage their struggle on the basis of firm and principled opposition to both predatory powers, the Soviet Union and the United States. If a nationality movement does not wage a consistent struggle against both predatory powers but, on the contrary, relies on one predatory power to attack the other, or worse still, becomes a tool of one predatory power for fighting the other, then such a movement is following the road of counter-revolution and national betrayal.

6. The 25th Congress of ESUNA also recognizes that the contradiction between the Ethiopian masses and the reactionary Arab regimes surrounding Ethiopia is getting very sharp. In a sinister attempt to divert the attention of the broad masses in their own countries from the acute economic, political and social crisis gripping them and also with the sinister aim of strangling the people's revolutionary struggle developing in Ethiopia, a coalition of reactionary Arab regimes led by Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Egypt are hatching hundreds of counter-revolutionary plots against the Ethiopian people. These reactionary regimes carry out their sinister plots and activities as allies, intermediaries and agents of US imperialism, which has left no stone unturned in its frenzied bid to re-establish its dominant position in Ethiopia. Among the more conspicuous and deplorable counter-revolutionary activities of the Arab regimes are the various meddling activities of the nefarious Numeiry regime of Sudan. This regime has not only extended official backing to the ferocious warlords grouped around the EDU but has supplied them with large quantities of arms and helped them establish airstrips.

recruiting centres, a radio station, and other support facilities in Sudan. Furthermore, the Numery regime has coerced and press ganged thousands of Ethiopian refugees living in Sudan to join the rampaging warlord crimes of the EDU, who are looting and terrorizing the peasantry in Tigray, Begemdir, Wollo, Gojjam and other provinces.

The 25th Congress of ESUNA resolutely condemns the counter-revolutionary meddling activities of the Numery regime and all reactionary Arab regimes in the affairs of Ethiopia. At the same time, however, the 25th Congress of ESUNA resolutely opposes the pernicious and deceptive propaganda of the Fascist regime to the effect that reactionary Arab regimes are "the principal threats to the independence and sovereignty of Ethiopia," that "Arab regimes are trying to colonize Ethiopia, etc."

7. In view of all the above, the 25th Congress of ESUNA recognizes that the Ethiopian revolution is directed and cannot but be directed against a number of internal and international enemies: against the Soviet revisionists who are now the main props of social-fascist counter-revolution in Ethiopia, against the US imperialists, who are frenziedly trying to regain their lost positions and against the Fascist Military regime and the EDU, who are the main lackeys of the two predatory powers. Facing such ferocious, powerful and multiple enemies, the Ethiopian revolution will be and cannot but be very complex, protracted and tortuous, with many twists and turns. But the 25th Congress is confident that, so long as the masses persevere in revolutionary struggle under the Marxist-Leninist vanguard EPRP, they are bound to win victories step by step and gradually change the balance of strength between revolution and counter-revolution.
8. The 25th Congress of ESUNA also recognizes that the past year has witnessed the deepening of the economic and social crisis in Ethiopia. The Fascist Military Regime, despite its pompous slogans and declarations, has not been able to solve the inherent crisis plaguing semi-colonial Ethiopia.
 - Basic commodities and essential staples have become scarce or unavailable.
 - Inflation continues to sky-rocket.

- Industrial production, far from increasing, is stagnating in some sectors and declining in others.
- The unemployment situation, which was one of the main factors which ignited the February upsurge of 1974, has gone from bad to worse.
- The economic crisis is not confined to urban areas but extends to rural regions, too. Even in certain southern regions of Ethiopia, where the peasants have acquired land and freed themselves from the multiple exactions of the former landlords and gentry, sky-rocketing inflation, exorbitant taxes and the numerous "compulsory" contributions of the regime have reduced the masses to utter destitution. The economic plight of the masses is further worsened by the "mobilization" call of the regime which has forcibly separated hundreds of thousands of peasants from the sphere of production to be trained by Cuban advisors for a genocidal war against the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Army and the Eritrean people.

Furthermore, famine or near-famine situations as well as epidemic eruptions have been reported to exist in scores of places in rural Ethiopia and the Fascist regime is known to have begged its revisionist masters for relief supplies.

To extricate itself from this crisis, the fascist regime has solicited large amounts of burdensome "aids" and credits from transnational Neocolonial agencies like the World Bank and the E.E.C., from imperialist countries like West Germany and Sweden, and from revisionist states ranging from Yugoslavia to East Germany. At the same time, the regime has imposed taxes and "compulsory contributions" of every imaginable description on the people. But a sizable part of these revenues plus the large foreign currency reserves of the regime (from the sale of coffee) have been used to buy military supplies, mostly on cash basis. These extravagant purchases include heavy weapons from the Soviet Union, small arms from East European countries like Rumania, Czechoslovakia and East Germany; spares and ammunitions for the regime's US-made planes and tanks from Israel and Yugoslavia, etc.

9. The period between the 24th and the 25th Congress of ESUNA was not only a year of deepening economic crisis in Ethiopia but also a year of rampaging fascist brutality, unheard-of horrors and remorseless tyranny which have shocked the whole world. In a three-month period alone (March to April) the murder squads of the Haile Fida-Senay Like clique and *Nebelbal* troops butchered in cold blood more than 4,000 revolutionaries and democrats in the factories, in the streets, in the prisons and in every conceivable place. In one single day (the eve of May Day), fascist dogs personally led by Haile Fida brutally massacred 1,300 young people and students. Indiscriminate arrest and executions of "suspicious" individuals, blowing up revolutionaries, disfiguring or burning prisoners alive, mass-shooting of workers on factory sites, disemboweling pregnant women, crushing heads of children, subjecting more than 10,000 political prisoners to horrifying and sadistic tortures, terrorising the people with periodic "house-to-house" searches and "renunciation campaigns", building detention wards and prisons inside schools, offices, factories and headquarters of Kebele associations – all these have become the well-known trademarks of social-fascism in Ethiopia.

The 25th Congress of ESUNA angrily and vehemently denounces these barbaric and fascist atrocities and demands:

- An immediate end of all so-called "house-to-house" searches aimed at liquidating, kidnapping and killing revolutionaries and all conscious sectors of the working masses
- An immediate stop of all illegal entries and searches in the homes of the working people in the urban areas
- An immediate halt of so-called "denunciation campaigns" which are periodically carried out by social-fascists blood hounds in factories, schools and government offices.
- An immediate release of all progressive political prisoners
- An immediate halt of all torture activities in prisons
- The urgent closure of the various "detention centres" and "prison wards" established on factory sites, schools, offices and government warehouses (such as those in Lazardis

Company, Rubber and Canvass Factory)

- Respect for the fundamental human rights of the broad masses.

The 25th Congress of ESUNA calls upon all progressive and democratic forces in the world to resolutely expose the atrocities of the Fascist Military Regime and support the just demands of the broad masses in Ethiopia for respect of their basic democratic rights.

Furthermore, the 25th Congress of ESUNA pays sincere homage to all fallen revolutionaries like Comrade Tesfay Debessai (member of the Central Committee of the EPRP), Comrade Marcos Hagos (President of CELU), and Comrade Daro Negash (a mother of eight and a militant trade unionist) and many others. The congress reaffirms its firm conviction that the rampaging white terror in Ethiopia will never be able to cow the masses into submission but will only hasten the inevitable doom and destruction of the Fascist Military regime and its revisionist mentors: the Soviet revisionists and their Cuban puppets.

10. The past year has also witnessed the further intensification of the vain and frenzied attempts of the Fascist Military Regime and its revisionist mentors to disarm the laboring masses ideologically, politically and organizationally. Among the major ideological, political and organizational outfits of the Fascist Regime with which it desperately seeks to bureaucratically control the masses and convert them into its docile tools are the "People's Political Organizing Office", the 5 social-fascist sects (which include the notorious *Seded* and *Meison*), the so-called "All Ethiopian Trade Union Movement", the so-called "Revolutionary Defense Committees", etc. Aside from using these political and organizational outfits, the Fascist Military Regime and the social fascists are desperately trying to convert all *Kebele* associations and all peasant associations into servile tools of the bureaucracy. All this has gone hand in hand with the most savage suppression of all democratic and autonomous mass organizations of the masses: C.E.L.U., the Ethiopian Teachers Association, the Ethiopian Women Coordinating Committee, etc. But thanks to the relentless and persistent ideological, propaganda and agitational work of the Marxist Leninist E.P.R.P., all these counter-revolutionary schemes have ended in fiasco: the masses still refuse to buy the "socialist"

demagogy of the regime, the masses still oppose bureaucratic interference in their mass organizations, the masses, with the exception of a few scabs, still refuse to serve as the social base of Fascism and counter-revolution.

The 25th Congress of ESUNA once again resolutely condemns the splitting, demagogic, and terroristic activities of the handful of revisionist, social-fascist and social-chauvinist bloodhounds grouped around *Meison*, *Seded* and other Fascist organizations. The 25th Congress of ESUNA resolutely and whole heartedly supports E.P.R.P.'s persistent, steadfast, courageous and successful struggle against these handfuls of shameless traitors and renegades. At the same time, the 25th Congress of ESUNA demands:

- The full respect of the democratic rights of association, organization, speech, writing, peaceful procession and strike for all exploited classes
- The urgent disbanding of the fascist and traitorous organization called "The Provisional Office for People's Organizing Affairs"
- The urgent disbanding of social-fascist and revisionist organizations like *Seded* and *Meison*.
- The urgent disbanding and disarming the so-called "Revolutionary Defence Committee" found in the factories, schools, offices and other locations.
- The urgent disbanding of the forcibly imposed so-called "All Ethiopian Trade Union Movement" and the reinstatement of CELU and other working class unions on the basis of free elections by the majority of workers.
- The urgent reinstatement without any state coercion of the Ethiopian Teachers Association and the organization of women which were destroyed by the fascists and traitors.
- The urgent formation of popularly elected urban dweller's association and neighborhood guards on the ruins of those which are presently used as weapons for the fascists and traitors to control the masses.
- An end to state control of peasant associations and the urgent reinstatement of student unions and soldiers' unions

without state coercion.

11. Yet another organizational outfit with which the Fascist Regime is seeking to prolong its shaky rule is the so-called "People's militia" which recently completed its ideological and military training by Cuban "experts" and instructors. The Fascist Regime assembled these forces through various means, including deception, trickery, and even outright coercion. The primary purpose of the "People's Militia" will be to wage a campaign of extermination against the genuine People's Army being built by the E.P.R.P., against Eritrean Liberation Fighters and against the Liberation fighters of the Oromo and other oppressed nationalities. In view of this, the 25th Congress of ESUNA:

- Firmly condemns the organizing of the so-called "People's Militia" and "People's War" with which the Fascist military regime vainly seeks to commit a campaign of genocide against the Eritrean and Ethiopian masses.
- Firmly condemns the Soviet Union, Cuba and East Germany for playing a direct role in the equipping or training of the so-called "People's Militia".
- Calls upon all Eritrean and Ethiopian progressives to further coordinate their efforts to foil the so-called "Red March" of the Fascist Regime.
- And finally, commends the various units of the so-called "People's Militia" which have already joined the E.P.R.A. and calls upon all others to follow their examples.

12. The 25th Congress of ESUNA holds that the past year have witnessed the vigorous upsurge of the people's revolutionary struggle in Ethiopia. This is despite the rampaging white terror of the military regime, despite the persistent efforts of the regime to disarm the people ideologically, politically and militarily, despite Soviet revisionist collusion with the Fascist regime and despite the counter-revolutionary machinations of EDU. The objective conditions which created favourable premises for the continuous development of the people's revolutionary struggle include: the acute economic and social crisis gripping the country, the eversharpening antagonisms between the Fascist Regime and all oppressed classes, social

groups and nationalities; the sharp contradictions between the Fascist regime and the reactionary clique of Warlords and bureaucrats grouped around the EDU; the ever-sharpening contradictions within the social-fascist camp, etc. Taking advantage of these conditions, the Marxist-Leninist EPRP has rallied the broad masses of workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, soldiers and other democratic strata in a determined revolutionary struggle against revisionism, imperialism and their lackeys inside Ethiopia, namely the Fascist Regime and the EDU.

In the strategically decisive theatre of the people's democratic revolution in Ethiopia (i.e., in the rural areas), the EPRA has intensified its armed struggle against the organs of rule of the Fascist dictatorship and against the reactionary warlord armies of the EDU. Besides consolidating its base areas and guerrilla zones in Tigray Province, the EPRA has stepped up its military, political, propaganda and organizational work in Wollo, Begemdir and other provinces. EPRA has converted its liberated zones in Tigray and other regions into advanced and impregnable military, political and cultural bastions of the Ethiopian People's democratic revolution. In such regions, besides smashing the organs of rule of the regime, the EPRA has helped the masses set up their own mass organizations (women, youth, peasant, kebele, etc.) carry out revolutionary agrarian reforms, build up people's militias and establish embryonic forms of people's democratic power. The EPRA has successfully and heroically foiled repeated attempts by *Nebelbal* and *Gibo* units of the Fascist Regime and reactionary warlord armies to encircle, penetrate and destroy its fortresses at Assimba and elsewhere. In these and in other engagements, the EPRA has wiped out large numbers of enemy troops and liberated sizable quantities of arms and other materials. Furthermore, the EPRA has replenished its ranks continuously by winning over larger numbers of revolutionary soldiers and democratic officers defecting from the Regime's regular army, paratroops, police, the so-called militia, cadets and other units of the standing army.

All these show, that the people's armed struggle in the rural areas — which is in essence the peasant's armed struggle under the leadership of the working class — is surging ahead vigorously.

In the urban areas, the Fascist Military Regime has used the full weight of its repressive apparatuses to inflict heavy losses on the working class, on the revolutionary youth, and other democratic strata. Nevertheless, the revolutionary working class, the self-denying youth and all progressive strata in the urban areas have waged heroic, persistent and multi-farious struggles to smash and foil the "house-to-house searches," "renunciation campaigns" and all other Fascist schemes of the Regime and the renegade intellectuals. The successful convening of the 1st National Congress of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Youth League in Addis Abeba this year is a shining example of the heroism, militancy and self-denying spirit of the revolutionary youth in Ethiopia.

Having consolidated its leading role in the struggle of the working class, the youth, women, oppressed soldiers and other revolutionary strata in the urban areas, and having laid the foundation for the worker-peasant alliance and protracted people's war by building up people's armed forces and revolutionary base areas in the rural areas, the Marxist-Leninist EPRP has recently renewed its call for the establishment of a united front of all revolutionary classes, strata, organizations and nationality forces to wage a united struggle against revisionism, imperialism and all cliques of domestic reactionaires in Ethiopia. The people's democratic united front called by the EPRP aims to unite, strengthen and solidify the people's revolutionary struggles waged by all oppressed classes, strata and nationalities in Ethiopia and isolate to the maximum the handful of lackeys of revisionism and imperialism in Ethiopia.

Considering all the above, the 25th Congress of ESUNA:

- Hails the fresh victories won by the EPRP in ceaselessly enhancing its leading role among the working class, teachers, students, peasants, women, soldiers and other oppressed classes and strata
- Exultantly hails the fresh victories won by the EPRP in strengthening its people's army (the EPRA), building revolutionary base areas, foiling repeated encirclement and suppression campaigns against Assimba, opening up new guerrilla zones in other provinces, etc.

people concerned should be allowed to fight for these democratic principles. At the same time, ESUNA condemns the flagrant aggression perpetuated by the Somali military regime in South East Ethiopia. In the name of liberating the Ogaden people from "colonialism", the reactionary Somali regime has sent thousands of its agents and regular troops not only into Ethiopian territories inhabited by Somalis but also into territories inhabited by Oromo, Harrari, Afar, Gurage, Sidama and other nationalities. At the same time however, the 25th congress of ESUNA firmly opposes the sinister use which the Fascist regime is trying to make of the Somali aggression. Using the aggression as a pretext, the Fascist regime has called for a "general mobilization", has imposed even more burdensome compulsory "contributions" on the working people and has begun to re-arm and re-habilitate the *Neftegna* "gentry" stratum in Bale, Harrar, Sidamo and other administrative regions. In this and in many other ways the Fascist regime is doing everything in its power to divert attention from the mountain of difficulties facing the country, blur the class struggle in Ethiopia and create conditions for strengthening reaction and exterminating the people's revolutionary struggles and democratic national movements among the Harrari, Oromo, Afar, Gurage and other nationalities of South East Ethiopia. Considering all the above the 25th congress calls upon all anti-feudal and anti-imperialist movements in South East Ethiopia to strengthen their unity and develop their revolutionary struggle in principled opposition to both the Fascist regime and the Somali aggressors.

15. Between the 24th and 25th Congress of ESUNA, the people of Djibouti, after protracted and heroic struggle, have finally attained independence from the clutches of French colonialism. This is a great victory won by the people of Djibouti in their dauntless struggle to free themselves from old-style colonialism. The 25th Congress of ESUNA shares the rejoicing of the Djibouti people at this victory and wishes to extend the warmest congratulations. The 25th Congress of ESUNA resolutely condemns the expansionist designs of the Ethiopian and Somali regimes and the hegemonic powers the US and the USSR against Djibouti and vows to continue to expose and oppose any actions of these forces which infringe upon the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the people of Djibouti.
16. The 25th Congress of ESUNA recognizes that the past year has witnessed the vigorous advance of the national liberation struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

- In Southern Africa, defying brute force and counter-revolutionary violence, the heroic people of Zimbabwe have persevered in armed struggle and dealt telling blows to the racist regime and its Anglo-American backers who are peddling "peaceful solution" and other reactionary schemes to undermine the people's struggle. The people of Namibia have continued their advance along the road of armed struggle to oppose the continuing illegal occupation of their country by the racist Vorster regime of South Africa. The people of Azania have intensified their mass movements to oppose apartheid, racial discrimination and settler-colonialism. The 25th Congress of ESUNA hails the

new advances made by national liberation struggles in South Africa. The 25th Congress vows to intensify its struggle to expose the barbaric practices of racism, apartheid and settler-colonialism in Southern Africa and to win support for the just struggles of the heroic peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania.

- In the Middle East, persisting in armed struggle in spite of US imperialist, Soviet revisionist, and Israeli Zionist machinations, the heroic Palestinian and Arab peoples have scored significant victories during the past year. In recognition of this fact the 25th Congress of ESUNA resolves to step up its struggle in exposing Zionism, imperialism and reaction, and to win support for the just struggle of the Palestinian and Arab peoples.

Based on the provisions granted by the Congress and pertinent to the spirit of the suggestions given, the Central Committee of ESUNA includes the following additional points to the political resolution of the 25th Congress:

17. (a) The last year has shown an all-rounded development and consolidation of the Ethiopian Student Movement abroad. Various resounding victories have been achieved by the member-Unions of the World Wide Federation of Ethiopian Students. On the ideological and political front the unions have demonstrated their staunch capability to discern, expose and oppose the various enemies of the Ethiopian revolution under whatever garb they may be concealed at one time or another. This was particularly epitomized in the struggle against the Soviet modern-revisionist clique and their local ideological and political puppets, the fascist regime and the social fascist sects of the *Meison* and *Seded* variety. The Ethiopian Student Movement, holding high the banner of the EPRP, has completely and unanimously rebuffed modern-revisionism with the Soviet Union as its counter-revolutionary center. This is a great victory of far-reaching significance.

With regard to the struggle against various old and "new" counter-revolutionary forces abroad who harbor deep-seated hatred towards the EPRP, the WWFES and the Ethiopian Revolution; serious steps are being undertaken. The rebuttals being given by sister Unions to the "theories" of some counter-revolutionary sects of the Trotskyite variety is just one example.

The aforementioned and other gains thus far obtained have only been made possible through the undaunted and persistent struggles of all member Unions. Of marked significance stands the struggle of our compatriots in the Soviet Union who braved all sorts of bullying, blackmailing, deportation threats and diplomatic intriguing of the Brezhnev clique. Of no less significance also stands the determination of our compatriots in the Sudan and Kenya who have persevered in struggle in spite of the harsh and unbearable conditions they are surrounded with.

(b) Recognizing these,

(i) while warmly hailing the various victories we have secured through the year, the Congress at the same time deems it incumbent upon all member Unions to energetically work for an all-round consolidation of these gains. This will mean, in general, the further up-grading of the ideological and political level of our movement to that required by the practice of the Ethiopian revolution and in particular, a thorough exposure of the various features of modern-revisionism, an indepth study of the nature of the Soviet Union and an attentive monitoring of its activities in and around Ethiopia.

(ii) the 25th Congress of ESUNA warmly salutes the struggle sister Unions are waging against all sorts of revisionist and Trotskyite, open and hidden enemies of the EPRP and the revolution it leads. Through these struggles, the Congress believes that the unity of the ESM will remain ever more firm and solid. To this end, the Congress reiterates once again ESUNA's resolve to contribute its share in the coming year.

(iii) ESUNA vows to continue together with sister unions of the WWFES to coordinate and further step up its struggle against and completely isolate the lackeys of the fascist regime – the *Seded* and *Meison* type social-fascist sects – and the local EDU die-hards in North America, and elsewhere abroad.

(c) The 25th Congress of ESUNA extends its solidarity to our compatriots in the Soviet Union, the Sudan and Kenya, and expresses its admiration for the exemplary role they have played. Finally the Congress vows to strengthen its relations with and step up both material and moral support to their struggles.

III. EXPLANATORY REMARKS

A. On the struggle of Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism

In a class society the conflict between various social classes and especially between the ruling and ruled classes and that the class struggle leads ultimately to the dictatorship of the proletariat and Socialism had been a point of struggle between Marxism and opportunism of various tunes. Marxism, however, through a long and arduous struggle, had established this scientific theory and practice as the only guider and inspirer of the oppressed masses to complete emancipation. Departures from this scientific truth of Marxism through distortion and deforming basically leads contrary to the interest of the masses and should be exposed and opposed. The revisionists and opportunists want to castigate the living soul of Marxism by throwing out the dictatorship of the proletariat, thereby undermining the role of the working class ideology, its leadership and the path and method of struggle through a process of revolution. With such points in mind, the Congress made a deeper study, raised and discussed many important and fundamental questions, analyzed the roots and causes of deviations from Marxism and their outcome on the people's struggle. Let us see in brief how revisionists came into being the most ferocious enemy of Marxism by distorting the basic question of

- a) Imperialism
- b) Leadership

- c) State
- d) Revolution

The origin of revisionism was basically monopoly capitalism and imperialism where indigenous capital extended its tentacles to exploit and suppress other peoples under colonial domination drawing huge sums of super-profits. Whereas these super-profits were used by the monopolists to bribe certain sections of the working class creating a labor aristocracy. This stratum was the first social base for the penetration of revisionist theories in working class movement. Unable to resist monopoly competition, vast numbers of dispropriated petit owners joined the working class, carrying with them various tendencies of bourgeois ideology, also created additional base for the penetration of revisionism. The end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century marked such a period where a fierce struggle between Marxism and revisionism was launched. Crowned revisionists a la Kautsky and Bernstein evolved from the labour movement to manoeuvre an "offensive" on the working class ideology in defense of the bourgeoisie.

(1) Thus the discussion in the Congress mainly focused on the analysis of the Leninist approach as opposed to the revisionist interpretation of imperialism. The Leninist analysis of imperialism was first opposed by the leader of the 2nd International, Kautsky. Lenin, speaking of the latter, says, "The essence of the matter is that Kautsky detaches the politics of imperialism from its economics, speaks of annexations as being a policy 'preferred' by finance capital, . . ." It was indeed as Lenin added, ". . . the result is bourgeois reformism instead of Marxism." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, pp. 236-7) Kautsky thus laid the pattern for his followers like the Krushchev-Breznev swindlers to finalize their collusion with imperialism, which they did.

Was the export of capital from imperialist countries really in the interest of the colonies and semi-colonies as the revisionists advocate or was it hampering the growth of the productive forces? In fact, the penetration of imperialism in other countries resulted in the strengthening of local reactionaries and their anti-democratic dictatorship and in the final analysis the growth and development of the national economy was retarded.

(2) The question of leadership in the old and new bourgeois democratic revolution were also discussed within the context of case studies. They were generally categorized as before and after the ushering of the world proletarian revolutionary period, each with its own distinct feature. The Great October Revolution marked the era of imperialist collapse, and socialist revolution made proletarian leadership a must in order for revolution to succeed. A supra-class political leadership is absurd and alien to Marxism-Leninism. The working class needs its political party in order to conduct a struggle against its class enemies, crush them and establish its own dictatorship. Contrary to this, the revisionists scramble to blur class antagonisms in order to advance their theory of class collaboration. They view antagonisms between classes as differences and temporary disputes that can be settled on a round table. On such ground the revisionists want to rule out the leading role of the working class in a revolution and they openly advance a collective leadership of various antagonistic classes. Such nonsenses are unacceptable and should be cast away in the garbage can of history.

(3) The revisionists have identical interpretation of the state as party that they are both supra-class. According to their

concoction, the state can formulate and entertain the opposed interests of the oppressors and the oppressed on a "common" platform for a "common" good. What a science! The suppressive and oppressive organs of the state are not worth mentioning for the revisionist, meanwhile making ideal their propagation of parliamentary road as the strategic tool of the masses. Hence they pose their defamed theory of ultra democracy, which is a complete negation of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of class dictatorship of the reactionaries. They also advocate the so-called two-aspects of the state, i.e., the left and right. The "left" oriented section is said to win over the rightists in the process of struggle, so, according to the revisionists, all revolutionaries should agitate and fight for the consolidation of the "progressive" and for the fall of the reactionary side of the state. That is why today the known revisionist mouthpieces of the Soviet Union give their full service to the theory of "socialist" oriented states. All these show their ulterior motives. They prefer to structurize the state apparatus in a reformist manner, which idrectly or indirectly helps to consolidate the rectionaries in power rather than destroying it and building the state in the common interest of the masses. How to view state is the central and burning question raised during a revolution. An incorrect appraisal of the state character leads to a misdirection.

(4) Revolution means the achievement of fundamental changes in the political, economic and social sense. It has a target, i.e., to conquer the state by means of violence. It is diametrically opposed to the trend of reformism which preaches the reverse, the non-violent path. During the era of imperialism, the nature of revolutionary struggles is not peaceful but violent where the peaceful means serve the violent overthrow of the reactionaries. Finance capital aids all internal counter-revolutionary forces to subvert revolutions waged by the working class and other oppressed people. It goes from giving all material support to direct aggression and subversion when it is a matter of keeping its interests intact. The colonies and semi-colonies are exemplary of this fact. It is within such a situation that the revisionists headed by the Soviet Union stand foremost in defence of the non-violent struggle and peaceful transition to socialism. Peaceful coexistence also has been taken as a general line in the foreign policy of the so-called socialist countries which clearly indicates the capitulation to imperialism. Instead the revisionists urge communist parties to use this fallacious theory as a guideline in their struggle against their class enemies. This is pure and simple class betrayal. Class

betrayal of the proletariat means showing allegiance to the bourgeoisie. Herein lies the essence of revisionism whether old or new, although each has its own distinct features.

Revisionism is not a new phenomenon to the working class movement, but as old as over half a century. It has been a persistent counter-revolutionary current which was once shattered into pieces by the great Marxist, Lenin. It was made to revive from its deathbed; it was propped up and brought to the scene by the arch enemies of the working class like Browder, Togliatti and Tito. The further consolidation of the revisionists and their deeper penetration in the working class movement globally was later marked when the Khruchevite clique came to power in the once great socialist country, the Soviet Union. Chairman Mao teaches: "The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie." It was this Khruchevite clique which created and promoted a split within the international communist movement. The Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania in alliance with other genuine communist and workers parties are the sole defenders of Marxist-Leninist principle against the distortion of the notorious Khruchev and the Brezhev clique. It was in such a manner that the C.P.C. and P.L.A. and others fought vigilantly against modern revisionism which is the main danger in the international communist movement. Witnessing to the reality, the Congress affirmed the dangerousness and seriousness of modern revisionism headed by Soviet revisionists. The Congress had also made it clear that the renegade social fascist Haile Fida cliques in Ethiopia are carriers and defenders of this poisonous weed in the Ethiopian soil. To fight the Haile Fida revisionist clique and their backers, the Moscow Breznevites in the political and ideological battle, the Congress believes, is one of the urgent tasks of the revolution.

B. Refutation of the so-called "Theory of Non-Capitalist Road"

Based on the study paper "Refutation of the so-called theory of Non-Capitalist Road" and backed by the studies each chapter has conducted on this topic the 25th Congress discussed the so-called "theory of non-capitalist road" to socialism and scientifically repudiated every revisionist thesis advanced by the Soviet revisionists.

In a nutshell here are the major views advanced by the theory of "non-capitalist road".

1. "Choice of road of economic development" is the decisive question confronting the present day-national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America.
2. "Non-Capitalist road is revolutionary process by which the national liberation struggle gradually and consistently develops into a Socialist revolution . . ."
3. The proletariat of Afro-Asian countries cannot possibly assume the leadership because they are "numerically small, backward, illiterate and unorganized." Therefore the task of undertaking the "Non-Capitalist road" falls upon the national bourgeoisie, the petit-bourgeoisie or even the military intelligentsia."
4. From the point of ideology non-capitalist development will create the conditions for the gradual transformation of the non-Marxist doctrine of Socialism by closely approximating Scientific Socialism.
5. Economically, the non-capitalist road using nationalization of basic means of production and creation of a state sector by expanding this sector with the aid of Soviet Union could enter Socialism peacefully.
6. As to the historical validity of this "theory" we should see the Soviet Republic of Central Asia and Khazakstan and the Mongolian People's Republic. For present day evidences Egypt, Burma, Syria, Ethiopia, Somalia . . . are "good examples".

These revisionist theories negate the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism on the question of revolution, state, proletarian

leadership, etc. Lenin's teaching on imperialism and that of National Liberation becoming part and parcel of world proletarian socialist revolution is totally distorted by the Soviet revisionists to advance their so-called "new road". Their "new road" stands diametrically opposed to Marxism-Leninism and the teaching of Chairman Mao on the New Democratic Revolution. They deny that the fight against feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism in semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries can be accomplished under the leadership of the proletariat and its communist party - no petty bourgeoisie or national bourgeoisie can accomplish this task. Without a Marxist-Leninist theory to guide the revolutionary action of the masses the revolution is bound to suffer defeats. But on both points the advocates of "Non-capitalist development" have betrayed Marxism-Leninism. No "new world situation" or other excuses these revisionists offer can convince us that the decisive question confronting the present day national liberation movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America is the question of economic development. Marxists do not separate economic tasks from political tasks. Without political independence there cannot be economic independence. Until neo-colonialism is totally smashed and feudalism abolished and peoples dictatorship is set up under the leadership of the proletariat there can not be any real political and economic independence.

Can a semi-feudal neo-colonial country advance to Socialism without a violent overthrow of the reactionary state? Can "mere" reforming of the existing state machinery lead to Socialism? On both points the answer is no - the Soviet revisionists say this is possible. In simple terms: their so-called theory of "non-capitalist road to Socialism" is nothing but a counterrevolutionary theory aimed at perpetrating class exploitation.

All "evidences" so loudly pushed by Moscow revisionists either were totally false, like the case of Ethiopia and Somalia, etc., or a distortion of the true history of other nations like Mongolia. In other words, there has never been any valid example to back up the revisionist claims of the validity of their "new road".

Seeing all these revisionist distortions one asks a central question - what is the motive or the aim of Soviet revisionists in propagating all these anti-Marxist-Leninist theories?

The ideological offensive against Marxism-Leninism by the Soviet revisionists is aimed at disarming the revolutionary classes of revolutionary theory. It is also aimed at creating public opinion to advance the counter-revolutionary interests of the Soviet

Union. The political aim of Soviet revisionists is to achieve its neo-colonialist goals by lauding such reactionary theories as "International worker-peasant alliance", "International Dictatorship" and "Single Community". They go in so far as claiming that the USSR is "a reliable pillar", a "guiding force", "natural ally", to those countries on the "non-capitalist road" and that without their help these countries cannot achieve progress, let alone independence. Underlining all this revisionist nonsense is the economic interest of the Soviet revisionist. Soviet revisionists want to lay firm grip on the economic and political lifelines of these countries who accept the "non-capitalist road" and extract enormous profit by various means: through "State project aids", "economic cooperations", "international division of labor", "specialization in production" etc. The Soviet revisionists penetrate countries like Ethiopia and expand their neo-colonialist policies of exploitation. This in brief is the essence of the Soviet revisionist so-called "non-capitalist development" in theory and practice.

C. The Counter-revolutionary collaboration of the Soviet Union with the fascist military regime.

The 25th Congress of ESUNA also discussed and passed resolutions on the counter-revolutionary collaboration of the Soviet Union with the fascist military regime. The thorough exposure and determined all-round struggle against the Soviet revisionists' counter-revolutionary meddling in the Ethiopian revolution is one of the urgent tasks of the revolution. And this is being carried out both at home and abroad under the leadership of the EPRP.

The global counter-revolutionary role, and in particular, the collaboration of the Soviet Union with the fascist Mengistu regime cannot be seen in isolation from the internal complete degeneration of the U.S.S.R. after the usurption of Party and state power by the Khrushchev-Breznev revisionist clique.

Peddling all kinds of pseudo-Marxist theories and camouflaging their counter-revolutionary nature with Marxist-Leninist garb, the Soviet revisionists are directing their target against the genuine people's revolutionary struggle. In contention with its rival U.S. imperialism for hegemony and spheres of influence, the Soviet Union is spreading an assortment of hodge-podge counter-revolutionary theories such as "theory of non-capitalist road", "Theory of Limited Sovereignty", "International dictatorship of the proletariat", "International worker-peasant alliance", etc., in order to enable it to achieve its purpose. Masking itself as 'socialist' and 'true friend of the people's', etc., it stretches its tentacles, colluding everywhere with reactionary forces in order to accomplish its global counter-revolutionary strategy. Consequently, it has been long since it lay its covetous eye in the African region of the Red Sea. It is from this global and regional strategy for hegemony that the U.S.S.R. has colluded fully and has become the principal prop of the fascist military regime.

The strengthening of the ties with the Soviet regime has been accomplished through various steps. Below, there is a brief presentation of the various means employed by the Soviet revisionists to achieve their goal of Neo-colonizing Ethiopia.

1. In pre-February, 1974, Ethiopia, during the regime of man-eating Haileselassie, the Soviet revisionists provided economic and technical "aid". For instance, in 1959, the Soviet Union gave Ethiopia a long-term repayable loan of \$100 million through a so-called Treaty of Friendship and aid agreement.

Under the guise of "investigating" ways to implement the loan agreement in "appropriate projects", Soviet experts flocked to Ethiopia. Consequently, the bulk of the loan was allocated for the construction of the Assab oil refinery. The loan agreement also includes the providing of equipment and materials by the Soviet Union and the repayment of this by Ethiopia by sending coffee, hides, etc. The U.S.S.R. also built the Bahr Dar Polytechnic Institute; it also set up information and cultural centers, gave "scholarship" to many students, set up periodic exhibition centers, etc.

In the 1960's the Soviet revisionists set up joint stock trade company with Ethiopia known as "the Soviet-Ethiopian Trade Company, Ltd." which sells Soviet-made industrial machines, tractors, electronic equipment, motorcars, trucks, bicycles, etc. At the same time, the company exports to the Soviet Union coffee, oil-bearing seeds, leather and other goods.

In 1972, the Soviet revisionists gave 57 students "scholarship" to study in the medical and technical field; and in the same year a Soviet anti-submarine ship 'visited' the port of Massawa. In March, a \$4 million Trade-Industry center was inaugurated (whose aim is to provide a market for Soviet heavy equipment such as tractors) and in the same month the U.S.S.R. signed a "cultural exchange" agreement.

In January, 1973, Haileselassie signed another economic agreement which provided for the sale of various cars, steel tubes and medical equipment. Again, in February, 1973 (similar to a year before), a Soviet war plane "visited" Massawa. On October 29, 1973, Haileselassie visited the U.S.S.R. It is to be recalled that Haileselassie went to the U.S.S.R. after having earlier failed to get as much 'aid' as he desired from his U.S. imperialist masters. The Soviet revisionists praised Haileselassie to the skies. They even went so far as to say "Haileselassie has closed U.S. military bases in Ethiopia." and is "father of African Unity", etc.

2. The February, 1974 revolutionary upsurge ushered the New Democratic Revolution in Ethiopia. As early as the months of February - March, 1974, the Soviet revisionists tried to get a political and military grip in Ethiopia by posing as "a reliable pillar" and "friend of revolution", and offered the government military 'aid'. Moreover, as *Abyot*, the EPRP's Information Bulletin points out, "On the pretext of social, cultural, sports,

etc. . . exchanges, delegations of experts from Moscow and its puppet east European countries flocked to Ethiopia just like the missionaries who preceded the gun-boats during the colonial times." (*Adyat*, Vol. 2, No. 4, May-June, 1977).

3. On the ideological and political front, the Soviet revisionists spread various counter-revolutionary views, such as the fascist Junta is following "the non-capitalist road to socialism", that "it is leading the revolution". Moreover, the 1975 fascist Junta's decrees, such as its nationalizations and Land Reform decrees were lauded to the skies as "truly revolutionary", as "measures that have destroyed social inequality", and leveled vicious slanders and lies such as "In March, 1975, the PMAC/Junta/ made the long-awaited land reform," "which gave land to the illiterate and ignorant peasants," "which are not aware of their class interests". They at the same time denounced the struggle of the Eritrean people and the Eritrean Combattants for being "reactionary separatist" and having "undermined the economic and social development of the administrative region". Moreover, on December 4, 1975, the Soviet newspaper *Tass* echoed the Junta's propaganda by interviewing, endorsing and publishing the then head of state General Teferi Banti on the Eritrean question.
4. A delegation headed by a Junta member, Capt. Moges Woldemichael, was received by Premier Kosygin in Moscow on July 6, 1976. After the visit, *Pravda* on July 14, 1976, published the joint Soviet-Ethiopian Communique. The Communique said in part that the visit and discussions have been conducted "... in a spirit of mutual understanding . . . mutual interest . . ." indicating closer relationship which they desired even to tighten more "... Both sides agreed to a further development of contacts . . ." The fascist Junta, which as far as the Breznev revisionist clique is concerned, is exercising "revolutionary democratic dictatorship" which "creates the political bases for following the non-capitalist road" through Soviet "aid" and "all-round cooperation" as the Communique looked forward to: "... Both sides noted with satisfaction that new, favorable conditions are presently taking shape for the deepening of relations between the Soviet Union and Ethiopia and for the development of all-round cooperation between them. Certain questions concerning the expansion of ties in the economic, cultural and other fields were discussed in a spirit of mutual understanding". The agreement also provided bases for the subsequent coming of geological and other survey

missions. "... For the purpose of making a study, jointly with the relevant Ethiopian organizations, of areas of mutually advantageous economic and technical cooperation, the Soviet side expressed its readiness to send a group of experts to Ethiopia in the near future". Furthermore, "Agreement was also expressed to expand the training program of Ethiopia's own skilled workers in various lines and specialties, both by way of enrollment of Ethiopian students in educational establishments in the U.S.S.R. and by sending Soviet instructors to Ethiopia." Also, "both sides noted the identity or proximity of the Soviet Union's and Ethiopia's stand on many international problems" and moreover, "They stressed the importance of further contacts at different levels for exchange of views on questions of mutual interest." As soon as the Communique had been released, the Soviet revisionists stepped up their propaganda in support of the Junta. They slandered genuine Ethiopian revolutionaries as "Left adventurists", etc. They sang praises to the tune of the fascist military dictatorship. They said the PMAC/Junta/ works for people's interests, that "for the first time a Labour Law has been adopted proclaiming the right of every citizen to work, to paid holidays, social security and an 8-hour working day"; whereas in reality, this same Labour Law has been correctly called by the Ethiopian proletariat as Slavery Law. The Soviet revisionists wouldn't stop at anything to say what they deem necessary in order to curry favour from the regime. They turn truth upside down and blurt out groundless accusations and counter-revolutionary propaganda. When the Junta executed 23 members of EPRP, Radio Moscow and the Soviet Press hailed the Junta's executions.

The Soviet revisionists know no bounds in their hatred for the people, the revolution and the vanguard EPRP. They concentrated their propaganda on attacking the EPRP and at the same time extolling and prettifying the fascist Junta.

5. Hand-in-hand with the political backing they gave to the regime, the Soviet revisionists in their goal to gain a foothold in Ethiopia, signed a military agreement with Ethiopia in December, 1976 by which the U.S.S.R. will provide the Junta with more than \$200 million worth of armaments.
6. On February 3, 1977, the dog-fight within the Junta resulted with Colonel Mengistu emerging with full dictatorial power. The day after the coup d'état the Soviet revisionists gave full

support to the fascist regime. "Mengistu's coup inaugurated the full collusion of the Soviet revisionists and the fascists in Ethiopia. Delegations after delegations from East European countries flocked to Addis Ababa and gave support to the Junta, calling the most blood-thirsty hangman, Mengistu, 'Revolutionary!'" (*Abyot*, Vol. 2, No. 4, May-June, 1977).

After the February 3 coup, the Soviet Union's and its East European as well as Cuban puppets increased their vicious counter-revolutionary propaganda as well as the political and ideological support to the regime by leaps and bounds. One statement after another was issued by the Soviet revisionists which carried such notorious proposition as "the Junta is leading the Ethiopian Revolution" etc. All the major organs of the Soviet press and media such as *Pravda*, *New Times*, *Tass*, and *Radio Moscow* issued a barrage of vicious slanders against the Ethiopian revolution and the Marxist-Leninist EPRP on the basis of completely groundless and outrageous charges in order to justify their counter-revolutionary presence and create reactionary public opinion.

Fidel Castro, under his Soviet master's orders, flew to Ethiopia and promised fascist Mengistu all-round support in the political and military front and in the genocidal campaign against the Eritrean masses. He brought together Ethiopia's Mengistu and Somalia's Barre in South Yemen (PDRY) and put on the agenda Soviet revisionists' fond dream of federating Ethiopia, Somalia and South Yemen (PDRY) under its hegemony. About 200 Cuban military advisors flew to Ethiopia to lead and supervise the fascist regime's counter-revolutionary campaigns against the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Army, the Eritrean Combattants and nationalist insurrecting forces.

7. The counter-revolutionary collusion reached its highest peak when the arch-enemy of the Ethiopian people, Col. Mengistu, went to Moscow on the first week of May, 1977 and paid homage to his Kremlin masters. Colonel Mengistu was received by Breznev's entourage of high party, state and army bureaucrats and officers. This arch-traitor to the Ethiopian people and nation said that he had come to Moscow for mainly two purposes: One is to negotiate the selling out of the nation and people and to provide legal means for the all-out neo-colonization of Ethiopia by the Soviet revisionists. He said that this was a "historical duty" "to strengthen unity and cooperation of the two countries". In his arrival speech he also said, "... we are sure that our stay here will raise to an even higher

level the firm, revolutionary friendship which exists between our countries and our governments". Col. Mengistu's second purpose in going to Moscow was to obtain further instructions on how and in what means he can butcher communist and non-communist revolutionaries and also to learn more revisionist demogogy from the arsenal of counter-revolutionary theories dished out by his Kremlin bosses. Fascist Mengistu's visit saw all kinds of treacherous deals and counter-deals between him and the Soviet revisionists and was finally sealed with the signing of the notorious "Declaration of basic principles of friendly relations and cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and Ethiopia". This "Treaty of friendship and Cooperation" which includes within it such articles as "... proceeding from a broad coincidence of views on major international problems ..." and "... the two sides will seek to expand mutually beneficial economic, scientific and technical cooperation, to exchange experience in industry, agriculture, development and exploitation of natural resources, training national personnel and in other economic fields. They will make efforts so that their economic cooperation rests on a coordinated long term basis", and which was trumpeted as being conducted "... In an atmosphere of friendship and complete mutual understanding ...". All this and more in the form of secret clauses and secret military agreements completely legalized the Soviet revisionists all-out neo-colonization effort of Ethiopia. The military agreement signed indicates that Moscow will immediately hand out Mengistu 48 Mig-Fighter planes, 160 TSS and T-34 tanks, missiles, and close to 80,000 automatic rifles like AK-47. The fascist regime has already received a substantial amount of these.

8. Today in Ethiopia, Soviet weapons are being used to massacre thousands of peasants, workers, revolutionary youth and progressive intellectuals. They are being used to indiscriminately kill old men, women and children in their homes, on the road, in the cities and in the rural areas. Using Soviet weapons, the fascist regime is instigating reactionary civil wars, is undertaking counter-revolutionary war of genocide against the Eritrean, Oromo and other oppressed peoples; is conducting incessant "encirclement and suppression" campaigns against the EPRA, Assimba and other revolutionary base areas. But as EPRP's Information Bulletin has recently pointed out, "This is one side of the coin. On the other hand, just like the Koumintang and U.S. imperialists were to be the arms suppliers of the Chinese revolution, today too, the Soviet

revisionists are/will be the best source of arms for the Ethiopian revolution. The Klashinkovs will be disarmed by our army. With Soviet Klashinkovs, two, three, and many Assimbas and revolutionary base areas will be set up." (*Abyot*, Vol. 2, No. 4, May-June, 1977). As far as the Soviet revisionists' evil scheme to neo-colonize and plunder our country is concerned, EPRP has affirmed in this same issue of *Abyot*; "So long as Ethiopia's true sons, the EPRP communists exist; our country would never be enslaved nor controlled by any force. There will be a bitter struggle; towns and cities may be burned down, the country's treasure may be destroyed, but the people's revolution is invincible. Just like Vietnam did to U.S. imperialism, the Ethiopian people will also drive out those who want to buy or sell our freedom. In this respect, Ethiopia would be another Vietnam, but not another Chile".

D. On the Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU) – The party of feudal reaction

The 25th Congress of ESUNA also discussed the reactionary role of the so-called Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU) and passed a resolution condemning the feudal gangster group EDU and its reactionary allies. We present below a very brief overview of EDU.

1. EDU is an arch-reactionary organization of feudalists, bureaucrat and comprador bourgeoisie. The membership of EDU is composed largely of the feudalists, landlords and princes, bureaucrat and comprador bourgeoisie who served in the feudo-bourgeoisie regime of Haileselassie and who are either still serving the fascist regime's bureaucracy or have fled the country and are living in London, U.S. and Khartoum, etc., or are engaged in armed banditry in Ethiopia.
2. The leadership of EDU is composed of all sorts of blood-suckers and exploiters and ferocious class enemies of the Ethiopian broad masses. They included reactionaries such as 'Ras' Mengesha Seyoum, 'Crown Prince' Asfawossen Haileselassie, Lt. Generals Iyassu Mengesha and Nega Tegegne, Betwoded Adane and Dejazmatch Berhane Meskel Desta.
3. What are the historical conditions that led to the formation of EDU? In the main, four steps can be identified: First, the ushering in of the great February upsurge of 1974 and the subsequent revolutionary advance by the masses shook Haileselassie's feudo-bourgeoisie system to its foundation. The political and economic grip of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie was revolutionarily questioned. Some section of the ruling class is 'baptized' with 'Ethiopia First'. Second, the Derg (military junta) completes usurption of state political power (September 12, 1974). Under the pressure of the masses' revolutionary struggle, some members of the ruling class are imprisoned, and some are executed (November, 1974); some flee to the bushes, some hide in towns and cities, some reject the blessing of 'Ethiopia First', some flee the country, whereas some got second 'baptism' by 'Ethiopian Socialism'. The big landlords and the bureaucrat bourgeoisie are undermined in their monopoly of state political power.

areas the EDU feudalists killed many workers and peasants, massacred children in front of their parents. At Metemma in April 1977 they employed heavy artillery and guns to control the water supply, depriving the population of water. The EDU white army was so ruthless and indiscriminate that many thousands of people had to flee Metema in search of safety and water. To add insult to injury, along the way many people were shot down by the bullets of EDU bandits and suffered starvation for lack of food and water.

7. What is the relationship between the fascist regime and EDU? the fascist Junta has objectively allowed the EDU bandits to flee the country, regroup, organized and extend its infrastructure in and outside Ethiopia and build its white army. The Junta did this primarily by concentrating all its political and military repression against the Ethiopian masses and the Marxist-Leninist-proletariat vanguard EPRP. This is because the Junta's class role is the same as that of the EDU, which is to protect and enforce the interests of feudalism, imperialism and bureaucrat-capitalism. In short, the fascist regimes quarrel with EDU is a 'family quarrel' centering on the question of who should control state power, which master to serve and on how best to defend the interests of the ruling class. The Junta's all-round fascist repression against the peasantry, the working-class and other labouring people has greatly facilitated the EDU to strengthen itself militarily and organizationally. As far as fighting the camp of revolution led by EPRP is concerned; the fascist regime, the social fascists and the reactionary EDU are one and the same.

8. It has become perfectly clear that EDU is a retrograde feudo-bourgeoisie reactionary menace to the New Democratic Revolution; that it has been and remains to be the most reliable, servile servant and a finished form lackey of US-led Western Imperialism in Ethiopia; and apart from being a retrograde force itself; it poses a serious danger to the Ethiopian revolution, peace and well-being of the masses. Then what should our attitude be toward it? How should we appraise the strength and weakness of EDU?

Marxism-Leninism rejects and guards itself against over-estimating or underestimating the strength or weakness of the enemy. In light of this scientific truth, it is important to point out some of the major strong and weak points of EDU.

As far as the strong points of EDU are concerned: First/ EDU gets an all-out and all-rounded support and backing from US-led Western imperialism. Second/ It gets similar support from neighboring reactionary regimes of the region such as Sudan and Saudi Arabia. Third/ The fascist regime's military and bureaucracy are still directly or indirectly filled with a substantial number of members, supporters or sympathizers of EDU. Fourth/ EDU has sympathy and support of the upper clergy, the feudal lords and gentry of all nationalities, which constitute a substantial part of its social basis. Fifth/ It gets the support of, and forms "tactical" alliances with reactionary regionalists as well as pseudo-democratic "nationalist" movements in the country such as the "Afar Liberation Front" of Ali-Mirah. Sixth/ EDU has a long standing and 'rich' experience of rule, exploitation, plots and counter-revolution, as well as affairs of military know-how, diplomacy and administration. Seventh/ It has built its own white army which numbers several thousands.

And as far as the weak points of EDU are concerned: First/ EDU has been and is identified with, and is an organized representative of the condemned and barbaric rule of Haile Selassie. Second: It has been and is being exposed completely and thoroughly by the revolutionary forces led by EPRP. Consequently it is extremely isolated from the masses. Third/ It is beset with its own internal contradictions and divisions between the bureaucratic-bourgeois factions and the aristocratic-royalist faction. It suffers from its warlord mentality, primitiveness, backwardness and organizational amorphousness, etc. Fourth/ EDU is attached in one thousand and one ways, and identified with the hated, detested, exposed and condemned imperialist power, US imperialism. Fifth/ Its white army is thoroughly parasitic, reactionary and lives off the sweat and blood of the peasantry by intimidating, plundering, burning, looting and massacring them. Consequently, this white army is isolated, bitterly hated, denounced and fought against by the peasantry.

9. The EDU has repeatedly stressed in its propaganda and its activities that the fascist regime is only its temporary enemy; but that its real enemy is the EPRP. Being anti-revolution, anti-people, anti-socialism, the EDU can only find in EPRP, the revolution and the people its bitterest and colossal enemy. The EDU knows full well the masses led by EPRP will surely destroy it. Thus to prolong its doomsday it has made a number

of attempts to 'destroy' the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Army. As an EPRP communique pointed out, it even set up a special military task force headed by Lt. General Nega Tegene with the object of attacking the EPRA forces in Tagrai and other places. However, the heroic red army has scored telling blows on the EDU bandits. In the mountains and valleys of Begemeder, Gojjam, Tigray, etc., the EPRA has already crushed and is crushing the EDU's white army. Only the EPRA led by EPRP can, by mobilizing, organizing and arming the masses of the peasantry, destroying the repressive organs of rule of the exploiting classes, carrying out armed agrarian revolution, building and expanding revolutionary base areas, can step-by-step and in a thorough going way destroy the camp of counter-revolution that includes the fascist regime, the social fascists and the EDU who are the mainstay of feudalism, imperialism, bureaucrat-capitalism and fascism.