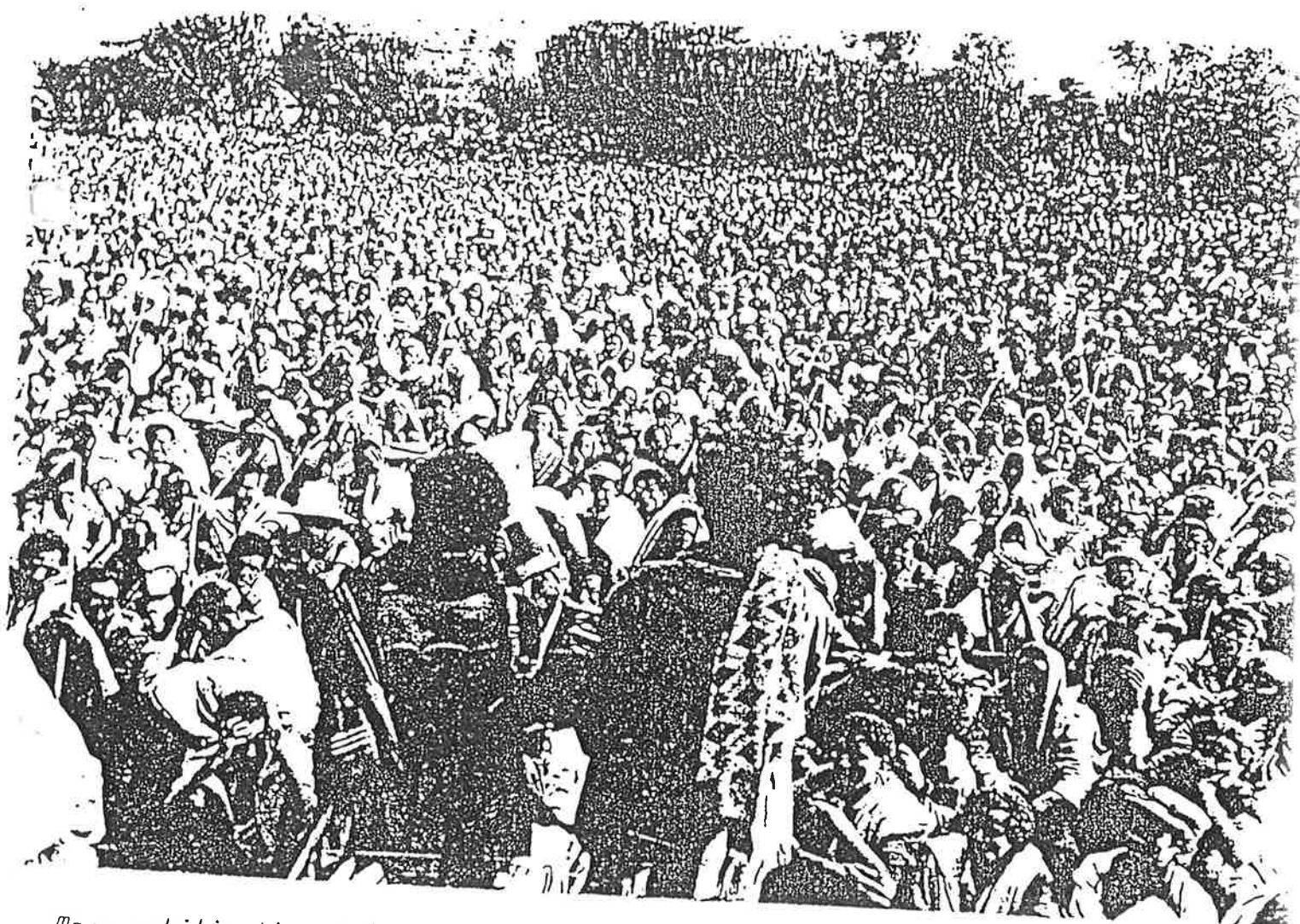


SOME STANDS OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST CORE
IN THE TIGRAY PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FRONT, T.P.L.F

MAY 1984



Mass mobilization and participation - the true characters of our Revolution.

SOME STANDS OF THE MARXIST - LENINIST CORE
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SOME STANDS OF THE MARXIST - LENINIST

CORE WITHIN THE TPLF.

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I INTRODUCTION:-

The TPLF has had a Marxist - Leninist core ever since its inception. This has determined the course the TPLF followed for almost a decade.

The Marxist - Leninist core rather small and relatively inexperienced secured its leadership in the TPLF from the very beginning by defining a correct line of the revolution. Through struggle and during the struggle, the Core has been able to develop and perfect its general line which was basically correct from the day it mapped out the course of the Ethiopian revolution.

It has trained a sizeable number of high caliber Marxist - Leninist cadres and thousands of vanguard fighters from among the working people in the mass associations and TPLF's Army. This has enabled the ML in TPLF to prepare and organize itself on a higher level than ever before. Currently, the Core is steadfastly engaged in the necessary preparations and basic activities required to formulate its organizational structure and declare its existence in the near future.

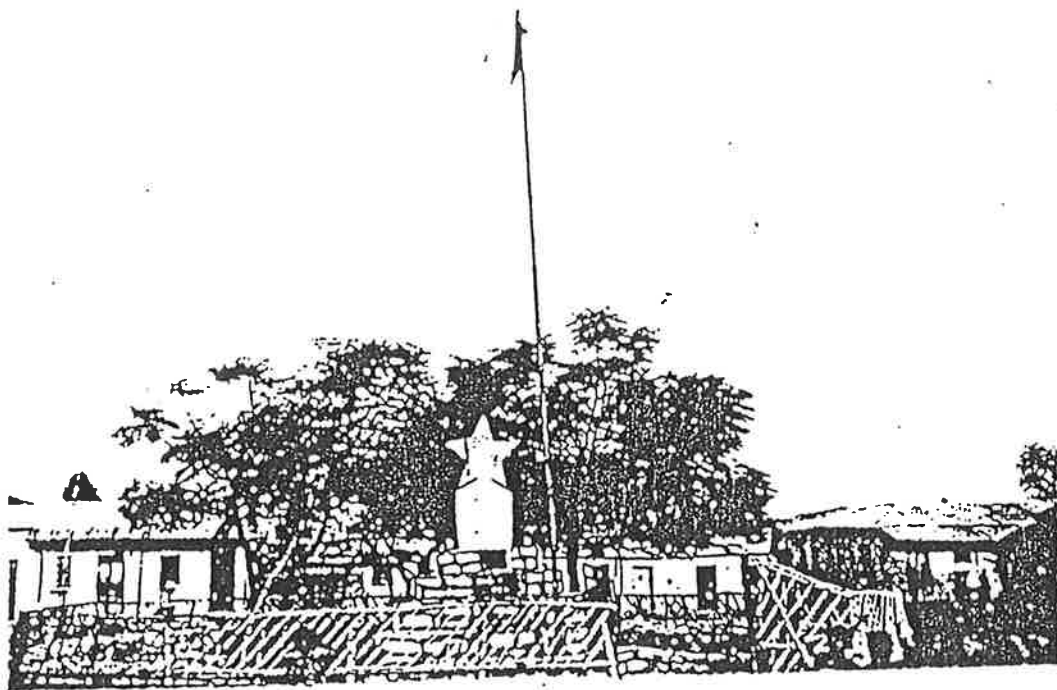
It is therefore high time for this Marxist - Leninist core to give a full explanation of its line and development and to attach itself more closely to the genuine Marxist - Leninist movement of the workers than it had been able to do so in the past. With this message, the ML core in TPLF has prepared this short explanatory paper.

II HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF TPLF'S (ML) CORE:-

1) Pre - TPLF Days.

To narrate the development of TPLF'S Marxist - Leninist core before the formation of the TPLF it is necessary to take a very short look at the historical condition of Ethiopia pre - February, 1974.

Ethiopia emerged as a full - fledged empire - state at the end of the 19th. century under the dominance of Amhara feudal lords. This was done by the extension of Amhara dominance over the Sidama, Oromia, Tigray, Ogaden - Somali and other peoples.



The Liberated town of Adi Da'ero, Western Region.

This is not to say that there were no sovereign states, before the formation of the present - day Ethiopia. The civilization of Axum which thrived in what is now Tigray and some outlying areas was one of the most highly developed slave societies of the time. It had commercial ties with similar states as far as China and Rome.

The fall of Axum around 10th. century A.D. was also the fall of slavery as a social system (although domestic slavery continued to exist for a long time afterwards) in the area. In its place came feudalism. There were many feudal princelets and dukedoms in what is now northern Ethiopia (which is inhabited mainly by Tigreans and Amharas. As is usual in all feudal systems at the lower level of development, there was no centralized state with a clearly defined boundary although there were times when one dukedom would gain suzerainty over the other.

This contention to gain suzerainty although unable to establish a centralized empire was enough to fuel intense rivalry between the Amhara and Tigrean feudal lords.

The southern, western and eastern parts of present - day Ethiopia were generally not involved in the above mentioned process and were chiefly inhabited by pastoralists and primitive agriculturalists.

The expansion of western - imperialism into Africa and the intense inter - imperialist rivalries gave the impetus to change the situation in Ethiopia completely.

Just as much as the imperialists tried to play off one prince against the other, the local princes also tried to play off one imperialist power against the other and strengthen themselves thereby.

At the beginning of the so called scramble for Africa the Tigrean feudal lords under the leadership of Yohannes Iṽ had gained over all suzerainty over their rivals, including the Amhara feudal lords. But this was shortlived, because in the process of repelling foreign aggression they weakened their power - base. In the meantime the Amhara feudal lords had strengthened their power - base by expanding

towards the east, west and south conquering and enslaving the local population. Therefore after the death of Yohannes IV, the Amhara feudal lords under the leadership of Emperor Menelik II established their dominance not only over northern Ethiopia (traditionally called Abyssinia) but also all over present - day Ethiopia.

At this time foreign capitalism had begun to infiltrate into Ethiopia and began to radically improve the communications system paving the way for a centralized state of Ethiopia to emerge. This, and the art that Menelik managed to get in bulk by playing - off one imperialist against the other enabled him to suppress not only his rivals from other areas but to establish a long lasting dominance over the people in these areas.

But, this was not done, and couldn't be done peacefully. In the north Menelik used the tactic of impoverishing Tigray as a means of weakening his rivals, the Tigrean feudal lords. With this in mind he deliberately disrupted trade, imposed super - heavy taxation, sent hundreds of thousands of his armed hordes to ravage the countryside and fuel local rivalries to create a protracted condition of instability and chaos.

Thus, what started as rivalry between two ruling classes developed into severe oppression of the Amhara ruling classes over the Tigrean people. Economic exploitation, political, cultural and linguistic oppression were imposed on the Tigrean working people. Over and above "their own" exploiters they had to shoulder the heavy burden of Amhara national oppression. This resulted in the intense hatred of the Amhara ruling classes that the Tigrean people harbour. The formation of a centralized empire state in Ethiopia under the dominance of the Amhara ruling classes was also the beginning of the severe national oppression in Ethiopia and the cause of the repeated national uprisings of the Tigrean people.

In the rest of Ethiopia a similar process had been taking place. Menelik dispossessed the local people of their land and turned them into serfs. His army was allowed to parasitize on the people with commanders being given very large tracts of land along with the serfs dwelling in the area. The local ruling classes were turned into

mainly Amhara / Tigray / ...

appendages of the Amhara ruling classes.

This was strengthened by all round national oppression (political, cultural, etc.). Naturally this resulted in intense national feelings and uprisings of the local people.

In short the formation of the empire - state of Ethiopia under the dominance of Amhara ruling classes was the beginning of the hated national oppression which affected over 75% of the population and resulted in repeated national uprisings and rebellions by the enslaved peoples.

Foreign capital continued to infiltrate into Ethiopia all throughout the reign of Menelik and with it began to emerge the bureaucratic capitalist class. Thus the triple exploitation of the Ethiopian people (feudal, imperialist and bureaucratic capitalist) emerged during the reign of Menelik and continued to exist with the imperialist and bureaucratic aspect getting more and more prominent.

With the development of dependent capitalism especially during the reign of Haileselassie, the last emperor of Ethiopia, came the emergence of the proletariat into the scene and side by side with it the introduction of Marxism - Leninism to Ethiopia.

The autocratic regime of Haileselassie suppressed all democratic rights, banned all progressive literature, and mercilessly suppressed any and all signs of resistance and discontent.

Nevertheless, the struggle of the proletariat and other working people and the infiltration of Marxism - Leninism to Ethiopia continued to grow. At the beginning the ideas of Marxism - Leninism was limited to intellectual circles and mainly to the Ethiopian students movement activities.

The Ethiopian student movement was one of the most vocal opposition forces to the Emperor. From year to year it grew up not only in strength but also in overall orientation. It began to take a strong anti - feudal and anti - imperialist stand and a significant number of activists pledging loyalty to Marxism - Leninism began to emerge

Nevertheless a big section of it was tinted with petty bourgeois trends and almost all of them took Mao Tse Tung's thought as a "genuine" development of Marxism - Leninism. TPLF Marxist - Leninist core developed out of this process.

2) The February Revolutionary Upheaval, its Aftermath & the TPLF.

The February (1974) mass revolutionary upsurge caught most of the self-appointed Marxists and militants unaware. Not only were they unorganized, but, in a way more importantly, they did not have a clearly set line to follow.

The upsurge was at once a development and continuation of the previous struggles of the Ethiopian people. Like all previous local uprisals it did not have an organized all Ethiopia political leadership and one slogan. The people rose spontaneously around issues that were prominent in their areas and to resolve contradictions that had reached the highest level of acuteness locally.

Unlike the previous uprisings the February revolutionary upheaval was a country-wide affair and as such was able to pose the issue of political power. Spontaneously all the Ethiopian people rose up in revolt around local issues and to resolve contradictions that were locally most acute.

In the south the people rose up to destroy national dehumanization and serfdom both of which revolved around combating the Amhara landlords planted by Menelik's expansion.

In Tigray the people arose to uproot national oppression and the local appendages of Amhara national oppression and exploitation.

Elsewhere in the country and especially in the main cities the workers and all the democratic sections of the society fought for democratic rights in general and people's power in particular.

All "left" groups and study circles, were challenged. How to lead and contribute to the revolution became the key question of the day.

In the meantime a situation whereby the old ruling classes couldn't continue ruling and the people were not yet ready to conquer political power arose. The only organized group to fill the gap was the army. The rightist military officers representing the upper sections of the petty bourgeois organized under the name of "Dergue" and around a slogan of "Ethiopia First" usurped political power.

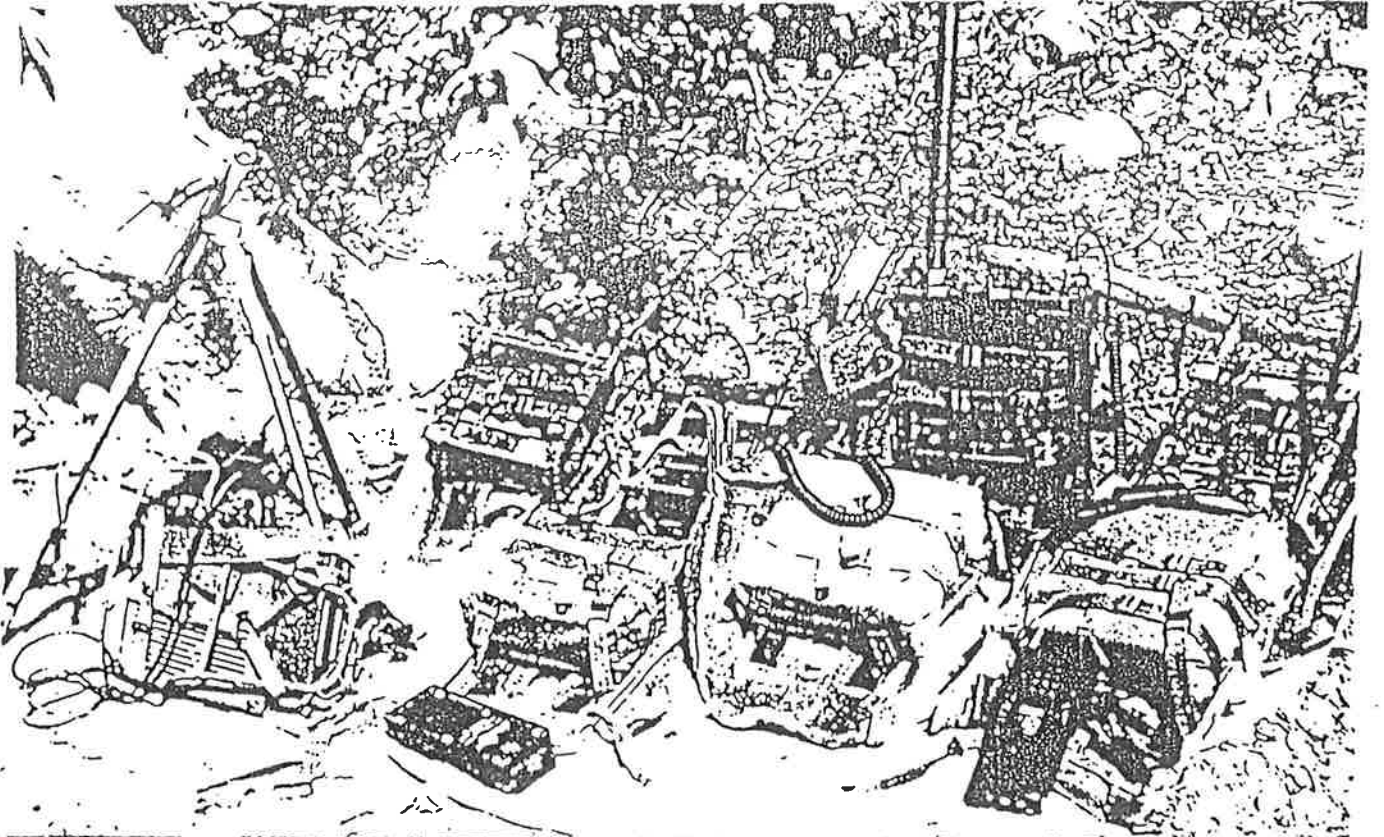
This situation posed more problems and further aggravated the differences among those who called themselves Marxist - Leninists. Out of the chaos of ideas arose three distinct lines. One represented by the EPRP (Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party) the other represented by Meisone (All Ethiopia Socialist Movement) and the third represented by TPLF's Marxist - Leninist core.

All in their own ways accepted that the task at hand was to complete the democratic revolution and thereby to construct socialism. In the same manner they all accepted that the main enemies were imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism.

But they differed on other cardinal issues of the revolution.

On the character of the new group in power Meisone had a right opportunist line. They declared that the new group objectively playing an anti - feudal, anti - imperialist and anti - bureaucratic capitalist line despite its "markedly anti - democratic character". Therefore they proposed that the line to follow was to ally with the Dergue, to concentrate the fire on the triple enemies, to criticise the Dergue's anti - democratic moves and politicize, organize and arm the people to fully consolidate their power. Thus arose the notorious Meison line of "critical support" to the Dergue.

The EPRP had a confused and vacillating stand on the issue. They said that the Dergue was anti - democratic (later on going as far as calling it fascist). But they also said that it had democratic sections within and that was possible to utilize them as an important force of the revolution. While undermining the usurpation of power by the Dergue they negated the role of the peasantry in the revolution (especially after the land - reform taken by the Dergue). This led them to putschist attempts at the conquest of power, based on



Imperialist supplied arms- eventually fall into the hands of our people.

urban petty bourgeoisie and especially on the student mass. Later on, they went as far as organising coups d'etat together with the so called democratic sections of the Dergue.

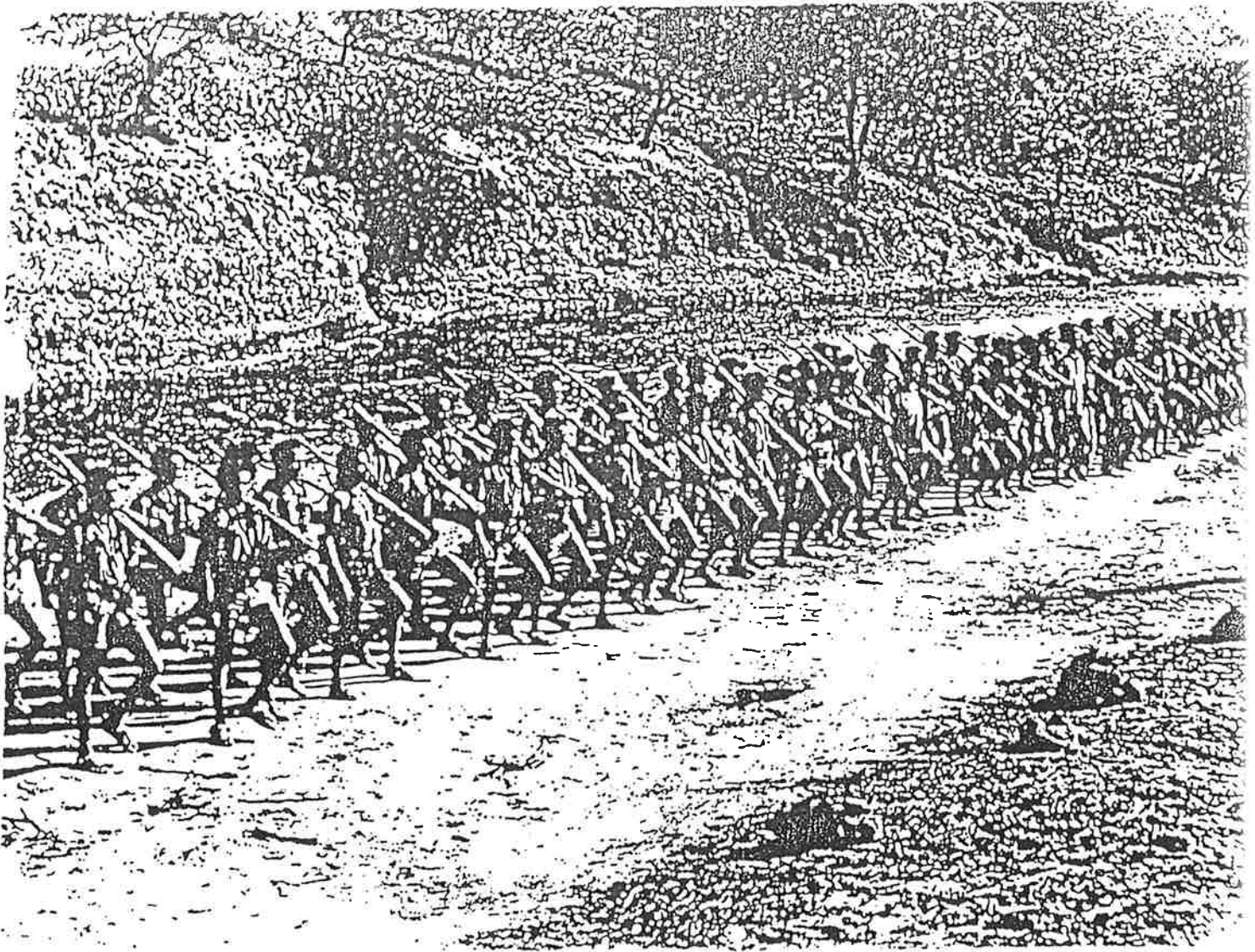
The Marxist - Leninist core in the TPLF correctly described the state in power as representing the upper sections of the petty bourgeoisie that this section aspires to raise itself into a new full - fledged bourgeoisie replacing the old ruling classes in suppressing the masses' legitimate desire to seize full power.

Accordingly the Core concluded that the Dergue was inherently anti - democratic and had marked fascist characteristics. As such under the conditions where it had managed to conquer political power would try to liquidate the mass upsurge and at best to utilize it to weaken its rivals, the old ruling classes and consolidate the new power.

From this it was clear that far from being an ally of the revolution, and allowing the people to organise themselves and conquer political power, the Dergue was an enemy of the people hindering the struggle against feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism. It was unquestionable that it would go to any length to suppress the mass movement and consolidate its newly conquered power. The revolution had no alternative but to wage the struggle against both, the old ruling classes and the new clique in power.

The Core stated that the proletariat is the leader of the revolution and that the peasantry is the main force of the revolution (in Ethiopia, the latter constitutes over 90% of the population) and unlike the EPRP consistently geared its practice accordingly. It had no room for petty bourgeois based putsches and coups d'etat and didn't consider sections of the Dergue as major forces of the revolution (in any case the presence of democratic individuals, let alone sections, in the Dergue was more than doubtful).

The other key issue of difference was how to handle the national question and under what slogans to mobilize the Ethiopian masses.



*People's Militia- rigorous training for the defence of the
revolutionary gains.*

Meisone undermined the role of national contradictions in Ethiopia, denied that democratic national movements had any positive role to play in the revolution and went as far denying the rights of oppressed nations and nationalities to full self - determination and accepted regional autonomy under the fascist Dergue as a correct way of resolving the contradiction.

The EPRP accepted the right of nations and nationalities in Ethiopia to self - determination upto and including secession in words. But in practice they sabotaged it. They undermined the national contradiction in Ethiopia and said to wage national struggle was to hinder the class struggle and therefore counter - revolutionary.

TPLF's Marxist - Leninist core had a different and correct understanding of the situation. It said that under conditions where over 75% of the population were groaning under severe national oppression:

a) The people had very little experience of an all Ethiopia multi - national movement and on the contrary nearly all past movements of the oppressed nations and nationalities upto and including the February uprising were national in character demanding for the complete democratization of the state. b) The presence of acute national contradictions were being manifested in mass actions, and therefore, the national contradiction was the central issue of the revolution.

Furthermore, it said that democratic national movements would be able to harness these mass actions to the overall interest of the revolution and help to democratically resolve the issue. So long as the national movements were consistently democratic (i.e. anti - imperialist, anti - feudal and anti - bureaucratic capitalist) and accepted or had proletarian leadership, the Core maintained that they would be a force for the revolution, a force for the class struggle but not a hinderance.

It maintained that as long as there was a correct multi - national proletarian party to co - ordinate and lead the various forms of struggles, national movements would be the best form of harnessing the mass national upsurge of the oppressed nations and nationalities.

The Core pointed to the experience of the Russian revolution and



March 8, International Working Women's Day, celebrated in a liberated town.

stated that under conditions where the national question was far less important and less acute and when the revolution in question was the socialist revolution, the Bolsheviks correctly harnessed the mass national upsurge of the oppressed nations of Russia to the interests of the oppressed to the conquest of power by the proletariat, and regarded it as a very important reserve of the revolution.

Therefore, the Core proposed that the best way to mobilize the people for the revolution was to organize and lead them around democratic issues including to form democratic national organizations and multi-national democratic organizations in areas where it is appropriate, and co-ordinate them all by forming an all Ethiopia united democratic front.

The Core stated that, under conditions of people's power, various forms of unity (including various forms of regional autonomy) are the best forms for resolving the national contradictions democratically. Otherwise, to accept the Dergue's national autonomy is to condone the perpetuation of oppression.

Although, all in their own different ways stated that for the revolution to succeed, the leadership of a unitary multi-national proletarian party was irreplaceable, the question of how the proletarian party should be formed was the bone of contention.

The EPRP stating the irreplaceability of the party went to declare itself a party without having the necessary clarity and unity of ideas with it, without encompassing or attempting to encompass a big section of the vanguard fighters in other groups and basing itself on the urban petty-bourgeoisie. It went on along this line until practice itself cruelly proved it wrong and led it to annihilation. Hastily patched up a petty-bourgeois party was no replacement for a genuine proletarian party which could only be formed when the minimum necessary preparations had been made.

Meisone declined from declaring itself the vanguard party and stated that this should be created from the merger of all communist groups through struggle. But Meisone's communists were not the real communists but the so-called palace communists, those that had sold out



TPLF's women cadres in political session.

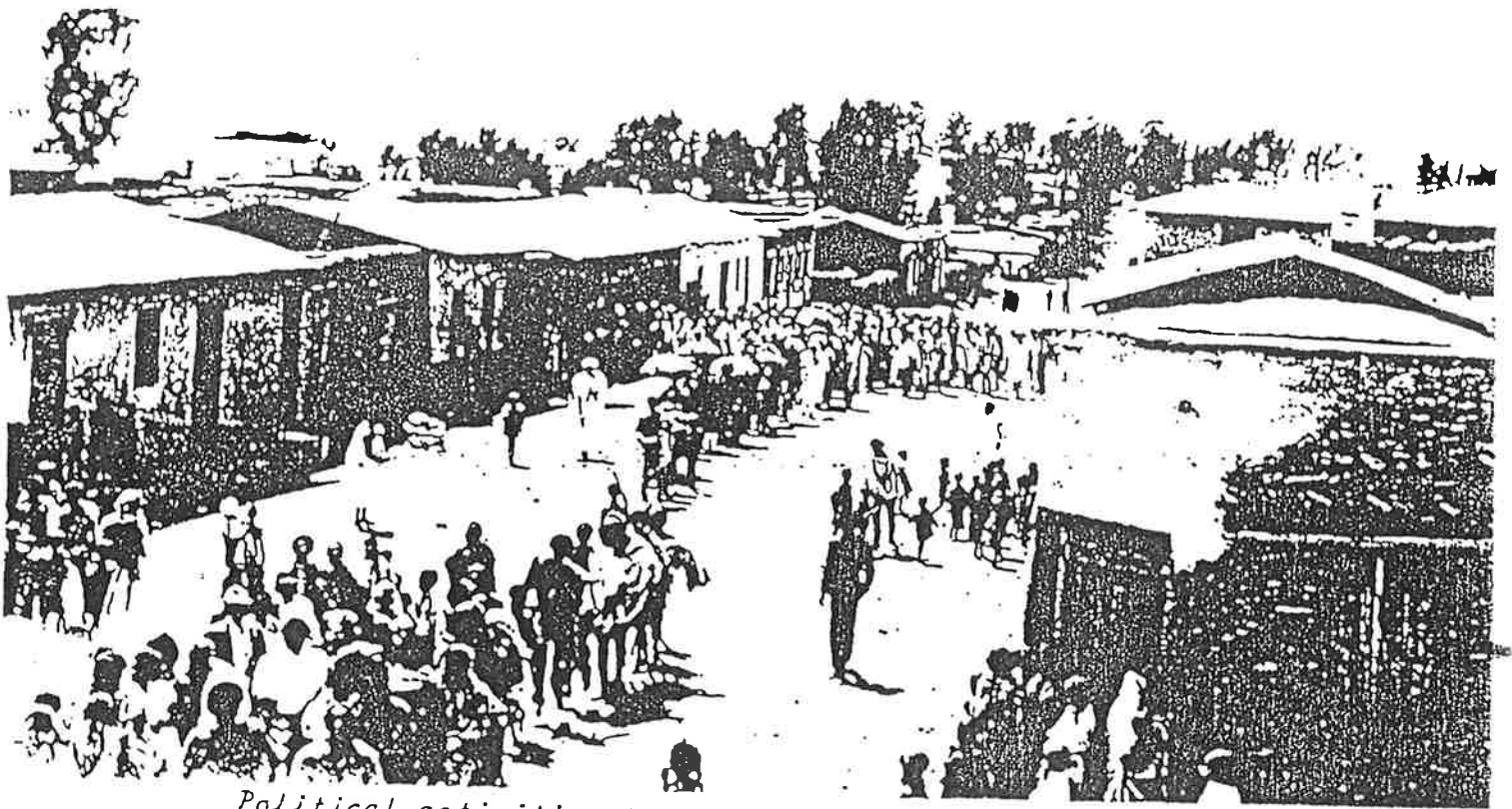
communist principles to the fascist Dergue. And so it went in its merger to form the "proletarian party" together with the Dergue until the Dergue threw it like a squeezed lemon.

The TPLF's Marxist - Leninist core, while recognizing the indispensability of a unitary multi - national Marxist - Leninist party without which the Ethiopian revolution would have no chance for triumph also recognized that it couldn't be willed into existence unless necessary minimum preparations are made - clear lines defined through political and ideological struggle, the necessary minimum cadres recruited and the necessary communist propaganda work carried out among the working masses through Marxist - Leninist education, etc.

But the revolution couldn't be postponed until such time. When the communists find it fit to form the party it is an objective process that had to be tackled while the process of party formation is going on. So the communists had to throw themselves into the thick of the struggle in whatever level of organization was appropriate to their level of development and struggle to lead and guide it. The communist party would be formed through the process of merger of the different genuine Marxist - Leninist groups who may have been leading or participating in the democratic organizations or so.

The Core stated that the organizational structure should reflect the multi - national character of Ethiopia and the great role the national question is objectively playing in Ethiopia while avoiding Bundist federalism and nationalism. In opposition to Bundist federalism, whereby instead of a monolithic all Ethiopia proletarian party there has to be a federation of national parties, the Core maintained that there can only be one multi - national party strictly practicing the Leninist norms of democratic centralism with national parties as its branches.

In opposition to Bundist nationalism whereby the workers and communists in a certain area were to be organized in different organizations based on their national origin, the Core maintained that just as there is only one party on an all Ethiopia level there can only be one branch organization at lower levels also. To do otherwise is to surrender to bourgeois nationalism.



Political activities in one of the liberated towns of Tigray.

In opposition to national chauvinist tendencies the Core maintained that to state that there can only be one unitary party in Ethiopia and unitary branch organizations at lower levels is not to recognize the need of national branch parties in a multi-national state like Ethiopia. Such national parties will work as branch organizations of the all Ethiopia party and observe all Leninist norms of democratic centralism. This is totally different from Bundist nationalism and federalism. It is justified in theory because it allows the party to set up its organizations based not on arbitrary administrative boundaries but on objective linguistic, cultural and historical boundaries enabling it to tune its work to local conditions and mobilize the people better. The practice of the Bolshevik party before and after the revolution is enough practical justification. This was the stand of the Core on party formation.

Another important line of demarcation was manifested after the Derg took reformist measures the most important of which were the agrarian reform, the nationalization of some key industrial establishments and the declaration of the so called "Ethiopian socialism".

Meisone unreservedly supported these reforms and presented them as clear indications of the Dergue's anti-feudal and anti-imperialist character. It suggested that just as the slogan of "Ethiopia first" was changed to "Ethiopian socialism" this in turn would sooner or later change into the slogan of Scientific Socialism. It stated that its task was to support and criticize the Dergue strongly enough so that it will take this "leap" (as if any old fascist could change his nature by changing his slogans and taking reformist measures).

The EPRP, as usual, was confused and unable to find its bearings. It couldn't scientifically explain the measures. Nonetheless, it opposed them outrightly by taking stands identical with those of the old ruling classes, who had started to organize themselves under the so called EDU (Ethiopian Democratic Union). Furthermore, it stated that the land reform would write off the revolutionary potential of the peasantry. It sunk deeper and deeper into the petty bourgeois quagmire.



Reciprocity of love-father and son, both in the struggle.

TPLF's Marxist - Leninist core took a radically different stand. It stated that the reforms were the result of the revolutionary struggle of the masses but that the Dergue having been forced to bow to the pressures from below and engineered them in such a manner that they would diffuse the revolutionary upheaval and at the same time weakening the old ruling classes, the rivals of the Dergue. Thus, enabling the upper sections of the petty bourgeoisie, whom the Dergue represented, to transform itself into a full fledged state capitalist class and fuse with the lower sections of the old bureaucratic bourgeoisie, in the process.

All the reforms in general and the agrarian reforms in particular were not carried out under the complete democratization of the state and the participation of the masses. As such they would not be able to further the interest of the revolution and the masses. It was intended precisely to diffuse the revolution and side track it into bourgeois reformism. These could not therefore be presented as proof of the Dergue's anti - feudal and anti - imperialist nature any more than the Shah of Iran's "white revolution" and agrarian reforms could. They were both counter - revolutionary reforms intended to stifle genuine agrarian revolution and full democratization of the state.

From this, the Core went on to propose that the reforms had to be exposed and opposed as counter - revolutionary reforms intended to stifle the revolution and extend the mass base of the state in power which by then had clearly manifested its fascist nature. But this opposition should be clearly differentiated from those of the EDU and its likes. It must clearly indicate that the revolution would take these reforms and much besides, it would do so more consistently and under conditions of people's power and full democratization thereby paving the way for socialism.

The Core maintained that the agrarian reform of the Dergue does not and cannot write - off the revolutionary potential, not only because the Dergue cannot enforce them in such a way that the interests of the masses of the peasantry could be guaranteed but also because it doesn't and cannot satisfy the demands of the peasantry as well as other demands for people's power and for democratic resolutions of all democratic

questions including the national question.

Based on these lines Melesse started its shortlived honeymoon with the Dergue, the EPRP went on with its putsches and coups d'etat and basing itself on the urban petty - bourgeoisie. The Marxist - Leninist core of the TPLF went on to form the Tigray People's Liberation Front and wage the rural armed struggle, recognizing the decisive role of the leadership of the proletariat and full participation of the peasantry in the revolution and the importance of urban political and armed struggle.

3) Developments upto the 1st. Congress of the TPLF.

Although the Core had basically a correct general line of the revolution, it lacked experience and a sufficient number of theoretically well developed cadres. More importantly, it had a clear Maoist outlook on many important issues. Despite these the Core continued to develop and perfect its general line, gaining experience and training the necessary cadres.

The four years between the formation of the TPLF and its First Congress (1975 - 1979) were very hard years for the Core and the TPLF. They had to face political and military assaults from very many enemies.

a) The struggle against Tigrean narrow nationalism - the TPLF and the Core had taken up the national slogan as tactical means for furthering the Ethiopian revolution by destroying national oppression and as such it consistently opposed and corrected nationalist tendencies within it in time, which in any case were not that repeated and profound.

More importantly, it had to oppose and expose Tigrean narrow nationalism among the people and wherever it was to be found in an organised manner. It didn't have to wait much for the challenge of bourgeois nationalism to come.

Narrow - nationalists had organized themselves around the so called Tigray Liberation Front (TLF) and began to spread their bourgeois nationalist poison. They were scared of the TPLF'S genuine internationalist line and its appeal to the Tigrean masses. They there -



Public health education-members of a village community taking courses.

fore began to characterise the TPLF as a disguised instrument of Amhara national domination. When this failed to check their growing isolation from the masses they began to physically threaten under their notorious slogan "liquidating the Amharanised Tigreans! the traitors to the Tigray nation!" etc.

The TPLF and the Core realized their machinations in time and took a timely and decisive step and liquidated them in a well planned operation. But the bourgeois nationalist poison that they had disseminated among the masses required a tenacious political and ideological struggle to eliminate.

b) The struggle against the old ruling classes.

Based on its general line the TPLF had to wage the struggle against the old ruling classes organized under the EDU and the new fascist state in power at the same time and simultaneously.

While opposing the Dergue's counter-revolutionary agrarian reform, began to institute its own revolutionary agrarian reform and dislodge the feudals from power and influence where ever it established its liberated areas. This infuriated the EDU which considered Tigray one of its key operational areas and attempted to liquidate the TPLF.

The EDU had far superior number and weapons as it was then backed by American and British imperialists and their regional agents to the hilt. There, thus began a two years old bitter struggle between the EDU and TPLF where the material odds were much against the TPLF.

Many expected that the fledgling TPLF would be crushed under the joint blows of the Dergue and the EDU or that it would be forced to compromise with one or the other. But the TPLF and its Marxist - Leninist core had no intention of abandoning their general line when faced by terrible hardships. They went on to write some of their most glorious pages in their history by challenging both enemies, crushing the EDU to everybody's surprise after two years of tenacious fighting (with heavy sacrifices on the side of TPLF too).

After the routing of the EDU in Tigray, the backbone of the old ruling classes in Ethiopia in general and in Tigray in particular was broken, paving the way for more thorough going anti - feudal reforms and the establishment of democratic people's power in the liberated areas.

The struggle and defeat of the EDU is one of the most glorious pages in the history of the TPLF and its Marxist - Leninist core not only because it proved the determination of the TPLF to stick to its course whatever hardships this may entail, but, more importantly, because it was one of the biggest contributions that the TPLF made to the overall Ethiopian revolution. To destroy the backbone of one of the main enemies of the Ethiopian revolution was indeed of a great all Ethiopian significance.

It is worth mentioning here, that no other organization ever attempted it in Ethiopia. The EPRP which despite its putschist line had a nominal army operating in a corner of the Tigrean countryside (more to fulfill its obligations to Mao Tse Tung's thought than to rally the peasants) kept silent and as time went on even opposed the TPLF's just war against the EDU as unnecessarily weakening anti - Dergue forces. Soon it was to tear its mask and openly collaborate with the EDU against the TPLF.

c) The struggle against the EPRP.

The TPLF and its Marxist - Leninist core had a very clear understanding of the basic shortcomings of the EPRP. Despite their line of characterizing any and all national movements as inherently anti - proletarian and consequent overall line of liquidating the TPLF, it was recognized by the TPLF and the Core that a petty bourgeois organization which had some democratic content, the EPRP could play a positive role up to a certain time and to a limited degree.

Therefore, while mercilessly exposing its proletarian pretensions, the TPLF had a line of limited co - operation or at least peaceful political struggle against the EPRP and peaceful co - existence.

Based on this it went on to expose the EPRP's erroneous line and petty bourgeois character at the same time as attempting to establish limited co - operation with it.

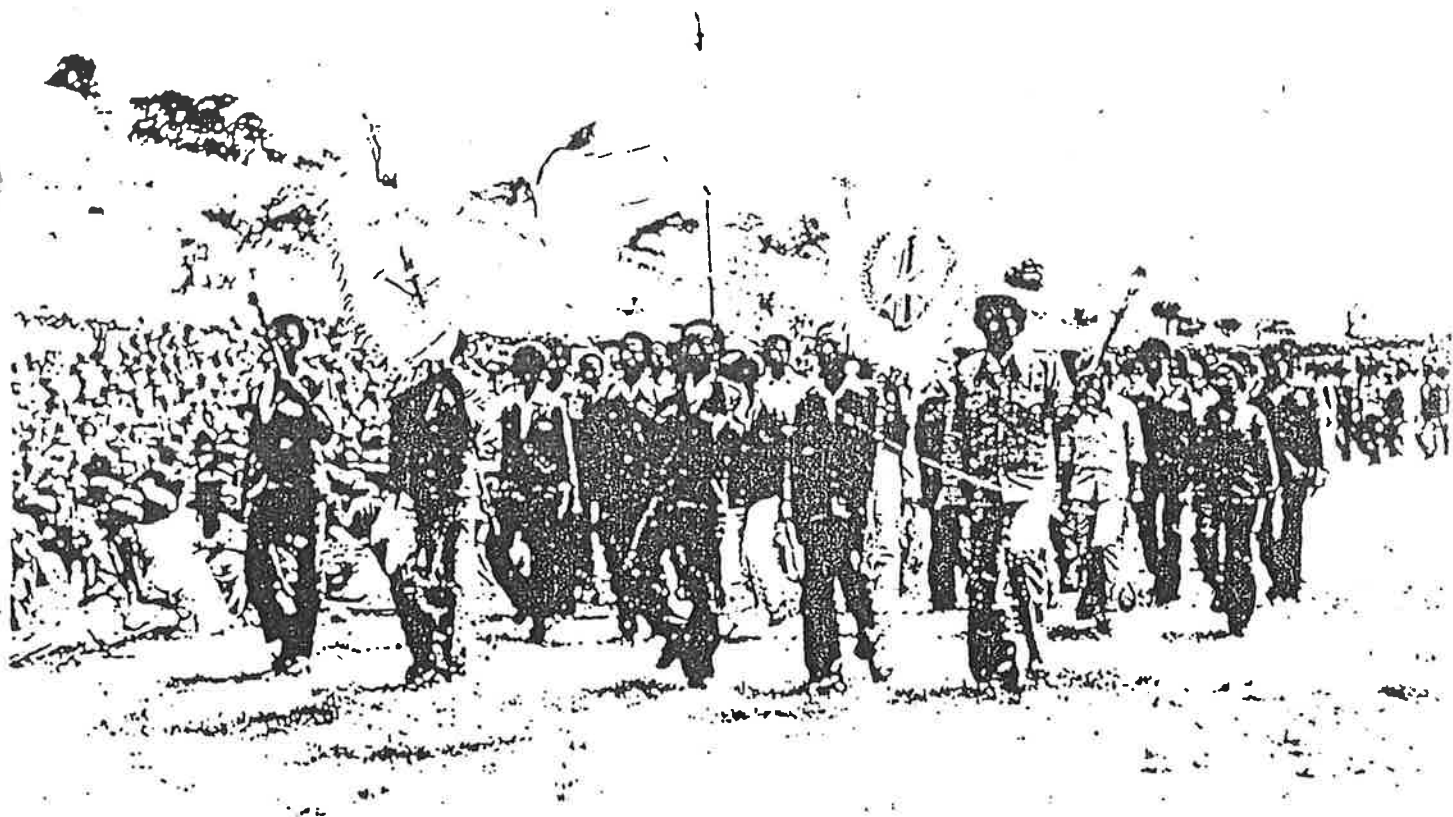
The massive propaganda work carried out began to isolate the EPRP from the Tigrean masses and to a certain extent shake the temporary support it had of the urban petty - bourgeoisie in many of the important cities and towns of the rest of Ethiopia (it never had significant support in the towns of Tigray, which almost completely rallied to the TPLF). The propaganda battle against the EPRP was fought out at a very high level of principle. Having routed out the narrow nationalism of the TLF, the TPLF directed its propaganda attacks on EPRP'S erroneous line on the Ethiopian revolution and the anti - people practice that resulted from it. The almost total isolation of the EPRP was the result of this tenacious and protracted propaganda war fought out at a very high level of principle. All these led it to desperation. The unexpected success of the TPLF over the feudal army of the EDU made the EPRP'S desperation all the more deep.

Believing the TPLF would be unchallengeable once it routed the EDU, the EPRP started its back - stabbing operation against the TPLF, and made an unprovoked assault on our army when the main force was locked in fierce fighting with the Dergue and EDU causing it to retreat from areas where it operated and where the previous massive propaganda work had fully isolated the EPRP from the masses.

Soon, however, the TPLF completely routed out the EDU and was able to divert forces sufficient enough to clear the EPRP'S army from Tigray in a short time. This, together with the massive political work carried out to expose the basic shortcomings of the EPRP started a chain reaction within the "party" which resulted in its complete break up after two years.

The struggle waged by the TPLF and its Marxist - Leninist core against the EPRP especially on the political and ideological field was one of the most courageous and biggest contributions of the TPLF and its Core to the Ethiopian revolution.

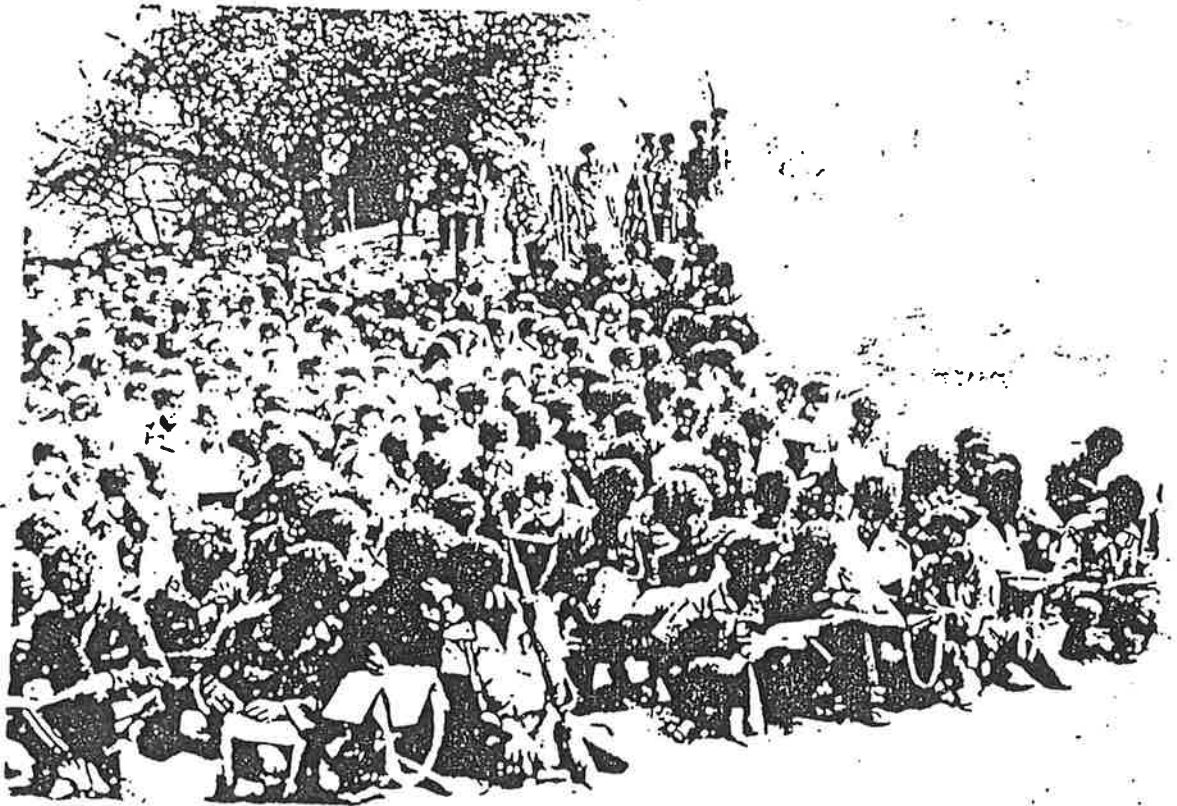
The so - called "Black - Bolsheviks" (the label that the EPRP gave themselves) had temporarily hood - winked a large section of the Ethiopian "left" and had gained very wide international publicity as a Marxist opposition to the Dergue. With all the emotional fanfare and mystification of the so called communist party's existence, it was



May Day celebration in the liberated area.



Education-denied of centuries, but a priority in the liberated Tigray.



*"Segenat"-the perpetrators of the Revolution,
at the School of Woyane for orphans.*

not that easy for a national organization like the TPLF to challenge it. It needed the courageous loyalty to Marxism - Leninism and its general line that characterised the TPLF.

The well - grounded political and ideological exposure of the EPRP was very decisive in liberating a good section of the revolutionary minded intelligentsia which had temporarily fallen under its influence. More importantly it was of very great significance in showing the correct path of the revolution to the Ethiopian people in general. All these is now bearing fruit and democratic multi - national organizations which denounce the EPRP and recognise the overall validity of the general line of the TPLF are being formed and strengthened. That is no small contribution for a national democratic movement, even one like the TPLF which had a Marxist - Leninist core from the very beginning.

d) The struggle against the Dergue and its cohorts.

The Dergue came to power in the face of stiff opposition from the people and other quarters. It was of decisive significance that this opposition has: a scientific outlook and leadership, that there would be no confusion between the rightist opposition to the Dergue and that of the masses. The TPLF and its (ML) Core used every means in their capacity to provide it.

Central to this issue was the question of strengthening the genuine democratic forces and forming a united front of these democratic forces. In this regard the TPLF mapped out a clear path for the formation of such united democratic front and called upon all anti - imperialist, anti - feudal, anti - bureaucratic capitalist forces to form such a front. It carried massive propaganda work towards this objective.

But it was not destined to be formed for a long time yet. Meisone had its own "anti - imperialist, anti - feudal and anti - bureaucratic capitalist" united front with the Dergue and its likes, which was directed against the people and the genuine democratic forces.

The EPRP had its own version of "anti - Dergue" united front which went as far as incorporating the EDU, when the economic and mass base

of the old ruling classes had not been sufficiently eroded, when the massive support they got from their backers (internationally) had made them one of the main threats to the revolution such an "anti - Dergue" united front would be nothing but kowtowing to the old ruling classes.

There was no other multi - national organization of significance. Many national organizations had mushroomed through out Ethiopia (practically proving the TPLF'S characterization of the question as the most prominent question of the revolution at the time) but almost all had narrow nationalist leanings and were not consistently democratic.

The TPLF was not disheartened by this and continued to indicate the correct path of the revolution, expose all deviations from it and struggle for the formation of consistently democratic multi - national and national organizations.

In the meantime it continued to courageously defeat the repeated military campaigns of annihilation that the Dergue launched on the TPLF. Far from being annihilated it became tempered and grew up in strength and by the time of its First Congress it became clear to all not only would the TPLF outlive these campaigns but that it would grow in the process until there would be no more.

f) The struggle to consolidate the revolutionary ranks.

While fending - off the repeated attempts at liquidating the TPLF by the various enemies of the revolution mentioned above the TPLF continued to consolidate its own ranks and the ranks of the Ethiopian revolution in general.

A massive effort to politicize, organize and arm the masses was launched. Soon these began to bear fruit and the TPLF began to have deep - rooted support of the Tigrean masses throughout Tigray. The general line of the Front became the general line of the Tigrean people in general. It gained the unshakable support of the people to such an extent that even the enemies were forced to admit openly.



Now and then, medical support from friends of the revolution.

Democratic mass associations of the workers, peasants, women and youth began to mushroom everywhere and gain strength day by day. A very large peoples militia and people's self - defence force was organised besides the regular Army of the TPLF.

Democratic agrarian reform was initiated and democratic state power representing the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry began to be formed. A well-planned struggle against backward feudal culture to unshackle the people in general and women in particular was carried out.

Within the TPLF an uninterrupted struggle to politically arm the fighters, to train cadres from among them was carried out (the training of cadres also involved the mass associations). A clearly set out programme to widen the base of the Marxist - Leninist core and to pave the way for the multi - national proletarian party was carried out. All manifestations of bourgeois nationalism were promptly combated.

In short the TPLF conducted its First Organizational Congress on March, 1979, after four years of tumultuous struggle. The Congress served to analyze the past experience, to consolidate the past gains and to clearly chart the path for the future.

4) Developments upto the 2nd. Congress of the TPLF.

The First Congress resulted in the all round consolidation and development of the general line and this was enshrined in the programme. The programme reflected the effective struggle that Core had conducted to combat even the slightest manifestation of bourgeois nationalism (which was not simple under conditions of intense national feelings like that in Tigray).

Of profound significance was that the Core deepened its understanding of Soviet Social Imperialism and made the TPLF take a clear stand of opposition to Soviet Social Imperialism based on a profound Marxist Leninist analysis of present - day Soviet Union and the development of Khrushchevite revisionism.



Democratic participation of the masses-airing out their views, passing resolutions and electing their leaders in a people's congress, held every two years.

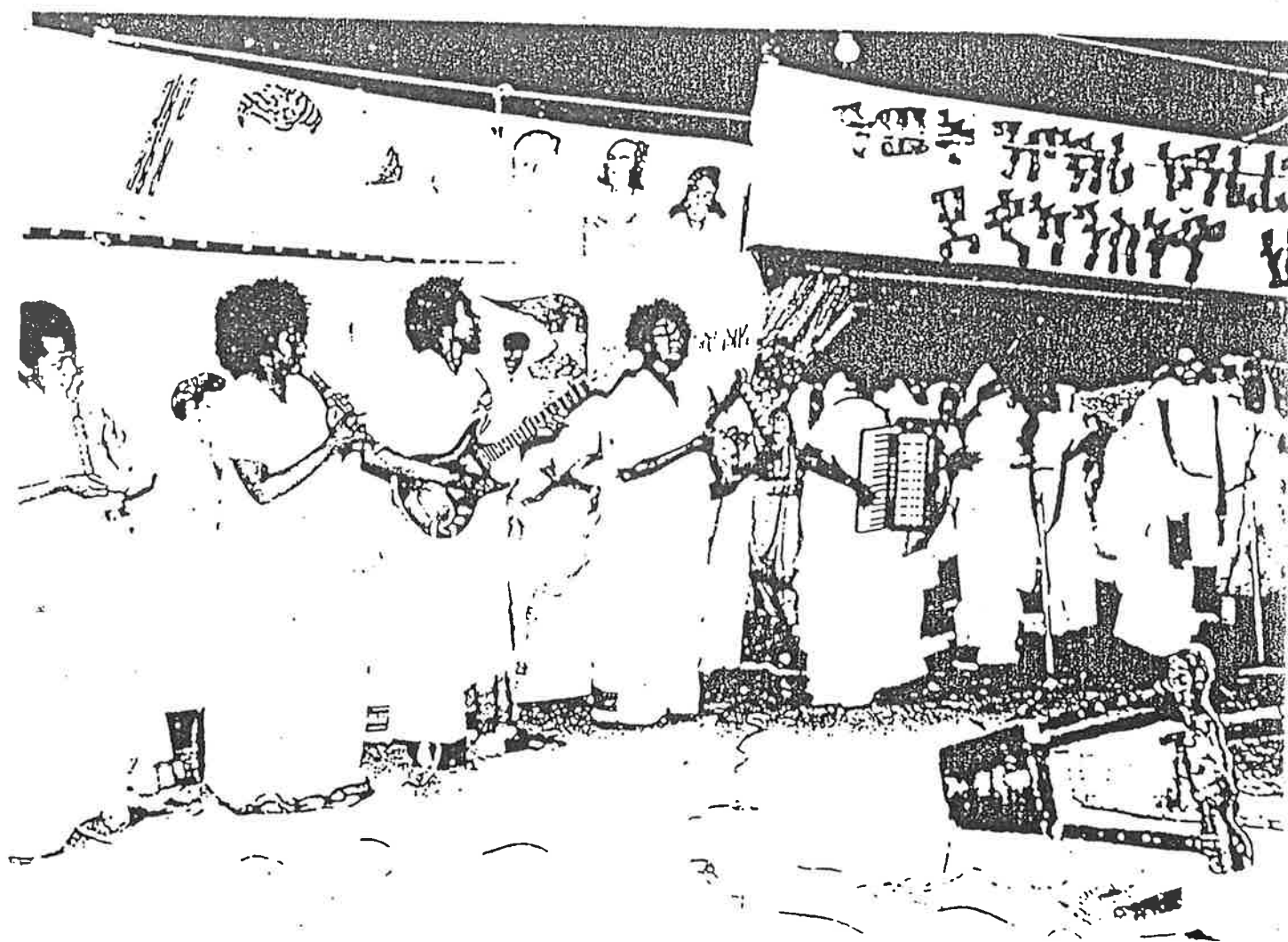
The Congress had democratically elected representatives from the TPL Army and the mass associations. The discussions in the Congress and the decisions of the Congress reflected that the overall maturity of the organization had increased, the attempts by the Core to train communist cadres from the Army and the mass associations had resulted in the broadening of the base of the ML core. This allowed the Core to pass a resolution in the Congress to make it legal for the vanguard elements and communist cadres in the front (both in the Army and mass associations) to organise independently at a higher level and to make the necessary preparations for it.

On the Ethiopian revolution, the Congress reaffirmed basically the correct nature of the general line, endorsed all the refinements that had been made during the struggle and recognized in the absence of genuinely democratic national or multi-national organizations in rest of Ethiopia the TPLF had a historic role to play in the revolution especially with regards to charting the correct path of the revolution and help in organizing and strengthening democratic organizations in other parts of Ethiopia.

On the Eritrean question the Congress reaffirmed that the Eritrean people's anti-colonial struggle is just and democratic. It states its support for the struggle that reflects the national aspirations of the Eritrean people. At the same time the communist Core in TPLF recognises the need for a genuine proletarian leadership, if the Eritrean people's struggle was to result not only in national liberation but also in social emancipation.

On the question of the liberated areas and people's power:

The building up of the liberated areas and strengthening and deepening the nature of the power that was being erected in the liberated areas to correctly reflect the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry was given such attention. In these regard, the decision to improve the organizational work in the mass associations and to strengthen them by intensifying political work, and the training of more and better cadres from among the members of mass associations was one of the most important conclusions because upon it was based the whole issue of building the liberated areas as the revolutionary



*Women cultural troupe-on stage during the 1st Conference of TPLF
women fighters.*

rear and strengthening the mass base of the revolution.

The decision to start forming peoples' councils (soviets) as organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry was of historic value. Soon, such peoples councils mushroomed everywhere in the liberated areas upto the district level.

The youth was called upon to join the Army in mass and soon the strength of the Army grew very fast far beyond the expectation of friends and enemies alike.

The process of democratizing Tigrean society was intensified, social services like education and medical services started on an extensive scale.

Armed with these lines and decisions the TPLF and its communist Core once more threw themselves a lot into the thick of the struggle with zeal and determination.

Several months later at the beginning of 1980 comrade Enver Hoxha's latest writings managed to find their way to the TPLF. It was a very important event in the history of the development of the (ML) Core. Mao Tse Tung's thought which hitherto, had been taken as a development of Marxist - Leninist by the Core was mercilessly exposed in comrade Enver Hoxha's book, Imperialism and the Revolution, and set the whole Core reading and re - reading this book.

The so - called three - world's theory was the easiest of all Mao's anti - Marxist blunders to dispell and was immediately repudiated by the Core.

On the question of Mao Tse Tung's thought in general the Core decided to handle it with care and profundity. It was decided to re - read the Marxist classics, to critically study Mao Tse Tung's thought and all the defense that Maoists could bring in its defense in view of comrade Hoxha's book.

Very intensive political and ideological struggle was carried out, and to the surprise of all, it was found out that Mao Tse Tung's

thought was a naked anti - Marxist amalgam. The Core promptly repudiated Mao Tse Tung's thought and tried to critically assess why it had failed to see its real nature in time.

Once Mao Tse Tung's thought was repudiated, the questions that remained were to analyse the Chinese revolution itself and to rectify the lines and orientation of the Core and the TPLF which had clear Mao deviation. This set off another round of intense study and discussion. The Core came to the conclusion that there never was socialism in China, that Mao Tse Tung's thought resulted in opportunist wave rings between petty - bourgeois socialism (of the type of the so - called great leap forward) and outright state capitalism. The Core then went on to rectify its own Maoist mistakes and clarify this to the mass of the membership. All these were to be enshrined later, in the Second Organizational Congress of the TPLF in 1983. The profound and tactful handling of the process of the repudiation of Mao Tse Tung's thought and the unquestionable loyalty of the Core to Marxism - Leninism and the revolution ensured that the repudiation was unanimous. There were no splits in the Core in its historic process of repudiating Maoism and rectifying its outlook and practice accordingly. This unanimity apart from being a shining example of the loyalty to Marxism - Leninism and the revolution, enabled the Core to rectify the Maoist deviations that had hitherto been manifested in Front.

The struggle to repudiate Mao Tse Tung's thought and rectify the mistakes that resulted from it took almost three years and set the Core on a path of a radical improvement in its ideological maturity and political experience. It could be said that this was the central ideological issue of the Core in the years between the two Congresses.

In the mean time the course charted resulted in almost ten fold growth of the Army, the liberation and consolidation of well over 85% of Tigray, the strengthening of the mass associations, the spread of education and medical services in the liberated areas, the growth in numbers and overall maturity of the communist cadres from the mass associations and the Army. Clearly the time was fast approaching when the ML core to organize itself at a higher level and concrete measures towards doing so were initiated.



The fascist regime can destroy the houses, but not the spirit of our struggling people.



*The fascist regime can destroy the houses, but not the spirit of
our struggling people.*

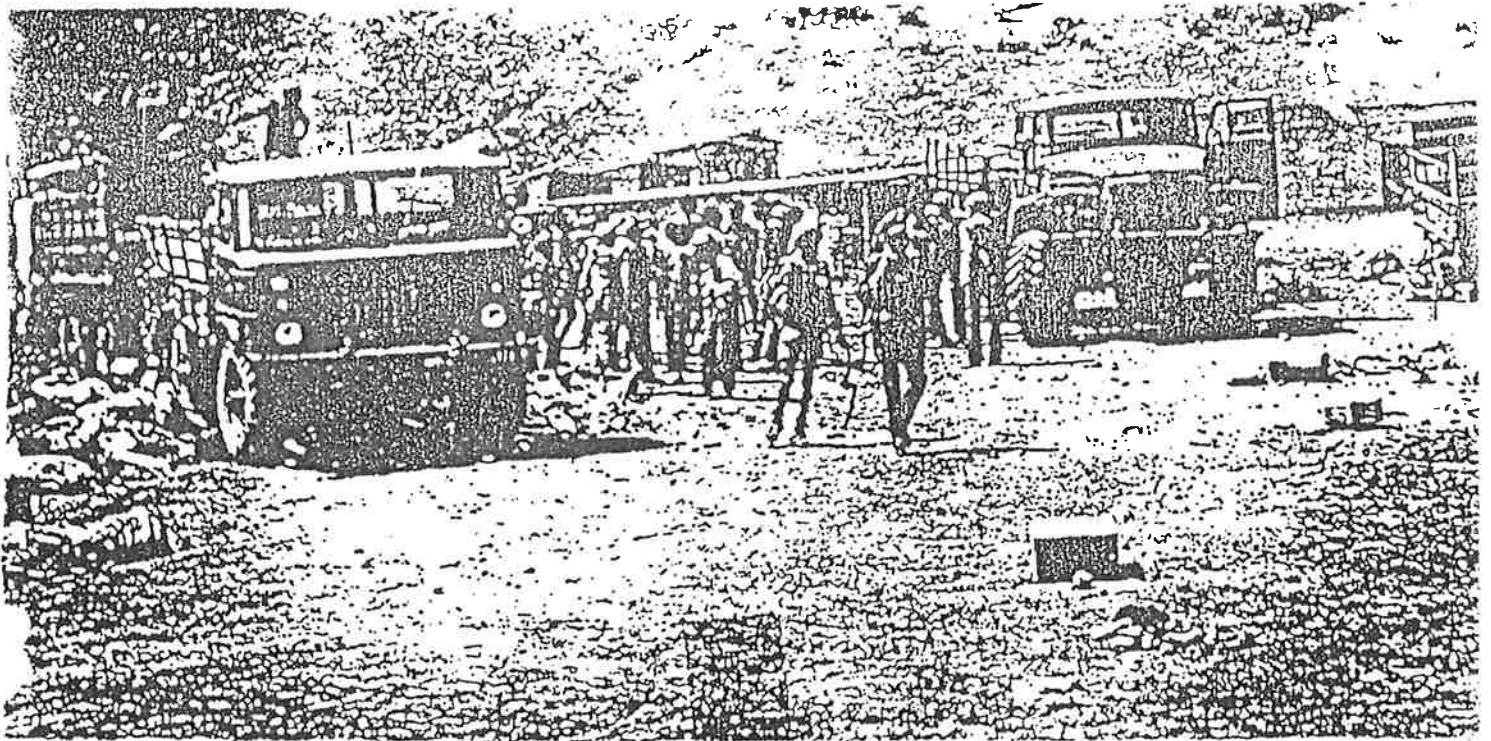
On the Ethiopian political scene there had occurred some significant changes. The old ruling classes had been thoroughly, defeated and were no more a serious threat to the revolution. On the other hand, the massive intervention of Soviet Social Imperialism on the side of the Dergue had temporarily strengthened it, enabled it to start on the process of instituting state capitalism dependent on Soviet Social Imperialism and making the Dergue and its Soviet backers the main enemies of the Ethiopian revolution at the time.

Meisone had been swallowed by the Dergue and pose no more a significant threat. The EPRP, after vegetating for long, disintegrated in 1981. A significant section of the ex - EPRP members who earlier on the other hand recognized the basic shortcomings of the EPRP pointed out by the TPLF came to the liberated areas of Tigray and asked for assistance in forming a genuinely democratic organization. The TPLF and its ML core gave it their unreserved support which enabled it to launch the Ethiopian Peoples Democratic Movement (EPDM), a democratic multi - national organization.

The TPLF and its Core had to assess the new situation and map out an appropriate path. It was recognized that the need for a United Democratic Front of genuinely democratic organizations which would ensure the victory and completion of the peoples democratic revolution in Ethiopia and pave the way for its uninterrupted development to the socialist revolution is still necessary.

But, it is also necessary to isolate the main enemies, the Dergue and its Soviet puppeteers and rally all those organizations which although not consistently democratic had some democratic content and could contribute positively upto a limited time and to a certain degree (such were many of the national organizations in Ethiopia).

It was believed that the objective position of the democratic forces, their scientific lines and overall strength (the TPLF is now the strongest opposition to the Dergue and the other democratic organization, the EPDM is growing fast) would ensure that such an anti - fascist and anti - social imperialist united front would serve the interests of the revolution. Therefore the slogans of United Democratic Front and United Anti - fascist and Anti - social Imperialist Front were



Activities in a recently liberated garrisoned town.

simultaneously launched with more vigour than ever before.

The uneven development of the Ethiopian revolution whereby the strongest and most experienced democratic arm of the revolution turned out to be a national democratic movement, the TPLF. Until now, there is no such national or multi-national organization in the rest of Ethiopia except the newly emerging EPDM. Such development is bound to give a very big and special role for the TPLF in the Ethiopian revolution. The TPLF could no more be confined to the boundaries of Tigray. It had to send armed detachments as far into the rest of Ethiopia to aid the already existing democratic organization, to help others to organize themselves and to lay the ground for the still unfulfilled task of the formation of the proletarian party of Ethiopia. This was a continuation, a realization of the general line of the TPLF which it had charted from the very beginning.

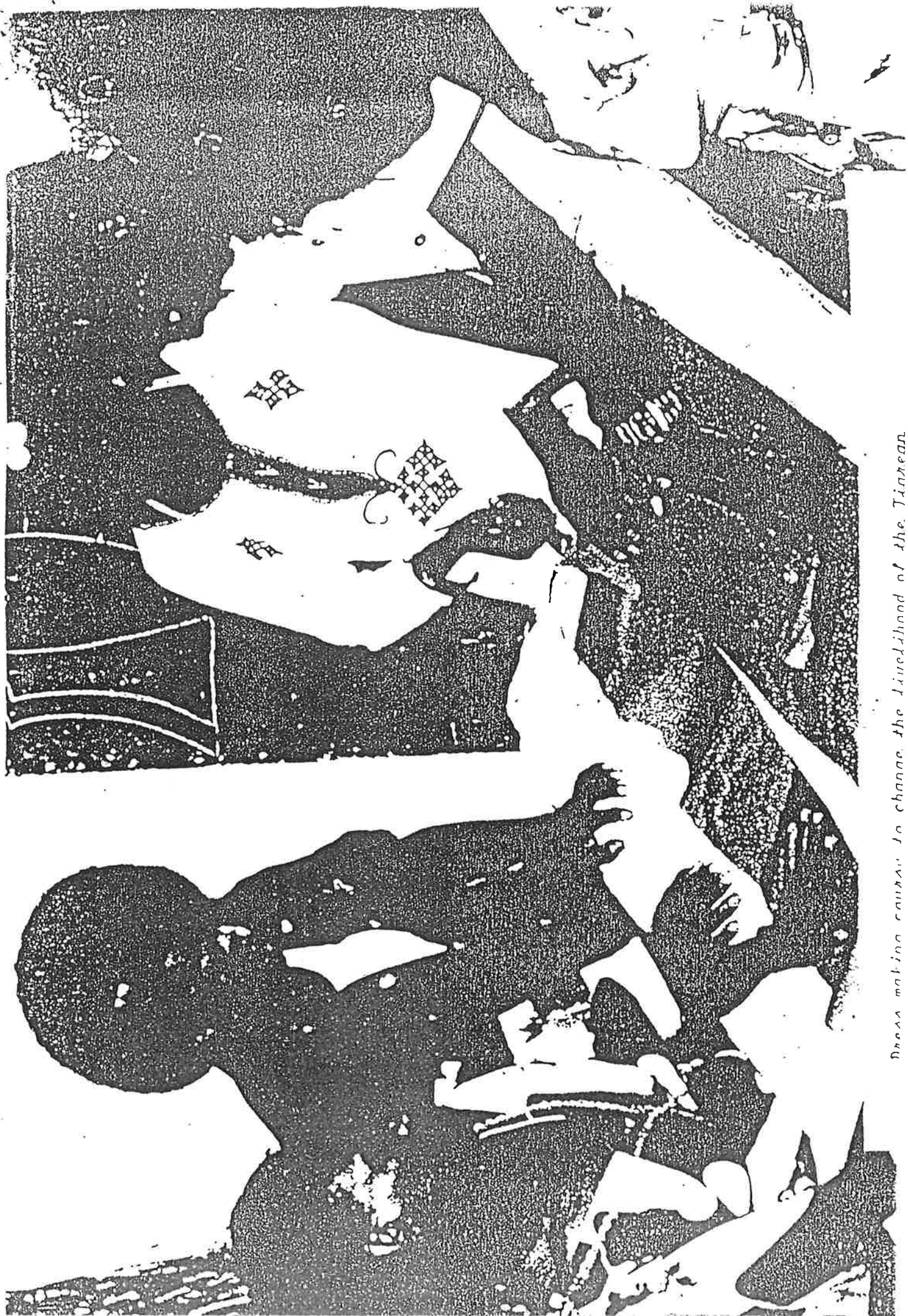
III PRESENT CONDITIONS IN ETHIOPIA:

1) Enemies of the revolution.

The democratic revolution in Ethiopia has not yet been completed. Still there are significant remnants of feudalism in many areas of Ethiopia. Ethiopia is still under the clutches of imperialism in general and Soviet Social Imperialism in particular. There is still dependent capitalism represented by the fascist state bourgeoisie in power.

Therefore, the main enemies of the revolution in Ethiopia are Imperialism (and specially the two imperialist superpowers), the fascist state bourgeoisie and the dependent capitalism it represents, and the remnants of feudalism. The revolution is thus basically democratic in nature.

Out of all these enemies the decisive ones now are the fascist state bourgeoisie and Soviet Social Imperialism. Therefore although the blow of the revolution has to be directed against all the main enemies strategically, this blow must concentrate its force mainly on the Dergue and its Soviet backers tactically.



Dress making course to change the livelihood of the Tinnean

2) Tactical Allies of the Revolution.

Those forces which have limited democratic content and oppose the Dergue and Soviet - foreign intervention in Ethiopia are the tactical friends of the revolution in Ethiopia at the moment. Such are some of the national movements, who by raising the legitimate demands of the oppressed nations for self - determination gain limited democratic content but fail to be consistently democratic because they lack proletarian leadership and the correct general line for the consummation of the democratic revolution. Others whether national or multi - national may be formed in the future.

3) Democratic Forces in Ethiopia.

The strongest and most experienced democratic force in Ethiopia at the moment is the TPLF. Besides the TPLF the only other organization that could qualify as genuinely democratic is the Ethiopian Peoples Democratic Movement (EPDM). This organization has shaded all the decisive mistakes of EPRP, accepted the overall validity of TPLF's general line for the Ethiopian revolution and is continuing to develop and perfect its general line. There is close comradely relations between the two organizations.

There are no other genuinely democratic organizations. But there is a growing recognition of forming new ones where necessary and strengthening the already existing ones among the revolutionary minded intelligentsia both inside the country and abroad. There is a big and growing support to the TPLF's general line both among the masses of the rest of Ethiopia and among the revolutionary minded intelligentsia there. Only the outright enemies of the people now oppose this. The uninterrupted political work carried out by the TPLF to explain its general line and to expose the erroneousness of others is bearing fruits and launching the democratic forces of Ethiopia a step forward.

Such is the condition of the uneven development of the revolution in Ethiopia and the condition of the genuine democratic forces in it. These forces pose the main threat to the enemies of the people and

the prospect for their growth is very bright indeed.

4) The Condition of Marxist - Leninists in Ethiopia.

In Ethiopia, the condition of Marxist - Leninists could not be seen in isolation from the condition of democratic forces because the two are intertwined.

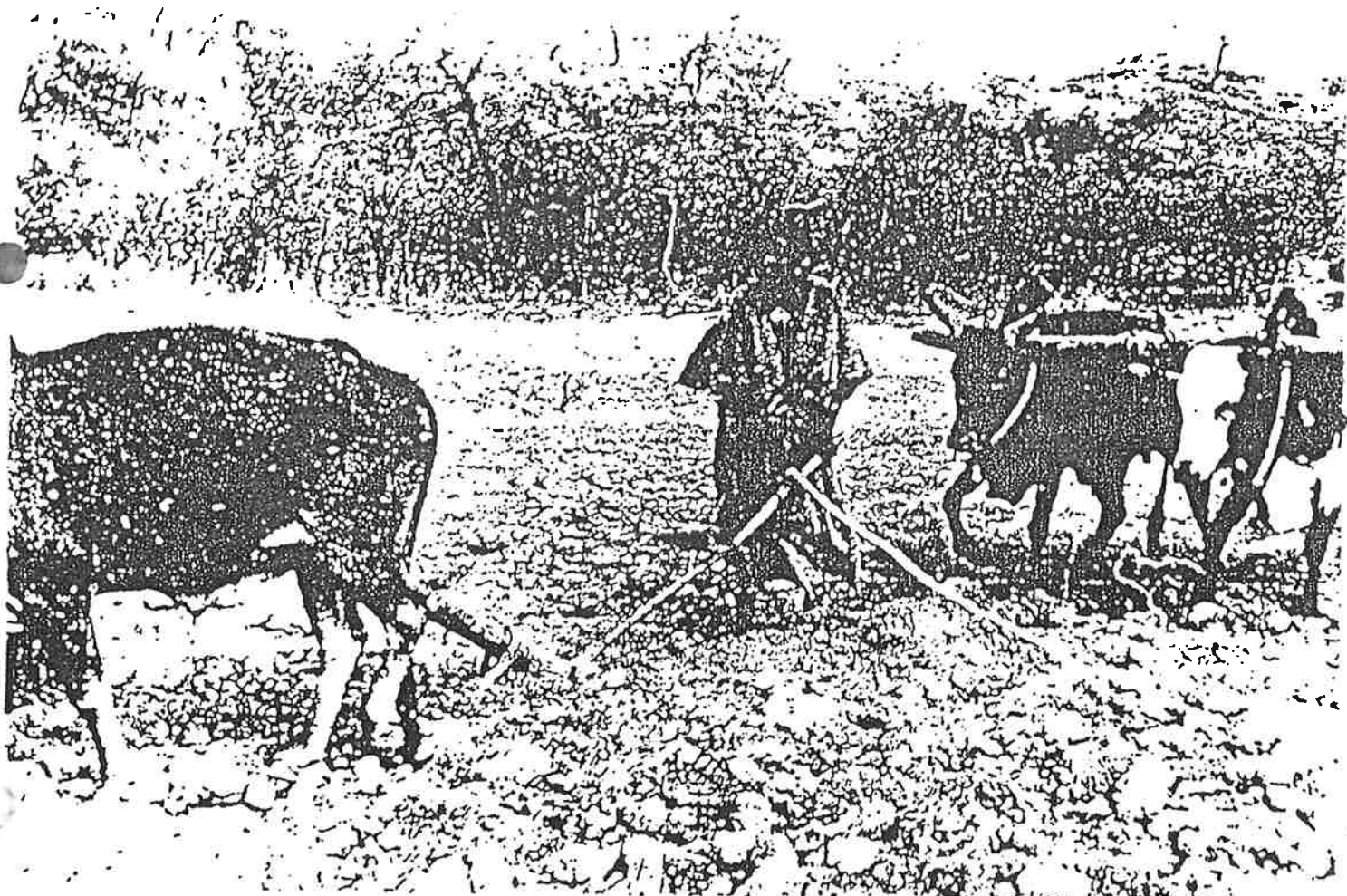
As such the Marxist - Leninist core in TPLF has achieved a relatively high level of political and ideological maturity. It has trained a big communist cadre corps. It has developed its line for the democratic revolution and its uninterrupted development to the socialist revolution. The task of the Core regarding the formation of the unitary multi-national proletarian party in Ethiopia has been clearly set. The stands of the Core on the international situation and the international communist movement have been made fully Marxist - Leninist.

Those communists in the EPDM are still small in number. Although it could be said that they have basically a correct general line and that they are developing it with open mindedness, they have not yet achieved the necessary clarity of view on all the outstanding issues especially regarding the international communist movement. It is the duty of the Marxist - Leninist core in the TPLF to help these comrades do so and already intensive comradely discussions are being carried out between the two.

Other than these two groups there are no known genuinely Marxist - Leninist groups. But it is possible that there may be individuals who with some help could achieve the necessary requirements.

The uneven development of the revolution in Ethiopia is thus at once the cause and the result of the uneven development of Marxist - Leninists in Ethiopia.

Under these conditions, TPLF (ML) Core recognises the tremendous task it faces in speeding up the formation of the proletarian party in Ethiopia. Moreover, it recognises that it has to organise itself



women ploughing-breaking free from the centuries-old feudal incarceration.

a higher level, both, as an initial step in the formation of the multi - national party and to ensure proletarian leadership in the TPLF. In doing this it recognises that it should avoid any Bundist deviations at the same time as recognizing that the proletarian party in Ethiopia should have branch national parties and that the Core in the TPLF could develop into such a branch national party.

The communist Core in TPLF recognises that it cannot and shouldn't wait for the multi - national party to be formed before it reaches a higher level of organization, which is a very important step in the formation of the unitary multi - national party in Ethiopia.

Besides consolidating itself within the TPLF, the Core recognises that it must disseminate Marxism - Leninism widely throughout Ethiopia form close ties with communist and vanguard groups and individuals, help them attain the necessary level of development and thereby speed up the process of the formation of the proletarian communist party through the merger process.

5) The Tasks of the Revolution.

The immediate task of the revolution is to crush the fascist Dergue and its foreign backers and complete the democratic revolution. The vehicle for the completion of the democratic revolution will be the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.

Upon completion of these democratic tasks the revolution will be uninterruptedly developed into the socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat installed and the transition to socialism started.

To achieve this two very important weapons are needed. a) The formation of an all Ethiopia Marxist - Leninist party to lead the democratic revolution and to ensure its uninterrupted development to the socialist revolution. b) the formation of a united democratic front to rally behind it all the forces of the democratic revolution and ensure its success.



The leading cadres in session.

The formation of a united anti - Dergue and anti - Soviet united front is also an important task because it provides the democratic revolution with important tactical allies and isolates the enemy.

Up to now the Ethiopian revolution has had relatively few contacts with the international Marxist - Leninist communist movement. This cannot be allowed to continue as the Ethiopian revolution is part and parcel of the overall world - wide revolutionary process. It is therefore an essential task of the revolution for it to attach itself with the genuine Marxist - Leninist movement in particular and the democratic forces in general.

IV Evaluation of the Role of the TPLF and its (ML) Core.

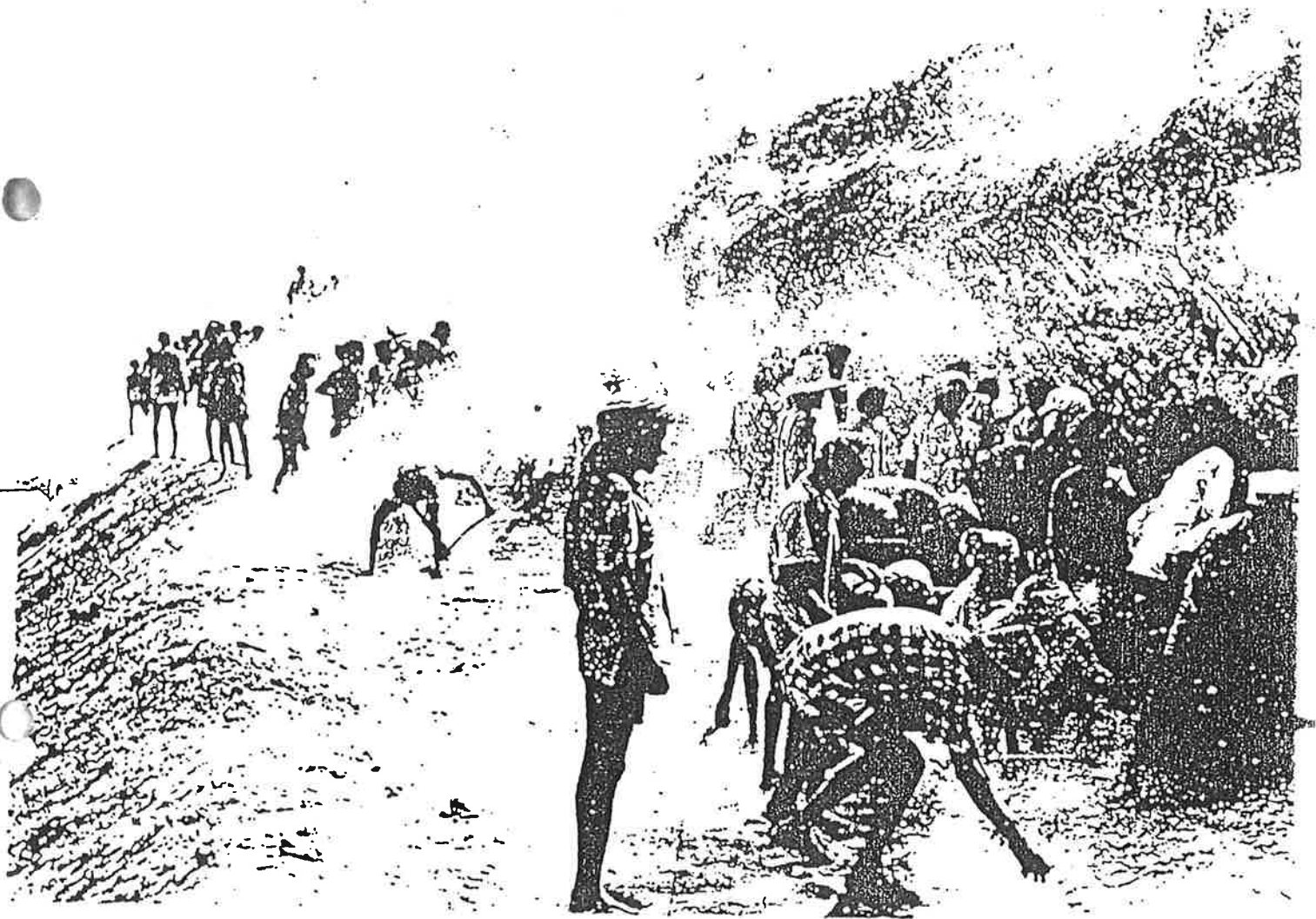
1) Their Role in Ethiopia.

The TPLF and its (ML) Core have played a very positive and big role in Ethiopia in many ways.

They have charted the correct path of the revolution and disseminated it widely providing Ethiopian revolutionaries with the necessary correct general line. Although this line was, at first almost completely accepted by the TPLF and its Core alone, now it is being accepted by other Ethiopian organizations and revolutionary forces more and more.

They have exposed the enemies of the revolution, played the vanguard role in destroying some (like the EDU, TLF, etc.) and weakened the others (the Dergue). The exposure of organizations like the EPRP and Meisone which had "proletarian" presentation was of paramount importance as the revolution could only be successfully waged by carrying a consistent struggle against opportunism and revisionism all hues.

They have helped democratic organizations to be formed and to strengthen them once they are formed. The role of the TPLF and its (ML) Core in the consolidation of the EPDM is the most important example in this regard.



Road construction-mountains are cut by rudimentary impliments.

Nothing is difficult, organized masses are the decisive factor for development!

This support has not been limited to material support although that is an important form of cooperation. The TPLF and its Core have provided all round support on the military, political and ideological fields going as far as providing armed detachments and cadres to help in mass work in the rest of Ethiopia.

Not least of their contribution is their success in rallying the Tigrean people around the correct line of the revolution and turning them into powerful bastions of the Ethiopian revolution.

The struggle being waged by the Core to form the unitary proletarian party of Ethiopia and organizing itself on a higher level as an important step towards it is also one of the most important contributions of the Core to the Ethiopian revolution.

2) Their Role in the Region, the Horn of Africa.

The Horn of Africa is one of the key areas of superpower imperialist rivalry and contention. The surrounding states are all under the domination of one or the other imperialist superpower. They have been willing weapons in the hands of the superpowers to stifle the revolution in Ethiopia and the region in general. They have not refrained from forming puppet organizations to further their counter-revolutionary interests.

In short, the TPLF and its (ML) Core have been forced to work under the complete encirclement and hostility of relatively strongly entrenched reactionaries of the region. To continue operating in such a region, to utilize inter-imperialist and regional rivalries to the interests of the revolution without compromising on principles and not falling prey to their machinations are some of the most taxing tasks of the TPLF and its (ML) Core.

To be sure there are fierce rivalries between the two imperialist superpowers and their regional puppets. There is cutthroat competition between the Soviet Union and the so called Addis Ababa, Algiers-Tripoli Axis on the one side and American Imperialism and its local puppets, the reactionary African and Arab states on the other.



*Fascist atrocities and drought displacing our people in their thousands.
But, their stamina to struggle against both man-made and natural
calamities remains eternal.*

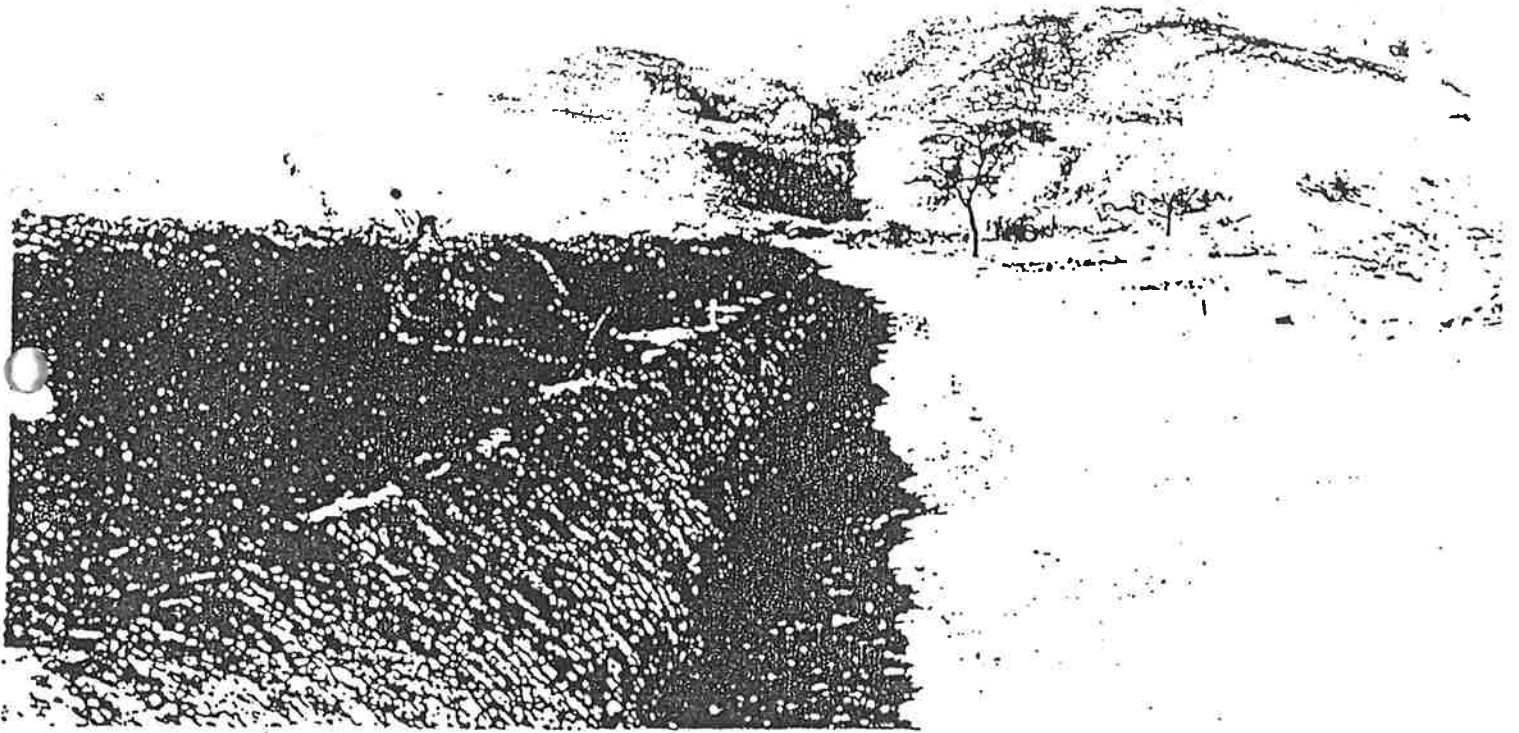
The regional enemies of the Dergue would not leave any stone unturned in their struggle to topple it. But they would also do everything in their power to prevent its replacement by a genuine revolutionary organization.

Because of these, they follow a dual policy in their relation to the genuine revolutionary organizations. a) They "tolerate" them and even go as far as giving nominal support because they have no alternative force that represents their interest and weaken the Dergue, and, because to a certain extent they hope to infiltrate and influence the revolutionary ranks by doing so. b) They try to form puppet organizations to safeguard their reactionary interests and set them against the revolutionary organization "to keep these revolutionary organizations in check and to prevent their domination of the Ethiopian political scene". In this regard they go as far as physically threatening and blackmailing the genuine revolutionary organizations and groups.

In view of these, the TPLF had to chart a carefully considered course. It tried to utilize the regional contradictions to the interest of the revolution and with this in mind maintains contact with some of the regional enemies of the Dergue. At the same time it makes sure that it does not knowingly or unknowingly become a tool of inter-imperial rivalry and regional reactionary forces.

In this regard it has clearly stated its principled enmity to all forms of imperialism and the two imperialist superpowers in particular. It concentrates its main blow against Soviet Social Imperialism because it is the main enemy in Ethiopia at this moment. At the same time it continues to expose and oppose American Imperialism as one of the two prime enemies of the peoples of the world.

The TPLF and its (ML) Core have consistently opposed superpower interference in the region and supported peaceful resolution of regional contradictions. It has never compromised on these principles. It has made sure that the utilization of regional contradictions to the interests of the revolution does not confirm to these principles. It has taken care to safeguard its ranks from influence and infiltration by the re



Self-reliance is our motto- collective participation in the soil and water conservation project in the liberated areas.

actionary forces in the area. It has handled the repeated black - mails and threats it faced with tact and revolutionary determination never allowing its policies be influenced by them. The contacts the TPLF maintains with the regional enemies of the Dergue has always been and will always continue to be of this nature.

The TPLF and its (ML) Core have supported all legitimate struggles in the region. The Palestinian and Eritrean struggles can be mentioned as prime examples of this policy.

They have supported the Eritrean People's struggle while recognizing and struggling against the basic shortcomings of the organizations there. Because of close geographical proximity this has gone up to sending thousands of our Army to aid the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, EPLF, to help it in defending the gains of the struggle. The EPLF in its turn has provided the TPLF with important material support.

They have clearly stated their support to the Palestinian people's struggle against Zionism and imperialism.

Thus, at the regional level, too, the TPLF and its (ML) Core have been exemplary in utilizing regional rivalries to the interest of the revolution and supporting progressive movements in the region.

3) Their Contribution to World Revolution.

The main contribution of the TPLF and its (ML) Core to world revolution has been to correctly chart the path of the Ethiopian revolution and fully mobilize the Tigrean people around it by amalgamating the national and class struggles as a path of People's Democratic Revolution.

The ML core in the TPLF has succeeded in creating a genuine Marxist Leninist force inside the TPLF and is doing everything to duplicate this process in the rest of Ethiopia. It is creating an additional contingent to the Marxist - Leninist movement of the world, a contingent which is backed by millions of laboring people and is set on an inevitable path to total victory. This is no small contribution for a (ML) Core in a national democratic movement to contribute to

world (ML) movement.

Up to now there have been significant attempts to attach themselves to the world Marxist - Leninist movement and the world revolutionary process although they have so far borne far from satisfactory results. In this regard, the TPLF and its Core need to devote more attention and the world communist movement needs to sympathetically follow and support the course of the revolution.

V VIEWS OF THE (ML) CORE ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

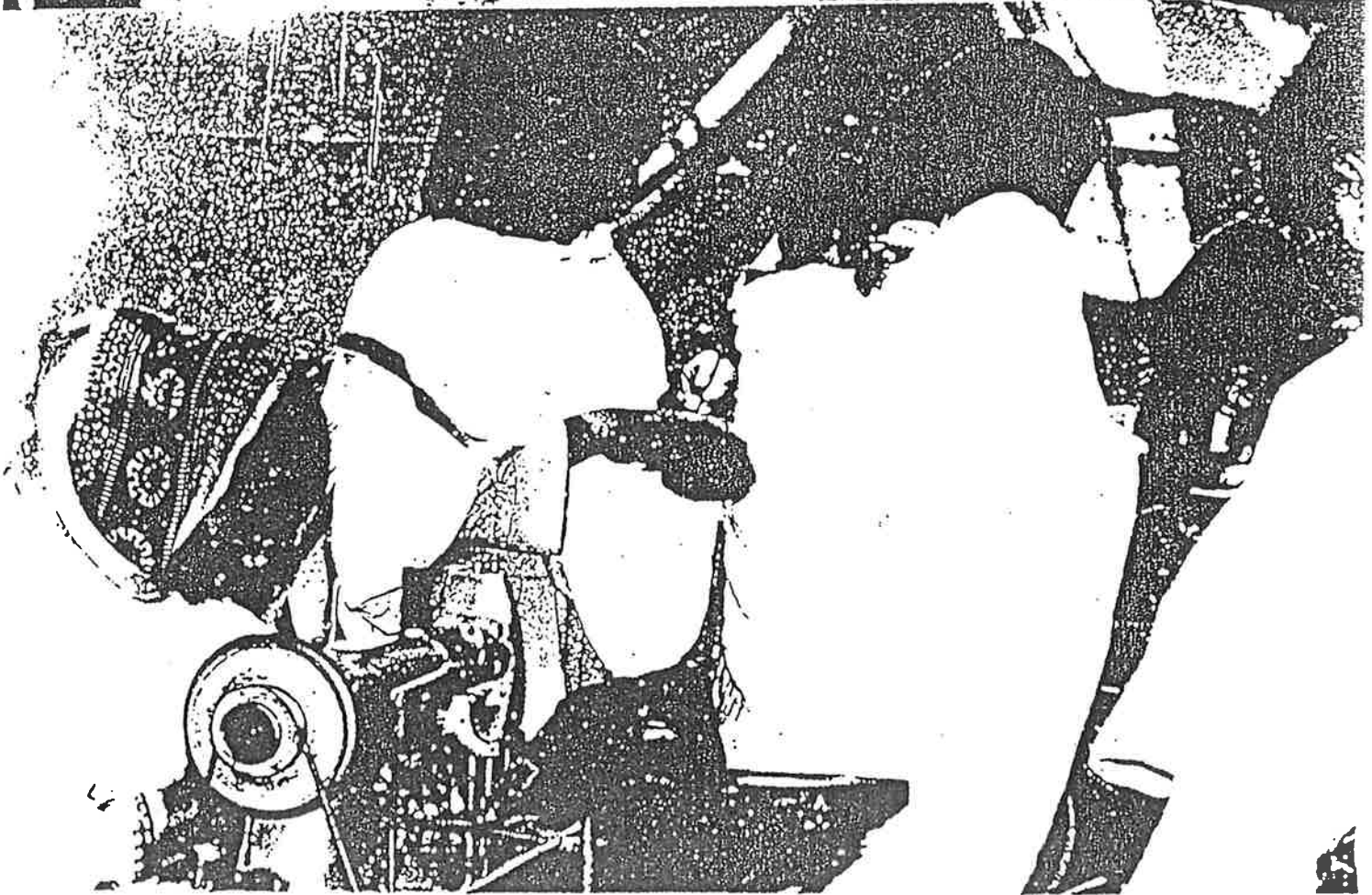
1) The Deepening Crisis of Capitalism.

It is clear that capitalism is in the grip of an overall and protracted crisis. The post war boom days are no more. The financial system of capitalism is on the verge of collapse. Production has declined and unemployment soared. This has been so far a quite a number of years now. It is not a temporary downturn in production. Capitalism has once again come to a closed end and has entered a phase of prolonged crisis similar to the one in the 1930's. Even the most optimistic of bourgeois economists cannot see any way out.

This is true not only to western capitalism but also to the camp of Soviet Social Imperialism. This camp has now for quite some time been in a protracted phase of economic stagnation. And all the reforms have done and couldn't do anything to change it. The basic laws of state capitalism are inexorably forcing it into it.

The so called under - developed world is the other side of the coin of imperialism. Every crisis in the system of capitalism in the metropolitan capitalist world cannot but be immediately reflected in these dependent countries. Most of them have huge debts and are borrowing to service the interest on the previous debt thus being caught in a whirlwind of endless borrowing and impoverishment.

The imperialists are trying to get out of the hook they are in by throwing the burden of the crisis on the back of the masses and the imperialist wars for which they are furiously preparing.



Making the woman economically independent is of high priority for the TPLF - weaving and sewing, used to be a man's job.

Naturally, the people are resisting. Everywhere the slogan of "make the rich pay!" is being raised. "Oppose the preparation for imperialist wars!" is another rallying slogan of the movement. In short capitalism is in the grip of a protracted and all round crisis and this is sharpening all the contradictions of the era.

2) The Sharpening of the Contradictions in the Capitalist World

The present crisis has sharpened all the contradictions in the capitalist world. The workers are being thrown out of their jobs in mass and those that are still working are having to face continued deterioration in their living standard. This is sharpening the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

In their attempt of getting out of the blind alley they are in, the imperialists have intensified to redivide the world and unleash imperialist wars. The inter - imperialist contradictions have reached unprecedented levels.

Scared of socialism as they are, the imperialists are trying to isolate and weaken the only socialist country in the world, the Peoples Socialist Republic of Albania. The contradiction between socialism and capitalism, the basic contradiction of the era, is thus sharpening and is being manifested not only in the attempts of subverting Albania but also in the repeated attempts to crush any mass movement for socialism.

The contradictions between imperialism and the dependent countries being sharpened too. The crisis of capitalism is intensifying the exploitation of these dependent countries by imperialism thereby sharpening the contradictions between imperialism and the peoples of dependent countries.

The contradictions within the dependent countries is also sharpened. The local ruling classes, who on the main act as agents of one imperialist or the other are further aggravating the intensified exploitation of the peoples of these countries by adding their weight in joint endeavour of exploiting the peoples of these countries with t

imperialist masters. Consequently the resistance of these peoples against imperialism and its local agents is growing day by day.

3) The two Imperialist Superpowers, the Greatest Enemies of the Peoples of the World.

Of all the imperialists, American Imperialism and Soviet Social Imperialism are the biggest exploiters and the oppressors of the world. Both, when they collaborate and intensify their rivalry, it is the peoples who pay for it. Both are the main enemies of the peoples to an equal degree. None of them taken individually represents the system of imperialism.

Although in individual countries one may be the main enemy temporarily, taken on the world scale and the struggle against imperialism in general, both are equal enemies and one cannot combat the one imperialist power by allying with the other. The system of imperialism must be dismantled by destroying all imperialists and in this the main targets are the two imperialist superpowers.

4) On the Need of the Consolidation of the Revolutionary Camp.

As can be seen from the above, the time we are in is a time of great revolutionary opportunities and grave dangers of imperialist war. Revolutionaries everywhere must seize the moment. They must make sure that either the revolution stops war or that if that proves impossible that the imperialist war changes into civil war and revolution. In this sense the revolution is not a distant prospect but a task at hand taken for solution.

But this cannot be achieved without consolidating the revolutionary camp. It is the duty of all genuine communists and revolutionaries to defend and consolidate the world communist movement at large. It is the duty of all real communists to disseminate Marxism - Leninism, to train worthy communist cadres to make the necessary organizational improvements, in short to make the subjective factor correspond with the already ripe objective factor. Internationalist co-operation and co-ordination of proletarian struggle must be upgraded. The



The new generation-growing in a revolutionary atmosphere.



A grandmother-armed to defend the gains of the Revolution.

need for the consolidation of the revolutionary camp is an obvious task needed to lead the revolution to victory.

5) On the Unity of International Communist Movement ML and National Liberation Movements.

The international communist movement is there to destroy all forms of reaction and exploitation. It has therefore, fundamental interests in supporting movements that contribute towards the defeat of one form of reaction or the other. On the other hand those movements that oppose one form of reaction or another know that they can get consistent support in their struggle only from the consistently revolutionary international communist movement.

Such is the unity of the international communist movement ML and the national liberation movements. The national liberation movements oppose national subjugation and as such weaken the camp of reaction. Furthermore if they get consistent proletarian leadership the struggle these movements wage can be transformed to the socialist revolution. With this in mind, the international communist movement supports the positive aspects of all national liberation movements and strives to help them get proletarian leadership.

The national liberation movements in turn know or should know, that they can get consistent support only from the international communist movement because it is the only force that consistently opposes all forms of reaction and exploitation. Furthermore communists within these national liberation movements must strive to lead the national liberation struggle to victory and uninterruptedly transform it to the socialist revolution. For this they need the support of the international communist movement. The solidarity and the unity of both movements thus has solid foundations.

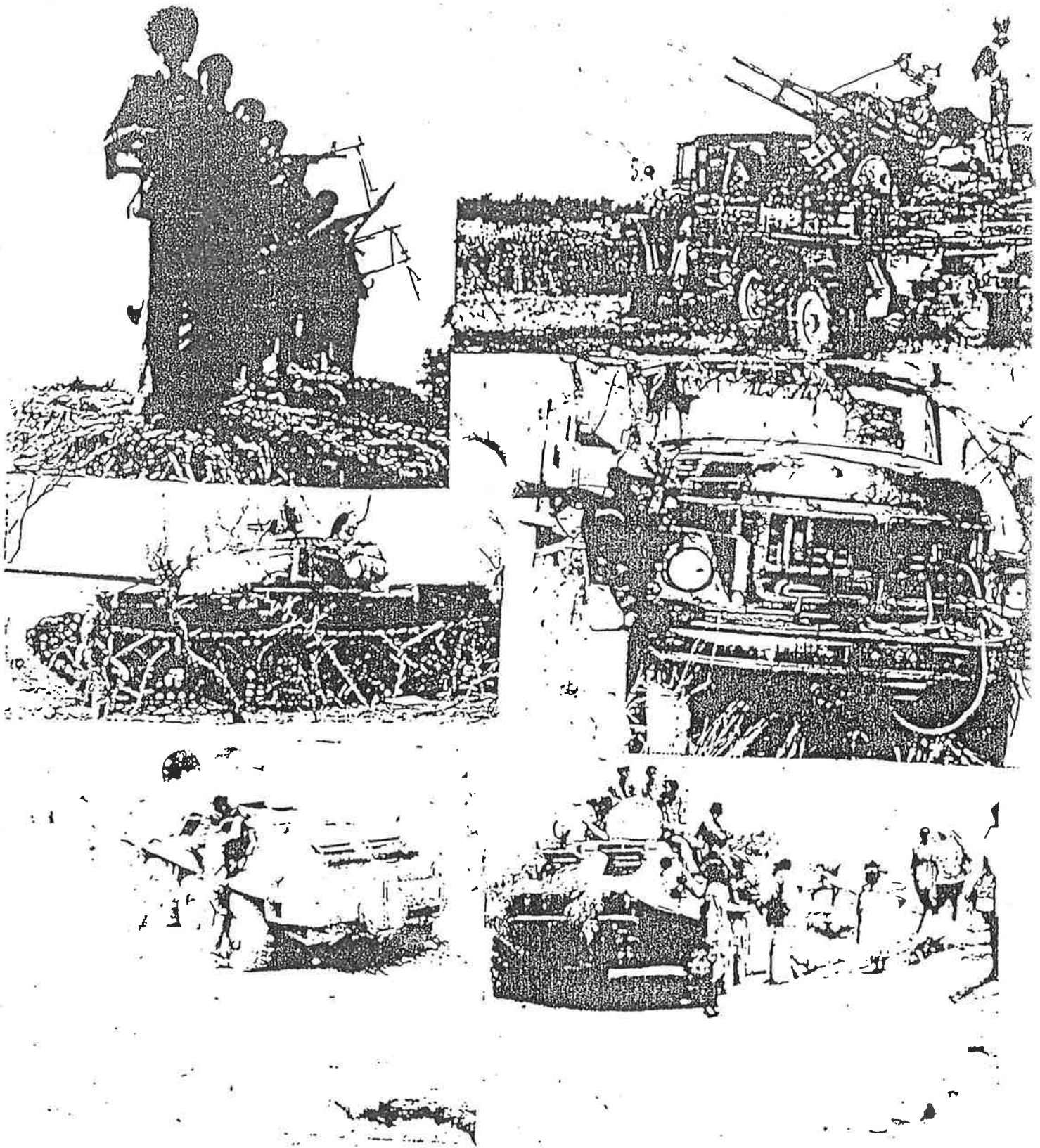
6) On Proletarian Internationalism.

The proletariat counter - poses proletarian internationalism to the bourgeoisie's nationalism. The victory of communism and the revolution on a world scale.

Proletarian internationalism can only mean to follow the correct Marxist - Leninist line and wage the revolution accordingly in ones own country and support this with every means possible through - out the world. Therefore there can be no question of proletarian internationalism without a correct Marxist - Leninist line.

At this time, such line is the line defined by the Party of Labour of Albania and other sisterly Marxist - Leninist parties and groups. That line is the foundation of proletarian internationalism through - out the world. The attitude towards that line is the demarcation line between genuine proletarian internationalism and phoney inter - nationalism.

May, 1984.



Our enemies are sources of our arms.