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VANGUARD

E.P.L.F.



VICTORY TO THE MASSES!

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C O N T E N T S

| | |
|---|----|
| 1. Editorial | 1 |
| 2. Important Declaration No 1 | 2 |
| 3. Important Declaration No 2 | 5 |
| 4. Expose the Dergue's Colonialist Lies | 8 |
| 5. From the Diary of a Dead Ethiopian Soldier in Nacfa | 27 |
| 6. Reportage: The Revolution School | 36 |
| 7. A year after the Resignation of the ex-Foreign Mission | 42 |
| 8. Djibouti Set for Independence | 46 |
| 9. From the Solidarity Messages to the First Organizational Congress of the E.P.L.F. | 50 |
| - The Delegation of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan | 50 |
| - The Delegation of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine | 52 |
| 10. News and Views | 55 |
| - Life in Nacfa Returns to Normal | 55 |
| - Elabered Follows Afabet | 55 |
| - E.P.L.F. Releases Captured "Peasant Volunteers" | 56 |
| - Osman Sabbe Begs U.S Imperialism for Aid | 58 |
| - Comrade Kemal Jumblat is Murdered | 61 |
| - Comrade Tesfai Debessai is Murdered | 62 |
| - E.P.L.F. Celebrates International Women's Day | 64 |
| 11. Military Communique | 67 |

EDITORIAL

Ever since the triumphant conclusion of its First Organizational Congress, the E.P.L.F. revolutionary organization has, true to its glorious tradition, been winning brilliant victories in the various fields of struggle. As a result of these continuous victories, Ethiopian colonialism in Eritrea, already in a rapid state of decline, has marked the beginning of its end. Today, there is one fundamental truth wherever the revolutionary force of our masses is arrayed against the counter-revolutionary force of Ethiopian aggression. And this is that successively, we are scoring victory after victory while the enemy is suffering defeat after defeat. This dialectical process is bound to continue in a larger scale, on a higher level and at a faster pace until Ethiopian colonialism, imperialism, zionism and all puppets are completely wiped out from Eritrean soil. This is the inevitable verdict of history.

Following a correct revolutionary line, the E.P.L.F. is making a tremendous effort to implement its National Democratic Programme. It is working hard to strengthen its vanguard role and consolidate its victories by correctly politicizing, organizing and arming the masses and raising the ideological consciousness of the People's Army. On the international level, it is making a determined effort to consolidate and expand our organization's relations with the progressive forces, liberation movements and friendly countries. On the military front, we have, using the liberated countryside as our solid bastion, embarked upon the struggle to liberate the major cities. Two strategic cities -Nacfa and Afabel- have already fallen into the hands of our heroic People's Army and the others are bound to follow suit.

These magnificent political and military victories are a guarantee for the new national democratic structures being established and the tasks of economic and social development being carried out in the liberated areas. Today,

a new social system that is popular and democratic is rising up on the ruins of the old oppressive and exploitative colonial system. The progressive national democratic culture of our toiling masses is being developed in place of the old, backward and decadent feudo-capitalist and imperialist cultures. These all-round unprecedented new historic developments taking place in the Eritrean field assure the inevitability of the final victory of the democratic force of the Eritrean revolution.

Thus, the stunning victories being scored at present by the E.P.L.F. and its resolute and heroic People's Army, in particular, are a telling blow to all the enemies of the Eritrean people - Ethiopian colonialism, U.S. imperialism, Israeli zionism and domestic reaction. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that these great victories create new tasks and problems that demand of us greater effort, resoluteness and sacrifice in our continuing patriotic revolutionary struggle. For the revolutionary road leading to total liberation is still long, difficult and tortuous. In the final analysis, however, the complete defeat of the enemies and the total revolutionary victory of the just struggle of our masses is certain.

VICTORY TO THE MASSES!

IMPORTANT DECLARATION No 1

The Perseverant Masses of Eritrea:

The masses of our people in struggle at home and abroad, today we bring you with heightened revolutionary enthusiasm the good tidings of the fall of Nacfa, the capital city of Sahel Province, to the heroic People's Army of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (E.P.L.F.). Sahel is the second largest and most strategic province in Eritrea. Nacfa is the first provincial capital to be liberated by our resolute and heroic People's Army from the occupation of Ethiopia's barbarous army of aggression. The capture of this important city is an unprecedented brilliant victory for the revolu-

tionary struggle of the Eritrean people for independence, freedom and democracy led by the correct line of the E.P.L.F. Indeed, the Liberation of Nacfa is a harbinger of things to come, a great revolutionary event heralding the forthcoming fate of all Eritrean cities.

Our Fighting Masses,

The seizure of Nacfa is not our first or last target. It only reiterates the correctness and continuing advance of our strategy of protracted people's war to liberate the land step by step. Nevertheless, the liberation of Nacfa bears a special significance. For the first time a major Eritrean city has been put under the complete control of our determined Peoples Army. Besides, the elimination of a seemingly impregnable colonial fortress in the midst of our extensive liberated territory gives us control of a vitally strategic city.

The fall of Nacfa has been a foregone conclusion ever since the E.P.L.F. People's Army encircled and put it under siege over six months ago. The enemy's fate was sealed especially after the failure of its repeated attempts to relieve or reinforce its besieged troops, much less to "save" Nacfa. Here, the Battle of Naro (near Nacfa) which our revolutionary People's Army waged with great military prowess, determination and heroism deserves special mention. It is to be remembered that in its initial attempts to "save" Nacfa, the enemy despatched an elite force of an airborne brigade to Naro. It is well known that this force was entirely annihilated and the enemy's dreams completely shattered.

The enemy's attempts were not confined to this. After the Battle of Naro, the Ethiopian colonial regime air-lifted fresh troops to Nacfa under heavy air cover. Defying the concentrated bombings of their positions, the heroic fighters of the People's Army fought with great determination and skill and totally decimated the enemy force.

Once this attempt failed, the enemy tried another maneuver to save its troops, huddled in their fortified camps inside the base. It gathered a force of 4000 troops in Keren and escorted by fighter planes, tanks, heavy artillery and armored cars, set them out in a convoy for Nacfa. And where did it end up?

Our heroic People's Army blocked it at the Anseba River at a point no farther than 10 km from Keren and, launching a ferocious battle, subjected it to its strong revolutionary blows. The convoy sustained heavy casualties and losses. After suffering telling blows for a month and half, it beat its retreat to Keren in disarray, leaving behind 600 dead, scores of burnt out tanks and armoured cars, several trucks, an F-86 fighter plane, etc. All this was a clear proof that the Ethiopian aggressor army was incapable of carrying through the orders of its leaders in Addis Ababa to "save" Nacfa at any cost; that further attempts would leave the troops with either of two alternatives: certain death in the battlefield or capture by our People's Army.

All this concretely demonstrates that the enemy does not view Nacfa lightly and that it fought with all its might to retain it. This is precisely because it clearly understands the bitter truth that its defeat in Nacfa signifies the beginning of the end of Ethiopian colonialism in Eritrea.

It is obvious that Nacfa could have fallen to the hands of the E.P.L.F. earlier. However, the accomplishment of this revolutionary task was delayed as a result of the priority given to the preparations for the First Organizational Congress. Our heroic People's Army has now won this historic victory on March 22/1977. On this great occasion, we would like to remind the masses of our people that it was at this time last year (ie, March 23/1976) that the reactionary ex-Foreign Mission severed its relations with us and embezzled our property hoping that its departure would wreck our revolutionary front. The victories we have scored during the past year are concrete evidence that the departure of the notorious opportunist clique of the ex-Foreign Mission has strengthened our revolutionary organization and helped to bring about the rapid advance of our tasks in all fields of struggle.

All the brilliant achievements that we have scored so far are the firm foundation for our inevitable forthcoming victories in the future. They testify to our revolutionary

capability to reap victory after victory over the forces of colonial aggression arrayed against us. Furthermore, they reiterate that all the reactionary forces scheming and plotting to turn back the wheel of history are bound to end up in the garbage heap of history.

In the final analysis, the winning of this great revolutionary victory signifies the ability of the E.P.L.F. People's Army to carry out its revolutionary tasks and implement the goals and objectives of our revolutionary organization. It validates our organization's basic premise that the victory of the revolution is assured only through the integration of theory and practice as well as the matching of words and deeds.

Our heroic People's Army launched its most decisive and devastating assault on Nacfa on March 22, 1977, at 10:00 hours. The battle lasted until 18:00 hours of the same day.

Out of an enemy force of over 600 (six hundred) troops, 420 (four hundred and twenty) officers and men, including the commanding colonel were killed and 170 (one hundred and seventy) officers and soldiers taken prisoner. There are 24 (twenty four) officers of various ranks among the captured.

In winning this brilliant victory, the E.P.L.F. People's Army paid the priceless blood of 30 (thirty) heroic martyrs while 70 (seventy) of its fighters sustained slight wounds.

The magnificent victory of Nacfa shall be a crushing blow to all opportunists, reactionaries and lackeys.

VICTORY TO THE MASSES.

IMPORTANT DECLARATION Nº 2

The Heroic Masses of Eritrea,

During the past two weeks, we have been celebrating the excellent victory of our heroic People's Army at Nacfa. Once again, we bring you today the good news of a magnifi-

cent revolutionary victory in the continuing and rapidly advancing pace of our patriotic struggle. With great joy and pride we inform you of the fall of Afabet to the heroic People's Army of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (E.P.L.F.) on April 6, 1977, with the complete annihilation of the occupying enemy troops within an hour and forty minutes.

After Macfa, Afabet is the second largest and the last city in Sahel to fall into the hands of our heroic People's Army. Sahel, the second largest province in Eritrea is now completely cleared of all traces of enemy presence. It is to be recalled that the Dergue (Ethiopian military junta) had declared Afabet the second capital of Sahel when our People's Army put Macfa under siege and its eventual fall became certain. Ever since, the Dergue, lured by the vain hope of clinging to it, had been busy reinforcing its fortified base in Afabet, encircled and under siege by our People's Army, with airlifts of troops, heavy artillery and other materials as well as by digging deeper trenches. Despite these preparations and reinforcements, neither the enemy's rotting forces nor its crumbling fortifications could withstand the strong blows of our heroic People's Army fighting with patriotic zeal and resolute determination. Thus, the E.P.L.F. People's Army, magnificently combining the capability, tactics and speed of a modern army with the resoluteness, ingenuity and heroism of a revolutionary army, crushed the fascist Dergue's cowardly and reactionary forces of aggression in Afabet, just as it did before in Macfa.

The fall of Afabet is an important victory with a very great strategic, economic and social significance for the E.P.L.F. The enemy has been cleared off the entire area extending from the Sudanese border all the way to the major cities of Massawa, Asmara and Keren which are now completely isolated from each other under their respective encirclement by our People's Army.

This extensive territory is at present under the total control of the E.P.L.F. On top of this, our

People's Army fully controls over two-thirds of the Eritrean Red Sea coasts, extending from the Sudanese border in the north to way down below Massawa in the south. All this extremely strategic region is now wholly liberated territory without an iota of enemy presence. Thus, Afabet commands a great strategic significance in our forthcoming struggle to liberate all the cities not only as the gateway to Keren and the heart of our extensive liberated areas but also as a reassurance of the future fate of the cities still under enemy occupation.

This fresh victory has not only terrorized the enemy which is frenziedly digging trenches that will become its burying grounds in Keren and the other major cities but it has also exasperated and thrown all the reactionary cliques and opportunist elements, for whom any revolutionary victory which the E.P.L.F. scores is an anathema, into a state of terror and desperation. Hence, we are not surprised that the notorious reactionaries roaming African and Middle Eastern capitals in the pursuit of their capricious private interests are slandering and undermining the unprecedented victories being won by our heroic People's Army as a "dangerous development that will entail a civil war!" This sort of propaganda is a concrete demonstration of the hostility and antagonism which these reactionary and opportunist cliques have toward our people's victory, salvation and liberation. Thus, it should be borne in mind that the magnificent victory won in Afabet by our heroic People's Army is the second telling blow dealt all the reactionaries, opportunists, peddlers, anti-nationalists and lackeys within a period of two weeks.

In winning the great victory at Afabet, our heroic People's Army wiped out 300 enemy officers and men and captured 215 soldiers including a colonel, a major and a captain.

In conclusion, reminding that empty talk alone cannot be a substitute for action and that conditions cannot be changed without practice, the E.P.L.F. reaffirms that it will adhere to its correct revolutionary principles and continue its struggle through concrete practice until the total defeat and destruction of Ethiopian colonialism and

all the rotten reactionaries who are indistinguishable from it in their outlook. The victory of the oppressed masses is inevitable.

VICTORY TO THE MASSES!

EXPOSE THE DERGUE'S COLONIALIST

LIES

Colonialism is always a vicious system of oppression and exploitation. Any colonial system may have certain special features of its own. But, its fundamental essence and meaning are always and everywhere necessarily the same. However portrayed or disguised, colonialism is truly an aggressive, oppressive, exploitative, repressive and unjust system. Every colonial power invariably crosses its own national boundaries and commits military aggression to occupy alien land and territory. It launches a brutal campaign to crush the popular resistance that meets its aggression in self-defence—the people's defence of their country, independence and property against the foreign invaders.

Once it secures its colonial hold by attaining momentary victory over the forces of popular resistance, every colonial power establishes an utterly oppressive and repressive colonial administrative system to compel by force the victimized peoples to serve its selfish interests. It mercilessly exploits the natural and human resources of the colonized peoples. It crushes and suppresses with brutal cruelty all the popular movements that oppose its vicious oppressive and exploitative rule. It perpetrates untold injustices, repression and suffering on the colonized masses.

The victims of colonialism, deprived of their land and plundered of their resources, ill-fed and ill-clad, are thus subjected to the scourge of chains, massacres and backwardness. To maintain or prolong this atrocious situation, the colonizer resorts not only to the use of

barbaric reactionary violence but also to all kinds of conspiracies and outrageous lies designed to give its rule historical and legal justifications. Especially when the colonial power is extremely backward and fascist like the Dergue (the Ethiopian military junta), its barbarous atrocities and outrageous colonialist lies know no bounds.

Thus, the machinations, conspiracies and lies that the fascist Dergue is perpetrating against our just struggle today are neither a new nor a special phenomenon. They are time-worn, old tactics which the Dergue, in the manner of all colonizers, is using in an effort to prolong Ethiopian colonialism in Eritrea. It would of course have been possible to ignore all the Dergue's despicable lies and feudal intrigues. However, as they have been designed to confuse and swindle all those who do not know the history of our country and people, comprehend the real essence of the Dergue, or understand the prevailing situation in Eritrea and Ethiopia, we do not wish to remain silent in the face of all these colonialist lies and propaganda.

The Dergue's Deliberate Distortion of History

The Dergue claims that Eritrea, as the origin and centre of the ancient Ethiopian civilization of Axum, was an integral part of Ethiopia at least from the 5th century B.C. to the advent of Italian colonialism in 1885-1890. Furthermore, it states: that there arose during the British occupation of Eritrea (1941-52) a certain "Unionist Party- a liberation movement in the true sense-which demanded the unconditional reunion of Eritrea with Ethiopia,...represented the majority of the Eritrean people,... enjoyed the broadest support of all sections of the Eritrean people"; that Eritrea was federated with its "mother Ethiopia" on the basis of a U.N. General Assembly resolution; that, after the extremely cumbersome and unworkable federation, which was against the wishes and beyond the comprehension of the Eritrean people, was tried for about ten years, the representatives of the Eritrean people voted unanimously to give fulfilment to the historic aspiration to reunite with the motherland; etc. ("Eritrea Then and Now", pp. 6-17, May 1976).

In another similar pamphlet, the Dergue, trying to lend these obnoxious lies a semblance of truth, states that Eritrea "had been the seat of the history, culture and administration of ancient Ethiopia"; that "because of its location along the Red Sea and the strategic importance of its sea coast... (it) had been coveted by various forces during the last few centuries"; and that "powers like Turkey, Egypt, Italy and then Britain who wanted to control the Red Sea and East Africa have often sought to carve out Eritrea out of the rest of Ethiopia". It goes on to say that the Eritrean people "led by the Unionist Party... using the motto 'Ethiopia or Death'... continued their struggle against the British rule, to free themselves and unite with the motherland and to preserve the independence and unity of Ethiopia"; "however a federation was established in 1952 in disregard of the wish of the people and under pressure from the imperialists". ("Policy Declaration of the Provisional Military Government to Solve the Problem in the Administrative Region of Eritrea in a Peaceful Way", pp. 3-4, May 16, 1976).

To understand the underlying bases and motives of this distorted presentation of the history of Eritrea and its people, we return to a brief analysis of true history. It is true that the land of modern-day Eritrea was the cradle and centre of the ancient civilization of the Axumite Kingdom. But, the Axumite Kingdom, even at the height of its glory, had never expanded beyond the present southern frontiers of the contemporary northernmost Ethiopian province of Tigray. Once it crumbled under external aggression while already on the decline in the 7th century, the Axumite Kingdom never revived. For many centuries afterwards, the people remained divided into several tribal territories and carried out intermittent aggression against each other. It was under such circumstances that the Ottoman Turks invaded and occupied in 1557 large areas of the present-day Eritrea extending from the coast to the plateau. Although they were soon forced to confine themselves to the coastal areas, their brutal rule lasted for 300 years (1557-1865). Turkish rule was then replaced by that of the Egyptians.

Egyptian colonial occupation of large areas of Eritrea was relatively short-lived. When the European colonial powers officially divided up Africa in the Berlin Conference of 1885 and scrambled to invade and put it under the yoke of their oppression, the people of Eritrea on their part fell victim to Italian aggression in 1889 after five years of heroic resistance.

The whole of Eritrea was for the first time brought together under a single colonial administration and forged into a nation. In the pursuit of its greedy aims, the exploitative colonial system established new economic, political and social structures which helped to bring about the integration of the country and people long subjected to fragmented feudal rule and create new Eritrean social forces with strong national consciousness and unity. This strong national consciousness and unity of the Eritrean people has become rock-solid in the course of their prolonged patriotic struggle against common foreign aggressors.

After fifty years of bitter suffering under the colonial, social and racial oppression of Italian imperialism, the Eritrean people fell into the hands of vicious British occupation during the Second World War when the Italian colonial army in Eritrea was defeated by Allied forces strongly supported by our people. During its eleven years of colonial rule, there is no intrigue or conspiracy which British imperialism did not try in its scheme to abolish Eritrean nationhood, destroy the unity and economic life of our people, and disintegrate the independence movement. Finally, U.S. imperialism, using the U.N. as a tool, hatched a conspiracy to federate Eritrea with Ethiopia in the interests of imperialism and its feudal Ethiopian puppets. Thus, in violation of their right to self-determination and contrary to their wishes and interests, the Eritrean people were forced into the clutches of Ethiopian rule under U.S. imperialist domination in the guise of a U.N. federal resolution (390 A/v/).

Hence contrary to expansionist Ethiopia's false claims

of "3000 years of history originating before the era of the Axumite Kingdom", it was this unjust U.N. federal resolution that for the first time brought Eritrea under Ethiopian rule. After all, the ancient Kingdom was the Kingdom of Axum and not the Kingdom of Ethiopia. From the fall of Axum to the advent of Italian colonialism, the people of Eritrea lived under the chains of feudal fiefdoms, in constant resistance to foreign aggression, and often subjected to recurrent mutual invasions. Likewise, the peoples inhabiting today's Ethiopia remained until the close of the 19th century under the fetters of disparate feudal kingdoms that intermittently invaded each other. Thus, even though their feudal rulers were engaged in sporadic campaigns of mutual aggression, the peoples of present-day Eritrea and Ethiopia lived essentially apart from each other and in a state of mutual isolation. Accordingly, these two neighbouring peoples have had their own distinctly separate courses of historical development even before the coming of Italian colonialism.

It was only with the advent of European colonialism (in the Horn of Africa) that Eritrea and Ethiopia, just like most of the other Third World countries, took on their present territorial and political shapes. Prior to it, there was no Ethiopian state under a centralized political administration within its present boundaries. Ethiopia was for the first time brought under centralized administration and formed as a nation only in the last decade of the 19th century when the then Kingdom of Shoa carried out expansionist conquests over neighbouring peoples and entered into boundary treaties with the European colonialists who invaded the Horn of Africa.

Thus, the claim of the Ethiopian ruling classes that the contemporary Ethiopian state is the continuation of "3000 years of history under the successive rule of the Solomonic dynasty" is only feudal legend pure and simple. However, this feudal legend is an important tool feeding their chauvinist prejudices and serving their expansionist ambitions. In particular, when today the fascist

Dergue, striving hard to put on a progressive garb, presents the present Ethiopian state as the continuation of the Axumite Kingdom, it is only betraying its truly feudal ideology, expansionist ambitions and dangerous chauvinism.

2. The Establishment and Abrogation of the Federation:

It is a concrete fact verifiable by history that the Eritrean people were forcibly federated with backward feudal Ethiopia against their wishes and legitimate aspirations for complete national independence through a neocolonial conspiracy hatched by U.S. imperialism. It is also an undeniable fact that the people of Eritrea continued to intensify their relentless patriotic struggle and pay great sacrifices throughout the federal period. The true history of the Eritrean people, recorded through the resolute struggle of the masses and the priceless blood of thousands of patriots, is not something that can be altered by the expansionist lies of the Ethiopian ruling classes. Hence, the out-and-out lies that the fascist Dergue, following in the footsteps of Haile Selassie's defunct feudal regime, has been concocting in order to prettify the "Unionist Party" and its traitorous political activities represent a futile attempt to give legitimacy to its colonial aggression in Eritrea.

The "Unionist Party" was truly a repository of traitors, reactionaries and feudalists. There was no Eritrean national objective or interest that it represented. With the feudalists, higher clergy and chieftains as its principal social base, it was an instrument of feudal Ethiopia and its imperialist overlords, established and run by Haile Selassie's puppet feudal regime. Its political activities were based on backward demagogy and banditry. It did not enjoy the support of the majority of the Eritrean people, as the Dergue mendaciously claims. The "Unionist Party" itself, even in its most exaggerated claims, never boasted of more than 40% popular support. Needless to say this claim was highly inflated (for in reality, it did not have even half as much) out of competitive considerations with the patriotic political parties opposing it. However, even if its inflated claim of 40% were true, it would mean

that the opposition " Eritrean Independence Bloc", embracing several parties with a common platform of national independence, enjoyed at least 60% popular support. Thus, when the Dergue falsely prettifies the " Unionist Party" -the tool of the feudalists and the repository of the traitors and reactionaries- as a true " liberation movement and representative of the Eritrean people", it is primarily manifesting its reactionary essence.

That the draft federal resolution, designed to frustrate the wishes and deny the right of the Eritrean people for national independence, was introduced and pushed through the U.N. General Assembly by imperialist U.S. with the support of its allies and puppets is a fact that history can attest to. Furthermore, it is beyond contention that the resolution was passed over the opposition of the socialist countries and several Third World countries. Indeed, the federation was a neocolonial conspiracy hatched by U.S. imperialism in the interests of imperialism and its feudal puppets without the consent and against the interests of the Eritrean and Ethiopian peoples. Its inevitable outcome was the establishment of Ethiopian colonialism and U.S. imperialist bases in Eritrea, the expansion of imperialist and zionist presence and interests in Eritrea and Ethiopia, and the shackling of the Eritrean and Ethiopian masses under U.S. neocolonialism.

In the face of these incontrovertible facts, the reactionary Dergue is spewing all kinds of lies. Its attempt to portray the sham federation that was imposed to serve the capricious interests of U.S. imperialism and the expansionist ambitions of Ethiopian feudalism in violation of the right of the Eritrean people to national independence as "an anti-Ethiopian decision" is indeed an appalling exercise in reverse logic.

And how was this federation dissolved? Of course, the Dergue has no qualms about lying! Faithfully

adhering to its mentor Haile Selassie's line, it states that "it was the representatives of the Eritrean people voting unanimously" who decided to dissolve the federation and "reunite with the motherland". Nothing can be farther from the truth. Contrary to this brazen lie of the Ethiopian ruling classes, the Eritrean people did not wish, nor did the Eritrean Assembly unanimously vote, to dissolve the federation. Even if this lie were true, it would still be incapable of justifying Ethiopia's crimes. After all, the following principal legal points must be clearly borne in mind with respect to the federal resolution:

1. The Eritrean Assembly, in accordance with the Eritrean Constitution, was charged with the responsibility to uphold and defend the federal system and did not have the power to dissolve, amend or change it. Thus, even if the Eritrean Assembly were to dissolve the federation, it would still be illegal.
2. Even if the Eritrean Assembly had tried to dissolve the federal system in violation of the law, the federal government had the legal obligation to rescind the Assembly's illegal attempt and uphold the federal system.
3. Since the federation between Eritrea and Ethiopia was **an international arrangement** established on the basis of a U.N. resolution, it would be illegal to dissolve it without the approval of the U.N..

Thus, when Haile Selassie's feudal Ethiopian regime unilaterally abrogated the federal resolution and annexed Eritrea in 1962, it was in clear violation of the law and through the use of open military aggression. It immediately established its brutal fascist rule in Eritrea to crush the national independence movement and trample upon the democratic and human rights of the Eritrean people. Needless to say, Haile Selassie's puppet regime did not accomplish all this alone. This crime was committed, and continues to be perpetrated, with the full political, economic and military (arms, training, advisors, etc.) backing of imperialism and zionism.

Colonialist lies notwithstanding that annexation did not, and could not, have the consent of the Eritrean people. Indeed, the history of our people's struggle concretely demonstrates that it was an expansionist aggression that met and continues to meet their stiff resistance. After all, no people, and least of all the Eritrean people, ever choose to be put under the fetters of slavery and colonialism, to voluntarily become the victims of feudal oppression and imperialist exploitation. On the contrary, they fight hard to get rid of such scourge. The history of our people and the development of their struggle are an obvious instance of this truth.

It is precisely because the Dergue itself understands well the futility of all its lies in the face of actual history that it is frenziedly ^{seeking} other pretexts for its expansionist aggression. It is now trying to give a "new interpretation" to the federal resolution by distorting the letter and the spirit of the 1960 U.N. General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV) incorporating the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples". The U.N. declaration accords unconditional freedom to colonial peoples to choose their own political and economic institutions. Posing as the champion of the Eritrean people, the Dergue turns this around to suit its own purposes and hypocritically states that to view the "federation as establishing an immutable political arrangement, limiting in perpetuity the freedom of choice of the Eritrean people is untenable, since it goes against the spirit of the Charter of the U.N. and the principles for which the people of the Third World have been fighting for during the last twenty-five years". ("Eritrea Then and Now", p. 14).

What a distortion, what a reverse logic? And why? The Dergue itself provides the answer in one of its secret documents: "when we view in detail the history of the Eritrean case, especially the

circumstances surrounding the termination of the federal resolution, we understand that there are certain big reasons that call for the internationalization of the case. We must strive to prevent the bringing up of the case to an international forum where, no longer the internal matter of Ethiopia, it would take on an international form." ("The Eritrean Case in International Politics", June 1975, p.1). Thus contrary to its deceitful formal attempts to reduce it to "an internal Ethiopian matter", the Dergue secretly acknowledges and attests to the fact that the Eritrean case is a full-fledged international issue with solid legal foundations. Yet, it has made the covering up of this truth the primary objective of its diplomatic activities.

The principal objective for which the Eritrean people have been struggling with great determination and sacrifices is to achieve, through the exercise of their right to self-determination and freedom of choice, their complete national independence and liberation. At this moment in particular when over 98% of the Eritrean people have warmly embraced the revolution, there can be no doubt whatsoever as to their unwavering desire for complete national independence. The Dergue itself, knowing fully well this fundamental truth, is doing all it can to delay the moment when the Eritrean people can show their real choice in the exercise of their right to self-determination for national independence.

The Real Essence of the Dergue:

It is to be recalled that Haile Selassie's puppet feudal regime crumbled in the beginning of 1974 as a result of the powerful revolutionary blows dealt it by the Eritrean people's armed struggle and the Ethiopian people's democratic struggle. However, as there was no strong revolutionary organization capable of leading the courageous struggle of the Ethiopian masses to victory, the Dergue, riding high on the popular movement, usurped state power.

Declaring in succession "Ethiopia First", "Ethio-

pian Socialism", " Land Nationalization", " National Democratic Revolution"; etc., the Dergue has, for the last three years, striven to give its truly reactionary fascist essence a progressive facade. Although it has effected certain reforms over the rotten feudal system, it has been unable to resolve the basic contradictions of Ethiopian society or address itself to the urgent economic, political and social problems facing the Ethiopian people. On the contrary, the violation of the democratic and human rights of the Ethiopian people and the crushing of their democratic resistance have become the Dergue's daily practice. In short, today the Dergue has imposed its fascist dictatorship over the Ethiopian masses while chanting pseudo-progressive slogans. This is not at all surprising to any one who has been keenly following the emergence as well as the practice of the Dergue.

The military, as an arm of the state apparatus, is always a class instrument of organized violence. In any society, it is the organ of class oppression which the ruling classes employ to suppress and subjugate the other social classes in the defence of their rule and interests. As much, the present Ethiopian military, created by the feudal aristocracy and trained and equipped by the U S. and Israel, is a reactionary army built to serve the interests of imperialism and feudalism. This army is steeped in the backward, chauvinist and neocolonial ideology of the Ethiopian ruling classes. Besides, it has a dirty history of brutal cruelty against various popular and democratic movements. The Dergue's military regime is thus truly reactionary and fascist both in its line and as a force.

It is unthinkable then that this reactionary and fascist force, simply because it usurped state power one bright morning and subsequently issued pseudo-progressive declarations, can immediately abandon the class mission for which it has been built right from its inception and serve the interests of the Ethiopian toiling masses whom it has been mercilessly suppressing and subjugating for many years. Thus, the establishment in Ethio-

plia of a government that serves the interests of the masses and safeguards their democratic rights necessarily calls for the total destruction of the reactionary army built to serve the interests of imperialism and feudalism and the building in its place of a new people's army nurtured with a revolutionary ideology and tempered in struggle. Without this, it is absolutely impossible to wage a real national democratic revolution or build socialism in Ethiopia.

Thus, the Dergue must be judged primarily by the social forces it represents and its practice rather than simply by its confusing and often contradictory declarations and slogans. Ever since it seized power and imposed its fascist dictatorship, it has been busy suppressing the Ethiopian masses and crushing their democratic movement. Marshalling all its available military strength and diplomatic resources, it has been waging an all-out effort to strangulate and crush our revolutionary movement so as to prolong its colonial occupation of Eritrea. On the one hand, it has escalated its aggressive war of extermination, committed barbarous massacres and atrocities on our people and caused enormous damage to their livelihood. On the other hand, it has intensified its diplomatic effort, issuing empty pseudo-progressive slogans and declarations, to isolate our just struggle from its international friends and supporters. The Dergue is, therefore, a truly backward, reactionary and chauvinist fascist regime that has made political prostitution its principal weapon in its death struggle to prolong its dictatorial rule over the Ethiopian people and its colonial aggression against the Eritrean people.

The Eritrean People's Struggle is Just and Revolutionary

The Dergue slanders the Eritrean people's national liberation struggle as "a movement for separation that was started by the colonial rulers and continued to grow with the help of foreign governments who had an expansionist interest and vied Eritrea for its strategic importance.

("Policy Declaration", p.5). It further vilifies our patriotic struggle as "a sectarian movement that was started by the reactionary and unpatriotic remnants of colonialism "and "small minorities of religious and ethnic groups... receiving the support of certain Arab countries pursuing the old policy of religious expansionism". It claims that since the movement receives the support of external forces, it is an instrument of expansionist Arab interests and collaborates with imperialists and reactionaries. It shamelessly goes on to say that "the whole movement would not have had a chance to survive as long as it has if it had not been for the active support that it has received first on religious grounds and then on political and specific strategic grounds". ("Eritrea Then and Now", pp. 14-22).

On the other hand, the Dergue refutes all this mendacious propaganda itself when it states that "During the federation, the despotic government of Haile Selassie extended its oppressive rule to Eritrea. The people of the region who had fought to get rid of colonial rule and live in freedom with the motherland, were stripped of their democratic rights and step by step put them under the yoke of feudalism and imperialism. ...As the oppression continued to increase, internal contradictions served as a means for external enemies to sneak in!" (Policy Declaration", pp. 4-5). Through these contradictory claims, the Dergue, perhaps unwittingly, betrays an iota of truth and demolishes all its lies and distortions to naught, thereby providing the key to the rise of the Eritrean people's armed struggle.

Therefore, the Eritrean people's struggle is, as the fascist Dergue itself admits an internal social process that has its root cause in the concrete and objective conditions of our people's colonial oppression and imperialist exploitation. History testifies that the Eritrean people have for a long time fought with great heroism and determination against successive colonial oppressors for national independence and

liberation. They were compelled to launch the armed struggle in 1961 not because they fancied war or because they were encouraged by foreign forces; but because they did not have any other means of getting rid of "the oppressive rule of the despotic Haile Selassie regime and the yoke of feudalism and imperialism; and regaining their national and democratic rights.

The Dergue's lies and distortions notwithstanding, there is no question that the Eritrean people's struggle has a firm national foundation and that no foreign power owns or controls it. Not only does the fascist Dergue closely know and practically understand this truth but it also vouches for it in writing. In one of its secret internal documents, the Dergue states; "Our study of the history of the (Eritrean independence) movement clearly demonstrates that, as no country has full control over the movement, no one ^{can} coordinate the different organizations inside and outside and bring them together to negotiate". ("A Provisional Directive to be Implemented on the Basis of the May 8 Decision", p. 6). In thus secretly attesting to the fundamental truth, the Dergue itself exposes and condemns its own blatant lies!

A genuine revolutionary movement like that of the Eritrean people cannot be imported from abroad like a commodity. Every revolution grows as the people's response to the objective conditions of social oppression and exploitation. Furthermore, the fact that a given revolutionary movement receives support from friendly countries does not mean that it is their tool. If this were the case, it would mean that the national liberation struggles of the Third World peoples (Algeria, South Yemen, Palestine, Oman, Cuba, Vietnam, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, etc.) have been the tools of their foreign supporters! If so, which ones have been tools of?

Moreover, a genuine national liberation struggle is primarily based on self-reliance. The aid provided by friendly countries and organizations, as a supplement to the self-reliant effort, is an important factor that accelerates the inevitable victory; it is not something that determines the question of the survival of the strug-

gle. In short, all the lies and distortions of the Dergue are part of an obvious counter-revolutionary logic that signify primarily its own backwardness and ignorance.

The most appalling of all is the Dergue's out-and-out lie that the Eritrean revolution collaborates with imperialism and reaction. In the first place, is it not true that colonialist Ethiopia was able to annex Eritrea only as a puppet and dependency of U.S. imperialism? Is it not through the economic and military support of imperialism and zionism that Ethiopia has been able to wage a war of aggression against the Eritrean people for 16 years? It is a fact that Ethiopian colonial rule, whether under Haile Selassie's feudal regime or the fascist Dergue, could not have lasted so long without the continued military assistance of U.S. imperialism. Concrete historical and present relations are thus the living testimony that in reality imperialism is the master of Ethiopian colonialism and not the collaborator of the Eritrean revolution. After all, is it the Dergue's reactionary army or our revolutionary People's Army which is armed to the teeth with the weapons granted it by U.S. imperialism?

Ethiopia is waging a war of aggression to prolong its colonial rule in Eritrea. It is carrying out a war of extermination against the masses of our people. In this unjust war of aggression, it enjoys the full military, political and economic support of imperialism and zionism. Without this support, it cannot wage its war of aggression against us. On the other hand, the Eritrean people are fighting against Ethiopian colonialism, imperialism, zionism and their lackeys to liberate their country, protect their lives and defend their livelihood. This struggle is a just struggle. And because it is a just struggle, it enjoys the warm support of all the world's progressive and peace-and freedom-loving peoples.

The struggle of the Eritrean people is not the struggle of "small minorities of religious and ethnic groups",

as the colonialists and their imperialist masters slander it. It is a popular struggle waged and wholeheartedly supported by the entire Eritrean people irrespective of religion, nationality, tribe, region, etc. The E.P.L.F., in correctly leading the national democratic revolution, is exerting a great effort to politicize, organize and arm the masses so they can play their proper revolutionary role. It is precisely because our just patriotic struggle is popular that it has been able to embrace the entire Eritrean people, win great and brilliant victories, liberate extensive areas, and control virtually the entire Eritrean countryside.

The Eritrean people's national liberation struggle is not only popular and just, but it is also revolutionary. Of course, our first objective is the attainment of national independence. However, this does not mean that our people are fighting to get rid of Ethiopian colonialism only to have it replaced with Eritrean^{ism}. The patriotic struggle can bring about true independence and freedom only if it is also a class struggle. Thus, the national democratic revolution guided by the correct line of the E.P.L.F. is a genuine revolutionary movement that aims to destroy Ethiopian colonialism and imperialism in Eritrea, radically change our backward feudo-capitalist society and eliminate all forms of oppression and exploitation. This revolutionary struggle advances forward by crushing not only colonialism, imperialism and zionism in Eritrea, but also all reactionaries, opportunists and puppets. In short, it strives to build a new society in a new Eritrea. Our just, popular and revolutionary struggle is thus an integral part of the international revolutionary movement, especially of the African, Asian and Latin American peoples' struggles against colonialism, imperialism, zionism and racial discrimination. For this reason, it enjoys the internationalist support and solidarity of the world's progressive and revolutionary forces.

The Meaning of the Dergue's "Peaceful Solution"

The fascist Dergue, while itself slaughtering our

people, hypocritically states: "The despotic government of Haile Selassie was aware of the problem in Eritrea but did nothing to find a peaceful solution to it. ...During this long period, the blood of many Ethiopian (ie., Eritrean) brothers was shed for no purpose. Property was destroyed. The economic and social life of the region got worse from day to day." ("Policy Declaration", pp. 5-6). In the first place it should be clarified here that there is no difference between Haile Selassie's defunct feudal regime and the fascist Dergue with respect to the Eritrean question or its manner of solution. If there is any, it is one of tactics and not of line or policy. When today the Dergue hypocritically castigates the Haile Selassie regime for spilling the blood of the Eritrean people, destroying their property and causing the deterioration of their livelihood, it is only trying to hoodwink world public opinion. Otherwise, the injustices and atrocities that the Dergue has been perpetrating against our people are even worse. Even under the old feudal regime, it was none other than the Dergue and its army as Haile Selassie's henchmen who were perpetrating those crimes against our people. The Dergue has committed and continues to commit more brutal atrocities and barbarous crimes against the Eritrean masses. It has carried out indiscriminate massacres of old men, women and children, bayoneted pregnant women, burnt down villages and crop fields, poisoned wells and streams, looted property, etc.

Whenever the Dergue's mercenary army suffers a devastating blow in the hands of our revolutionary army, it vents its fascist wrath on the unarmed civilian population. The deliberate use of massacres, famine and terror as instruments of warfare to force the masses to submit to colonial rule - this is the well-known technique of all desperate aggressors. Its principal objective is to weaken the patriotic struggle by terrorizing the masses into abandoning their support for the revolutionary army. The outcome, however, is invariably the strengthening of the resolve of the masses and

the consolidation of their relations with the People's Army, thereby guaranteeing the victory of the revolution. This is the immutable logic of the unfolding antagonistic relations between the just struggle and the unjust aggression.

Under these circumstances, the objective of the fascist Dergue in presenting its nine-point policy for a "peaceful solution" is not to bring about a genuine peaceful solution in Eritrea. Rather, it is a colonial conspiracy designed to provide a breathing space to its aggressive army, sustaining humiliating defeats in the battlefield, and to prolong its occupation of Eritrea. As the Dergue itself explains in a secret document, the main objective of its proposed "peaceful solution" is "to create conditions in which the (liberation) fronts will be on a collision course with the Eritrean masses and isolated on the international level, in particular, to deprive them of arms, supplies and propaganda support from foreign governments and organizations". ("a Provisional Directive to Be Implemented on the Basis of the May 8 Decision", p.1). Furthermore, the secret document directs that military preparations and aggression should be escalated while the "peaceful solution" propaganda is under way. Hence, the Dergue's proposed "peaceful solution" is not designed to assure the legitimate national rights of the Eritrean people. On the contrary, it is a vicious conspiracy designed to swindle and confuse the world's progressive people and the Eritrean masses so as to isolate, strangulate and crush the Eritrean revolution.

The First Organizational Congress of the E.P.L.F., having correctly appraised the present conditions of the Eritrean revolution and the surrounding region in general and studying the Dergue's nine-point policy in particular, has rejected and condemned the Dergue's proposal of "peaceful solution" because it:

1. Rejects the right of the Eritrean people to self-determination and independence;
2. Does not accept the two fronts, the E.P.L.F. and E.L.F., as the legitimate representatives of the Eritrean people;

3. Has been designed to create division within the Eritrean revolution; and
4. Is a plot aimed at isolating the Eritrean revolution from its real friends.

The E.P.L.F. Viewpoint on Peaceful Solution;

Today, the fascist Dergue, in an effort to hide its utterly reactionary essence as well as its crushing defeats in the Eritrean field claims that the Eritrean revolution, in league with the "feudalists, reactionary forces in the neighbourhood and imperialists", is making "an effort to ruin and foil the search for peace" ("Policy Declaration", p.7). The real obstacles to peace, however, are the fascist Dergue, which has committed military aggression and anti-people atrocities in order to forcibly impose its colonial rule on the land and people of Eritrea, and U.S. imperialism, which has armed the Dergue to the teeth to perpetrate its aggression.

The Eritrean people have always been peace-loving. With their national independence, Democratic rights and human dignity assured, they wish and aspire to live in a just peace. But, they will oppose any unjust peace to the end. One of the principal objectives of our on-going vigorous and resolute armed struggle is the attainment of a just peace. Accordingly, the First Organizational Congress has reaffirmed the E.P.L.F.'s clear and correct viewpoint on peaceful solution. This is that the E.P.L.F. is prepared to enter into discussions for peaceful solution provided that colonialist Ethiopia:

1. Recognizes the right of the Eritrean people to self-determination;
2. Recognizes the two fronts, the E.P.L.F. and E.L.F., as the only legitimate representatives of the Eritrean people; and

3. Agrees to conduct negotiations on the international forum of the United Nations.

However, the E.P.L.F. shall not enter into any discussion without the inclusion of the E.L.F.

When the Dergue satisfies these three points, it will open the door for the initiation of discussions toward peacefull solution. Otherwise, since the heroic people of Eritrea, drawing from the rich history of the world's people as well as from their own rich experience, know full well that no colonizer ever withdraws voluntarily but must invariably be kicked out, they are prepared to persist in the protracted people's war to the end until they win real independence and freedom. In the final analysis, it is certain that our on-going national democratic revolution, guided by a correct line and supported by the international forces of democracy and progress shall win complete victory because it is a just, popular and revolutionary struggle. When, in particular, the masses of our people are being politicized, organized and armed to advance their revolution forward through greater participation, and strategic cities like Nacfa and Afabet are falling to the hands of our resolute and heroic People's Army, the certainty of our victory is reassured.

FROM THE DIARY OF A DEAD ETHIOPIAN

SOLDIER IN NACFA

We would like to make the following brief remarks before beginning the main body of the diary.

Just as Hitler, in a frantic rush to colonize and enslave the whole world, intoxicated his Nazi gangs with chauvinist demagogy of "German superiority" and plunged the German people into the abyss of the Second World War, the fascist Dergue (Ethiopian military Junta) in a frenzied effort to maintain its colonial hold over Eritrea, is daily weaving up chauvinist hysteria to dupe, arouse and pit the

Ethiopian people against their Eritrean class brothers, to use them as cannon fodder in its war of colonial aggression. Chanting the chauvinist slogans of "Ethiopia First", "Defend your motherland against Arab invasion", "Rise up for your country", etc., the Dergue has escalated its war of extermination and committed enormous atrocities against the Eritrean people. It has carried out barbarous massacres of old men, women and children, burnt down villages and crop fields, and forced a large section of the Eritrean people to become refugees in the neighbouring countries.

The people of Eritrea are today a people in arms, vigorously resisting the fascist violence of Ethiopian aggression with revolutionary violence. They are waging a war of national independence and liberation and winning brilliant victories. The Dergue's lies and incessant chauvinist demagoguery notwithstanding, the Ethiopian aggressor troops in Eritrea are suffering humiliating defeats, sustaining great losses and badly demoralized. Defeat and death are chasing them everywhere with their corpses littering the Eritrean landscape. The diaries and notes found in the pockets of dead Ethiopian soldiers express the alienation, despair, lament and agony that characterize both the private and collective lives of the Ethiopian aggressor troops now encircled and besieged in their bases and fortified camps.

When the heroic E.P.L.F. People's Army liberated Nacfa on March 22, 1977, it found a large number of diaries and notes on file as well as in the pockets of dead and captured enemy soldiers. To expose the essence of the fascist Dergue and the extent of opposition to it even among its own rank and file soldiers, we present here as is the diary of Mulugeta Alemayehu (Military Number 443745), a private in a paratroop brigade, killed in the Battle of Nacfa.

Private Mulugeta Alemayehu belonged to the paratroop battalion that was stationed in Mendefera prior to October 1976. The paratroopers have generally shown

more opposition to the Dergue's fascist rule and its war of colonial aggression in Eritrea than any other section of the Ethiopian army. In July 1976, for instance, they had reached an agreement to "withdraw from Eritrea" and set out for Addis Ababa. However, there was a leak and their plan failed on their way to the Ethiopian border. Consequently, the commanding colonel of the battalion along with forty one armed paratroopers joined the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party. Similar incidents have taken place among the paratroopers in Debre Zeit (near Addis Ababa).

When the Fifteenth Battalion of the Third Brigade of the First Division stationed in Nacfa was besieged and dealt heavy blows by E.P.L.F. People's Army units, it asked for reinforcements. The Dergue mustered its best battle-fit troops, provided them with special training given by zionist experts, and, calling them the "Nebelbal" (flame) Brigade, despatched them to Nacfa. These 800 "Nebelbal" troops were airborne to Naro, about 15km. from Nacfa, and completely wiped out by the E.P.L.F. It was when the "Nebelbal" Brigade was dicimated that the one paratroop company was despatched from Mendefera to accomplish the special mission of relieving the siege of Nacfa. From that moment onwards, Private Mulug, ete Alemayehu had recorded his daily experiences, feelings and thoughts. This is how he begins his diary:

" It is quite a miracle to have come down alive, to have escaped from the hail of bullets fired at us as we parachuted to land in Nacfa late October 1976. We found the enemy not at the level of 'bandits', as we were told, but at that of a well-equipped modern army division. We have reached here with extreme difficulty and at a great loss. However, even though the purpose of our mission was to free our camp from the siege of the 'bandits', we were forced to be on the defensive and not on the offensive, awaiting further reinforcements because we found the forces of the enemy 'bandits' stronger than ours. Since the enemy objective is to weaken us by depriving us of supplies and provisions and destroying our morale, he takes

away all the food and ammunition supplies parachuted for us from the air by using superior forces to prevent us from leaving our trenches to collect them. The situation goes on worsening as the siege tightens, the enemy closes in on us and the parachutes drop on his side. We are in an impossible situation".

In describing the food situation, Mulugeta states " Since our airborne supplies drop right on the 'bandits' position, the only chance we have is to feed on the wheat gathered by the 'Draft Relief Commission'!"

Of course, it had not come to light on poor Mulugeta that the food, clothing and medical supplies raised from humanitarian organizations in the name of famine relief never reach the suffering people of the famine-stricken areas of Ethiopia. Instead, the Dergue uses them for military provisions. For instance, the large quantity of wheat that was milled in several Eritrean towns last May for the purpose of provisioning the "peasant volunteers" and sold when the "peasant campaign" was crushed before it even reached the Eritrean border had been donated for purposes of famine relief.

Mulugeta goes on to say:

" As we waited thus, we heard the news that reinforcements were already on their way. We learnt that the reinforcements we were waiting for had been blocked by the enemy called E.P.L.F. and managed to reach Keren after week-long battles. Later, we came to know that as the reinforcement started from Keren to Macfa it was blocked by the same E.P.L.F. enemy and forced to retreat to Keren. We learnt this from the enemy's regular microphone speeches to us. What perplexes me most is as to what kind of incompetent idiots are leading Ethiopia today! How do they expect the Ethiopian army to defend itself from its enemies? Somalia has made full military preparations; Sudan has stationed on our borders an army many

times the size of ours. Is it not sad that the Dergue is letting us be annihilated in Eritrea without providing for what might happen tomorrow? May God help us! The courageous and the coward alike are being wiped out here in vain without comprehending as to why. In this way, the Ethiopian army is dissolving in Eritrea like salt in water.

" It is precisely because such is our government's ability to think that the garrison in Karora met a very bad end. Although it was a border guard, it was destroyed not by an external enemy but by internal 'bandits' and those who escaped death fled across the border and surrendered to the Sudanese government. And what is the situation of the one battalion of the First Division huddled here in foxholes and the para-troop company that came to partake of the same fate "

Poor soldiers of the Dergue who cannot yet see that their war of aggression is doomed! What had they been waiting for after the complete annihilation of the infamous " Nebelbal " Brigade, in Naro, after the devastating blows dealt the boisterous armoured column in Carneshim on its way to Keren and its total demise at Anseba, after the fall of Karora? After all this, why did they not heed the urgings of the resolute E.P.L.F. fighters to surrender? Just like the fool who dug his own grave, they awaited their demise to the last minute and suffered the fate of their comrades in Karora instead of giving their hands peacefully.

Mulugeta continues his diary:

" The saddest thing of all is that when Ethiopian troops are strongly attacked, they cry out for reinforcements as if they have a government and are told that help would soon be forthcoming. The soldiers under attack put up a persistent defence and hopefully wait for the reinforcements that never come on time, since, in our administrative practices, tomorrow means next year. In the process, their ranks are depleted through casualties but they still try to fight back to the utmost. The reinforcements that are belatedly despatched fair no better. They are ambushed

on the way and sustain great losses in men and materiel, rarely making it to their destination. If ever they make it, they find their fellow troops completely annihilated. They mournfully bury the corpses and remnants they find scattered in the battlegrounds and begin to return now that they have accomplished their mission: The road back is no better; it is the same story all over again. Only very few soldiers manage to escape and reach the cities alive to tell of the bad news. Such has become the fate of the Ethiopian soldier!"

Here, Mulugeta vents his anger and desperation. To him and his colleagues, the Dergue's chauvinist propaganda, its boisterous Sunday morning martial music, its sickening boasts of past military glories, etc., orchestrated to captivate and swindle the Ethiopian soldiers, must have a hollow ring.

At the same time, Mulugeta does not hide his admiration for and envy of the fighters of the E.P.L.F. He says that "they die for the truth and the sacrifices they make for the sake of their country have won them the admiration not only of their own countrymen but also of the peoples of the whole world - a degree of heroism which only a Christian or an Israeli is capable of." Here, he crudely lets out his deeply ingrained chauvinist sentiments that reflect the anti-Arab and anti-moslem propaganda of the Ethiopian ruling classes and their Zionist advisors. He goes on to say:

"This lucky Eritrean fighter has succeeded in weakening the entire Ethiopian army and sapping its morale. If the demoralized Ethiopian soldier fights it is because he is compelled to; otherwise, I would not be mistaken if I say that at least half of the Ethiopian troops have no stomach for the fighting".

Contrasting the suffering of the soldiers with the Dergue's attitude, he states:

"When people are being exterminated from hour to hour, this merchant of death that is the regime in power

does not give a damn! If that is the case then why are we fighting? Why are we dying? Can't there be a government that helps? Aren't there people who can help? We are crying out for help in vain, falling down in the mountains and valleys like autumn leaves and our corpses becoming the delight of vultures. When the government in power cannot respond to our urgent calls it cannot be said to be governing. As it is said that what one has tied one must untie oneself, what one has chosen one must also recall oneself. (Here he is speaking of the necessity to overthrow the Dergue). After all, who is perishing from a hail of bullets in the heat of gunfire? Who is the one who is dying without ever eating decent food, wearing warm clothes and drinking clean water? Obviously, the answer is -only the poor wretched soldier!

"We have sent numerous letters, messages and appeals but the Dergue has turned a deaf ear on them. The message of the 15th Battalion in Macfa, detailing the problems facing it, that was sent to the Dergue in July 1976 remains unanswered. We have also addressed the following open letter to the Ethiopian people and armed forces:

' We, the Ethiopian soldiers, who are perishing for the sake of our country, are being treated as though we do not have families and since our daily appeals have remained unanswered, we are writing this again, ^{so} that the entire people of Ethiopia and public officials may know of our plight.

We, the soldiers of the 15th Battalion of the 1st Division and the Mobile Company of the Paratroop Brigade, who are spilling our blood in Eritrea in fulfilment of our oath to our country, have come from the entire people of Ethiopia. Like every Ethiopian, we too have a mother, a father, a family and children. We are here in a desolate place fulfilling our duty with great suffering, besieged by Eritrean fighters called the E.P.L.F. who, as we were previously told, are committed to sell their country to the Arabs. Although we have been fighting against an enemy who is stronger than us both in numbers and weapons and we have lost many men in battle, we have

had no support or reinforcements from our government. However, the government has done nothing except give us false promises. It is now the fifth month since our camp has been bombarded day and night with heavy and light weapons. We, who are suffering from fatigue, hunger and ammunitions shortage, make today our last appeal to the whole people of Ethiopia, to the heroes and patriots of Ethiopia.

" We the oppressed soldiers, suffering from hunger and thirst are making our last appeal so the Ethiopian people shall know.

" You, the Ethiopian people, may recall that while the people of Wollo were perishing from famine, the reactionary government was importing cakes from Europe costing thousands of dollars. And what has the new government done when Ethiopian soldiers, perishing from hunger and enemy bullets, have gone to the extent of betraying their country and surrendering to a neighbouring country? The soldiers in Karora, besieged by the enemy for several months and receiving no assistance from the government were finally forced, after suffering many casualties of dead and wounded, to surrender to the Sudan.

"We, the soldiers in Nacfa, who have been ignored by the government, are doomed. In hopes that this will at least reach our motherland, for which we shall have died, and our families and, perhaps, the fathers, mothers, wives and children who may be fondly expecting our letters and eventual return, we inform you to completely give up hope on us from now onwards. To you and the entire Ethiopian people can come only the knells of sorrow and agony. But, we congratulate the Ethiopian authorities who have all along wished to see our extermination.

" But, our country, Ethiopia, you have been dishonoured, you have been affronted under the ~~new~~ government, because even we have come to know that your leaders do not work for the truth but are busy

competing for power and private gain. You may not even have a chance for the future. May you beget a clean son so you would get the truth. So much from your children lost forever in the midst of the wilderness, like seeds of salt sown in the desert, buried in the furnace called Nacfa.

"Nacfa - my country, Ethiopia, think it over, do not ever forget your children who have died here for you".

So ends the diary of Private Mulugeta Alemayehu, military number 443745. Innumerable are the Ethiopian soldiers who have met and continue to meet the fate of Mulugeta Alemayehu all over Eritrea in the hands of the heroic E.P.L.F. People's Army. The experience of Afabet has reiterated that if the Ethiopian colonial troops waging a war of aggression in Eritrea do not voluntarily surrender whenever their camps are besieged, they cannot have any fate other than that of Mulugeta and his fellow soldiers in Nacfa. The Ethiopian soldier who wants to save his skin should learn from the lot of the garrisons in Nacfa and Afabet.

Mulugeta's diary shows that the Ethiopian soldier has no confidence in the Dergue, understands that the Dergue is weak and doomed, and wishes to see the demise of the Dergue and the rise of a new regime in Ethiopia. Furthermore, it signifies that the Ethiopian soldier knows from bitter experience the truths that Ethiopian colonial aggression in Eritrea is doomed, that the Dergue's army has really been defeated in the Eritrean field, that the Dergue is incapable of providing its troops with reinforcements or the necessary military support wherever they are besieged by our People's Army, that the Dergue's war of extermination in Eritrea has no purpose other than the slaughter of the civilian population as well as its troops, etc.

All this demonstrates the extent to which the Ethiopian colonial army in Eritrea suffers from alienation, low morale, war fatigue and desperation. Apparently, the most surprising thing under these circumstances is why the Ethiopian troops failed to surrender earlier, especially when they were repeatedly told to do so in peace with pro-

mises of safe conduct to return to their families and loved ones. To minimize the bloodshed and spare the loss of lives, the E.P.L.F. People's Army gave the besieged Ethiopian troops repeated political lectures urging them to surrender. However, the Dergue's fabricated horror stories concerning the fate of captured Ethiopian soldiers must have left their indelible marks on the Ethiopian troops. So Mulugeta perished along with many of his fellow soldiers in the furnace of Nacfa leaving this diary behind.

As to the heroic fighter of the E.P.L.F., whose determination, selflessness, heroism and exploits are admired by friend and foe alike, he is triumphantly marching forward along the tested path of protracted people's war to liberate the whole of Eritrea from Ethiopian colonialism, fully convinced that total victory is certain.

REPORTAGE

THE REVOLUTION SCHOOL

On 22/3/77, at 9:30 p.m., a military communique was issued simultaneously to all E.P.L.F. units heralding the news of the fall of Nacfa (the capital city of Sahel Province) to the E.P.L.F. after six months of siege.

By coincidence, the Revolution School happened to be celebrating the end of the first semester on this evening. When the news of the fall of Nacfa broke in the School, it gave added brilliance to the celebrations and rejoicing already in process. This became an occasion of double celebration - rejoicing at the spectacular progress made by the Revolution School (a boarding school established by our organization for the children of martyrs, poor peasants and the displaced) and the fall of one of the biggest enemy bases.

The presence of the Branch of Culture, made up of Vanguard guards, amidst the children who are the flowers of progress of the new society with the new culture, and hundreds of fighters gave a new dimension to the festive occasion. Revolutionary cultural shows and patriotic songs, throbbing with the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and progressive content of our new-democratic culture, filled the evening.

Following in the footsteps of their big comrades, these children, who are no more than five years old were excitedly shouting "Nacfa has fallen", "the E.P.L.F. People's Army has put Nacfa under its control", "all enemy soldiers have been captured", etc. Whoever watched these children for an hour at that moment of intense excitement jumping, dancing, rejoicing - could truly read the history of the Eritrean people in their faces. Indeed that moment represented the absolute negation of the history of oppression and suffering of the Eritrean people.

These children are no strangers to the injustices perpetrated by Ethiopia against our people. In fact, most of them have been its victims. Their villages have been burnt down by Ethiopia, their homes and crop fields bombed by Ethiopian planes, and their parents brutally murdered by the barbarous Ethiopian colonial army. They will never forget many of their comrades who perished from hunger and thirst on the way while covering hundreds of kilometres on foot to escape from Ethiopian atrocities.

This evening was a highlight of the long history of the Eritrean people. Colonialist Ethiopia had sets up a fascist trap to finish off these children so that they may not become the bearers of the flaming revolutionary torch. This new generation, born at a time when artillery and gunfire are reverberating all over the mountains, valleys and plains of Eritrea, have joined the battle to eradicate all forms of oppression and exploitation and to guarantee the right to life and dignity.

The long history of confrontation between colonialism and our revolution, between the backward colonizer's barba-

rous war of extermination and our people's heroic war of national resistance of the last sixteen years - all this was vividly expressed in the joy and determined spirit of the children. This evening was a great consolation to the children who were deprived of their parents by the savage atrocities of the Ethiopian occupation army. For instance, seven brothers who lost their father in the first massacre of Hirgigo and their mother in the second were singing along with their comrades: " We are fortunate in joining the right organization for we have a future".

Conditions have changed in the course of many years of struggle. The patriotic struggle has become truly revolutionary, the enemy has been dealt devastating blows everywhere, and the cheap reactionaries have been weeded out. A revolutionary organization representing the basic interests of the masses and capable of building a new revolutionary generation has been created. The preservation, consolidation and expansion of this achievement has become the principal task of the revolution. In the struggle between the old and the new, the past and the present, the triumph of the new over the old is certain.

Even though the pupils are normally orderly and obedient, the director of the school was that evening unsuccessful in persuading them to sleep on time, lest they be too tired for school the next morning; they were totally immersed in the rejoicing. The essence and truth of this joyous experience bring home the profound significance of the past history and on-going successes of our revolutionary struggle. The real meaning of our victory is the happiness of these young flowers and our toiling masses.

The dancing and rejoicing that filled this festive night was unprecedented for the school children who are the flowers of our revolution and the harbingers of our future society. At the same time, the members of the Branch of Culture were presenting newly composed songs

hailing the victory of Nacfa and praising the heroism of the E.P.L.F. People's Army.

This was not only the day of the greatest victory in the whole history of our revolution but also the eve of the first anniversary of the expulsion of the reactionary clique of the ex-Foreign Mission. In appropriating E. P.L.F. property, the ex-Foreign Mission sought to starve us into submission. Thus, our victory, scored despite the machinations of the reactionary blood-suckers, underscores the truth that the masses alone are the makers of history and the architects of their victory.

The progress of our organization in 1976 has been spectacular. The dreams and strivings of the reactionary clique to put our organization under its control, or else, strangle it within a year have been crushed. In 1977, the E.P.L.F. has smashed one of the strongest principal enemy bases. So, on this historic date, it is fitting that the children are singing and dancing, the Vanguard of the Branch of Culture raising the slogan of "Victory to the Masses!", and the stage illuminating the banner of "A New Culture for a New Society".

Change, creation and victory are interrelated dialectical processes. Revolution is a struggle that entails resolute war against colonialism, reactionary colonial culture, and backward social relations. The summation of all these struggles leads to the creation of a new society with a new culture. The Revolution School, as one of the principal bases for this, is building a new generation free from all colonial relations and reactionary tendencies and sentiments that are the legacy of the backward society.

The celebrations went on all night. The pupils of the Revolution School sent their heroic comrades who achieved the victory of Nacfa congratulatory songs and poems via wireless. Classes were cancelled the next day to enable the students, tired from night-long dancing, to rest. But, as the pupils have other duties besides attending classes, they spent the day gathering fire-wood

and helping their guardians.

The Revolution School, established on 1/12/76, is a great achievement of our revolution in the liberated areas. The pupils of this school are the children of martyrs, nomads and the displaced. The building of such a school, as a cornerstone of our objectives, has been under consideration for a long time. There have, for instance, been efforts by individuals as well as the Department of People's Administration to place teachers in the rural areas. However, a school like the Revolution School could not be established then because of the prevailing conditions. Not only did the Organization have limited resources, but it was also under a difficult political and military situation.

Although the Organization had to rely on its own human and material resources to establish the school, it was able to overcome its difficulties within a short time and build a big school with an appropriate curriculum compatible with the changing society.

In describing the experience of the school, the comrade in charge states: "Although we had limited capacity and little experience when we started our work in the school, the progress made so far is considerable. The principal question is not only building the school and educating the children but also, since it is a boarding school, providing and caring for them all year round. Tremendous effort is required to educate and provide the necessary care for the children as well as create the means whereby they can freely, without any pressure, develop their skills and talents.

"The school started with 265 students (both boys and girls) mainly in the first grade. Shortly afterwards, on 9/1/77, classes for the second and third grades were started. With the improvement of its material and human capacity, the school accepted 70 children of martyrs and refugees from the Sudan. A little

later, it admitted a large number of 10 to 14 year old children. Then the school took 110 children, no more than 10 years of age, whose villages were burnt by Ethiopian soldiers. Now, the main problem is the ever increasing flow of new children who want to attend the school. To accommodate this growing number of school children, we have to expand the existing size and facilities and build similar schools throughout the liberated areas."

When the comrade was asked about the number of students, the proportion of girls and boys, the number of teachers and guardians, and the method of teaching, he replied: "At this time, the total number of students is 600, 45% of whom are girls. There are 16 qualified teachers and 23 women guardians.

"As far as the curriculum is concerned, the second and third grade students are offered courses in languages (Tigrinya, Arabic, the languages of Eritrean nationalities, English), geography, science, arithmetic and general politics.

"First grade students are taught languages, elementary arithmetic operations, political education in the form of songs, and health care. Besides, all students receive general education on agriculture and physical training. They farm small plots of land and have already become self-sufficient in vegetables".

The main problem faced as it was explained to us, is that certain students who come from the cities - though of comparable age with those coming from the rural areas - where they had started school under the enemy's curriculum, have different levels and kinds of education. These students are made to start at the first grade so that they can cope up with the revolutionary curriculum.

When asked about the daily life and conduct of the students, the comrade replied: "The children make a conspicuous effort to look like fighters. For instance, although it is normal for their age to miss one's parents, they do not show this phenomenon at all. What is amazing is that, in their daily conversations, they say that "there is only

one day that every fighter is longing for, and that is the day of liberation". Moreover, their popular topics of discussion include: "a fighter never quarrels with his comrade; he resolves any contradiction through criticism and self-criticism". These sentiments are the fruit of the great effort that the guardians are making to upbringing this new generation in a revolutionary spirit. This revolutionary struggle is indeed praiseworthy.

In responding to the last question, which was on the results of the first semester examinations, the comrade states:

" The results of the examinations and the proportion of those who passed (75% in all the courses) have surpassed our estimates. I would like to add that physical training is now given three times a week, football and basketball teams have already been formed, and the frequency of other sports is increasing in accordance with our resources".

In conclusion, we would like to extend our revolutionary thanks to all those who are educating, cultivating and caring for this generation and, in particular, to the guardians and those who are making a great effort to build "a new society with a new culture".

More victories so that the smiles and joys of these small flowers may continue and oppression and exploitation vanish!

A YEAR AFTER THE RESIGNATION OF THE

EX--- FOREIGN MISSION

On March 23, 1976, the ex- Foreign Mission severed its organizational relations with the E.P.L.F. It was the last day of the meeting held in Khartoum between the E.P.L.F. leadership and the ex-Foreign Mission to resolve the contradictions that arose when the latter;

unilaterally and in violation of the organizational norms concluded the "Khartoum Agreement" with the E.P.L.F. under the guise of "national unity". The contradictions were deliberately created and aggravated by the ex-Foreign Mission. Using the conspiratorial agreement as a pretext, it schemed to change the organizational administrative structure and rules that bound it to the field as the E.P.L.F.'s department of foreign relations.

Consistent with its openly reactionary paternalistic viewpoint, the ex-Foreign Mission had arrogantly decided prior to the meeting to compel the E.P.L.F. organization to accept its incorrect sectarian views, or else, to submit its resignation. However the reactionary ex-Foreign Mission knew that no amount of pressure or blackmail could coerce the E.P.L.F. organization to abandon its correct and principled viewpoint concerning the question of national unity or the method of its achievement. So the ex-Foreign Mission had to violate the organization's line in order to realize its splitist objective; and so it did. Immediately after its expulsion, the ex-Foreign Mission issued a declaration explaining its stand and viewpoint on various questions and the methods of their solution. Several months had already elapsed after the "Khartoum Agreement" when the E.P.L.F. leadership and the ex-Foreign Mission met in Khartoum. This was the result of lame excuses and delaying tactics used by the reactionary clique of the ex-Foreign Mission to conspire further and to avoid going to the field before its meeting with the E.P.L.F. leadership. Putting its faith on the property it had amassed abroad in the name of the revolution and the E.P.L.F. in particular, it was weaving all these plots to force the E.P.L.F. to accept the "Khartoum Agreement" through economic pressure. Failing in this, it was to squander the Property of the E.P.L.F. for its own purposes.

The conspirators of the ex-Foreign Mission were, even before the "Khartoum Agreement", scheming as usual against the central question of national unity and the line of the E.P.L.F. When all their secret and conspiratorial scheming was over, they came in the open and officially declared

the "Khartoum Agreement". This agreement had two objectives. First, this handful of reactionaries, posing as champions of unity and using the property raised from friendly countries in the name of the revolution as a crutch, sought to put the E.P.L.F. organization under their reactionary hegemony. If this failed to win acceptance, the alternative objective would be pursued by squandering the property of the revolution in their hands to create in the Eritrean field a backward and rotten force that they can dictate and use as a tool of their reactionary interests.

From the developments that arose after the expulsion of the reactionary clique of the ex-Foreign Mission, there was almost unanimous appraisal that it would merge with the E.L.F. Instead, however, events have taken a different course. Their hypocritical shouts of "national unity", just like their deceitful and swindling slogans of the "Khartoum Agreement", had neither the form nor the potentiality of national unity. The fact of the matter is that their slogans of "unity" were false and empty. They were raising them simply to exploit the genuine demands of the Eritrean people and the patriotic fighters of the two fronts for unity for their own purposes. However, since correct unity comes about on the basis of the unity of outlook and practice, reactionaries and opportunists have no place in such unity.

The reactionary and opportunist clique, however, instead of seeking unity through a correct method, has been squandering the material resources given in support of the just struggle of the Eritrean people by friendly countries to buy off certain spineless reactionaries and notorious traitors expelled from the ranks of the revolution because of their backward and obstructionist activities. Some of these elements are former generals and provincial governors who used to play a big role under the Haile Selassie regime and were rejected by the revolution because they have committed serious crimes against the Eritrean people and their just cause. As usual, they are today preparing to create a

counter - revolutionary force that would serve as a tool in the pursuit of their limitless ambitions of becoming the leaders of the revolution.

Thus, the "Khartoum Agreement" was designed to confuse the essence of national unity, arouse and swindle the pure sentiments of our people and alienate the masses of our people abroad from the E.P.L.F., all the while trying to conceal the real differences between the signatories of the "Khartoum Agreement" and the E.P.L.F., regarding the question of national unity. Needless to say, it has been a failure, remaining only words on paper, because it could not effect the strangulation of the E.P.L.F. as intended in the scenes scheming. This failure is evident in the fact that the provisions of the "Khartoum Agreement" urgently calling for the convening of a "Unification Congress" within six months to bring about the complete merger of the two organizations have not been put into effect. All this clearly shows that the ex-Foreign Mission is not an organization but merely a clique of a handful of reactionary individuals who, as the toothless pawns in a conspiracy hatched by others, had tried to stretch themselves beyond their means and capacity but have now been reduced to their proper size. This is precisely why it has changed course and is trying to create a reactionary force out of here and there. In the beginning, the Revolutionary Council of the E.L.F., hoping to use it to exert pressure against the second organization, has been aiding and abetting this reactionary clique. Now, however, as the Revolutionary Council's "An Open Letter to the Leadership of the People's Liberation Forces - Foreign Mission", dated 16/3/77, indicates, the reactionary clique has grown into a thorn in the former's flesh.

Their conspiratorial veil has thus been unmasked. Although these opportunists have been abusing and continuing to slander the democratic force as "anti-unity", the firm and steely democratic force goes on reaping the fruits of victory in all fields. The E.P.L.F. has suffered neither from hunger nor from division, as their crazy prophets and "analytical experts" dreamt. At long last, their incorrect and deceitful slogan of "unity" has been well exposed.

they can no longer peddle it to swindle the masses. When all its schemes failed, the reactionary clique has changed tactics and come up with the new slogan of "government in exile". This signifies that the ex-Foreign Mission and its lackeys have lost out and crumbled. Their theatrics, which started as a tragedy, is now ending as a comedy.

The Eritrean people scattered everywhere! Realizing that all this peddling is carried out in your name, awaken and be vigilant! As the saying goes, "when the cat declares peace, it is only to trap the mice unawares". These predators are trying to swindle and put you in a trap.

DJIBOUTI SET FOR INDEPENDENCE

After more than one hundred years of French colonialism, Djibouti is set for independence next June. As such, the Djibouti case has now become one of the important issues for the peoples of the region and the world.

Before discussing the independence of Djibouti, there are certain things that we would like to highlight about this strategically located neighbour in the Horn of Africa with which we have historic ties and many factors in common. Djibouti is a small country inhabited by two nationalities, namely, the Afars and Somalis (Issa tribes). The majority of its 120,000 people belong to the Somali nationality and are Somalis by origin and language. The Afars are Danakil by origin and their language is Afari.

Djibouti is bounded by Eritrea in the north, the Gulf of Aden in the east, Somalis and Ethiopia in the south and Ethiopia in the west. According to local folklore, the name Djibouti derives from the mispronunciation of two Afari words, "ya buti", by French colonizers.

When the French first arrived at the coast, they came across a woman who was boiling food in a pot in a nearby village. They asked her for the name of the place in French, a language she could not understand. Thinking that they asked her about whose food she was

cooking, she replied "Ya buti", meaning "it is my pot" in Afari. The French, also thinking that they received the right answer to their question, took the name Djibouti. Ever since, both the country and the port have been known as Djibouti.

Ever since the French set foot in the country, the two nationalities have never seen a time of peace and tranquillity. On the contrary, they have been at loggerheads with each other with constant clan and tribal conflicts and clashes. All this has been the result of a deliberate colonial policy designed to prolong the foreign domination of the country by undermining the people's unified resistance. However, the people of Djibouti have, in the course of their anti-colonial struggle, seen through these colonial tactics and realized the necessity of their unity in the drive to throw out French colonialism and win national independence. Despite French colonial schemes to foment conflicts and contradictions between them, the Afars and Issas never accepted colonialism low-headed, but vigorously resisted it. However, the colonialists have succeeded in prolonging their domination of Djibouti to this day by suppressing and weakening the popular resistance.

French colonial machinations not to hand power over to the people's legitimate representative body or to obstruct the independence of the Djibouti people are obvious from France's inconsistency during the discussions on the independence of Djibouti. Especially at a time when the question of the Red Sea has become a hot issue on the regional as well as international levels, France is resorting to different tactics to delay Djibouti's independence. Thus because of its strategic location in the Horn of Africa, France's desire to keep its military bases, and the contending interests of external forces, Djibouti has today become the centre of struggle.

In this struggle, the capricious expansionist ambitions of the Ethiopian regime are clearly manifest. It must be pointed out here that the Ethiopian regime does not support the independence of Djibouti to date. Far from it, it has been seeking all sorts of pretexts to annex it. This is evident from the kinds of alliances

that the Ethiopian regime is making with traitors like Ali Aref. While the nationalist movements are bracing for independence, Ali Aref has been travelling to Addis Ababa, cementing his ties with the Dergue and bargaining to sell-out Djibouti. On the basis of the agreements he reached in Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian regime has enunciated the following conditions for the independence of Djibouti:

a. That the foreign policy and national defence of an independent Djibouti shall be linked to those of Ethiopia ; and

b. That an independent Djibouti shall not make any treaties with any other state without the consent of the Ethiopian government.

Does this not make it clear that Ethiopia will not hesitate from annexing Djibouti after the exit of the French if the independence movements do not accept these conditions? These conditions clearly show that Ethiopia continues to harbour expansionist ambitions over Djibouti. This logic is in flagrant violation of the principle of the right of a people to self-determination.

The position of the Somali government on the independence of Djibouti is, however, quite different from that of Ethiopia. Somalia, unlike Ethiopia, does not seek to put Djibouti under its control but supports the people of Djibouti to gain their full national independence. Somalia's conditions for this support are only that colonialist France withdraws all its military bases from Djibouti territory and that it will not interfere in the affairs of Djibouti. No doubt, these differing stands and viewpoints on Djibouti adopted by the two contending neighbours may exasperate their conflicts and lead them to war. It is certain that Ethiopia's stand is opposed by the democratic forces, including Somalia, which support the independence of Djibouti based on democratic principles. Ethiopia's stand against the independence of Djibouti and in favour of continued French colonial rule goes on to show the extent of Ethiopia's belief in colonialism. It is this anti-independence stand of Ethiopia's that clearly exposes its essence. This stand is completely contradictory with progress, socialism and anti-imperialism. Thus, all this taken together

illustrates the kinds of links and alliances that Ethiopia has with imperialism and colonialism around this region.

Under these difficult conditions of struggle, the people of Djibouti are fighting to seize their independence from the hands of colonialist France. However, as there hangs the danger of war after the French withdrawal, Djibouti and its people need the support of progressive forces and liberation movements to avoid becoming the victims of such a war. Somalia, on its part has repeatedly clarified that it will support and defend to the last the independence of the people of Djibouti. The objective here is to smash the long-standing yoke of French colonialism and achieve as well as safeguard the independence and liberation of the people of Djibouti. The outcome of this struggle is of vital concern to all progressive forces, in particular, to the popular liberation struggles in the region, including the Eritrean and Somali revolutions. However, even though there may arise a dangerous crisis that could be harmful to this neighbourly country of ours, we are hopeful that it will overcome these difficult circumstances and attain its just objective of national independence. We are convinced that an independent Djibouti shall be a bastion for the national liberation fronts in the surrounding region. The Eritrean revolution reaffirms that it will side with and unceasingly support the people of Djibouti not only to win their independence but also in their struggle to build a new society and safeguard their freedom after independence.

Since this is an era of independence and liberation, the end of the age of colonialism and slavery, French colonialism shall exit the same way it entered. This is the inevitable fate of all colonialism.

Welcome the Independence of Djibouti!

FROM THE SOLIDARITY MESSAGES TO THE
FIRST ORGANIZATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE E.P.L.F.

The Delegation of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan

Revolutionary Brothers,

On behalf of the government and people of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, we convey to you our warm greetings. We would also like to take this occasion to express our best wishes to the struggling people of Eritrea and hail all the honest men and women fighters who are waging honourable battles to achieve freedom for their country.

We are very pleased to find ourselves amongst you at this moment here in this place wherefrom the fragrance of resistance and struggle exudes in all directions. We do not consider ourselves as strangers to Eritrea, its people and its struggle. We are people, descending from one origin and sharing common aspirations; that is, we have common links of blood, religion, language, culture, traditions, neighborliness and all other aspects of life. Not only are we fully aware of all this we are also immensely proud of it in front of all the peace-loving peoples of the world.

Brothers,

There is one truth that we want to especially vouch for. Having visited the different work centres around this area, we are truly amazed at what we have seen. We could never have imagined that we would find the work proceeding with such a high level of organization, creativity and competence in the face of the acute shortage of equipment and the dependence on local materials. So, allow me brothers to convey my appreciation from this rostrum to all the workers in the various workshops - carpentry, maintenance, welding, tailoring, electronic and electric repairs, etc. To all these unknown soldiers who, within the confines of their premises and harsh surroundings, are building the new society under smoke and gun-powder, I would like to sincerely salute again.

Combatant Brothers,

I do not want to speak today about the Ethiopian regime because certain people might misconstrue it as arising from our present conflicts with Ethiopia. Nevertheless, there is a word that I would like to say; and this is that the effective and practical answer to the lies, slanders and false claims of the Ethiopian regime is the one that emanates right from this place. It is the resolute fighters of the Eritrean revolution from this heart-land of struggle alone who are able to teach telling lessons to the Ethiopian regime. On this occasion, we wish to extend our heartfelt greetings to those forces like the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party, the Tigray People's Liberation Front and the Ethiopian Democratic Union which are fighting for the liberation of the Ethiopian people.

Revolutionary Brothers,

Before leaving this rostrum, there is one more word that I would like to say, and that is, that we in the Sudan are not pleased about the differences that prevail in the Eritrean field. Of course, differences are normal in any social grouping. Differences exist even between father and son, among brothers, between mother and son.

From this place, we sincerely call upon all brothers in the different fronts to raise the banner of national unity and work for it sincerely. All are the sons of the same motherland and have a common fate and objectives on a road full of blood and obstacles. These differences benefit only the Ethiopian regime and world colonialism.

So we hope and pray to God to bring together this one family and we ask all sides to consider above all the interests of Eritrea because the interest of the nation is above personalities and individuals because they pass away while the nation stays.

May God bless you and peace be with you.

The Delegation of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine;

Comrade members of the Organizational Congress and invited friends,

On behalf of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (D.F.L.P), we extend this Organizational Congress and the fighters of the E.P.L.F., who, are making great sacrifices for the liberation and prosperity of their people, our revolutionary greetings that express the mutual love and armed revolutionary unity that bind us together.

Having seen the developments of the last six years which are the outcome of the struggle of all the martyr and living fighters waged to rectify the path of the revolution as well as to integrate theory and practice, my conscience compels me to respect and hail the progress I have observed.

What any person can say is that your efforts have been great and astounding. The maturity of a revolution is determined by the progress it has made and the intensity of the patriotic struggle it has waged rather than by the number of years it has been in existence.

Comrades,

Just as you do, we believe that this Organizational Congress is an important vehicle for the transition of the E.P.L.F. and the Eritrean struggle from one stage to a higher stage. Since the future of the people and the revolution is closely linked with the success of this Organizational Congress, the people's aspirations shall be fulfilled only when the Organizational Congress, integrating theory and practice, crystallizes the political line and revolutionary ideology and consolidates the organizational structure of the E.P.L.F. and resolves

the question of national unity through democratic dialogue. While appreciating your repeated efforts toward unity, we condemn the conspiracies being hatched by reactionaries to create a third force to divide the perseverant fighting people of Eritrea who are struggling against Ethiopian colonialism.

After the cessation of the war in Lebanon on the basis of the Rabat and Ryad resolutions, the Palestinian revolution, and especially the D.F.L.P., is today waging sharp struggles primarily against the conspiracy which imperialism, zionism and Arab reaction are hatching to frustrate our people's exercise of their right to self-determination and the establishment of our sovereign national state over the whole of Palestine. Under the leadership of their only legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O.), our people have made and continue to make untold sacrifices to return to their homeland and defend their legitimate national rights.

Among the various progressive revolutionary forces fighting under the leadership of the P.L.O., the D.F.L.P., as a progressive organization playing a big role, fights hard against the reactionary maneuvers to isolate the revolutionary force from the P.L.O. The colonialist forces and Israeli zionism want to reduce the P.L.O. into a toothless, clawless and politically infirm organization that can be coerced into accepting the centralized agreement they are seeking. However, we shall not give an opportunity to the reactionary machinations to liquidate the revolutionary force from within the revolution. Because this revolutionary force is the political guarantee of the P.L.O.

Just as we fought in Lebanon for our people and the progressive people of Lebanon is well as against the provocations aimed at igniting a civil war within the P.L.O. and the liquidation of revolutionary forces, we shall also fight today to defend and achieve the lower and

higher programmes of the P.L.O. The lower programme is national, i.e., to return to Palestine, establish a state and determine our destiny; this is the primary condition for peace in the Middle East. The higher programme is to take this state as the first step and liberate the whole territory of Palestine.

As we are convinced of the certainty of our victory, so also are we convinced of the certainty of your victory. We and you are fighting on the same trenches and we support the struggle you are waging to determine your own destiny.

On this occasion, we testify to the significance of the revolutionary relations and ties that you have with the progressive and democratic forces fighting for the liberation and progress of the Ethiopian people, especially the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party. We, the D.F.L.P., greet the struggles of the comradely Ethiopian progressive and democratic forces.

In conclusion, we would like to say the following: We are convinced that your victory is certain and we are always on your side. We regard your endeavour with high esteem. Anticipating a successful Congress, we wish the E.P.L.F. greater victories in the military, political and organizational fields.

VICTORY TO THE STRUGGLE OF THE PALESTINIAN
AND ERITREAN PEOPLES!

DOWN WITH COLONIALISM, ZIONISM, LACKEYS,
REACTIONARIES, OPPORTUNISTS!

ETERNAL GLORY TO THE MARTYRS OF THE PALESTINIAN
AND ERITREAN REVOLUTIONS!

NEWS AND VIEWS

Life in Nacfa Returns to Normal

When Nacfa fell to the heroic People's Army of the E.P.L.F. on March 22, 1977, the masses of the fighters and people celebrated this brilliant victory by holding week-long festivities. After the removal of the enemy's anti-personnel mines and other military impediments from the city and the streets, the people, who were forced to abandon their homes and flee the city as a result of the six months' battle, have begun returning to their homes and lead a new normal life under the umbrella and auspices of the revolution. On this occasion, the E.P.L.F. encourages and invites all the masses of our people who were forced to flee from Nacfa and its vicinity because of the battle and the enemy's brutal atrocities, to return to their places and homes and resume normal life as well as build a new, free livelihood in peace, security and ease under the protection of the revolution.

Elabered Follows Afabet!

After the fall of Nacfa and Afabet to the heroic People's Army of the E.P.L.F., the resolute People's Army pushed forward in force and advanced toward the very gates of Keren. As a result, the Dergue's cowardly colonial army, utterly demoralized and terrified, was compelled to withdraw its troops from Elabered on April 9, 1977, in a frantic attempt to reinforce and defend Keren.

Elabered, the second largest city in Senhit Province, was the only remaining enemy base between Keren and Asmara. It bears a tremendous strategic and economic importance. Militarily, it frees the southern entrance to Keren while Afabet opened up the northern and eastern gates. Its evacuation by the enemy means that the whole of

Keren is now liberated. This creates a favourable situation for our People's Army to totally encircle and put Keren under siege. Besides, Elabered is a major centre of large modern farms and agro-industrial enterprises. Thus, three cities of great strategic and economic significance for our revolution have fallen to our hands within less than three weeks. Others are bound to follow suit.

E.P.L.F. Releases Captured "Peasant Volunteers"

The whole world knows that the fascist Dergue had, about a year ago, embarked upon a mad campaign to exterminate the Eritrean people and liquidate our just struggle. It is to be recalled that the campaign, launched after six months' preparations, ended up in a miserable failure. The fascist Dergue, resorting to shameless lies, chauvinist hysteria and brute force, had mobilized and armed scores of thousands of poor Ethiopian peasants to invade Eritrea in waves, annihilate our people, loot their property, violate their dignity and dishonour our women - all under the guise of "clearing Eritrea from Arab aggression."

The campaign of the so-called "peasant volunteers", who were brought from several Ethiopian provinces in vehicles under military escort, was crushed when it reached the Eritrean border by the revolutionary blows of our heroic patriotic armed forces and the broad masses of our people. When the "peasant march" was thus annihilated before it could fulfill its fascist mission, many of its ranks fled in disarray leaving their weapons behind. The rest were designated or taken prisoner.

In launching this campaign, the fascist Dergue had three principal objectives:

1. To use the oppressed Ethiopian masses as cannon fodder in its colonial war of aggression against the Eritrean people and their just struggle and, in so doing, create antagonism, hostility and ill-will between the two oppressed neighbouring fraternal peoples;
2. To crush the Eritrean revolution by drowning our just struggle in a sea of an invading armed human wave and, thereby, lend a new mass base to its colonial army in Eritrea long isolated and subjected to our telling revolutionary blows;
3. In the event of a successful campaign, to establish a foothold in Eritrea so as to effect the weakening and eventual extermination of the Eritrean people in the course of their war of national defence against "hordes of Ethiopian peasants" invading to seize and settle on Eritrean soil.

In short, the "peasant invasion" was designed to allow the Dergue to politically out-manoeuvre and militarily crush the Eritrean revolution. By portraying the just patriotic struggle of the Eritrean people as a "civil war of the Ethiopian people", the Dergue sought to undermine the legitimacy and justice of the Eritrean revolution and isolate it from its international friends and supporters.

When this campaign was crushed with the stunning blows of our heroic masses and fighters, hundreds of "peasant volunteers" were taken prisoner. It is of course clear that the Dergue, unable to solve the basic problems of the oppressed Ethiopian masses, armed and despatched these poor peasants to commit untold crimes against the Eritrean people. However, since our revolution contrary to the Dergue's fascism, is a movement with profoundly humane objectives, it has accorded humane treatment and

care to all the captured Ethiopian "peasant volunteers" who, deceived and forced by the Dergue, were on their way to perpetrate untold crimes against our people. The E.P.L.F. has now released them after ten months when they finished the standard literacy and political education program given to all Ethiopian prisoners of war and recognized the depth of the inhuman crimes whose mission it was to commit.

In releasing these captured "peasant volunteers" in accordance with its correct internationalist and humane principles, the E.P.L.F. strengthens the revolutionary solidarity that binds the Eritrean and Ethiopian masses together. No doubt, the released peasants shall be exemplary and enlightening to others upon their return home. This revolutionary act clearly demonstrates to all the world's peace-and freedom - loving peoples that the Eritrean revolution and the Eritrean people do not harbour any ill - will toward the oppressed Ethiopian masses and that our revolutionary logic is infinitely superior to the reactionary logic of the fascist Dergue.

Osman Sabbe Begs U.S. Imperialism for Aid!

The notorious opportunist Osman Saleh Sabbe who masquerades as "the spokesman of the Eritrean revolution" has sent President Carter of the U.S. a message stating that "the Cubans are sending troops to support Ethiopia against the Eritrean people " and begging for U.S. aid for his clique.

Of course, this reactionary and stinking stand of Sabbe's does not surprise us for, as the saying goes, "birds of the same feather flock together".

- So the puppet looks up to his master! If there is anything that is surprising here, it is the fact that Osman Sabbe to this day continues to speak without any shame in the name of the Eritrean revolution in general. At the present moment, Osman Sabbe represents no one except himself and certain reactionary and counter - revolutionary cliques of his ilk outside the Eritrean field. Here, we do not wish to comment on the contents of his dirty message. What we want to clarify here to all the forces of progress and liberation around us and the world over is the counter - revolutionary essence of Osman Sabbe, the enemy of the world revolution in general and the Eritrean revolution in particular, who, although ignominiously thrown out of our revolution, continues to peddle in its name.

The U.S., which heads world imperialism, is the ill-famed enemy of the world's fighting people. As such, it cannot be a friend of the genuine revolutionary and liberation movements. Needless to say, it supports only the anti-national movements that are either created by imperialism or the out and out puppets serving as its tools.

The principal point we wish to clarify here is that the Eritrean revolution is a patriotic movement that is anti-colonial, anti-imperialist and anti-zionist; and U.S. imperialism in particular is its main enemy. Thus it is against the logic of history for the Eritrean revolution to extend its hands to its enemies or to beg for their aid. Hence, Sabbe and his decadent reactionary clique are merely unveiling their ugly faces and exposing themselves as the antagonists of the Eritrean people and their patriotic struggle for liberation. They are engaged in a deliberate political peddling to slander and vilify the clean and correct principles of our revolutionary struggle which the masses of our people are consolidating by shedding their priceless blood

and paying enormous sacrifices against the imperialist - backed colonial aggression.

There is one basic truth that the imperialist - puppet Sabbe and all his ilk must know; and that is that it is not Ethiopian colonialism alone which is massacring our people and forcing them to become refugees by destroying their villages and livelihood. While U.S. -led world imperialism is its principal prop, Sabbe and his collaborators are the reserve force of imperialism maneuvering to destroy the life of the national democratic revolution from within like cancer. Although Sabbe's claim of the presence of Cuban troops in Ethiopia fighting against the Eritrean revolution is a blatant lie that history cannot erase, its real target is not the Ethiopian regime which it elevates to the ranks of the forces of revolution and liberation. By presenting our just struggle in a bad and suspicious form in front of the anti-imperialist and anti - colonial world, it seeks to portray the Eritrean revolution as a puppet and the Eritrean cause as unpatriotic and unjust.

This slander, incrimination and condemnation of traitors is not only against the glorious history of the long struggle of our heroic people, but it is also a great crime against our heroic martyrs who have shed their blood in the course of the revolutionary struggle for national liberation. This stand of Sabbe's and his ilk does not contradict with the stand of Ethiopian colonialism against the legitimate right of our people for national independence and liberation but is closely linked with it in practice and ideology. Sabbe and his ilk, these scums scheming to form a counter-revolutionary nucleus in opposition to our revolutionary and democratic patriotic goals, just like all

the stooges of imperialism, from Tschombe to Savimbi, who line up against liberation and progress, are bound to end up in the junk yard of history.

Comrade Kemal Jumblat is Murdered

On March 16, 1977, rightist terrorist gangs showered a hail of bullets from several directions at the passing car of Kemal Jumblat, the progressive Lebanese patriot, in Beirut and killed him along with two of his comrades. We and the other revolutionary forces and liberation movements, just like the Lebanese progressive patriotic movement and the Palestinian revolution which has enjoyed the principled support of Kemal Jumblat's progressive socialist organization, deeply mourn this loss. The crime which the reactionaries and rightists have committed affects all liberation and progressive forces and especially the Eritrean revolution. Kemal Jumblat and his progressive organization are among the first supporters and collaborators of the Eritrean revolution.

Kemal Jumblat was born into a politically active family in the Almuktar Jebel Libnan. His entire life has been full of struggles. Kemal Jumblat is a truly patriotic son of Lebanon. He was the Chairman of the Progressive Socialist Party and the Secretary-General of the Arab Popular Front in solidarity with the Palestine revolution.

In 1949, Kemal Jumblat founded a progressive Socialist Party. He distributed his land among the peasants. He led the popular revolution against Beshara Al Khori. Later on he fought against the imperialist - puppet Shimon and his military alliance. He took part in the armed struggle in 1958. He collaborated with the progressive and socialist forces in Lebanon and strove

for close ties with the Soviet Union. He received the Lenin Peace Prize in 1972.

Kemal Jumblat, as the moving force of Lebanese progressive politics, has been the defender of all Arab progressive forces and movements. He provided commendable support for the presence of the Palestinian revolution in Lebanon. In recent times, Kemal Jumblat and his organization have been fighting on the side of the patriotic and progressive forces against the reactionary rightist secessionist forces to defend and guarantee the Palestinian revolution. Thus, when today the mercenary terrorists murder in the battle field the Kemal Jumblat who has been fighting against imperialism, zionism and reaction in Lebanon, they are merely attesting to his heroism.

Comrade Tesfai Debessai is Murdered

On March 25, 1977, Comrade Tesfai Debessai was murdered in his home in Addis Ababa by the fascist Dergue. Comrade Tesfai was one of the principal founders and leaders of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (E.P.R.P.). As the one in charge of the party's political and domestic affairs, this comrade has played a big and significant role in the life and political activities of the party.

Comrade Tesfai was a revolutionary fighter. While in school, he stood on the side of the oppressed masses of the Ethiopian people in their struggle against Haile Selassie's puppet feudal regime. As a student in Europe, he waged resolute struggles against the reactionary and chauvinist line of the opportunist intellectuals who are today serving as the chief sycophants and henchmen of the fascist Dergue; he endeavoured for the adoption of a correct line so that the Ethiopian

student movement could play a revolutionary role in the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle of the oppressed Ethiopian masses. With the founding of the E.P.R.P., he strove hard for the adoption of a genuine revolutionary line to enable the Party to correctly lead the struggle of the Ethiopian people and, in particular, to take a correct internationalist stand on the just struggle of the Eritrean people.

It is to be recalled that he was among the E.P.R.P. delegates who came to the Eritrean field in March 1976 and signed the Joint Statement of the E.P.L.F. and E.P.R.P. Tesfai Debessai, the mature, humble, courageous and resolute fighter, was a revolutionary internationalist comrade.

The fascist Dergue, unable to impose its dictatorial rule on the Ethiopian masses in peace, is like a mad dog frenziedly moving to crush all popular democratic opposition and especially the E.P.R.P. The whole world knows that it has indiscriminately liquidated over 2,000 democrats and civilians in the last few days alone. Just as Hitler, its mentor, was committing enormous crimes against his progressive and democratic opponents in the name of "National Socialism", so the Dergue tries to legitimize its fascist liquidation of the progressive and democratic forces in the name of "Ethiopian Socialism". It is falsely slandering progressives and democrats as "counter-revolutionaries", "collaborators of feudalists", "imperialist spies", etc., and murdering them everywhere. Obviously, all these brutal murders and anti-people practices arise out of weakness and desperation.

The death of Comrade Tesfai Debessai is a great loss to the Ethiopian revolution and the E.P.R.P. in particular. The death of this revolutionary internationalist fighter has deprived the Eritrean revolution and the E.P.L.F., in particular, of one of its firm friends. The fa-

fascist Dergue, on its part, has, taking its murder of this determined revolutionary for a great victory, been bragging like mad. However, that the blood of a revolutionary gives rise to many revolutionaries is a logic of history that the fascist Dergue and all reactionaries cannot understand. Thus, when the Dergue murdered Tesfai Debessai, it only murdered one revolutionary and not the revolutionary principles and objectives for which he fought. There is no doubt that the spark of the revolutionary objectives which comrade Tesfai Debessai died for shall set a huge revolutionary fire all over Ethiopia that will change all reactionaries to ashes.

E.P.L.F. Celebrates International Women's Day

The Eritrean People's Liberation Front (E.P.L.F.) celebrated International Women's Day on March 8, 1977, throughout the liberated areas of Eritrea by conducting political seminars on the oppression and struggle of women and presenting revolutionary cultural shows.

March 8 is an important festive day of toiling women celebrated by all revolutionary and progressive peoples the world over. Ever since the emergence of class society in history, women have been suffering as victims of double oppression. History teaches that as the women question is basically an integral part of the general social question, the masses of women all over the world have resolutely and heroically played their revolutionary role in the class struggles waged for democracy, freedom, equality and progress. Today,

although women in the socialist countries, having won real equality with their men comrades in production, politics and all fields of social life, are engaged in the building of new societies and generations, they continue to suffer untold class and sex oppression in the capitalist and feudo-capitalist societies. Taking part in the progressive and revolutionary movements everywhere, they are intensifying their struggles against all forms of oppression and exploitation and for complete social emancipation.

The women's struggle is an essential component of the revolutionary struggles of the world's proletariat and oppressed peoples for independence, freedom, democracy, justice, equality and progress. As women make up half the population in every country, no social revolution can achieve complete victory without their full participation. Grasping this revolutionary principle, the E.P.L.F., as the vanguard of the Eritrean revolution, attaches great importance to the question of women in Eritrean society in general and their role in the ongoing national democratic revolution in particular. Mobilizing, organizing and politicizing the women masses in accordance with a correct line as well as safeguarding their right of full equality in all fields of struggle, the E.P.L.F. is making a great effort to remove all the obstacles to their advance posed by the backward conditions of our feudo-capitalist society and raise the level of culture, ideology and revolutionary participation of Eritrean women. This effort has, especially in the last two years, produced great results. The number of women in our revolutionary organization has greatly increased and the quality of their participation in all revolutionary tasks raised.

As the International Working Women's Day, March 8, is an important day in which the world's revolutionary

and oppressed women sum up their experiences of past struggle, strengthen their victories and solidarity, and plan the tasks of their future struggle. Since the Eritrean struggle is an integral part of the world revolution, the E.P.L.F., as a revolutionary internationalist organization, has celebrated this occasion. In celebrating this day by promising to carry on fighting shoulder-to-shoulder with their men comrades, the resolute patriotic struggle for national independence, social liberation and human equality till final victory, women fighters of the E.P.L.F. People's Army and the oppressed masses of Eritrean women affirm their revolutionary unity and solidarity with all the oppressed peoples, and especially the toiling women, of the world.

MILITARY COMMUNIQUE

1. Asmara, March 1, 1977: Ethiopian colonial troops moving in a convoy of vehicles from Daero Kaulos to Solae Daero (on the outskirts of Asmara) were wiped out by mines emplaced by the Engineering Corps of the People's Army.
2. Massawa, March 18, 1977: A vehicle and its freight out of a convoy moving from Massawa to Asmara was turned to ashes by mines emplaced by the Engineering Corps of the People's Army.
3. Nacfa, March 22, 1977: Our heroic People's Army seized the city of Nacfa by totally annihilating the enemy camps in an offensive battle that lasted from 10:00 hours to 18:00 hours. Out of over 600 enemy troops, 400 officers and men, including the commanding colonel were killed, and 170 officers and men, including 24 officers of various ranks, taken prisoner. The following material was also captured.
 - 539 (five hundred thirty nine) rifles including 453 (Four hundred fifty three) M-14;
 - 70 (seventy) bren guns;
 - 4 (four) .50 calibre machine guns (browning);
 - 15 (fifteen) medium-size machine guns;
 - 2 (two) 75 m.m. artillery;
 - 7 (seven) 57 m.m. artillery;
 - 5 (five) 81 m.m. mortar;
 - 18 (eighteen) 60 m.m. mortar;
 - 25 (twenty five) 2 inch mortar;

- 40 (fourty) 40m.m. launcher 79;
- 78 (seventy eight) pistols;
- 10 (ten) boxes of anti-personnel mines;
- 1 (one) mine detector;
- A large quantity of hand grenades;
- 22 (twenty-two) vehicles including 18 MAAG trucks;
- Complete garage equipment;
- 11 (eleven) generators including one with a capacity to provide light for a whole city;
- 1 (one) compressor with 300 horse power;
- 23 (twenty three) P.R.C. wireless;
- 6 (six) big - size military wireless;
- 1 (one) telegram - telex;
- 113 (one hundred thirteen) radios and radio cassettes;
- 163 (one hundred sixty three) watches;
- 1340 (one thousand three hundred forty) military uniforms;
- 25 (twenty five) military binoculars;
- A large quantity of medicines and instruments;
- 14 (fourteen) typewriters;
- Over 500 (five hundred) quintals of grain;

5. Massawa, April 2, 1977: Our comrades seized two vehicles (a tigreto and a volks wagen)

and brought them safely to a nearby base.

6. On April 4, 1977, a vehicle (Fiat 82 N3) on its way from Asmara to Massawa was turned to ashes by mines emplaced by the Engineering Corps of the People's Army.

7. Afabet, April 6, 1977; Our heroic People's Army seized the city of Afabet by totally annihilating the enemy camps in an offensive battle that lasted from 14:00 to 15:40 hours. Out of over 500 enemy troops, 300 officers and men were killed while 215, including their commanding colonel, a major and a captain were taken prisoners. The following material was also seized:

- 404 (four hundred four) rifles including 381 (three hundred eighty one) M.14
- 26 (twenty six) bren guns
- 2 (two) 106 m.m. artillery
- 1 (one) 75 m.m. artillery
- 4 (four) 57 m.m. artillery
- 6 (six) 81 m.m. mortar
- 4 (four) 60 m.m. mortar
- 3 (three) 2 inch mortar
- 10 (ten) 40 m.m. launcher 79
- 4 (four) machine guns
- 1 (one) browning (.50 calibre)
- 13 (thirteen) pistols
- 9 (nine) wireless

= 70 =

- 3 (three) military binoculars
 - 103 (one hundred three) wrist watches
 - 16 (sixteen) radio and radio cassettes
 - 1 (one) X-ray
 - 5 (five) vehicles
 - 4 (four) generators
 - Over 500 anti - personnel mines.
8. Massawa, April 7, 1977: while a convey of the aggressor Ethiopian troops was returning from Imberemi to Massawa, a tank and a truck (Maag) were set ablaze by mines emplaced, by the Engineering Corps of the People's Army; except for six soldiers who sustained serious wounds, all the others were wiped out.

VICTORY TO THE MASSES!

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* For any suggestions or criticisms
* concerning Vanguard or for more
* information on the Eritrean revolution,
* please write to the E.P.L.F. Office,
* via Firenze 15/3, Rome, Italy.
*

Faint, mirrored bleed-through text from the reverse side of the page, including a large section enclosed in a dotted-line border. Some legible fragments include "for any... of...", "information...", and "this...".

