

VANGUARD

E.P.L.F.



VICTORY TO 'THE MASSES!

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EDITORIAL

THE REVOLUTION ADVANCES AND VICTORY IS CERTAIN

It is an historic and scientific truth that the wheel of history never turns back. Ignorant as it is of this truth, the fascist military junta in Ethiopia loses sight of the indisputable fact that the Eritrean revolution, as a historic movement embracing the broad masses as its main driving force, ceaselessly advances and that its victory is certain. It has been proved in the past and will also be proven in the future that the Ethiopian army of aggression, however it may be strong and armed to the teeth, cannot curb our revolution.

Having acquired rich experiences in various political and military fields in the protracted people's war which they have been waging to liberate their country, the broad Eritrean masses have an unequivocal and clear stand as far as their just cause is concerned. It is therefore in these subjective and objective conditions that the secret of the decisiveness of the force of the Eritrean masses lies. It is also these very conditions that always guarantee victory for the oppressed masses.

We assert with full confidence that the revolution is ceaseless for in our persistent fight for complete independence, social emancipation and national sovereignty, our demands and national aspirations can best and solely be served by the revolution. Our demands and aspirations can be achieved neither by yielding to the enemy nor by making concessions and accepting half solutions. In view of this fact, it is an historical inevitability for our revolution to advance along its correct path, whatever the sacrifices. Our people were aware of the immense sacrifices and hard work awaiting them when they commenced the armed struggle. Indeed, they have been bearing all its consequences; they are also ready to continue doing so in the future until complete victory.

A revolution is neither a compartmentalized nor a piecemeal process. On the contrary, it is an integrated process continuously advancing with the continuity and interconnections of its components preserved. That this cannot be otherwise has been proved both by our long experiences in struggle and by the experiences of the struggling peoples of the world in their victorious wars against even the strongest imperialist powers.

It is from this clear standpoint and fundamental ideal that we carry on the revolution in the fullest sense of the word. Although the period of struggle before victory may be long and protracted, we have not the slightest doubt that victory, as a historical, dialectical and scientific result, is certain. All the military manoeuvres of the Dergue and its predecessor, designed to subvert our movement, have been repeatedly smashed by our revolutionary forces. All the enemy's military campaigns failed miserably not because they were set with less preparations and propaganda than the one under way, but because they were first and foremost opposed to both history and logic. Formerly, military campaigns used to be carried out in secrecy, seemingly unknown to the outside world. However, since the external form and the war tactics of the enemy have now changed, the world may be led by the fascist Dergue's threatening and boastful propaganda into thinking that the Eritrean revolution may perhaps be in danger. The world has today focused its attention on our surrounding region and is closely following the events and anxiously awaiting the outcome of the Dergue's frenzied preparations for a new aggression against Eritrea. Aware of the Dergue's plan to escalate its war of extermination in Eritrea, as well as its intense propaganda against the Eritrean revolution, many people around the world may be deeply concerned about the fate of the Eritrean people and revolution.

However, the Eritrean revolution, convinced that "actions speak louder than words", has so far not said much about the recent military preparations of the fascist Dergue. What we want to assert here with confide-

nce is that the Dergue is digging its own grave through its mad adventure; that its continued existence, as a political system will be influenced by the coming developments and that all movements of the Dergue arise out of sheer impotence and desperation.

IN A FRENZY FOR A DOWNFALL

To cover up its weakness and to bully the just and democratic struggles under the smoke of boasts and threats, the fascist Dergue is presently waging an intense political campaign on its planned new aggression. Although the actual failure and certain defeat of the unjust colonial, expansionist and oppressive aggression shall inevitably be borne out by history, the intense propaganda campaign currently under way as a prelude is designed as a psychological menace for the Eritrean people and their just struggle for freedom and independence and as a psychological consolation for the Dergue and its collaborators.

The Dergue, as a notorious fascist of the political type, has no other strategy except to secure its dictatorship, as military clique, over the democratic wishes and mass struggles and to prolong its rule. To implement this futile strategy, it has, in a characteristic manner, been raising and babbling pseudo-progressive demagogic slogans. What is observable in the majority of historical cases of this kind of a military clique in power is, on the one hand, the machination to deceive the masses through slogans and declarations, pretending to identify with their wishes until the consolidation of state power and, on the other, to suppress them; and once you consolidate your power, to openly defend your interests which

run counter to those of the masses. But, the fascist dictatorship, even if it consolidates its power, manages only to prolong its final doom, for its dreams are inevitably shattered by the irresistible force of the masses. The evolution of the Dergue, that is, its coming to power and its present shaky situation, clearly attests to the first phase of the history of fascist cliques.

What the Dergue, like all the rulers of Ethiopia who failed before it, would like to realize while in power is the dream of a large and powerful Ethiopia that suppresses its people, colonizes other small countries, is feared by its neighbours, becomes the leader of Africa and the main source of markets in the region.

To realize this dream, in the Dergue's view, any price must be paid to annihilate the just struggle of the Eritrean people so as to make the Eritrean people live under its colonial domination, put the resources of Eritrea to its service, use the Eritrean ports as its outlets to the Red Sea, and place the strategic location of Eritrea under its control. The oppressed peoples and nationalities, denied equality and the right to self-determination, must, with their democratic movements forcibly suppressed, live under the yoke of oppression. Other democratic political forces fighting for justice and progress must be wiped out from the face of the earth. To meet its expansionist objectives, and to have a substitute if it "loses" one, it must put neighbouring peoples and countries under its colonialism or control (a clear example of this is its conspiratorial attempts to put Djibouti under its control in the guise of "common historic, economic and security relations"). To pursue its fascist projects of oppression without any obstruction, it must bully and threaten to invade with superior forces countries which, like Somalia and the Sudan, closely support the just struggles of the Eritrean people and the democratic struggles of the Ethiopian people. Since fascist systems of oppression, in the final analysis, seek to secure the dictatorship and worship of individuals, the Dergue must, under various

pretexts, liquidate antagonistic individuals and groups within the faction - ridden dictatorial military clique so that it can stay in power under the dominance of Mengistu Haile Mariam.

As has been repeatedly seen in history, and this is not new for the Dergue, a huge and strong military force must be established to accomplish these "musts". There is also another fascist feature that accompanies the establishment of a fascist army, and that is the waging of psychological warfare through an intense but futile propaganda of lies to bully and threaten the mass struggles. The Dergue is making preparations for aggression and daily shouting and boasting of its impending campaign in the vain hope of achieving its desired objectives.

The method that a political clique of this nature follows in establishing an army that protects its interests is clear. To understand this better, it is enough to make a general observation of the army that the Dergue is now recruiting.

Training recruits for the fascist army by glossing over the basic contradictions between the oppressed and the oppressor social forces, exploiting the non-basic contradictions among the various Ethiopian peoples, and sowing hatred between the Eritrean and Ethiopian peoples; hiring the peasants, unemployed and lumpen proletarians, whose economic problems it has not solved, to use as cannon fodder in its war of aggression; mobilizing people through outright deceit and fabrication of a non-existent "violation of borders", "foreign invasion", etc. for its war of extermination against the Eritrean people and their just struggle; and forcibly arming the majority by threatening them with "murder or jail if they do not comply". These are only a few of the many tactics and harangues which the Dergue is using to recruit a huge army to commit aggression against the Eritrean people.

Through this kind of harangues and compulsion,

it has raised an estimated 60 - 70,000 men in a place called "Siga Mieda", five km. from Addis Ababa. These have all been conscripted against their wishes under threat or through deceit, hoping to find a respite from the economic distress of hunger and suffering. Already, no less than five thousand of them have fled and disappeared while at least five hundred have been shot. The rest are surrounded by armed troops on guard. While suffering from hunger, diseases and cold under extremely deplorable conditions, the only solution or consolation provided by the Dergue is the promise that they shall be "warm and well fed" when they reach Eritrea and launch the invasion. This kind of army is being raised to "subvert and crush" not only the Eritrean revolution but also the popular resistance throughout the corners of Ethiopia and the struggles of the democratic forces in the cities. It is with this "huge" army, claimed to number 300,000, that a loudspeaker "show" is being performed as a means of psychological warfare.

Besides raising this aggressor army through the deceit and compulsion of the Ethiopian people, money is also cut and forcibly appropriated from the wages and salaries of the toiling masses, mashed under the exaggerated claims that a certain village has "voluntarily" "raised so much money, provisions, materials, etc., that a certain village has "voluntarily" raised so much money, provisions, materials, etc., that a certain "patriot", "organization", etc., has given such and such assistance. It is known that the drivers of big and small vehicles will serve at their own fuel expenses to move this army from place to place. To heat up the atmosphere, it has been sloganeering, organizing compulsory demonstrations and clamouring on the radio. All this is designed to create psychological terror among the Eritrean people, the democratic struggles in Ethiopia and the supporting countries.

In opposition to this conspiracy of the Dergue however, the Eritrean people, who for many years have been tempered under the fire of Ethiopian colonialism, are,

led by their resolute People's Liberation Army, constantly consolidating their struggle, winning victories and heightening their vigilance against the conspiracies hatched against their just struggle. Not only are they unperturbed by the feudal and fascist threats, but there is also no doubt whatsoever that they will smash the Dergue's new aggression just as they smashed the aggressions of the past. On the other hand, not only are the people of Ethiopia and their democratic forces dealing the Dergue hard blows in their surging struggles for their rights, justice, progress and peace, but there is also no doubt that they will resist shoulder to shoulder with the Eritrean people the new aggression which the Dergue is preparing to commit against the Eritrean people.

Since this fascist aggression is against the wishes of the Eritrean people for freedom and independence, against the political, economic and social interests of the Ethiopian masses and against peace and progress, motivated by expansionist dreams, pursued through suppression, violence, fascist dictatorship and oppression, designed to pit the Eritrean and Ethiopian peoples against each other, to create hostility among the Ethiopian people and the neighbouring peoples and to invade neighbouring countries, it is an unjust aggression.

Such a force, serving an unjust cause in an alien land for the interests of a handful of fascists, no matter what quantity and variety of modern weapons it may have, is certainly bound to fail. Let alone the Dergue, even U.S. imperialism, with all the arrogance of power it had, was defeated and ignominiously chased away from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The outcome of the Dergue's new aggression can only be the reiteration of the historic truth of its defeat.

On this occasion, the EPLF, while affirming its readiness to smash the Dergue's aggression at any moment, requests all friendly countries and organizations as well as the forces of justice and peace to extend it the necessary assistance. It calls upon all forums of justice to condemn this aggression.

EXPOSE THE DERGUE'S COLONIALIST LIES

Colonialism is always and everywhere an oppressive and exploitative system based on reactionary violence and mendacious propaganda. In particular, when the colonial power is, like the Ethiopian regime, extremely backward and fascistic, the injustices and lies it perpetrates in an effort to prolong its rule and delay its final defeat know no bounds. The fascist Dergue has never refrained from striving with all might and main to conceal the legitimacy and justness of the Eritrean people's patriotic movement for freedom, independence, democracy and progress and crush our revolutionary struggle. Nevertheless, the Ethiopian aggressor army is today being smashed everywhere by the Eritrean People's Liberation Army and swept away from Eritrean soil. All the Dergue's colonial schemes, its political and military machinations in Eritrea have failed and its expansionist dreams shattered forever. To cover up this fundamental truth, the Dergue is making frenzied preparations for a new aggression under the code name of the "Zulu Project". Moreover, it is conducting an extensive campaign of lies to cover up the colonial and unjust nature of its aggression, deceive the oppressed Ethiopian people and swindle progressive world opinion.

For instance, in a baseless propaganda broadcast entitled "Those who say that the Eritrean problem is colonial are completely ignorant of history" (Radio Ethiopia, June 1st, 1977), the fascist Dergue claims that "Eritrea was a part of ancient and medieval Ethiopia". It further states that Ethiopia was established as a nation during the reigns of the Emperors Tewodros and Yohannes (1850 - 1889). The Dergue's philosophers claim, on the one hand, that the Ethiopian state has existed since the ancient era and, on the other that it was founded during the time of the Emperors Tewodros and Yohannes. These two claims are not only contradictory but also untrue. There was no such a thing as a centralized Ethiopian state whether in the ancient or medieval period. The present Ethiopian state was established not under the Emperors Tewodros and

Yohannes but under the Shoan King of Menelik (1889 - 1913) on the basis of the expansionist aggressions committed by the Amhara feudalists during the advent of European colonialism in the Horn of Africa.

Basically, since the nation, as a historic phenomenon, came about with the rise of capitalism, that is, out of the dialectical process of the collapse of feudalism and the development of capitalism, it cannot be said that there was a nation or a centralized state in Africa before the advent of colonialism. Thus, the claim that the Eritrea that did not exist as a nation was a part of the Ethiopia that, likewise, did not exist as a nation before the colonial partition of Africa is a feudal tale that has neither historic basis nor scientific validity. This tale only signifies the extent to which the Ethiopian ruling classes, and the fascist Dergue in particular, are prepared to distort history and concoct lies in the pursuit of their colonial ambitions in Eritrea.

Furthermore, the Dergue claims that "since Ethiopia has not invaded Eritrea through capital, the Eritrean question, according to the Marxist view, is not a colonial question". Of course, it is obvious that backward and neocolonial Ethiopia is feudal and not capitalist. However, the philistine view that a feudal country cannot at all colonize another country or people is erroneous. True, colonialism as a system is bound up with the history of capitalism. Starting in the period of the primary accumulation of capital and developing during the era of pre-monopoly capitalism, it reached its peak and decline in the epoch of imperialism. Hence, when feudal England invaded and occupied the relatively more advanced Ireland in the 12th century, the resulting relationship between England and Ireland was colonial. It is a concrete historical fact that all revolutionary fighters have not only ascertained the colonial nature of the Irish question, but they have also consistently opposed the colonial subjugation of Ireland and given their unwavering support to the Irish people's just

struggle for national independence. There has as yet been no revolutionary who denies this truth. Likewise, no vrevolutionary has ever denied that the relationship that obtained between the extremely backward Tsarist Russia and the then more advanced Poland was a colonial one.

When feudal Portugal invaded and occupied Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau before the development of capitalism, the relationship that obtained between Portugal and these African countries for hundreds of years was colonial. This is an indisputable truth. Revolutionaries were always clear as to the colonial condition of the subject nations when feudal England annexed Ireland, Tsarist Russia subjugated Poland, and Portugal occupied Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau. However, there are no distortions or lies that the ruling classes of the colonial countries have not perpetrated in the attempt to present the colonized countries (Ireland, Poland, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, etc.) as their provinces rather than their colonies. It is thus in line with this defunct colonial logic that the Ethiopian ruling classes in general and the fascist Dergue in particular have never refrained from striving hard to confuse the colonial question in Eritrea and present the Eritrean people's just patriotic struggle as an internal Ethiopian matter.

The point that needs further elaboration here however, is that, in the era of rapidly declining imperialism, Ethiopia did not occupy Eritrea alone. Without the full military, economic and political support of U.S. led world imperialism, Haile Selassie's decadent feudal regime would have been unable to perpetrate its oppressive rule against the Ethiopian masses, much less to annex Eritrea. It would have been unable to wage its colonial war of aggression in Eritrea so long without this vital imperialist and zionist support. This is an incontrovertible truth that no lies of the Dergue can conceal.

The lies of the fascist Dergue are not confined to this. It has even the insolence to claim that "the revolutionary movement that erupted in Ethiopia in 1974 has

provided a scientific solution to the problem of the Ethiopian people as well as that of Eritrea". Ever since usurping state power and establishing its military dictatorship in 1974, the fascist Dergue has issued the extreme chauvinist slogan of "Ethiopia First" and declared the notorious petty-bourgeois philosophy of "Ethiopian socialism" and a host of other meaningless pseudo-progressive slogans. Under the cover of this social demagogy, it has been trampling underfoot the democratic and human rights of the Ethiopian people. It has imposed a regime of terror and repression on the masses and continues to perpetrate brutal atrocities against them in a drive to liquidate the Ethiopian people's democratic forces. To forcibly impose its fascist colonialism on the Eritrean people, it has escalated its military aggression and continues to commit mass massacres. Thus, it is these anti-people brutal atrocities and fascist massacres without parallel in the history of the Eritrean and Ethiopian peoples that the Dergue brands as a "scientific solution".

In characterizing itself, the Dergue states that "the Provisional Military Administrative Council is the supreme political authority leading the socialist revolution of the broad masses of Ethiopia". In the first place, socialism is not a system that can be established by a military coup d'etat. Nor can it be established by a declaration that a fascist military clique issues after usurping state power. The Dergue's "Ethiopian socialism" is indistinguishable from Hitler's "national socialism" both in content and in practice. Socialism cannot come about by the declaration of a handful of fascists. If it were possible to establish socialism by a military coup d'etat or by a clique of fascist officers who seize state power, it would have been a very simple process indeed. However, socialism cannot come about in this way. Generally, socialism is a system that can be established through a protracted organized struggle of the masses under the leadership of the proletariat. Socialism means the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is established through the proletarian

revolution in the advanced capitalist countries. Experience in China, Vietnam, Korea, etc., demonstrates that in the backward semi-feudal and neocolonial countries like Ethiopia, socialism can be established only through a protracted anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle based on the alliance of workers and peasants under the guidance of a proletarian ideology.

Thus, casting aside the fascist Dergue's military petit-bourgeois "Ethiopian socialism", if genuine socialism is to be established in Ethiopia, the Ethiopian masses must first destroy the Dergue's fascist system by waging a new (national) democratic revolution led by a correct revolutionary line. They must destroy the oppressive and exploitative state apparatus (the reactionary feudal army and the feudo-bourgeois bureaucracy) inherited from Haile Selassie. In its place, it is necessary to establish and develop a new and free social order based on the worker-peasant alliance, under the dictatorship of the workers and peasants, and representing the interests of the masses. Thus, it is an incontrovertible truth that the present fascist clique of officers of the Mengistu Haile Mariam type has nothing in common with socialism. It is a brutal military dictatorship and not a dictatorship of the workers and peasants. It is not at all a system that can lead to socialism. No one with a just conscience can be confused about this.

The Dergue and its mercenaries of the pen - the ideologues of the Ethiopian ruling classes - present the Eritrean question merely as a national question. Eritrea is a multi-national state composed of nine nationalities. Thus, the national question in Eritrea pertains to the relations among the various Eritrean nationalities, but does not apply to the relationship between Eritrea and Ethiopia. However, even if the Eritrean question were a national question, as the Dergue and the opportunist intellectuals, who are its chief sycophants and henchmen, deliberately present it in order to confuse the issue, its correct solution would still not lie in their proposals of "regional autonomy". In general, "regional auto-

onomy" is an instrument of annexation and colonial expansion which formally allows the colonized country or oppressed nationality the right of "internal administration" while leaving all political power in the hands of the colonial country or oppressor nationality. Any people, nation or nationality have the right to self-determination that no one ought to deny. The right to self-determination of nations or nationalities is the principle which guarantees the oppressed people, nation or nationality the right to separate from the alien power that oppresses them and establish their own independent national state. However, to interpret self-determination as autonomy by distorting its correct meaning is to use the correct principle of self-determination to justify colonial aggression and expansionist annexation instead of employing it in the fight for independence and liberation. In this way, the principle of self-determination, in the hands of the national and social chauvinists, is abandoned as a means of combating aggression and annexation and reduced, instead, into a tool of justifying and appeasing them. However, instead of making it an instrument of deceiving the masses in this way, it should be an instrument of political education that exposes all the expansionist ambitions and chauvinist machinations of the colonial country or oppressor nationality and imbues the masses with a profound internationalist spirit and sentiments.

Thus, the right of a people to self-determination is not a legal or abstract definition derived from textbooks or woven out of expansionist dreams, but a correct scientific solution that comes from a careful study of the concrete historico-economic conditions of the national movement. This solution has no meaning other than political self-determination, i.e., the right of the oppressed people to form a completely independent national state. Heightening and deepening their long anti-colonial struggle, the Eritrean people are today fighting with all their might and main against the colonial aggression of the imperialist puppet fascist Ethiopian regime

for national independence and democracy. This struggle for liberation is a just revolutionary struggle that embraces all progressive and patriotic social forces, has the participation of the masses, and enjoys the support of the entire Eritrean people. There is no doubt that its inevitable victory, by destroying colonial occupation, imperialist domination and reaction in Eritrea, will expand and consolidate the areas of freedom and progress in the Horn of Africa and the Middle East in particular and the world in general.

The Eritrean people's patriotic struggle is a just struggle that deserves and enjoys the support of all the world's truly progressive, democratic, justice - and peace - loving peoples. The Ethiopian masses and progressive forces are concretely supporting it by, primarily fighting against the military dictatorship of the fascist Dergue. On the other hand, the fascist Dergue that espouses the philosophy of "Ethiopian socialism", is making preparations for a new barbaric aggression in the name of "the territorial integrity and survival of Ethiopia". Had the Dergue had a slight democratic tendency let alone a socialist one, it would have recognized the right of the Eritrean people to self-determination, accepted Eritrean independence and withdrawn its aggressor army from Eritrea. Any democrat recognizes and supports the right of a people or a country to self-determination. In particular, the attempt to forcibly subjugate and colonize a people, when the whole colonized people have risen up in arms, making enormous sacrifices for their independence, as in Eritrea, can only be the fascist dream of die-hard expansionists.

The fundamental point that the Ethiopian people must grasp here is that they themselves cannot be free as long as Eritrea remains under Ethiopian colonialism. That they cannot achieve their liberation without smashing and throwing away the colonial fetters that were locked for the sake of the interests of imperialism and feudalism. The extreme chauvinist propaganda and brutal atrocities perpetrated against the Eritrean people and their

just patriotic struggle by the fascist Dergue, as the official representative of the Ethiopian ruling classes, creates a tremendous obstacle to the liberation of the oppressed Ethiopian peoples. It impedes the politicization of the oppressed people and hinders their ability to identify and fight their real enemies. Deceived into becoming the tools of their enemies, they could become hostile to and be pitted against the Eritrean masses who are their class brothers. And this is tantamount to the defence and consolidation of the exploitative and oppressive interests of the ruling classes of "their" country.

The creation of a genuinely independent People's Democratic Eritrea is inevitable. There is no force whatsoever that can prevent the heroic Eritrean people, who are resolutely fighting under the guidance of the E.P.L.F. correct revolutionary line, from realizing this objective. True, our revolutionary path is bound to be protracted and arduous, and our struggle complicated and full of sacrifices. In the end however, our victory is certain.

REPORTAGE

YOUTH ARE THE BEARERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TORCH

Youth - the flowers of society - are the continuators of the historic development and the harbingers of the new progress of humanity. As the inexhaustible source of the life, renewal and development of society, they play a decisive role in all fields of social struggle. Generations come and go; the old is replaced by the new, and a new generation springs up again; and so society perpetuates itself through a permanent state of renewal. The masses of the people make history through their un-

yielding struggle. They engage in production to secure and improve their livelihood, and endeavour to develop it further. They resist foreign aggression and fight to eliminate social oppression and exploitation. To develop the means of production, they conduct scientific tests and experiments. Thus propelled by the unyielding struggles of the masses forward, society always develops from the lower to a higher level, from the simpler to a more complex form of organization, and from worse to better conditions of life. The pace of this progress, the victory or defeat of all the social struggles, is, in the final analysis, determined by the degree of participation of the youth. For this reason, any social movement strives hard to gain the active support and participation of youth in order to achieve its objectives. History shows that if a movement fails to succeed in this effort, it simply withers away in a short while.

In the long anti-colonial resistance of our people, the youth of our country have a glorious history of courageous resistance. Adhering to this proud tradition, thousands of youth are today fighting shoulder to shoulder with their older comrades with magnificent heroism and determination and winning brilliant victories in all fields of our struggle. In any case, the objective of this article is not to explain the general role of Eritrean youth in the ongoing revolutionary struggle but to focus on the "Fitewerari" (Vanguard), the young men and women whom our vanguard organization provides with special political and military training.

The Fitewerari was established in 1974 on the basis of the special experience of the Eritrean revolution in general and the experience of the EPLF in particular. In this section are trained the male youth ranging from 14 to 16 years in age and all the women fighters. (The boys and girls who are less than 14 years old are sent to the Revolution School (Vanguard, Vol.II. No 2, "Reportage"). There are two main reasons for training the young boys separate from the older ones. First, to provide them with

the regular military and political training over a longer period of time, allowing for the differences in physical strength. Second, to politicize and imbue them with a new outlook with relative ease, since they have been less influenced by the backward society. As regards the women, it has been found better to train them with the younger boys rather than the older ones who, like themselves, come with certain backward views and tendencies inherited from the old society. This method has shown very satisfactory and positive results both in the life of our revolutionary organization and the development of our struggle.

The Fitewerari (both boys and girls) come from the various nationalities of Eritrea. The majority are the children of peasants and nomads coming from the countryside while many of the rest are the children of urban workers and petit-bourgeoisie. Several also come from the refugees (peasants, workers and nomads) in the Sudan. There are many among the Fitewerari who, as the children of fighters and martyrs, have come to carry the struggle of their fathers forward till certain victory. Besides, there are many girls who, refusing family arranged marriages, have come to fight for the liberation of the masses.

The educational and training program of the Fitewerari consists of three parts, viz., literacy, political education, and military training. Since the history of successive colonialism in our country has not only subjected our people to ruthless exploitation and oppression but also reduced them to illiteracy and ignorance by denying them educational opportunities, 75% of the Fitewerari are illiterate at the time they join the revolution. In the literacy education, Tigrigna and Arabic lessons are given to all while each is taught in the language he/she understands. After four months of learning, the Fitewerari become entirely literate. To develop this new skill step by step, there are reading pamphlets and books that go along with the program of political education. Moreover, they write patriotic revolution-

ary songs and poems and present them in their weekly cultural programs. This plays a big role in raising their consciousness, strengthening their patriotic sentiments, and cementing their comradely solidarity. The form and content of their cultural activities, in turn, develops with the level of their consciousness.

They study the General Political Education for Fighters which is the same kind of political education given in the regular department of training. The basic aim of political education is to arm the youth for the fight against Ethiopian colonialism, imperialism and local reaction, to cleanse and liberate them from the old views and backward sentiments, and to build a life of struggle through revolutionary theory and a new progressive outlook. The youth, who had been deprived of educational opportunities under the backward feudo-fascist Ethiopian colonialism, pursue their education with enthusiasm because it satisfies their burning aspirations to free themselves from the darkness of ignorance. Consequently, they rapidly raise their level of consciousness.

Although the military training of the Fitewerari takes a longer time, it is basically the same with that given to all EPLF recruits. They learn the tactics of modern warfare and the use of various kinds of weapons mostly with U.S. imperialist arms captured from the Ethiopian colonial army. Training is a process which advances on the basis of the experience gained and the general development of our organization's military capability.

In addition to literacy education, political and military training, running their daily affairs, they participate in production, adhering to the EPLF's correct revolutionary principle of "integrating education with production". They practise criticism and self-criticism to rectify mistakes, develop work and strengthen comradely solidarity. Upon finishing training, they are assigned to the different EPLF units and departments to carry on the struggle on all fronts. They have already won an admirable reputation for their devotion, love of work and vigilance.

do so only and only if it proves worthy of implementing its (socialist) watchwords; views the Eritrean question from the principle which stipulates the rights of nations to self-determination and solves it in compliance with the wishes and demands of both the Eritrean people and revolution.

Dear Comrades:

Quite a long period of time has passed since the Eritrean people took up their arms against the enemy; they will still have to mercilessly fight until their final goal is achieved. The Eritrean people and their vanguard force have acquired rare experiences in revolutionizing their struggle, lending it profundity, revolutionary principles and ideology as well as in politicizing and enlightening themselves. The creation of the EPLF is but a concrete evidence of the Eritrean revolution's advancement along a correct path.

The EPLF's I Organizational Congress is a result of a hard struggle along a tortuous path that has been waged for the last six years in order to advance the Eritrean revolution and lend it scientific essence. It was a struggle directed at providing the Eritrean revolution with correct and just lines, both in the period before and after the conquest of power. In view of these facts, we appreciate all the achievements of the Eritrean people as well as the developments and changes made by the EPLF. Indeed, we regard all the victories and gains of the Eritrean revolution as victories and gains of the people of Oman and of all struggling oppressed masses of the world.

Comrades:

Taking hold of this opportunity, I would like to highlight the developments and prevalent conditions in our country Oman. The people of Oman have been carrying on the armed struggle they commenced on 9 June, 1965. Seared by the progress of our revolution, in addition to the English and Jordan's puppet regime's aggressor

troops stationed in our country, Iran has sent thousands of its soldiers into battle fields with the aim of unleashing genocidal war in our country. These enemy troops have intensified their heinous crimes and they have been indiscriminately killing people. We admit that they have gained certain military victories over our forces; it is also true that some of PFLO's base areas have fallen into their hands. Incited by the temporary military victories of the enemy (Iranian, English and Jordanian) aggressor troops, the marionette Kabus tried to crush our revolution by using the mercenaries of the Maskat regime. He repeatedly claimed that "the revolution no more exists" and that "all the fighters are totally liquidated"...etc. However, although our revolution has been militarily defeated in some regions, such defeats can never obstruct it, for it is based on our people's zeal for resistance against foreign domination and aggression.

Our Popular Front is everywhere in the countryside and towns of Zaafar, Gabel Achder, Semhan, Maskat as well as in all prisons of the puppet regime. Therefore, our revolution will exist as long as our people are alive! Today we confirm with confidence that the people of Oman, led by their vanguard -PFLO-, will consistently follow a correct revolutionary line in their ceaseless struggle against their enemies.

In conclusion, we wish your Congress great successes in various fields.

Long live the Eritrean struggle and
the E. P. L. F!

Long live the Revolution of Oman and
the P. F. L. O!

Victory for the oppressed peoples
fighting for their legitimate freedom and
liberty!

of the crimes for which they were sent, many of them are corrected and play an exemplary role in their assigned tasks and activities. Indeed, when one observes them studying, working or fighting, it is difficult to believe that they were sent by the enemy for spying and destruction. This further reiterates that the enemy is digging its own grave.

Thus, the fascist schemes of Ethiopian colonialism end up in failure. First and foremost, the internal situation of our revolutionary organization does not allow the agents to accomplish their missions or inflict any damage. Not only is their chance of remaining unidentified in the field very slim but it is virtually impossible for them to accomplish their missions and return to the enemy. Contrary to the fascist Dergue's expectations, our revolutionary organization on its part does not kill the children who had been deceived into spying when it catches them. It patiently teaches, educates, politicizes and arms them to fight their real enemies - the criminal Ethiopian colonialists who sent them to be killed. Thus, the fascist Dergue's conspiracy boomerangs. The young boys and girls whom it despatched to serve as its tools join the revolution and become its grave diggers.

Thus in brief, the Fitewerari, as their name implies, are the guides and leaders of our people's continuing struggle, the guarantors of their future victory, liberation and progress. They are truly a permanent bridge connecting our past revolutionary struggle with that of the present and our present struggle with that of the future. The collective life, work and production that they begin to lead right from the outset, combined with their literacy and political education, gradually weakens their old outlook and relations and develops a new progressive outlook and comradely relations. Thus, when the Fitewerari are assigned to revolutionary work and struggle upon completing political and military training, they really become new men and women with a new outlook. This basic transformation that comes about within less than a year is in itself one example of the great ability

of the EPLF revolutionary organization to change people.

This new generation that is being cultivated through a progressive outlook, practical revolutionary struggle and active production work, free from the old views and relations, is the real guarantee of the continuous victories of our revolution and the creation of our new society. Although the present revolutionary generation is striving hard to lay the foundations of the coming new society, its main force is directed at the destruction of the prevailing oppressive and exploitative colonial system. Thus, the principal task of the new generation of young men and women who are already being groomed by scientific theory and tempered by practical struggles is the building of a new society free from all forms of oppression and exploitation. To properly fulfil this task, they must strive to raise their ideological level and strengthen their revolutionary vigilance by ceaselessly learning from the revolutionary experience of the world's fighting people and the fighting people of Eritrea.

Therefore, the youth of Eritrea have a great historic responsibility to loyally and resolutely carry the revolutionary torch now aflame all over our country for the sake of genuine national independence and freedom, human dignity and equality, and social justice and progress and assure that a permanent flame of revolution remains lit in Eritrea by adding new fuel through their continuing toil and struggle. To properly shoulder this historic responsibility, they must constantly learn, work and struggle.

JOINT DECLARATION

At a stage when the national democratic struggle of our revolution faces a dangerous situation in the surrounding region and the world, meetings were held between the leaderships of the E.L.F. and E.P.L.F. on 21/4/77 and also on 30/5/77 and all the present conditions, primarily the matter of national unity, were discussed. There prevailed a spirit of understanding in the meetings. Out of the discussions conducted in Zager and Hawashait, the two sides issue the following Joint Declaration:

1. The two sides ascertained the necessity of unity of the two organizations.
2. Concerning the transitional stage preceding the unity of the two organizations however, they did not reach a common view. While the E.P.L.F. presented the view of a united front, the E.L.F. presented the view of a coordination stage.
3. As regards the "third force", the two sides held to their respective declared stands. Meanwhile, the EPLF consented that the ELF take appropriate steps with this force in a manner not harmful to national unity.
4. The two sides agreed to continue dialogue to resolve the points of difference between them.
5. The two sides agreed that their struggles adhere to a policy conducive to unity.

They agreed to jointly resist and smash the campaign of extermination being planned by the fascist colonialism.

E.P.L.F.

E.L.F.

31/5/77

FROM SOLIDARITY MESSAGES TO THE I ORGANI-
NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE E.P.L.F. :-

The Delegation of the Popular Front for the Liberation
of Oman:

Comrade leaders, participants of the Congress and honourable guests:

Wishing your I Organizational Congress great successes that may serve the Eritrean masses and revolution, I convey to you the comradely salute of the leaders and the rank and file fighters of the PFLO.

Comrades,

Your congress is being held at an excellent time. Ever since its inception, the Eritrean revolution, while rallying all national forces, followed a correct political line in its struggle to secure the right of the Eritrean people to self-determination. We have in reality seen that the spectacular successes made by the EPLF in various fields have made its revolutionary influences more profound and far reaching not only in Eritrea but even in Ethiopia. In fact, the continuous advance of the Eritrean revolution played an important role in the downfall of the feudal regime in Ethiopia. It has also been playing a great role in the Ethiopian mass struggle for the liberation of the oppressed people. We all know very well that the process of development underwent by the Eritrean revolution was neither smooth nor simple; it was a complicated process in which hundreds of Eritreans have died martyrs and tens of thousands have been displaced. Yet, one of the main causes for the overthrow of one of the main strong-holds of imperialism and zionism in the Horn of Africa was that part played by the Eritrean revolution. Now, if the present regime in Ethiopia is at all willing to secure correct and lasting solutions to the basic problems of that country, it will manage to

This does not mean, however, that all this victory has been achieved in a single swoop without any problems. Certain difficulties were also faced on consequence of the old culture. One of these problems, for instance, pertains to the question of the equality of women. In our feudo-bourgeois society and its patriarchal family, as in all oppressive systems, women suffer from class and sex oppression and have a very low social status. The male chauvinism and female submissiveness that prevails creates certain problems, particularly in the beginning of each course. In the beginning, some men and women find it difficult not only to translate sex equality in work and relations into practice but also accept it as a principle. Nevertheless, this problem is gradually resolved as the level of consciousness of the recruits advances through political education and the equality of women is demonstrated in practice through common participation in all work and activities. Still, there are very few women who, under the guise of equality, show erroneous tendencies that either ignore or fail to take into account the general conditions of our society or the concrete situation of our revolutionary life. But, these erroneous tendencies are also rectified through active struggle involving political education and criticism and self-criticism.

The Fitewerari section is not only for the training and education of young men and women. It is also a place for the correction of many young citizens who are deceived and sent by the enemy to commit crimes against their country and people. There is no means which fascist Ethiopian colonialism does not use to exterminate the Eritrean people and strangulate their just patriotic struggle. It is evident that our people today, with their natural and human resources plundered by foreign rulers and their livelihood destroyed by the brutal war of extermination of fascist Ethiopian colonialists, are living under miserable conditions of poverty, deprivation and hardships. Exploiting this deplorable situation, the fascist Dergue endeavours to use even innocent children, who are hardly aware of the consequences of

their acts, as instruments of its fascist aggression. This heinous crime has two fascist designs. First, to spoil the future of the young boys and girls, whom a just society would otherwise have abailed the opportunity for education as well as trained and groomed for service to their people, by making them tools of its dirty objectives and fascist policy of extermination. That is, to poison their lives by immersing them into the quagmire of its network of spying, treachery and murder right from their early years. Second, to annihilate the youth and people of Eritrea by sending hundreds of young boys and girls on various destructive and spying missions so they would be caught while committing crimes and liquidated on the spot. Through this and its customary massacres of our people, the fascist Dergue strives to exhaust the source of our continuing revolutionary struggle.

The principal missions of these young boys and girls include the poisoning of wells and water springs, estimating the number of fighters and identifying the leaders, studying the quantity and quality of weapons, breaking and destroying materials, and spoiling food. It promises them a lot of money upon their return after committing these crimes. The majority of them are lumpen elements from the urban areas while few come from the rural areas. In addition to those sent by Ethiopia, there are also others sent by reactionaries for spying and poisoning the wells from which the Fitewerari fetch their supply of water.

Many of these young enemy "agents" repent before they finish training, confess on their own and expose their collaborators. The majority however, are identified by the consciousness of the fighters and the vigilance of the organization. Several of them confess that they, as enemy agents while in the cities, had committed crimes against the people and caused the jailing of hundreds of innocent civilians, but that they are now sincerely repentant of and sorry for the crimes they had committed. Once they become conscious and realize the gravity

The Delegation of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (E.P.R.P.)

Comrade fighters, patriots and guests,

It is a historic truth that the heroic Eritrean people's tradition of struggle and sacrifice, ceaselessly passing from generation to generation, has given rise to the armed struggle led by a revolutionary policy; that this centuries-old bitter struggle for justice, democracy and independence has acquired the level of leadership in the Horn of Africa. Thus, we bear witness that this Congress reminds us of the history of bitter struggle of the Eritrean people on the one hand and, on the other, that the Eritrean people's revolution, having gained superiority over the oppressors, has reached the stage where it has a historic mission to shoulder its responsibility and internationalist duty through example and support to the oppressed people's struggle in Eritrea and the surrounding region.

As this Congress opens a new chapter in the popular struggles being waged in Eritrea, Ethiopia and our surrounding region, this delegation, in the name of the E.P.R.P. and its army, the E.P.R.A., expresses its best wishes for the success of its deliberations and resolutions and feels revolutionary pride for attending the Congress.

When we look at this historic Congress, we are obliged to mention some of the principal achievements of the struggle of the E.P.L.F.:

1st Since the arming of revolutionaries with a revolutionary ideology is a thing deserving primary consideration, the E.P.L.F., giving priority to and making the necessary efforts for the training of cadres who can safeguard the victory of the revolution and assure adherence to its line and principles through objective policy and scientific analysis, has established a Cadre School which progressives are proud of and

has, from time to time, been graduating cadres imbued with a scientific world outlook. Progressive books are also being translated.

- 2nd The resolving of the contradictions within Eritrean society and the creation of conditions in which various nationalities and ethnic groups are able to struggle together for independence and democracy is another great victory for the E.P.L.F.
- 3rd Following the socialist principle of self-reliance and developing the fighters' creative and productive capability in agriculture, industry and handicrafts - all this makes it possible to say that the current stage of the E.P.L.F. is a reflection of the future democratic progressive Eritrea being built anew.
- 4th Above all, however, by changing the previous military balance in Eritrea through great sacrifices and determination and confining the enemy to the major cities, Eritrea has today become a free land where one conducts organizational work at will. In particular, it is evident that the successive victories won over the enemy's fascist troops in the past months satisfy the Eritrean people's thirst for independence and give a great morale boost to the struggles in the surrounding region while, on the contrary, they sap the morale of and bring about economic and political loss to the fascist Dergue.

While the convening of this kind of a congress safeguards the fruits of victory that we witness daily and guarantees the continuity of the revolution, we anticipate from this Congress not only progressive policies and guidelines but also the formulation of an organizational structure commensurate with the stage of the struggle, in which the democratic forces advance, organize and defend their organization from the covert intrigues of reactionaries. Moreover, we hope that the Congress will open a new chapter that can bring about the unity of the democratic forces fighting for Eritrean independence.

The advanced revolutionary traditions that the E. E.P.R.A. has learned from the Eritrean revolution cannot be viewed lightly; beyond this, however, the support that the Eritrean revolution has rendered by providing it protection from being liquidated in its infancy is great. The E.P.L.F. in particular, did not only provide our comrades with training and the necessary care in the Eritrean field when our organization was preparing for armed struggle, but it also fought the political problems that this caused it with revolutionary morale. Moreover, the E.P.R.P. will never forget the great role which the E.P.L.F. has played in the founding of our army by enabling it reach its base with armed and military assistance.

Although our party, immersed in the sudden February uprising, could not immediately establish relations with the E.P.L.F. and make its stand compatible with the development of the struggle, it is evident that it has taken an unwavering stand on the Eritrean question and waged intense political struggles against national chauvinists and pseudo-progressives starting from the student movement and presented many comrades for sacrifice in the defence of this stand. On the basis of the recent meeting it held with the E.P.L.F. and after studying the level of the Eritrean people's struggle, the part which the democratic forces play in the Eritrean struggle, the content of political education, the contribution that the struggle can make toward the struggles being waged in Ethiopia and the surrounding region, etc., our party, fully convinced that the line that the struggle follows serves the workers and peasants of Eritrea and opens up the vista for the establishment of a democratic state, has gone beyond the recognition of the right to independence and taken a political stand in support of the practical exercise of Eritrean independence. Thus, the E.P.R.P. today unconditionally supports the Eritrean people's struggle for independence; and it educates and struggles among the masses to translate

this into practice. After making many sacrifices to destroy national chauvinism and teach the justness of the Eritrean struggle, the Eritrean question, far from scaring them, has today become one of the primary questions of which they are proud and for which they are ready to sacrifice their lives. This is illustrated by the frequent demonstrations and the slogans that accompany them. The most conspicuous instance however, is the correct work carried out by the masses all over to ensure the failure of the Raza Project and to expose the fascist Dergue in front of the world under the slogan "the oppressed Ethiopian peoples shall not invade the oppressed Eritrean people".

The bitter oppression that the Eritrean people and the Ethiopian peoples have suffered under the tyrant monarch and the fascist Dergue that followed in his footsteps gives a dialectical relationship to their struggles. The one struggle cannot be seen in isolation from the other; hence the victory achieved over the fascist Dergue inside Ethiopia is the victory of the Eritrean people; likewise, the superiority which the Eritrean struggle gains over the enemy and the victories it wins daily are also the victories of the Ethiopian peoples.

It is clear that when the fascist Dergue raised its oppressive hand to crush the popular upsurge that erupted in Ethiopia in February 1974, the Eritrean people, displaying unprecedented determination and unity and defying brute force, assisted the struggle of the Ethiopian peoples to continue at its initial intensity by dealing the fascist troops devastating blows all over Eritrea.

As the EPRP's organizational tradition to organize the various democratic groups and individuals who were fighting separately or its mass base was not strong when the February popular upsurge smashed the feudal foundations of the tyrant monarch, the well armed military came to power; once in power, it became an obstacle to the waging of the new democratic revolution demanded by history by violating the wishes of the workers, poor peasants, progressive intellectuals and the masses of the

people in general, sharpening the contradictions within the society, and denying democratic rights. Even though it was compelled by the surge of the masses to issue progressive declarations, it blocked through fascist force the question of political power that could translate the declarations into practice. Under such a storm, the EPRP, analyzing the concrete conditions in Ethiopia and the surrounding region with objective policy and scientific world outlook, has assumed the role of leadership, devised appropriate slogans and policies of struggle, and mobilized the Ethiopian masses against feudalism, imperialism and the fascist Dergue. With respect to organizational work as well, it has brought progressive individuals and groups under party discipline and spread its organizational network among workers, peasants, young women, oppressed soldiers, teachers and patriots to the extent that the masses now say that "the EPRP is our party".

Although there is no social base that could be the origin of fascism in Ethiopia, the fascist Dergue, with the advocacy of the renegade intellectuals, paints fascism with Marxist colours and, in the tradition of Hitler and Mussolini, massacred workers while claiming that it was established for the workers, banned organizations outside its control while shouting itself hoarse about democratic rights, murdered democrats and patriots, sharpened the contradictions among nationalities while talking of the equality of nationalities, took away and returned the arms that the peasants had seized from the feudalists while saying "arm the peasants", launched the Raza Project while feigning to resolve the Eritrean case peacefully, adopted treaties entered into by Haile Selassie while condemning imperialism.

The fascist Dergue has with all might and main unleashed its forces of intelligence, propaganda and oppression against the EPRP because the EPRP has succeeded in isolating the fascist Dergue from the masses and depriving it of any base by pointing out from time to time the antagonistic contradiction between feudalism,

imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and the fascist Dergue on the one hand and the peoples of Ethiopia on the other and devising tactics of struggle one step ahead. Propaganda-wise, it attempted to isolate the EPRP from the masses not only by portraying it as "anarchist" (anti-order), not struggling for the establishment of a democratic republic, and not anti-feudal but a collaborator of the feudalists of the "Ethiopian Democratic Union" (E.D.U.) striving to restore the reactionary system, but also by presenting its principled relations with the Eritrean revolution as cheap peddling to sell out one's own country. However, since the current level of political consciousness in Ethiopia has denied it success, it took fascistic steps and declared its intention to wipe out the EPRP. Basing itself on this erroneous analysis, it set up a "murder squad" and began to publicly liquidate democrats and progressive individuals suspected of being EPRP supporters in the provinces. As the situation worsened, it became necessary to establish party security and defence through armed force in order to safeguard the survival of our party. If there is any weapon with which the comrades selected for this great task are armed, it is only their love for the proletariat and their loyalty to the party. With all this, proper steps have been and continue to be taken against the renegade intellectuals and the Dergue's agents assigned to eliminate our party; and there is a happy acceptance of sacrifice.

Even though the necessary objective and subjective conditions exist for intensifying the revolution and enabling the masses to seize power at this moment in Ethiopia, backwardness on the question of arms - the real guarantor of power - has created conditions that prolong the life of the strongly armed fascist Dergue. Although the struggle waged by our party's military branch, the EPRA, in expanding to many areas, destroying the government bureaucracy, organizing poor peasants, and implementing the slogan of "land to the tiller" is no easy achievement when viewed by itself, it is extremely low when compared with the development of the revolution.

This delegation would like to bring to the attention of this Congress that the question of arms has not only created a big problem in the Ethiopian revolution at the present moment but it has also caused the number of progressives and democrats being murdered without any means of defence and languishing in prisons to steadily increase. We would like to repeatedly clarify to the Congress that thousands of youth aspiring to fight are living underground awaiting the military assistance of progressive organizations. The firm faith and hope that they have on our neighbouring Eritrean revolution is based on international fraternity and solidarity of struggle.

At this moment when the reactionary forces around us are covertly and overtly spreading their network of intrigue from within and without against the revolution, progressives have absolutely no alternative except to consolidate our ideological weapon, cooperate better and coordinate our forces. We shall then certainly throw them into their proper place - the junk yard of history; and we shall be victorious.

In conclusion, this delegation would like to mention that, while the relations between the EPLF and EPRP are principled and should develop better to the level of trust and closeness expected among two progressive organizations free from the bounds of formality, misunderstandings that may arise should, in the tradition of revolutionaries, be resolved on the basis of constructive criticism and dialogue.

An Independent Democratic Eritrea Shall
be Born!

The E.P.L.F. Shall Win!

The Ethiopian Peoples Shall Win!

Down with Imperialism, Feudalism, Zionism
and the Fascist Dergue!

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat Shall
be Assured!

The Delegation of the Popular Front for the Liberation
of Palestine (PFLP)

Dear Comrade participants of the Congress and guests:

On behalf of the PFLP's fighters, cadres, leaders and myself, I extend to you revolutionary salute of struggle. I would like to add that I fully appreciate this I Organizational Congress, which is being held at a moment when the EPLF is scoring great historical and strategic victories; I equally appreciate the hard and complex struggle which the Eritrean people, led by their vanguard force and unchecked by the barbarous atrocities of the enemy, have been carrying on for 15 years.

Comrades and brothers:

This congress, being held at a crucial and decisive moment, will be forced to insist on and pay full attention to the armed struggle. This means that the EPLF will have to continue its ruthless fight against Ethiopian colonialism and to successfully realize the national democratic programme. All these can be regarded as fully achieved only when complete independence of the Eritrean people is secured.

We believe that national unity is of an unparalleled importance so that the liberation of the Eritrean people and the termination of Ethiopian colonialism may follow in a very short period of time. However, it is only by learning from past mistakes and basing the desired unity on a scientific foundation that a correct national unity can be achieved. This kind of unity will certainly advance the Eritrean people's struggle and in turn is tantamount to enhancing the achievement of the goals of both the Eritrean masses and revolution. It is indisputable fact that the past struggle for unity, which has been carried on spontaneously and emotionally, has caused the fight for national unity to be fruitless. Even now, if the desired unity will be emotional and spontaneous, there is no doubt that all the struggle for unity will

be a vain attempt. The Eritrean revolution knows this very well for it had passed through such bitter experiences.

Therefore, the unity of the Eritrean revolutionary fighters in the battle fields can assure victory for the masses and their revolution only if it will have a clear scientific foundation.

Comrades and Brothers:

The plots being woven against the Eritrean revolution are exactly identical to those woven against the Palestinian revolution. When imperialism, zionism and their Arab accomplices learned that their recent fascist military manoeuvres - which lasted for 18 month - have failed, they began to employ new despicable tactics. At the conferences held in Riyadh and Cairo, they brazenly made speeches that they are ready for a new political dialogue.

Arab reactionary forces, following the criminal policy of U.S. imperialism, have been waging wars against the Palestinian revolution in different places and with different tactics. However, the palestinian revolution- led by its vanguard force, and supported by its friends and by the unity of the masses, has been perseverantly fighting against all sabotages designed to liquidate it and it is determined to continue to do so.

If all the promises (to solve the Eritrean question by peaceful means) made by the military junta ruling in Ethiopia are meant only to cheat and confuse the world, there is no doubt that this wicked schemes are doomed to failure, for the Eritrean revolution will ruthlessly fight the enemy until final victory.

Comrades and Brothers:

World imperialism and its reactionary collaborators have been employing different tactics and methods in order to liquidate the armed struggles and people's wars that are going on in this important strategic area. In so doing, the imperialists want to secure their eco-

conomic interest, plunder the resources of the people in the surrounding region and provide for the expansion of the areas of imperialist domination.

In order to be able to resist the continuous imperialist manoeuvres, various national liberation movements should enter into an alliance of a higher degree. This will then ensure the demise of all imperialist and zionist subversions, manoeuvres and policies on the one hand and the victory of the peoples of our region on the other.

Victory for the fighting masses!

Longlive EPLF's I Organizational Congress!

Long live the armed struggle of the Eritrean people - which is the only road to victory!

Long live the Solidarity of all revolutionary forces against imperialist and zionist alliance!

N E W S A N D V I E W S

President Nimeri Explains the Justness of the Eritrean People's Struggle to the Chinese People and Government

It can be recalled that President Nimeri headed a Sudanese government delegation on a state visit to the People's Republic of China since June 6 to 17, 1977. In the speech he delivered to the leaders and government officials of the People's Republic of China on June 7, 1977, the President - in support of the just struggle of the Eritrean people - said:

"...If the international community should ignore the rounding-up and displacement suffered by the Eritrean people, it will be an apathetic and heartless international community. Therefore, we asked that the Eritrean question, like similar questions, should

have its due place on the UN agenda, especially because the crux of the matter is the violation of the UN resolution on the confederation of Ethiopia and Eritrea. We oppose the terrorist acts of the Ethiopian regime, and we give our utmost support to the Eritrean people in their struggle for their legitimate right to self-determination as stipulated by the UN charter."

(Peking Review No 24, June 10, 1977.)

This solidarity speech of President Nimeri expresses the correct and full support of both the people and government of the Sudan in the just struggle of the Eritrean people for national liberation. The fighting people of Eritrea and their vanguard - the EPLF - are proud of such just supports and solidarities given them by friendly governments and organizations in their struggle against Ethiopian colonialism, U.S. imperialism and Zionism.

The Campaign of Mercenary Journalists Against the EPLF

It is not a new phenomenon to learn that many hired journalists infiltrate a revolution for espionage. It is also equally not strange to note that many mercenary newsmen are hired by various antagonistic forces to defame and politically isolate a liberation front. Fully aware of this matter, the EPLF is capable of properly evaluating journalists and their articles. Everyone knows well that for quite a long period of time various newsmen have been engaged in defaming the EPLF. However, anyone who has the slightest knowledge of the history of political struggles and uses his brain properly cannot be confused and led into believing what is said and written against the EPLF. Confident of its own identity, the EPLF did not bother itself to reply to the countless false accusations made against it. Such baseless charges have been aptly replied by its works and deeds as well as by genuine journalists who are faithful to their profession.

At the end of June, 1977, a very cheap Sudanese news- man, called Asir, wrote in "Al Ayam" (a Sudanese news- paper) quoting Ziyad Bare (the President of Somalia) as having said that Cuba, Somalia, the Dergue, the govern- ment of S.Yemen and the EPLF met in Aden. First of all, the EPLF did not take part in such a meeting; it is not true. Moreover, Ziyad Bare has not made such a statement; this is also untrue. Therefore the question that arises is: What is this unfounded allegation aiming at?

There is no doubt that its main aim is to isolate the EPLF both from the Eritrean masses and friendly countries - the Sudan in particular. To achieve that cheap and despicable aim, the above named perfidious news- man had to write infavour of what his imperialist masters and their lackies try to seem in vain the unfounded al- legation that "the EPLF has come into terms with the Dergue".

It must be clear to everybody that the EPLF does all what is necessary to win the support of, as well as to establish good relations with different systems during its truggle to liberate Eritrea. However, it has never allowed itself in the past nor will itself allow in the future to gain such supports and relations at the cost of Eritrea's independence. The EPLF has never been confused, not even for a moment, as far as the just cause of its struggle is concerned. It has been confirming its stand in practice and it will conline to do so, not for the sake of those who are suspicious about it, but because it deems that as one of its fundamental tasks.

All what we would like to say about that cheap Suda- nese newsman, Asir, is to attest that he is either a tool of imperialism and Ethiopian colonialism, or a very cheap newsman hired by internal reactionary forces to campaign and branzenly write junky articles and lies against the EPLF.

Public Transport Services on the Asmara - Keren Road

Before this time, we had informed our readers (in Vanguard Vol.II, N° 3, 1977) that the EPLF has long been providing public transport services along the Karora - Nacfa - Afaabet, Saharii - Tzazega and the Red Sea Cost-Asmara region lines. It has also from time to time been made public that the enemy military camps and stations on the Asmara - Keren road have successively fallen into the hands of our heroic People's Liberation Army. Now, we hereby herald that the EPLF has set a new public transport service between the town of Keren and the suburbs of Asmara. The opening of this line is another great victory of our national liberation struggle, which will be of an immense service to our people and to the advancement of our revolution.

The Fascist Dergue's Cancerous Chauvinism

The ideologues of the fascist Dergue claim that "Ethiopia has a different history from all the African countries. The Ethiopian people are distinguished from all the African peoples by their special resolve and heroism" ("Radio voice of Revolutionary Ethiopia", June 26th, 1977).

True, the Ethiopian masses have a glorious history of resolute resistance and heroic struggle against foreign aggression and social oppression. However, which masses of people do not have such a history? It is an incontrovertible truth that all the world's oppressed people and the African masses have a glorious history of resolute resistance and heroic struggle against foreign aggression and social oppression. Why then does the fascist Dergue present "resoluteness and heroism" as if they were characteristics special to the Ethiopian people? Indeed, the statement that the Ethiopian people are a special people distinct from the African peoples indicates the traditional contempt of the Ethiopian ruling classes for the other peoples of Africa.

This kind of talk is not new to the Ethiopian ruling

classes. Nor is it new to the world's people. It is to be recalled that long before the Dergue, Nazi Hitler, intoxicated with the fascist and chauvinist slogan of the "Aryan master race and the superiority of the German people", had invaded neighbouring countries and set out to subjugate the peoples of Europe under his brutal dictatorship, launched the Second World War and caused the extermination of millions of people, and ignominiously fell and perished himself in the end. The fascist Dergue, as the loyal disciple of Hitler, is making frantic preparations to build under its dictatorship a big and powerful country in the Horn of Africa by invading and annexing neighbouring countries and intoxicating the Ethiopian people with chauvinism and lies so as to make them an instrument of its expansionist dreams. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that, as the history of Hitler and all fascists bears out, the ultimate outcome of its colonial war in Eritrea and the unjust aggression under way against the Eritrean people shall be more suffering for the Ethiopian people and the complete downfall of the Dergue.

Addis Ababa Radio Announced the Extermination of 11 000 "Bandits" by the Dergue Last Month.

On June 27, 1977, the Amharic programme of the so-called "Voice of Revolutionary Ethiopia" brought the news that within this month, the new "people's army" (?) liquidated 11 000 "bandits" in southern Wollega - in Komo and Goro districts.

The most ridiculous about this thing is that the Dergue shamelessly publicizes the atrocities of which it is guilty. There is no doubt that 11 000 armed members of any organization cannot easily be liquidated by the Dergue's new army. Therefore, that those people of whom the Dergue claims as having "killed" "antirevolutionary elements" are peaceful civilians is a fact that cannot be disproved.

The massacred people were those who resisted against

their being drafted to the huge army, of which the Dergue dreams to build and attack neighbouring countries, colonize Eritrea and suppress the Ethiopian masses with. Thus, the massacre of 11 000 peasants, what Addis Ababa radio made public, is another genocidal act committed against the broad masses of Ethiopia. After having realized the Dergue's essence, it is incumbent upon those governments fooled by the former's devious policies and glittering watchwords, to stop rushing to provide it with their assistance.

A New Wave of Ethiopian Refugees to Kenya

Various news media informed the world that thousands of Ethiopian peasants, from the southern part of the country, have recently taken refuge in Kenya. This new wave of refugees took place when armed troops of the fascist regime in Ethiopia had began to massacre peasants, loot their properties and set their houses and crops on fire under the pretext that the population of the region "gave shelter to bandits". Terrorized by fascist atrocities, hundreds and tens of thousands of Ethiopian civilians have fled to the neighbouring countries and they are now living in an abominable condition, suffering from hunger and disease. Contrary to what the fascist military junta says, the peasants who are forced to take refuge in the neighbouring countries are neither guilty bandits nor tools of an outside force; they are part and parcel of the Ethiopian masses who are ruthlessly fighting with the fascist Dergue for their full liberty as well as their national and class rights. These are exactly the main toiling masses of Ethiopia in whose name the Dergue trades on the one hand, while butchering and trampling them down on the other.

Here lies the reverse and absurd logic of petit-bourgeois socialism, which in the name of the oppressed toiling masses treads and oppresses the very masses it claims to represent. As a political system, in form and essence, the Dergue represents negative experience in modern world history, of which all progressive and peace and freedom loving peoples of the world should be aware.

Independent Djibouti and Ethiopia's Expansionist Desires

On Monday 27 June, 1977, after 115 years of French colonialism, Djibouti entered the camp of independent states. On this day, the president of this newly borne republic, Mr. Gulad, declared the independence of Djibouti at the presence of guests and Delegations of friendly countries who were present there to observe the historic moment. President Hassan Gulad asserted that his country will be a member of UNO, OAU and the Arab League; he also clearly explained the policy that will be followed by his country, especially the relations Djibouti will want to maintain with its neighbouring countries and regimes.

On the occasion of Djibouti's independence day, we would like to express to our brotherly people of Djibouti great success in their struggle for social and economic construction. While speaking about the independence of our neighbouring country, Djibouti, we are forced to touch on the events and developments which are going on in our region, as well as on the expansionist desires of the fascist regime in Ethiopia, which is dangerous to this young republic as well. History witnesses that the successive regimes of Ethiopia have one common character, a character of expansionism and aggression. The oppression and colonization of Eritrea by Ethiopia is a concrete evidence of the dangerous way of thought that prevails in the Horn of Africa. By the same token, the fascist regime in Ethiopia follows the feudo-expansionist policy of its predecessor to grab Djibouti under the pretext that it is Ethiopia's main access to the sea for its foreign trade. This very unsounding justification presented by the fascist military rulers of Ethiopia pertaining to their claims on Djibouti reminds us how Ethiopia's Haile Sellassie, under the argument that Ethiopia badly needs the parts of Assab and Massawa as its outlets to the Red Sea and with the help of world imperialist powers, managed to put the Eritrean people under his rule although the later strongly fought for independence.

However, be it the fascist military junta's jabberings and vociferations or its frenzied preparations for a new

war cannot be mysterious to the people of Djibouti. The military parade shown in Addis Ababa on June 23, 1977 was designed to threaten not only the Eritrean revolution and the governments of both Somalia and the Sudan, but first and foremost Djibouti. Taking advantage of the relations of transit goods between Ethiopia and Djibouti, the Dergue wants to subordinate the latter's economy and obstruct its development in order to disenable it to make independent initiatives, support all national liberation movements in our region - particularly the Eritrean and Somali revolutions - and follow an independent policy. Therefore, the Dergue directly or indirectly wants to make it known to Djibouti that Ethiopia is ready to overrun it in case Djibouti's policy will be incompatible to the former's colonial policies.

The presence of 2000 Ethiopian air-borne troops recently garrisoned at the border with Djibouti is a clear and self explanatory evidence that the Dergue's schemes are as stated above. In such a situation; we shall side by side with our friendly people of Djibouti combat Ethiopian colonial ambitions. However, all what we expect from the people and government of Djibouti is that they be ready to defend their independence under any conditions whatsoever.

The Racist Rhodesian Regime Raids upon Mozambique

Troops of the racist Smith regime have recently made incursions on Mozambique's territory under the cover of liquidating the camps of Zimbabwean national liberation forces inside the young African state of Mozambique

The atrocities have been carried out not only to liquidate the Zimbabwean patriotic forces but also to weaken the progressive regime in Mozambique, which carrying the torch of development and progress takes the lead in opposing colonialism, imperialism and racism, particularly the white minority settlers' regimes in south Africa, viz, the Vorster and Smith regimes. Although the troops of the racist Smith regime, using all

their best ammunitions and war techniques, have managed to make incursions on Mozambique's territories, they were driven back soon when the heroic Mozambican soldiers and the Zimbabwean patriots jointly inflicted heavy losses on them. The racist and imperialist machinations directed against nationalist forces, progressive African regimes and oppressed peoples of S.Africa (Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe) must be put to an end. It is therefore the responsibility of the oppressed as well as peace and freedom loving peoples of the world in general, and the African peoples in particular to side with and give their all-out support to the fighting peoples of S.Africa so that the later may emerge victorious over the racist regimes that have now become dangerous bases of world imperialism, colonialism and expansionism. The Eritrean people, who under their revolutionary vanguard - the EPLF- are fighting the fascist regime in Ethiopia, do side with the peoples of S.Africa in their fight to crush the racist and colonial regimes.

The Youth in Soweto Continue their Struggle

It is well known that the Azanian people have successively been suffering first under the ferocious Dutch and British scramble for colonies, secondly under British colonization and presently under the racist government of the white minority settlers of Southern Africa. History is a witness that the broad masses of Azania have been heroically waging unbending struggle against all forms of imperialist aggressions as well as colonial and racist oppressions.

In continuation of their people's history of struggle for noble causes, Azanian students and youth went on strike and students quit classes during the months of May and June 1976 in protest against the racist regime's plan to impose "Africaans" - the language of the minority white settler rulers of Southern Africa - as a medium of instruction in all black African schools. On June 16, 1976, students in Soweto (a black African township around Johannesburg), despite the barbarous police force put on the alert to mercilessly crush their resistance, made a big de-

monstration. In retaliation for this, the police of the fascist regime shot and wounded thousands of young children, students and young men in Soweto. In three weeks' time, the fascist police killed over 1000 young people and students, wounded 1139 and arrested 1298 in Soweto alone. The youth of Soweto however, unscared by the suppressive measures taken against them, militantly resisted and fought the enemy with wooden clubs, stones, knives etc. Consequently the riot spread all over Azanian towns; the broad masses of Azania actively took part in it.

However, the fascist verocities and ganocides could not suppress the struggle of the Azanian people in general, and the youth and students of Soweto in particular. On the contrary, by so doing, the enemy provided the struggle of the oppressed masses of Azania with new fuel and the ceaseless struggle of the Azanian people has been advancing by leaps and bounds.

On June 16, 1977, Soweto youth and students organized a big demonstration as a memorial of their comrades who died martyrs in the fight against the fascist police last year and their achieved victories. The fascist police of the racist S. African regime, as usual, shot, wounded and arrested many people. The Azanian people's just struggle, however, is advancing.

The EPLF, proceeding from the international solidarity and revolutionary unity among the oppressed peoples of Azania and Eritrea, while condemning the oppressive regime and racial discriminations in S. Africa, repeatedly confirms its full support for the just national liberation struggle of the Azanian people. The Azanian people have been militantly fighting against fascism, racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and it is our strong belief that they will inevitably emerge victorious over the racist regime in S. Africa.

M I L I T A R Y C O M M U N I Q U E

Dekemhare is liberated

On July 6, 1977, exactly at 18:00 hours, the city of Dekemhare fell into the hands of the heroic Eritrean People's Liberation Army. This is a brilliant victory which our revolutionary People's Liberation Army won with a lightening attack while conducting a crushing offensive against the enemy's colonial forces in Keren. Within five hours (13:00 - 18:00 hours) of pitched battle, the enemy forces were entirely liquidated or

captured. The liberation of Dekemhare is a great victory of the whole fighting people of Eritrea achieved with the full participation of the people of the city.

Dekemhare, situated 40 Km. south of Asmara, is the largest city in Akele Guzai Province. This important city has for a long time served as the centre for the training of Ethiopian soldiers police and commandoes in Eritrea. It was also here that Israeli Zionist military experts used to train Ethiopian commandoes especially groomed in anti-guerrilla warfare to subvert the Eritrean people's just struggle.

As one of the main Eritrean cities, Dekemhare is a big industrial, transport and communications centre. In particular, it has several modern food processing plants. The liberation of Dekemhare has placed in our hands all hitherto enemy property there - factories, airport, training camps, international wireless and cable communication installations, a variety of heavy and light arms and ammunition, etc.

Thus, the liberation of Dekemhare has a great economic and military significance for our revolutionary struggle. It will considerably strengthen our endeavour to build the new national economy on the basis of self-reliance. By completely wiping out and clearing away the enemy from the strategic area south of Asmara (on the Addis Ababa road), it creates an excellent situation for the final attack and annihilation of the demoralized and terrorized Ethiopian colonial army completely surrounded in Asmara by our resolute People's Liberation Army. The seizure of Dekemhare within five hours shows that the cowardly Ethiopian colonial army, irrespective of its size and quantity of arms, cannot stand in front of our determined and heroic People's Liberation Army.

The City of Keren is Liberated

The strategic city of Keren, which is the capital city of Senhit Province and the second largest city in Eritrea, was liberated by the heroic Eritrean People's Liberation Army on July 8, 1977, at 18:00 hours, after four days of intense fighting. This means that Senhit Province has become the second province after Sahel to come under our complete control. On July 1, 1977, before the beginning of the Battle of Keren, Ethiopian troops made an attempt to seize Lalmba Hill on the

outskirts of Keren. They were dealt devastating blows and retreated to their camps in disarray leaving behind 100 dead, 8 captured and 30 weapons (AK - 47's, Kalashnikov and Dietrof). The offensive began on July 5. The Battle of Keren was not easy; it was the biggest and most ferocious battle ever waged by our resolute and heroic People's Liberation Army, hitherto without parallel in the Eritrean revolution. The aggressor Ethiopian army in Keren, comprising of about 4000 troops armed to the teeth with modern weapons and spread over 11 fortified camps, was completely annihilated with all of them either killed or taken prisoner. All enemy property and weapons - a variety of guns, artillery, mortars, tanks, armoured cars, military vehicles, etc. - in Keren have fallen into our hands.

Keren is not only an important agro-industrial centre but also an extremely strategic city forming the key to the lowlands and the gateway to the plateau. Thus, its liberation is a brilliant victory which heralds the complete economic and military demise of Ethiopian colonialism in Eritrea and bears a tremendous significance for the development of our revolutionary struggle. The capture of Keren deprives the enemy of all road links to its camps in the western lowlands which it uses to control Barka - the largest province in Eritrea. Thus, its dwindling forces in Barka and the plateau have been cut apart and isolated from each other.

The complete annihilation of the big enemy force with all its modern weapons within four days clearly ascertains that no unjust colonial force of aggression can stand on the way of the heroic Eritrean People's Liberation Army fighting for social justice and emancipation. This demonstrates that the calm deeds and concrete practice of our revolutionary organization reflect the present reality better than the deafening boasts and obnoxious fanfare of the fascist Dergue.

Victory to the Masses!

