

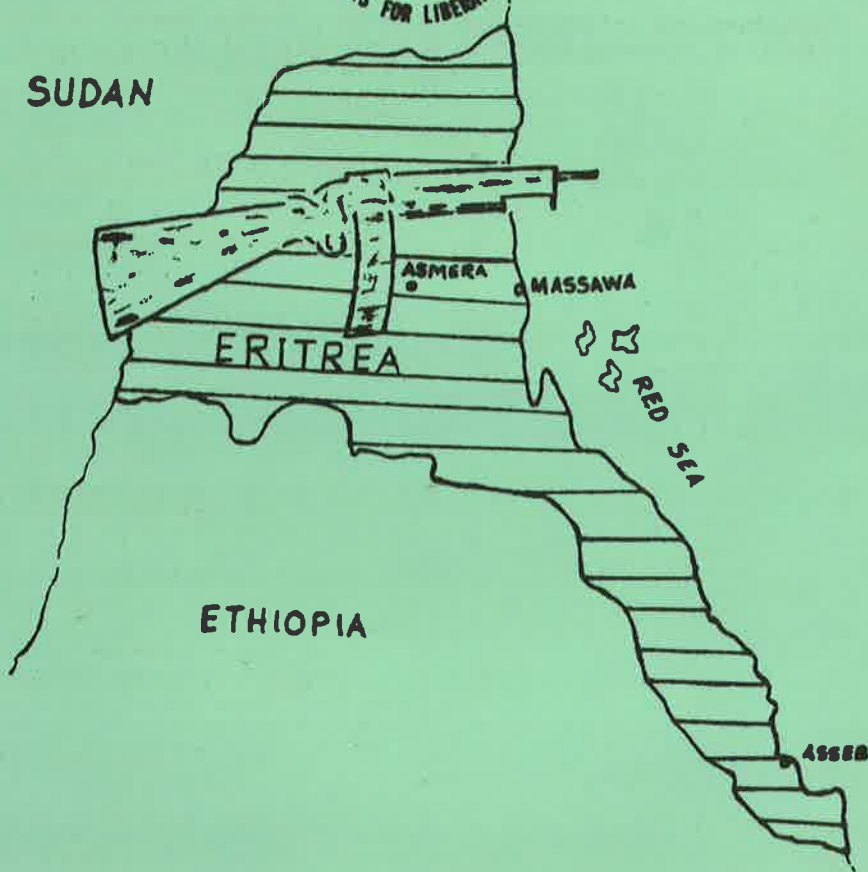
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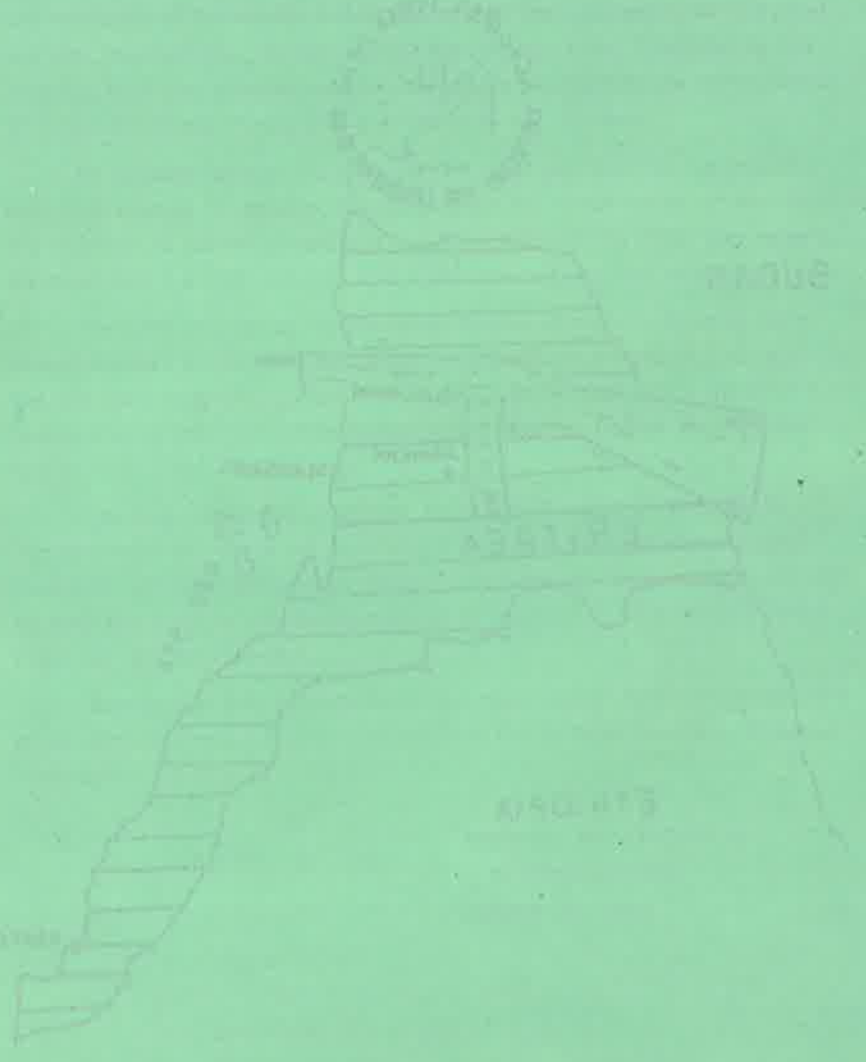


Table of Contents

Editorial: Why Political Education	Page 1
Report on the Kwame Nkrumah Conference on African Students, Youth And Development	6
The Eritrean Liberation Struggle and the African Revolution	8
United States', Israeli and Ethiopian Collaboration in Eritrea and the Eritrean People's National Liberation Struggle	19
The Future of Eritrea	23
ገለጻዊ ዜናታት ገጣጢ	24
E. F. L. Solidarity Message to E. S. U. N. A.	26

EDITORIAL

WHY POLITICAL EDUCATION?

Every practice produces a theory, and if it is true that a revolution can fail even though it be based on perfectly conceived theories, nobody has yet made a successful revolution without a revolutionary theory. (Amilcar Cabral, Revolution in Guinea)

The question of whether political theory is necessary for the success of any revolutionary struggle or not has been amply discussed and answered not only by people who just write about revolutions, but also by people who make revolutions. Our emphasis here will not be on broad discussions of the objective need for political theory in general, but on the urgency for political awareness and understanding amongst us given the specific historical context of our struggle for national liberation.

Even a very superficial glimpse at the nature and development of the Eritrean liberation struggle shows very clearly that it has continuously suffered and still suffers from lack of political unity. Why has political unity been hard to achieve? The central reason, we must admit to ourselves, rests in our lack of collective understanding of our historical context, the nature of the enemies of our people, and the nature and conditions of our people. Collective struggle demands collective understanding by those who are involved in it of what the struggle is to serve; in short it demands a common understanding of the immediate and long term objectives of the struggle. In the context of the development of our struggle, political divisions amongst our people have existed and continue to exist because there exists a lack of a common objective, lack of a common answer to the question of what kind of an Eritrea do we want to build through struggle? In order to solve this problem and reach such a common objective, we first need to know what kind of an Eritrea we have; i.e., what is our history? What is the nature of the oppression and domination of the Eritrean people, and how did this come about? These questions have not been adequately raised and answered by our people, and we thus see our people engaged in the highest form of struggle --armed

struggle-- without a clear commonly shared objective. We see our struggle as an armed struggle which does not have a firm political ideology or political program shared by all those involved in it. This is not to say that no political ideologies or political programs that are firm and based on correct historical analysis of our people exist; it is only to say that they are not shared by all, and thus the struggle contains elements of temporary division as a result.

Furthermore, there exists within our struggle a lack of a common understanding of the nature of our enemies. Who are our enemies? What is their nature? How do they oppress our people? How do they divide our people? What are their strengths and weaknesses? A basic common understanding of the answers to these questions by revolutionary Eritreans is necessary in order for our struggle to develop a correct political and military strategy against them. Again we see lack of this common understanding manifested in our struggle through an opportunistic political line followed by some reactionary "leaders" who, scheming and intriguing from their foreign and far away bases of "command," have created and continue to nurture the dangerous and criminal division among our gallant fighters in the field who are, at the same time, facing a combined Goliath of enemies in the Ethiopian feudal army and its zionist and imperialist retainers.

We should realize that only a correct analysis of the history and present conditions of our people can lead to the grasp and pursuit of a common national objective and the formulation of a basic political program which embodies the just aspirations of all the Eritrean masses. After all, it is imperative to recognize that the complete success of the Eritrean national liberation struggle can be assured only through the full participation and active involvement of all the progressive and patriotic Eritrean masses. It is thus necessary to know how our people are socially and economically structured, how they view their oppression, what forms of interaction and organization exist between them, what their level of awareness of their oppression is, how they view their oppressors, etc, in order to find means of rallying them to the struggle, their struggle. Here again, we see

shortcomings in the history of our struggle. Instead of analyzing their conditions and finding means of involving them in the struggle, we have seen certain reactionary leaders attempting to divide our people and, thus, to create a gap between them and the struggle; we have, in the past few years, witnessed sectarian, anti-democratic and counter-revolutionary schemes to isolate some of the greatest forces of our people from their struggle and to liquidate the progressive cadres of our patriotic combatants. In spite of these criminal efforts, however, the perseverance, firm determination and spirit of self-sacrifice of the progressive fighters have led to the emergence, from within the field, of a solid, strong and rapidly growing revolutionary vanguard as the prime locus of direction and guidance of the Eritrean Revolution.

It is, thus, the immediate and concrete existence of our people's struggle at home and the need to rally all anti-colonial, patriotic and progressive Eritreans around the revolutionary vanguard for the successful waging of the national democratic revolution that dictates the urgent need for all of us to acquire a basic common understanding of the present reality and political imperatives of the Eritrean Revolution. Then and only then can we begin to make a positive contribution to the revolutionary struggle of our people. It is understanding this urgency that our brothers fighting in the field urged us in their message that we should join them well prepared.

Now, let us turn to ourselves. How well prepared are we to join our brothers in the field, understanding the problem and needs of the struggle they have identified and that we have noted above?

It is true that some of us here might be more "schooled" than some others and all of us here might be more "schooled" than most of our people at home. We should understand, however, that all the "schooling" we have received has been within the context of imperialist systems and bourgeois cultures. If anything, therefore, such "schooling" has alienated us from our own context, an Eritrean, oppressed, third world context, and has forced us to adopt a bourgeois outlook and culture. There is therefore a tremendous need for us to combat this alienation and re-educate

ourselves in light of the true revolutionary needs of our own people. We have to develop a revolutionary basis for analyzing and interpreting the history and conditions of our people, the nature of our struggle, and the nature of the world around us if we are to correctly understand the obstacles to the liberation of our people and to contribute towards their solution.

Acquiring a correct basis of analysis is a tool, nothing more. We should be continuously aware of the limitations of theoretical understanding alone as the basis for revolutionary action. In order to prepare for revolutionary action, we need to have a basic understanding of our specific history, the conditions of our people, the nature of our struggle, the nature of the enemies of our people, etc., and analyze them on the basis of our new revolutionary outlook. Such an analysis and understanding would then be the basis of our actions in our struggle.

Our deficiency in both the tools of revolutionary analysis and understanding of the historical development of our people and our struggle cannot be denied. Many of us have been shamed when we have tried to "publicize" the cause of our people's struggle and were neither able to answer basic informational questions to people or found them knowing more about our own country and the cause of our struggle than we do.

Our understanding of past and present revolutionary experiences in the world around us is also quite limited. There is no uniquely brewed oppression that falls only on the Eritrean people alone by enemies who are themselves unique. Eritrea is a part of the third world and thus directly tied to the general history and condition of the third world. The general nature of the oppression of our people is thus similar to that of other oppressed peoples throughout the third world, and our oppressors are also similar, if not the same, in nature. Just as one Eritrean farmer learns from the experiences of his neighbouring farmer because of the similarity of their conditions therefore, we need to learn from the revolutionary experiences of other oppressed "neighbours" around us. However, here again we need to guard against the false notion that we can directly apply any of those experiences in our own struggle:

However great the similarity between various cases and however identical are the enemies, national liberation and social revolution are not exportable commodities; they are, and increasingly so everyday, the outcome of local and national elaborations, more or less influenced by external factors but essentially determined and formed by the historical reality of each people. (Cabral, Revolution in Guinea)

This warning should spell to us that making the Eritrean revolution is not as simple as just acquiring theoretical knowledge, or preparing guidelines from other revolutionary experiences, pick up a gun and fight. The basis of our future revolutionary practice will come not out of our preparations outside of our struggle, but from the experiences we gain in active struggle with our people in the field. This, however, should not blind us to the fact that the basis of our actions now must come from an understanding of the nature, conditions and revolutionary experiences of our people up to now.

There is also a need for revolutionary discipline amongst us. Our actions and interrelationships are generally governed by social friendship and self-interest. These, by the way, are also two evils perpetuated by some reactionaries that are plaguing our struggle in the field. If we are to contribute towards the elimination of these reactionary evils in our struggle, we have to eliminate them from amongst ourselves first by developing an ideological basis for our interrelationships and actions. It is only a common ideological base, a common basis of interpreting the development and conditions of our people and our struggle, and a common revolutionary objective that can build trust and real closeness amongst us. Our revolutionary practice based on the above common bases will then solidify our unity.

REPORT ON THE KWAME NKRUMAH CONFERENCE
ON AFRICAN STUDENTS, YOUTH AND DEVELOPMENT

Durham, North Carolina

On November 23-25, 1972, Eritreans for Liberation participated in the Kwame Nkrumah Conference on African Students, Youth and Development which was held at North Carolina Central University, Durham, North Carolina. The Conference focused on bringing progressive African students and workers here together to discuss about "the African Revolution" and to identify means of collective involvement in the process of that dynamic.

Following Nkrumah's ideas, the conference agreed that the long term goal of the African Revolution is scientific socialism. On this basis, the conference thoroughly analysed the socio-economic and political conditions that prevail in Africa today, the historical backgrounds that led to such conditions, and the revolutionary steps necessary to reach the ultimate goal given such conditions.

The deliberations in the conference focused on the common condition of the African people throughout the world. It was made painfully clear that, everywhere, the African people suffer from exploitation and domination by the same enemy on the grounds of class and race. The common enemies of the African people were recognized to be colonialism, neocolonialism, and feudo-capitalism. It was stressed that these historical injustices cannot be redressed without the attainment of the complete national liberation of all the African people; that the total liberation of Africa and the active pursuit of scientific socialism constitute the only basis for African unity.

The conference resolved, among others, to work for the heightening of the African revolutionary consciousness and to materially support all national liberation struggles in Africa, including those of Guinea Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, Azania, Zimbabwe, Chad and Eritrea. It recognized the Eritrean liberation struggle as the vanguard of the second phase of the African revolution, which is the struggle for the liberation of African peoples from neo-colonial and class oppression.

In addition, the conference strongly condemned the Organization of African Unity (OAU) as an instrument of neo-colonialism and a forum for the maintenance of the oppression and exploitation of the African masses by the reactionary bourgeois and feudal regimes that make up the organization. It further condemned the existence of foreign military bases on African soil.

Having reserved special condemnation to the use of Kagnaw Station in Asmara and of the Eritrean islands of Haleb and Fatmah as United States and Zionist bases of sabotage and suppression against the African Revolution, the conference demanded the immediate and complete elimination of these bases. It also condemned the United Nations for its failure to honour its resolutions in Southern Africa, especially Namibia, where African land has been usurped by western colonialists.

The conference viewed the military in Africa as the best organized and most disciplined instrument of repression employed by the ruling classes against the people of Africa, even though it pointed out that certain military regimes have taken on a progressive appearance.

The conference culminated in the formation of a strong organization of progressive African youth here in the United States to work as an arm of the All-African Student Organization in the Continent. Moreover, it was resolved that the organization would directly aid national liberation struggles in Africa, especially the Eritrean liberation struggle, both materially and politically. We thus feel that the participation of Eritreans for Liberation in this historic conference was an important step in establishing the African context of the Eritrean struggle.

The following article was a position paper presented and, along with other documents on the Eritrean struggle, distributed at the conference by Eritreans for Liberation. It generally embodied the main theme of the conference.

ERITREANS FOR LIBERATION

In North America

THE ERITREAN LIBERATION STRUGGLEANDTHE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

Under neocolonialism a new form of violence is being used against the peoples of Africa. It takes the form of indirect political domination through the indigenous bourgeoisie and puppet governments teleguided and marionetted by neocolonialists. The liberation and unification of Africa cannot be achieved by consent, by moral precept or moral conquest. It is only through the resort to arms that Africa can rid itself once and for all of remaining vestiges of colonialism, and of imperialism and neocolonialism; and a socialist society be established in a free and united Africa.

These words were spoken by Brother Kwame Nkrumah, who had been at the forefront of the fight for African independence, freedom, and unity. At this very moment, these words find concrete expression in the emerging armed struggles for freedom of the peoples of Azania, Zimbabwe, and Namibia; in the bursts of machine-gun fire across the mountains and valleys of Eritrea, the swamps, rivers, and jungles of Guinea, Mozambique and Angola.

The history of the African people since the sixteenth century has been one of European colonialism, oppression, and plunder attended by the enslavement and degradation of the African. This historical injustice still persists, for everywhere in Africa today, the African continues to die a premature death inflicted by violence: the violence of napalm or that of the machine gun, the violence of untreated diseases or that of hunger, in other words the violence of brute force or the violence of crude exploitation. The condition of the African is still dominated by backwardness, ignorance, poverty, oppression, and displacement in his own homeland. His life is governed by deprivation of even its most basic needs, the fear of physical terror, and a constant state of personal insecurity. It is indeed a truism that the contemporary order of the colonial and neocolonial world (or what is often referred to as the Third World) is being contained through the cruel and brutal use of unreserved official violence. This is the violence of the state apparatus

and its dominant institutions, expressing and defending the will and interests of the ruling classes. As a result, we see hundreds of thousands of innocent victims throughout the Third World, whose only crime is the pursuit of a life of liberty and freedom, being tortured behind prison bars, disposed off by firing squads, or bombed and napalmed en-masse. Thus, the choice of armed struggle or the choice of revolutionary violence, is thrust into the colonized and neocolonized peoples as the only imperative for collective survival, liberation and freedom. Fanon expresses this fact very aptly: "National liberation, national renaissance, the restoration of nationhood to the people, commonwealth: whatever may be the headings used or the new formulas introduced, decolonization is always a violent phenomenon."

Within this general context, African national liberation movements, which constitute the vanguard of the African Revolution, aim at the complete eradication of the oppression and impoverishment perpetrated on the African people by western imperialism and its reactionary domestic bourgeois puppets. The goals of the African Revolution, then, are essentially to reaffirm the dignity of the African, to recover his fundamental freedoms, to regain his right to self-determination, to liberate and control Africa's productive wealth, and ultimately to attain genuine African unity. For, only a free and united Africa is capable of channeling its enormous resources and gearing its economic, political and social structures to service not the greedy aims of neocolonialism, but the basic needs of the African workers and peasants. It must be stressed that these goals are highly interrelated and interdependent. None of them can be fully realized without the achievement of all. As long as hostile foreign bases are maintained on African soil, as long as a neocolonial government persists in any African country, as long as a racist minority regime continues to enslave, brutalize, and murder our brothers and sisters anywhere, as long as any foreign power remains in direct or indirect domination of an African people, no African can be free. As long as Africa remains balkanized along colonial lines, the freedom of Africa as a whole, even if politically won, would be devoid of any economic and social content; furthermore, it cannot be secure from nee-

colonialist incursions for long.

It is within this framework, therefore, that the national liberation struggles of Africa must be viewed and understood. The imperialists are fully aware of this phenomenon, that is, they see in the national liberation struggles the basic manifestations of their eventual destruction. They are also fully aware that they can only prolong and not obstruct this eventuality. Viewed in the long run, it is clear that it is the imperialist camp, and not the African masses, which is involved in a desperate survival struggle. It is only when we grasp this reality that we begin to discern and interrelate the patterns of activities of the various oppressive powers in Africa and the reasons and motives behind their actions. After all, it is no accident that it is the western powers which support and strive to perpetuate the total enslavement of the African people by the settler regimes in southern Africa. It is these same imperialist countries -- the United States, the United Kingdom, West Germany, France, Italy, the Benelux--which aid, arm, and support tiny and poor Portugal in its colonial war of aggression against the African people of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands. It is these same capitalist countries which provide the greatest military, economic, and technical aid to the neo-colonial governments of various African states so that they can keep the African masses under control, though only temporary, for the benefit of international monopoly capital. It is also this same imperialist camp which most vehemently and materially opposes the national liberation movements, that is, the struggle for self-determination in Africa.

Indeed, it is evident that there is an underlying commonality of interest among the settler regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, colonial Portugal, the capitalist-imperialist camp, and the neocolonial governments of reactionary African states in maintaining the status quo in the continent. This commonality of interest, or international class alliance, has a single basis: the imperialist wish to continue to exploit African slave labor and to plunder African resources for monopoly profits. This imperialist imperative, which has found indirect rule both cheaper and politically more expedient, explains the fact that it is the most reactionary and oppressive colonial, racialist and neocolonial governments

in Africa which receive the greatest imperialist support in general and the largest military aid in particular. In return, it is here in these oppressive regimes that the imperialist imperative elicits its most blind official obedience and commits its most criminal acts of plunder and repression on the African people. It is also here that it arouses the most determined African popular opposition and, therefore, faces the greatest threat to its perpetuation. Today, it has become painfully clear that the organized resort to arms provides the only path to the complete elimination of this continuing historical injustice. Thus, in the words of Brother Nkrumah, "In almost every African state, non-independent and independent, guerilla struggle is being prepared or has been established as the only means to overthrow colonialist, neo-colonialist, or settler regimes." This means that Africa's complete freedom from colonialism, neo-colonialism, and class based bourgeois domination can come about only through the total success of the ongoing and soon to be born national liberation struggles.

The complete liberation of African states must not, however, be viewed as an end in itself. Rather, it should be seen as the necessary precondition for building Pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism, which is the long range objective of the African Revolution, must be based on scientific socialism, for only a socialist revolution can assure the complete control of the means of production by workers, the pursuit of planned economic development by the African Nation, and the establishment of complete political control by the toiling masses. It is when such a condition is created that it will be possible for the African people to fully realize and enjoy the fruits of African unity. It is absolutely imperative to recognize that only through Pan-Africanism, meaning the complete economic integration and political unity of Africa on the basis of the strict confederation of fully liberated African states, can Africa build and sustain the new economic, social and political structures necessary to equitably provide for the needs of its masses.

It would be too ambitious on our part to try to present here even

a brief outline of the colonial history and the contemporary colonial or neo-colonial condition of all the African people. Nor will we pretend to make even a rudimentary study and analysis of every national liberation struggle in Africa. However, on the grounds that a shared experience of colonial oppression and imperialist exploitation by similar enemies provides a common basis for generalizability, we will, by way of example, attempt to present the national liberation struggle of Eritrea--the one with which we are most familiar. In addition, the Eritrean struggle combines several phases of the African Revolution. At once, it is an anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist, and even more fundamentally, anti-class-based domestic bourgeois and comprador rule. In fact, the Eritrean struggle can be said to represent the vanguard of the second phase of the African Revolution.

Eritrea is a representative African state, unique only in the variety of colonial oppressors that it has suffered from. Indeed, the history of Eritrea since the mid-sixteenth century has been a history of successive colonialisms-- Turkish, Egyptian, Italian, British, and lately Ethiopian. It should be stated that the total colonization of Eritrea became complete only with the advent of the Italians in the late nineteenth century and remains so under the present autocratic regime of Haile Selassie. In a vicious effort to perpetuate the colonial status of the Eritrean people and to make the colonial usurpation of their land permanent, Haile Selassie has gone further than any of his colonial predecessors in trying to destroy Eritrea as a nation. As in the case of Portugal with its African colonies, he not only rules but also claims Eritrea as a province of his empire, thereby hoping to make the question of the national liberation of Eritrea an internal Ethiopian matter. To support his claim and to justify his continuing domination of Eritrea, Haile Selassie has tried to distort historical fact, by making an opportunistic use of the linguistic and cultural similarities that exist between certain parts of Eritrea and the adjacent Tigray, a phenomenon common amongst many bordering peoples throughout the world.

Exploiting the above mentioned similarities, Haile Selassie has advanced the proposition that Eritrea had always been part of Ethiopia, and that his annexation of Eritrea constituted only the return of a lost territory to its mother country. This absurd proposition has no historical basis. It only underscores Haile Selassie's blatantly colonialist ambitions over Eritrea. He bases his claim on the erroneous premise that the Axumite Kingdom, which lasted from the fourth century B.C. to the ninth century A.D., is the direct predecessor of today's Ethiopia. It is true that Eritrea was not only an integral part but also, along with Tigray, the origin and the center of this ancient African civilization. However, present-day Ethiopia, as many historians confirm, in no way corresponds to the ancient Axumite Kingdom. The Axumite Kingdom, even at the height of its glory, never extended further south than the southern borders of the contemporary Tigray, and with its dissolution in the ninth century, this kingdom disintegrated and was never completely restored in its original geography or constituency. Thus, modern Ethiopia is "in no way the direct continuation of the old Axumite Empire, and Haile Selassie's claim of its continuity with the 'Solomonid dynasty' of Ethiopia is only a vainglorious and political claim." After the fall of the Axumite Kingdom, Eritrea enjoyed independent existence under the name of the Medri Bahri, 'the Land by the Sea', until the advent of the colonial era. During this period of independent existence, it was governed by a succession of rulers who called themselves the Bahri Negasi, 'the King of the Sea'. The Medri Bahri was often at war with its rival states to the south and the west, but it was never wholly dominated by any of these rivals at any point in this period. For a long time, the Medri Bahri flourished as an important commercial centre, and its famous port of Adulis was a confluence of African, Asian and European trade. The Ottoman Turks occupied a narrow coastal strip, including the port of Massawa, in 1557 and held it until 1875. During this period, they expanded their occupation into the surrounding lowlands and waged a successful campaign of islamization. However, their persistent attempts to penetrate into the impregnable Eritrean plateau were repeatedly repelled.

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 made the Red sea a very vital

trade-route between the East and the West, gave Eritrea a new strategic significance in the web of international commerce and, therefore, thrust it into the orbit of Anglo-French colonial rivalry in this part of Africa. In fact, it was Egypt which, under the auspices of the British, made its first bid to control Eritrea. It acquired the transfer of all Turkish possessions in Eritrea through a treaty in 1875, but its continued efforts at further expansion were frustrated by its defeat in a series of decisive battles. In the meantime, the Mahdist revolt had erupted in and seriously threatened the hegemony of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. At the same time, in 1882, the Italians formally established a protectorate at Assab, on the southeastern coast of Eritrea. By 1885, faced with the fast spreading Mahdist revolt on the one hand, and a possible French expansion into the Horn of Africa from Djibouti on the other, the British connived a two-pronged intrigue: they initiated a deal promising that the beaten Egyptian garrisons would evacuate and leave the country of the Bahri Negasi - Modern-day Eritrea - free while, at the same time, they invited the Italians to invade the Medri Bahri whence they occupied Massawa and began to push inward. Thus, while our people kept their part of the deal, the British reneged, conspiring instead to merely prevent French domination of the Horn by inviting in a weaker "political" friend - Italy. The Italians, with the active support of the British, intensified their campaign of aggression. The Eritreans, together with their brothers to the south, the Tigray, fought bravely for almost five years and inflicted heavy losses on the Italian invaders. Yet, despite the gallant resistance of its people, Eritrea fell victim to the colonial aggression of Italy, which, with the active collaboration of the British and the helping hand of Menelik II, the King of Shoa, was able to complete the process by 1890. Eritrea remained under the yoke of Italian colonialism until the defeat of fascist Italy in 1941.

The structure of Eritrean society before the advent of the Italians was remarkably communal. The Eritrean economy and social structure remained essentially pre-feudal throughout the colonial period while in neighbouring Ethiopia, King Menelik of Shoa began almost a concentric expansion of his empire and sowed the roots of a feudal economic and social order. However, while the normal historical development of the Eritrean people was arrested and suppressed under Italian colonialism, this very colonial oppression and the workings of its insidious racialist ideology resulted, among other things, in a heightened nationalist sentiment that inspired defiant resistance among the people of Eritrea. The Eritrean national consciousness is deeply rooted in the experience of a common popular resistance against a history of common colonial oppression and manifests itself in a common identity, a common psychological make-up, and a common aspiration among the people of Eritrea.

It is not necessary to recount here the magnitude of the misery, indignity, alienation, deprivation, degradation, and dehumanization that were the daily lot of the Eritrean people, for the common sufferings of all colonized peoples have been amply documented in great detail and many times. It is only important to note that the British occupation of 1941, which was received with high popular hopes for liberation, continued until 1952 and proved even more insidious in its scheme and objectives than Italian colonialism. The period of British rule saw the ruthless plunder of Eritrea's resources, the brute dismantling of its meagre productive installations, and the deliberate stifling of the Eritrean national consciousness. They did everything possible not only to divide Eritrea and the Eritrean people, but more criminally, to terminate the existence of Eritrea as a nation by partitioning it between Haile Selassie's Ethiopia, their lackey, and the then Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, their colony.

In 1952, despite the unequivocal demand of the Eritrean people for self-determination, the UN General Assembly, under the control and management of imperialist America, imposed on Eritrea a federation with the feudal regime of Haile Selassie's Ethiopia. The federal act stipulated that Eritrea and Ethiopia were to be self-governing states federated only in matters of defense, commerce, and foreign policy. This formal association of Eritrea with Ethiopia has, from the very beginning, been completely regressive. Not only was it replete with inequities, but it was also fraught with dangers to the welfare of the Eritrean people, as later events proved. Shortly after the federation, Haile Selassie signed a pact providing for the establishment of a United States military base in Asmara, Eritrea's capital, thus availing American imperialism of its largest and most strategic military base in Africa. In return, Haile Selassie's puppet regime, which is one of the most corrupt, reactionary and repressive, not just in Africa but in the whole world, has enjoyed the greatest imperialist military, financial and political support of any government in Africa. For instance, it receives 40% of all

U.S. military aid to Africa, and its total receipt of U.S. aid alone has now reached 1 billion dollars. All this is, of course, the price of the base which defends the imperialist imperative throughout Africa and the Middle East. It is used by the United States and its other imperialist allies in the effort to maintain the colonialist, racialist and neo-colonialist regimes in Africa. In short, it is used against the people of Africa and to sabotage the African Revolution. Thus, the interests of United States imperialism and those of the backward Shoaan autocratic bureaucracy which presides over the Ethiopian Empire, colluded to negate all the hopes and aspirations for freedom of the Eritrean people. The federal functions were, without either legal or political basis, soon usurped by the Emperor, the rights of and safeguards for the Eritrean people trampled upon, and their pleas for justice and redress totally ignored. Finally, in 1962 adding insult to the already injured Eritrean people, Haile Selassie, with the advice and encouragement of his imperialist masters in Washington, decreed the abolition of the federation and annexed Eritrea with impunity.

Meanwhile, the situation in Eritrea had been progressively worsening on every front -- economic, political, and social. Oppressed, exploited impoverished, and persistently ignored in all their efforts at the peaceful resolution of the Eritrean question, the people of Eritrea had no choice but to take up arms in pursuit of their national liberation. Thus, the Eritrean Liberation Front was created in 1961 and has now become a strong and growing force for freedom in Africa. For the last eleven years, the people of Eritrea have been waging an armed struggle against the puppet regime of Haile Selassie's feudal Ethiopia. As a result of these eleven years of armed struggle, 2/3 of the Eritrean countryside has been liberated from direct enemy control. Numbering about 40,000, the Eritrean Liberation fighters are one of the best equipped guerilla combatants in Africa today. Eritrea is, thus, just on the verge of winning its national liberation. It is only the towns and major urban centers that still remain under enemy hands. The Eritrean Revolution confronts not only Ethiopian feudal colonialism and the Eritrean collaborating classes, but also U.S. imperialism and the subversive Zionist agent-state of Israel. Both the U.S. and Israel provide money, arms, and

training in anti-guerilla and counter-revolutionary methods not only to Haile Selassie's puppet army and fascist police but also to those of all reactionary African governments. The U.S.'s military base in Asmara, its free access to the naval base in Massawa, and the newly granted Israeli military bases on the Eritrean Islands of Haleh and Fatmah are being used not just against the people of Eritrea and Ethiopia, but also against all the people of Africa. In fact, the Kagnew Station in Asmara, which is the largest U.S. military communications base in the world, is used for spying on and controlling the two continents of Africa and Asia, and eavesdropping on the socialist countries. Furthermore, at a time when concerned Africans are actively combatting the exploitive activities of giant corporations such as Gulf-Oil, Haile Selassie is giving this very corporation new concessions on the oil-rich Dahlak Islands of Eritrea. This criminal sell-out of African soil by an African dictator to the enemies of Africa must be put to a permanent end. Because, when African soil is used to effect or facilitate the oppression, exploitation, or killing of even a single African the whole African Nation suffers and the entire African people bleed. The restoration of freedom and dignity to the African people demands that all this be brought to a speedy halt. And we now know that the only way to halt it is for the African people to rise up in arms and destroy it. For we the African people, have learned that we cannot fight bullets with prayers, harassment, torture and murder with submission, hunger and deprivation with paupery. That the only way to fight bullets is with bullets; the only way to confront the enemy is with his own weapons.

The people of Eritrea have been doing precisely this for over eleven years, scoring great victories against the enemy. But they have also suffered. During the past eleven years, the people of Eritrea have been subjected to the most barbaric acts of mass murder and genocide in all of their long and bitter history of ^{resistance against} foreign domination. Tens of thousands of Eritreans--young and old, men, women and children--have been bombed, napalmed, and machine-gunned indiscriminately. Over 120 villages have been devastated and razed to the ground and their inhabitants wiped out. Thousands of Eritrean patriots are languishing in the Nazi-like Ethiopian concentration camps, while thousands of others are undergoing horrifying

and agonizing tortures behind prison bars. More than 100,000 Eritreans have left their homes and possessions behind for the squalid and miserable life of the refugee camps in neighbouring countries, mainly ⁱⁿ the Sudan.

Yet, despite these adverse conditions, the Eritrean people side by side with their brothers and sisters in Guinea, Azania, Angola and Mozambique are persevering in armed struggle against the foreign and domestic enemies of Africa. Totally convinced of the justice of their cause and of the invincibility of their struggle, the Eritrean people are determined to fight for as long as it takes them to achieve national liberation. In the final analysis, we should grasp the fundamental truth in revolutionary process: nothing can break the popular will, undermine the people's commitment, or block their struggle for liberation. There can only be a forward motion, a glorious march to final victory. Victory in the present struggle will herald the beginning of a new life, of building and reconstruction; that is the building and reconstruction of a socialist African community which is the only basis for African freedom and unity.

VICTORY TO THE LIBERATION STRUGGLES OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE!

UNITED STATES', ISRAELI AND ETHIOPIAN COLLABORATION
IN ERITREA AND THE ERITREAN PEOPLE'S NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Imperialist America, Zionist Israel and feudalist Ethiopia are collaborating in the oppression of the Eritrean people who, for the last twelve years, have been engaged in armed struggle against these collaborating, oppressive forces to gain their national liberation. Although facing such a colossus of aggressive forces, the heroic Eritrean people have, under the leadership of the Eritrean Liberation Front, succeeded in liberating two thirds of their country.

The Eritrean people have suffered under a succession of foreign oppressors since 1890. With the collaboration of the British and the helping hand of emperor Menelik of Ethiopia, then King of Shoa, Italy colonized Eritrea in 1890 and the Eritrean people suffered colonial oppression similar to that their brothers and sisters in colonized Africa and the rest of the Third World. At the height of World War II, the British defeated the Italians in Eritrea with Eritrean manpower. Although they had claimed that their interest was to defeat the Italians as part of their allied war effort and not to take over Eritrea, they betrayed the Eritrean people and occupied Eritrea as a colony till 1952.

The conspiratorial imperialist design of the United States, Ethiopia and Israel started in 1952 when the United Nations, under the domination of the United States, decreed to make Eritrea an autonomous state to be federated with the feudalist empire of Ethiopia. The United Nations had further decreed that the head of the Ethio-Eritrean federal state would be emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia. Without their participation and consent therefore, the Eritrean people were forced to come under the dictatorship of the feudal chief of Ethiopia in the name of a bogus federation. Haile Selassie had his expressed designs to take over Eritrea in order to gain access to the sea and control its rich mineral and oil wealth.

The United States, which master-minded the federal resolution, also had its imperialistic designs in Eritrea. Because of its strategic geographic location, the United States vied Eritrea as a base for its military operations in Africa, the Middle East, the Indian Ocean and Eastern Asia. Furthermore, the United States had a firm interest to exploit the rich phosphate, copper, iron and oil deposits in Eritrea. With the "federal government" firmly under Haile Selassie's control, the United States then

proceeded to establish itself militarily in Eritrea. This was easily accomplished in 1953 through an agreement with Haile Selassie allowing it to build military bases in the Eritrean towns of Asmara, Gura, Massawa and Keren. It further received unlimited concessions to exploit the mineral deposits of the country through treacherous economic treaties with the monarch.

Similarly, Israel had vital military and economic interests in Eritrea. Here again, Eritrea's strategic geographic location attracted Zionist attention for it provided an ideal base for Israel's imperialist war against the Arab world and its attempt to control the entrance to the Red Sea (the strait of Bab el Mandeb). Its immediate economic interest was in assuring the continuous inflow of food products, especially meat, of which it was desperately deficient. In 1952, Israel set its initial economic foothold in Eritrea by securing a franchise from Haile Selassie to establish the INCODE meat packing monopoly in Asmara. Further, it established its military grip, under the umbrella of the United States by signing an agreement with Haile Selassie allowing it the use of Eritrean territory for "emergency military operations".

The economic and political bases for the collaboration of the three imperialistic forces in the oppression of the Eritrean people were thus deep rooted and well set. The total liberation of Eritrea would mean not only an end to their imperialistic interests in Eritrea but would also represent a serious blow to their overall military and economic strategy in Africa and Asia. Thus, in order to fully subjugate the Eritrean people and bring them under their direct control, the three imperialistic aggressors decided from the outset to fully collaborate rather than compete in Eritrea. With such a design therefore, Haile Selassie's army invaded Eritrea in a series of military moves premeditated to avoid world attention, and fully occupied the country by 1960. The meagre economic and political liberties that existed within the framework of the United Nations mandated "autonomy" were similarly choked by slow degrees till, in 1962, Haile Selassie finally "announced" his full annexation of Eritrea into his empire as a province.

The Eritrean people initially protested such a slow process of economic and political strangulation through peaceful means. They continually presented their case to the United Nations, since it was this body that

decreed, though without their participation, the autonomous and federal status of Eritrea. But, they soon realized that it was the very country that proposed the "Federal Resolution" that was the main force behind their oppression and that the United Nations was only a legitimizing instrument. Furthermore, the Eritrean people tried to resist Haile Selassie's moves to overrun their country and suppress their economic development through peaceful public demonstrations, but they soon learned through bitter experience that Haile Selassie and his imperialist sponsors only tightened their reins of control. In 1958, Eritrean workers throughout the country staged a massive demonstration that paralysed the foreign controlled economy for four days, and Haile Selassie, with the advice and operational guidance of his masters, ordered its suppression by force of arms. This brutal act led to the massacre of more than 550 Eritrean workers. This barbaric massacre of defenseless workers clearly spelled to the Eritrean people that the only way to combat such brute violence and gain their complete national liberation was through armed force. They thus began an urban guerrilla movement in the same year, and in September of 1961, started a full scale armed insurrection in the Eritrean countryside against the collaborating oppressors.

The Eritrean people's national liberation struggle soon encompassed the entire countryside. By 1965, the number of liberation fighters rose to about 10,000, and by 1967, the whole western plains of Barka and Senhit and the northern plateaus of Sahil were fully liberated. Operating from bases inside their liberated land, Eritrean liberation fighters gained increasing victories against the occupation forces of the enemy. In 1968, the leadership of the struggle passed fully into the hands of liberation fighters within the field; further, the struggle reached a higher stage of ideological development. Its objective became not only to gain Eritrean national liberation from imperialist domination, but also to bring about a socialist transformation of Eritrean society within a Pan-African framework. This positive development, the widening progressive international support for the Eritrean liberation struggle, and the increasing victories of the Eritrean liberation fighters shook the puppet emperor and his masters who had continuously tried to isolate the struggle from the world public and to distort its just revolutionary cause. In 1970, the frenzied monarch declared a state of emergency in Eritrea and placed it under direct military rule.

While the gallant liberation fighters were gaining military victories over the enemy on the ground, however, the enemy committed the most inhuman crimes over the Eritrean people by bombing and napalming entire villages and communities and razing them down to ashes. More than 120 villages have been totally destroyed and their inhabitants and livestock completely wiped out. Defoliants have been indiscriminately sprayed over entire regions. Throughout the country, the enemy has herded peasants--the old, women and children--into concentration camps and then dropped bombs on them. It was in such a fashion that the enemy napalmed more than 1,000 people in one afternoon in the city of Keren in 1970.

As a result of the enemy's genocidal bombing campaigns against Eritrean peasants, around 100,000 old men, women, and children have been forced to flee to the Sudan and are living in deplorable refugee camps. The "Libian Times" of May 28, 1971, reported the condition of these refugees: "A report, written after an extensive 1,700 kms. trip inside war-torn Eritrea by Al-Hakika correspondent Mohamed Ahmed Werayeth, depicted the misery into which 97,000 refugees have been subjected because of Ethiopia's cruel means that forced them to flee their own homes inside their own country. Eritrean refugees, now living in primitive bamboo sustained tents in Marafit and Gadaref in Eastern Sudan, are dying en masse at the average of 30 persons per day from hunger, disease, and bad shelter." It is this inhumanity that Haile Selassie and his masters have continuously tried to hide from the world public for fear of exposing their crimes and basic designs and facing widespread international condemnation.

However, the increasing victories of Eritrean liberation fighters and the collaborating aggressors' subsequent savage reprisals on the defenseless civilian population have attracted world attention and exposed the nature of the imperialist, zionist and feudalist alliance. The barbaric atrocities that this imperialist alliance has committed and is still committing on the Eritrean people in hopes of silencing them shows the extent of its desperation. The oppressive collaborators are painfully aware of the long run inevitability of their defeat; so are the Eritrean people fully aware that final victory is theirs.

It should be recognized, however, that because of the depth of their imperialistic interests and their growing desperation, the collaborating fascists could very well continue to intensify their genocidal acts and turn

Eritrea into an African Vietnam before their final defeat. To prevent such a possibility, the progressive world should fully understand the designs, involvements, and crimes of these imperialistic allies and come to the support of the heroic Eritrean people in their just struggle for national liberation.

THE FUTURE OF ERITREA

by Balambaras Fesaha Kefle

From "Eritrean Weekly News," Asmara, 2nd November, 1944.

"To the Honourable Weekly Paper.

"While important people are available, if we, the poor, are allowed to explain our wishes, I beg your permission to speak.

"It is two months since the 'Eritrean Weekly News' invited us to do so. I am only a farmer, but I have studied the newspaper. There is an Eritrean proverb, 'To-day it happened, it happened in July' (the season of rain and scarcity). In my time I was prosperous. I was a Bulockbash (an African soldier in the Italian army of a superior grade). I was one who went all over Ethiopia, and I studied it. As it is said: 'Although we have not yet cultivated, we have already a double yoke prepared. Like anyone else, I would like to plough my own furrow. These people in Asmara, who have never done any fighting, never heard the sound of a bullet, never known hardship, instead of thanking God for the position in which they now are placed, hate their poverty and call for the Shoans (the Ethiopian Government) to raise them higher. We hear them doing so.

"There is a proverb of our fathers: 'Fire in another man's hand does not seem to me to burn; Kosso in another man's mouth does not seem to me to taste bitter.' We realise that such people in Asmara think only of bettering their own position and that of their families; they do not care for the farmers, the poor, the people of the country. We are not animals. They like the Shoans, let them go to them and ask them to give them their desires. But we have seen Shoa!

"If the Shoans were good people they would have been helpful to our brothers in Addis Ababa, who drive the garries (a small horse-drawn vehicle). I wonder, of course, because I know these poor people is Asmara who are calling for the Shoans are those who used to serve the Italian Government as interpreters, and so forth. What is to be done with them? We know they are mixing themselves up with such matters because they can no longer lie and deceive, as they habitually did. It would be better for them to have patience, and eat quietly.

"Ginger! If you are asked who you are, what would you reply? We are farmers; we are farmers driving our oxen, and we are poor. We need to live in peace; for our children to learn, and to have bread to fill their stomachs, and to have cotton to cover their bodies; this is what we need. From now on it is not good for poor people like us to say: We must return to the Shoans, who are as poor as we are, and are without education."

ገዳካዊ ዜናታት ብሓዲር

ወተሃራራዊ ዋዕካ:-

ወተሃራራት ሕዝግዊ ሓይልታት:- ብ16-10-72: ኣብ ማዳ ሓፊኻዊ ክኾን ገደምኪ: ሹውዓተ ሓልስቲ "ሹማግካ-ምምሕዳር" መሪዳም ክኸው:: ኸዛም ዝተመርዑ ሹውዓተ ሹማግካ ክኾኑ: ኣብ ልዕኪቲ ብሓገን ስርዓታን ኸተወሰነኩም መዝን ሓካፊነትን ምኡኸ ስልጣንን ተዋሂቡዎም ክኮ:: ኸቲ ነዛም ሹማግካ-ምምሕዳር ዝመረዳ ዋዕካ ወይስ ጉገኤ: ናይ ሕዝግዊ ሓይልታት ገደብ ወይስ ሓገሪ ስልጣን: ወይ ነኻ ሕግን ስርዓታን ዝውስን ስልጣንን ተገሂኡ ይጽዋዕ:: ኸዚ ናይ ሕ.ሓ.ሓ. ክውራ ስልጣን: ኣብ ወጅሒ ክኾን ኸኣገብሪ ስዮኹ ይምርምር: ናይ ስዮኹ ደብዳቤ ነኻ ይህብን ይቕበልን::

ኣብ'ቲ ናይ ስዮ ዝርዝር ወይስ ንሮግራም: ፓክቲካውን ወተሃራራውን ገደኡ ብምልኻ ናብቲ ክውራ ደካኪ ክገደኡ ክምዘዱ ዘሉህብን ዚውራውርን ይረገግዳ:: ኸቲ ኣብ መንጎ ወገናት ጉላህ ዘኮ ዚይምስምሙዕ ነኻ ብልምክራሲያዊ ክገብን ሂሳብ ሂሳብ ሂሳብ ይገልጹ:: ናይ "ቂያዳ" ወተሃራራት: ክምቲ ክሳብ ኩሚ ዝገብርዎ: ነዚ ሕ.ሓ.ሓ. ሓዘዎ ዘኮ ናይ ምዕራብ ስዮኹ ንምቕዋም ኪኮም ሓዳጋ ሂሳብ ክውራ ኸንተ መደብ ግን ንራኸሉ ክገብኻልኩ ግዲ ክምዘዱ ይገልጻ::

ልኡኽ ወዳኪ ጉዳይ:-

ናይ ሕ.ሓ.ሓ. ልኡኽ ወዳኪ ጉዳይ: ሰራዊት ሕዝግዊ ሓይልታት ሓርነት ብኹኡ

ነገራትን ወገንን ዘሉልዮ ክም ዚረክብ: ገዝ'ውን ክም ዘቆገራኩም ንምግባር: ክምኡ ልማ ናይ ሕ.ሓ.ሓ. መንግስትን ስሓምን ናይ ስዮ ዝርዝርን ንዚግደሉምን ንዚግደሉምን ክኮም ንምግባርን ንምርዳኻን ዚገብኹ ክኮም ይገብር ክኮም:: ኸቲ ኣብ ግዳም ዝርከብኻልኩም: ናይቲ ኣብ ውጤት ዚርከብ ገደካዊ ምስልጣን ምግባር ኪደ ምግባር ክም ክም: ልኡኽ ወዳኪ ጉዳይ ሕ.ሓ.ሓ. ምስ ብዙሓት መንግስታትን ገሰገሰቲ መተክባትን ኸኣካሎ: ልተውትን ልገጽትን ዘግርዩኩ ምይካዊ ተነግረ::

ቤት ገምህርቲ ኣብ ጉሕቲ ክግራብ:-

ኣብቲ ኣብ ኪደ ደካኪ ሓይ ዝወደ ቦታታ ጎርጎራ: ሓርባታት ሕ.ሓ.ሓ. ኣብ ጉሕቲ ክግራብ ኸኣካሎ: ንተጋልልትን ህዝብን: ፓክቲካውን ወተሃራራውን ሃገራውን ክስተምህር ይህቡ ክም ዘኸው: ኣብ ማዳ ዘይ ምስራቕ ስጵኡ ኣስሰሊና::

ልኡኽ ወዳኪ ጉዳይ ኣብ ኪግልገገ:-

ኣብ ልኡኽ ወዳኪ ጉዳይ ሕ.ሓ.ሓ. ዝተወሃኡ መልኸኻታትን ኣብ ቀረጥ ግዜ ንኪግ ልገ ክይደም ምስ ብዙሓት ፓክቲካው ማእብራትን ገሰገሰቲ መተክባትን ብምርካብ ኣስሰሊና ተዘራረቡ:: ኸዛም መልኸኻታትን: ብዛዕባ ሃላፊነትን ምዕባካን ተጋልኦ ሓርነት ጎርጎራ ሰፊሕ መግከዪ ሃቡ:: ምስኡ ክተሓሓዙም ክኾኑ: ነቲ ንጽዮናውያን ኣብ ነገብ ቀይሕ ግሕርን: ገምገም ግሕር ጎርጎራን: ልገታትን ብርታዕ ህርፋን ክሕገሩኩም ዘኮ ምኽንያት ክሰራዎም ክም ዚረክቡ ተነግረ:: ክምኡ'ውን: ብዛዕባ ኸቲ ኣብ ክስመራ ዘኮ ናይ ሃዲያዊት ክመሪግ ወተሃራራዊ መደብርን: ኸተን ኣብ ልገታት ዳህካቕን ሓከብን ፋጣኻታትን ጽዮናዊት ኸስራዩል ሓዘተን ዘካ ናይ ሓይሪ ግሕር መደብራትን ሰፊሕ መግከዪ ሃቡ:: ነዚ ኹኡ ብምስገውዒ: ኸተን ናይ ኪግልገገ ገሰገሰቲ መተክባት ክኾኑ ንተጋልኦ ሓርነት ጎርጎራ ምኡኸ ልገታትን ክም ዘወግድ ገኻኻ:: ብቲ ዝተከበወኹ ሓገዝ መሰረት: ልሙኻ ብብራይነቲ መራሃቲት ኸኣካካብ ናብ ማዳ ንክሰራ ስዮኹን ልገታትን ክኾኑ: ዝ ብላ ወረ መዳኻ::

ብደመ ኣብ ጋዜጣ "ሰውራ" ንሰውራውያን:-

"ጋዜጣ "ሰውራ" ናይ ክኮም ሰውራውያን ኪደ'ሞ: ናይ ክኮም ሰውራውያን ሓገዝን ምትዕዛድን ይገልጻ:: "ሰውራ" ጋዜጣ: ናይ ክኮም ሰውራውያን ጋዜጣ: ክኮም ሰውራውያን ሓገሶምን ሃረርታኻምን ናፍቆቶምን ዚገልጹኩ ጋዜጣ ስከ ዝኾነ: ሰውራውያን ክኮም ኣብ ስዮኹ ክገሃሉ ይግብኻም:: ማከት: ብምንግብን ብምዝርጋጅን ግራዕ ዘይኮሰኩ: ኸንተ ካይ ኣብ ምጽሓብን ምጽሓብን ነኻ ሓገሶምን ክኸደምን ሂሳብ-ህሳብ ይዕደሙ:: ኸቲ ክኮም ተገሂኡ ናብኡ ዚገልጹ ማንቀዳት ክኾኑ ኣብ ሰውራዊ ክኸምሮን ስምዒትን ኸተሃኻኻ: ብሰውራዊ ቃላት ኸተገልጹ ማንቀዳት ክኾኑ ክም ዘኸዎ ነግሮኻ::"

ኸኸም ማንቀዳት ክኸምን "ሰውራ"ን ሓርነትን ዘበርክቱ ብይን: ብኣካግራቲ ሹማግካ ማእብር ክገደኩም ንክሰራዎ ነዘግኻሮም::

February 17, 1973

E.F.L. SOLIDARITY MESSAGE TO E.S.U.N.A.

Eritreans for Liberation in North America (E.F.L.) extends its comradely wishes for success to the Ethiopian Students Union in North America (E.S.U.N.A.) in its deliberations at its eastern semi-annual regional conference. Furthermore, E.F.L. heartily congratulates E.S.U.N.A. for its persistent and growing opposition to the neocolonial, feudal regime of Haile Selassie and hails its firm position against the vacillating and social-chauvinist elements within the Ethiopian student movement.

The brutality and murderous character of the oppressive and autocratic regime of Haile Selassie is well known to all those who have cared to follow its activities. With the all out help, and, indeed, direct sponsorship of U.S. imperialism and Israeli zionism, the regime subjugates and oppresses the people of Ethiopia and doggedly tries to maintain its colonial hold over the people of Eritrea with a constant reign of terror and daily violence. Its crimes against the peoples of Eritrea and Ethiopia are innumerable and its repression ferocious, for its cruelty knows no rational limits, its policy of wholesale massacre spares no innocent victims, and its disregard for human life remains unsurpassed. Indeed, harrassment, persecution, torture and mass slaughter have been the daily lot of the Eritrean and Ethiopian peoples. As far as the Ethiopian people are concerned, suffice it to mention the indiscriminate massacre of university and high school students in December 1969, the constant brutal murder and arbitrary imprisonment of the patriotic and progressive opponents of the regime as a matter of routine policy, and the extensive bombing of and wholesale attack on the people of Bale and Gojjam for rebelling against the autocracy of the regime.

At the same time, the people of Eritrea have long been subjected to foreign colonial domination, always getting rid of one only to have another forced on them. Today, the condition of the Eritrean people under Ethiopian feudal colonial rule is the worst it has ever been. Hundreds of thousands of Eritreans who are able and willing to work remain jobless for lack of employment opportunities because of the systematic dismantling and closure of Eritrea's major factories and the deliberate paralysis of its urban economy. Consequently, hundreds of thousands of Eritreans have been forced to leave their homeland, seeking economic refuge in neighboring countries, mainly Ethiopia and the Sudan. Above all, hundreds of thousands of others have been bombed, napalmed, maimed, killed or forced out of the country by the barbaric ^{and} savage atrocities of the Ethiopian feudal army. The

Eritrean countryside has been subjected to massive Ethiopian bombing and napalming while Eritrean towns have been converted into nazi-style prison camps. As a result, more than 120 villages have been completely destroyed and thousands of Eritrean peasants and nomads have perished. With their homes bombed down to ashes, their livestock slaughtered en masse, and their grain fields destroyed with defoliants, more than 150,000 Eritreans--the old, women and children--now languish in deplorable refugee camps in the Sudan. The condition of the refugees is described by a recent report which states:

"Eritrean refugees, now living under inhuman conditions, were the subject-matter of an eye-witness report submitted yesterday to the High Commissioner for Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Khan.

The report written after an extensive 1,700 kms. trip inside war-torn Eritrea by Al-Hakika correspondent, Mohamed Ahmed Werayeth, depicted the misery into which 97,000 refugees have been subjected because of Ethiopian's cruel means that forced them to flee their homes inside their own country.

Eritrean refugees, now living in primitive bamboo-sustained tents in Marafit and Gadaref in Eastern Sudan, are dying in mass, at the average of 30 persons per day, from hunger, disease and bad shelter.

The eye-witness described in his report the living corpses he saw in the refugee camps."

One of these refugees best expresses the present plight of the Eritrean people when he says:

"The Eritreans have undergone Italian domination, the war, and British rule, but never have they suffered the hardships they endure under Ethiopian rule today. They are deprived not only of security and work opportunities but also of their very means of living. Things moved to worse when campaigns against individuals turned into collective persecution which affected the Eritreans in their possessions and livestock. They have come to witness their women raped, and their sons murdered. They have on occasion been denied permission even to bury their dead. Ethiopia today uses aircraft and artillery in its genocide campaign against the Eritreans whose villages and farms are often burnt to the ground. Looting is widespread and stories of jewelry pulled off women's ears and noses are all too familiar. Many an Eritrean woman has gone hysterical on witnessing the murder of her child before her very eyes."

For the last eleven years, the people of Eritrea have not only commonly shared feudal oppression, brutality and violence with the Ethiopian people but have also suffered from the continuing cruel and savage campaign of mass murder, indiscriminate bombing and napalming, wholesale destruction and

systematic genocide that is especially reserved for a colonized people who demand and struggle for their national independence. The barbaric aerial massacre of Eritrean workers and peasants in the city of Keren where more than 2,000 people perished on December 16, 1970, alone, the complete devastation of Eritrean villages and the extermination of their inhabitants, the reign of colonial terror that has been unleashed on the Eritrean people, the condition of the thousands of Eritrean patriots who are languishing in the nazi-like Ethiopian concentration camps, and the extreme savagery and total barbarity that Haile Selassie's feudal army commits daily on the Eritrean civilian population have been amply documented even in the western press. Despite Haile Selassie's colonial policy of terror, brutality and genocide on the civilian population, however, the valiant Eritrean people continue to wage and intensify their national liberation struggle and are scoring great victories. They have already liberated two-thirds of their country from direct Ethiopian feudal colonialism.

Eritrean

It is true that the people's national liberation struggle has faced certain internal difficulties. These difficulties have always been a direct reflection of the class interests of the self-styled bourgeois "leaders". The reactionary leadership, which had been split within itself, had persistently strived to accentuate the secondary and non-antagonistic contradictions among the Eritrean people in an effort to attain their opportunistic and personal aims. This opportunistic rivalry had brought the Eritrean people into the brink of a total civil war which, as a result of the consolidation and growing strength of the progressive and patriotic fighters, has been successfully averted. Now, a solid, strong, and fast growing revolutionary vanguard is in effective command of the Eritrean National Liberation Struggle. Inevitably, therefore, the Eritrean National Liberation Struggle is advancing toward total victory, along a definite revolutionary line, following a correct strategy.

In another front, the Ethiopian toiling masses are awakening to the historic task of their liberation. The Ethiopian Student Movement has played a vanguard role of opposition and resistance to Haile Selassie's autocratic rule and to the imperialist and zionist penetration of the country. Within Ethiopia, the forces of progress and democracy are becoming stronger every day while those of reaction and autocracy are heading to their inevitable demise. Viewed in this dialectic context, the brute murdering of the opponents of the regime, the barbaric massacres of helpless civilians in Eritrea, the savage suppression of the Student Movement within Ethiopia, and the recent irresponsible and

and murderous shoot-out aboard an Ethiopian Airlines plane underscore and symbolize the growing desperation of the archaic theocracy in its inability to deal with the rising tide of popular opposition to its autocratic and oppressive rule. It has become painfully aware that its days of subjugation are numbered and that the popular opposition forces are gaining momentum.

It is an incontestable fact that the enemies of the Eritrean people are the feudal colonialism of Haile Selassie's neocolonial regime, bureaucratic capitalism, U.S. imperialism and Israeli zionism. It is also equally incontestable that the enemies of the Ethiopian people are feudal neocolonialism, bureaucratic capitalism, U.S. imperialism and Israeli zionism. Thus, the Eritrean and Ethiopian peoples face the same basic enemies and, consequently, they should coordinate their struggles against these common enemies. In recognition of this fundamental truth, it is both important and necessary that Eritreans for Liberation in North America (E.F.L.) and the Ethiopian Students Union in North America (U.S.U.N.A.) establish and strengthen a working alliance which will provide for more concrete expressions of mutual support and solidarity. Such a working alliance on a more concrete basis will operate to cement the militant comradeship of Eritreans and Ethiopians here and the revolutionary solidarity of the Eritrean and Ethiopian peoples.

VICTORY TO THE ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE;

VICTORY TO THE ERITREAN REVOLUTION;

VICTORY TO THE WORLD REVOLUTION.