

RESISTANCE



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CONDEMN SOVIET AGGRESSION IN ERITREA

"The U.S.S.R. has consistently supported that Eritrea should be granted independence... the United Nations must take a decision which will satisfy the longing of the Eritrean people for independence... the U.S.S.R. delegation objects to the proposal for the federation of Eritrea with another state... adopted without the participation of the peoples concerned, that is, without the participation of Eritrea".

These were the very words, the very positions of the Soviet government of the 1950's when U.S. led world imperialism in collaboration with Ethiopian expansionism concocted and imposed a sham federation (through the U.N.) with a view of consolidating its neo-colonial grip in the region.

To-day, at a time when through bitter popular armed struggle, the Eritrean people have both expressed their indomitable wish to independence to the world at large and also incurred decisive military defeats over Ethiopian colonialism, at a time when through 17 year long armed struggle, — much sacrifice — they have liberated the entire countryside and most

of the towns and cities, and, effected profound revolutionary social transformation, at a time when they are on the verge of final and complete victory... the Soviet Union is committing the most unparalleled and blatant aggression on them.

In the current all-out and barbaric offensive, Soviet Generals, more than 200 other high ranking officers and hundreds of troops are actively involved in the predatory war. They are planning, guiding and co-ordinating, at the higher level, all the offensives, and atrocities perpetrated by the aggressor troops. They are employing highly sophisticated and destructive weapons against a defenceless people. In the current offensive, more than 250 Soviet tanks (mostly manned by Soviet troops), Mig 21 and Mig 23 jets, BM-21 Katusha launchers and other sophisticated weapons are employed against our people and our liberation army. Soviet piloted Mig 23 jets are hovering, unchallenged, through the breadth and width of our territorial air space and starting our liberated areas. More than ten villages have been totally burnt by the napalm and phosphorous raining from this jets while all in all, around 150 villages have been starved, partially or totally damaged.

The Soviet Union has buttressed and abetted the fascist Ethiopian regime for some time now. In the quarter of 1977, the Soviet Union airlifted the murderous Ethiopian regime with 1 billion worth of highly sophisticated weapons. It has been pouring more lethal weapons ever since. It massively armed Ethiopian aggression and when, albeit all the modern

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EPLF CENTRAL COMMITTEE HOLDS FOURTH REGULAR MEETING

The Central Committee of the EPLF held its fourth regular meeting from October 20-22, 1978. The Central Committee meeting broadly discussed and summed up the present situation of the Eritrean revolution and the situation in the Horn of Africa. The fourth regular of the C.C., realizing its responsibility in the present situation and in order to correctly assess and map out the measures that have to be taken in various fields, analyzed the reports not only of the past seven months, the period since the third regular meeting — but the complete reports of the past year and half, and, charted extremely important plans for future work and passed important resolutions.

The EPLF Central Committee discussed and resolved the following important questions:

a) **On Organizational Questions:** After a thorough analysis and summation of recent military developments and the present military situation, the meeting formulated future tactics, prepared comprehensive military studies and developed plans for the future growth of the EPLA. The C.C. also delineated a working program for the various departments and branches of the EPLF, after summing up their long experience, and, analyzing the role they have to play and the tasks they have to fulfill in the coming period.

The C.C. further studied the question of second (EPLF)

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HAIL THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF ERITREAN STUDENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST (A.E.S.M.E.)

The Second Congress of A.E.S.M.E. was held in Khartoum (Sudan) from 22-24/10/1978 under the revolutionary slogan « Struggle to preserve the unity of the democratic student movement ». The General Secretary of the EPLF, members of the Executive Committee of A.E.S., and representatives of EPLF's mass organizations in Khartoum were also present in the Congress.

The Second A.E.S.M.E. Congress thoroughly discussed national, International as well as organizational questions and passed important resolutions in conformity with the A.E.S. line. The Congress hailed the brilliant victories scored by the heroic EPLA, and the Vanguard, the EPLF. The

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OPPORTUNISM AT ITS HEIGHT

(The betrayal of the renegade AESNA « leadership »)

In the most unparalleled retrogressive move, the Association of Eritrean Students in North America (A.E.S.N.A.), condemned and resolved to sever its organizational ties both with the parent organization, the A.E.S., and the Vanguard, the E.P.L.F., at its 9th Congress held from August 14-18, 1978.

A.E.S.N.A. which until the last moment seemed to entertain unequivocal support and solidarity with the oppressed Eritrean masses and their Vanguard, the EPLF, and who only said, "...When the liberation movement gave birth to the EPLF in 1970, a new chapter was opened. Under the EPLF's correct leadership the struggle has since developed tremendously..." in a special publication prepared earlier for the occasion of the 17th Anniversary, made the most sudden U-turn and condemned the Eritrean People's Liberation Front. Further, in a pretext to embellish and give some revolutionary "rationale" to their out — and out opportunist and subversive stand, they accused the very Vanguard whom they had all along supported and rightly eulogised in all their publications (including in the special publications prepared for the occasion of the 17th Anniversary) as... "Capitulationist"... "negating the independence cause of the Eritrean people"... and even as "counter-revolutionary".

At this juncture, it is perhaps relevant to point out that although the utterly counter-revolutionary resolution was at the time adopted by the A.E.S.N.A. as a whole, and reportedly as a result of intensive campaign of smear and misinformation on the actual situation by the AESNA executive and its handful henchmen, the situation now is different. The overwhelming majority have now realized the utter baselessness of the vile accusations levelled at the Vanguard by the A.E.S.N.A. executive in an effort to lure them into the quagmire of adventurism. Today, rectification on a massive scale is well underway. Whole chapters, have rejected and condemned the erroneous resolution passed at the 9th Congress and moreover, well over 60% of A.E.S.N.A. members have followed suit. Thus the opportunist and subversive attempt of the AESNA executive is being foiled and becoming a complete farce even at its early embryonic stage.

This is as it should be and, indeed, the course cannot be otherwise. The experience of all genuine revolutionary movements has volumes to say on all the facets and inevitable defeat of opportunism. The rich experience of the Eritrean revolution cannot be any different. In fact, this is not the first time that opportunism, both in its right and left forms, has surfaced and attempted to permeate our revolution with its counter-revolutionary and subversive venom. To recall specific and recent cases, in 1976, the right opportunist Osman Saleh Sabbe severed his relations with the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, accusing it of being "Anti-National Unity"... etc. He attempted to strangle and black-mail the EPLF, using the substantial financial and other material property in his possession as political leverage. This right opportunist treachery was hatched precisely at a time when the second round of the so-called "Volunteer Militia's Offensive" of the Ethiopian regime was in full swing, at a time when the Eritrean revolution in general and the EPLF in particular were undergoing through a difficult stage. Nevertheless and through time, this right opportunist treachery has been completely foiled. Today the EPLF is by far stronger, while the right opportunist clique which attempted to separate and open a third front has been isolated both externally and internally and thrown into the historical gutter reserved

for reaction.

Reaction in general and opportunism in particular do not however learn from history. Opportunism persists in its subversive role and attempts to strike at the opportune time. The left opportunist tendency of the AESNA "leadership" accordingly surfaced at a difficult time. The fascist enemy had escalated and unleashed, around last July, an all-out big offensive employing more than 120,000 troops equipped with sophisticated weapons. The enemy was further able to cross the Eritrean borders and capture some of the liberated cities and towns under the E.L.F. Under these new circumstances the EPLF resolved to withdraw from some positions in its Southern Front. The enemy was exaggerating its temporary advances and interpreting the tactical withdrawal of the EPLF as a decisive and final reversal of the military balance in its favor. It is conceivable that even some of the staunch supporters of the Eritrean revolution were confused by the prevailing situation. The opportunist "AESNA" "leadership" chose to strike precisely at this "opportune" time, ...at a time when the Eritrean revolution was passing through a difficult stage. They announced that they have severed their organizational ties with the EPLF and the A.E.S. on August 18, on the occasion of the 17th Anniversary of the Eritrean revolution accusing the EPLF for "Capitulationism"... "revisionism"... etc. While a special issue of their Newsletter, written probably two weeks earlier and distributed in advance, recounted an altogether different story. To cloak and impart with "revolutionary motivation" their defeatist/opportunist stance, they raised and advanced adventurist slogans in crying contradictions to a sober concrete analysis of the concrete situation.

The Association of Eritrean Women in North America (A.E.W.N.A.) had also adopted the same counter-revolutionary resolutions duped by its collaborationist "leadership" at the time. To-day however, the overwhelming majority have rejected and condemned the opportunist line of the renegade AESNA and AEWNA leaderships.

The Eritrean revolution is surging forward, unimpeded by the counter-revolutionary offensives of the enemy. To-day, the recent offensive of the enemy has been completely frustrated.

A.E.S. condemns the opportunist stance of the AESNA "leadership" and reiterates its unflinching determination to combat and foil this reactionary treachery. It calls upon its members to intensify their rich history of vigilance and relentless struggle against all divisive opportunist tendencies and in particular, against the most dangerous left-opportunism of the AESNA "leadership" embellished in revolutionary phrase mongering and mainly aimed at dividing the revolutionary force. It calls upon the democratic members of AESNA who have already ruptured their relations with the executive and its handful supporters, to intensify their struggle.

A.E.S. is further aware of the possible confusion ensuing on revolutionaries who had, for apparent technical reasons, exclusive or very close contact with AESNA. AES, therefore, calls upon them to examine and expose counter-revolutionary and banal allegations of the renegade AESNA "leadership" and continue to extend their support to the Eritrean people and their Vanguard, the EPLF.

Long Live the EPLF!!
Down with Opportunism!!

Appeal to all governments, progressive forces and humanitarian organizations

The AES has conclusive evidence that the Soviet government is proceeding with extradition procedures and deporting two Eritrean Students, Fessehaie Tecele and Asbeha Andebrhan, currently in prison in Moscow, to Ethiopia. Both students are members of A.E.S.

Both Eritreans are students in the Soviet Union and have been accused of committing political offences — minor by any standards. Specifically, they exchanged physical blows with some pro-regime Ethiopian students at a rally held in support of the "revolutionary" Ethiopian regime. There were no serious or fatal injuries on either side.

It is obvious that in this particular case, (taking into full consideration the colonial war being waged at the moment and the nature of the Ethiopia regime), deportation is virtually tantamount to defacto death sentence.

We have no doubt whatsoever, and there are numerous precedents which conclusively compound our belief, that the Ethiopian regime will automatically liquidate them the moment they arrive in Ethiopia.

A number of governments have already confided to us their willingness to accept them as refugees if only the Soviet authorities will extradite them without restricting their destination.

We request your organization, therefore, to protest against the action being taken by the Soviet Government and demand that their extradition be to some place other than Ethiopia.

Association of Eritrean Students

The above appeal was made on October 28, 1978 to international humanitarian, and, progressive and democratic organizations. This was at a time when the Soviet authorities had resolved and were reportedly making the necessary arrangements to deport them to Ethiopia.

Accordingly, several humanitarian and progressive movements, cabled their protest to the Soviet Government. Nonetheless, the Soviet authorities have shunned all our appeals, requests and protest, and we have since, despite our consistent efforts — lost contact with our comrades. For all we know, the Soviet authorities might have deported them to Ethiopia.

A.E.S. strongly condemns the actions of the Soviet Government and reiterates its belief that the Soviet authorities are responsible and accountable for any harm that may befall our comrades at the hands of the fascist enemy.

The Soviet authorities had adopted this action at a time when the unbridled, indiscriminate fascist repression of the colonial Ethiopian regime against the Eritrean people is clear to all and sundry and at a time when many countries, are granting them refugee status.

A.E.S. requests all progressive and democratic organizations to protest and pressurize the Soviet government to disclose their whereabouts. A.E.S. is further concerned and, once again, requests all progressive and democratic organizations to protest/agitate against any possible similar action by the Soviet government on the many Eritrean Students in the Soviet Union.

FROM THE PAGES OF VANGUARD

(the following articles are reprinted from the August/September and October issues respectively, of Vanguard - official organ of the EPLF).



Fesehaie Tekle

Atzbeha Andebrhan



REVOLUTIONARY POEMS FROM DEATH ROW

At the end of June 1978, the fascist Dergue executed eight Eritrean patriots in the Sembel Prison in Asmara. Their sole crime — resolute support for the Eritrean national liberation struggle.

This is one of the latest in a long series of atrocities perpetrated by the Mengistu regime on the Eritrean people. In its efforts to crush the broadly based and extremely active EPLF led Patriotic mass organizations in Asmara, in particular, the Dergue has committed innumerable outrages — mass imprisonment, torture, rape and execution.

In the period January 1977-April 1978, 27 members of the EPLF led Association of Eritrean students were killed, 70 arrested and 1443 were forced to leave Asmara for the field when it became clear that they were being hunted by the Dergue. In addition, hundreds of other youth have been killed by the Dergue, many without trial and without the slightest evidence of any "crime". Many patriots have simply disappeared, their whereabouts unknown.

The Dergue's white terror has not shaken the fighting spirit of our masses in Asmara. (For on account of their struggle see the June and July issues of *Vanguard*). This is clearly manifested in two poems written by two of the eight patriots who were executed by the Dergue in June. Written while the comrades were awaiting execution, the poems vibrate with fiery spirit of confidence in the people's victory.

It is almost impossible to capture the exact meaning and spirit of the poems in translation, from the original Tigrigna. Nevertheless we have reproduced some of the verses to give our readers a picture of the indomitable fighting spirit of our people.

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EDUCATION IN THE LIBERATED AREAS

After a two and half month vacation, the new school year for all the schools in the EPLF liberated areas of Eritrea opened on September 25, 1978. During their vacation the students put the theoretical and practical education they had received during the previous school year in the service of their community and revolution. Integrating education with production, almost all students were engaged in building roads, planting trees, cleaning their city or village, making pots from food cans, weaving baskets, etc.

The new school year clearly reflects the correct revolutionary line of the EPLF in the educational field. The number of students - youth and adults has increased significantly. Books prepared by the EPLF's Department of Education on the basis of the curriculum that has been followed by the "Revolution School" since 1976 were revised, printed by the thousands in the liberated areas and distributed to the students.

Before we proceed to analyze the profound transformation that is taking place in the field of education in the EPLF liberated areas, it is essential to analyse the role and objectives of the various colonial and feudal educational institutions that have held sway in Eritrea for nearly a century.

Any society or people that has not been subjected to foreign domination will certainly follow its own course of historical and social development. The normal historical development of the Eritrean people was arrested by successive colonial powers who had come to occupy their land and exploit their wealth. To facilitate their exploitation, the colonialists strove to keep the people ignorant. As a result, today close to 90% of our people are illiterate and dominated by a backward and feudal outlook.

In any class society education has a definite objective and reflects the outlook of the class in power. In feudal society it is dominated by feudal outlook, in capitalist society by bourgeois outlook and in socialist society by socialist outlook.

The traditional schools which existed in Eritrea prior to the advent of European colonialism were religious schools whose main objective was the training of a few, "selected" sheiks and priests whose main task was to serve the different religious institutions and the feudal lords. It can be said that almost the entire population was kept ignorant and even those who had little "education" were idealist and metaphysical in their outlook. With the coming of Italian colonialism in 1889 this state of affairs started to change. Along with the feudal schools, colonial schools appeared. The main objective of the Italian colonizers in opening schools was to train a few people to help in the effective exploitation of the wealth and labour power of the Eritrean masses. Hence, with the exception of a "selected" few — the sons of the local chiefs — most of the Eritrean people were still kept ignorant. Even those who were given the chance to attend schools were prohibited by law to be educated beyond the fourth grade.

The Italian colonialists were replaced by the British in 1941. The moment the British set foot in Eritrea they found the schools created by the Italians and the number and quality of the "educated" Eritreans insufficient for the master plan they had brought with them i.e. systematic exploitation of the wealth and labour power of the Eritrean people within the shortest possible time. In order to solve the problem of the shortage of bureaucrats and skilled labourers the British abolished the Italian law that restricted Eritreans to fourth grade education. However, because these schools too had a definite purpose, the Eritrean masses — with the exception of the sons and daughters of the rich — were still neglected and kept illiterate.

The misery of the Eritrean people did not end with the departure of the British in 1952. As soon as the British left

Eritrea, the feudo-bourgeois government of Ethiopia led by Haile Selassie subjugated Eritrea under the guise of an imperialist concocted "Federation". Haile Selassie's regime introduced the most brutal kind of colonialism against the Eritrean people. Ethiopia did not only continue the centuries old colonial exploitation and degradation of the Eritrean masses but also worked methodically to destroy Eritrean culture. It burnt books written in Eritrean languages and dissolved the Eritrean Ministry of Education. Tigrigna and Arabic which were then considered "official" languages of Eritrea and used in all the schools were banned and replaced by Amharic (an Ethiopian language).

Proving once again the maxim that "so long as there is oppression there is struggle", the Eritrean people rose up as one to uproot the legacy of ignorance that was perpetrated on them by the successive colonizers. In countries like Eritrea where the colonial and feudal system is dominant, the struggle to eradicate illiteracy and expand education cannot be viewed separately from the struggle to gain national independence and liberation. But to bring about basic transformation in the field of education, it is imperative to have a correct political line and leadership. Therefore, even though the Eritrean people waged a heroic struggle to come out of the shell of ignorance and foreign domination for so many years, it was not until the creation of the EPLF in 1970 that the ignorance and backwardness of our people began to be solved in a fundamental way.

After concretely analyzing the reality in Eritrea, the EPLF set out to solve the age old degradation, exploitation and oppression of the Eritrean people. As a revolutionary front that is guided by a correct political line, the EPLF took full responsibility of changing the reactionary and backward educational system which for decades turned out a limited number of graduates who were selfishly motivated, loyal to the colonizers. The EPLF emphatically declared that education does not mean only class room education, but also the knowledge that is acquired by the masses in the process of securing their livelihood. It attacked the backward and reactionary notion that education is only for "know alls" "intelligent individuals"... etc. and replaced it by the noble idea that education is the inalienable right of all citizens irrespective of religion, age, sex, or social status.

In its early days, the EPLF could not set up stationary schools because of the fratricidal war launched by the internal reactionaries and its limited capability. Nevertheless it conducted literacy classes under the shades of trees.

If a revolutionary movement has a mass support and a solid foundation it is inevitable that the quantitative change it brings about will be transformed into a qualitative one. After 6 years of arduous struggle the EPLF finally succeeded in opening the first revolutionary boarding school in the liberated areas. That event marks the beginning of Eritrea's new educational system. Most of the first 265 students in the "Revolution School" — as the first boarding school is called — were the sons and daughters of martyrs, nomads, refugees, poor peasants and fighters.

Beginning in early 1976, the military situation in Eritrea changed tremendously. Advancing swiftly, the heroic EPLA liberated most of the countryside and many cities. The opening of revolutionary schools in the liberated cities and villages of Eritrea became a pressing issue. Anticipating this development with characteristic farsightedness, the EPLF had prepared a new curriculum based on the experience of the "Revolution School" and other national liberation movements.

This new curriculum prepared by the Department of Education of the EPLF aims at producing a new generation that loves work and is dedicated to serve the country and the

masses. It rejects the old system of education that perpetuates individualism and separates theory from practice. It encourages cooperation among the students. The old master-servant relationship between teachers and students gives way to a new comradely relationship. All kinds of misunderstanding are solved through criticism and self criticism and problems are tackled collectively. In short, collective struggle and production combined with class room education are gradually weakening the old and backward outlook and developing a new and progressive spirit among students.

On the basis of the new curriculum, education in the liberated areas is divided into three stages: five years of primary school, two years of middle school and three years of secondary education.

The subjects taught in the primary and middle schools are politics (including history), natural science, mathematics, geography, languages (Tigrigna, Tigre, Arabic and English), fine arts (including painting), agriculture, culture (songs and music of the different Eritrean nationalities). In the secondary schools, intensive specialized courses that take into consideration the interests of the student and the country's needs are given to all who want to pursue further education.

Great strides are being made in the sphere of education. The new curriculum is being followed by more than 150 schools, which have a total of 20.000 students. The "Revolution School" that started with 265 youth is today accomodating more than 2000 students. The literacy campaign program has been expanded with tens of thousands of adults attending evening literacy classes. One of the great achievements the EPLF has registered this year in the field of

education is the training of more than eighty women and men fighters to become art instructors. Indeed a firm foundation is being layed for the creation of a new and progressive Eritrea.

Inspite of this great achievements, there are still great difficulties to solve. First it is clear that as a result of the aggressive war that the Ethiopian ruling classes have waged for more than 17 years, most of our people — their property destroyed, their houses burned, etc. — are living under extremely difficult conditions. Secondly, the EPLF led Eritrean struggle is not limited to changing the old educational system, but all facets of the old society. This requires great effort and resources. In the field of education, the EPLF has many new projects including, the training of teachers, opening of a boarding school specially designed for the children of nomads, increasing the number of students, waging an intensive campaign against illiteracy and opening secondary schools. The implementation of the new projects is bound to exacerbate the outstanding problem which is hindering the progress of education in Eritrea, that is the shortage of essential educational materials such as chalks, blackboards, writing paper, pencils, desks, laboratory equipment and clothes, nutritious food and medicine... etc. for the children in the boarding school.

No matter how much energy and resource consuming this noble project is, the EPLF, loyal to its objective of uprooting all forms of oppression, is determined to persist in the struggle to eradicate ignorance and illiteracy from among our heroic people. The EPLF, while primarily relying on itself and its people, calls on all progress-loving governments, organizations and individuals to contribute their share to this noble cause.

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weapons, the rabid expansionists failed to crush the just revolutionary struggle of the Eritrean people, the Soviet Union — sent its troops and Generals against the Eritrean people.

The Soviet Union has stayed, prior to its all-out aggression at this stage, on the fringes — sometimes indicating that it "favoured" a non-military solution of the Eritrean question. But this was essentially, connived in order to delude progressive public opinion. For it has long launched an ideological war against the Eritrean revolution and the EPLF slandering it as... "secessionist"... "objectively serving the interests of imperialism..." etc. with a view of isolating it from international progressive forces and also to establish and justify a pretext for its aggression. By contrast, it has consecrated and eulogised the murderous and fascist Ethiopian regime, the very regime which has perpetrated untold repression on the Ethiopian toiling masses and waged a predatory war on the Eritrean people as... "socialist" Ethiopia.

The blatant Soviet aggression negates the fundamental leninist revolutionary principles on the sovereignty of a people — the rights of nations and peoples, however weak, however small, — to freely determine their own affairs. It is an affront to all peace-loving peoples, but more particularly to world revolutionary forces since this crime is being committed on a just and genuine revolution in the name of "... defence against imperialism..." ..."proletarian internationalism" and other "revolutionary ideals". The blatant distortion of correct revolutionary ideals to employ them in acts of counter-revolution, acts of aggression, is bound to have far-reaching long-term negative repercussions on the international revolutionary movement. The A.E.S. calls on all the revolutionary forces, all the peace-loving peoples and countries to condemn Soviet aggression.

Soviet aggression will be defeated!

THE FRESH ETHIO-SOVIET AGGRESSION IS BOUND TO FAIL

Eversince 1975, the Ethiopian fascist junta had been following a double-faced policy to isolate and crush the Eritrean revolution: 1) internationally, it followed a diplomatic policy of calling for « peaceful solution » in order to a) isolate the Eritrean revolution from international support, and b) gain time to consolidate itself militarily; 2) internally, it continued to organize one offensive after another to gain a decisive military victory.

In 1975, officially recognizing the existence of the « Eritrean problem » for the first time, the regime carried out an extensive diplomatic campaign abroad declaring its preparedness for dialogue with the Eritrean revolution. At the same time, it organized a major offensive in February 1975 to « deal a death blow to the reactionary, secessionist Arab-agents once and for all ». This offensive was, however, totally crushed by the resolute Eritrean people. In March 1976, fabricating unfounded historical distortions* to justify its claim over Eritrea, the Ethiopian regime came out with its so-called « 9 point policy » for the solution of the Eritrean issue (which amounted to granting Eritrea internal autonomy within Ethiopian hegemony) presenting this unscientific and undemocratic solution as the correct practice of the right of the Eritrean people to self-determination. And it campaigned extensively to sell this so-called « proposal for peace ». At the same time, it organized yet another all out offensive, the so-called « Peasant Red March », which was again smashed by the Eritrean revolution. Needing time to re-organize its forces and afraid of its increasingly worsening military situation in the Ogaden, it again continued a frantic international diplomatic offensive calling on a number of countries and organizations to intervene and mediate between it and the Eritrean

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THE FRESH ETHIO-SOVIET AGGRESSION IS BOUND TO FAIL

Eversince 1975, the Ethiopian fascist junta had been following a double-faced policy to isolate and crush the Eritrean revolution: 1) internationally, it followed a diplomatic policy of calling for « peaceful solution » in order to a) isolate the Eritrean revolution from international support, and b) gain time to consolidate itself militarily; 2) internally, it continued to organize one offensive after another to gain a decisive military victory.

In 1975, officially recognizing the existence of the « Eritrean problem » for the first time, the regime carried out an extensive diplomatic campaign abroad declaring its preparedness for dialogue with the Eritrean revolution. At the same time, it organized a major offensive in February 1975 to « deal a death blow to the reactionary, secessionist Arab-agents once and for all ». This offensive was, however, totally crushed by the resolute Eritrean people. In March 1976, fabricating unfounded historical distortions* to justify its claim over Eritrea, the Ethiopian regime came out with its so-called « 9 point policy » for the solution of the Eritrean issue (which amounted to granting Eritrea internal autonomy within Ethiopian hegemony) presenting this unscientific and undemocratic solution as the correct practice of the right of the Eritrean people to self-determination. And it campaigned extensively to sell this so-called « proposal for peace ». At the same time, it organized yet another all out offensive, the so-called « Peasant Red March », which was again smashed by the Eritrean revolution. Needing time to re-organize its forces and afraid of its increasingly worsening military situation in the Ogaden, it again continued a frantic international diplomatic offensive calling on a number of countries and organizations to intervene and mediate between it and the Eritrean

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EPLF C.C....

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Congress and decided that it will be convened within six months after the two year term (of the first Congress) expires. It also set up a seven - man preparatory committee from the members of the C.C.

b) **On the Question of National Unity:** The C.C. reaffirmed its conviction of the necessity of waging a united struggle with the ELF and passed a number of practical resolutions after summing up the experience of the past six months and the obstacles that faced the implementation of the correct (October 20 and the March Document) unity agreement.

c) **On Peaceful Solution:** It reaffirmed that its stand on negotiations is the one that was expressed in the joint statement (of June 21, 1978) put out by the Joint Supreme Political Leadership of the EPLF and ELF.

d) **On the Intervention of the Soviet Union and Cuba:** The C.C. noted that the Soviet Union and Cuba are persisting in their erroneous stand, slandering and painting the Eritrean revolution as... an instrument of imperialism and reaction... and, moreover, escalating their support to the colonial regime and directly participating in the current offensive unleashed by the enemy. The fourth C.C. meeting strongly reminded them, once again, to correct their erroneous stand, stop their military participation and take a stand on the side of the just cause of the Eritrean people.

e) **On International Solidarity:** The C.C. meeting passed practical resolutions and recommendations to consolidate the EPLF's solidarity and develop its co-operation with the democratic movements in Ethiopia and the liberation movements and democratic forces in the region and throughout the World.

The fourth regular meeting of the Central Committee of the EPLF undoubtedly had a great importance and heavy

responsibility, because it was held at a time when fascist Ethiopian Colonialism, fielding en masse its duped, forcibly recruited and mercenary soldiers armed with the most sophisticated weapons has intensified its military aggression and committed unparalleled barbaric atrocities on our civilian population in its attempt to liquidate the Eritrean revolution and perpetuate its exploitative and oppressive interests; at a time when imperialism and internal reaction are concocting various schemes to weaken our struggle, when our heroic people and their shield, the EPLA, are persisting in their struggle against the large scale war of aggression with resolute determination and phenomenal heroism, and when the friends of the Eritrean revolution and the peoples of the World, having condemned the enemy's predatory war and taken a stand on the side of the Eritrean people and their just struggle, are rendering moral, political, and material support.

A.E.S. hails the fourth regular meeting of the C.C. of the EPLF vanguard and pledges that it will redouble its efforts and struggle with all its might towards the implementation of the C.C. resolutions and guidelines. A.E.S. commends the unflinching determination and phenomenal heroism of the EPLA, the people's militia and the Eritrean toiling masses and hails the brilliant victories they are scoring by persisting, led by the vanguard, in armed struggle under strenuous circumstances - in the face of an all-out offensive by a fascist enemy armed to the teeth with sophisticated weapons, employing tens of thousands of mercenary troops and resorting to the most irresponsible and fascist methods of repression. A.E.S. emphatically states its conviction that the important resolutions and guidelines of the C.C. would further boost and deepen the revolutionary fervor, determination and heroic resistance of the EPLA, the people's militia and our fighting masses and contribute to the momentum of our advancing revolution.

Down with the Dergue's fascist and - colonial aggression!!

(A.E.S.M.E.) SECOND CONGRESS...

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Congress noted the machinations of imperialism and reaction in the region and it condemned, in the strongest terms, the Ethiopian fascist junta for its genocidal war of aggression in Eritrea and its terrorist suppression of the Ethiopian masses. The Congress stressed its vehement opposition to the Soviet Union and Cuba for siding with the enemy in its effort to extinguish the flames of the Eritrean revolution and called upon them to correct their stand and array their forces on the side of the just Eritrean armed struggle.

On the question of national unity, the Congress called upon the ELF to implement the (20 October and the March Document) unity agreement. It condemned the opportunist, counter-revolutionary Osman Sabbe and his clique and their activities to impede national Unity. The Congress condemned the divisive machinations of opportunists in general who posed a threat to the revolutionary advance and unity of the democratic student Movement (A.E.S.) and the opportunism and betrayal of the AESNA — Association of Eritrean Students in North America « leadership » in particular. AESME emphatically pledged its determination to combat divisive and opportunist tendencies within the Student Movement. On organizational question, the AESME Congress passed important recommendations that would facilitate its work and enable it to step up its contribution in the ongoing revolution. AESME Congress expressed the principled solidarity of the Eritrean revolution with the democratic and progressive forces in the world in general and the liberation movements in Southern Africa, Spanish Sahara, Palestine and Oman in particular.

A.E.S.M.E.'s formation last year and the advanced stage it has now reached is the fruit of many years of struggle waged by democratic students in the Middle East. AESME was formed through years of protracted struggle within the Eritrean Student Movement in the Middle East between the democratic and reactionary elements. The so-called General Union of Eritrean Students (GUES), which was formed in 1968, was a mere tool of the reactionary ELF leaders. In 1970, when the EPLF was formed, GUES split into two groups — GUES (Cairo) which supported the EPLF and GUES (Baghdad) which continued supporting the ELF. GUES (Cairo) itself was dominated by a reactionary pro-Sabbe clique, although it condemned the ELF and the civil war it unleashed. In January, 1976, following the infamous « Khartoum agreement » between the ELF leaders and the Sabbe clique, the two GUES Groups merged and declared their support for the reactionary Khartoum Agreement. The democratic Students within GUES (Cairo) who had been opposing the Sabbe clique and its representatives in the organization condemned the January '76 merger of the GUES groups. They sided with the EPLF and began to set study groups in Kuwait, Iraq, Libya and Cairo mobilizing the student masses behind the EPLF.

AESME was subsequently formed last year along revolutionary democratic lines and as mass organization of the EPLF. AESME is to day deepening and extending its revolutionary work by mobilizing Eritrean students in the Middle East on the side of the toiling Eritrean masses; and their Vanguard the EPLF.

AES hails the Second Congress of AESME and is confident that AESME members will effectively implement the important resolutions and recommendations adopted.

IRAN



The shah's regime is tottering under the unfaltering pressure of the masses

Iran is a stereotype and manifests, in a concentrated form, all the evil traits of under development and backwardness. The huge oil revenues notwithstanding, the super-exploited Iranian toiling masses are relegated to acute backwardness and abject poverty. The monthly salary of an average worker is around 80 U.S. Dollars while inflation is rampant (around 40%) and the standard of living in Tehran is as high as in some West European countries. Daily working hours in many factories exceeds 10 hours and there is minimum possible guarantee of safety and security — 72% of the overall population above 7 years and 92% of women in the rural areas are illiterate. Infant mortality is as high as 50% and average life expectancy is as low as 38. There are around 6000 medical doctors in Tehran catering for the handful monopolists and comprador bourgeoisie while there are only 4200 doctors in the rest of the country. Moreover, in some remote areas, there is one doctor to every 50,000 persons. The gap between the rich and the poor is widening.

This actual state of backwardness and underdevelopment has been exacerbated as a result of 25 years of neo-colonialism. In 1953, the fascist Shah came to power in a bloody coup financed and engineered by the CIA — the CIA spent 20 million U.S. dollars in financing the coup. Ever since, the Shah, faithful to his masters, has left the door wide open to imperialist plunder and doomed the country to a state of perpetual dependency and backwardness. While the Iranian masses live in poverty, the Shah, is squandering the national wealth in purchasing sophisticated armaments — in paying lucrative salaries to U.S. military advisors and experts. Military expenditure in 1977 amounted to 9.4 billion U.S. dollars. i.e. 300 U.S. Dollars per head. Annual expenditure on health for the same year was only 3 u.s. dollars per head. The number of U.S. military advisors and experts is currently around 30,000 and the number, barring drastic chan-

ges, is likely to grow. Indeed to quote Pentagon sources, "The Shah has always been loyal... the Iranians are not in a position to use the sophisticated armaments purchased and notwithstanding the training programmes, the ultimate use and operational duties/responsibilities will for a long time remain in the hands of the Americans (U.S.)".

The fascist Shah is bolstering his army and purchasing all these sophisticated weapons at the expense of the Iranian masses in order to better and effectively perform the counter-revolutionary role assigned to him by imperialism. In 1973, the Shah's army along with British mercenary troops, intervened on the side of Sultan Quabus in the imperialist counter-revolutionary offensive against the OMAN PEOPLE'S Liberation Front. The Shah's regime is to-day engaged in various subversive activities in the region through the extension of financial and other support to reactionary groups. He has also collaborated with and abetted the racist and illegal regimes in Southern Africa, supplying them oil... Etc.

The Shah has maintained his highly exploitative neo-colonial regime at home through sheer unbridled force. He has, throughout the years, established and unleashed a highly repressive and coercive apparatus and ruthlessly silenced all dissidents. The notorious SAVAK (secret police) has liquidated thousands of democrats and revolutionaries. Tens of thousands more are languishing in prison cells under the most inhuman conditions. Despite unbridled fascist repressions, the Iranian masses have, however, risen and demonstrated their hatred and rejection of the neo-colonial regime and Iran is to-day in a profound politico-economic crisis. The Shah has recently declared Martial law. No force, however, can stem the irreversible advance of the masses and the days of the regime are counted.

The Iranian Masses Will Win!!!

REVOLUTIONARY POEMS...

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"TO MY COMRADE IN STRUGGLE"

With pride,
I face the executioner's bullet
Adieu, my comrade in struggle
Weep not for I die in battle
But take my martyrdom as an example.

Comrade in struggle,
Indefatigable fighter
I pass away leaving my responsibility to you
I have fulfilled my obligation
Continue the struggle, comrade
To destory colonialism and end exploitation

Sister in hardship,
Sister in struggle
March in step

Advance with your brothers

So Eritrean women for long oppressed
Can gain their rights, be emancipated
And a new Eritrea be constructed.

"MARTYRDOM ACCELERATES OUR PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE"

Protracted is our struggle
Certain, our victory
We are not afraid of imprisonment or execution
What we cannot stand is fascist oppression
A revolutionary dies but not the revolution
There is no construction without destruction.

Fertilized by the bodies of our martyrs,
Watered by the blood of heroes,
The new Eritrea
Appears on the horizon
Ululate mothers!
Sing your beautiful songs
Raise our revolutionary Flag
Welcome, Welcome, People's Eritrea!

FRESH ETHIO-SOVIET AGGRESSION...

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revolution for a negotiated peaceful solution, concocting yet a new tactic claiming that there was a « democratic wing » within the military regime which would recognize Eritrean self-determination given time to consolidate itself inside Ethiopia.

In June 1978, drunk by the favourable turn of events in the Ogaden and confident of Soviet collaboration, the Ethiopian regime officially renounced what had hitherto been a tactical call for peaceful solution, and openly declared military liquidation as the only solution of the Eritrean issue. Thus started the June 1978 all-out offensive with a huge array of sophisticated modern weapons and more than 80,000 new troops. However, although the enemy made some advance on ELF held positions which led to some tactical withdrawals by the EPLF in the Southern Front, the offensive failed in tis basic objective of taking the strategic positions held by the EPLF and gain a superior military balance in Eritrea. More than 2/3 of the additional forces and military hardware that were brought for this offensive were totally destroyed.

It is at this point — when the fascist junta had failed to reserve the military situation — that the Soviet Union shifted its erstwhile indirect support to direct massive intervention, assumig a frontal role in the second phase of the offensive launched on November 18, 1978.

The present all-out predatory offensive is planned and executed by Soviet war experts and Generals. Soviet Generals and other high rankng officers are leading this deplorable offensive. Hundreds of Soviet troops, pilots and marine are involved. The heavy guns and artilleries shelling our positions are fired and manned by Soviet troops. The Migs which are starfing our liberated areas and civilian centers are flown by Soviet pilots. Soviet warships are shelling our liberated areas on the Eastern Coast as well as supplying reinforcements to the enemy (tanks, troops... etc.) using landing crafts. Soviet manned Mig 21 and Mig 23 jets are indiscriminately bombing and destroying entire villages, killing thousands of civilians and dispersing thousands more and burning crops. Soviet reconaissance. Planes are spying behind our defence lines using sophisticated equipment. In brief, Soviet collaboration in the on-going predatory war is massive, largescale.

The barbaric offensive launched by the Soviet Union and the fascist junta has resulted in the death and destitution of thousand of innocent Eritreans.

— 154 villages have been patrially or totally damaged.

- 100,000 people made homeless,
- 4,700 dead or seriously injured,
- 8,000 people are undergoing medical treatment from wounds incurred in these fascistic raids.

In view of the obtaining aggression perpetrated by the Soviet Union and the Ethiopian fascist junta, the EPLF has made strategic retreats from the towns in the Asmara-Mas-sawa road as well as Keren — shifting its tactics from positional warfare to mobile active defence. However, fighting is still raging fiercely on all three fronts and the EPLA and the Eritrean masses are scoring brilliant victories — under overwhelming odds — over the aggressor troops.

Following is a summary of the military vortories achieved in the numerous encounters from November 18 (the start of the offensive) to December 4, 1978:

EASTERN FRONT:

- Thousand of enemy troops killed
- 37 tanks destroyed,
- 10 tanks captured
- 102 military trucks with their full loads turned into ashes,
- 11 military trucks with their full loads captured,
- 200 enemy troops taken prisoners,
- Huge quantities of light and heavy weapons captured.

WESTERN FRONT:

- Over 4000 enemy troops killed,
- 26 tanks destroyed,
- 5 tanks captured,
- 30 armoured cars destroyed,
- 60 military trucks with their full loads destroyed,
- 7 trucks with their full loads captured,
- 120 enemy troops taken prisoners.

NORTHERN FRONT:

- 30 tanks destroyed,
- 30 tanks captured, however, as twenty of them had various technical defects unamendable in the prevailing situation, the EPLA had to destroy them,
- Huge quantities of weapons of various kinds captured.

ERRATA:

We apologize for some typing errors which appeared in the previous issue of Resistance (Vol. 1 - N. 1). In particular, resolution 4 (b), (page 8) should read:

4.b) condemns all those opportunist and reactionary elements who in the name of the Eritrean students are working for their own selfish interests; struggles for the unity of democratic Eritrean student movement.