

**PMAC CHAIRMAN COMRADE LT. COL. MENGISTU
HAILE-MARIAM'S RADIO AND TELEVISION
ADDRESS TO THE NATION AND TO PROGRESSIVE
FORCES AND OPPRESSED MASSES OF THE
WORLD ON THE SITUATION ON THE HORN OF
AFRICA**

Imperialist Aggression From Vietnam to Ethiopia

What Does the World Learn From Such Aggressions ?

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Nationwide Radio and Television Address by Comrade Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile-Mariam, Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council, on January 30, 1978.

The broad masses of Ethiopia had waged throughout their history protracted and bitter struggles to defend themselves against the anti-people and anti-peace forces of colonialism, arrogant invaders and racist powers. Anyone who is familiar with the history of the long struggle of the Ethiopian people cannot fail to notice the glorious victories scored by them and to discern that struggle and victory are characteristic of the Ethiopian people. This history of long struggle of the Ethiopian masses provides a firm and reliable foundation for the success of the on-going democratic revolution.

Even though the masses of Ethiopia have had a long history of bitter class struggle and victory, they have also passed through centuries of exploitation, oppression, grinding poverty and untold suffering.

During the defunct oppressive feudo-fascist system whose demise has been brought about by the masses, the overwhelming majority of the Ethiopian people was subjected to a life of slavery and tenancy, its labour exploited, stripped of human dignity and exposed to intense humiliation. It should be recalled that 90 percent of the Ethiopian people depended on farming and of this 70 percent were tenants leading a squalid livelihood. These tenants were compelled to pay up to 75 percent of whatever they produced to the nobility and absentee landlords who were enjoying luxury in the various urban centres.

The Discredited Past

In addition to giving most of their produce to the landlords, the tenants had the obligation to transport, deliver fully and store properly the landlords' share. The broad masses who were always making sacrifices at the forefront in defence of the territorial integrity, freedom and honour of their country, thus led a life of deprivation and were treated as strangers in their own land. The economic exploitation of

the broad masses of Ethiopia was only matched by the denial of any form of political rights to them.

Members of the ruling class of the feudo-fascist system resorted to the myth of divine rights which they tried to inculcate and enforce on the masses by claiming that this seemingly mysterious power could not be wielded by anyone other than themselves. By so doing, they clung to depotism and deluded themselves into believing that they were unique species of homo-sapiens. In order to prevent the masses from asserting their rights and from sharing political power, the ruling class not only deprived them of the freedom of speech, expression, of assembly and the right to organise themselves, but also forced the masses to worship and idolize a small minority.

Ethiopia, like other countries, is inhabited by numerous nationalities professing different religions. The "divide-and-rule" system of the discredited former regime has been abolished and replaced with a system that ensures religious freedom and equality of all nationalities. We are resolved to protect fully these rights and ensure their implementation. The Programme of the Ethiopian National Democratic Revolution, which is our guideline, clearly explains that by abolishing exploitation, oppression, nepotism, bribery and discrimination on grounds of tribe, religion and sex, we seek to establish a society where justice, equality and peace prevail. These are the pre-requisites for transition towards collective progress and at the same time reflect the hopes and aspirations of the oppressed masses of Ethiopia.

Waves of Invasion

I have tried to explain briefly that our country, Ethiopia, has been subjected to repeated challenge by invading foreign forces over the centuries. Internally, the masses had been subjected to untold inhuman treatment by the feudal ruling clique. The broad masses of Ethiopia, however, had never succumbed to either foreign aggression or to the attempted imposition of slavery on them internally, but had waged bitter and protracted struggles and continue to do so.

When we recall the long and bitter struggle of the broad masses, we would like to mention the sacrifices of the Ethiopian patriots, peasants, workers, men-in-uniform, intellectuals and students who have laid down their lives for the rights and freedom of the Ethiopian people. We remember with pride and admiration the just and successful struggle which progressive and patriotic sons and daughters of the country have carried out at different times and places. Through their decisive struggle for the economic, political and cultural rights of the masses, these revolutionaries have made significant contributions towards the eruption of the on-going revolution and continue to contribute as well to its progressive success.

The Ethiopian Revolution having erupted spontaneously has reached its present stage. The popular victories achieved in the short span of time since the beginning of the revolution have been made public in detail from time to time. It has been clearly demonstrated during the past three years that the victories scored by our popular revolution were greeted with joy and constant support by Africans and by all the progressive peoples of the world. This in itself attests to the fact that our struggle which is opposed to the exploitation, oppression and aggression perpetrated against the broad masses of the world and which is against discrimination on the basis of religion and sex, is part and parcel of the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples of the world.

We would like to take this opportunity to express our revolutionary gratitude to the peace-loving socialist countries and other progressive forces which have given us genuine and unreserved support to complement our efforts to achieve the objectives of our Programme of the National Democratic Revolution — to maintain the unity and territorial integrity of Ethiopia, to advance our revolution and to enable the Ethiopian people to reach a higher stage of development. The broad masses of Ethiopia will always remember this support as a debt of gratitude which will be forever enshrined in the annals of our revolutionary history.

The Enemy Camp

On the other hand, there are reactionary forces which, ever since the beginning of our revolution, have been conspiring to undermine our independence, to dismember our country and to subvert our revolution. As our revolution gained clarity and depth, these reactionary forces are now planning to expand the scope of the unlawful wars they had unleashed against us on various fronts and which are being coordinated by international imperialism. They are now in the process of preparing a concerted attack against us.

It has now been several years since the reactionary Arab regimes in the region, bent on realising their long-cherished dream of expansionism and to put the Red Sea under their exclusive control and use, have been coordinating, organizing and arming internal reactionaries who have been frightened by the Ethiopian Revolution and fled as well as others afflicted by narrow nationalism.

These reactionary forces with expansionist designs believe, in particular, that the separatist banditry which started in the Eritrea region of northern Ethiopia 16 years ago would provide a unique opportunity for retarding the Ethiopian Revolution. Consequently, they have not only stepped up their supply of arms and money but have also provided the bandits, from time to time, with personnel having specific skills. Furthermore, they have spared no efforts to undermine and abort all the endeavours which we have been making to resolve the problem in the region peacefully. They still continue to do so.

In addition to their continued conspiracy regarding northern Ethiopia, imperialism and reactionary forces in the region, in collusion with the reactionary ruling clique of Mogadisho, have created a serious and grave situation in eastern Ethiopia.

What is the cause of this brazen and, as the whole world knows, unlawful war of aggression which Somalia is currently waging in eastern and southern Ethiopia?

Who conceived the arrogant policy of "greater Somalia" in the first instance?

Pseudo-Socialism

It is well known that the European colonialists, which had carved out the whole of Africa among themselves were faced at the end of World War II with the emergence of a new historic movement. When this inexorable wheel of history compelled the ouster of colonialism from Africa, imperialism which was determined to prolong its life, promptly devised a new strategy — neo-colonialism. The arrogant and expansionist conception of “greater Somalia” is one such neo-colonialist stratagem contrived by imperialism. Colonialism had bequeathed not only to Somalia but also to several other developing countries similar poisonous legacies.

Faithful to her expansionist dream inherited from the colonialists, Somalia, upon its accession to independence, became obsessed with the annexation of sizeable portions of Ethiopia and Kenya, as well as the whole of Djibouti. Not only is this ambition written into the constitution of Somalia and encrusted on her national emblem, but it has also been repeatedly and publicly asserted by her leaders on different occasions. To translate this dream into reality, for 17 years now, the leaders of Somalia have been making elaborate preparations.

To win additional support for the realization of their ambition, the leaders of Somalia labelled the people of Somalia as being Arab. Furthermore, without having the least conviction in socialist ideology, the leaders of Somalia have been trading in the name of Socialism to amass armaments. They were praising the Soviet Union as their great friend while strongly castigating Western countries in public.

But today, the Soviet Union and other genuine socialist countries not only refuse to be instruments for the expansionist ambitions of the megalomaniac leaders of Somalia, but are also opposed to such anti-people and anti-peace adventurism, as a matter of principle. Because of this, the leaders of Somalia, with their characteristic guile and unabashed opportunism have now turned full circle and are lavishing praises on those countries they once denounced vulgarly and are slandering those whom they were admiring only too recently.

Confederation Proposed

Right after we declared Socialism as our guiding principle, we sought to promote ways and means whereby the oppressed peoples of Somalia and Ethiopia could best cooperate in the interest of peace, progress and good neighbourliness in our area instead of further widening the imperialist-instigated unscientific contradictions in the Horn of Africa. To this end, we even went to the extent of proposing to the rulers of Somalia who have been intoxicated with the dream of expansionism a confederation which would initially embrace our two countries.

The genuine good-will demonstrated by Ethiopia in putting forward such positive and popular proposals were fully appreciated and supported by the Soviet Union, other Socialist countries and all peace-loving peoples. The response of the rulers of Somalia to all these initiatives for good-neighbourliness and peace was, however, to make feverish preparations, in alliance with imperialism, to launch a war of aggression against Ethiopia. As a result, within a short span of time, the Ethiopian Revolution thus unmasked Somalia's empty pretence to be progressive.

Following the eruption of our Revolution and subsequent to the historic land nationalization proclamation, Ethiopia's regular forces had to face manifold duties, simultaneously having to resist the traitorous bandits in Eritrea and protecting the oppressed peasants — unarmed at the time — against reactionary former landlords in the 14 administrative regions of the country. Obsessed by an expansionist malady, Somalia's reactionary ruling class at that very moment attempted to seize eastern and southern Ethiopia by deploying an infantry force of well over 40,000 regular troops who carried out extensive acts of sabotage and wanton destruction. Thanks to the courageous and determined stand of our heroic forces on the eastern and southern fronts, part of the infiltrators were annihilated while the rest fled in total disarray.

Full-Scale War

Having for the second time provided their forces with better military training and arms such as light artillery and mortars, they opened the war which was but a prelude to a major invasion. In the process, they carried out the demolition and destruction of rails and bridges preventing the supply of agricultural produces and other commodities of daily necessity from reaching the people of Djibouti and causing serious disruption on the Ethiopian economy affecting 60 percent of the country's foreign trade.

They also destroyed settlement projects, partly financed by international aid, which were set up for the rehabilitation of Ethiopians of the area — drought victims and nomads whose livelihood was totally dependent on the vagaries of nature. The human toll runs into thousands while damage to property has been in the range of several hundred million dollars. They cruelly massacred defenceless children, women and the aged. They pillaged and destroyed several heavily populated villages and burned down crops. They further demolished communications lines as well as agricultural and industrial enterprises.

Although the two-phased guerrilla-type invasion launched by the deranged ruling class of Somalia for the past two years has resulted in heavy loss of lives of innocent Ethiopian citizens and caused considerable damage to property and governmental institutions, they were unable to fulfill their basic objective of capturing eastern and southern Ethiopia and suffered heavy losses and demoralization. Consequently in their third attempt they mobilized their entire war machinery deploying tanks, artillery and aircraft, and launched an open war of invasion on 23 July 1977, subsequently penetrating 700 kms in the eastern and 300 kms in the southern parts of the country. Up to this date, they have been widening the scope of their invasion.

Revolutionary Ethiopia — the victim of unlawful and naked aggression — had publicly brought the matter at the time to the attention of the Organization of African Unity and the whole world. We also took international journalists to the battle-front and showed and

explained to them in whose territory and at what sites and places the fighting between the forces of the unlawful invader of Somalia and the defending Ethiopians was taking place. We displayed to the visiting journalists the varied and many modern armaments and weaponry used by Somalia against defenceless children, aged men and women. By showing to the newsmen the captured tanks, artillery, and war planes downed by our defending forces as well as captured members of the regular armed forces of Somalia, we have provided them with the evidence of the actual truth.

Contempt for OAU

During this period, the arrogant ruling cliques of Somalia, who by their very acts of invasion demonstrated the extent of their expansionist ambition, were trampling on the graveyards of gallant Ethiopians who have laid down their lives in the defence of their freedom and the frontiers of their motherland while repelling colonialists who had made repeated attempts to invade their country. Our towns of Gode, Kebridehar, Degehabour and Jijiga were exhibited to journalists by Somalia as war booty.

Having realised the fact that the invading forces of Somalia had stepped up their action, the Good Offices Committee of the Organization of African Unity met in Libreville, Gabon, in August 1977, and endeavoured to resolve the problem peacefully with the participation of representatives of the governments of Somalia and Ethiopia. True to her commitment to peace and trust in and respect for the Organization, Ethiopia fully participated in the meeting while representatives of Somalia arrogantly walked out of the conclave, thus publicly demonstrating their utter disrespect and contempt for the whole of Africa and the cause of peace.

In fact, in violation of the recommendation adopted by the Committee deploring the conflict and calling for the respect of territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of one country by another, within the framework of the basic principles of the OAU Charter, Somalia continued to expand the area of invasion.

Somalia has also violated the cardinal principles of the Charter of the United Nations which, *inter alia*, enjoin all members states to refrain, in their international relations, from threat or use of force against the political independence, the territorial integrity and sovereignty of another state. Pointing out this very fact, Ethiopia has explained in detail to the 32nd session of the U.N. General Assembly the act of unprovoked aggression which Somalia continues to conduct against Ethiopia.

Short-Sighted Leadership

When I gave a press conference to members of the international mass media here on 18 September 1977, outlining Somalia's war of invasion, I had indicated that it was only a matter of time before the unwarranted bravado and premature elation of the unbalanced and short-sighted Somalia rulers on account of the temporary success of their adventurous aggression would change to lamentation of sorrow and cries of desperation. Right now, while the broad masses of Ethiopia have risen in unison rallying behind the motto of "Revolutionary Ethiopia or Death", being fortified by the courage inherited from their forebears and further armed with revolutionary zeal and commitment to carry out a just and lawful defensive war to protect our territorial integrity and revolution, the cries of the rulers of Somalia and her accomplices have begun reverberating throughout the four corners of the earth.

The leaders of Somalia and their accomplices know full well that the Ethiopian people stand for a just cause, for justice, equality, peace and the protection of the nation's age-old unity and territorial integrity — and that we shall neither retreat nor stop short of achieving these noble and just objectives. Instead of withdrawing the troops that they have sent to Ethiopia with the hope of realizing their illegal illusory and arrogant mission of expansionism, the Somalia leaders have resorted to what they consider to be a new tactic and political strategy — a strategy of megalomania which, by misleading and confusing people of the world, prepare them for grave and worse mistakes and

horror. While attacking, they cry aloud as victims, or remonstrate that Ethiopia is allegedly going to invade them. Such an irrational policy could not but have for its designers the most dire consequences.

What is so amazing and saddening is the anti-people and anti-peace propaganda warfare being waged by certain governments bent on internationalizing the conflict in the Horn of Africa thereby causing further destruction. While realizing fully the evil mission of invasion and destruction which the leaders of Somalia have taken upon themselves, these governments deliberately hide the stark truth from the peace-loving masses whom they are supposed to represent. These quarters are echoing the false cries of Somalia's arrogant agents of destruction that "Ethiopia is going to invade Somalia."

U. S. Betrayal

What these anti-people and anti-peace forces conceive to be their secret tactic is quite clear to us. As the old Ethiopian saying goes, "He who wishes to scoop from the bin makes an approach with a fistful of grain." It is now evident that the unlawful war of invasion being carried out within Ethiopian territory will henceforth be conducted not only by Somalia but more so by other forces. These same governments will, therefore, be held responsible for the grave consequences that their actions will entail in the days ahead. Time and history will bear out all this.

What should be borne in mind here in particular is the fact that the United States of America has, for the past 25 years, been the main supplier of arms to Ethiopia.

To preserve her independence and safeguard her frontiers, Ethiopia had signed an agreement with the United States two years ago for the purchase of defensive weapons with money raised from the poor tax-payers of Ethiopia. While we were awaiting delivery of the weapons for which payments were made, the United States suspended the supply of these arms a few months before Somalia launched its war of aggression against Ethiopia. By this action, the U.S.

Government has, therefore, indirectly encouraged Somalia to commit aggression against Ethiopia. It has also failed to condemn the arrogant aggression after it was committed.

In this connection, certain instructive parallels could be easily adduced from history. The Ethiopian people will always remember the embargo on arms imposed by Western European countries and the United States when, in 1935, Fascist Italy committed a similar aggression against Ethiopia. Specifically, I wish to stress here the injustice to which Ethiopia was subjected by the United States at that time.

In August, 1935, American import-export banks declared that they would not grant credit to Ethiopia for the purchase of arms and ammunition. In October of the same year, the U. S. Government imposed an arms embargo on Ethiopia. It is clear that these measures had deprived Ethiopia of vital defence capability while they were decidedly advantageous to the invader — Fascist Italy. Within six weeks after the invading forces of Mussolini entered Addis Ababa on 5 May 1936, the U.S. lifted the embargo on the export of arms to Ethiopia.

History Re-Enacted

This U.S. Government policy of support for the arrogant and naked aggression had two effects: it rendered Ethiopia defenceless and also created a situation whereby Fascist Italy, which had already occupied Ethiopia and had no shortage of arms, could buy them from the U.S. if she required additional supply. History will not forget that, buoyed by this support, Mussolini had even gone to the extent of expressing his appreciation in an address he delivered at a Rome public square on 20 June, 1936.

The recent meeting of representatives of the governments of the United States, Britain, France, Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany designed to coordinate their support to and conspiracy with invading Somalia — an act that is inimical to peace and the basic interests of peoples — it is apparent that these same forces are trying to

re-enact again the acts of perfidy and injustice which they had perpetrated against the Ethiopian people in 1935.

Even though certain Western governments had betrayed Ethiopia by their collusion with Mussolini during Fascist Italy's invasion, the Ethiopian people will always cherish the fact that the broad masses of Western Europe and the United States had not only exposed and condemned the conspiracies of their governments but had also struggled for the independence of Ethiopia by exerting pressure on their policy-makers. No less are we confident today that the broad masses of Western Europe and the United States, dedicated as they are to the causes of peace and justice would remain indifferent to the conspiracies and manifold acts of injustice which their governments have been committing and still continue to commit against Ethiopia. We, therefore, appeal to them to awaken their conscience and raise their voices in support of a just cause and thereby foil the present conspiracies.

With obvious relish and satisfaction, Western news agencies had, only too recently, been splashing headlines to the effect that the invading forces of the reactionary Mogadisho ruling class had captured some towns of revolutionary Ethiopia such as Jijiga, Neghelle, Harar and Dire Dawa and that in the north the anti-people bandits had seized Asmara and Massawa. These same agencies, which had all along been claiming that Ethiopia was disintegrating and would soon be beyond redemption are today clamouring that Ethiopia is armed beyond her capacity and that she is either preparing to invade or will soon invade Somalia. Nevertheless, we are convinced that the people of the world will appreciate, weigh and pass an impartial judgement on the level of accuracy which could be maintained by those whose minds are plagued by falsehood, intrigue and treachery and a conscience marred by pecuniary benefits.

Old Tactics

Why do the imperialists and their lackeys, who know fully well that Somalia's protestations are false and that the victim is Revolutio-

nary Ethiopia, rally behind the rulers of Somalia and mislead the people of the world? Is it because they are concerned with the interests of the broad masses of Somalia? Or, is it because, as they profess, they have genuine concern for the cause of peace and the welfare of mankind? If that were the case, why did they not endeavour to prevent the paranoid Siad Barre from launching his criminal invasion instead of encouraging and helping him fan his adventurism, lies and arrogance?

Knowing fully well that the immediate withdrawal of the invading forces of Somalia from Ethiopian territory is at present the only solution to restore peace in the area, why did they not advise him to withdraw his invading forces?

The tactics and objectives of these anti-people and anti-peace ruling classes which are being demonstrated today in the Horn of Africa are not new. They have been tried before and are still being used against numerous oppressed peoples and developing countries. It is the obsolescent policy of "divide, exploit and weaken" which has been resuscitated in the form of neo-colonialism. Having failed in their sinister designs and cruel attempts to oppress the fraternal peoples of Asia, the Middle East and Latin America who are struggling against disease, hunger, ignorance and abject poverty, they are now once again concentrating their attention on Africa.

Today, Africa has formed a common front and is making rapid advances through its historic continental organisation. Bound as it is by a common destiny, Africa is currently solving in concert its own economic, political and cultural problems.

Even with the presence of certain retrograde and opportunistic elements in its ranks, Africa is presently carrying on concerted struggle on many fronts and scoring victories against the old and new forms of colonialism. That the freedom fighters in southern Africa are bringing the racist fascists to their knees is but a significant aspect of this struggle.

In the context of the historic struggle for freedom and the victories achieved by Africa, a clear line is being drawn dividing those arrayed for and against freedom, progress and unity.

Emerging Force

Africa is a continent with untapped natural resources which over and above its own needs could benefit other parts of the world as well.

Africa possesses progressive, young and dynamic man-power which is capable to ensure the continent's revolutionary changes and advancement.

This progressive and emerging power, while struggling against imperialism, is at the same time forging alliances with the oppressed peoples of Asia, the Middle East and Latin America as well as other peace-loving and progressive forces throughout the world.

More than anywhere else in the world the emerging and progressive forces in Africa are today demonstrating manifold actions for a just cause.

There is thus no conspiracy that is not hatched and no design that is not plotted by anti-people and anti-peace forces to arrest this historic tide and subvert this growing force.

Should the peoples of the world — the emerging peace-loving and progressive peoples — view the situation in the Horn of Africa outside of this broader context, they will certainly have made a grave historic error.

The oppressed masses, the emerging and progressive forces in Africa and elsewhere desire and endeavour to build with the broad masses in America and Western Europe genuine friendship not on the basis of master-servant relationship, but on equality and fraternity free from exploitation, oppression, racism and brazen aggression.

But, as our saying goes, who can sip clear water where trumplers muddle?

While gracing their cities with skyscrapers and adorning their public gardens with fragrant flowers, imperialists are callously experimenting the effectiveness of their new weapons on the oppressed peo-

ples of the world. What more outrageous crimes could be committed by man against his fellow man?

Neo-Colonialist Conspiracy

The present conspiracy against Ethiopia's unity and revolution is a neo-colonialist scheme masterminded by imperialism.

The starting point and the convenient mask for the conspiracy is Siad Barre's preposterous propaganda, that he seeks peace while Ethiopia is poised to invade Somalia. During the last few months, members of Somalia's ruling class have been shuttling to reactionary Arab capitals to obtain arms, financial and troop support in order to expand their "jihad" and overcome the economic disruption and contain the opposition of Somalia's masses generated by the reactionary invasion. In order to obtain arms from imperialist countries and in an attempt to internationalise the conflict, Siad Barre's emissaries have also been disseminating in Western European and North American capitals the baseless allegation that Ethiopia is going to invade Somalia. They have similarly made futile attempts to mislead African leaders and peoples.

But the truth is far from the propaganda disseminated by the Somalia's reactionary rulers and their collaborators. While the atrocities committed against Ethiopia by Fascist Italy are the worst of the crime to which this country has been successively subjected in the course of her history, the crime now being perpetrated by the fascist disciple — the Mussolini of Mogadisho — is second only to that which preceded it.

Capitalist-Reactionary Arab Coalition

It is quite obvious that President Carter's recent consultations with Middle Eastern and Western European leaders were aimed at capitalizing on Somalia's unwarranted alarm of an impending invasion for the purpose of co-ordinating the strategy whereby the Horn of

Africa, and particularly Ethiopia and the Red Sea, could be brought under the control of anti-Ethiopian forces.

By declaring that he was hopeful Somalia would seek peace, President Carter has attempted to project the invader as a peace seeker and invaded Ethiopia as aggressor.

Following consultations with President Carter, the Shah of Iran has threatened that he would not remain indifferent if Ethiopia violated Somalia's border. This threat is clearly intended to give the Shah an excuse for openly shipping to Somalia arms which he had been doing secretly in the past. Moreover, the rulers of Iran and Saudi Arabia have informed President Carter of their decision to support Somalia's flagrant aggression against Ethiopia. Specifically, they have agreed on the following measures with a view to meeting Somalia's weapons requirements to enable it expand its invasion:-

- (1) Iran, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and West Germany to finance Somalia's weapons requirements for the expansion of its aggression;
- (2) Egypt to supply Somalia with as much weapons as possible from the arms stockpile it had received from the Soviet Union for the war against Israel and request the United States for replacements;
- (3) Somalia to be supplied from American military bases in Saudi Arabia, Iran and West Germany through Iran as much arms as she requires;
- (4) Further arms requirements to be bought from Western Europe and the U.S.;
- (5) Should Somalia fail to expand its aggression even after such arms delivery, Iran to intervene directly by sending its armed forces to fight alongside Somalia's invading troops;
- (6) Oman to serve as the springboard for Iran's intervention and Saudi Arabia to provide air support; and
- (7) The urgent creation of an anti-Ethiopian military encirclement which could include the Persian Gulf States.

The Reactionary Arab Front

The other anti-Ethiopian front is the conspiracy against our revolution and our unity on the part of petro-dollar intoxicated regimes such as Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, and other reactionary ruling classes to provide Somalia with arms, money and troops. The ruling classes in Abu Dhabi and Jordan recently declared a "jihad" by calling on Islamic and other nations to support Somalia. This belligerent and reactionary declaration calls on "the Arab world to co-ordinate and deploy its forces alongside Arab Somalia."

Nor are the crimes being committed against black peoples by the decadent regimes in Saudi Arabia, Iran, Kuwait and the Gulf States confined to Ethiopia alone. By way of reciprocating the solid support which African peoples gave them in their conflict with Israel, these Arab countries have clearly allied themselves with the illegal, racist and fascist minority regime in South Africa. By heavily investing in South Africa's commercial and industrial enterprises, they are in effect supporting the economy of Africa's arch enemy from utter collapse. They have ignored Africa's repeated calls to stop supplying oil to this racist and illegal regime. On the other hand, they are being extremely generous in financing efforts designed to divide, bleed and weaken Africa. The oppressed and homeless Palestinians are equally subjected to annihilation at their hands.

Peoples of Ethiopia!

Oppressed, peace-loving and progressive peoples of the world!

Because Ethiopia, a developing and non-aligned country, is endeavouring to solve its internal social and economic problems and establish a free society wherein justice, equality and opportunity for all prevail, the forces which I have enumerated are arrayed against her.

Deplorable Pact

There is yet another extraordinary situation in the making. This is the understanding reached following an urgent and closed session

in Washington by some members of the NATO military alliance — the U.S., Britain, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and France — to secretly arm the aggressor, Somalia. Three of the participants, the U.S., Britain and France, are permanent members of the U.N. Security Council to which the peoples of the world have entrusted the maintenance of global peace.

It is most deplorable that we still live in this kind of world, where the permanent members of the Security Council of the U.N., which have major responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, adopt such unexemplary attitude in treating important issues of principles.

Several years have elapsed since the hypocritical League of Nations, responsible for World War II and the death of millions of people, was discredited and dismantled.

We had hoped that the policy of these governments and the world situation in general had substantially changed. Evidently, we were mistaken. What can the world learn from all this? We believe that there are very few who know better than the people of Britain, Germany, France and Italy about the destructive nature of wars waged in the past by naive and arrogant leaders. How could such a lesson be forgotten in a short span of time of less than a generation?

We would, therefore, like to pose certain questions to those who ask us to negotiate with Somalia, the very Somalia that has arrogantly and brazenly invaded us to make good its illusory expansionist ambitions and continues its invasion and the merciless massacre of innocent Ethiopians.

What was the sentiment of Washington and the American people when the Japanese raided and bombarded Pearl Harbour?

What did the late Winston Churchill and the British officials alive today say in the House of Commons in their hour of darkness when Hitler's war planes droned over the skies of Britain following the fall of France?

Do they consider the Ethiopian people to be indifferent, insensitive and incapable of struggling for their honour, their territorial integrity, their freedom, their unity, their rights and their revolution?

Or do they consider the Ethiopians who are being continuously mowed down by the tanks, artillery and automatic weapons of the arrogant Somalia troops no better than dead donkeys?

We leave the answers to these questions to the conscience of peace- and freedom-loving peoples of the world.

Ethiopia's Struggle

What we Ethiopians would like to remind the world is that apart from defending ourselves and opposing colonialists, expansionists, racists and fascists, at no time in our long history did we cross as invaders the borders of our neighbours and violate the rights of others. Even today, we have no claims on anyone's territory; we have neither expansionist aims nor designs to annex the territory of our neighbours.

What we are struggling for is to uphold our unity, territorial integrity and national independence.

What we are struggling for is to establish a society free of exploitation, oppression, injustice and discrimination on the basis of religion, ethnicity or sex — a society where peace, justice, equality and social progress prevail.

We ask for the respect and the proper application of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations more than 32 years ago, and which state, *inter alia*, the common resolve of mankind to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and the renunciation of the use of force other than for collective security and the maintenance of international peace and security.

We will continue our just and legitimate defensive struggle without any hesitation whatsoever to clear our territory and drive out the arrogant invading forces of Somalia in accordance with Article 51 of

the United Nations Charter, unless the lawless and arrogant ruling class of Somalia unconditionally and immediately, I repeat, IMMEDIATELY, withdraw the invading forces.

Those member states of the U.N., and the peoples of the world who stand for justice and peace have the moral and international legal obligation to support our legitimate struggle.

People of Ethiopia!

What is expected of us at this decisive hour of trial?

To be vigilant, organised and armed;

For the entire progressive, patriotic and oppressed class to rise in unison;

To exert continuous and untiring efforts at the war front, on the production line, everyone in his respective field of endeavour;

And to make unwavering determination to bear whatever sacrifices our just struggles and objectives demand.

Our choice is one.

“Revolutionary Ethiopia or Death.”

We prefer a single day's freedom to perpetual shame and neo-colonialist bondage.

We shall not be alarmed by the anti-people and anti-peace forces which are being mobilized and arrayed against us.

The struggle shall continue!
We will triumph!