

REACTIONARY CLIQUE
FORCED OUT OF EPLF!

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Exitreans for Liberation in North America
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Introduction

A profound social transformation is underway in Eritrea, a transformation that has been the fruit of the hard struggle and immense sacrifice of the heroic masses and gallant freedom fighters of Eritrea during the last 15 years. Today, with over 95% of Eritrea in the hands of the liberation forces, the final demise of the Ethiopian forces of colonial aggression and their imperialist-zionist sponsors is within sight. Despite these great achievements of the Eritrean revolution at home in the battlefield as well as on the political and organizational fronts, the progressive world has not been fully aware of these developments. Indeed, the lack of correct international publicity has been the weakest aspect of the Eritrean armed revolution.

When the armed struggle broke out in 1961, its leadership was usurped by a reactionary clique, the Supreme Council of the E.L.F., residing abroad. A protracted and bitter struggle between the masses of democratic combatants and the opportunist line and leadership of the E.L.F. culminated in the formation of the E.P.L.F. in 1970. This represented the rebirth of the Eritrean struggle for national independence and democracy on a new revolutionary basis. However, the Osman Saleh Sabbe faction of the ex-Supreme Council managed to form an alliance with the E.P.L.F., becoming its Foreign Mission in 1972.

Ever since, it has been bitterly opposing the steady consolidation of the E.P.L.F.'s revolutionary line at home and its dissemination abroad. True to its reactionary nature, it has been peddling erroneous propaganda, often distorting the true anti-imperialist nature of the Eritrean revolution and making or proposing opportunist contacts and deals in its name. It has fought the consolidation of the Eritrean revolution's principled relations with its natural allies in the progressive world. In short, for more than three years, it waged a stubborn campaign to impose its reactionary line over the E.P.L.F. When it became starkly clear that its reactionary line had no place in the E.P.L.F. and that all its opportunist maneuvers were doomed, it terminated its relations with the E.P.L.F. in March 1976. Since then, it has been engaged in a frenzied effort to organize a reactionary force.

It is against this background, then, that E.F.L.N.A. presents this issue. E.F.L.N.A. fully concurs with the E.P.L.F.'s view that the departure of the ex-Foreign Mission is a great victory for the Eritrean revolution in general and its vanguard in particular. The door has been flung wide open for the genuine echo of the Eritrean revolution to reverberate on the international arena. The E.P.L.F. has set up a provisional delegation entrusted with facilitating and further developing this process. E.F.L.N.A. appeals to all revolutionary and democratic forces to intensify their support of the Eritrean revolution by condemning the reactionary clique and standing by the E.P.L.F. vanguard.

Reactionary Clique Digs Its Own Grave !

The EPLF, in a memorandum issued on March 29, 1976 announced that its Foreign Mission had resigned on March 23, 1976 and terminated its relationship with the EPLF. The memorandum declares that the ex-Foreign Mission no longer represents nor has it any right to speak on behalf of the EPLF. The memorandum further points that "the EPLF regards the resignation of the Foreign Mission as an inestimably valuable gain."

Who are the members of the ex-Foreign Mission? What interests do they represent? What is the significance of the termination of their relationship with the EPLF? To answer these questions, it is necessary to analyze briefly the development of the Eritrean struggle and in particular its armed phase.

The valiant Eritrean people have never relaxed their persistent struggle against social oppression and foreign aggression. For many years, this struggle took the form of localized rebellion lacking in national coordination. In the 1940's political parties were formed and the struggle took an organized national form. In this way, the Eritrean people vigorously resisted colonialism, imperialism and their treacherous lackeys.

The Eritrean people's organized resistance was the target of fascistic repression. In March 1958, when Eritrean workers, supported by the broad masses, carried out a general strike in protest of the colonial oppression and suppression of feudal Ethiopia, Ethiopian soldiers brutally murdered and wounded about 550 of them. Thereafter, Eritrean patriots founded the underground Eritrean Liberation Movement (ELM) to prepare for armed resistance.

The ELM struggled to foster national consciousness and unity among the entire Eritrean people by combatting the spirit of division and discord sown by successive colonial oppressors. Although it achieved remarkable success in this task, the ELM did not grasp the necessity of protracted people's war and became increasingly preoccupied with individual acts of terrorism. This political weakness of the organization, coupled with the Ethiopian regime's brutal suppression, imprisonment, assassination or exiling of its leading activists led to its virtual disintegration.

Having learned from bitter experience that it was impossible to attain freedom through peaceful struggle, the Eritrean people launched armed uprising in the countryside in 1961. This armed rebellion opened a new chapter in the history of the Eritrean people's struggle. However, even though it received the whole-hearted support and the enthusiastic participation of the masses, the armed uprising lacked organized leadership and a definite program. Taking advantage of the situation, exiled Eritrean nationalists assembled to establish the Eritrean Liberation Front and appointed themselves as the Supreme Council.*

The Supreme Council was the repository of the power of the feudalists and the right wing of the Eritrean petty bourgeoisie. Its members did not have direct experience in the long years of national political resistance nor a correct understanding of the objective and subjective conditions of the Eritrean society. Their nationalist and revolutionary perspective was extremely limited. They wanted to kick out the Ethiopian occupationists, only to replace them with Eritrean oppressors and exploiters.

In order to safeguard their class interests and consolidate their leadership positions, members of the Supreme Council fanned and antagonized the secondary contradictions inherent in backward Eritrean society. In 1965, they split the ELF into five virtually autonomous divisions along religious and tribal lines, so each "leader" could have a fiefdom over fighters from his tribe. Intense power struggle developed as each "leader" attempted to strengthen his fiefdom at the expense of the others. By supplying and arming certain divisions well and depriving the others of adequate provisions, they sowed competition, rivalry and discord among the divisions.

The Supreme Council and its puppets in the field committed enormous crimes and injustices against the

* The principal members of the Supreme Council were: Idris M. Adem (President), Jedla Bairu (later became Vice President), Idris Gelaudewos (Military Commander), Osman S. Sabbe (Secretary-General)

Eritrean people and combatants. A great many patriotic fighters who opposed their reactionary policies were liquidated. Many peasants were massacred, their villages burnt and their livestock expropriated. By plundering the Eritrean people in this way, the ELF bosses acquired private wealth and invested their accumulated capital in the Sudan. The civil war which ravaged the Eritrean revolution for almost three years (1972-74) can be explained as the culmination of the murderous, divisive and liquidationist practices of the opportunist leadership of the ELF.

Abroad, especially in the Middle East, the Supreme Council distorted the progressive anti-colonial, anti-imperialist and anti-zionist line of the Eritrean struggle and peddled slanderous and reactionary publicity. They went to the extent of declaring, "We are not against the Americans or their interests in Eritrea. We have never damaged American interests. We never intend to do so." (Osman S. Sabbe, quoted in Christian Science Monitor, May 28, 1969). And this in spite of the fact that U.S. imperialism maintains a military base and substantial economic interests in Eritrea and supplies the arms that the Ethiopian occupationists use to massacre the Eritrean masses.

Progressive fighters, waged courageous and persistent struggle to change the then prevailing non-revolutionary practice in the field as well as abroad. This intense internal struggle culminated in the convening of the "Anseba Conference" in September 1968 which established the unity of three of the five divisions of the Front. At the "Adobaha Conference" in August 1969, the two remaining divisions agreed to join the three that were already united. The "General Command" was established as the provisional military leadership of the Front in the Field. However, as the General Command was dominated by the reactionary forces, it immediately set out to suppress all opposition to the Front's reactionary line and practice. In violation of the resolutions of the Adobaha Conference, it put six members of the General Command in jail, liquidated about 300 patriotic combatants and terrorized the people. Sharp and acute contradictions convulsed the Eritrean revolution as the people and fighters fell victim to white terror. At this juncture,

many progressive fighters, determined to guarantee their survival in order to defend and advance the revolution, rejected the reactionary line and leadership of the ELF, separated from the fascistic administration of the General Command, and established the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Forces (EPLF) in 1970.

Simultaneous with these developments in the field, the long simmering power struggle within the Supreme Council intensified and resulted in its split. One faction, retained the old name while the opposing faction called itself the "General Secretariat" of the ELF and condemned the fascist practices of the General Command in the field. By disassociating itself from the unpopular action of the General Command and through its extensive contacts with the supporters of the Eritrean revolution, the General Secretariat hoped to gain a foothold and wield decisive influence in the EPLF. The progressive fighters who formed the EPLF were clear on the nature of the General Secretariat. However, as the EPLF was in a transitional stage, i.e. in the process of consolidating its internal unity and defending itself from the savage attacks of the Ethiopian regime and the liquidationist attempts of the General Command, it established a tactical alliance with the General Secretariat. In February 1972, the General Secretariat changed its name to the Foreign Mission and agreed to work as the representative of the EPLF abroad.

From the beginning of its association with the EPLF, the ex-Foreign Mission, led by its Secretary General, the notorious opportunist Osman S. Sabbe (who was also the Secretary General of the Supreme Council), fought tooth and nail the development of the revolutionary line in the EPLF. It strove to create a basis for its line among the fighters by exploiting secondary contradictions. It opposed the extensive politicization of the masses and the dissemination of revolutionary theory. It suppressed the revolutionary journals published in the field and instead put out its own publications (eg. "The Eritrean Review") which distorted the consistently anti-imperialist line of the EPLF. It obstructed the establishment of close links with socialist countries and the national liberation movements.

The EPLF fought the reactionary moves of the ex-Foreign Mission by steadfastly struggling to consolidate its revolutionary line and internal unity. The EPLF directed its primary efforts at developing among its fighters progressive national consciousness, free from all backward religious and regional sentiments. It persisted in mobilizing and organizing the masses and strove to bring about the principled and genuine unity of the forces of the Eritrean revolution.

As the EPLF consolidated its unity, strengthened its links with the masses and its progressive line gained widespread acceptance, the Foreign Mission began to move frantically to safeguard its position. Immediately after the 1974 military takeover in Ethiopia, the Foreign Mission posing as the leadership of the Eritrean Revolution, expressed its readiness to negotiate with the Ethiopian fascist junta a "peaceful solution" to the Eritrean question. The EPLF immediately issued a strong condemnation of the Foreign Mission's political dealings and treachery and unequivocally asserted that "the force that is waging a determined armed struggle inside Eritrea is the sole representative of the Eritrean people on any issue, whether it is of minor or major significance".

The Foreign Mission was undeterred. In September 1975, it signed a sham and unprincipled merger agreement, the "Khartoum Agreement" with the Revolutionary Council (leadership of the ELF) without the approval and in opposition to the principled stand of the EPLF leadership. Even though the EPLF rejected the Khartoum Agreement, the Foreign Mission and the Revolutionary Council formed a joint committee that has been touring friendly countries claiming that the two fronts "have been united". Furthermore, in order to subdue the EPLF, the Foreign Mission stopped sending arms and supplies to the field.

All these steps were taken by the former Foreign Mission to assert its "power" and impose its reactionary line on the EPLF. The clique shamelessly used the weapons and supplies received from friends of the revolution in an attempt to blackmail the EPLF into acquiescing

in its reactionary demands. In particular, the Foreign Mission wanted to impose on the EPLF the Khartoum Agreement - a "unity" agreement that was negotiated behind the backs of the fighters and masses and which serves the interests of the reactionaries. The EPLF refused to bow down to any blackmail or pressure. It persisted in its efforts to create the necessary conditions for principled and genuine national unity. Upholding the principle of self-reliance, it put its faith in the revolutionary energy and resourcefulness of the combative masses and stepped up its armed struggle against the fascist junta and its imperialist-zionist masters.

In March 1976, a meeting was held in Khartoum between the Foreign Mission and an EPLF delegation to resolve the sharpening contradictions. In this meeting, the Foreign Mission rigidly insisted that the EPLF must accept the Khartoum Agreement as a precondition for continued relationship. The EPLF took a flexible but firm principled position and attempted to avert the severance of relations. Although it would not compromise its principles by accepting the Khartoum Agreement, it proposed that the differences be resolved in an organizational congress. However, as the Foreign Mission knew that its opportunist line had no place in the EPLF and would be thoroughly defeated in an organizational congress, it tendered its resignation and severed its relationship with the EPLF.

Although it has severed its relationship with the EPLF, the ex Foreign Mission has refused to hand-over to the EPLF property (arms, money, medicines, etc.) that has been raised in the name of the struggling Eritrean people. Worse still the ex Foreign Mission continues to pose as the leadership and representative of the EPLF and conduct political activities and diplomatic contacts in its name. The former Foreign Mission is waging a desperate campaign against the EPLF, slandering it as being opposed to "national unity" and striving to sow dissension, discord and splits in the EPLF. It is exploiting backward tribal and religious sentiments and spending thousands of dollars in an attempt to organize a reactionary force of notorious opportunists, renegades and duped elements.

The history of the Eritrean revolution clearly shows that there has been an incessant struggle between the progressive and reactionary forces in the national liberation movement. The Eritrean revolution is a national democratic revolution and as such unites all patriots against Ethiopian colonialism and its imperialist overlords. It is extremely difficult to achieve national independence without the solid unity of the Eritrean masses. Nevertheless the patriotic front is composed of different classes with different class interests and outlook. Thus, the Eritrean revolution must wage two kinds of struggle. Since the primary contradiction, at this stage, is between the popular masses and Ethiopian colonial occupation, the entire Eritrean people are waging heroic armed struggle to resolve this contradiction. At the same time, internal struggles are being waged to determine which line predominates and which class interest is given primacy. This struggle is extremely important for if the revolution is led by a correct line based on proletarian ideology, genuine independence and the liberation of the masses are assured. On the other hand, if the reactionaries and their line gain hegemony, the national democratic revolution cannot be consummated and, in the final analysis, the masses merely exchange one set of oppressors for another.

The struggle that has been going on between the EPLF and the ex Foreign Mission can only be understood when viewed in this context. On the one hand, the EPLF is a progressive, democratic front fighting on the basis of self-reliance for the salvation and interests of the masses. On the other hand, the ex Foreign Mission is a clique of opportunists more interested in securing their reactionary class interests than in the liberation of the masses. Even though it had formed a tactical alliance with the EPLF (from 1970 to March 1976), the Osman Sabbe clique is inseparable from the ELF overlords who since 1961 have caused tremendous harm to the Eritrean revolution.

No wonder, therefore, that the EPLF's progressive line has been sharply conflicting with the reactionary line of the ex Foreign Mission. Nevertheless, the EPLF skillfully managed to maintain its tactical alliance with the Foreign Mission until its survival and consoli-

dation were assured. Although it made the necessary compromises, it never bartered its principles for short-term gains. Consistent with this, it opted to sever its relationship with the Foreign Mission and carry the burden of the temporary hardships (resulting from the Foreign Mission's illegal withholding of supplies and arms) rather than compromise its principles.

In its slander campaign against the EPLF, the ex Foreign Mission has peddled the lie that the severance of relations came about because the EPLF is opposed to national unity. There is nothing further from the truth as the EPLF believes that the unity of the forces of the Eritrean revolution is the primary basis and the guarantee for victory. The EPLF's stand on national unity has been clear and distinct from its formation. It has exerted tremendous effort and made great sacrifice for the sake of national unity. When the leadership of the ELF, using the cover of the first "national congress" unleashed the liquidationist civil war, the EPLF put forward the slogan "all our guns against colonialism, democratic dialogue to resolve secondary contradictions". It waged a tireless political campaign to bring the civil war to an end by educating the masses of the combatants and people. After the cessation of the civil war in November 1974 which came about as a result of the efforts of the people and fighters, the EPLF has taken concrete measures to advance the principled unity of the patriotic forces.

Thus, the central point of contention between the EPLF and the ex Foreign Mission is not the unity of the Eritrean revolution but the ways and means of its realization. It is inevitable that there be different views and methods of bringing about national unity, serving different interests. However, there is only one view and one method that can bring forth genuine principled unity that serves the interests of the Eritrean masses. This principled and durable unity can only be based on the objective conditions of the Eritrean Revolution and cannot be imposed

by external pressure. It can only come about with the active and conscious participation of the masses and combatants. Any "unity" agreement concluded behind the backs of the masses by a few self-styled "leaders" and their collaborators is only a reactionary conspiracy that obstructs genuine national unity and serves the interests of the opportunists. The Khartoum unity agreement is such an agreement and it was precisely for this reason that it has been rejected and condemned.

The ex Foreign Mission resigned from the EPLF because it could not impose the Khartoum agreement on the EPLF. The sharp contradiction between the EPLF and ex Foreign Mission on the Khartoum agreement emanated from their contradictory political line whose resolution bears decisive significance to the present and future of the Eritrean Revolution. The resignation of the ex Foreign Mission shows that the revolutionary line, the line that represents the interests of the toiling masses has gained the upper hand in the EPLF, making it uncomfortable for reactionaries and opportunists to remain in the ranks and forcing them to jump out. The experience of the national liberation movements shows that the forward march and deepening of the revolution inevitably sharpens the class struggle in the organizations leading the struggle, forcing out those elements who stand opposed to the interests of the toiling masses and the radical transformation of the oppressive society. This is the essence of the resignation of Osman Saleh Sabbe and his clique of rightist and opportunist elements.

The elimination of the reactionary force of the ex Foreign Mission is thus a great victory for the progressive forces of the Eritrean Revolution. The reactionary clique, which for a decade and half has been fanning and antagonizing secondary contradictions to protect and consolidate its class interests, has been swept away. The struggle for the establishment of genuine and principled national unity is bound to be accelerated. The progressive forces and in particular the EPLF can now wage the struggle at home and abroad in a consistently revolutionary manner. On the international scene, this gives them the opportunity to correctly publicize the just struggle of the Eritrean people and establish close links with the socialist and democratic forces.

It is true that just as in the case of a surgical operation of a decaying part of one's body, the expulsion of the reactionary ex Foreign Mission from the ranks of the revolution entails temporary hardships and difficulties. Moreover the opportunist clique will not refrain from but will, on the contrary, step up its divisive maneuvers and reactionary propaganda.

However, the reactionary clique will come to no good end. The combatants of the two fronts and the combative masses are resolutely resisting and will definitely frustrate its treacherous maneuvers. The EPLF will undoubtedly persist in its correct line, step up its efforts to bring about principled national unity and mobilize and organize the masses. Revolutionary experience clearly confirms that this new development is bound to consolidate the unity of the revolutionary forces, raise the class consciousness of the masses and assure the inevitable victory of the Eritrean Revolution.

The Sabbe Clique and its reactionary politics are bound to end up in the garbage heap of history!!

HAIL THE DEPARTURE OF THE REACTIONARY CLIQUE !

EPLF'S STATEMENT ON THE RESIGNATION OF

THE FOREIGN MISSION

The Eritrean people are struggling with great determination and self-sacrifice to wipe out colonialism and all forms of oppression and to build, on their ruins, a new, just, prosperous and peaceful society. Under the leadership of the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces (EPLF) the Eritrean struggle is persisting on the road of self-reliance, consolidating its internal unity, overcoming all conspiracies of the enemy and internal reaction, and strengthening its international solidarity; thus, it is bound to be victorious.

The development of any national movement, like that of society itself, unfolds through the resolution of its internal contradictions. In a national democratic revolution, all patriotic forces unite and wage armed struggle against colonialism, imperialism and feudalism in order to solve the principal contradiction. At the same time, an internal struggle is waged within the patriotic front to resolve secondary contradictions. In any national movement, as the revolutionary vanguard gains strength and its correct line gains the upperhand, the class struggle between the progressive and reactionary forces intensifies. As they see their power wane, their future interest threatened and their dreams coming to an end, the reactionary forces begin to move frantically to reassert their power and secure their position. If their efforts meet with failure, they actively work to obstruct and prevent the revolution from advancing forward. At this juncture, they are even prepared to ally themselves with the enemy in order to safeguard their selfish interest. Thus, the expulsion of such a reactionary group from the revolution is welcome. It not only saves the revolution from dangerous consequences but also helps it to make forward strides. It enables the revolutionary forces to strengthen and consolidate their unity and raise the class consciousness of the masses. It assures the revolution of its inevitable final victory. This is a truth borne out by world revolutionary experience.

On March 23, 1976, the Foreign Mission of the EPLF resigned and broke off its relations with the EPLF. The ex-Foreign Mission's move

ex-Foreign Mission's move was sparked off by the EPLF'S refusal to accept the Khartoum Agreement. On the basis of its correct and principled stand on national unity, the EPLF had rejected the Khartoum "Unity" Agreement, an agreement that was designed to protect the interests of reactionaries and opportunists and was concluded because of outside pressure. In order to hide this truth and create confusion, the ex-Foreign Mission issued a declaration on March 25, 1976 in which it states that it severed its relationship because the EPLF has ignored the people's desire for unity and does not have a clear stand on how to achieve national unity. It further states that, out of its deep concern for the revolution and in order to avoid further schisms and splits, it will withhold all the EPLF property (arms, money, food, medical and other supplies) under its possession. (As if this is not enough, the former Foreign Mission together with a handful of Eritrean reactionaries continues to pose as the representative of the EPLF and make political deals in its name.)

Today, the EPLF is shouldering a heavy revolutionary responsibility. It is waging the revolutionary struggle throughout the country. It is tirelessly working to bring about principled national unity, mobilize and politicize the masses, and protect the people from the enemy, especially those hundreds of thousands of displaced people under its shelter. It is striving hard to find short-term and long-term solutions to the problems of the refugees in the Sudan. On the other hand, Ethiopian colonialism, failing to stem the revolutionary tide has in desperation turned its guns, bayonets, bombs etc. against the civilian population and is conducting a genocidal war. Precisely at the time, when it should step up its propaganda work and diplomatic offensive to expose and foil the enemy's fascistic designs and aim, increase material, political and moral support for the revolution, the former Foreign Mission has resigned from its responsibility and has withheld arms, money and supplies collected in the name of the Eritrean people and the EPLF. Thus, the ex-Foreign Mission has objectively collaborated with the enemy's designs to crush the Eritrean revolution and exterminate its people. As if this is not enough, the ex-Foreign Mission is squandering the people's money and exploiting backward sentiments in its attempt to slander the EPLF and organize a reactionary force. Further, in

an attempt to strangle the EPLF, the former Foreign Mission has continued its political activities and diplomatic contacts, still posing as the official representative of the EPLF.

This is not the first time that certain members of the ex Foreign Mission have engaged in reactionary conspiracies designed to protect their class interest. The notorious opportunist Osman Saleh Sabbe and his reactionary clique have committed numerous crimes against the Eritrean Revolution and our struggling people. As members of the Supreme Council (1961-69), they enflamed secondary contradictions and caused schisms and divisions among the masses and the fighters (leading to the liquidation of several hundreds of freedom fighters.) On the international arena, they falsified the nature of the Eritrean struggle and misrepresented the line of their revolution. Later when they became the Foreign Mission of the EPLF (1970-75), they continued their reactionary political activities both at home and abroad. In 1974, when the fascist "Derg" came to power in Ethiopia, Sabbe and his clique, without consultation with and the approval of the EPLF declared their willingness to negotiate a "peaceful solution" to the Eritrean question. In September 1975, the clique signed a reactionary and opportunist merger agreement with the Revolutionary Council of the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) without the authorization and in opposition to the principled stand of the EPLF. Even though the ex Foreign Mission was forced to resign because the EPLF would not succumb to its dictatorship and accept the Khartoum Agreement, it continues its machinations in an attempt to strangle the EPLF into submission.

In light of the above, Eritreans for Liberation in North America (EFLNA):

1. Condemns the former Foreign Mission for;
 - a. withholding arms and medical and food supplies at a time when the Eritrean people are facing mass extermination.
 - b. continuing its political activities and diplomatic contacts on behalf of the EPLF even though it has resigned from the position.
 - c. its vicious propaganda aimed at denigrating the EPLF, the vanguard of the Eritrean Revolution, dividing the masses and strangling the Revolution.

- d. its attempt to organize a reactionary force, and
 - e. the anti-popular and counter-revolutionary role it has taken up.
2. Gives its full support to the EPLF for;
- a. striving to bring about principled unity of the revolutionary forces in Eritrea,
 - b. standing firm on its principles in the face of reactionary and opportunist intimidation and manoeuvres and outside pressure,
 - c. adhering to the mass-line and the principle of self-reliance,
 - d. choosing to shoulder temporary difficulties (ie. sever its relations with the ex-Foreign Mission) rather than give up its principled stand, after skillfully maintaining its tactical alliance with the ex-Foreign Mission through "unity and struggle", which is consistent with the stage of a national democratic revolution,
 - e. resolving to shoulder with great determination and sacrifices the difficulties created as a result of the opportunist and treacherous conspiracies.
3. Calls on;
- a. the fighters of the EPLF and ELF to strengthen their unity and struggle against any reactionary and opportunist force. EFLNA is confident that the EPLF and ELF fighters will oppose and expose the conspiracies of the notorious reactionary clique (of Osman Sabbe)
 - b. the Eritrean masses, all Eritrean patriots, and particularly Eritrean organizations abroad to condemn the former Foreign Mission, to oppose and expose its reactionary conspiracies, to demand that it hand over all EPLF property (to the EPLF) and to resolutely shoulder their national responsibilities at this difficult hour.
4. Calls on all friends of the Eritrean Revolution,

- and especially the socialist and progressive countries, parties and organizations to closely follow the recent development in the Eritrean Revolution, break all ties and contacts with the former Foreign Mission, condemn its anti-popular and counter-revolutionary activities, and step up their political, material and moral support the EPLF.
5. a. welcomes and expresses jubilation at the resignation of the ex-Foreign Mission, realizing that its departure is a victory to the national liberation movement of the Eritrean people, and especially to the progressive force in the Revolution.
- b. believes that the departure of the Ex Foreign Mission will strengthen the revolutionary line of the EPLF, create favorable conditions for publicizing the correct line of the EPLF abroad, facilitate the establishment of principled unity of the forces of the Eritrean Revolution, and heighten the class consciousness of the Eritrean masses.
- c. affirms its determination to oppose any reactionary force and its readiness to shoulder its responsibility to overcome the temporary difficulties created by traitors, opportunists and reactionaries.

DOWN WITH COLONIALISM, IMPERIALISM
AND REACTION!

VICTORY TO THE STRUGGLE OF THE
OPPRESSED ERITREAN PEOPLE!

Eritreans for Liberation in N. America
May 5, 1976

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ላዕላዊይ ባይቶ፡ ከም መደበር ሻይሊ ናይቲ የማናዊ ከንጌ ናይ ንኡስ-ቡርዲ ኦርትዶ መጠን፡ ኣበላቶ ብሃገራዊነቱን ጸረ-ሃጻይዊነቱን ዘታኸግዎቲ ኣይክኑን። ደርባዊ ረብሐኡም ንምሕላውን ነናይ ገዛኡ ርክስም ናይ መሪሕነት ቦታ ንምድልዳልን፡ ነቲ ኣብቲ ዲሞር ሕዝብ ተሰባኢና ዚርከብ ከልካዊ ገርፍታት ኣናበርዑ። ንሻይ-ነት ህዝቢ ኦርትዶን ሰውራኡን ጠንቲ ክኑ። ኣብ ከንዲ ብሰሪዕ ፖለቲካዊ ንምህርቲ ኣናገቅሎ ጥሙር ሃገራዊ ኣርክካያ ብምገገስ ሻይ-ነት ተጋደላቲ ዚሕልውን ዘይልድሉን፡ ብ1965 ብሃይማኖታዊ፣ ወገናዊ፣ ብሄራዊ፣ ብባላዊ ወገንገይ ቅድም ናብ 4 ዲሞር ናብ 5 ክፍልታት መቐ ችሎዎ። ንገለልክፍልታት ብሰክነት ወይ ጥሕይ ኣጽዋርን ሰነቅን ኣናሰቅዮ። ንገለ ኣኹል ኣናዓደሉ። ነቲ ደምከራሰያዊ ተጋደላቲ ኣናጥቅቡ ነቲ ክራኩርም ሻይሊ ኣናሃቡ። ኣብ መንገድ ተገ ክፍልታት ክነ-ኣብ መንገድ መራሕተን ናይ ሻይሊ ውድድርን ህልብን ክስክሱ። ላዕላዊይ ባይቶን ክራኩርን ኣብ ልዕላ ህዝብን ተጋደላይን ጥክላይ ዘይብሉ ገበንን ገፍዕን ፈጽሙ። ደምከራሰያዊ ተጋደላቲ ተረብኑን ተሰርዲን። ብዘሓት ገበር ተቐትሉ። ሻይሊ ልዩነት ነይረ። ጥሪት ህዝቢ ተዘመታ። ከምዚህሉ፡ ሰውራ ኦርትዶ ንዲሕሪት ተገተን ብዘክ ከሰረገ።

ኣብ ወጻኢ ሃገራት፡ ብፍላይ ኣብ ጥክከላይ መብራቕ፡ ንሰውራ ኦርትዶ ኣብ ከንዲ ቦታ ቅኑህ ጸረ-መገዛኡቲውን ጸረ-ሃጻይውን ጸረ-ጽዋውን ዘሆነ ንሰጋሪ ሕገጽ ኣናላላዊ መትከላዊ ፖለቲካውን ገፍታውን ይገፍ ዘናድዩሉን ዘመዘኑሉን። ብበለጽ ዘይኖቶ መልከዕን ዕለጣን ኣናሃቡ ሸቀሉ። ሕሉፍ ሻሊኖም፡ ፈቐደኑ፡ "ምስ መገንሰቲ ኣመሪካ ናይ ረብሐ ገርፍት ጻብልና ን፤ ዲሕሪ ናጽነት ውን ነቲ ኣብ ታኸው ዘሉ ወተሃይራዊ መደበር ኪጥቀሱ ክገ ፈቐደሎም ኢኖ" ኣናበሉ ለፍለፍ። ሻይሊ ኣንተዚ ክብርኡ ኣብ "ናጻ" ኦርትዶ ብሃጻይነት ዚዘወር ሻይሊ-መገዛኡቲዊ መገንሰቲ ብናታኦም መሪሕነት ንምጽዕ ዲሕር ኣምበይምበሉን ጣላት ኢኖ!!

ነቲ ንገዛኡ ሻይላት ዚሆኑ ቀንዲ ጸላክቲ ህዝቢ ኦርትዶ-ገዝኣት ኢትዮጵያን ሃጻይነትን ጽዋንነትን - ብብረታዊ ቃልሲ ስዓርካ ሃገራዊ ናጽነትን ሻይ-ነትን ንምዕታር፣ ፈተውትን ጸላክትን ዘለሉ፡ ሻይ-ነት ሻይሊ ተጋደላይን ህዝብን ዚሕሉን ዘይልድልን ቅኑህ መስመር፣ ኣብቲ ቅኑህ መስመር ዚተመሰረተ ኣብ ሳወት ከብጽሕ ዚኸኣል ሃገራዊ ደምከራሰያዊ መደብ የድሊ። ክታ፡ " ብዘይ ሰውራዊ ክልሰሰብ ሰውራዊ ምንቅስቃስ ኪህሉ ኣይክኣልን ኢኖ" ። ከምቲ ሀ.ሐ.ሐ.ኤ. ዚበለጽ ደግ፡ ኣብ ገድላዊ መትከላት ዚተመሰረተ ፍሉጥ ፖለቲካዊ ሕገጽ ዘይብሉ ተጋደሎ ኣብ ሳወት ከምዘይበጽሕ ተጋደላይ ህዝቢ ሳሎም ኣመስኪረዎ ኢኖ። ብዘይ ፍሉጥ መስመር ጠባብጃ ሻይሊ ምክብላልን ምትኪሳን ናይ ከንቱ ደብጃ ከም ዚኸውን ውን ኦርትዶዊ ተመክር ሳቢ መምህር ኢኖ።

ንሰውራ ኦርትዶ ገበኣ ገሰጋሪ መስመር ንምትሕዘ፡ ነቲ ኹሉ ኣብ ግዳን ኣብ ወጻኢን ዚነበረ ኣዲሞርሽሬ ተገባራትን ዝመድፍታትን ከብ ስራ ንምቅርን ንምዕራይን፣ ሻይሊ ተጋደላቲ ኣገጽር ቲ ተበላጺ መሪሕነት ተ.ሐ.ኤ. ን ክራኩርን ተባዕ ደምከራሰያዊ ምንቅስቃስ ኣሳዒሎም፡ ቅድም ብ ሕዝብ ዲሞር ብገሁይ ንነዊሕ ኣዋን ብርኦዕ ውሽጣዊ ቃልሲ ዲሕሪ ምስልሳል፡ ብመስከረም 1968 ኣብ ዝገኡ ሳንባሳ ስምረት ናይ ሰለስተ ክፍልታት ኣኖረዮ። ብነብሰ 1969 ኣብ ዝገኡ ኣይባሳ፡ 1ይን 2ይን ክፍልታት ምስ "ሰውር ሻይሊ" ዘይመትከላዊ ምትኪኑጽ ብምገባር፡ ኣቲ ናይቲ ኣዲሞርሽሬ ላዕላዊይ ባይቶን ክራኩርን ብሰም ስምረት ዚተሸፈነ ወይት ኣብ ገበሪ ወሳሉ።

ክታ ኣብ ዝገኡ ኣይባሳ ገዝያዊ ተበላሳ ዚመት "መቐላላ መሪሕነት" ወይ " ቅደዳ ኣል ሳጣ" ቦቲ ኣዲሞርሽሬ ሻይሊ ናይ መሪሕነት ጸባ ሃን ክራኩርን ዚተገባሉሉት ኣካል ብምገባር፣ ዲሕሪ ቀረብ ገዜ ገውዒቲት ዝገኡ ኣይባሳ ብምጥራጥ፡ ነቲ ኣዲሞርሽሬን ተበላሳን መስመርን ተገባራትን ናይ መሪሕነት ተ.ሐ.ኤ. ዚቃወሙ ተጋደላትን ህዝብን መቐላትን ረብኑን። ብዘመገይ ዚ ኣስታት 300 ደምከራሰያዊ ተጋደላቲ ተቐገጽሎ፣ ብዘሓት ተኣሰረ። ህዝብን ተጋደላትን ኣደዳ ፈዕይ ክኑ። ሰውራ ኦርትዶ ብበለጽ ውሽጣዊ ገርፍታት ተናወጸ። ዲሕሪ ነዊሕ ውሽጣዊ ቃልሲታት፡ ብ1970 ብዘሓት ገሰገሰቲ ተጋደላቲ ምክንቲ ንመስመር ሰውራ ኦርትዶ ንምቅናዕ ናይ ህይወቱም ውሕሰነት ንምርክብ፡ ነቲ ኣዲሞርሽሬ ሕገጽን መሪሕነትን ጸባ ሃ ነጸገ። ከብ ምምሕዳር ቅደዳ ኣል ሳጣ ተፈልጎም፡ ሀ.ሐ.ሐ.ኤ. ኣኙ።

አበቲ አዋጅ ላይ ለሰላም ባይቸ፡ በቲ አብ ውሽቡ ክናገገልላ ዚክደዱ ዚነበረ ናይ ሰልጣን ውድድርን ባክሰን ምሽጎዎት፡ አብ ክልተ ጉዳይታት ተመቐላ፡፡ ክቲ ሻይ ጉዳይ ከም ላዕላዊይ ባይቸ መጠን ምስ ቅደም ክል ላዕላዊይ ኪቐጽል ከሉ፡ ክቲ ካልካይ "ጠቐላላ ሰበረታርዖት" ወይ "አማካይ ላዕላዊ" ናይ ተ.ሳ.ኤ. ተባሂሉ ክገጸሩ ተላዕላ፡፡ ብተወሰኹ ንሩጢስታዊ ተገባራት ናይ ጠቐላላ መሪሕነት /ቅደም ክል ላዕላዊ/ አብ ሚዳ ኩነኛን ተቐውዖ፡፡ በዚ ውሱን ሰባራዊ መርገጺ ዚመሰረት ዩ.ሳ.ሳ.ኤ. ምስ ጠቐላላ ሰበረታርዖት ሰልታዊ ዝመደብ ፈጠራ፡ ከብቲ ንክጥሩክ ተጻፊቲ ዚነበረ መገዘክታዊ ሻይላ ኢትዮጵያን ክደብርሰራ ሻይላ ጠቐላላ መሪሕነትን ብምክልኻል ሀሳዊን ንክተረጋገጽ ተቐላሰት፡፡

ብዓካቲት 1972 አብ ክፍሊ በይረት ጠቐላላ ሰበረታርዖት "ልክብ ወጽኢ ጉዳይ" ተባህላት፡፡ ሀ.ሳ.ሳ.ኤ. ክብቲ አዋጅ ሻይላ ውሳኔ አብ ርክቢ ምገባራ አብ 3 ጉዳይታት ተመዳሳ ሰለዚነበረት ከም ሰልጣን መጠን ነቲ ኪትዘመረ ዚመረት ክደብርሰራ ሻይላ ል.ወ.ጉ. ኪትተገጸርን ኪትመልከን ክይከክላት፡፡ ብቐዳምነት ውሽባዊ ሻይነታ ከተደልደል፡ አብ ኩሎም ተጋደልታ ከብ ዲብር ሃይማኖታውን ብሄራውን ተባብውን ወገናውን ዝመባሉታትን ዝመደብ ትን ሻይ ዚኸነ ገሰገቢ ሃገራዊ ኦሪገክያ ከተሰባሰብ ተቐላሰት፡፡

ሀ.ሳ.ሳ.ኤ. ውሽባዊ ሻይነታ ክሳዕቢላ፡ ወተሃይራዊ ሻይላ ክኖይላበ፡ ገሰገቢ መስመራ ክኖተዘርገጠ፡ ህዝባዊ ተቐባልነታን ዲገሩን ክኖግባዩ አብ ዚክደሉ አዋጅ ል.ወ.ጉ. አብ ሀ.ሳ.ሳ.ኤ.፡ ብሰልጣን ደማ አብ ሰውራ ኤርትራ፡ በትክ ንምርገገጽ ኪትተቐላሰ ማመረት፡፡

ብ1974 ወተሃይራዊ ኢትዮጵያ ነቲ አብ ውሽባዊ ኢትዮጵያ ዚተላዕላ ህዝባዊ ናዕቢ ጸርቶም ሰልጣን መገንሰቲ ምስ ወጠው፡ ል.ወ.ጉ. ብኢደ ወነኖ ንጉዳይ ኤርትራ "ሰላማዊ ፍታሕ" ከተምጽኦ ምስ ፈጠሶታዊ ደርገ ኪትዘራረብ ቅርብቲ ከም ዚኸነት ገለጸት፡፡ ሀ.ሳ.ሳ.ኤ. "ክኖይ ገህዝቢ ኤርትራ" ብዘባል ጸብፍ፡ ነቲ ዚገበር ዚነበረ ፖለቲካዊ ሽቕጥን ክደፍትን ክትራራ ተቐውዖት፡፡ ብዲብር ዚተቐውዖ ዚ፡ ል.ወ.ጉ. ገህ.ሳ.ሳ.ኤ. ንምብርካብ፡ ነቲ ገሚዳ ክትልክብ ዚነበረት ብረትን ሰንቅን ክሰብ ምቲጽ በጸብት፡፡ ብዲብር ናይ ዓካቲት ከፍት፡ ብገንቦት 1975፡ ል.ወ.ጉ. ንሚዳ ክተወት፡ አብ ውሰጢ ሀ.ሳ.ሳ.ኤ. ዘሉ ናይ ኩሎ ሚዳታት ሰውራዊ ምዕባላ ደስ ሰለዘይበላ ደማ ምልካ ንክተረጋገጽ፡ በዚተረፈነታ ምስ ሀ.ሳ.ሳ.ኤ. ክተዘመዳ ዚነበረት ተዛገን ፈትላ ንክትባትኹ ተንቀሳቐሰት፡፡ ብመስከረም 1975 አብ ከርቶም ብዘይ ፍቓድ ናይ ሀ.ሳ.ሳ.ኤ.፡ ብሰም ሀ.ሳ.ሳ.ኤ. ምስ ሰውራዊ ባይቸ ክደብርሰራን ተባላጽገን ዚኸነ ናይ ሰውራዊ ውዕል ተፈራረመት፡፡ ሀ.ሳ.ሳ.ኤ. አብ ክፍሊ ሰሚናዊ ባሕሪ አብ መትከል ረገክ ንትሕዝቦ ውዕል ከርቶም ዲብር ምትገታን ዘይሕጋዊነቱ ክመልኪታ ነጸገቸ፡፡

ል.ወ.ጉ. በዚ ክይተመልሰት፡ ክይተወሰነትን ውገ፡፡

ምስ ሰውራዊ ባይቸ ናይ ሰባር ክሚቲ ክቐው፡ ሰባርና ኢኖ ክኖሰላት ናብ ደገፍ ቲ ሃገራት ዘረት፡፡ ገህ.ሳ.ሳ.ኤ. ንምቐጻዕን ንምብርካብ ደማ ከብ መስከረም 1975 ክትሕተ ነቲ ገሚዳ ዚልክብ ብረትን ሰንቅን ደው ክበሰቦ ገርግጥ ዚገምፍታሕ ብመገቢት 1976 አብ ከርቶም አብ መገን ወብይቲ ሀ.ሳ.ሳ.ኤ. ን ሚዳ /ል.ወ.ጉ. ን ክፍሊ ተገባረ፡፡ ል.ወ.ጉ.፡ ሀ.ሳ.ሳ.ኤ. ኤ. ንናይ ከርቶም ውዕል ክትቐበሉ ክለዩ ኢላ ደረቐት፡፡ ሀ.ሳ.ሳ.ኤ. ዕጉስ ሚዳታት ብመጥቓም ነቲ ምስቲኹ ንገዚኩ ኪትክልፍ ዩ ክንተፈተነት፡ ከብቲ ቅነዕ መትከላ ፈጽሞ ፈልክት ብዘይመባላ፡ ል.ወ.ጉ. ከብ መዘነታ ወረደት፡፡ ወሪዳ ከተባቐዕ ገን ነቲ ብሰም ተጋደላይ ህዝቢ ኤርትራ ዚተክከበ ዝረት ሀ.ሳ.ሳ.ኤ. ኣሸፍኖ፡ ገንዘብ፡ ክፈውስ፡... ወዘተ ብመዘይተረከብ ብመክዳ፡ ገህ.ሳ.ሳ.ኤ. ንምቐጻቐ ፖለቲካዊ ንጥፈታትን ደገገሞሰዳዊ ርክባትን ክጽላሚ ገርገገገገገን ተካይዶ ክላ፡፡ ክቲ ዚነበረት ል.ወ.ጉ. ገህ.ሳ.ሳ.ኤ. ጸረ-ሃገራዊ ሰውራዊ ክምቢላ ጸለሉ ንምቐጻክን ክብ ውሽባዊ ናይ ፍልልይ መገፈሰ ክሕደራ ንምቐጻቐጥን ክበርቲግ ትንቀሳቐሰ ክላ፡፡

ክደብርሰራ ሻይላ ንምውዳብ፡ ነቲ ብሰም ተጋደላይ ህዝቢ ኤርትራ ዚተክከበ ገንዘብ ክኖ ነስነት፡ ከም ክመላ ዲብር ሃይማኖታውን ወገናውን ሰብ ክት ክኖ ተመቐመት፡ በብግይነቶም ክደብርሰራትን ተባላጽትን ከደግግን ኪትክ ክኸበብ ትጽዕር ክላ፡፡ ከብ መዘነታ ወሪዳ ከተባቐዕ፡ ከም ክፈኖን መፈሰትን ናይ ሀ.ሳ.ሳ.ኤ. አብ ወጽኢ ሃገራት ውዕል ትገብር ክላ፡፡ ታሪኽ ሰውራ ግለሰብ ተመክር ሰውራ ኤርትራን ከም ዘበርሆ ገን፡ ክዚ ኮሉ ክደፍትን ክደ ሻይላ ውደታትን ተባላጽ ማክላማታትን ናይ ባብን ክራኩራን ኪኸበላ ኢዩ፡፡ ክደብርሰራት ክገጸር ሰውራዊ ገሰገቢ ፈገግ-ርግግ ክንተባሰን ክንተተሰራን መቐብርም ጥፈይ ከም ዚኸበሩ ገለጽ ኢዩ፡፡

ብሰልጣን፡ ክቲ በቲ ፍላጎ ተባላጽ ውሳኔን ባልሕ ሰባ ዚመራሕ ክደብር ሰልጣን ናይታ ዚነበረት ል.ወ.ጉ. ሸሕ፡ ዩ ከብ 1970 ክትሕተ ምስ ሀ.ሳ.ሳ.ኤ. ገዝዳዊ ምትክሰባር ተኮሉ ክንተጸገጠ፡ ብረብሳን ባህረብሰብን ከብ ቶም ብናይ ሰልባን ውድድርን ህልኸን ዚተክከቦም ብጸተ ናይ ራክሰታት ጃባ ሃ ከምዘይፍላ ታሪኽ ዚመስከር ኢዩ፡፡ ገዕዘይ ታሪኽ ናይ መሪሕነት ጃባ ሃ ከብ 1961-69 ታሪኽ ባብን ብጸተን ምኹን ኪሰብት ግለሰብ፡፡ ክደብርሰራ ከብ ተመክርኩ ሰለዘይ መሃርን ከ ገንኩ ሰለዘይክረገገ ደማ፡ ከብ ላዕላዊይ ባይቸ ወጽኦም ቅደም ክብ ጠቐላላ ሰበረታርዖት ዲብር ክብ ል.ወ.ጉ. ምስ ክተው፡ ከብ ክደፍትን ተባላጽ ተገባራትን ኪኸበሩ ክይከክሉን፡፡

በውራ ኤርትራ፡ ከም ሃገራዊ ደመክራሰዳዊ ሰውራ መጠን፡ ገኹም ክገጸር ገዝክት ኢትዮጵያን ላዕላዊይ ገይትኩ ሃጸይነትን ዚታሰሱ ሃገራውያን ክሕቢሩ ዓበልፍ፡፡ ብዘይ ሰውራዊ ናይ ኩሉን ሃገራውያን ደርባታት፡ ብዘይ ሻይነት ናይ ሻይላ

ህዝቢ ኤርትራ ገዳላኢ ሰገዳኝ ናጽነት ማዕባብ አሸጋጋሪ ኢዩ። ብዘይ ምልኪ ናይ ቅኾ ሕገጽጽ፡-ብዘይቲ መሪሕ ተራ ናይ ባህረሻሰብ ሸታሎ ዲሞ ሻቶ ናጽነትን ሻርነት ሻሩሸን ኪርኮብ ዘበት ኢዩ። ኦቲ ክዳሞርሻሪ መሰመርን ሻይልን ላዕላዎይ ብታ ምስ ዚሕዝ፡ኦቲ ሃገራዊ ደመከራስያዊ ሰውራ ኣበቲ ገብኡ ናይ መፈጸምታ ሸጥኡ ኪበጽሕ ኣይከክልን፡-ውዒሎ ሻይራውን ኦቲ ሻሩሸ ህዝቢ ገዛኢ ዲካሎ ዘልውጥ ምበር ከብ ጭቶን ምዘግዛገቢ ኣይኖገኖን ኢዩ።

ሰለዚ፡ ሰውራ ኤርትራ ኣብ ፍጹም ዓወት ምእንቲ ኪበጽሕ ገደብት ስልተ ጻይነት ዓበይቲ ታሰሲታት የከይዱ። ኣብዚ ኣዋን ዚኣኦቲ ቀዳማዊ ገርጭት ኦቲ ኣብ መገን ደላይ ናጽነት ህዝብናን ገዝኣት ኢትዮጵያን ሃጻይው ያን ገይቶታን ኤርትራውያን ከራኩርጦን ዘሉ ሰለዚኸነ፡ ነዚ ምፍታሕ መላክ ህዝቢ ኤርትራ ብዕጥቂ ብረት ይቃላስ ኣሉ። ይኹን ምበር ኦቲ ሃገራዊ ሻይራ ብዚተፈላለይ ደርባታት ዚኹም ሰለዚኸነ፡ ገዝኡ ከልካዊ ብታ ሕዙ ዚ ጸገሕ ደርባዊ ገርጭታት ናይ ረብሻን ኣረክክያን ኣለዎ። ኣብዚ ደርባዊ ገርጭታት ዚ ዚተመሰረተ፡ ኣየናይ መሰመር ከም ዚነገሱን ኣየናይ ደርባዊ ረብሻ ብኹም ኣሉን ከም ዚሕሉን ከምወሰን ውሽጣዊ ታሰሲታት - ሻንሻክ ብሰውር ሻንሻክ ብገሁዱ፡ ሻንሻክ ብህዳክ ሻንሻክ ብህወጽ መገታታት - ይከየዱ።

ኣመባክርከሰ፡ ኦቲ ኣብ መገን ህ.ሻ.ሻ.ኤ. ገ ል.ወ.ፖ. ገ ንነዊሕ ኣዋን ዚካየዱ ዚነበረ ታሰሲ ብዘይከበ ሰቲ ቅኾ ደርባዊ ትሕዝጥኡ ትኸለክ መገገይ ኪርዳክ ኣይከክልን። ብሻይ ወገን ህ.ሻ.ሻ.ኤ. ቅኾ ሰውራዊ መሰመር ሕዝ ገህዝቢ ኤርትራ ኣኖወደበትን ኣኖገታትን፡ ገመትከላዊ ሻይነቱ ኣኖጸዓረት፡ ገምሌኡ ከኣለቱ ኣኖበራበረት ምእንቲ ዲካነትን ረብሻን ሻሩሸ ህዝቢ ትቃላስ ዘላ ገሰጋሲት ሃገራዊት ገምባር ኢያ። ብቲ ሻይራ ሸኣ ኦቲ ዚነበረት ል.ወ.ፖ. ኣብ ዓዘቕቲ ናይ ኣዳሞርሻሪ ፈላጊ ዚሰመዐት፡ ዚዓበዩ ኣመነታ ኣብ ከገይ ኣብ ተራጽነትን ወፈያን ናይ ህዝቢ፡ ኣብ ብዝሒ ብረትን ገዳማዊ ተጽዕኖን ዘነበረት ናይ ባለጽ ጉፎላ ኢያ። ምዃራ ከብ ዚመሰረት ኣትሕተ ኦቲ ገሰጋሲ መሰመር ህ.ሻ.ሻ.ኤ. ምስቲ ኣዳሞርሻሪ መሰመር ል.ወ.ፖ. ይገራፍ ከም ዚነበረ ገሁዱ ኢዩ።

ል.ወ.ፖ. ኣብ ዚተፈላለዩ ኣዋን ናይ ህ.ሻ.ሻ.ኤ. ላዕላዎይ ስልጣን ገምሽገ ነቲ ቀይይ ናይ ውደባዊ ምዃራ ኣኖመሰሰት፡-ብዘይ ገብኡ ልዝብ ባብዓ ይነቱ ወይታት ኣኖኣለመት ናብ ገብሪ ገመትርገም ህርጫ ትበል ከምዚነበረት ዚዘከር ኢዩ። ኣብ መረሸታ፡-ብሰም ስምረት፡-ብኖላይ ብውዕል ከርኦ ኣቢላ፡ ነቲ ኣዳሞርሻሪ መሰመር ኣብ ህ.ሻ.ሻ.ኤ. ገምገጋሰ፡ ናይ ምፍርህን ፈሽሬን ተጽዕኖ ኣኖሰወሰት፡ ብቲ ኣብ ሰውራ ኤርትራ ዘሉ ጽንኦር ኩነታትን ናታ ምውራድ ዘሰዕብ ገዝያዊ ጸገማትን ገምብላጽ፡ ናይ ጸዕረ-መት ሃቕን ገብረት፡ ጸረ-ሰውራዊ ጸዕሪ ፈሽሎ ተሰሩ ምስ ቀበጸት ከኣ ምዃራ ኣብ ተኸት፡

ብቲ ሻይራ ወገን፡ ህ.ሻ.ሻ.ኤ. ከብብ ህላጫ ኣተረጋገጽን ሻይነታ ኣተይል ዲልን ከብ መትከላ ፈልከት ከይበለት፡ ነቲ ባብገዛኡ ዚላዓልን ዚበልሕን ዚነበረ ገርጭታት ብዚገኣዱ ስልቲታትን ሰውራዊ ተቐላሰነትን ኣኖፈትሸት፡ ነቲ ምስ ል.ወ.ፖ. ዚነበራ ምዃራ ከተኖወኡ ተቃላሰት። ምብታሽ ናይቲ ምዃራ ብዘከ ገዝያዊ ጸገማት ዘሰዕብ ምፊት ዚኣንተፈለጠት፡ ኣብ ከገይ መትከላ ሻይራ፡ ነቲ ምዃራ ኣትቐላሎ፡-ብዓቢ ሰውራዊ ተራጽነት ኣብ መትከላ ረገክ ነቲ ዚመጽኦ ጸገማት ኪተፈትኦ መረጸት።

ምብታሽ ምዃራ ዚመጽ፡ ከመቲ ኣታ ዚነበረት ል.ወ.ፖ. ኣትነዝሸ ሕቡር ናይ ሻይነት ሸቕጥ፡ ህ.ሻ.ሻ.ኤ. ስምረት ሰለዘይትይላ ኣይከነን። ሻይነት ናይ ሻይልታት ሰውራ ኤርትራ ገሰውራዊ ዓወት ቀንይ መሰረትን ወሕሰነትን ምፊት ህ.ሻ.ሻ.ኤ. ትኣምን ኢያ። ህ.ሻ.ሻ.ኤ. ከብ ኣትነዝሸት ኣትሕተ ብዘዕባ ስምረት ሰውራ ኤርትራ ዘለዎ መርገጸ ብራህን ገጽርን ኢዩ። ምእንቲ ሻይነት ሻይልታት ሰውራ ኤርትራ ባብገዛኡ ዓቢ ጸዕርን መሰዋኡን ኣበርኪታ ኢያ። መሪሕነት ተ.ሻ.ኤ. "ቀዳማዊ ሃገራዊ ገባኤ" ብዚባል ገልባብ ገህ.ሻ.ሻ.ኤ. ገምቕገጽል ኮኖት ሻይኤይ ኣብ ዘበራዓሉ ኣዋን፡ ህ.ሻ.ሻ.ኤ. ኩሉ መበኖፊና ኣገጽር ባዕዳዊ ገዝኣት፡ ደመከራስያዊ ልዝብ ንከልካዊ ገርጭታት" ዚባል ቅኾ ጭርሻ ብምዃራ ጸርጋ ገ 3 ዓመታት ዚኣክል ኣብ ተኸላሽላ ወተሃይራዊ ስትራተጂ ረገክ፡ ትርጉም ገሻራሽ ህዝብን ተገይልትን ብምብራህ ደው ገምባሉ ብርብሖ ፖለቲካዊ ዘመተ ኣካየደት። ኣብቲ ሰውራ ናይ መገንሰቲ ዓራቕ ብጥሪ 1974 ዚተገብረ ናይ ዕርቲ ተነግገዎ፡ ህ.ሻ.ሻ.ኤ. ኣብቲ መትከላዊ ኣረክክያክ ረገክ ገሃገራዊ ስምረት ዘገልገል ኣኖመ ኣኹረበት፡ ብሰዳር 1974 ኮኖት ሻይኤይ ብጸዓት ህዝብን ተገይልትን ደው ከብ ዚባል ኣትሕተውን፡ ህ.ሻ.ሻ.ኤ. ብቲ ቅኾ መሰመር መሰረት፡ ገመትከላዊ ስምረት ሻይልታት ሰውራ ኤርትራ ኣጸቢቓ ትጽዕርን ትቃላስን ኣለ።

ሰለዚ፡ ኦቲ ገህ.ሻ.ሻ.ኤ. ገ ነታ ዚነበረት ል.ወ.ፖ. ገ ዘገራመወ ቀንይ ሕቶ ስምረት ሰውራ ኤርትራ ዘይከነሰ ኣመጽኣኩን ኣብ ገብሪ ኣወዓ ዕሉጉን ኢዩ። ብዘዕባ ኣመጽኣኩ ስምረት ሻይልታት ሰውራ ኤርትራ ገዚተፈለ ላዩ ረብሻታት ዚሕሉ ዚተፈላለዩ ኣረክክያን መገገይታትን ከሆሉ ናይ ገዳን ኢዩ። ይኹን ምበር፡ ኦቲ ነረብሻ ሻሩሸ ህዝቢ ኤርትራ ዘገልገል ሻይቶ መትከላዊ ስምረት ዘመጽኦ ሻይራ ጥራይ ኢዩ። ንሱም ገዳነት ኦቲ ኣብ ውዳዳዊ ኩነታት ሰውራ ኤርትራ ዚተነጽፈ፡-ብድሉትን ጸዓትን ናይ ሻሩሸ ህዝብ ብን ሰራዊት ሻርነትን ዚመጽኦ፡ ኣብ ናይ ተገይልቲ ናይ ኣረክክያን ገብርን ሻይነት ዚተመረከበ መትከላውን ነባርን ሻይነት ዲካ ምበር ብናይ ባዕዳዊ ተጽዕኖ ምዃራ ኣሕሎ ኣዳሞርሻሪ ወይት ልዝ ዚባል ኣይከነን።

ስምረት ሰውራ ኤርትራ ብኹም ኣትነዝሸት ስምረት ናይቲ መገዘክታዊ ገኖዕን ኣይራዕይ ኮኖት ሻይኤይን ጸይራ፡ ምእንቲ ናጽነቱን ሻርነቱን ብፍጹም ርክሰ-መሰዋኡ ኢተቃላስን ዚቃላስ ዘሉን ሻሩሸ ተገይላይን ህዝብን ሰለዚኸነ፡ ብኹም ኣትነዝሸት ብናቱ ድሉትን ጸዓቱን ቃላስን ኢዩ ከመጽኦ ዚኸነል።

ዚህን ይቸገሩ በዘይ ላይ ህዝብን ሰራዊት ለርዳት ተቆርቋል፡፡ ብላይ
 ከልተ መረከቱ ኢና ኢና በሃልትን ተሰባብርቶን ዚህሉም ሰጦም ገብቶና
 ሃገራዊ ስጦታት ዘሰገቡና፡ ገረብሳ ተባላቅቲ ዘገልገል ክደብርሞሪ ወይት ኢዩ፡፡
 ወዕል ከርቶ፡ ዘይሕገውን ዘይደብረሰደውን ክብር ክህር ምዃኑ፡ ነቲ ዚመዕብል
 ዚነበረ መትከላዊ ስድነት ገጠሎም ነቲ ገሰጋሲ ሰይጣን ላይ ሰውራ
 ኢርትራ በቲ ክደብርሞሪ ሰይጣን ገጠሎም ከብኸን ዚተሞህዘ
 ሰጦም ኢዩ፡፡ በዚ ምሽገደት 'ዚ ደማ' ዩ ዚተነገገን ዚተኸነነገ፡፡
 ክመብክርከስ ክታ ዚነበረት ል.ወ.ፓ. ከብመዘነታ ዘወረደት ክብ ልዕሊ
 ሀ.ሓ.ሓ.ኤ. ምልክ ከተንበር፡ ብፍለይ ከክነቲ ምስ ሰውራዊ ባይቶ
 ዚክሎቶ ክደብርሞሪ ክገባብ ሰጦረት ላይ ወዕል ከርቶ ናብ ገብሪ
 ዚተርጎም ብዘይምሽክላ ኢዩ፡፡

ሀ.ሓ.ሓ.ኤ. ክብ ሃገራዊ ደብረሰደዊ መትከላ ረገኡ፡ ምልክ
 ናይቲ ገሰጋሲ ሃገራዊ መስመር ብምርገጋሽ ነቲ ዚነበረ ክደብርሞሪ
 ሰይጣን ል.ወ.ፓ. ምልክይ ንገሰጋሲ ሰይጣን በውራ ኢርትራ ላይ ላይ ክሕፈሰ
 ክላ፡፡ ክቲ ንነዊሕ ክዳን ነቲ ክብ ሕብረተሰብ ኢርትራ ዚርከብ ከም ላይ
 ብሃር፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ክውራ፡ ወገን፡ ወዘተ፡ ዚክመሰሉ ክልክዩ ገርግዮታት
 ክናናሃረን ክናበርዎን ደርባዊ ረብሕኡ ኪክሉን ከይልደልን ዚኖትን ዚነበረ
 ተባላቅ ሰይጣን ከብ በውራ ኢርትራ ተነጻሎ ክሉ፡፡ ናይዘውሽጣዊ ክደብርሞሪ ሰ
 ይሊ'ዚ፡ ምስቲ ኩሎ ወስኖ ነ-ርክስጣላዊ ፖለቲካኡን ክተገባድኡን ዘመድና ተታ፡፡
 ምልክይ ላይ በውራዊ ሰጦም ኢዩ፡፡ ሕጂ'ውን ክንተኸነ ከብቲ ልውድ ሕቡር
 ሸቶቡን ልሳላዮ ፖለቲካኡን ተገብራ ተን ክይከፍከብን ኢዩ፡፡ ንገላ ከብቲ
 ክሰብቶ ከይተወደብን ከይነቐጠን፡ ክብ ክመና ዘሰቀቐን ዘሰገደን ይን ትነታት
 መነብር ናይ ሰይት ዚርከብ ከፍሊ ህዝብና፡ ብገንዘብን ብደብር ሃይማኖታዊ፡
 ክውራ፡ ብሃር፡ ተባላዊ ሰብከት ክፈላልን ከይናገርን ህርዱ ይበል ምህላው
 ፍሎፕ ኢዩ፡፡ ክቲ ቦታ በውራዊት መሪሕ ገምባር ዚነቅሕን ዚውደብን ዘሉ
 ተገዳላይ ህዝብና፡ ረብሕኡ ክብ ሰይጣን ክትከላዊ ሰጦረት በውራኡን ምዃኑ
 ብምርዳክ ነዚ ሹሎ ናይ ክዳናት ፈተነታት ናይቲ ዚነበረት ል.ወ.ፓ. ብቐራሽ
 ነት ከምዚነጸገን ዘፈሸሉን ጥርጥር ያልበን፡፡ ተገደልቲ ናይ ሀ.ሓ.ሓ.ኤ. ን
 ናይ ተ.ሓ.ኤ. ን ምልክይ ናይቲ ክደብርሞሪ ፖሊስ ገመትከላዊ ሰጦረቶም ከም
 ዚሕገዝ ብምርዳክ ብሕገሰ ከም ዚቐበሉዎን፡ ነቲ ቀጻሊ ወይት ክጥብቑም ከምዚ
 ቋውጠን፡ ነቲ ተፈጠረ ዘሉ ምዃኑ ኩነታት ብሰውራዊ ሰጦም ክትከላዊ ሰጦም
 ከምዘይልደሉን ርገኡ ኢዩ፡፡ ናይ ክደብርሞሪ ሰጦም ተገብርኦን ከቶ
 ገዝደዊ ጥራይ ኢዩ፡፡ ንሰጦረት ሰጦም ህዝብን ላይ በውራዊ ያልሰን ዚገባት
 ዚሸከል ክደብርሞሪ ሰይጣን ያልበን፡፡

ምልክይ ናይቲ ንነዊሕ ክዳን በውራ ኢርትራ ክብ ክህገራዊ መደርኸ
 ብሕቲ ንብይላላ ገዳማዊ ማሕለሽ ክይኮዎ ዚነበረ ክደብርሞሪ ሰይጣን ናይቲ
 ዚነበረት ል.ወ.ፓ. ነቲ ገሰጋሲ ሰይጣን በውራ ኢርትራ ሕጂ ከምልቡን
 ከምዳቕጠን ንብገዳናን ንብገታላሰን፡ በቲ ቅኑስ ሕገጸጸ ምስ ህዝቢ ላይ ገም
 ላላን ማዕይ ክርሰውሎ ክሉ፡፡ ገሰጋሲ ሰይጣን በውራ ኢርትራ ነዚ ብነዊሕ ያልሲ
 ተፈጠረ ዘሉ ምዃኑ ኩነታት ብሰውራዊ ሰጦም ክትከላዊ ሰጦም ያልሱ ብምብርታዕ
 ንሰውራ ናብ ክፍረገ ላይ ከይፍክ ላይ ሰጦም ክትከላዊ ሰጦም ክላዎ፡፡

ሰለዚ፡ ናይ ል.ወ.ፓ. ከብ መዘነት ምውራዊ ንክደብርሞሪ ሰ
 ይሊ ብርቶ ጸፍላት ንሰውራ ላይ ላይ ናይቲ ኢዩ፡፡ ርገኡ'ዩ፡ ልክዕ ከምቲ
 ናይ ምሽጠኻ ከፍሊ ክክልክ በጠሕክ ምደርባይ ዘሰበሰ መሪር ገዝደዊ
 ቋገዝ፡ ምውጋድ ናይቲ ዚነበረ ክደብርሞሪ ሰይጣን ል.ወ.ፓ. ገዝደዊ ጸገምን
 ሸገርን ከሰዕብ ኢዩ፡፡ ገናኸ፡ ሀ.ሓ.ሓ.ኤ. በቲ ቅኑስ ሰውራዊ ሕገጸጸ
 ክናተመርሞት፡ ገመትከላዊ ሰጦም ክትከላዊ ሰጦም ክናጸጻረት፡ ክብ
 ሰይጣን ክረትን ህዝቢ ተክማዊና፡ ገህዝቢ ክናወደብን ክናገቅሞትን መ
 ሰረት ናይ ዚተገውሎ ብረታዊ ያልሲ ብምጥባቕ ንሰውራ ኢርትራ ናብ ላይ ከም
 ክትመርክ ተገባዊ ገዳነት ኢዩ፡፡ ክዚ ተወሲዶ ዘሉ ሰጦም ኩነታት ነቲ ሰውራው
 ያን ሰይጣን ከምዘይልደል፡ ደርባዊ ገቐሞት ሰጦም ከብ ከም ዘብል፡ ንናይ
 ሰውራ መትከላዊ ሰጦም ክትከላዊ ሰጦም ክትከላዊ ሰጦም ክትከላዊ ሰጦም
 ላይ ብቐራሽ ምስብር ኢዩ፡፡

ናይባላል ሰብ ፖሊስ ምስቲ ክደብርሞሪ ፖለቲካኡ ክብ ናይ ተገባ
 ገዳዩ ዚገባፍ ኢዩ፡፡

ካዲሳርሳ ጉዳይ ከንቋሳ ተክል!

ሊከፍቱ ኤ.ሲ.ሲ. በዛግባ ምዕራፍ ል.ወ.ጉ.ክብ መዘነት /

ህዝቢ ኦርትዶ ገጠማዊነትን ከሉ ዓይነት ጭፍን ከባ ሱሪ በገ ቶሎ ገመድናው አብቲ ውናታቱ ለማ ረሀዋን ፍትሕን ሰላምን ዘመልክ ሻይ ሽብርተኛቸው ገመድናው፡ ቃልሱ ብግቢ ተረጎሙትን መስፍንነትን የሰላሰ ል አሉ፡፡ ብወራሕነት ህ.ሳ.ሲ.ኤ.፡ ፍይ ገዛክ ርክቡ ሻይልን ገበረትን አበራረ፡ ሻይልነት አናክረልደለሁ፡ ገዥሉ ግንቃሪ ወይታት ፍይ ጸላክን አደብርብርትን አናመጠሁ፡ አህ ጉራ ይ ምዘነት አናገባዩ ዘቫይድ ዘሉ ፍትሻዊ ህዝባዊ ቃልሲ ስለዘሆነ ከአ ግወተ ፍይ ገደን ኢፍ፡፡

ዘሆነ ሃገራዊ ግንቃሪነት፡ ልክዕ ከም ከሉ ሽብርተኛቸው፡ ብምፍታሕ ፍይቲ ወሽጫዊ ገርጭታቱ አናጭዕበለ ገቻራዊት ይሰገም፡፡ ሃገራዊ ደብዳቤ ስያዊ ሰውራ፡ ብሻይ ወገን ገዥሎ ሃገራውያን አሕቢረ ነቲ ቀዳማዊ ገር ጭት ገመፍታሕ፡ አገገር መገዛክትን ሃጸይነትን መስፍንነትን ብረታዊ ቃልሲ የከይድ፡ በቲ ሻይ ከአ፡ ነቲ ከላክዊ ገርጭታቱ ገመፍታሕ አብወሽጡ ደብዳቤ ራስያዊ ቃልሲ የሰላሰል፡፡ ክብ ሻይ ሃገራዊ ደብዳቤ ስያዊ ግንቃሪነት፡ ክቲ ሰውራዊ ወራሕ አናሻዳለ፡ ቀኑዕ መስመረ አናገባለሉ ክብ ዘቫይድ አዋን፡ ክቲ ክብ መገን ገሰገሰትን አደብርብርትን ዘካየድ ደርባዊ ገርጭታት አናበልሸ ይኸይድ፡፡ አደብርብርቲ ክብ ቅደሚ ግይናም ሻይሎ ኪደከም፡ መጸኢ ረብሻክም ክንተል ተል፡ ሕልምም ኪቻህም ስለዘረክኖም፡ ምልክም ገም ላስ ወይ በታኦም ገምጥጫሕ የዕለብጡን ፈገጠርጠር ይብሉ፡፡ አዘ ገሉ ምዘነት ክብ ፍቃም መስዘይዕወተ ለማ ነቲ ሰውራዊ ገሰገሰ ገመድነታፍን ገመፍታሕን ይንቀሳቅሱ፡፡ ክብ ከምዚ ዘሆለ ኩነታት፡ አደብርብርትን ተበላጽትን ስሰዕ ረብሻክም ገመፍታሕ መስ ጸላኢ ከይተረፈ ምዘብርን ወሽጫዊ ግንቃሪነትን መገባርን ዕጩቻት ይኸኑ፡፡ ስለዚ፡ ግንቃሪ ፍይቲ ክ ደብርብርቲ ገዥሉ ነቲ ሰውራ ክብ ሻይገኛ ሰዕቢን ምልክላይ ጥራይ ዘይከነሰ ሻይነት ፍይ ገም ሰውራውያን ሻይልታት ብምደልጻል፡ ደርባዊ ገቻሕት ሻይሽ ህዝቢ ክብ ብምባል፡ ገሰገሰን መጸኢ ግወትን ሰውራ ከምዘረገገኽ ተሕብር ሰውራ ግለም ይምህረፍ፡፡

በ23 መጋቢት 1976 ልክሽ ወጸኢ ጉዳይ ክብ መዘነት ብምዕራፍ፡ ነቲ ምስ ህ.ሳ.ሲ.ኤ. ዘነበራ ዝምድና ብተኸኸት፡ ምዘነታት መብተኸኸ ከአ ህ.ሳ.ሲ.ኤ. ክብቲ ብዘዕባ መክባዊ ስምረት ዘለዋ ገሰገሰ መስመር ፈልክት ከይበለት፡ ነቲ ብፍይ ወጸኢ ተጽዕኖ ዘተፈጸመ፡ ገመፍታሕ ተበላጽትን አደብርብርትን ዘሕሉ ወዕል ከር ኦም ብዘይምቐባላ ኢፍ፡፡ ነቲ ቀኑዕ መርገጺ ፍይ ህ.ሳ.ሲ.ኤ. ሸራፍ ገህዝቢ ኦርትዶን ደገፍታን ገመድነታፍ፡ ልክሽ ወጸኢ ጉዳይ ብ25 መጋቢት 1976 "አገዳሲ አዋጅ ገህዝቢ ኦርትዶ" ብዘበል ጸሎፍ፡ ህ.ሳ.ሲ.ኤ. ነቲ ፍይ ህዝቢ ኦርትዶ ፍይ ስምረት ድሌት ገምት ስለዘይሃበት፡ ብዘዕባ ክመጸክ ስምረት ዘለዋ ርክቡ ብረህ ስለ ዘይከነ፡ ምስ ህ.ሳ.ሲ.ኤ. ዘለዋ ምዕራፍ ከም ዘቋረጸት፡ ነቲ ክብ ኢዳ

ዘሉ ጥሪት ብረት፡ ዕጥድ፡ ስንድ፡ አፈውስ፡ ገንዘብ፡... ወዘተ / ፍይ ህ.ሳ.ሲ.ኤ. ለማ ዘገደደ ምዘቋረጻልን ምዘቋረጻልን ገዥምጽክ፡ ገመድነት ሰውራ ኦርትዶ ብምባይ ህ.ሳ.ሲ.ኤ. ከምዘይተረከበ ገለ ጸት፡ አዘ ገይራ ክተባብሮ፡ ክታ ዘነበረት ልክሽ ወጸኢ ጉዳይ ምስ ሻይ ደት አደብርብርቲ ኦርትዶውያን ብምትሕብባር ብሰም ህ.ሳ.ሲ.ኤ. ምዘ ቋጥ ገፍ ትቐጽል ክለ፡፡

ለሚ ህ.ሳ.ሲ.ኤ. ክብ ምልክ ኦርትዶ ሰውራዊ ቃልሲ አናጭረት፡ ገመትከላዊ ስምረት ሰውራ አናጸጻረት፡ ገመፍታሕ አናገቃሕትን አናወደበትን፡ ገህዝቢ ኦርትዶ ብፍላይ ለማ ነቲ ክብ ክሕቲክ ተግባሩ ዘሉ በማክታት አሸካሪ ዘቐር ህዝቢ አናክላዩት፡ ገዥገር ፍይቲ ክብ ስዳን ዘሕ ኢሉ ክደዳ ጥራትን ሕማምን ሞትን ዘቫውገ ዘሉ ስይተፍ ኦርትዶዊ መስረታውን ገዝያውን ፍታሕ አናገደዩት፡ ማክላይ ዘይብሉ ሰውራዊ ሰከም ጸይራ ገቻ ዲሚት ትገሰገሰ ክለ፡፡ ገዝኣት ኢትዮጵያ ብወገን ነዚ ሰውራዊ ገሰገሰ ዘ ምዕጋት ስኢኑ፡ ፍይ ግብረ ጸበት፡ ክብ ልዕሊ ሰላማዊ ህዝባናን ገበረቱን፡ ሰንገረን ጠያይትን በምባታትን ሻይን ብምዘገብ ፈረሰታዊ ፍይ ህልቲት ክፍተት የከይድ ክለ፡፡ ነዚ ፈረሰታዊ ቀጭን ዘ ገመፍታሕ ገፍራ ጸላኢ አናቃለዕት፡ ገሰውራ ኦርትዶ ብገባኡ አናላላዩት ዘሆነሽ ገፍታዊ ደገፍ ከተፍዱን ከተምጽኡን ክብ ዘገባኡ ክዋን፡ ክታ ዘነበረት ልክሽ ወጸኢ ጉዳይ ነቲ ብሰም ተገዳሳይ ህዝቢ ኦርትዶ፡ ብፍላይ ለማ ብሰም ህ.ሳ.ሲ.ኤ. ዘተክከቦ ብረትን ዕጥቅን ስንቅን አፈውስን ገንዘብን ምዕጋት፡ ምስቲ ገሰውራ ኦርትዶ ገመፍታሕ ገህዝቢ ኦርትዶ ገምህላቕ ዘፍጸም ዘሉ ወይት ጸላኢ ብገብራ ምትሕብባር ማለት ኢፍ፡፡

ክታ ዘነበረት ልክሽ ወጸኢ ጉዳይ በዚ ጥራይ ክይተወሰነትን፡፡ አደብርብርቲ ሻይላ ገመፍታሕ ነቲ ብሰም ህዝቢ ዘተክከቦ ገንዘብ አና ነስነሰት፡ ደብር ስብከት አና ተጠቐመት፡ አገገር ህ.ሳ.ሲ.ኤ. ክጸላሚ ገርገገገዳ አና ነዘሕት፡ አደብርብርቲን ተበላጽትን ገመትከብከብ ትንቀሳቅሱ ክለ፡፡ ብተወሰኹ፡ ክብ መዘነት ወራዳ ከተባብሮ፡ ከም ክፈኛ ፍይ ህ.ሳ.ሲ.ኤ.፡ ገህ.ሳ.ሲ.ኤ.፡ ገመፍታሕ ደገፍታሕ ደርባዊ ስምረትን ግለቲካዊ ዕጥታትን ትቐጽል ክለ፡፡

ገለ ክባላት ፍይታ ዘነበረት ልክሽ ወጸኢ ጉዳይ ደርባዊ ረብሻክ ም ገመፍታሕ አደብርብርቲ ወይታት ምልክም አዘ ፈላጭም ክይከነን፡፡ ክቲ ፍሉጥ ተበላጺ ውሰጣን ስልሕ ሰባን አደብርብርቲ ተሸባብርቱን ክብ ልዕሊ ሰውራ ኦርትዶን ተገደላይ ህዝባናን ብዘሕ ገባናትን በላጽን ፈጺ ምዘ ኢፍ፡፡ ክባላት ልዕሊዊ ባይቶ ክብ ዘነበረሉ ክዋን /1961-69 /፡ መናብርም ገመፍታሕ ክልክዊ ገርጭታት አናባርዑ ገህዝብን ተገደልትን ብዘሕ መክፍራልን ምቐገጻልን ክውረዱሉ፡፡ ገህዝቢ ኦርትዶ ዘይመንነት አና ሃቡ፡ ገሰውራ ኦርትዶ ብገገይ መስመር ክላላዩት፡ ደብሪ ልክሽ ወጸኢ ጉዳይ ፍይ ህ.ሳ.ሲ.ኤ. ምዕራፍ ለማ አደብርብርቲ ፖለቲካኦም ጽሉ፡፡ ገክብነት፡ ብ1974 ፈረሰታዊ ወተሃደራዊ ደርገ ክብ ኢትዮጵያ ስልጣን መገንሰቲ ምስ ወጠጠ፡ ገገዳይ ኦርትዶ "ሰላማዊ ፍታሕ" ገመፍታሕ ምስኩ ኪላዘቡ

ቀረባት ከም ዚኾኑ ገለጽ፡፡ ብመስከረም 1975 ብዘይ ፍቓድ ናይ ህ.ሐ.ሐ.፡፡ ብሰም ህ.ሐ.ሐ.፡፡ ምስ ሰውራዊ ባይቶ ኢኮኖሚ ርገ ተበላጽጎ ዚኾነ ዘይቆገደ ናይ ስምረት ውዕል ተፈረረ፡፡ ናይዚ ኹሉ መዘዘዊ ደማ፡ ህ.ሐ.ሐ.፡፡ ምስ ናይ ልኡክ ወጻኢ ጉዳይጎ ውዕል ካርታን ብዘይቆገላ፡ ገህ.ሐ.ሐ.፡፡ ገምብርካኸጎ ምሕናቕጎ ከብ መዘ ነቲ ወረዳ ከተባቐዕ፡ ወይታዲ ማጎቕሰኛ ስፍንጃ ክላ፡፡

በዚ መሰረት ዚኣኡ ኤርትራውያን ገና ጽኑት ኣብ ባሜን ኣመሪካ ኡ. ና.ሰ.ኣ. ፈ- -

1. ነቲ ናይ ህ.ሐ.ሐ.፡፡ ዚነበረት ልኡክ ወጻኢ ጉዳይ
 - ሀ. ኣብዚ ህዝቢ ኤርትራ ኣይዳ ዊፍጠፈን ህልደትን ከይት ዚሰቕሩሉ ዘሉ ኣዋጎ ናይ ህዝቢ ብረትን ስጎቅን ኣፈውስን ብምዕገታ፡፡
 - ለ. ከብ መዘ ነቲ ወረዳ ከተባቐዕ፡ ብሰም ህ.ሐ.ሐ.፡፡ ፖለቲካዊ ገጥ ፈታትን ደገሎሊዳዊ ርክባትን ብምቕጻላ፡፡
 - ሐ. ገመራሕ በውራ ኤርትራ፡ ገህ.ሐ.ሐ.፡፡ ገምባላም፡ ገህዝቢ ኤርትራ ገምሕናቕ ፕርፓፓገዳ ብምገባፈ፡፡
 - መ. ኣኢኮኖሚ ሓይሊ ገምጃው ብምጎቕሰኛባ፡፡
 - ሠ. ብሐፈሽኦ ጸረ-ህዝባውን ጸረ-ሰውራውን ተፈ ብምሳዘ፡፡ ኣጥቢቓ ትኩገገ፡፡
2. ገህዝባዊ ሓይልታት ሰርነት ኤርትራ
 - ሀ. መትከላዊ ስምረት ሓይልታት በውራ ኤርትራ ገምባላም ብምቕጻላ፡፡
 - ለ. ገናይ ኣኢኮኖሚካትን ተበላጽትን ምዝባዕባዕን ምፍርፊህን ክነ ገንዳላዊ ተጽዕኖ ዋጋ ክይሃበት ኣብ መትከላ ብምርገዳ፡፡
 - ሐ. ኣምነቲ ኣብ ሓፈሽ ህዝባን ርክሰኻ ምክክልን ብምገባፈ፡፡
 - መ. ኣብ ሃገራዊ ደብዳቤዳዊ መትከል ረገክ፡ ሓይላትን ታልሰን ኣናዘውተረት፡ ነቲ ምስ ልኡክ ወጻኢ ጉዳይ ዚነበራ ዝመደኖ ብሜላ ገነደክ ኣዋጎ ደክሪ ምሳኪ፡ ምክንቲ ቅኑዕ በውራዊ መትከል ክቢድ ገዝዳዊ ሽገር ምጻር ብምምራጻ፡፡
 - ሠ. ኣቲ ከዳዕን ተበላጽጎ ወይታት ዚፈጥሮ ጸገማት ደምበርጽ ክይበላ ብበውራዊ ቀይጽነትን ርክሰ-መሰዋክትን ገምባላም ብምዕገታ፡፡ ምሉእ ድጋፍ ክህብ፡፡
3. ሀ. ተገደልቲ ናይ ህ.ሐ.ሐ.፡፡ ን ናይ ተ.ሐ.ኤ.ገ.፡፡ ነዚ በቲ ከብ ቀይሖ ኣትሒዞዎ ዚፈልጎዎ ኣኢኮኖሚ ፍጹህ ዚፍጸም ዘሉ ወይታት ከም ዘታልውን ዚታወቑን ምሉእ ኣምነት ብምገባፈ፡፡ መትከላዊ ሓይላትን ኣናኣይልደሉ ኣገጻር ዚኾነ ተበላጽጎ ኣኢኮኖሚካት ሓይሊ ገብታሉ፡፡

ለ. ገቡሉ ሃገራዊ ኤርትራዊ፡ ገመባክ ሓፈሽ ኤርትራ፡ ብፍላይ ደማ ነቲ ኣብ ወጻኢ ዚርከብ ናይ ኤርትራውያን ውዳባት፡ ነቲ ዚነበረት ልኡክ ወጻኢ ጉዳይ ገህ.ሐ.ሐ.፡፡ ገገውሃብ ክተሓሰብ፡ ነቲ ጸገር ኩነታት ዘውደቑሉ ሃገራዊ ሓፈሻነት ደማ ብጽራሕ ነት ኪሰከም፡፡ በውራዊ ጸውዒት ተቐርብ፡፡

4. ገቡሉ ፈታው በውራ ኤርትራ፡ ብፍላይ ገደባውያን ገሰገሰትን ሃገራትን ሰልፍታትን ውዳባትን፡ ነዚ ኣብ በውራ ኤርትራ ተፈጠረ ዘሉ ሓፈሽ ሓደሻባ ብጥገታቕ ብምጽናዕ፡ ነቲ ምስታ ዚነበረት ልኡክ ወጻኢ ጉዳይ ዚነበርግ ዝመደኖ ክፈርጽ ገኣትወሰይ ዘላ ጸረ-ህዝባውን ጸረ-ሰውራውን ስጎምቲታት ከኾነት፡ ገህ.ሐ.ሐ.፡፡ ደማ ፖለቲካውን ገዋታውን ፍናናውን ደገፍኦ ከብ ከብሉን ትጽውዕ፡፡
5. ኣብ መረብታ
 - ሀ. ናይታ ዚነበረት ልኡክ ወጻኢ ጉዳይ ከብ መዘ ነት ምውራዊ ገምጎቕሰኛ ፊት ሃገራዊ ሓፈሻነት ህዝቢ ኤርትራ፡ ብፍላይ ደማ ነቲ ገሰገሰ ሓይሊ በውራ ኤርትራ ዓቢ ዓወት መፂኑ ብምርዳኡ ሓገሩ ትገልጽ፡፡
 - ለ. ናይታ ዚነበረት ልኡክ ወጻኢ ጉዳይ ከብ ህ.ሐ.ሐ.፡፡ ምክላይ ኣብ ሜዳ ነቲ ገሰገሰ በውራዊ መሰመር ህ.ሐ.ሐ.፡፡ ከም ዘይልደል፡ ኣብ ወጻኢ ቅኑዕ መሰመር ህ.ሐ.ሐ.፡፡ ብገባኡ ገክዘርገሕ ምጽኡ ኩነታት ከም ዚፈጥር፡ መትከላዊ ስምረት ሓይልታት በውራ ኤርትራ ከብ ከም ዘብል ትኣምን፡፡
 - ሐ. ገዚኸነ ደገኻ ኣኢኮኖሚ ሓይሊ ከም ኣትታዎምን፡ ነዚ ክደፍት ተበላጽትን ኣኢኮኖሚካትን ዚፈጠር ገዝዳዊ ጸገማት ገምባላም ሓፈሻነታ ገምባካም ዕጥቕቲ ምፂኖን ተረገገ፡፡

ውድቀት ገመገዛኡን ሃጻይነትን ምድክርሰርገ፡፡
ዓወት ገጽሲ ዊቶን ህዝቢ ኤርትራ!

EPLF Memorandum

In light of the outcome of the Khartoum meeting of March 18-23, 1976, between the Foreign Mission and a delegation representing the Field, the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces (EPLF) leadership would like to submit the following memorandum to all friends of the Eritrean revolution - states, organizations and personalities - which supported the struggle of the Eritrean people financially, morally and materially. The EPLF leadership reaffirms that the outcome of the Khartoum meeting was a natural result of the abnormal and unique nature of the relationship between the Field and the Foreign Mission.

To further clarify this relationship which has prevailed since the inception of the revolution in 1961, we would like to briefly explain the following facts.

Exiled nationalist elements had established the Eritrean Liberation Front on the second year of the armed struggle and appointed themselves as the leaders of this organization under the name of the "Supreme Council" of the Eritrean Liberation Front. By virtue of the blind confidence which was vested in any nationalist elements as well as the lack of awareness of the requirements of the revolution, the Supreme Council was looked upon as a traditional leadership above criticism and accountability. The Council exploited the confidence of the masses and their lack of awareness to make itself an absolute authority. During the period of political enlightenment in 1967, the forces in the Eritrean field began putting forward clearly defined demands calling for the general restructuring of the Front. However, because of its paternal outlook, the Supreme Council carried out superficial reforms that did not get to the core of the matter. This deprived the Supreme Council of the confidence it had enjoyed in the early stages. Despite the absence of this confidence, the Supreme Council was able to stay in power by engendering and fanning internal contradictions on the Eritrean scene.

When the EPLF was founded in 1970, the Supreme Council had undergone a serious split caused by internal power struggle and the "General Secretariat" had emerged as a counterweight to the Supreme Council. The initial relationship of the EPLF with the General Secretariat stemmed from their common stand against the fascist practices of the General Command in the field.

When, in early 1972, the General Secretariat changed its name to the "Foreign Mission", the EPLF accepted this as it was itself passing through a transitional stage. However, once again, the Foreign Mission attempted to place itself above criticism and accountability.

The EPLF's objective of clearly defining and straightening out the vague and tense relationship that had existed between the Field and the foreign mission since 1962 could not be carried out because of the civil war. However, as soon as the civil war was over and the EPLF prepared to settle the question of the relationship between the Foreign Mission and the Field, the Foreign Mission concocted the Khartoum Agreement with the aim of circumventing the principled stand of the EPLF regarding the unity of the Eritrean revolution. The Foreign Mission attempted to impose the Khartoum Agreement - an agreement that serves its interests, enables it to perpetuate its claim of absolute dictation on the Eritrean revolution, and exercise political extortion against a people who have suffered the ugliest form of colonialism.

Therefore, the EPLF regards the resignation of the Foreign Mission as an inestimably valuable gain. On this basis, we hereby declare that the former Foreign Mission no longer represents nor has it any right to speak on behalf of the EPLF as of March 23, 1976, the date on which it announced its resignation from the EPLF. Furthermore, the EPLF would like to reassure the friends of the Eritrean people that the resignation of the Foreign Mission will in no way affect its basic principles regarding the unity of the forces of the Eritrean revolution. It will continue the armed struggle until the evacuation of the last soldier of the Ethiopian occupation forces, the liberation of every inch of Eritrean territory and the establishment of a democratic government which will assure all Eritreans freedom, equality and peace.

With best regards,

The leadership of the EPLF.

March 28, 1976.

