

A BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF  
AND PROGRAM RECOMMENDATIONS FOR  
ERITREANS FOR LIBERATION

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A BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW  
OF  
ERITREANS FOR LIBERATION

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Eritreans for Liberation started as a manifestation of emotional reaction by Eritreans in the United States to the barbaric massacres of Eritrean peasants and workers in Keren on December 16, 1970. Its formation was, in no way, the result of an organized and pre-planned effort by any coherent group or individual, as some have claimed, but a spontaneous manifestation of the general outrage of most Eritreans at that time. Thus, whereas there was no open mention of the Eritrean struggle before November of 1970 amongst most Eritreans, there was a fully functioning organization by February whose claimed function was not just to support the efforts of Eritrean fighters in the field, but "to radically change the nature of the Eritrean struggle and provide the guiding light to its long term objectives." This presumptuous posture right from the outset, that is, building an organization based on emotional reaction and claiming to have goals that require extreme maturity, political understanding, and concrete knowledge and grasp of the history and conditions of the Eritrean liberation struggle, has lived with us throughout the short history of our organization.

In order to better understand the formation, activities, problems and developments of E.F.L., it is necessary to look into the characteristics of Eritreans here who make up the organization. What are the backgrounds and individual aspirations that characterize us? And how do these backgrounds and aspirations manifest themselves in our relationships and activities within E.F.L.?

The nature and characteristics of Eritreans here can be categorized into three major areas:

1) Firstly, there are those who are the sons and daughters of the Eritrean bourgeoisie who come here through family bursaries or Ethiopian government endowments. To this group, education is seen not as a hard won achievement but as a class determined privilege. Their coming here is thus viewed as a means of enhancing their personal position, be it through name or material wealth, or simply in as much as it increases their enjoyment of the comfortable life of this highly industrialized, plastic society.

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2) The second group comprises of the sons and daughters of the Eritrean petty bourgeoisie and workers who, for the most part, come here through government or other organizational scholarships. This group is the most motivated to succeed academically and the most ambitious to find material success in the future. Its members are most keenly interested in upward social mobility on the one hand and family support on the other. They thus view their coming here as a solid means of enhancing their material and personal ambitions.

3) The third group includes young workers and others who, for some reason or another, discontinued their education. This group is generally of petty bourgeois and worker background, but it has one characteristic which sets it distinctly apart from the masses of similar Eritreans who are working in menial jobs in Eritrea and Ethiopia: its capacity to deal and manipulate things around it. It also has a high sense of adventurism. These two characteristics carried it here to the United States.

It was out of these three highly diverse general groups that a united Eritrean student and worker organization was to be created whose programs allowed, or rather demanded, the participation of everyone. This diversity of composition made it impossible to begin with a common understanding of the goals, functions and essential structure of the new organization. This absence of a common basis, in turn, necessarily meant varying degrees of member commitment and dedication to the organization's hastily formulated program of action. The above underlying sources of contradictions, which were not recognized as such at the time of formation, made it impossible for E.F.L., as conceived, to undertake and work for a common goal under a unified program.

With failure to recognize the above contradictions, the need to create an all inclusive organization had meant that every Eritrean in the United States and Canada (whose whereabouts were known) had to be contacted and informed about the creation of the organization (then Eritrean Youth for Liberation) and his voice heard. Furthermore, the organization tried to pose as a solidly prepared organ of the Eritrean Liberation Struggle. Consequently, letters describing the organization were sent to Eritreans in Europe and "all other parts of the world,"

and an ultimatum letter/was sent to the then two-year defunct high council of the E.L.F. demanding that it hold a national congress "within the shortest possible time; or else, we are ready to contact all other Eritreans at home and abroad, hold a national congress by ourselves, delineate a correct ideology, and start our struggle." These rather presumptuous attempts, that is, trying to bring all Eritreans in North America under the same organization, establishing contact with all organs of the E.L.F. in the field, and announcing its formation to Eritreans throughout the world were, thus, the focus of all organizational activities upto the Summer of 1971.

There were, of course, some attempts made to introduce political education and the study of revolutionary techniques, rather prematurely. But, even these minor attempts failed almost completely, largely due to the conflicting backgrounds of the members described above. The Working Program which was drawn out at the first sub-general meeting in New York (Feb. 27, 1971), had also stipulated that the organization's activities include publicity of the Eritrean case, fund raising, contact with other progressive movements, etc.; but no organized action was undertaken in any of these areas. We can correctly state therefore that the first stage was a formative stage, where the attempt was to create an organization that included all Eritreans in North America whether they agreed in goals or not. The Proclamation and Program of the Liberation Struggle for Socialist Eritrea which, from its title alone, implied that it was to be the guiding manifesto not just of E.F.L. but of the entire Eritrean Liberation struggle, in no way related directly to the actual conditions of the organization here; consequently, it was hardly read or understood. Even among those who did understand and agree with the long term goals of the Eritrean struggle, there never was a clarified and agreed upon path or process of getting there; that is, there never was a program of action for E.F.L. members to follow in order to reach the long term goals of the struggle.

The first general congress, which was held in Washington, D.C., on June 18-20, 1971, brought most of us physically together for the first time. Discussions at the Congress centered around the conditions that existed within the E.L.F., i.e. the division of the Front into the General Command (Kiada) and the Popular Forces. Even though hardly

sufficient information was available on these conditions, there was a tremendous urge within the organization to affiliate itself directly with one group or the other. Discussions, thus, centered not only around the issues but also around the personalities involved in the two groups. These discussions were also, more or less, controlled by personalities from within E.F.L.

Our intention here is to discuss and analyse issues and not personalities. But we must realize that most of the issues surrounding the first congress came about as a result of intrigues master-minded by certain individuals. Because of the looseness of the organization, and the fact that some individuals knew more personalities peripherally or directly involved in the struggle than most of us here, these individuals had become the center of organizational communication and personal information which they used to their fullest advantage. Rather than using such information for the development of the general membership, they tried to control the organization through secret deals--forming select groups, maneuvering individual members, etc. For instance, a certain individual tried to form a select group called the "obedients" or "ደብዳቤ" which, according to his scheme, was to function not only as a means for controlling the organization here, but also as a standing instrument for effectuating any orders that come from the field "when he leaves". To such an individual, whether the general membership understood why certain organizational decisions were taken or not hardly mattered. In retrospect, the operational climate and procedures seemed to duplicate those of the Eritrean struggle in the 1950's when, because of the general conditions and the specific stage of the struggle at the time, that is, the constant surveillance of the enemy and the urban nature of the struggle, activist patriots had to depend on secrecy and even on unquestioning obedience to planned orders for the survival and effectiveness of the struggle.

The Congress ended without providing any clearer ideology, program of action, or organizational structure than before. The only clear decision taken was to support the Popular Forces and it was not even defined how and in what ways. The structure and function of the Coordinating Committee remained still undefined. It was simply decided that "Eritreans in New York" should collectively be the Coordinating Committee. There was no constitution of any kind, and no qualitative basis for membership. The only bases for membership were that one was Eritrean by

blood and that he/she paid \$20.00 a year, and these were based on tacit agreements with no mechanism for enforcement.

Because of the lack of clearly delineated functions and an agreed upon structure, the New York Chapter as a Coordinating Committee functioned hardly for a month before its vulnerability to individual maneuvers was made apparent. The issues surrounding the sending of representatives to the Congress of Eritreans in Europe are too well known to most of us. The roots of continuous conflict were sowed both within the Coordinating Committee and throughout the organization by the maneuvers and intrigues that were played individually on the generally gullible membership. These intrigues aroused reactions from some Eritreans and continued to become the sources of almost every major breakdown throughout the year. Mistrust and personality clashes became rampant throughout the fall of 1971.

The Coordinating Committee in New York contained Eritreans with differing ideological inclinations and levels of commitment. Clashes continued to occur as a result, and because such clashes manifested themselves through some individuals, it was felt that changing the personalities in the Central Coordinating Committee would eliminate the basis of the conflicts. The composition of the Central Committee was thus changed several times, but no organizational change ensued.

Similarly, personality clashes arose in almost all the other chapters, and mistrust, general apathy, gossiping and counter-gossiping were rampant throughout the organization. The Boston and Philadelphia chapters became defunct for all practical purposes, and the others "functioned" only in as much as they held occasional meetings. A general meeting was called by the Coordinating Committee in New York on November 24th to try to create a common understanding of the internal problems that existed and to find a common solution, but it was hardly possible. Rather, the meeting brought other sources of conflict into the surface. The \$1000.00 which was to be sent to the field through an intermediary in Europe never reached the fighters, and personal accusations to those considered responsible were brought up. Some members of the Coordinating Committee also came under heavy attack from some others for donating money to ESUNA (when Mesfin Habtu died) without everybody's knowledge. These issues polarized members into personal corners and no common under-

standing, let alone a common solution, was reached.

The coming of Ato Woldeab, Osman Sabbe and Taha Nur to New York in December infused some new life into the organization. Given the general frustration and mistrust that existed within E.F.L., most members found common denominator only with these unexpected guests. In the general meeting that ensued, a lot came to see the guests rather than to find a basis for active involvement. Nonetheless, their coming increased the general morale of most members and also helped some to gain more inner information on the conditions within the field. However, here again, it was only certain individuals who gained such information taking advantage of the general lack of structure within the organization.

The first positive step in the structural development of this organization was made when in late January the New York Chapter decided to dissolve the old Central Coordinating Committee and replaced it by two members who were to devote their whole time to work as coordinators. A new life seemed to have been infused into the organization with the work of these two Coordinators. An E.F.L. journal, the Eritrean, started coming out for the first time since the organization was created. Most Chapters started working more actively as witnessed by the various fund raising and other activities that were carried out around that time. There was a general period of questioning when past sources of conflict were more openly discussed. Unfortunately, however, although the personal conflicts and general mistrust mostly created by the events surrounding the previous year seemed to have subsided, there hardly was any basic agreement and understanding of the goals of the organization; soon, the bases of deeper frustration were coming into the surface. The function of the organization was seen differently by different groups. To some, E.F.L. was mainly an organization within which one finds a common social umbrella to interact with other Eritreans here in North America, i.e. to find some social identity within an alien society. To some others, it was seen as an organization within which one collects enough "guts" to get up one day and physically join the struggle in the field. Still some others saw the organization as a forum within which members develop themselves politically as a group in order to be able to effectuate positive change within the struggle. These differing views towards the functions or goals

of the organization militated against each other when it came to members agreeing on specific programs of action over a period of time. As a result, some individuals started identifying others who hold similar ideas with them and designing similar future plans as a group. Such informal small "groups" thus existed agreeing in ideas but hardly doing anything concrete. All professed to agree with each other for positive ends, and as such, there was no open antagonism among them at all.

The 2nd Congress of E.F.L. in June, 1972, greatly reflected a positive development in the organization. Discussions centered around ideological issues such as the question of revolutionary leadership and practical issues such as what the role of E.F.L. should be in the Eritrean struggle. An attempt was made to analyse Eritrean society on which the Eritrean Liberation Struggle has to be based, and seeing that no basic analysis can be made without some basic political understanding, the Congress formed a Political Education Committee to help us gain such understanding. A constitution was adopted which introduced some structure into the organization, although it stopped short of introducing any new structure into the leadership of the organization. In general, the Congress revolved around the discussion of concrete issues related to the struggle rather than personalities or issues of petty conflict.

A great moral boost was given to the general membership by a paper written by fighters in the field clearly stating their ideology, their views on the national liberation struggle, their actions and needs. As a result of this position paper which, for the first time since the inception of our organization, provided us with a clarified positive ideology and concrete material needs of the fighters in the field, almost all members pledged to contribute towards raising \$10,000.00 by September 1st to send to the field.

Right after the Congress, all members started their Chapter activities positively, and attempts were made to introduce more solid structure in chapter organizations. Here again, however, it becomes necessary to stress the organizational weakness of E.F.L. as a whole. Soon after the Congress, almost in a similar manner as the year before, the same individual tried to infiltrate all chapters and create puppet

followers. Although the general membership has reached a much higher level of political awareness and understanding than a year ago, the structural looseness of the organization left certain uninformed individuals vulnerable to maneuvers similar to those of the preceding year. It was after quite some time that such a scheme and its potentially disruptive and divisive consequences were openly discussed and exposed. Such negative schemes, and the lack of avenues for dealing with them on an organizational basis, had previously served as a pretext for others to group themselves in order to collectively plan approaches to joining the struggle outside the framework of E.F.L. Even now, the structural weakness of the organization continues to allow certain motivated individuals to scheme and intrigue for purposes of their own under the veil of the loose organizational umbrella.

It could rationally be said that the above conditions were created as a result of one continued shortcoming our organization has had since its inception. We have created an organization whose goals we want to be political but whose structure has remained strictly social. Although we profess to have long term political goals, we have never developed a program of action based on such goals. Although our political goals necessitated that we interact on the basis of issues, we have continued to deal on the basis of personalities and friendships. Although working actively for the Eritrean liberation struggle demands that we develop a means of identifying those who support it actively and those who do not, we have created such a loose organization that includes everyone. In short, we have an organization with no clearly defined goals or functions, no concrete program of action, and no solid organizational structure to effectuate any concrete program.

Thus, the foregoing brief account and analysis indicates not so much the individual strength of divisive elements but the collective weakness of E.F.L. members and the organization as a whole. It is with this understanding that the need for this special congress was recognized. In a way, this Congress signifies a positive development in our thinking. However, it will become a concrete landmark in our organizational development only if we recognize it as such and make the changes necessary for our organization to become a more functional supportive organ of the Eritrean Liberation Struggle.

In our last Congress we discussed, although not in depth, the long term and intermediate goals of the Eritrean liberation struggle. It was understood that the long term objective of the Eritrean Liberation Struggle was to bring about a socialist transformation of Eritrean society within an African context. We also understood, however, that the first step was to achieve national liberation. Facing colonial and imperialist oppression at the same time, it is necessary that all Eritrean forces opposed to such oppression be mobilized in the struggle to achieve national liberation. However, such mobilization needs to be directed by a political party under the control of those Eritreans who oppose oppression in its totality--the workers and the peasants--so that the long term objective may be achievable. In order for such a political party to emerge in our country, however, it is necessary that a strong political-military body be created within the field that can unite the fighters for a common national goal and provide the birthmark of a national political-military organization.

It is within the above context, therefore, that we should identify our role and draw our programs of action. Given the long term objective of the Eritrean Liberation Struggle and the shorter term steps that are necessary to carry out in order to attain it, what should be the immediate program of action that we should adopt and implement?

Since the critical need within our struggle now is the creation of a vanguard political body that will unify all the fighters under a single national front, our role here should be to provide maximum support to the progressive elements in the field that are working towards the creation of such a body. Our activities thus should include the following necessary elements:

1. Organizational Mobilization of all Eritreans Outside the Field

Eritreans who are both inside and outside the country should be mobilized to organize themselves for the material (both financial and human) and political support of the same political body in the field. How do we start this effort?

- (a) We organize ourselves here more solidly under the leadership of dedicated and able executive committee

which will not only coordinate but also guide and direct our activities;

- (b) We sanction the executive committee to make all necessary communications (in writing and/or in person) with Eritreans in Europe, the Middle East, Ethiopia and at home. Such communication should lead to the formation of solid organizations in these areas with a common goal, i.e. the direct support of the political body in the field;
- (c) We coordinate what we do here with the activities of all the other organized groups so that our work becomes cumulative.

2. The Development of Political Awareness Among Eritreans

The Eritrean National Liberation Struggle is a political struggle, not just a military fight. As such, Eritreans for Liberation and all other Eritrean groups organized to support the Struggle for national liberation, must necessarily be political and not social organizations. It is absolutely essential that all of us clearly understand this vital point. It is also essential to recognize that in order to make E.F.L. a political organization, we have to have some basic political understanding. To achieve this fundamental political understanding, it is necessary that we:

- (a) develop a basic understanding of revolutionary theory which will help us analyse the specific conditions of our people and the nature of our enemies as well as our friends, so that we would be able to grasp the elements of a correct strategy for the mobilization of our people and the conduct of our struggle;
- (b) study the history and present condition of our country within the framework of revolutionary theory in order to gain an understanding of the correct basis for our struggle;

- (c) gain a basic understanding of the conditions and developments in the Third World, particularly those of Africa, so that we can learn from the experiences of other similarly colonized and oppressed peoples;
- (d) base all our activities and organizational interrelationships on political questions and issues rather than on personal friendships or social cliques.

3. The Creation of an Organic Link with the Struggle in the Field

The Eritrean National Liberation struggle can only be fought and won within Eritrea. Whatever we do outside Eritrea, therefore, is only a supportive effort, and as such, it needs to be directly coordinated with, if not directed by, the active struggle at home. It is necessary therefore that we have direct contact with the fighters in the field both in writing and in person in order to be able to learn of their developments, identify their needs, and plan our direction and programs in a way that would provide them with maximum support. How do we proceed to do this?

- (a) We recognize the executive committee as the only organ of our communication so that the personalized communication links that exist now no longer dominate our contact.
- (b) We sanction the executive committee to send one or more representatives to wherever necessary to establish avenues for direct link with the fighters in the field.
- (c) We develop one single formal avenue of communication with the field so that there will be consistency and continuity in our communication.

4. Political Support to the Struggle

The Eritrean Liberation Struggle is hardly known to the progressive world whose political solidarity and material support it vitally

needs. Besides, the enemies of the Eritrean people have continuously distorted the true cause of our national liberation struggle in an attempt to isolate it from sources of potential support. It is, therefore, our duty to publicize the legitimate cause of the Eritrean liberation struggle and the heroic achievements of our gallant fighters to all progressive forces around us. We do this by:

- (a) preparing descriptive and analytical papers on the Eritrean Struggle and distributing them among progressive organizations and individuals;
- (b) participating in political programs and other organized activities of progressive groups and giving written and/or oral presentations;
- (c) organizing informative and educational programs that would provide maximum publicity.

5. Material Support to the Fighters in the Field

The need for supporting the vanguard fighters in the field materially needs no emphasis. We should realize that no armed liberation war can be sustained, let alone won, on the basis of outside material support alone. The vital part of the material needs of the Eritrean Liberation Struggle has to come from the Eritrean people themselves. As a part of this national effort, therefore, we should:

- (a) raise the maximum amount of money possible every year through the personal efforts of individual members, i.e., through fund raising events, by approaching other organizations, etc;
- (b) send all collected funds to the fighters through the same formal avenue of our communication with them;

- (c) coordinate our fund raising efforts with those of other Eritrean groups outside of Eritrea, as a unified program would bring higher morale and greater political impact.

6. Funnelling Prepared Eritreans Here to Join the Struggle

We should always bear in mind that the Eritrean Liberation Struggle is being fought and can only be won within Eritrea itself. Our efforts here can, at best, only play a supportive role to the active struggle within our country. It should also be realized that the armed struggle in the field is only one aspect, although the major one, of the overall national liberation struggle of the Eritrean people. "Joining the Struggle" must, therefore, necessarily be taken as a broader concept meaning "fully committing oneself to work for the National Liberation Struggle in whatever ways necessary," rather than only "going to the field to pick up a gun." Understanding this reality, we need to:

- (a) identify all those Eritreans within our organization who are committed to work fully for the Eritrean Liberation Struggle;
- (b) after making an assessment of needs, develop a strategy whereby these committed members can best serve the National Liberation Struggle in accordance with the demands of the armed struggle in the field;
- (c) create an open channel through which committed and prepared members can join the armed struggle in the field.

REVISED CONSTITUTION OF  
ERITREANS FOR LIBERATION IN NORTH AMERICA

PREAMBLE:

Whereas we Eritreans in North America have realized that we have to fully participate in the Eritrean Revolution,

Whereas it is our duty to get prepared for a Socialist Eritrean State in line with the programme we issued in February 29, 1971,

Whereas to achieve these goals we realize that we need to exert a united effort,

Whereas to exert a united effort we need to organize ourselves and establish an Organization,

Now therefore, we Eritreans in North America hereby establish the Organization "Eritreans for Liberation in North America (E.F.L.)", to be guided by the principles embodied within this Constitution.

CHAPTER I

OBJECTIVES OF THE ORGANIZATION

Article 1. To mobilize Eritreans inside and outside the country for the material and political support of the fighters who follow a correct revolutionary line.

Article 2. To promote a revolutionary political awareness amongst Eritreans, including:

- a) a thorough understanding of the history and present conditions of our country and struggle within the framework of revolutionary theory;
- b) the basic understanding of developments in the third world, particularly Africa.

Article 3. To gain political support for the struggle by contacting and establishing effective communications with all progressive groups.

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Article 4. To provide all possible material support to the fighters by raising funds and paying contributions.

Article 5. To send, in coordination with the demands of the struggle, prepared Eritreans to join the struggle.

Article 6. To unite all Eritreans and promote a spirit of love and comradeship for the just cause of the Eritrean people.

Article 7. To develop a broad base for the defeat of Ethiopian Colonialism, Imperialism and Israeli Zionism and establish democracy for the people of Eritrea.

CHAPTER II

MEMBERS  
RIGHT AND DUTY

Article 1. Membership is open to any Eritrean in North America who, upon paying the prescribed membership fee of \$20.00, registers with a chapter closest to him/her or the Executive Committee.

Article 2. In addition to the membership fee prescribed in Article 1 hereof members shall pay a minimum monthly contribution of \$5.00.

Article 3. All members have a right to one vote each.

Article 4. No member may be dismissed from the organization except in serious violations of this Constitution or laws thereof or is found to be detrimental to the organization as determined by the chapter to which he is a member or by the Executive Committee where the member belongs to no chapter.

CHAPTER III

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
ESTABLISHMENT

Article 1. There shall be established an executive committee, which is the official organ of the organization, and whose members shall be of the highest caliber and dedicated to the Eritrean cause.

Article 2. The members of the Executive Committee shall be elected by the General Congress, and they shall hold office for a period of one (1) year with a possible re-election.

COMPOSITION

Article 3. The Executive Committee shall be composed of a President, a Secretary General and a Treasurer.

Article 4. The President shall coordinate the activities of the Executive Committee.

Article 5. The Secretary General shall:

- a) be responsible for all communications within and without the organization;
- b) keep the records of the organization and assume the duties of the President in his absence.

Article 6. The Treasurer shall be responsible for the financial affairs of the organization.

FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES

Article 7. The Executive Committee shall be directly responsible to the Congress and shall make an annual report to the Congress.

Article 8. The Executive Committee shall call at least once a year, and chair a General Congress of the Eritreans for Liberation mentioned in Chapter V, Article 1 hereof.

Article 9. The Executive Committee shall submit a final financial report of the organization to Congress, which report shall, if approved by Congress, be regarded as settled immediately after representatives of each chapter affix their signatures thereto.

Article 10. The Executive Committee shall be responsible for publishing monthly, the publication of the organization, the "Liberation" (Hereinafter referred to as the "Liberation").

- Article 11. (1) The Executive Committee shall maintain effective and constant communication with chapters and members of the organization and shall disseminate all information regarding the Eritrean struggle, except in cases where secrecy, as determined by the Executive Committee, is required.
- (2) The Executive Committee shall make sure that all contributions by members and any other fund raised by chapters or members is forwarded to the treasurer monthly.
- (3) The Executive Committee shall publicize the objectives of the organization and take all the necessary steps to promote and insure the objectives of the organization.

CHAPTER IV.

CHAPTERS

ESTABLISHMENT

- Article 1. In each State of the United States and in Canada where there are more than two (2) Eritreans and are members of Eritreans for Liberation there shall be established a chapter.
- Article 2. Each chapter shall elect officers to perform the functions of each chapter in accordance with the rules and regulations of E.F.L.

FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES

- Article 3. Each chapter shall promote the objectives of the organization in spirit with the provisions of the Constitution and shall follow the rules and regulations of E.F.L. to promote the same.
- Article 4. Each chapter shall be responsible to inform and contact members who reside outside the seat of the chapter.
- Article 5. Each chapter shall be responsible to collect the membership fees and contributions by members mentioned in Chapter I, Articles 1 and 2 hereof respectively.

Article 6. In addition to fees mentioned in Article 4 hereof each chapter shall be responsible to raise funds, through whatever means it deems necessary.

Article 7. Each chapter shall propogate the Eritrean case.

Article 8. Each chapter shall make the necessary arrangements to give extensive political education to its members.

Article 9. Each chapter shall send to the Executive Committee a quarterly report of the work progress it makes.

CHAPTER V.

CONGRESS

Article 1. There shall be a General Assembly of Eritreans for Liberation at least once a year, hereafter called General Congress of Eritreans for Liberation in North America.

Article 2. There shall be a General Congress of Eritreans for Liberation in North America where 50% of the members of Eritreans for Liberation are present.

FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES

Article 3. The General Congress of Eritreans for Liberation shall elect the Executive Committee and may at any time where it deems necessary change the Executive Committee.

Article 4. The General Congress of Eritreans for Liberation with the information obtained from the Executive Committee shall make the policy of Eritreans for Liberation regarding the nature of its support to the struggle at home.

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 1. Amendments. Amendments to this Constitution may only be made by the General Congress.

Article 2. Two-thirds of the members present at the General Congress

of Eritreans for Liberation alone shall be able to pass an amendment to this Constitution.

Article 3. Any other decision may be passed by a simple majority of the members present in the General Congress.

Article 4. In addition to the provision of Chapter III Article 8 hereof any chapter may call a General Congress where it secures signed petition of at least 10 members.

Article 5. All previous and coming rules and regulations enacted or steps taken by any member or group of members or chapter contrary to the principles embodied herein shall be null and void.