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EDITORIAL NOTE

It has been since a long time that the Ethiopian Student Movement has chosen to tread along the critical and revolutionary path in order to create a body of scientific revolutionary knowledge about Ethiopian conditions. Ever since the student movement embarked on this edifying path, two deviations have persisted to create a disarticulation of its tasks, purposes, nature, functions and role. Although the student movement has defined its functions and tasks, it is still necessary to determine its changing functions under the impact of the high rates of class/social/national contradictions in Ethiopia.

- a) The student movement has clearly assimilated the crucial lesson that students are not the vanguard of the Ethiopian revolution. All deviations which equate the student movement as a proletarian vanguard or party have been ruthlessly criticized. This deviation has been for all practical purposes liquidated.
- b) There is another persistent deviation which recognizes only the abstract principle that students are a mass organization, pure and simple. It is claimed that their very nature precludes a vanguard role in propaganda and agitation. It is also claimed that ideological contentions, polemical struggles, developing an integral world outlook, choosing trends among various currents, etc. According to this absurd view, peace, tranquility, mutual petty-bourgeois accommodation, all unity, all liberalism, all alliance, pure democracy,

etc., must prevail. Anything that disturbs this pent-up social-clubist and liberal conception was given names by these same degenerate elements.

The correct view opposes both these deviations. It recognizes that the student movement is a broad mass organization, where different currents, different ideologies contend, where unity is the aim of struggle, where struggle and not sterile liberal neutrality is the means to unity. (See *Combat*, Vol. II, No. 3, Perspectives for Unity and Struggle).

Thus, away with all sterile, liberal conceptions of mass student organizations. Student movements have been historically one of the important vehicles of Marxist-Leninist influence among the broad masses and their own members. The history of the Chinese Student Movement is eloquent testimony in propagating and agitating for Chinese liberation in the pre-liberation period. Under conditions when the pre-party subjective situation is developing, students can play a catalytic role on the propaganda level in creating the need and decisiveness of the Party of the Proletariat.

In Ethiopia, the Student Movement reflects the acute class struggles that go on in Ethiopian society. The student movement fought against reformism, it fought for revolution. In 1969 the movement became the vehicle of socialist (via NDR) influence. Today, the enemy of the country calls itself "Socialist". Thus within the student mass organization, ESUNA, a democratic struggle was conducted where the views presented in the Thesis and the resolutions were unanimously adopted.

There was a pitched class struggle that took ten days to pass the resolutions. The victory belonged to the Ethiopian proletariat.

Within the student movement, a social fascist trend has been developing aping after the latest fashionable opportunist "theories". In the Congress too, this social fascist trend tried to interject itself aping after Troskyist, revisionist and other opportunist nonsense. Thus the struggle within the democratic movement of ESUNA was sharp and the victory finally belonged to those who have aligned themselves with the laboring masses. The struggle comes as a firm and intransigent stand against monarchist/royalist survivals, reformism, hidden Junta sympathizers, feudalism, imperialism, the military bourgeois dictatorship of the fascist type, the bureaucrat capitalists, the comprador bourgeoisie and the social fascists --all rolled into one! The choice was either the proletariat-peasant-urban petty-bourgeoisie masses or the enemies of these broad masses. ESUNA has contributed in a modest way to be on the side of the broad masses against the enemies of the masses and for the revolution by the broad masses. Thus, ESUNA dedicates the thesis and resolution to CELU, in clear recognition of its rising militancy, and conscious struggle against imperialism, feudalism and its local henchmen. Moreover, ESUNA express a reserved jubilation over the recent victories extending from re-winning its union to drafting the most resolved and advanced revolutionary resolution ever advanced by the Ethiopian proletariat.

Viva CELU!

INTRODUCTION

ESUNA (Ethiopian Student's Union in North America) held its annual 23rd Congress in Washington, D. C. from August 1st through August 9th, 1975.

The Congress was attended by more than 800 members representing 19 chapters and a few study groups of ESUNA in the U. S. and Canada. The themes of the Congress were:

1. The political economy of Ethiopia and the feasibility of state capitalism.
2. Organizational Theory (With special emphasis on the Proletariat Party).
3. On the Current Situation In Ethiopia.

The 23rd Congress of ESUNA marked a historic turning point in its anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle. A conscious choice has been made. A political ideological line has been developed. The standpoint of the proletariat has been accepted firmly, more than ever before. All petty-bourgeois deviations from the Marxist standpoint have been utterly fought. A conquering spirit has been achieved. The challenges ahead have been fully realized. The ideological, material, political and organizational energy to take all challenges and deviations from the correct line have been worked out. The preparation was thoroughgoing. The fight now is on a firm ground. Victory is thus inevitable.

The 23rd Congress took place at a time when the international situation favors revolution, the situation in North Africa favors, in balance, the national liberation struggles waged by the proletarian nations of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos have been victorious, the imperialist monster is besieged by powerful internal and external forces, at a time when the nationalist forces in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau have won brilliant victories, at a time when the PFLOA, the Palestinian Liberation Movement, the Eritrean Liberation Movement, are scoring victories -- in short, the 23rd Congress took place at a period of furious social class struggles both at the world, continental, regional and national levels.

The 23rd Congress was a unique congress in many respects. It came at a time when it is no longer sufficient to be anti-feudal and anti-imperialist in the abstract. It came at a time when utmost clarity is needed on the precise nature of the enemies and friends of the Ethiopian Revolution. It fell at a time when the single most powerful dominant trend is the increased dictatorship of the revolutionary intensification of the class struggle. The questions at issue were not whether imperialism is an enemy or not, or whether feudalism is an enemy or not, or whether bureaucratic capitalism is an enemy or not. The issues centered, the debates raged, the disagreements and controversies flared, on exactly how these enemies work and on the best and conscious possible principled strategies to fight them, root them out from our soil and completely create a situation where the broad masses would be victorious.

The Congress should have finished its deliberation on August 8th, 1975, but due to the intensified two-line struggle that raged in the Congress, the General Assembly extended the time by more days. Throughout the Congress, participation of members was maintained at a high peak.

The heated discussion centered on a) the political economy of Ethiopia -- feudalism, imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism, etc.; b) the question of whether capitalism can develop in Ethiopia or not, the question of whether the NDR is applicable or not, the question of whether a non-capitalist peaceful evolution in Ethiopia under petty-bourgeois hegemony is applicable or not; c) the question of the major contradiction in Ethiopia today: whether it is between the capitalist forces and the feudalistic forces or whether it is between the bourgeoisie (national and foreign) or the workers, etc.; d) the question of the class origin, class role and class function of the military bourgeois dictatorship of the fascist type, the role of the state apparatus, the question of state power and state apparatus, etc., were discussed; e) the question of organization, the multi-national party of the proletariat, army building, United Front building, conditions for United Front construction with the class enemy, conditions for united front among friends of the revolution, lessons from history, Indonesia (1965), China (1927), etc., were discussed.

Heated debates on these issues and others occurred in the Congress. After a prolonged and fierce struggle among comrades in ESUNA, a draft thesis was finally adopted by the Congress

summing up the principles and guiding ideas on the nature, character and prospects of the Ethiopian Revolution.

Based on the thesis, ESUNA passed resolutions on:

- a) the Junta's class nature;
- b) nationalization of land and industries;
- c) imperialist reaction;
- d) on feudalist reaction;
- e) national liberation movements;
- f) mass democratic organizations;
- g) Junta's repressive activities;
- h) underground movements;
- i) on party (army) united front and Popular People's Government;
- j) nationality student organizations;
- k) on the women movement at home and abroad;
- l) on WWFES and the current situation in Europe.

Thesis on the Present Situation in Ethiopia

A. Basic factors which led up to the February mass revolutionary upsurge in Ethiopia:

1. Ethiopia's semi-colonial status owing to the political, economic, financial and military domination of U. S. -led world imperialism.
2. The oppression of feudal survivals linked with autocratic rule and bureaucratic oppression.

B. Principal economic characteristics of semi-feudal and semi-colonial Ethiopia:

1. Semi-colonial underdevelopment. This was manifested in the following features of the modern sector of the economy:

(a) a weak industrial base: industry provided only 5% of the Gross Domestic Product and employed less than 1% of the labor force in 1969. A greater part of the population lived in a preponderant feudal and semi-feudal sector in the highland regions and various patriarchal/nomadic/and semi-nomadic structures in the lowland regions.

(b) heavy dependence on imperialism: In 1967, 75% of the paid-up, private capital for capitalist investment was imperialist owned and the percentage has not declined since. Protected by the "generous" investment policies of the regime (which included tax exemptions, tariff protection, duty-free imports, free repatriation of profits and dividends, price

control assistance, minimum wage, etc.), U. S., Dutch, Japanese, Italian, Indian, British and other imperialist corporations controlled the economic life-line of the country. This could not but create an economy which was progressively draining the country of its national wealth.

- (c) the existence of state capitalism of a comprador and feudal character: The feudal and bureaucratic classes not only had a monopoly of political power, but had significant investments in industry. By the end of the previous decade, the government wholly or partially owned over 60 industrial enterprises, often in partnership with imperialist private capital. "This monopoly capital, when combined with the political power of the state, becomes state monopoly capitalism. Closely connected with foreign imperialism and the landlord class -- it becomes state monopoly capitalism of a comprador and feudal character." (Mao, S.W., Vol. III, p. 79) Being the outcome of the collaboration of imperialism and feudalism, bureaucrat capitalism represented reactionary production relations in the economic system in Ethiopia. Bureaucrat capitalism ruthlessly oppressed and exploited not only workers and peasants, but also the petty-bourgeoisie.
- (d) the strangulation of national capitalism: The penetration of foreign capitalism in Ethiopia during the post World War II period objectively hastened the partial disintegration of the natural economy of feudalism and the simultaneous growth of capitalist relations, but

with imperialism and feudalism holding a monopoly of both economic and political power, national capitalism was stifled at birth. Imperialism certainly did not come to Ethiopia for the purpose of helping it to develop a self-reliant industry or to eliminate its pre-capitalist backwardness. On the contrary, the imperialist came to preserve this backwardness and arrest the development of national capitalism. This is in keeping with their economic objective of finding investment outlets, markets, and sources of cheap labor and raw materials. Restricted by imperialism and fettered by feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, the national bourgeois in Ethiopia could not develop beyond a thin and socially negligible stratum.

- (e) gross sectorial imbalance in the economy:
 --Light industry dominated the small manufacturing sector. Emphasis was on textiles, sugar, beverages, construction materials and the like. Heavy industry (machine plants, metallurgical enterprises, chemical industries, etc.) were literally non-existent. Needless to say, that this was a direct reflection of the world-wide division of labor in the world imperialist system and the concomitant patterns of investment.
 --with regard to commercial agriculture and mining, export-oriented and extractive production prevailed over production for domestic needs. The export sector was dominated by a single crop -- coffee -- which amounted to 50% of the total value of exports in 1973.

This was further handicapped by ties to a single market - the U.S.A. - which took 70% or more of the coffee exported. The integration of Ethiopian economy into the world capitalist market increasingly subjected the country to the exploitative relations (unequal exchange), crisis and fluctuations of this market.

- (f) strikingly uneven and irrational geographical distribution of capitalist industry and industry and agriculture. This could be seen from the fact that two cities (Addis Ababa and Asmara) accounted for 70% of all industrial establishments as of 1969. This could be seen also from the uneven geographical distribution of commercial farms, so-called "minimum package" rural development schemes and foreign plantations. Capitalist relations in Setit Humera, Tendaho, Awash Valley, Wollamo (WADU), Arussi (C.A.D.U.), etc., exist as small islands in the vast ocean of feudalism, and pre-feudalism.

2. The second dominant economic characteristic of pre-February Ethiopia is feudal stagnation. The agrarian sector which provides employment for 88% of the total population achieved over the last 20 years, a rate of growth of 2.5% per annum, which - even in non-famine years - barely keeps up with the population growth. The chief attributes of this system:

- (a) The state, aristocracy, nobility, the Orthodox Church, and the local gentry - linked with usurer, comprador, and merchant capital - bled the peasant masses by every

imaginable method of extortion. The vast toiling and semi-proletarian masses were burdened with crushing taxation, exorbitant rents (which not infrequently exceed the necessary product for the peasant household), tithes, labor-services (during crucial agricultural seasons), bribes and numerous other methods of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation.

- (b) Owing to feudal servitude, repression, and exploitation, the bulk of the peasantry were unable to improve their farms and instruments of labor. Hence, the extreme backwardness of agriculture in Ethiopia which led to periodic disasters, crop failures and famines.
- (c) This situation was aggravated by the anti-development orientation of the feudo-bourgeois government. A glance at the government's budgetary figure makes this clear. In 1972-73, the regime allotted over 30% of its annual budget for defense and internal security with only 2% going to agriculture.
- (d) Mechanized farms have been spreading, especially in the last decade. This has stimulated a limited growth of capitalism in certain regions. Whether promoted by the government (and its imperialist props like World-Bank, S.I.D.A., etc.) or whether it was undertaken by private initiative, rural capitalism has tended to improve the position of the land-owning elites and the imperialist bourgeoisie. The bulk of the peasantry has not benefited from the various credit facilities,

innovative techniques, new seeds, fertilizers, resettlement projects, cooperative markets, etc., promoted by W.A.D.U., C.A.D.U., A.V.A. and similar package programs. What, in fact, has taken place in these regions is a widespread dislocation of the natural economy of the peasantry: mass evictions, increasing proletarianization of the peasantry, social disruptions, migration and even partial extinction of certain pastoral peoples.

3. Some factors reflecting the total paralysis and depressed state of the overall economy of pre-February Ethiopia:
- (a) growing balance of trade deficit: an average import/export imbalance of over 100 million Ethiopian dollars over the past ten years.
- (b) increasing gap between government revenue and expenditures. Revenue has inevitable stagnated with the failure to raise productivity and also with the regressive tax structure of the regime. The growing cost of maintaining the ruling classes, the military and the bureaucracy as well as the rising costs of counter-insurgency wars in Eritrea, Bale, Sidamo, Arussi, etc., have been the essential elements in the rising expenditures. The gap has to be filled largely by foreign loans - to a great degree from U.S. dominated multi-lateral sources like I. D. A., World-Bank, etc. Hence,
- (c) a massive and ever-growing foreign debt: As of December, 1972, the outstanding debt of the regime reached Ethiopian \$569 million, with repayments and interest charges running well over \$50 million a year (i. e., taking up over 10% of the total export earnings of the country).

(d) Widespread unemployment and under-employment among the urban and rural labor force; constriction of occupational outlets for the educated youth.

C. Principal socio-political features of pre-February Ethiopia:

1. The government was the instrument of feudalism and U. S. imperialism; it was the instrument for the class dictatorship of the U. S. monopoly bourgeoisie and its domestic associates.
2. These domestic associates were composed of: the monarchy, the royal family, the aristocracy, the nobility (including the top clergy), the gentry, the comprador bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie.
3. The political hegemony of the machinery of state was in the hand of the most anachronistic and most change-resistant fraction of the ruling classes.
4. The form of government remained despotic - this, in spite of constitutional and parliamentary trappings. This could be seen from the virtual absence of constitutional, institutional or practical limitations on the powers of the monarchy. The autocrat had practically supreme powers to promote or demote officials, grant or confiscate land, pass or commute sentences, etc.
5. The subordinate status of Ethiopian economy viz a viz U. S. imperialism was reflected in and reinforced by the servile nature of the regime. Through a series of "Mutual Defense" pacts and

treaties, U. S. imperialism has reduced formerly independent Ethiopia into a neo-colony. Through these treaties, the U. S. imperialists have acquired the right to station military and para-military personnel in Ethiopia and to set up military electronic and naval installations. U. S. imperialism - with all its financial and military might has been a force which supports, inspires, fosters and preserves the feudal survivals, together with their entire bureaucratic - militarist super-structure.

6. Under the centralized and autocratic rule of the Haile Selassie, the workers peasants and other popular sectors had no political rights whatsoever. All forms of organized activity, even regional self-development organizations like Mecha and Tuluma were thoroughly repressed. There were rigid controls on the press and mass media. Peasant uprisings and national movements were crushed with devastating, bloody and indiscriminate military reprisals. Particularly savage was the persecution of the working-class organizations^{2/}.
7. Furthermore, the feudo-bourgeois regime was not only chauvinistic, but outright partisan and non-secular in religious matters. Here are some facts:
 - (a) Over 75% of all government posts in the country were held by Amhara/Christian officials.
 - (b) The non-Amhara and non-Christian majority were entirely devoid of rights and were subjected to constant insult and humiliation by the ruling class.
 - (c) The regime forcibly imposed Amharigna as the compulsory official language while vigorously

discouraging the development of all other Ethiopian languages.

(d) The Coptic Orthodox Church - the long-standing ideological mainstay of divine rule, feudal oppression, male supremacy and territorial expansion - enjoyed a symbiotic relationship with the state to the detriment of the majority non-Christian population of the empire. Here are some facts:

- Christianity was the official religion of the state.
- The Christian Church was a state institution supported by public funds.
- Neither Church property, nor the income of the clergy was taxed.
- The education tax levied by the state on land held by the Church went to the ecclesiastical treasury.
- In the northern provinces the state acted as the collector of land taxes for the monasteries that owned land.
- State land continued to be granted to churches.
- Top Church officials received state salaries.

8. Under the exploitative, repressive and autocratic rule of the regime the broad masses of the people lived like slaves, in poverty and destitution, devoid of all social services. They were made victims of widespread disease, epidemics, illiteracy, malnutrition and all sorts of social ills.

Such in brief, were the chief socio-economic and political characteristics of semi-feudal and semi-colonial Ethiopia prior to February, 1974. This situation was in the main, determined by the

collusion of U.S. -led world imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and feudalism. For this reason, the contradiction between imperialism and the Ethiopian people and the contradiction between feudalism and the great masses of the people are the basic contradictions in modern Ethiopian society. Of course, there are others, such as the contradiction between oppressor and oppressed nationalities, privileged and non-privileged religious communities, etc. But the contradiction between feudalism, imperialism and bureaucrat capitalism on the one hand, and the broad masses of the people, on the other hand, is the principal one. The resolution of this principal contradiction is the key for the resolution of all other contradictions in modern Ethiopian society.

II

THE FEBRUARY UPSURGE

The February Upsurge, which set in motion all classes in society at a scale hitherto unsurpassed was sparked-off by a number of immediate causes which greatly amplified the already catastrophic situation of the exploited, dispossessed and repressed masses. The chief ones are the devastating famine, soaring inflation^{3/}, excessive government taxation^{4/}, widespread unemployment and flagrant bureaucratic corruption.

The February Uprising constitutes a critical turning point in Ethiopian history. This historic upsurge can be subdivided into two periods: the first period when the tide of the uprising rose from a series of strikes by taxi-drivers, students, teachers and the unemployed (backed by mutinies among the armed forces) in February, 1974 to the empire-wide mass revolutionary and democratic movement which reached its zenith with the proletarian general strike and the widespread peasant insurrections in March and April, but continued right up to September. In this period, the revolutionary masses, taking advantage of the complete paralysis of the regime wrested concessions after concessions from the autocracy and swept aside three consecutive cabinets of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The second period began with the dethroning of Haile Selassie and with the formation of the Provisional Military Government. The military officers headed by General Aman, taking advantage of the power vacuum, and taking advantage of the absence of a multi-national revolutionary party with deep roots

among the masses, seized the machinery of state and passed to the offensive against the popular masses, against the revolution. This second period, which has not yet come to a conclusion, is a period of complicated and multi-sided class struggle, it is a period of continuing crisis, turmoil and dynamic instability characterized by fierce class wars between the bureaucratic wing of the exploiting classes (which has not yet consolidated its victory), the aristocratic wing of the ruling class (which has not accepted its defeat), and the laboring masses (who despite the demagoguery and repression of the Junta, continue to take revolutionary actions).

Below, we have an outline of the most important aspects of the February upsurge in its first period -- its class character, its driving forces, its demands, methods, shortcomings, etc. An understanding of these points is essential for a precise characterization of the present regime, and a class analysis of subsequent developments.

Characteristics of the February Upsurge

1. The February uprisings constitute the most widespread mass unrest since the anti-Fascist resistance in World War II. The initial strikes and demonstrations by students, teachers, taxi-drivers, and the unemployed, as well as the mutinies among the 3rd and 2nd Divisions of the Armed Forces, produced widespread revolutionary conflagrations among all sections of the popular classes, in particular among the proletariat. The proletarian struggle in turn, triggered reverberations among the peasantry, oppressed nationalities, oppressed religious groups (Muslims for example), women, downtrodden clergy-

men, low-ranking civil servants, etc., generating -- for the first time in Ethiopian history -- a nationwide revolutionary unrest involving a majority of the exploited.

2. The masses raised slogans which judiciously combined immediate with long-range, economic with political, sectional with intra-class demands. The basic demands of the masses (land to the tiller, abolition of the monarchy, democratic republic, separation of church and state, democratic labor legislations, equal rights for women, equality of all nationalities, democratic rights, etc.) were revolutionary in content and bourgeois-democratic in character, and correspond to the National Democratic stage of the revolution.

3. It is the awakening of tremendous masses of the people to political like revolutionary struggle that makes the February unrest an important milestone in the development of the Ethiopian revolution. In revolutionary epochs, huge masses of people learn more in the space of a few weeks than they do in decades of dormancy - this is an objective law. This law was verified by the swift radicalization of the masses, by the rapid growth of their class consciousness, and by the increased sharpness of their slogans - in the very process of the uprising. Economic demand (for reduced prices, reduced taxes, increased wages, etc.) were gradually interwoven with or replaced by revolutionary demands, sectional demands developed into intra-class demands, and economic strikes grew into political strikes.

4. Fighting with great tenacity and devotion, the masses evolved methods of struggle which were varied and rich in content. The proletariat employed the general strike, factory occupation, barricade fighting, street fighting, etc. Peasants in many

districts resorted to armed insurrection, confiscated landlord estates, set fire to granaries, seized grain and drove-off many provincial nobles, land-owners and governors. Students, teachers, taxi-drivers, women, oppressed religious groups, etc., employed regular mass demonstrations, rallies and clashes with the police. Mutinous soldiers took over barracks, whole cities and radio stations to press their demands.

5. In the fire of battle, the masses forged peculiar organizations (peasant committees, soldiers committees, popular tribunals, etc.) which were nothing but embryonic forms of future organs for mass dictatorship. In many southern provinces (for example, Kaffa), these committees and tribunals began to play more and more the role of provisional organs of popular power. For a time, several southern towns, Awrajas and provinces looked something in the nature of liberated territories. Simultaneously in the cities, democratic freedom was won. For the first time in Ethiopian history, revolutionary ideas and literature began to be propagated freely.

6. The great wave of worker strikes, peasant insurrections, student demonstrations, and other popular uprising which engulfed the empire completely paralyzed the state machinery and caused sharp contradictions among the various factions of the ruling class. Unable to effectively employ the usual method of bloody repression, the ruling class resorted to a policy of maneuvering in order to gain respite and split the revolutionary forces. The regime made concessions after concessions to the masses. (Salary increases, price controls, postponement of sectorial review, roll-back of gasoline prices -- just to mention a few). At this juncture, the bureaucratic wing of the ruling

class was the main danger to the revolution. The bureaucratic bourgeois tried frantically to stabilize the situation by dissociating itself from the aristocratic faction and promising sweeping social and political reforms while at the same time engaging in a series of cabinet reshuffles designed to fool the masses. The wavering military was prepared at each juncture --to accept these sham concessions and "give time" to the so-called new cabinets. However, popular opposition was so great that neither Endal Kachew; nor Emru were able to restore authority.

7. The continuity of the mass upsurge led to a further erosion of the power of the state and a complete paralysis of all factions of the ruling class. This revealed (a) the irreversible loss of prestige of the state power in the eyes of the masses, (b) the precociousness of all existing institutions, (c) the existence of a political void. From the standpoint of U. S. imperialism and bureaucrat capitalism, there was an urgent need to transmit power to the groups or institutions which did not directly originate in the ruling class, and whose authority can stabilize the situation and restore the effectiveness and prestige of the state in the eyes of the masses. It was under these circumstances that the armed forces, led by petty-bourgeois officers, stepped in and occupied the political void with the connivance of U. S. imperialism. This brought to a close the first period of the February uprising.

8. The persistent struggle of the working class; the determined struggle of revolutionary teachers, students, and civil servants in the urban areas; the rebellions in all divisions and branches of the armed forces, air force and the navy; the uncontrollable growth of the peasant movement and finally the

spontaneous emergence of provisional organs of popular power; coupled with the inability of the ruling classes to rule in the old way, resulted in a revolutionary situation in Ethiopia. The uprisings, however, met with temporary defeat. This could be attributed to various reasons but all reduce to one basic shortcoming: the popular movement lacked a multi-national proletarian vanguard organization with deep mass roots. It lacked a vanguard apparatus which will march at the head of the masses, lend the movement clarity of aim, and by galvanizing the popular masses into an effective political/military strike force launch vigorous offensives to permanently displace the old state apparatus in favorable agrarian regions.

Because of this basic shortcoming:

- a) the peasant insurrections were too scattered, too isolated from each other and they were not organized enough.
- b) the peasant masses fought with the greatest energy and plebian manner, they even set-out to establish alternative organs of power; but with the absence of decisive leadership and concentrated aim, these victories could not be consolidated.
- c) the masses of soldiers were easily roused to revolts --but just quite as easily, they were appeased by reforms and wage increases; with great shortsightedness, they released arrested officers, allowed the petty-bourgeois officer-class to pacify them and dominate the Armed Forces Coordinating Committee.
- d) the February upsurge involved all sectors of the exploited classes and social groups in simultaneous offensives against the ruling class;

yet these struggles were not unified and concentrated. The uncoordinated energy and self-sacrifice of the masses spent itself in unorganized partial struggle.

Such in brief, were the characteristics of the February Upsurge, whose victory was stolen by the petty-bourgeois military.

III

Character of the Military Regime

1. In assessing the specific character of the military regime which stepped into the political void in September, 1974, we find two diametrically opposed viewpoints. These two viewpoints reflect the two standpoints, two ideologies, and two lines which have been contending for hegemony in the Ethiopian Student Movement for several years.
2. The ESUE leaders and other revisionist apologists of the Junta, present the new regime as a petty-bourgeois government, independent from and antagonistic to the previous ruling class. A variant of this basic line presents the ascendancy to state power as the conquest of power by the petty-bourgeois class origin, the fact that the regime propagates "petty-bourgeois ideology" and the fact that the regime is supported by certain segments of the urban petty-bourgeois are advanced as arguments to support this conclusion.
3. In the other viewpoint, the Junta is presented as a weapon of U. S. imperialism, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the comprador bourgeoisie against the advancing mass revolutionary movement. The Junta utilizes the support of certain sectors of the urban petty-bourgeois, enjoys an apparent autonomy from the ruling class, but nevertheless, acts as the effective instrument of the interests of imperialism and bureaucrat capitalism.
4. It goes without saying that these two characterizations are fundamentally irreducible. From these

diametrically opposed characterizations inevitably follow two diametrically opposed attitudes to the regime, two class alignments, two tactical principals, two strategies -- in sum -- two lines.

What are these two lines?

(a) The line of the ESUE leaders, which presents the Dergue as a petty-bourgeois government, fails to appreciate its transformed class-function, denies its ties to imperialism and bureaucrat capitalism, attributes to it an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist posture, views it as a force on the side of the masses and seeks collaboration with it.

(b) The line of the WWFES, which takes into account the existence of vital connections between the regime and bureaucrat capitalism, the subservient status of the regime vis-à-vis U. S. imperialism, and the transformed class role of the Dergue; and which on this basis views the Junta as an enemy of the laboring masses and demands an energetic struggle against it.

The basic errors of the apologists of the regime emanate chiefly from confusing class origin with class function, the apparent autonomy of the state power from the classes it protects with independence from the ruling class and also from failing to distinguish state power and state apparatus. Since this line is dangerous to the extreme to any serious understanding of the real character of the regime and of the fight against it, it must be seriously combatted.

5. First of all, it is highly erroneous to conclude from the fact that the class origin of the officers in power is petty-bourgeois, that the Provisional Military Government is a dictatorship of the petty-bourgeois. This kind of reasoning is a highly mechanist-

ic conception of classes, class roles and class struggle. The specific character of the regime must be defined not by such mechanical reasoning but by laying bare the system of class relations within which the Dergue developed and acceded to power, its attitudes to the old state apparatus, and the class-role which it is now performing.

6. The military junta seized political hegemony in the conditions of:
- 1) threatening popular revolution
 - 2) dynamic expansion of embryonic organizations of popular sovereignty
 - 3) complete paralysis of the feudo-bourgeois state apparatus
 - 4) permanent loss of prestige of all previously dominant groups in the eyes of the masses

The military usurpation of the machinery of state represented a transmission of power by imperialism and bureaucrat capitalism to an institution which they hoped would be able to arrest the acute crisis in the system, defeat the mass movement by terrorism and deception and re-invigorate the paralyzed state apparatus with the eventual aim of consolidating -- under a new guise -- the system of exploitation of the masses. This was to be achieved first by breaking the political hegemony of the change-resistant sector of the ruling class (monarchy, aristocracy) and second by staging a series of revolutions from "above" to undercut the revolution from below.

7. That such is the case can be seen first of all, from the most elementary survey of the present state apparatus. The state apparatus which the military officers inherited from the Haile Selassie in September, 1974, not only remains intact but is in

the process of being rationalized, centralized and strengthened. Aside from expendable outfits (like the monarchy, the Crown Council, Emperor's Court of Justice, the Parliament, etc.) all vital agencies of the former machinery of state (army, police, prisons, security department, propaganda outfits, administrative and juridical structure, church, etc.) have been maintained and are being developed. The sole function of the state apparatus (in all societies based on exploitation) is to repress all independent political initiative on the part of the popular masses in order to keep these classes permanently in a state of economic exploitation.^{5/} That is why such an apparatus (with minor modifications) can serve successive ruling classes but absolutely cannot serve the masses.

8. Furthermore, it is essential to reject the typically revisionist view that the petty-bourgeois, even while in power, is supposedly no more than a sector of the petty-bourgeois. These elements of the petty-bourgeois elite which serve leading state posts and effectively begin to exercise their ruling function cease being petty-bourgeois and become an integral part of the ruling and exploiting classes. In short, the class function or class role of these elements has been transformed.

9. The fact that the hegemonic military elite lacks direct ties with the former ruling class or the existence of contradiction between the present state power and a specific stratum of the ruling class does not mean that the state is independent from the dominant classes. In fact, the function of a state power is to ensure the stability of the social formation dominated by the exploiting classes by presenting itself as a neutral and supra-class agency. To

perform its role properly, the state power has of necessity an apparent autonomy of movement with respect to the particular interests of the various factions of the ruling class, the autonomy may extend even to dictatorial methods of decision-making involving the domination of the ruling class (e.g. - absolutism, Bonapartism, or Fascism). Thus, prerogatives of the state power may conflict with the specific interests of a particular faction of the ruling class. That is why a given state power may be variously accepted, tolerated, or even strongly opposed by a specific layer of the exploiting classes. But these contradictions - we repeat - do not stem from the independence of the state power from the economically dominant classes, but from its apparent autonomy. Moreover, these contradictions - antagonistic or not - are essentially contradictions within the ruling class, between various exploiting strata all committed to the survival of the system of exploitation. Clarity on these theoretical considerations is essential to scientifically assess the precise character of the present regime in Ethiopia.

10. What then is the specific nature of the military regime? In characterizing the regime, the following facts must also be borne in mind:

- a) The nationalization of banks, credit institutions, industries and land by the regime (between January and March) indicate that the state power has added a monopoly of means of production to its monopoly of violence and politics.
- b) Despite its anti-imperialist rhetoric, the regime has kept its military, financial and economic ties with imperialism - particularly - U.S. imperialism.

- c) The regime has shown its willingness to paralyze or even liquidate the monarchist/aristocratic wing of the exploiting class; however, its policies to date do not conflict with those of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and comprador bourgeoisie.
- d) A closer look at the agrarian policy/practice of the regime shows that (even if fully implemented) the programme is not incompatible with the preservation of feudal and semi-feudal relations under modern garbs.^{6/}

Hence, the following conclusions:

- a) Political power in Ethiopia today is in the hands of the militarized bureaucracy.
- b) The Dergue members, despite their petty-bourgeois class origin are now of necessity a component part of the exploiting class.
- c) The managers of state capitalism are developing into a state-bourgeoisie.
- d) The feudal landlord class - taken as a whole - is no longer able to exert or exercise political pressure at the center, but it not only retains power at the local level (especially in the northern regions) but is directly represented in many institutions of the state (the army included).
- e) Finally, while enjoying a certain degree of "autonomy" from the economically dominant blocs, the state is basically at the service of imperialism and bureaucrat capitalism.

11. Furthermore, a correct characterization of the regime cannot overlook the growing fascist tendencies of the Junta. In Ethiopia, as in other semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries, "bureaucrat capitalism is the basis for local fascism".^{7/} Once in power, the Junta has discarded its democratic mantle and set out to consolidate an outright dictatorship.

- a) All democratic rights and liberties remain suppressed.
- b) Popular committees and tribunals which spontaneously developed in the February uprising were dissolved; and the regime is continuing to obstruct their development and expansion at present.
- c) Employing demagogy and brute force, the regime is zealously working to destroy CELU and suppress all independent initiative on the part of the working class.
- d) The regime has committed uncountable executions and arrests in order to liquidate by terror all democratic and revolutionary opposition.
- e) The barbaric counter-insurgency wars of the regime in Eritrea and recently in Afar-land, have caused untold devastation.
- f) Repressions directed particularly against workers, the student movement in the urban areas, underground revolutionary groups and the Zemetcha students, have intensified in the past few months.

- g) In its effort to crush the revolutionary movement, the regime has not confined itself to acts of repression. It has employed national and social demagoguery which - to a growing extent - is becoming difficult to distinguish from that of Hitler or Mussolini.

12. All these factors show that the danger of local fascism is a phenomenon which cannot be ignored in present-day Ethiopia. By way of conclusion it must be pointed out this renovated system of repression, oppression and exploitation is far from consolidated. Whether or not the regime can consolidate its power and give a new lease of life to the doomed system of exploitation is dependent on scores of factors: both domestic and international. The activity of the laboring masses in Ethiopia, the contradictions between different factions within the Dergue, the contradictions with the ruling class as whole, as well as imperialist policies vis. a. vis the Junta will be the decisive factor for the near future.

IV

The Junta's "Revolution" From Above

A. General

1. The petty-bourgeois military elite seized the state machinery at a time of acute stress in the old social, economic and political system. The elite was confronted with a situation in which feudalism and imperialism was questioned and denounced no longer by students and intellectuals alone, but by the overwhelming majority of the popular masses. This situation compelled the regime to undertake a series of "revolutions" from above with the nominal aim of socialism but in fact with the clear purpose of putting a brake on the advance of the revolution and dampening the class struggle.
2. The regime's "socialist" program was announced through a series of surprise proclamations which began in December, 1974.
 - a) In the middle of December, Ethiopia was proclaimed a "socialist" state.
 - b) The regime's "Literacy and Progress" campaign was officially launched at the time of the proclamation and tens of thousand students were sent to over 500 stations in the countryside.
 - c) On January 1, the regime nationalized all banks, mortgage corporations, and insurance companies in the country.

- d) In the first week of February, the regime wholly or partially nationalized over 100 industrial establishments.
- e) In March, the regime announced its massive agrarian reform program.
- f) Finally, in July, the regime announced its plan to set-up a "socialist" party which will be composed of workers, peasants and other "progressive forces".

B. The Junta and Imperialism

1. Whether or not the present junta is an anti-imperialist force, whether or not the regime's nationalizations constitute revolutionary measures directed against imperialism; and whether or not, national capitalist development is possible under the leadership of the new regime; are points of sharp contention between the revolutionary wing of the Ethiopian Student Movement and the ESUE leadership.

2. At the present political conjuncture, there is no viewpoint more detestful and more harmful than that which lauds the "anti-imperialist" measures of the Junta. From the standpoint of the revolutionary wing of the E. S. M.:

- a) Far from being an anti-imperialist force, the Junta is actually subservient to U. S. imperialism.
- b) The regime's nationalization measures are not revolutionary, they are not anti-imperialist, and still less are they anti-capitalist.
- c) There exists no valid theoretical or historical justification to project a national capitalist development - path for Ethiopia.

3. Factors which show the dependent status of the new regime vis-a-vis imperialism:

- a) The regime has pledged and maintained its pledge to respect all the unequal treaties and obligations between U. S. imperialism and the deposed regime.
- b) The regime continues to rely on U. S. imperialism for military aid and training.
- c) The regime officially maintains that domestic efforts and resources are inadequate to meet the country's need for investment. In view of this, the government's new economic legislations provide elaborate series of guarantees and incentives in favor of the imperialist bourgeoisie in strategic sectors of the dependent economy. These include exploration and extraction of petroleum, coal, ferrous and non-ferrous metals; chemicals, large-scale civil engineering works, tourism, import-export business and commercial agriculture.

In effect, the regime's economic decrees recognize two forms of foreign investment in the country:

- (1) in companies with exclusively foreign capital
- (2) in mixed companies along with state capital.

Thus, so far as the regime is concerned, the question of eliminating imperialist investment is absolutely out of the question.

- d) The country's doors are still open to all the loans by the international credit agencies controlled by the United States. One major exam-

ple will bear this out: The World Bank, one of the principal pillars of neo-colonialism - gave the new regime a loan of \$81 million this year, and plans to provide the same amount of aid in 1976.

- e) The vital relations of exchange between Ethiopia and the imperialist countries remain. This implies that the country will remain at the mercy of the great imperialist powers which dominate this market.
4. It is to be understood that the above factors preclude any possibility of national - capitalist development in Ethiopia.

a) The continued integration of Ethiopian economy into the world capitalist market will reinforce Ethiopia's dependent status - onesided agricultural economy unilaterally geared to the export of primary products. It will subject Ethiopia to the fluctuations and crisis of this market and to imperialist exploitation through unequal exchange and price manipulation. Moreover, it will accentuate the disintegration of Ethiopia's economy and its appendage-like integration into the economy of the imperialist countries.

b) Imperialist grip of strategic sectors of the economy through direct or joint corporations will further aggravate the dependent nature of Ethiopia's economy. Imperialist investment means a continuous drain of the nation's surplus value through capital outflow. It means the perpetuation of capitalist relations limited to non-industrial sectors (i. e., to areas in which the means of production would not be developed locally).

It also means the preservation and aggravation of the lop-sided, uneven and irrational features of capital relations in the country.

- c) Finally, reliance on imperialist finances, loans, and credits will subject the country to the continuous pressures and manipulations of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

C. The Junta and Feudalism

1. An important component of the Junta's "revolution" from above is its massive agrarian reform program proclaimed in March, 1974. The program was proclaimed against a background of widespread peasant insurrection and was clearly meant to dampen the class struggle by eliminating the source of the strongest immediate discontent of the dominated classes.

2. The proclamation calls for the abolition of all but a few characteristically feudal bonds of servitude and relations of property. Specifically, the proclamation calls for:

- a) the confiscation without compensation of all land owned by the landlord class.
- b) the abolition of private property in land and the transfer of land to ownership of the state.
- c) abolition of all debt, rent and labor obligations falling on the peasantry.
- d) setting up of committees exclusively composed of the downtrodden peasantry for the purpose of creating a universal and equalized land tenure.

3. It is clear that --on paper--the above proclamation more or less abolishes almost all characteristically feudal relations and privileges. The question, however, is what class is making this revolution? A revolution against whom? Under the hegemony of what class? By what means? These are the central questions which will concretely determine the character of the reform and how far it shall go.

4. The regime's declaration deliberately evades these key questions but summing up the experience of the past five months, it can be concluded that:

- a) The junta can not allow the independent mobilization and organization of the peasantry.
- b) The junta can tolerate the existence of peasant associations only in so far as they are appendages of the bureaucracy and only in so far as their activities remain non-political.
- c) The junta cannot allow the masses to arm themselves and destroy all landlord power and privilege by their own initiative.
- d) The junta cannot allow the masses to exercise democratic liberties.
- e) The junta cannot allow the open disclosure and violent resolution of the contradictions between the peasantry and the feudal classes. On the contrary, the Junta seeks arbitration, mediation and class reconciliation; for the purpose of resolving conflicts by peaceful, restrained and legal channels.

5. The Junta's way of implementing the agrarian reform is the landlord's way. Being fundamentally hostile to any independent mass initiative, the Junta has endeavored to implement the proclamation by means of the bureaucracy, the standing army, the police and the notorious rural militia (Territorial Army). These are the very institutions which have been the main props of feudalism and imperialism. These are the very institutions which have indissoluble social and economic ties with feudalism and imperialism. That members of the bureaucracy, the army and the police have substantial stakes in the preservation of feudalism can be glimpsed from the following facts:

- a) In 1958, all members of the armed forces and the police, and in 1964, all civil servants, became eligible for grants of gebbar land.
- b) Under the order of 1942, 1944, and 1952 a total of 32,940 gashas of land have been granted by the deposed government to various categories of recipients. Of these grants, only 8% have gone to landless peasants on the period up to 1970, while 51% went to the armed forces, police and civil servants.
- c) In the same timespan (1942-70), the deposed emperor made special grants of land totalling 15,333 gashas, most of which was given to officials, generals, senators and bureaucrats.

6. Because of the indissoluble social and economic ties between feudalism and the present state apparatus, the Junta's proclamation has generated widespread opposition among the army and the bureau-

cracy. Inevitably, the Junta has been compelled to delay implementation of certain points of the program, make certain concessions, amendments, exceptions and the like. Here are some examples:

- a) According to the proclamation, peasants were supposed to have been freed from rent and all other feudal obligations from the day the decree was enacted. Yet, the regime now says that peasants must pay rent to their landlords from this year's harvest.
- b) Contrary to the provisions of the proclamation, the regime has agreed to provide compensation for the landowners in the armed forces in the form of substantial increases in the basic pay from \$125 to \$200 for a second class private.
- c) At least 21 awrajas have been excluded from the nationalization decree.
- d) The regime has issued new orders which compel peasants to till the estates belonging to members of the territorial army, the rural militia (Netch lebash) and the armed forces.
- e) Violating its own decrees, the regime has issued new orders permitting members of the territorial army and Netch Lebashotch to be members of the peasant associations.
- f) Finally, despite the universal nature of the land proclamation, there is no indication to date that the regime intends to expropriate the immense holdings of the Coptic Church and abolish its feudal privileges.

7. Present situation in the Agrarian Zone:

- a) In the northern regions of the country--Eritrea, Tegre, Begemder, Gojjam, Shoa and Wollo, the agrarian proclamation has not made any progress. By appealing to regional, national or religious loyalty, the northern landlords have succeeded in mobilizing the peasantry against the new regime and so far it has not been possible to implement any part of the program. At the same time guerrilla armies led by the aristocracy and nobility have made their appearance in many provinces. (In Gojjam, Andor Semench, Destu; in Begemdir, under Gen. Nega Tegegne; in Wollo under Dej. Berhane Muskal Destu; in northern Shoa, under Merrid & Mestin Biru; and in the Danakil areas, under Sultan Ali Mirah). In Tigrie under Mengesha Seyoum.
- b) In the southern provinces: South Shoa, Arrussi, Kafta, Harrar, Bale, Sidamo, etc. In these provinces an acute class war between the peasantry and the landlord class is in progress. By refusing to arm the peasantry, the Junta has made peasants and Zemetcha students in some districts victims of brutal military attacks by the feudal landlords and the local police. As a result, many defenseless and unarmed peasants and students are known to have died in clashes with the feudal gentry and officials. In many other districts, the situation is quite different. Disregarding the bureaucratic and reformist restrictions of the military, peasants and students have organized themselves and established various committees, tribunals, and armed militias of republican character. They have smashed the political power of the landlord class, and realized the slogan "land to the tiller"

without any tutelage from above. In the face of attacks by armed peasants and students, landlords and police officials have fled for safety to provincial towns and capitals like Jimma, Meki, Buta Jirra, Wolliso, Shashe-mena, Awasa, and Yirga lem. While these towns are under the control of the landlords, officials and the police, the surrounding rural districts are beginning to appear more and more in the nature of liberated territories, completely outside the control of the military Junta.

8. The further advance of the independent revolutionary movement of the peasants has been paralleled by a further retreat in the position of the Dergue -- the two are at present moving in opposite directions. The Junta is doing everything in its power to disrupt the independent and revolutionary measures of the peasantry and to bring the peasant associations under bureaucratic and military tutelage. Zemetcha students who managed to successfully organized the peasants for revolutionary struggle against the old authorities have been recalled to Addis Ababa. Hundreds have been arrested and scores have died.

a) It is clear that the present military Junta is enemical to the further advance of the peasant movement. At a time of the mightiest peasant revolutionary upsurge in the country's history the regime is issuing a series of despicable orders to prohibit, obstruct and curb the independent and revolutionary actions of masses. The whole country is aflame with the agrarian revolution. Peasants are locked in a life-and-death struggle with their landlords. At such a time one cannot be anti-feudal in the abstract.

Is it proper that the peasants are smashing the age-old authority of the landlord class in a plebian manner, crushing their resistance by force or is this going too far? Should the independently developing popular tribunals, committees, self-defense militias, etc., be enthusiastically supported, widened and consolidated or should they be restricted, weakened and dismantled? Should the masses continue to ruthlessly destroy their cannibalistic exploiters or should they resort to Junta arbitration, mediation and reconciliation? The masses are destroying the authority of the landed gentry and establishing their own authority. Is this a good thing, or is it terrible? At the present juncture, these are the crucial questions which determine whether or not one genuinely upholds the interests of the peasantry. Mao-Tse-Tung said: "Those who talk about the peasants 'going too far' seem at first sight to be different from those who say 'it's terrible' (those openly opposing the peasant movement -- Chen Po-ta)... but in essence, they proceed from the same standpoint and likewise voice a landlord theory that upholds the interest of the privileged classes. Since these theories impede the rise of the peasant movement and so disrupts the revolution, we must firmly oppose it." Obviously, therefore, the Junta -- despite its anti-feudal rhetoric and decrees -- in practice upholds the privileges of the landlord class. Thus, the agrarian revolution in Ethiopia would have to be carried out by the masses despite (or more correctly against) the military, the bureaucracy and the state.

9. Whether the peasantry disregards the obstructions of the military, and together with the proletar-

iat, goes ahead to dismantle the state apparatus, or whether the peasantry submits to the obstructions of military and relies on the bureaucracy is the pivotal question which will determine the character, scope and outcome of the present revolution. It will determine whether or not the agrarian revolution will be carried out in a big way, whether or not feudalism will be uprooted completely and in the last analysis whether or not the national democratic revolution would be brought to a victorious conclusion. Without proletarian leadership of the peasant revolution,

- a) It will be impossible to consolidate the tremendous gains of the peasant movement.
 - b) It will be impossible to completely liquidate the war-lord armies and militias which are springing up everywhere in Ethiopia.
 - c) It will be impossible to link up the anti-feudal struggle with the anti-imperialist struggle, the struggle for land with the struggle for power, the struggle in the urban areas with the struggle in the countryside, the struggle of the northern peasantry with those of the southern peasantry, the national question with the class question, etc.
 - d) It will be impossible to dismantle the present state-apparatus in its entirety and establish the all-around dictatorship of the people.
 - e) In short, it will be impossible to completely root out feudalism and imperialism and conclude the national democratic revolution.
10. Finally, without proletarian leadership of the peasant movement, it will be impossible to follow-

up the victory of the democratic solution of the land question with socialist construction. It is crucial to understand that feudal survivals cannot be rooted out completely without completing the new democratic revolution. But it is even more crucial to understand that experiments in equalized tenure, and cooperatives will not solve the problem of the peasantry so long as imperialism and bureaucrat capitalism exist.

- a) Petty-bourgeois socialism assumes that distinctions between rich and poor can be abolished simply by universalized and equalized land tenure. In reality, poverty and inequality cannot be eradicated in this manner. Equalized use of the land is impossible so long as the rule of money, the rule of capital exists. No laws on earth can abolish inequality and exploitation so long as production for the market continues, and so long as bureaucrat capital, merchant capital and usurer capital exist. Exploitation can be completely abolished only when all the means of production of the country (industries, mines, land, etc.) are transferred to the working-class and when large-scale socialized and planned production is organized. That is why Marxism shows that all the hopes of petty-bourgeois socialism of the possibility of "equalized" small-scale production, or even the possibility of preserving small-scale production at all under a system of production for the market are groundless.
- b) Under the system of commodity production under the rule of imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and feudal survivals, the small peasant

is doomed to a bitter struggle for existence. Every increase in taxes, every fluctuation of the price of his products in the domestic or international market, every rise in the price of manufactured goods, and every natural calamity raises the possibility of his ruination and pauperization.

Crowded out by large-scale production carried out by imperialism bureaucrat capitalism and feudal survivals, subjected to semi-feudal exploitation by merchant-usurer-and comprador capital, the position of the small peasant is bound to deteriorate. This deterioration may range from immediate expropriation to the gradual worsening of the condition of the small peasant, which might last for years and decades.

- c) And finally, so long as the rule of imperialism, and bureaucrat capitalism exist, cooperatives, "Ujama Villages", agricultural credits, improved techniques, etc., are basically incapable of reversing the basic tendency of commodity production to subject the masses of peasants in the deepest misery, poverty and semi-starved existence. It is the greatest naivete' and ignorance not to see the fundamental differences of the role of cooperatives in socialist and pre-socialist societies. Lenin says: "Such measures (i. e., cooperatives) do more harm by diverting the exploited from the struggle than the good that might accrue from possible improvement in the position of separate individuals, which cannot but be paltry and precarious on the general basis of capitalist relations."

In short, no bourgeois remedies, but only new-democracy and socialism would solve the problem of the peasantry.

Characteristics of the Ethiopian Revolution

A. Nature of Ethiopian Society at Present:

1. There are fundamental differences in viewpoint on the question of the characteristics of the present reality in Ethiopia:
 - a) Propagandists of the military junta insist that Ethiopia is now a socialist society free from class-rule, class exploitation and class struggle.
 - b) Others say that Ethiopia has completed (or is undergoing) capitalist development and that feudalism is no longer a major problem.
 - c) The third viewpoint says that Ethiopia is still a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society despite or because of the "socialist" revolution of the Junta.

It goes without saying that from these fundamentally different specifications of conditions in Ethiopian society, follow fundamentally different formulations of the nature, class content, tasks, and motive forces of the revolution in Ethiopia.

2. It is not even worth a second to try to "refute" the characterization of the new regime. It is crucial however, to examine closely and point-out the mistakes of the viewpoint which ignores or belittles feudal survivals in present-day Ethiopia. This viewpoint is erroneous because:

- a) it ignores the fact that feudalism remains intact in all regions of northern Ethiopia
 - b) it ignores the fact that despite the immense progress of the peasant revolution in the southern provinces, the victories won by the masses are not yet durable and complete and that the anti-feudal revolution is far from over
 - c) it does not take into account the existence of pre-feudal and semi-feudal relations among the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples in the low-land areas
 - d) it belittles the dangers posed by the northern warlords and aristocrats who are organizing tens of thousands of their retainers into guerrilla armies to defend the feudal system
 - e) it ignores the dangers posed by the southern gentry (netch lebash, neftegna, etc.) who are now organizing themselves in the provincial towns and capitals
 - f) it ignores the indissoluble social and economic ties between the present state apparatus (standing army, police, territorial militia, local administration, etc.) and the feudal system.
3. The basic errors of the second viewpoint does not stem simply from not comprehending the empirical reality in present-day Ethiopia. They also stem from or reflect the following theoretical errors:
- a) That proletarian hegemony of the revolution is not a pre-condition for completing the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution in Ethiopia.

- b) That imperialism no longer preserves, maintains and perpetuates feudal and semi-feudal structures in the Third World.
- c) That it is possible to completely eradicate feudal survivals by means of a feudo-bourgeois state apparatus.
- d) and that it is possible for semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries to develop capitalism with the help of imperialism.
- e) The above mentioned theoretical errors are often linked with the following distortions of Marxist-Leninist political economy:
 - (i) That the elimination of characteristically feudal bonds of servitude in agriculture automatically lead to the dominance of capitalist relations of production.
 - (ii) That a given relation of production has to be either feudal or capitalist and that a transitional relation between the two systems is not possible.
 - (iii) That the exploitation of peasants by merchant-usurer and comprador capital does not constitute semi-feudal form of exploitation.
 - (iv) That the dissolution of the natural self-sufficient economy of the peasantry by the penetration of commodity relations (cash economy) automatically leads to the dominance of capitalist relations.

(v) And, finally, that the capitalist mode of production does not presuppose a qualitative change in the productive force -- i. e., the complete separation of labor from the aggregate instruments of labor.

(vi) The theory which brushes aside the question of feudalism in present-day Ethiopia does not correspond with objective reality and will lead to errors in the tactics and strategy of the revolution. Because of the existence of feudalism in Ethiopia, and because of the fact that the country is still a neo-colony of U. S. imperialism, Ethiopia is still a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country.

B. Contradictions in Semi-feudal and Semi-colonial Ethiopia

1. Present day semi-feudal and semi-colonial Ethiopia is ridden with many contradictions. There are contradictions between different factions of the military junta. There are contradictions between imperialism and the Junta (on some questions of tactics and strategy). There are contradictions between oppressor and oppressed nationalities in Ethiopia. There are contradictions between the present state apparatus and different strata of the ruling class. There are contradictions between imperialism and the Ethiopian people; between feudalism and the broad masses; between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and many more. Obviously all these contradictions do not have the same character. Some are primary, while others are secondary. Some are contradictions within the enemy, while others are contradictions between the masses and the enemy. Thus, the identification of which contradiction falls in which category, is

an essential pre-requisite in formulating correct revolutionary strategy and tactics.

2. We characterized present-day Ethiopian society as semi-feudal and semi-colonial. This situation is in the main determined by the existence of feudal oppression and imperialist domination. Therefore, the principal (or basic) contradictions in modern Ethiopian society are those between the broad masses and imperialism, and between the people and feudalism. The resolution of this basic contradiction is the key to the resolution of all other contradictions in Ethiopian society.

3. The contradictions between the present state-apparatus and idfferent strata of the exploiting class; the contradictions between different factions of the ruling military junta and the contradictions between imperialism and the Junta are basically contradictions within the reactionary classes themselves. Failure to realize that these contradictions are contradictions within the enemy ranks will lead to incorrect identification of friend and foe and to dangerous alliances - like the opportunist elements grouped around Yesfew Hizb Dimtz: to alliance with the Junta, with imperialism and bureaucrat capitalism.

C. Character of the Ethiopian Revolution

a. Since Ethiopian society is semi-colonial and semi-feudal, and since the principal enemies of the masses are imperialism feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism, the present stage of the Ethiopian revolution cannot but take a national democratic character.

b. Such a revolution seeks the liberation of the Ethiopian people from foreign and feudal oppression and exploitation.

c. Although these revolution is bourgeois-democratic in its social character, it is no longer of the old variety (i. e., the bourgeois revolutions in Europe, America and Japan). Being waged in the era of imperialism under the leadership of the proletariat, the new-democratic revolution is part of the world proletarian-socialist revolution, and is a stage of transition between the abolition of semi-colonial and semi-feudal society and the establishment of socialist society.

D. Tasks of the Ethiopian Revolution

1. Feudalism, Imperialism and Bureaucrat Capitalism are the chief enemies of the Ethiopian people. The present feudo-bourgeois state apparatus is the chief prop of Feudalism, Imperialism and Bureaucrat Capitalism. Such being the case, the main tasks of the Ethiopian revolution are:

- a) to smash the present state apparatus.
- b) to over-throw feudalism.
- c) and to liquidate imperialism.

2. These three tasks are inter-related. Unless imperialism is over-thrown, the present state apparatus cannot be over-thrown, because imperialism is its main prop. And unless the present state apparatus is completely smashed, it will not be possible to consummate the revolution against feudalism.

3. The political objective of these revolution is to create a new-democratic state under the joint dictatorship of all anti-feudal and anti-imperialist classes led by the proletariat.

E. Class Basis and Strategy of the Revolution

a. The motive forces of the New Democratic Revolution are the proletariat, the peasantry, and petty-bourgeoisie. Elements of the economically and politically weak stratum of the national bourgeois may under certain conditions, support or participate in the revolution.

b. On the other hand, the targets or enemies of the Ethiopian revolution are U. S. imperialism, the landlord class, the comprador bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The landlord class is further subdivided into aristocratic survivals, the nobility (including top clergymen), and the subprovincial gentry.

c. An essential condition for the victory of the new-democratic revolution is class leadership by the proletariat.

d. The main force of the Ethiopian revolution is the peasantry. It is the largest mass force in Ethiopian society and without its powerful support, the new-democratic revolution can never succeed.

e. The alliance between the working-class and the peasantry is the basic alliance of the national united front which in Ethiopian conditions will have to encompass the petty-bourgeoisie, oppressed nationalities, oppressed religious communities and women.

f. Due to the semi-feudal and semi-colonial nature of Ethiopian conditions, protracted people's war is the basic strategy of the revolution. This strategy is based on the decisive significance of turning favourable locations in the countryside into advanced

political, military and economic bastion of the revolution, of expanding these zones in wave-like fashion by a peasant war led by the working-class, of encircling and finally capturing the cities. The three decisive conditions for the victory of these strategy are a proletarian party, a people's army and a united front.

VI. Current Situation in Ethiopia

1. The current situation in Ethiopia is characterized by the extreme fragmentation of political power due to the struggle and interaction of heretogeneous class and social forces. It is also characterized by greatly uneven developments of class relations and social contradictions in different parts of Ethiopia due to the national-historical and regional diversity of the country. The situation is quite complex but can be summarized as follows:

a) Southern provinces: Here, peasants and students on one side and the landed gentry, local officials and the police on the other side are engaged in a life-and-death struggle for land and political power. Popular tribunals, committees and armed militias are developing rapidly in all provinces. On the other hand, with the obvious connivance of the regime, the forces of landowner counter-revolution are openly and secretly organizing themselves to strike a counter-blow at the peasantry. At the present time, the relation of power between the landlords and the peasantry has the following features. Most provincial towns and capitals are strongholds for the forces of landowner counter-revolution. These strongholds are

the only safe havens for landlords and officials fleeing the agrarian revolution of the outlying regions. The outlying regions can be subdivided into three parts. Many regions are under the absolute dictatorship of peasants and students and are completely outside the control of the regime. In other regions, a dual-power situation exists between the old authority of the landlords and the new authority of the peasants. And lastly, in some places, the forces of landowner counter-revolution are quite powerful. Recognizing that the situation has developed completely out of hand, the regime is doing everything in its power to bring about a defeat of the agrarian revolution, but the peasant movement is continuing to develop and expand.

- b) Northern provinces: Here matters are quite different. Except for major provincial towns and cities, these regions are in effect under the complete control of the feudal nobility, gentry and the clergy. The peasants are still under the ideological control of their exploiters. Warlord armies have entrenched themselves in scores of inaccessible base-areas.
- c) Eritrea: The transfer of power from Haile Selassie to the Junta did not alter the situation in Eritrea. The new regime is continuing the old war, if anything, with greater barbarity than before. Here, major cities and towns are under the military control of the regime, but practically all the rural areas are under the separate control of E. P. L. F. and E. L. F.

d) Danakil Region: Since the June uprising, many districts in the Danakil Area appear to be under the control of the forces of Sultan Ali-Mirah.

2. In the urban areas, the regime's total bankruptcy is becoming glaringly apparent to growing sectors of the population:

- a) The regime has proved incapable of solving the immediate economic problems of the masses. Inflation is still rising. Unemployment has not been reduced to any significant degree. Industrial production is declining. The livelihood of the working masses, low-ranking civil servants, small-traders, and shopkeepers is deteriorating every day. Thus, an economic crisis more serious than Ethiopia has faced before is threatening all strata of the people.
- b) Famine continues to ravage entire regions and provinces. But being primarily preoccupied with military operations against national movements, the regime has proved incapable of the necessary steps to prevent mass starvation.
- c) The regime's violently coercive nature is coming into sharp contradictions with the democratic aspiration of the masses. The regime's brutal attacks against democratic forces, its complete abolition of all democratic rights, its chauvinist pursuits of military solutions to national uprisings, its constant efforts to liquidate C.E.L.U., its banning of the student unions, its reprisals against Zemetcha students and its innumerable other atrocities have fully exposed the fascist nature of the Junta.

d) Meanwhile, divisions within the armed forces are growing day by day. Class contradiction on the national scale are reflected within the armed forces and threaten the stability of the regime.

e) The incapacity of the regime to solve the fundamental demands of the masses is causing growing discontent among students, teachers, workers and other popular groups. The May-Day demonstrations, the militant struggles of the teachers against the regime's most recent efforts to dissolve C.E.L.U. and the recent waves of student unrest in the capital foretell that a great new people's upsurge is surely approaching.

f) All these factors combined have raised with great urgency the question of a revolutionary organization of the proletariat. Only a revolutionary party of the working-class can guarantee a real advance of the entire people's movement. Such an organization is called for:

(i) to effectively expose on a national scale, the real nature of the regime.

(ii) to systematically impel, coordinate, organize and unify the revolutionary activity of the masses in both city and countryside.

(iii) to broaden, deepen, multiply and weld together the popular tribunals, committees and other democratic institutions which are developing in the countryside.

(iv) to strengthen, organize and unify the peasant militias and other detachments of republican character and establish provisional organs of mass dictatorship by staging partial insurrections in favorable locations.

3. The creation of such an organization calls for many-sided practical and ideological activities not the least of which is the effective exposure the ex-E. S. U. E. leaders and other opportunists who are working hard to disorient the popular movement. The ex-E. S. U. E. leaders and their cohorts have sunk into the morass of compromise and became vehicles of bourgeois influence on the popular movement, virtual agents of imperialism and bureaucrat capitalism. In their attempt to become an officially recognized adjunct of the military regime they are rendering it invaluable service by attempting to disorganize the working-class and the working-class struggle. They are preaching confidence in the Junta, and class alliance with the class enemy. Since they are arch-enemies of the masses, they must be exposed.

4. Whatever the difficulties that lie ahead, the masses are bound to win. The difficulties of feudalism, imperialism and bureaucrat capitalism are insurmountable because they are doomed and dying systems - with no future. On the other hand, the difficulties of revolutionaries can be overcome for they are new and rising forces and have a bright future.

VII. Ideological Repression of the Masses

A. In determining the specific character of the present regime, we have shown that the regime has never hesitated to use violent repression against democratic and revolutionary opposition in order to consolidate the shaky state apparatus inherited from the past.

B. Brute force, however, was not the sole means of repression. Violence went hand in hand with a systematic and concerted effort to ideological subvert the popular movement. This ideological repression of the masses entailed:

1. the elaboration and propagation of a vulgarized and distorted brand of petty-bourgeois socialism for the purpose of opposing the tireless efforts of underground groups to spread revolutionary aims and principles.
2. the creation of various institutions (worker's council, one-party, etc.) designed to channel the revolutionary discontent of the masses along legal and bureaucratic lines.

The ex-ESUE leaders and their cohorts have fallen into this ideological trap of the regime to the point of playing auxiliary role to the regime's propaganda schemes. In view of this, a systematic exposure of the regime's politics becomes one of the principal tasks of the movement.

1. The ideological offensive of the regime waged under the motto Ethiopia Tikdem ("Ethiopian Socialism") is a rag bag of borrowings from every conceivable source of petty-bourgeois socialism fused haphazardly with the narrow minded nationalism of the feudal landlord class. The entire philosophy is based on standard and deliberately vague terminologies like "the common interest before self", used by all exploiters who seek to obscure the realities of class rule and class exploitation. This ideology must be opposed and exposed because:

- a) It denies the existence of classes and class-struggle in present-day Ethiopia.
- b) It preaches class collaboration and class reconciliation between exploiters and the exploited.

- c) It renounces the need for popular revolutionary violence to oppose the counter-revolutionary violence of the ruling classes.
- d) It spreads a vociferous brand of the narrow-minded nationalism of the landlord class under the cover of semi-socialist phrases.
- e) It blames the country's backwardness on individual dishonesty and incompetence.

C. The institutions of worker's council and one party which the Junta promises to establish are inevitable organizational expressions or corollaries of the ideology of clas-collaboration and class-reconciliation. They are inevitable expressions of the Junta's basic hostility to any independent initiative and organization of the laboring masses.

- a) According to spokesmen of the regime, worker's councils will be formed on the basis of a 5-9 member committee in every factory. The chairman of the council will be appointed by the regime and the function of the committee is (i) to discuss long-range and short-range production plans for enterprises, (ii) to present suggestions on production matters in the enterprise, and (iii) to examine the result of the work of the enterprise. And again, according to spokesmen of the regime, any trespassing of the advisory function of the council is punishable by a military court in accordance with the special penal code, Article No. 19/1967 (E. C.) which deals with those who attempt to disturb industrial peace. It is not hard to see the purely nominal stage-dressing character of the councils.

Simultaneously with its proclamation to form workers councils, the regime was spreading the propaganda that labor unions have outlived the reason for their existence since "worker's, henceforth are the owners of the means of production!" Clearly, the regime was attempting to destroy the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions by replacing it with these useless councils. Whatever the immediate objective of the regime in promising to set-up these bureaucratic institutions, they are basically subversive organizations intended to reconcile the interests of capital and labor, management and worker.

- b) The single-party of "all progressive classes" which the regime intends to set-up soon is an equally subversive organization. It is intended to cover-up the basic antagonism of interest between the masses and the new ruling class. It is intended to be a smokescreen for the domination of the major levers of the political and productive process by the bureaucratic and comprador bourgeoisie and for the systematic removal of the laboring masses from political participation.
- c) Such being the case, a massive exposure of the regime's obfuscating propaganda, demagogy and institutions becomes one of the challenging tasks of the moment. The success with which this task is carried out is one of the decisive factors which will determine whether or not the regime can consolidate its shaky power and the extent to which the regime can postpone the inevitable victory of the Ethiopian revolution.

Editorial Note: In view of the vital significance of the sharp debates and controversies that flared on the 23rd Congress on the questions of : (a) whether or not it is correct to characterize Third World socio-economic formations as semi-feudal and semi-colonial; (b) whether or not capitalist development is possible in the numerous colonies and semi-colonies; (c) whether or not imperialist-induced capitalist relations eliminate pre-capitalist backwardness and (d) consequently, whether or not the New Democratic Revolution has universal applicability in colonies and semi-colonies; the 23rd Congress of ESUNA has given a mandate to the Editorial Commission to sum up the debates at the workshops and general assemblies for the benefit of militants who were not present. Here is a summary of the central debates. First, we will present a summary of the erroneous views which were rejected overwhelmingly by the Congress. Second, we will outline the sharp rebuttals of the first viewpoint by the majority.

I. The Erroneous Thesis

- 1) Imperialism, as the highest stage of capitalism in "metropoles" essentially means the export of capital to "peripheries".
- 2) As a result of imperialist penetration, dependent capitalist mode of production (or "peripheral capitalism") develops in the countries of the Third World.

3) The greater the penetration of imperialism and the greater the incorporation of "peripheral" regions into the economy of the "metropoles" through the world capitalist market, then the greater the development of "peripheral" capitalism.

4) Hence, countries like Egypt, Algeria, Brazil, etc., are at present, predominantly capitalist; and the central problem of these countries is not the absence of capitalist development but the dependent character of this development owing to imperialism.

5) Consequently, the New Democratic stage of revolution is not universally applicable in all colonies and semi-colonies of the Third World.

II. Summary of Rebuttals

A. Imperialism exports capital, and hence, introduces capitalist relations in Third World countries. But this aspect of imperialist penetration has inherent counteracting tendencies. Imperialism means monopoly capitalism. Imperialism dominates colonies and semi-colonies certainly not to develop them industrially and create rival economic powers. On the contrary, imperialism seeks to preserve feudal, semi-feudal and pre-feudal backwardness in the Third World precisely because these conditions are the best suited for the economic objectives of imperialism which are to find sources of raw material, cheap labor, market outlet, and outlets for profitable investment. The very mechanism of imperialist penetration, while hastening the disintegration of the natural economy of self-sufficiency in dominated countries, simultaneously blocks all possibilities for the development of national capitalism. The

PROCESS OF CROWDING OUT COTTAGE AND HANDICRAFT INDUSTRIES, THE STEADY CAPITAL OUTFLOW BY VARIOUS MEANS, UNEQUAL EXCHANGE IN THE WORLD MARKET, THE WORLD-WIDE

division of labor, etc., all add up in preserving, maintaining and reinforcing pre-capitalist stagnation in the Third World.

B. It is erroneous to consider imperialism simply as the export of capital also because this notion abstracts imperialist economics from imperialist politics. In order to maintain dominated countries as profit-making outlets, imperialism employs assorted political, cultural, military and financial mechanisms of domination which in the last analysis contribute to the prolongation of pre-capitalist backwardness in semi-colonies. Here are some of the methods: destructive wars of aggression against national liberation movements (e.g., Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, etc.); alliance with pre-capitalist indigenous and bureaucratic social classes who work as domestic stool pigeons for imperialism; provision of military and para-military assistance to puppet governments, cultural penetration by controlling the mass media, universities, etc. In countries with menacing popular revolution, imperialism (through the puppet bureaucracy or military) proposes various schemes of agrarian reform and even goes to the extent of destroying the political hegemony of change-resistant and archaic ruling classes. But far from being anti-feudal measures, these are desperate emergency measures carried out by imperialism to forestall revolution and prolong semi-feudal backwardness. Thus, altogether, imperialism is still a force which maintains, produces and reproduces semi-feudal backwardness in its numerous colonies and neo-colonies.

C. These factors preclude all possibilities of capitalist development in colonies and semi-colonies.

Capitalist development implies a change from the old stagnant conditions of feudal society by tempestuous development. That is why extended reproduction is the characteristic feature of capitalist development. Under extended reproduction, the sector of social production engaged in producing means of production (i.e., what Marx calls Department I) must grow faster than the sector engaged in producing articles of consumption (i.e., Department II). To say that capitalism is developing in a colony or semi-colony is to say that these conditions obtain there. Moreover, to say that countries such as Egypt or Algeria are predominantly capitalist is to say (1) the majority of the producers in these countries are proletarians, and (2) profit is the general form of surplus value in both city and countryside. Obviously, these conditions do not exist. What does exist in colonies and semi-colonies besides agricultural backwardness is extremely uneven, lop-sided and enclave type capitalism which has the following contradictory features:

- Growth of urbanization without the growth of industrialization.
- Growth of imperialist controlled industries without the growth of industrial employment (because of the high organic composition of capital imported technologies).
- Ruination of the peasantry without their proletarianization.
- Creation of surplus-value without local accumulation of capital.
- Disintegration of the natural economy of feudal times without giving rise to capitalist development.
- Integration into the world market without the development of a national market.
- Growth of light industries (e.g., import substitution, export diversification, and in rare cases, assembly-type operation) without growth of capitalist good industries.

These contradictory features of capitalist relations in neo-colonies coupled with the preponderance of feudal, semi-feudal and pre-feudal modes of production in agriculture do not satisfy the conditions for the extended reproduction of capital.

D. Generally speaking, the agricultural economy of colonies and semi-colonies is predominantly feudal, semi-feudal or pre-feudal the particular proportion of which varies from place to place according to historical and regional peculiarities. One of the most widespread misinterpretation of Marxism is the attempt to equate the existence of commodity exchange with the existence of capitalism. Both Feudalism and Capitalism are modes of production and consequently cannot be defined in the sphere of commodity exchange alone. Feudalism as a mode of production means: (1) a system of production primarily for use and not for exchange, (2) the major classes are landlords and peasants (including artisans), (3) land is the principal means of production (4) the landlord class appropriates surplus value by extra-economic coercion in the form of rent, corvee labor, etc. (5) commodity production and commodity exchange is not generalized but can exist in the form of simple commodity production. On the other hand, the characteristic features of a capitalist society are: (1) the monopoly of the most important and vital means of production (industries, mines, land) by the capitalist class, (2) the exploitation of the wage-laborer of the proletariat which, deprived of all means of production and subsistence is compelled to sell his labour-power as a commodity and (3) the generalized production of commodities with profit maximization being the sole purpose and determining aim of production. Clearly, capitalism is inconceivable without commodity production. On the other hand, commodity production existed long before the rise and development of capitalism.

According to Marx, the circulation of money and the accumulation of merchant or usurer (loan) capital are not incompatible with pre-capitalist modes of production: "Hitherto we have considered merchant capital merely from the standpoint of, and within the limits of the capitalist mode of production. However, not commerce alone, but also merchant's capital, is older than the capitalist mode of production, is in fact, historically the oldest free state of the existence of capital." (Capital, Vol. III, P. 319-321)

Capitalism is the stage of commodity production at the highest stage of development, when labor power itself becomes a commodity. Hence, the participation by millions of simple commodity producers in colonies and semi-colonies in the world imperialist market do not imply the existence of capitalism. The small producer in such circumstances works his own strip of land or in his own workshop. He sells his produce, but he does not sell his labor power. He uses his labor power, himself.

The pre-capitalist character of the dominant relations of production in agriculture is not only incompatible with production for the world market but could be actually intensified by the latter (e.g., the 2nd Serfdom in Europe in the 16th Century).

From the foregoing, it follows that exploitation of independent commodity producers (peasants or handicraftsmen) by commercial capital, usurer (loan) capital, or comprador capital does not imply the existence of capitalist methods of surplus appropriation. According to Lenin, capital associated with capitalism "is a special, historically definite social relation. It is the social relation between the class that own the means of production and the class which, deprived of the means of production, is therefore compelled to undergo exploitation." In other words, capital is value which brings surplus

value by exploiting wage labor. That is why merchant, usurer and comprador capital engaged in the exploitation of peasants and handicraftsmen, represent pre-capitalist social relationships.

E. The dissolution of the natural and self-sufficient economy by the penetration of commodity relations, while not automatically leading to capitalism, does represent a partial modification of the feudal mode of production. This transitional mode of production which is predominant in countries like present-day Egypt is characterized as a semi-feudal mode of production. Similarly, the elimination of characteristically feudal bonds of servitude without a qualitative change in the productive forces leads to a partial disintegration of the feudal mode of production and to its transformation into the semi-feudal mode of production.

F. From these considerations it follows that countries like Egypt or Algeria -- in fact all colonies and neo-colonies -- are semi-feudal and semi-colonial. These countries suffer not from the development of capitalism ("peripheral" or otherwise) but from the insufficient development of capitalism and the persistence of feudal and semi-feudal backwardness in agriculture. It is imperialism which preserves and reinforces this pre-capitalist backwardness, hence, the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist (i. e., New Democratic) Revolution is on the agenda in all such countries.

I: ON CHARACTERIZING THE REGIME

ESUNA's Attitude Towards the Military Junta

Considering the fact that:

...the present regime is the instrument for the class dictatorship of imperialism and its domestic associates,

...the junta is renovating and rationalizing the anti-people state apparatus inherited from the deposed government of Haile Selassie,

...the regime is fundamentally opposed to any independent mass initiative and organization and that it is seeking to consolidate an outright terroristic and fascist dictatorship,

...the Junta's series of "revolutions" from above (i. e., socialist demagogy, nationalization of industries, agrarian reform, worker's councils, one-party, etc.) represent desperate emergency measures designed to stave off popular revolution and give the semi-feudal and semi-colonial system of exploitation a new lease of life,

ESUNA resolves the following:

1. ESUNA categorically rejects all revisionist theories which obscure the class nature of the present government and re-affirms its position that the present government is a weapon of U. S. imperial-

ism, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, the comprador bourgeoisie and various strata of feudal survivals against the advancing mass revolutionary movement.

2. ESUNA expresses its belief that the form of rule of the present regime can be characterized as a military-bourgeois dictatorship of the fascist type.

3. ESUNA expresses its complete opposition and hostility to the national and "socialist" demagoguery of the Junta (Ethiopia Tikdem) and warns all progressive Ethiopians not to fall into the ideological trap of the regime.

4. ESUNA believes that the struggle between the W. W. F. E. S. and apologists of the regime (i. e., the Haile Fida - Senay Like - Tesfaye Tadesse clique and their cohorts) is basically a struggle between revolution and counter-revolution and calls upon all progressives to actively expose all those who seek to disorganize the popular movement by preaching class-collaboration with the class enemy and confidence in the Junta.

5. ESUNA calls upon all progressives to expose on a massive scale the class -- collaborationist politics of the regime and to effectively expose the various organizations and institutions which the regime is setting-up to ideologically subvert the masses (e. g., one-party, worker's council, etc.)

II: ON THE AGRARIAN REFORM

Considering the fact that:

...the regime's nationalization of rural land -- though a progressive measure in the scientific-economic sense -- constitutes at present a reactionary, inexpedient and adventurous measure which stands in the way of the independently developing agrarian revolution of the peasantry,

...under present conditions nationalization of land is in favor of the growth of state-monopoly capitalist relations of a comprador, bureaucratic, and feudal character completely subservient to the interests of imperialism at the expense of the development of free exchange of commodities and the formation of independent national capitalist relations in agriculture,

...is impossible to completely abolish feudal relations of property and exploitation by means of a feudo-bourgeois state apparatus and within the framework of a reactionary central authority,

...the Junta's method of implementing the land reform is the landlord's way of reform (i. e., it is a reform from above and not from below, without mass participation and initiative, in fact, it is against mass initiative carried as it is by the state bureaucracy),

...the regime's persistent and zealous efforts to bureaucratize the peasant associations, to break the student-peasant alliance, to reconcile landlords

and tenants constitute counter-revolutionary measures designed to disrupt the independent and revolutionary measures of the peasantry,

...the revolution of the peasantry for land and political power is independently developing and expanding despite the obstructions of the state, the bureaucracy and the gentry,

ESUNA resolves the following:

- 1) ESUNA re-affirms its belief that the only meaningful agrarian reform is one which is carried on by the peasants themselves, despite the state and bureaucracy and under proletarian leadership.
- 2) ESUNA reiterates its view that the struggle of the peasantry for land is inseparable from the struggle for political power.
- 3) ESUNA opposes the nationalization policy of the regime and expresses its strong convictions that such measures are inopportune until (a) revolutionary power of the masses is realized, and (b) the masses have shown signs of strivings to abolish private property in land. Against state and feudal ownership, ESUNA will agitate for complete ownership right of the masses (either collectively or individually depending on regional peculiarities).
- 4) ESUNA most emphatically condemns all the attempts of the regime to restrain and curb the independent actions of the peasantry, to break workers from peasants, and to separate economics from politics.
- 5) ESUNA hails with great jubilation the tremendous growth of the independent movement of the revolut-

ionary peasantry and most enthusiastically welcomes the emergence and expansion of political and military organs of popular power and believes that the consolidation and strengthening of these organs is the only guarantee for a real advance in the peasant movement.

6) ESUNA believes that the following propaganda slogans are most appropriate for the current phase of the agrarian revolution:

- a) formation of peasant associations independent of the bureaucracy
- b) formation of clandestine revolutionary peasant committees to lead the revolt of the peasantry
- c) formation of independent class organizations of rural proletarians
- d) arming of the peasantry and the development and expansion of peasant militias, peasant-student militias and other detachments of republican character to build popular democratic political authority
- e) the destruction of all landlord political power and authority by organized peasant insurrections, confiscation without compensation of all land, implements, etc., by the peasants themselves.

III: NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRIES

Considering that:

... the regime's nationalization of industries and banks has not extricated Ethiopia from imperialist penetration and exploitation

... vital relations of exchange still exist between Ethiopia and the world-imperialist market

... imperialist credit, and loans continue to flow to Ethiopia in a steady stream

... imperialism has been allowed to continue its strangle-hold grip of strategic sectors of the Ethiopian economy

... the regime has kept up its military and political alliance with U. S. imperialism.

1. ESUNA fully recognizes that expropriating or nationalizing or confiscating imperialist banks, industries, insurance companies and mortgages is in stage with the Democratic Revolution in Ethiopia. Moreover, it is the aspiration and the demand of the working class. But the reactionary Junta has stolen and vulgarized the slogan of the working class for its own reactionary ends. Far from intensifying the struggle of the working class, it aims at dampening it by spreading illusions that the working class has reclaimed control of the means of production. Far from extricating Ethiopia from imperialist control, it is aimed at preserving the semi-feudal and semi-colonial system of exploitation under the spurious cover of socialism and nationalism. Thus, ESUNA strongly denounces,

the highly pernicious, detestable and most harmful viewpoint of Junta apologists which present the nationalization measures of the regime as revolutionary anti-imperialist measures.

2. ESUNA expresses its conviction that Ethiopia remains a full-scale neo-colony of U. S. imperialism.

3. ESUNA believes that nationalization measures carried-out by any form of state other than the state of workers and peasants is an attempt to minimize the anarchy of small-scale production, to strengthen the economic base of bureaucratic capitalism, to militarize the economy, to increase government revenue, and to facilitate, rationalize and prolong imperialist exploitation.

4. ESUNA emphatically rejects the noxious theories of the junta which equate nationalization with socialization, state ownership with public ownership, state-capitalism with socialism and militarization of unions with worker's control.

5. ESUNA re-affirms its belief that nationalization measures will be in the genuine interests of the masses only when the worker's and peasants are in complete control of political power.

IV: FEUDALIST REACTION

The massive upsurge of Ethiopia's splendid millions has given use to rich developments. The feudal class has lost political hegemony at the center. Unreconciled to their defeat, certain archaic feudal strongmen such as Berhane Meshel Desta (Wollo), Mengesha Seyoum (Tigre), Negga Teggegne (Begemdir), the Binu Children (Shoa), Bitwoded Adane Dejzmatch Ferede (Semien and Wogera) Abhimirah (Afar country) have reared armed bands to attack the gains of the Ethiopian broad masses. These pre-capitalist medieval remnants whose barbaric obsurrantist feudal class has been a shame and curse over the glorious history of the broad masses are becoming easy tools to the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of U. S. imperialism and other imperialisms. These barbaric and cannabalistic exploiters who only yesterday were suppressing the noble spiritual qualities of the masses by engineering a network of ideological, political, economic and social coercion now would like to peddle their friendship to the masses with (asinine) protestations and apologies. The broad masses must not only reject these barbaric sharks of medieval regression, they must annihilate them, rise against them and completely root them out of Ethiopian soil.

The danger of this assorted collection of fall-out feudal tyrants stems from the sheer obsurratism, with which they attempt to mobilize the masses. That is, they spread toxic notions about the spectre of a Muslim take-over, for intra-nationality conflicts, arouse base feudal prejudices and create a disarticulation in the masses about the nature of their enemy - the fascist Junta. They thus create

conditions of a reactionary civil war fought by two counter-revolutionary gangs (feudalists and fascists) to the detriment of the Ethiopian broad masses. ESUNA calls on the masses to undertake an all-embracing class struggle to annihilate with revolutionary civil war both their feudalist and fascist enemies. Any direct or indirect support to these pre-capitalist remnants is a defense against progress, a stand against revolution and above all a declaration of war on the broad masses who have called for a popular provisional government to realize their democratic liberties away from feudalism, imperialism and the Junta.

ESUNA strongly condemns all individuals, group fronts and governments who directly or indirectly assist these pre-bourgeois feudal obsurrants. ESUNA believes that the struggle between the feudal aristocracy and the presnet military regime is a struggle within the reactionary classes themselves.

V: IMPERIALIST REACTION

ESUNA is fully aware of imperialism's dual counter-revolutionary tactics to deal with the revolutionary authoritative masses of any country. In Laos it made double deals between the Venatine so-called neutralist authorities and the Neo-imperialist armed and financed rightists. In Angola it is creating a Cabinda rightsit movement. Even in Portugal, it is fanning an Azores rightist reaction in the Middle East it double deals with "Israel" and the Arabs. In Ethiopia it is the same story. It works hand-in-glove with the reactionary royalist so-called exile government, with Ali-mirah, etc., and it also arms and supplies with money and weapons the fascist Junta. It uses its dual tactics in order to absolutely repress the masses by maximizing its overall influence in the area. ESUNA angrily condemns U. S. imperialism and other imperialisms and demands the absolute halt of CIA activities in Ethiopia. It vehemently expresses its anger over its machinations and warns the broad masses to distinguish this enemy and break away from its clutches. ESUNA angrily denounces all those false teachers of the masses who chose to spread poisonous notions that imperialism is magnanimous to the Ethiopian revolution and that the fascist Junta has antagonistic contradiction with the imperialists. Such an out-an-out counter-revolutionary opportunist stand, bloaks the rational understanding of the broad masses on how the imperialist monster works.

All those who forget that imperialism always and everywhere allies primarily with the group

that has seized the state machinery and all those who forget the basic alliance of imperialism and the fascist Junta at the very sight of the latter's "anti-imperialism" rhetoric, must be warned that they are following a very dangerous and counter-revolutionary line. U. S. imperialism's displeasure with particular acts of the regime (e.g., the November, '74 executions), its lack of confidence in the regime's ability to stabilize the situation, and also its anxiety that the Junta might decide to be subservient to another imperialist power do not, in any way, imply that the regime is anti-imperialist.

VI: OPPRESSED NATIONALITY STRUGGLE

ESUNA notes that as a country dominated by a minority coalition of **AMHARA/TIGRE** nationalities, (in which the latter plays the role of junior partner, and itself suffers some form of national oppression at the moment) the vast majority (70%) of the 26 million Ethiopians suffer from archaic forms of national oppression. As a result Ethiopia has been a scene, where powerful internal national movements have occurred.

ESUNA reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of the various national movements in Eritrea, the Afar region, and the rest of the Ethiopian state.

ESUNA reaffirms the right of all nationalities to self-determination including and upto political separation from the existing Ethiopian state system.

ESUNA wishes through the WWFES to develop a fraternal relationship with all the national movements in Ethiopia.

With utmost indignation and bitter hatred, ESUNA condemns a wholesale murder of thousands of Eritrean women, children, the young and the aged, by the fascist Junta. ESUNA angrily denounces this cannibalistic terror of the Junta against the heroic masses of Eritrea. It reiterates once again its unflinching solidarity with the broad worker-peasant and urban petty-bourgeois classes in Eritrea and their democratic national movement. ESUNA hails the armed struggle and the brilliant victories of the Eritrean combatants against the

fascist and national chauvinist regime of terroristic phrases. (ESUNA demands against the Junta that it immediately stop its counter-insurgency war in Eritrea and recognize the right of the Eritrean people to self-determination.) The increasing fascist attack of the Junta could be stopped either through a victorious armed rising of the Eritrean people to seize state power or through the fall of the fascist Junta in Ethiopia. Thus the struggle of the Ethiopian and Eritrean masses is materially linked, independent of the will of enemies or friends of the revolution in the region. Thus the energetic and correct evolution of the armed struggle in Eritrea has an immediate and direct effect on the mass revolutionary struggle in Ethiopia. Conversely, the thorough-going revolutionary upsurge of the masses in Ethiopia has a direct impact on the realization of the democratic resolution of the Eritrean national question. ESUNA believes that the unity of the democratic broad masses of Ethiopia and the Eritrean national movements is one of the crucial factors for realizing their common democratic objectives. Since the unity of the masses is a consciously felt need emanating from their objective identity of interest, ESUNA believes that, it is in the best interest of the Eritrean and Ethiopian masses to come to united fronts and other forms of political and organizational ties to defeat the fascist junta, imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism.

ESUNA supports the national struggles of the Afar people, the Oromo nationality and all the democratic struggles of minority nationalities directed against the national oppression of the ruling class of the dominant nationalities.

ESUNA angrily condemns the fascist Junta for the large-scale famine devastation of the people of Ogaden, for its diabolical attempts to sabotage famine-relief efforts in Eritrea and for its national chauvinist and fascist suppression of the Eritrean and Afar peoples.

ESUNA also notes with regret the Junta's diversion of relief money and resources from the famine zones to buy weapons to suppress oppressed nationalities progressive forces and democratic elements.

ESUNA is convinced that the task of the genuine Marxist-Leninist elements within all the national movements is to dislodge their respective petty-bourgeoisie or feudal leadership from positions of hegemony and power, and to replace them with proletarian leadership. ESUNA believes that the best way of winning proletarian hegemony is through the vehicle of the multi-national party of the proletariat. Thus the most urgent, most practical most burning, most necessary task for all Marxist-Leninist and all of those who accept, support, sympathize with the revolution is to bring about the most difficult task of creating the party of the multi-national proletariat as the only transit point to bring about the victory of the New Democratic Revolution in Ethiopia which alone can realize the thorough-going resolution of all democratic demands.

VII: ON MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS

A. General

1. ESUNA hails the proliferation of mass democratic organizations like womens organizations, religious communities, peasant associations, professional associations, etc., and considers it a development in the right direction.
2. ESUNA believes that the continuing struggle of these mass organizations for democracy is part and parcel of the general democratic mass movement that is recently engulfing Ethiopia.
3. ESUNA calls for the further proliferation and consolidation of these democratic mass organization as a means of ruling out and minimizing the possibility of the formation of fascist mass organizations under the guidance of the Junta.
4. ESUNA advises all democratic mass organizations to combine both legal and illegal struggle, with illegal work being the main foundation under all circumstances.

B. The Ethiopian Proletariat

Considering that:

...the Ethiopian proletariat has proved that it has a distinct interest from all bourgeois and petty-bourgeois classes and strata,

...It has fought in the forefront in the democratic-

revolutionary struggle of the broad masses.

... it has shown its steadfast consistency by escalating its militant class struggle against the successive feudo-bourgeois and petty-bourgeois power usurpers.

... only the proletariat is the most consistent fighter for democracy, economic well being or the masses, national sovereignty.

... it has severed its ties with the imperialist/CIA AFL-CIO and IFCTU.

... it has ousted traitorous elements or intermediaries associated directly with the above imperialist labor unions.

... the proletariat of all nationalities rose up in unison to put up a unified and militant general strike against the feudo-bourgeois social order.

... the working class smashed the fascist attack by the Dergue to break the confederation of Ethiopian Labor unions.

... the proletariat will not allow any interference not only with its own organizations, but also with other democratic mass organizations.

ESUNA resolves the following:

- (1) the various forms of rich and protracted class struggles of the Ethiopian proletariat have been sources of great jubilation and inspiration to ESUNA.
- (2) We hail the development of revolutionary con-

sciousness within the working class whose evidence is unmistakable from a cursory glance at reading the voice of labor and CELU's various resolutions. We particularly note with enthusiastic satisfaction with scientific clarity with which the proletariat is pursuing its class and social struggles.

- (3) ESUNA considers that the intransigent stand of the Ethiopian proletariat in opposing and fighting all the new and old oppressors and exploiters in all arenas of social life creates the best conditions for building the trust and confidence of other oppressed and exploited masses, social groups, nationalities, religious communities, women, students, teachers, repressed soldiers, etc.
- (4) ESUNA hails CELU's break from imperialism as one of the most crucial victories of the working class towards building its revolutionary authority among the broad masses. It also explodes the most pernicious notions of the absence of conscious workers within the working class movement in Ethiopia.
- (5) ESUNA regrets that certain leather-tongued oracles of petty-bourgeois apologists have emerged to deny the revolutionary role of Ethiopia's proletariat in the February revolutionary movement. In this connection, the ex-ESUE leaders and their publications, Tatek, Tiglachin, and Tiglachin Zena, have concocted the most lethal notions against the working class in order to peddle their class collaborationist beautifications

and prettifying to their petty-bourgeois fascist friends.

- (6) ESUNA unequivocally considers that the leadership of the February revolutionary movement was that of the proletariat. Moreover, ESUNA believes that the leadership of the proletariat must be propagated urgently to defeat all usurpative hegemonic ambitions by the various strata of the petty-bourgeoisie.
- (7) ESUNA vows to struggle in spreading a correct and rational perception and clarity of the class position, role, function and historic mission of the Ethiopian proletariat, both as leader of the new democratic revolution and the socialist revolution.
- (8) ESUNA vows to struggle ideology, theory, politics and organization, all deviations which undercut the leadership and hegemonic role of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic and socialist revolutions in Ethiopia.
- (9) ESUNA most enthusiastically supports the working class' continuing efforts to build a worker-peasant alliance by consistently and resolutely supporting the agrarian revolution of the peasantry and by raising timely slogans for the peasant movement (e.g., land to the tiller, arm the peasantry, etc.).

C. On Teachers Struggle

Considering that:

...the university teachers forum and the Ethiopian teachers association have played a progressive role

in the February revolution.

...the important contributions they have made and are still making in the revolutionary mass movement.

...in waging their uncompromising struggle, they have faced arrests, witch hunts, tortures and even in certain cases outright killings.

...the efforts of teachers to unite with students and peasants against landlord, feudal and Dergue obstructions.

...the efforts of teachers to unite with the broad masses under the leadership of the proletariat.

...the important contributions they are producing by publishing progressive literature (e.g., Teyik) in order to enhance clarity in the revolutionary mass movement.

...the prompt and almost instinctual response of the teachers associations against the fascist attack to break CELU, and noting with great admiration the plebian alliance that was formed between the workers and the teachers, (e.g., the Resolution).

ESUNA expresses its jubilation because:

- (1) The teachers of Ethiopia have proved that they can fight for the democratic revolution in Ethiopia; at present the teachers have forged a solid alliance with the workers movement.
- (2) ESUNA calls that the alliance of the workers and teachers should grow into a programmatic format.

- (3) **ESUNA** expresses its great indignation at the Junta's fascistic attacks on the teachers and their natural allies. It condemns the Junta for obstructing, intimidating, jailing and killing teachers in order to subvert their constructive role in helping the peasant masses to arm themselves politically against the landlord class and all other exploiting strata in Ethiopian society.
- (4) **ESUNA** calls on the Junta to immediately and unconditionally release Eshetu Chole, and all other revolutionary teachers currently in jail.
- (5) **ESUNA** sends its condolences and sympathies to all revolutionary teacher martyrs to their families and condemns the atrocious and terroristic rule of the Junta.

D. Women's Organization

1. **ESUNA** hails the struggle of the oppressed women of Ethiopia who rose up in their hundreds and thousands in defiance of feudal and imperialist oppression; male domination, for equality and liberation.
2. **ESUNA** considers the heroic struggle of the mass of the Ethiopian women as part and parcel of the democratic mass movement in Ethiopia.
3. **ESUNA** also considers that it was the combined struggle of the proletariat, the revolutionary democratic peasantry, the mass of oppressed women, oppressed religious communities and other democratic forces that gave rise to the political paralysis of the ruling feudo-bourgeois ruling class in the February upsurge.

4. **ESUNA** hails the proliferation of women mass organizations and the combinations of these organizations into a powerful, progressive national womens organizations capable of uniting the oppressed Ethiopian women to struggle against feudalism, imperialism and bureaucrat capitalism.
5. **ESUNA** opposes the womens organizations that was recently formed by the Junta. It considers it as an apologist to the Junta and as an organization that stands opposed to the fundamental interest of the working women of Ethiopia.
6. **ESUNA** reaffirms its previous stand on the women question and hails the WW. EWSG in their recent and brilliant victories. It is **ESUNA's** firm belief that the WW. EWSG will further its struggle against feudalism bureaucrat capitalism and imperialism. It is also **ESUNA's** firm belief that all progressive Ethiopian women will amalgamate with the masses of Ethiopian women and help facilitate the formation of a progressive national women's organization in Ethiopia independent of the Junta.
7. **ESUNA** hails the expulsion of the women apologists of the Dergue from the Ethiopiaⁿ women study group in Europe and fully supports the anti-feudal anti-imperialist women study group which is a member of the WWEWSG (Member of WWFES).
8. **ESUNA** serves notice to all organizations to cut their ties and communication with the puppet women's organization at home and its counterpart in Europe.

E. The Student Youth in Ethiopia

The youth in Ethiopia has a rich tradition of struggle. For over a decade it has taken the stand and viewpoint of the broad masses. Since 1965 with the revolutionary call of 'Land to the Tiller', coincided the emergence of USUAA under whose leadership and guidance the university was turned into virtual bastion of revolutionary struggle. The student youth has fought heroic battles against the autocratic Haile Selassie regime and has virtually been the leader of the masses on the propaganda and agitational fronts. It has made invaluable contributions to the Ethiopian revolution. It has created a socialist intelligencia, eager to integrate and develop its ties and deep roots with the working broad masses. It has developed correct and timely agitational slogans to deepen the center of revolutionary discontent from university enclaves out into the towns and countryside.

In the course of developing a revolutionary tradition in Ethiopia, heroic sacrifices have been made by the student youth. Tilahun Gizaw, Walleign, Temesgen, Martha and countless others have given their lives for the cause of the Ethiopian revolution. Of all the social strata in Ethiopia, the student youth entered with a clear conception of the nature of the revolution in Ethiopia. It entered the February revolution acquiring and fighting for the proletarian stand point. Its contribution to the emergence and development of the February, its readiness to ally with real friends to attack real enemies distinguishes it as one of the most crucial vehicles of proletarian influence in the February revolution. Because of the political importance of the student youth, out of proportion to its size

in Ethiopian society because of the youth's unpromising stand on the question of revolution in Ethiopia, because of its unflinching and intransigent faith in the initiative, native creative genius and revolutionary destructive potential of the broad masses, because of its revolutionary policy of exposing all forms of deception directed against the masses, (1) ESUNA recognizes that:

- (a) the student youth has been a virtual target of reactionary attack.
 - (b) the fascist Junta has dispersed the students in order to prevent them from building their revolutionary apparatus such as pamphlets, unions, etc., in order to undercut their vigilant political opposition against the regime of terroristic phrases.
- (2) ESUNA condemns the fascistic junta for scattering and dispersing student opposition to its fascist rule under the presumptuous cover of student integration with the peasant masses.
 - (3) ESUNA is steadfast in its belief that the Junta's attempt in dispersing students is tantamount to smashing one of the crucial apparatus of popular/democratic opposition. The student youth was subjected to the most barbaric fascist attacks under the deceptive banner of "Integration with the masses".
 - (4) ESUNA notes with great admiration the capacity and revolutionary perseverance of the student youth to change a bad thing into a good thing, a fascist attack into a revolutionary unity with the masses away from petty-bourgeois fascist influence. It is none other than the hard fought and hard earned wealth of revolutionary

experience of the students that is at the base of the changes of attacks, defeats and failures into counter-attacks, victories and successes.

- (5) ESUNA hails the Zemetcha students for building strong revolutionary links with the revolutionary democratic peasantry.
- (6) ESUNA angrily condemns the various bureaucratic impediments of the Junta against the Zemetcha militants.
- (7) ESUNA indignantly condemns the fascist Junta the landlords and the police authorities for killing, jailing and massacring students and peasants in Jimma, Sidaman, etc. ESUNA particularly singles out major Sisay, who slandered Zemetcha students as "baby feudal reactionaries", as the most crude, arrogant abhorrent and criminal defamation of heroic students whose history of resolute resistance against feudalism is rooted in revolutionary tradition that sent off radial shock waves throughout Ethiopian society since 1965.
- (8) ESUNA calls upon Zemetcha militants to take the task of summing up experience as a crucial contribution to the cause of the Ethiopian revolution.
- (9) ESUNA warns that despite the heroic efforts of Zemetcha militants that no genuine agrarian revolution could be accomplished without revolutionary peasant political power, without the struggle of the peasantry to seize liberty from below, without the crucial brick wall of the worker-peasant alliance, without the ideological, political and organizational leadership of the party of the proletariat.

- (10) ESUNA calls on all returnee Zemetcha students and the student youth in general to struggle for the re-institution of all student organs such as USUAA, NUES high school student councils and the revolutionary paper struggle and other publications of students.
- (11) ESUNA condemns the continued repression of students and their revolutionary apparatus as fascist attacks that must unconditionally come to a quick end.
- (12) ESUNA hails with great enthusiasm the new outbreak of waves of unrest among urban students and calls on them to intensify their legal and illegal struggle with increased integration with workers, teachers, the unemployed, youth and other revolutionary forces. ESUNA condemns the Junta for resorting to massive arrest of students to stifle the inevitable signs of a new and qualitatively higher level of mass conflagration, and demands the immediate release of all progressive students.

F. Resolution on the Current Situation in the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe

- (1) ESUNA hails the 15th Congress of ESUE as a historical turning point where the insurgent majority which developed since 1969, became victorious with the expulsion of the social fascist clique and their associates.
2. ESUNA believes that the two mutually exclusive and irreducible lines would have to ultimately come to a historic decision with the victorious rise of the genuine militant, and revolutionary line over

the disgrace and humiliation of the out-and-out feudo-Byzantine counter-revolutionary line. The two lines evolved on mutually exclusive and hostile premises between those who uphold democratism, and those who uphold feudal despotism, between those who uphold the mass line and those who uphold objectively the comprador-bureaucrat-imperialist-feudal line, between those who uphold politics in command and those who uphold petty economic handouts, between those who support the National Democratic Revolution and those who conjure up some imaginary form of national capitalist development (with imperialism as a rear-guard), between those who have confidence in the masses and their strength for making Revolution, and those who speculate on one or two officers within the Dergue to bring the "revolution" from above to the masses, between those who uphold revolutionary and scientific methodology and those who uphold moralist, eclectic, and demagogic methodology, between those who stand for consistent revolutionary line and those who stand for petty-bourgeois eclecticist line, between those who have faith and confidence on the leadership of the proletariat and its party and those who stand for the petty-bourgeois hegemony and its fascist party, and between those who fight for the Provisional Popular Government and those who stand for the Provisional Military Government. It is between those who stand for unity and those who stand for disunity, between those who stand for integration and those who stand for fragmentation, between those who strive to hasten the revolutionary movement of the masses clear sightedly without any impetuosity and those who do everything to rig the revolutionary struggle to a timeless and helpless demobilization and fixture in some remote dozen generation in the future, between those who recognize and uphold the right

of nationalities to self-determination and those who are national chauvinists fast transforming into social-fascists. It is in essence, a struggle between those who stand for the revolutionary masses - proletariat, peasantry, teachers, intellectuals, students, lower office workers, oppressed nationalities, oppressed women, oppressed religious communities and democratic army men and sailors and those who line up with the reactionary forces - feudal lords, comprador, bourgeoisie bureaucratic bourgeoisie, imperialists and social fascists. In short, it is between revolution and counter-revolution.

3. ESUNA recognizes a striking parallel between the Junta's attempt to steal the popular will of the Ethiopian masses and the social-fascist clique's theft of materials, finance, publications, name of the union, printing facilities. Just like the Junta is an assorted conglomeration of all counter-revolutionary forces, so have these scums become a chauvinist fortress where assorted or eclectic aggregation of dropouts, aristocratic rabbles, social fascists, national chauvinists, anti-proletarian filthy elements and Bohemian Debtaras, etc., are attracted. This is not all. They have become virtual detachments of the Junta's embassies abroad and a haven or refuge of all de-classed and lumpenized aristocratic elements and dregs of Ethiopian society.

4. ESUNA serves the strongest notice, to all progressive international organization who continue their ties or develop new ones with this purged aristocratic clan, to immediately sever their relations. ESUNA considers it a hostile and beligerent act to engage in any direct or indirect

relations with this social fascist assortment. This is because ESUNA believes that such an act sabotages the Ethiopian revolution and stands in direct opposition to the genuine strivings and aspirations of the broad masses.

5. ESUNA vows to provide full and complete moral and material support to the insurgent majority and their leadership and to consolidate their glorious victory in purging from ESUE the notorious and nefarious Lon-nol and Thieu type clique of the student variety. ESUNA solemnly calls upon all revolutionary militants to consolidate their ranks, isolate and demolish the remnants of Haile-Fidda's clan (i. e., the Amāre Tegbaru-Yohannes Mesfin clique).

6. With deep and profound revolutionary feelings, ESUNA extends its warmest salutations for the insurgent majority in ESUE for their glorious victory over the ruthless clique of social fascists, social chauvinists and Junta sympathizers.

7. ESUNA calls upon the member unions of the world wide federation of Ethiopian students to integrate their ranks very closely with the WWFES, assist the WWFES in its ever-growing struggle against new and old enemies, and call on the WWFES to completely strive to annihilate all regressive and scum elements, rightists, Bohemian Debetnas, aristocrats, fascists and groups that are appendages of the fascist Junta's embassies abroad. ESUNA believes that the WWFES should acquaint all international organizations about the extremely rightist and ferociously social fascistic nature of the expelled or purged element from its European branch union. ESUNA calls on the WWFES to use every available means to expose this rightist and social fascist

element to familiarize the broad masses in Ethiopia about the archaic, Byzantine regime of counter-revolution revisionism and opportunism with which this element tries to regiment the progressive movement.

G. On Nationality Student Movements

ESUNA has keenly followed the growth of Ethiopian nationality student organizations overseas. ESUNA believes that wherever there is any form of oppression, there is resistance, thus, as the resistance of the broad masses has assumed heavenly proportions, local reflections and strivings of nationality student organizations are a concomitant product of this phenomenon. ESUNA extends warm fraternal relations with the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist Oromo students organization (i. e., Tukkumma Oromo) and all other national forms of organizations with anti-feudal and anti-imperialist line. ESUNA urges its chapters, study groups and militants to develop the closest possible relations with such anti-feudal and anti-imperialist organizations and to fight shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy.

It is ESUNA's belief that in general national forms of organizations in a multi-national and class-divided society, can have one of two possible outcomes. They can be vehicles for absorbing wide sectors of the oppressed masses for the general struggle of the oppressed classes from all nationalities in a given state against the common class enemy. Or they can be instruments for dividing the oppressed masses along nationality lines, for ossifying national difference, fostering national antagonisms, and strengthening national aloofness, exclusiveness and

segregation. That is to say, they can either promote or retard; advance or disrupt; the class struggle of the laboring masses. Whether or not a national form of organization promotes or retards the class struggle is dependent on whether or not it has adopted a revolutionary line, whether or not it understands the relationship between the national question and class question and whether or not it unconditionally accepts the strategic significance of uniting the proletarian and toiling masses of all nationalities of a given state in indivisible proletarian organizations for a united struggle against the common enemies: feudalism, imperialism and bureaucrat capitalism. In view of this, ESUNA urges all national student organizations:

- 1) to develop an integral scientific and socialist world outlook; the better to integrate with the broad masses of oppressed nationalities.
- 2) to vigilantly combat the reactionary and demagogic, narrow-minded nationalism of the Ali-Mirah and Mengesha Seyoum variety.
- 3) to wage an uncompromising struggle against petty-bourgeois nationalism and all bourgeois ideologies which promote disunity among the laboring masses.
- 4) to choose between the various currents of socialist thought in Ethiopia.
- 5) and finally, to agitate and create the conditions for the urgent formation of a multi-national party of the working class in Ethiopia.

Being a multi-national student organization, ESUNA encourages all techniques (dual membership, joint study groups, united fronts, etc., as the case might be) which promote principled unity of all anti-feudal and anti-imperialist Ethiopian students.

VIII: ON UNDERGROUND GROUPS IN ETHIOPIA

ESUNA feels highly inspired by the creation of new things after the February Revolutionary Movements in general and the underground movement in particular. We note with great satisfaction, the enormous contribution of these revolutionary nuclei in revolutionizing the Ethiopian broad masses.

However, we regret that certain groups are attempting to disrupt and disorient the mass movement under the presumptuous cover of false clandestinity and illegality. We strongly believe that it is the duty of all revolutionaries to fiercely combat Yesefiw Hizeb Dimtse and other vehicles of bourgeois or petty-bourgeois (fascist Junta, etc.) influence in the developing revolutionary mass movement. It is the duty of all serious revolutionaries to energetically annihilate the most dangerous notion which casts the Dergue rule as a petty-bourgeois government, independent from and antagonistic to the previous ruling class; which casts the antagonistic contradiction between the Dergue and the broad masses as a non-antagonistic contradiction; which casts the contradiction between the Dergue and the Imperialists as antagonistic; which casts the Dergue's apparent margin of manoeuvre over the old and new exploiters and oppressors as a real autonomy from them; which casts the Dergue rule as a dictatorship of the petty-bourgeois class, which underestimates the expanding role of bureaucratic capitalism which is the basis of local fascism and consequently devises noxious policies of class collaboration and class reconciliation for and with the regime of ter-

roristic phrases.

With utmost enthusiasm we recognize the development of nationality revolutionary periodicals (e.g., Quan Que, etc.) who have recognized the basic unity of the interest of the broad masses of all nationalities. We urge all nationality revolutionary organizations to conquer a proletarian ideological, political and organizational victory to displace any bourgeois or petty-bourgeois domination over the revolutionary broad masses of all nationalities. We encourage all underground revolutionary circles, nationality organizations, revolutionary nuclei, etc. to realize the urgent need of constructing the multi-national party of the Ethiopian proletariat.

IX: ON THE QUESTION OF PARTY

Considering that:

...the most burning, urgent, practical and necessary duty of all Ethiopian Marxists-Leninists and other progressives is the ideological, political programmatic building of the party of the Ethiopian multi-national proletariat,

...the development and consolidation of this party of the proletariat is the basic condition for the development and consolidation of other mass, political, social and military, united front organizations and parties,

...the level of mass activity has created various forms of popular power and authority which demand urgent consolidation and guidance,

...the need to combat the systematic ideological repression and terrorism (e.g., Ethiopia first, Ethiopian socialism, one party, workers council, dispersion of students, etc.) of the fascist petty-bourgeois power usurping group,

...the urgent need for centralizing, integrating, concentrating and guiding the various unevenly developing moments of class struggle (e.g., city/countryside, national/class, sectional/long range, economic/political, etc.)

...the material existence for erecting the party of the proletariat (i.e., socialist intelligentsia, advanced working class movement, revolutionary circles or nuclei, a nation gripped with seething re-

publican ideas, etc.)

ESUNA resolves that:

- (1) the awesome responsibility of the moment for Ethiopian Marxists-Leninists is the building of the multi-national party of the proletariat.
- (2) As a student movement far away from the reaches of class struggle, ESUNA must take up urgently the task of:
 - (a) developing an integral socialist world outlook among its members in opposition to petty-bourgeois socialism, reformism, revisionism, Trotskyism and other variants of bourgeois ideology.
 - (b) It must fiercely combat all deviations from revolutionary principles and purge itself from Junta adherents, hidden sympathizers, scabs, dubious and divisive elements and their likes.
 - (c) must materially support (e.g., sending books, etc.) in every possible way the efforts of the militants at home engaged in practical revolutionary activity with death-defying spirit.
 - (d) distinguishing between various trends of socialist thought to take part effectively in the current fierce debate that is raging in Ethiopia.

X: ON UNITED FRONT

One of the chief sins of opportunists of Yesefiew Hizeb Dimtse variety is to attempt to integrate the left with a reactionary government under the presumption of forming a revolutionary united front. This line is dangerous to the extreme and invokes lurid memories of wholesale massacres of workers and peasants in other lands (e. g., Indonesia, 1965, China, 1927). ESUNA believes that the basic minimum conditions for forming a revolutionary united front government are:

- 1) the existence of the proletarian party (People's Army)
- 2) the establishment of worker-peasant alliance under proletarian hegemony
- 3) the existence of free democratic liberties.

XI: ON PROVISIONAL POPULAR GOVERNMENT

Considering that:

...under conditions when the masses spontaneously develop their own popular committees and strive to break away from all wings of the reactionary ruling class coalition,

...under conditions when a bourgeois military dictatorship of the fascist type is developing multiple forms of deception, terror, repression and subversion of the broad Ethiopian nationalist and democratic popular masses.

ESUNA resolves that:

- (1) a transitional slogan is permissible to centralize the class/nationality/social/economic/democratic/political struggles of the masses to build their democratic authority in the state. In particular under present day Ethiopian circumstances, the PPG is a viable tactical slogan that will help mobilize the mass of the people away from the PMG (Junta!), for mass political democracy and for the further intensification of the class struggle.
- (2) the PPG will be formed from popular, democratic soldiers' committees, peasant associations, democratic mass organizations, clandestine revolutionary groups, democratic national organizations and etc.
- (3) This call does not contradict nor undermine the call for the immediate formation of the proletar-

ian party. Rather by securing and granting the base for mass republican political participation, it will help the proletarian party in its struggle to steal the peasantry from the influence of the demagogic petty-bourgeoisie. Under the PPG, the party of the proletariat will and can extend its illegal underground activity into the open. Should this condition arise, the party of the proletariat can extend its influence to the larger section of the population in the shortest time possible and thereby hasten the possibility of the creation of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship in favourable regions in the agrarian zone by staging partial insurrections as objective and subjective conditions permit.

(4) ESUNA believes that:

- (a) the most urgent task of the PPG is the liquidation of Ethiopia's ties with U. S. imperialism and other imperialists.
- (b) it is the urgent task of the PPG to break the monopoly of bureaucrat state machinery.
- (c) it would be the urgent task of the PPG to pave the way for the genuine democratic solution to the Eritrean national question by:
 - (i) immediately halting all acts of hostility against the heroic Eritrean people.
 - (ii) immediately, starting direct, face-to-face negotiation with the Liberation Fronts on the basis of the democratic principle of self-determination.
 - (iii) lifting all emergency decrees imposed on the Eritrean people.

(iv) lifting the Ford embargo imposed on the Eritrean people.

- (d) the Eritrean workers and peasants, they alone can determine their own destiny free from all counter-revolutionary chauvinism. To this end ESUNA believes that granting democratic liberties to the Ethiopian and Eritrean masses should be one of the urgent tasks of the PPG.

XII: ON A DECADE OF HEROIC STUDENT STRUGGLE

ESUNA believes that a grand world wide festival be organized on the 10th anniversary of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle of the Ethiopian Student Movement.

ESUNA believes that the victories gained by the masses in February are rooted in many sacrificial and intransigent struggles waged by university, high school and elementary school students in the past ten (10) years.

ESUNA dedicates December 29th, as the 10th anniversary day of the Ethiopian Student Movement.

* REMARK ON THE APPENDIX

While the Dergue's dependence on imperialism, its total servility to the avowed enemies of the Ethiopian masses is indisputable, certain opportunists and counter-revolutionaries spray the notion that the junta is "anti-imperialist", enjoys "autonomy" from the national and international class struggle, "stands on the side of the masses" etc.... ESUNA, casting aside petty-bourgeois idealism and basing itself on a scientific theoretical basis, has for long resolved the pro-imperialist nature of the military government. To those who sniff for documents only instead of class analysis, class nature, role and function of the military to prove whether or not the junta is a friend, whether or not it stands for the masses, whether or not to ally with it etc... we hope, the following piece of information will scale down their high-frequency fever of opportunism.

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PART I



HIGHLIGHTS OF THIS ISSUE

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Title 3—The President

Memorandum of June 26, 1975

Provision of Foreign Military Sales Credit to Ethiopia at a Reduced Interest Rate

[Presidential Determination No. 75-24]

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

THE WHITE HOUSE,
 Washington, June 26, 1975.

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by Section 23 of the Foreign Military Sales Act, as amended, I hereby certify that the provision of \$25 million in FMS credits to Ethiopia for FY 75 at an interest rate of 5% is required by the national interest of the United States.

You are directed on my behalf to report this certification to the Congress, together with the attached justification therefor.

This finding shall be published in the FEDERAL REGISTER.

Gerald R. Ford

[FR Doc. 75-19475 Filed 7-23-75; 2:10 pm]

THE PRESIDENT

Memorandum of June 30, 1975

Provision of Sophisticated Weapons Systems to Ethiopia and Kenya

[Presidential Determination No. 75-27]

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

THE WHITE HOUSE,
 Washington, June 30, 1975.

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by Section 504(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and by Section 4 of the Foreign Military Sales Act, as amended, I hereby determine that:

- a) The furnishing of F-5 aircraft to the Government of Ethiopia under Chapter 2 of Part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended; and
- b) The extension of credits and guaranties under Sections 23 and 24 of the Foreign Military Sales Act, as amended, in connection with the sale of F-5 aircraft to the Governments of Ethiopia and Kenya, are important to the national security of the United States.

You are requested on my behalf to report that determination to the Congress within thirty days as required by law, together with the attached justification therefor.

This determination shall be published in the FEDERAL REGISTER.

Gerald R. Ford

[FR Doc. 75-19478 Filed 7-23-75; 2:11 pm]

REVISED CONSTITUTION OF THE ETHIOPIAN
STUDENT UNION IN NORTH AMERICA

(ESUNA)

AS OF THE 23rd CONGRESS, 1975

PREAMBLE

We, Ethiopian Students in North America,
Conscious of the brutal oppression and exploitation
to which the Ethiopian masses are subjected;
Recognizing that such oppression and exploitation
is unleashed by the twin enemies of the Ethiopian
masses: feudalism and imperialism;
Convinced of the necessity and urgency of an anti-
feudal and anti-imperialist revolution in Ethiopia;
Confident that the Ethiopian masses themselves
will smash feudalism and imperialism;
Aware of our historic responsibilities to the oppress-
ed masses of Ethiopia; and
Dedicated to the liquidation of feudalism and imperi-
alism, and the creation of a people's democracy
in Ethiopia;
Hereby form the Ethiopian Student Union in North
America (E. S. U. N. A.) to better mobilize our
forces to serve this cause of liberation of our
oppressed and impoverished peoples.

— o —

ARTICLE I: NAME

The Union shall be called the Ethiopian Student
Union in North America (ESUNA).

ARTICLE II: AFFILIATION

ESUNA is an integral part of the World Wide
Federation of Ethiopian Students.

ARTICLE III: OBJECTIVES

1. To promote a broad anti-feudal and anti-imper-
ialist student front in close cooperation with
progressive Ethiopian student organizations
inside as outside Ethiopia, and to assist in the
further growth of W. W. F. E. S.
2. To work persistently for the defeat of feudalism,
imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism and
for the creation of peoples democracy
in Ethiopia.
3. To unite all Ethiopian students who wish to
commit themselves to struggle against imperi-
alism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism
into a strong powerful body so as to support
one another in study, life and struggle.
4. To instill its members with a collective spirit
of love for the people and their just cause, to
promote the spirit of the revolutionary struggle.
5. To join with all progressive student organizations
in general and African, Asian and Latin American

students in particular in opposition to imperialism and the strengthening of democracy, freedom, progress and genuine peace.

ARTICLE IV: MEMBERSHIP

1. Membership shall be open to all Ethiopians living in North America (U. S. A., Canada, and Mexico) who accept the objectives of ESUNA as set forth in this Constitution.
2. Associate membership shall be open to those residing in areas where ESUNA chapters do not exist and maintain regular communication with the C. C. of ESUNA and pay membership fees.

ARTICLE V: DUTIES AND RIGHTS OF MEMBERS

1. All members have the right to:
 - (a) vote in the General Assembly,
 - (b) participate in the Union's debate and decision-making,
 - (c) stand for election to the Central Committee of the Union,
 - (d) participate in the activities of the Union.
2. It is the responsibility of all members to:
 - (a) consistently and diligently uphold, promote and defend the objectives of this Union,
 - (b) increase their own political knowledge, improving their own understanding by actively participating in the Union's political education program,
 - (c) actively participate in the various activities of the Union (in chapters, regional meetings, general assemblies, etc.),

- (d) abide by the Constitution of ESUNA as well as by the resolutions of the General Assembly,
- (e) pay membership dues regularly and without fail,
- (f) discharge promptly and without hesitation such tasks as may be assigned to them by organs of the Union,
- (g) maintain up-to-date and thorough knowledge regarding the objectives and activities of the Union,
- (h) strive in every way possible to widen and deepen the ranks of the Union.

ARTICLE VI: ORGANS OF ESUNA

A. The General Assembly:

1. The General Assembly is the final authority of ESUNA. It shall convene in an annual Congress.
2. The General Assembly is made up of members and associate members present at the Annual Congress.
3. The General Assembly shall be convened annually by the Central Committee at a time and place chosen in consultation with steering committees of all chapters.
4. The General Assembly has the power to:
 - (a) pass resolutions and make such decisions and rules as it deems necessary and consistent with the objectives of ESUNA,
 - (b) elect members of the Central Committee and such other officers, special committees, etc., as it may find necessary,

- (c) censure, suspend or expel any member or members whose activities it deems prejudicial to the objectives of the Union.
5. All decisions of the General Assembly excluding constitutional amendments shall be made by a simple majority vote of the members present and voting.
6. Extraordinary meetings of the General Assembly shall be convened by the C. C. if not less than 1/3 of existing chapters as the Union deem it appropriate at any one particular time.

B. Regional Congresses and Meetings of Chapter Representatives:

1. Six months prior to the annual congress of ESUNA, regional congresses will be held in the East Coast, Mid-West, and West Coast to:
- conduct a seminar on regionally agreed topics,
 - discuss organizational matters, and
 - suggest the "theme" of the coming annual congress.
2. There shall be meetings of regional chapter representatives:
- prior to the regional congress so as to decide the topic of the seminar and outline the agenda,
 - prior to the annual congress so as to draft the agenda of the Congress and also coordinate activities.

C. The Central Committee:

- The Central Committee is the executive organ as well as the official spokesman of the Union.
- The Central Committee shall be elected by the General Assembly at its annual congress for a period of one year.
- The Central Committee shall be collectively responsible for the full implementation of the decisions of the General Assembly. It shall also be responsible for:
 - maintaining effective and constant liaison with chapters,
 - maintaining effective and constant liaison with progressive Ethiopian Student Organizations as well as with other progressive organizations,
 - publicizing the objectives and activities of the Union,
 - undertaking any such measures as it deem it necessary to promote the objectives of the Union.
- The Central Committee shall be composed of the following officers of ESUNA: Chairperson, Secretary General, Assistant Secretary, Chairperson of the Editorial Board and Treasurer.
 - The Chairperson shall act as the coordinator of all external and internal activities of the Central Committee as well as the official spokesman of the Central Committee.

- (b) The Secretary General shall be responsible for keeping the records of the Union as well as carrying out all communications of the Union.
 - (c) The Assistant Secretary shall assist the Secretary in all his/her duties.
 - (d) The Treasurer shall be responsible for the finances of the Union.
 - (e) The Chairperson of the Editorial Board shall be responsible for coordinating the activities of the Editorial Board. The Editorial Board consists of the Chairperson and four other members appointed by the Central Committee in consultation with all chapter steering committees. The Editorial Board: (i) shall be responsible for the production and distribution of the publications of the Union; (ii) shall formulate policies and guidelines governing the publications of chapters.
5. Should any member of the Central Committee resign his/her post or be otherwise unable to perform his/her duties the other members of the Central Committee shall have the right to appoint a substitute in consultation with chapter steering committees.
 6. The Central Committee is responsible to the General Assembly.

D. Chapters:

ESUNA Chapters are the principal organs that make up the organization. Thus chapters are the primary instruments in organizing and educating Ethiopian students.

Chapters must abide by the Constitution of ESUNA and are subordinate to the General Assembly and its Central Committee in accordance with the

organizational principles and political line of the Union.

1. Chapters of ESUNA may be formed by three or more members.
2. Chapters shall abide by the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly.
3. Chapters shall be responsible for:
 - (a) mobilizing Ethiopian students in their respective localities for the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle,
 - (b) the planning and execution of political education program in their respective localities,
 - (c) publicizing through all means available the plight of the Ethiopian masses and their struggle against feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism,
 - (d) carrying out fund-raising activities on behalf of the Union. All financial transfers shall be channeled through the Treasurer of the Union,
 - (e) establishing cooperation with progressive organizations in their respective localities; subject to Article VI, No. 5 below,
 - (f) maintaining effective and constant liaison with the Central Committee and with other chapters,
 - (g) putting out publications that promote the objectives of the Union in accordance with the policies and guidelines of the Editorial Board of the Union.
4. A chapter shall have the right to:
 - (a) formulate its own rules and regulations consistent with the objectives, organizational principles and political line of the Union,

- (b) censure, suspend or expel any member whose activities are found prejudicial to the interests of the chapter. However the expelled individual has the right to present his case for reconsideration first to the chapter and if rejected to the General Assembly through the Central Committee.
5. Chapters shall not take ideological and political stands independent of the Union or make official communications to Ethiopian organizations at home or abroad or to other organizations without the prior knowledge and consent of the Central Committee.
 6. Chapters shall make annual reports to the General Assembly.

ARTICLE VII: FINANCES

1. Members and Associate Members shall pay an annual fee of U. S. \$20. This fee is payable within three months of each annual meeting of the General Assembly. Chapter leaders are responsible for collecting the fees and delivering it to the Treasurer of the Union within specified time.
2. The primary sources of the Union's funds are chapter fund-raising activities.
3. The Union's funds shall be kept in a bank in the name of the Union.
4. Union funds shall be withdrawn from the bank on the joint signature of the Chairperson and the Treasurer.

ARTICLE VIII: DAYS TO BE COMMEMORATED

A. National:

1. Land to the Tiller - December
2. Martyrs' Day - December 29
3. February Revolutionary Upsurge - March 4
4. Ethiopian Women's Day - March 16

B. International

1. International Women's Day - March
2. International Workers' Day - May 17
3. African Liberation Day - May 26

ARTICLE IX: AMENDMENTS

This Constitution shall not be altered, amended, or otherwise modified except at a General Assembly meeting and with the approval of 2/3 of the members present and voting.

8. Materials used for preparation of thesis:

1. Ethiopia Anatomy of the traditional policy
(by Markakis)
2. The Dying Lion (Partrik Gilkes)
3. Democracia
4. Present Situation in Ethiopia - by USUAA
(Prepared for the 2nd Congress of WWFES)
5. Mao Selected Works
6. Philpa Society and Revolution
7. Fascism and Social Revolution
(Palme E. Dutt)