

## A Call for Unity of Struggle for Genuine Progressives!

At times, infact, one finds it very hard to conceive, if there is any revolution which is so fortunate in slogans as that of the Ethiopian revolution. With this we do not mean to say, that correct tactical slogans indicating the role of progressives should not be raised at various times and periods. They ought to. However, as we notice many times, some slogans overlap beyond limits. If the previously raised slogans were genuinely implemented, the new and overlapping slogans would have been avoided.

For that matter, if all that echo the slogan "For a Concious, Organized and Armed Popular Insurrection" zealously stood for this cause, we should have gone beyond "United Programme" and "Action programme" and our revolution would have made a great progress. For instance, the National Democratic Revolution Programme, which all Ethiopian progressives have agreed on, states clearly that the popular masses will be "immediatly accorded unrestricted exercise of democratic rights" in order to accelerate the process of politicizing, organizing and arming them. After this has been clearly stated, how many slogans have we seen and heard on the question of democratic rights?

At first it was said, "unrestricted democratic rights for the oppressed". Every body echoed this slogan together with the broad masses. When the broad masses noticed that nothing was done about it, they raised the slogan "Unrestricted Democratic Rights For The Oppressed Immediatly", reminding once again, the "immediate" and imperative nature of the question. Again, revolutionaries, opportunists and others echoed this slogan with the broad masses. When the question of democracy which has been chracterized as "immediate", "very urgent with the advance of the revolution was not effected, and when in the wake of events it became a decisive question for the very existence of the revolutionary motherland, it was said "unrestricted democratic rights for the oppressed now". The broad masses and their true allies continued the struggle under this slogan, taking up the banner of the revolution from the comrades that sacrificed their lives for the programme of the National Democratic Revolution. At this event the pseudo-progressives and opportunists who were taken by surprise couldn't know what to say. Eventually, there emerged shifts. Some started raising exhausted and undisputable questions from the year before last in a futile sophistry to evade the immediate issue regarding the question - democracy when? The other opportunists and historical garbage in an attempt to flinch with petty bourgeois cleverness, without either risking exposure in the argument or holding consistant revolutionary stand, came out with a new "slogan"- "unrestricted democratic rights for the oppressed by struggle", which in its scientific "depth" incomparable but in its clever attempt very naive. We the oppressed and struggling people of Ethiopia haven't got let alone such a big thing like democracy even a very simple thing gratis from our enemies without sacrifice and bitter struggle!!

What so ever, as the old saying goes "a pitcher goes often to the well but is broken at last" all the opportunists, who have well understood the fact that opposing democratic rights was one way or another betraying the revolutionary motto "a concious, organized ....." of the broad masses, were forced to confess that they have still not "betrayed" the revolution. At this critical moment in order to contribute their part, the opportunists as excepted came out with a new slogan "still today for a concious organized...." putting unexpected additional phrase on this major slogan, in a futile attempt to cover their betrayal.



Therefore, we believe it is not hard to understand the reason behind the overlapping of slogans. The cause for this problem obviously emanates in the failure of genuinely implementing the slogans. It stands to reason that, such a situation has existed due to the fact that the leadership of the Ethiopian revolution is in the hands of a vacillating petty-bourgeoisie. When one slogan is raised the petty-bourgeoisie class-as Marx once characterized it "at once both bourgeois and man of the people"- picks up the slogan and echoes with the masses. However, unlike the broad masses, it lacks the venture to carry on the struggle under the slogan to the end. Its determination becomes instantly evanescent. And as long as it is the van in the revolutionary process, it does not wish the broad masses to struggle for the slogans outside its control in order to restrain the slogans on half-way. As a result of this the petty-bourgeoisie obstructs the implementation of these slogans.

Eventually, there arises strange situations that are in logical conformity with the class interest of the petty-bourgeoisie. For instance, revolutionaries, the petty-bourgeoisie which is pendulating to flinch, its detachment opportunists, and the broad masses raise a slogan and echo from corner to corner. There appears general/agreement/ on the slogan. Apropos, for instance, one can say that until recently, there was no clear knowledge as to who was opposing the slogans; "down with the bureaucracy", "democracy for the oppressed"..... in Ethiopia. When every one is echoing these slogans, at the Revolution Square, when the slogans are raised by the chairman of the DERG, DERG members and the broad masses, one may ask wondering: then who is opposing democracy? Who is reinforcing the bureaucracy? If the slogans are not controversial why are they not implemented?

A person who takes a sober notice at, there is as such no controversy on the slogans; however, can understand that, the petty-bourgeoisie is making preparations to shift the focus of the argument from the content of the slogans and open a polemic front on the conditions of their implementation. The petty-bourgeois class by maintaining to implement the slogans outside the participation of the broad masses attempts to impede their materialization. On the other hand, the broad masses, who have understood this fact and know that the only determined force to implement the slogans are themselves, demand "free revolutionary actions" and "democratic rights".

Therefore, if we look at the matter from this angle; as long as the free revolutionary actions and democratic rights of the masters of the revolution and their true allies remains suppressed, let alone the pseudo progressive and opportunist who is working hand in glove with the reactionary bureaucracy behind the back of the broad masses, even the rotten bureaucrat does not care a bit when he lifts his left hand at the Revolution Square and barks "down with the bureaucracy". As long as the free revolutionary actions and democratic liberties of the broad masses - the means to crush the bureaucracy- are curtailed, and as long as the reactionary bureaucracy can protect itself on these questions under the "van" of right-opportunism, it can go out freely to the Revolution Square, guise itself as a true ally of the broad masses and sleeps in peace. Only save mentioning free revolutionary actions and democracy!

That is why we maintain, at present, with the exception of democratic rights, all the other slogans are not much controversial. The broad masses who have understood this fact and who are tired of echoing slogans have today come out with their own slogan for slogans saying "put slogans in action". Therefore, anybody can understand



today, that the question of democratic liberties appears to be very controversial between on the one hand, reactionaries and right-opportunists who raise slogans and attempt to impede their implementation on half way, and on the other hand, genuine revolutionaries who, side by side with the broad masses, are struggling for the practical implementation of the slogans.

When ME'ISONE recently changed its tactics of struggle, it was not only to strengthen its clandestine structure for the bitter struggle to come, but also, to integrate on a higher level with the broad masses who want the implementation of the slogans and play a leading role in practically advancing the struggle forward, as opposed to opportunists who only echo slogans but lack zeal to struggle for their practical implementation.

Today, when we take the initiative and make this call to Ethiopian Marxist-Leninist Organizations, other progressive and patriotic forces we are calling for a genuine unity not of words and paper but of struggle. Consequently, we do not have in mind another paper-tiger "programme" warning opportunists and make mockery on the struggle of the Ethiopian oppressed masses. As a matter of fact we do not have a new slogan to raise. We do not even take up all the slogans that are already raised. We shall raise only few key slogans which if practically implemented, we believe, would open the door for the implementation of the other slogans. Our aim here is to point out some concrete struggle guide lines as to how we can integrate and struggle with the broad masses in order to enable them to put these slogans into action.

We believe the guide lines we attempt to pin point here, can help to advance our struggle forward. If there are comrades who believe that there could be better guide lines, or who think that our guide lines are insufficient, we say they have revolutionary obligation to express their views, make necessary complements and openly take fear stand before the broad masses. Today, when we make this call for unity in struggle our United Programme which we released in February 1977 was very good. To put that programme in action a short run "action programme" was released. Unless we try to cheat ourselves we can not say that the "action programme" has disappeared into thin air. Today, what has been done to all that we "wished" in our previous "action programme" that the "military bureaucracy" which is ever getting worse" has to be struck and be replaced by progressive officers, in foreign political affairs to replace the old bureaucrats by new diplomats, all our warnings on EPRP. paid-assassins is at variance with the objective realities that we see before our eyes. In actual fact, EPRP has been reinforced by other paid-assassins. When Marxist-Leninist organizations claim that their unity has "strengthened" from time to time, and maintain to have gone from unity programme to action programme, and from action programme to "front", when the broad masses are echoing revolutionary slogans in their millions, in short when unprecedented revolutionary situation prevails in our country, one may ask wondering- why couldn't the revolution advance forward? why have reactionaries become strong? why do "Marxists" remain paper tigers? Why is their struggle restricted only on warning reactionaries? The reason for this is very simple. All those that raise slogans do not venture to struggle full heartedly for their implementation. In order to increase the revolutionary participation of the broad masses and intensify the class struggle, there are those that raise and put democratic question on the fore front. On the other hand there are those tail-enders who in sheer petty-bourgeoisie and neglect of the broad masses attempt to underestimate or if it goes far determined to stand against the full participation of the broad masses in the revolution. Therefore, in this condition since the



action programmes are only for few intellectuals and not for the popular masses they can not be implemented. Those elements that claim to be vanguards seen from the angle of the broad masses that have burning desire to carry on the revolution exhibit tail-ending, vacillation, indecisiveness they prostrate and show opportunism for reactionary forces that seem to be strong for <sup>at</sup> time being. And in this manner the counter-revolution gets chance to strengthen itself. This is what characterizes the objective reality in our country today.

Therefore, when we make this call for unity in struggle for genuine ML organizations and other revolutionary forces, we shall point out in brief what sort of struggle tactics we have to adapt in order to "put slogans in action". Then we shall choose four out of the various slogans that revolutionaries are echoing with the broad masses today and give some struggle guide lines that will help us to struggle for these slogans.

#### Put Slogans in Action

In order to put this slogan of the popular masses Marxist-Leninists should depart from the starting point that- the masses are the makers of history. Vanguard forces no matter how much revolutionary, patriotic or determined they may be they can not do any thing sound outside the participation of the broad masses. In order to put slogans in action it is imperatively necessary for vanguards to be accepted and unite with the people which are the makers of history. Further, it is exceptionally important to prepare the people to lay their trust and die for them. They have to show on the fore front concrete actions every time and at every stage that indicate the path which will lead the broad masses to final victory.

Therefore, in order to do this, first of all Marxist-Leninists and other revolutionary forces have to give clear explanations on the content of the slogans, and thereby be able to show to the broad masses how much the slogans can contribute for the popular revolution if they are implemented.

Second, they have to expose mercilessly without any sort of opportunism reactionaries and opportunists within as well as outside the DERG who are directly or indirectly opposing the slogans and thereby mobilize the broad masses to fight against these reactionaries and opportunists. To fight for revolutionary slogans does not have any other meaning than fighting against reactionaries who oppose the slogans as well as opportunists who superficially echo the slogans but create hinderance in their practical implementation.

Third, if true organizations and other genuine revolutionaries claim to be vanguards, they have to be able to point out in advance concrete tactics and measures that will enable the implementation of slogans that have been accepted by the people and carry on a relentless struggle to advance the revolution forward. Accordingly, having in mind that attacks can come from reactionaries and opportunists against the broad masses and their allies in the process of the struggle in explaining the slogans, giving concrete practical guide lines, exposing reactionaries and opportunists, they have to be prepared to stand united against any kind of influence or attack.

It means, if Ethiopian genuine ML-organizations and other genuine revolutionaries continue the struggle along the above mentioned very simple guide lines avoiding opportunism and lagging in the wake of events, we do not only advance forward in strengthening our unity, but also can make great contributions that is expected from us by the Ethiopian revolution. Following the above mentioned three guide lines ME'ISONE makes revolutionary call to struggle



hand in hand for the following four slogans.

1. "Put the unity of genuine progressives in practical action!"

At this critical moment when the counter-revolutionary forces united and strengthened are on the verge of subverting our revolution, this slogan of the broad masses has become very vital and burning. Accordingly, we maintain, today more than any time before it is the duty of each and every ML-organization to do every thing possible in order to realize and translate the union of progressives from paper work to practical action and from words to concrete struggle.

ME'ISONE needs a genuine unity of progressives as it has pointed out time and again. It has unremittingly agitated and struggled for this cause. Again today, when ME'ISONE makes this call for true ML-organizations and genuine revolutionaries-that will enable us to unite our struggle, get closer and know each other in the revolutionary test we are going through - it is to take one step forward from the previous attempts.

Our past struggle has thought us that a concerted unity of genuine progressives can not be achieved simply because few vanguards publish unity and action programmes. Realizing that we have failed to do so, realizing that ML-organizations have failed to play any sound role in our country's concrete conditions it is imperative that ML-organizations learn from their previous mistakes and strengthen their ties with the broad masses. If however, they continue as "vanguards" isolated from the broad masses and attempt to "strengthen" their unity into a ML "front" their impact on the counter-revolutionary forces that are objectively uniting and getting stronger would only be another paper tiger warning.

The broad masses of Ethiopia who for several months in the past have echoed the slogan "strengthen the unity of progressives" after we responded by publishing the programme of Union of Ethiopian ML-organizations and the action programme and today when we maintain that we are "united" still "refusing to listen" have raised the slogan "put the unity of progressives in action". Evidently, this clearly reveals how much the broad masses have understood that the unity we are talking about up to now is a unity in words and paper and not in deeds! As long as true ML-organizations lag in the wake of events, and isolate themselves from the concrete day to day struggle of the broad masses, one beautiful morning they might come out by surprise to the broad masses and say "congratulations! After we have strengthened our unity we have established a working-class party for you over night". However, the broad masses and genuine revolutionaries will continue to struggle for a genuine unity, a unity that should be transformed to practical acts.

Why should the broad masses and genuine Marxist-Leninists continue to struggle for a genuine unity while some "progressives" claim to have been united? Because, in order to establish a firm unity of genuine progressives and to strengthen such a unity, there are certain basic scientific prerequisites which can not be easily by-passed! Of these prerequisites we shall mention the three preliminary ones. First, in order to strengthen their unity progressive organizations must agree on the basic questions of the revolution. Second, based on these basic questions, each organization must clearly state its stand on the burning questions of the revolution, on questions that are confusing to the broad masses and for which the broad masses need guide lines. In short, each organization must point out its clear tactical stand for "what is to be done" with the questions that emerge in the process of the revolution and



in fact must stand as a vanguard to give leadership to the struggle. Third, each organization must in common with other organizations who uses similar tactics integrate with the broad masses and struggle side by side to advance the revolution. Further, each organization must struggle to establish a common front with those who have different tactics by trying to eliminate the differences on an open and democratic discussions. It shall be strengthened and implemented by the fierce and concerted struggle of those members of organizations who come closer and get to know each other in their struggle under common tactics and establish brotherly and comradely ties and learn to stand united against their common enemies. Such a unity will not be unity of elites or a unity on a paper, but rather a unity which materializes and flourishes in the struggle - an iron unity of the militants of the organization. It stands to reason, by this we do not mean to say that there should not be leadership from above, nor are we opposed to union programmes and action programmes. But, rather we are simply saying that, in order to avoid these factors from being a far cry from the objective reality and to proceed from practice and paper work, it is imperative also to concentrate on pointing out concrete tactics and integrate members with the broad masses under these clear tactics.

If we maintain that the three factors we mentioned above are important prerequisites to put the unity of genuine progressives in practice, let us now proceed to see in short anti-unity factors in our country today seen from the point of view of these prerequisites.

The first obstacle of unity in our country is the attempts of subversive elements in pushing to disrupt already achieved agreements between ML-organizations on the basic questions of the revolution by using CIA-agents and reactionary bureaucrats who have intensively infiltrated in ML-organizations. In this respect, we maintain that, the recent class-shifts and vacillations on the basic questions of the revolution is a fundamental hinderance for the unity of progressives. While our revolution remains a National Democratic Revolution (NDR) and one of the basic questions of this revolution being the struggle for unrestricted democratic rights for the oppressed let alone that, even after an agreement has been reached on this question in the NDR-Programme, the leadership of Proletarian League are exhibiting a great class-shift by maintaining that it is impossible to have "unrestricted democracy". MLERED (Marxist-Leninist Revolutionary Organization) is tending to maintain that it was deluded by ME'ISONNE when it accepted the term "immediate" embodied in the slogan of ML-organizations "immediate release of unrestricted democratic...." It has chosen to sow confusion in the immediate question of the revolution by adopting instead the phrase democratic rights by "our struggle", which is high sounding in its "scientific" content, but in its intention a hallow and very stereotyped sophistry geared towards confusing the masses. Unless of course, MLERED is expecting the broad masses to struggle against the tree, the broad masses have not learned only today that they have to struggle for their democratic rights. But this, to use the recent language of MLERED, "phase" and additional "leap" reveals clearly how much it has shifted on this burning question of the revolution. Moreover, though we are not intending to deal with it in detail here, the recent rush to establish a working-class party similar to that of Said Barre reflecting the unity of the petty-bourgeois and the bureaucracy while holding back the release of democratic rights, the various tendencies towards reconciliation with feudalists, fascist military officers and American imperialism which is being carried under the pretext of the war...etc., are clearly basic hinderances for the unity of progressives.

The second hinder for materializing the unity of progressives is



that, opportunists and tail-enders attempt to belittle the importance of burning tactical questions as if an agreement on the basic questions alone can advance the revolution. Further, these opportunists and tail-enders become subject for feudal intrigues and gossips rather than having open and democratic discussions on the differences in this tactical questions.

Speaking about the role of tactics in the period of a revolutionary struggle Lenin wrote "Materialism is lifeless without tactics". Since the wide prevalence of this problem is a living reality in our country, we believe it is clear that the revolution lacks a vanguard leadership. Of course, we can understand that, due to the absence of democratic rights and the difficulties of free flow of ideas, organizations have problems to present their tactics before the broad masses in good time for the quickly changing conditions. However, in the absence of democracy, the reason why progressive organizations work in "clandestine" is to be able to agitate in underground papers in matters which are legally forbidden, and to agitate openly with impunity on questions that fall within the legal framework. In this manner organizations should be able to take clear stands on all questions concerning the revolution. However, unless we try to cheat ourselves, Ethiopian ML-organizations have shown great weakness to work in this manner. And we believe that this weakness has created a big obstacle for progressive organizations to know each other and co-ordinate their struggle in common.

When we raise the weaknesses and maintain that, refrain from taking stands in underground organs have impeded the unity of progressives, obviously there is scant excuse to escape through sheer smartness as the leadership of the Proletariat League is trying to do. The leadership of the Proletariat League who are versed in smartness distribute every time in "underground" leaflets that assures the existence of their organization. For the last three years while Ethiopia is in a revolutionary storm, and while revolutionaries are confronted every hour with immediate tactical questions, the Proletariat League, leaving aside the most vital and burning questions, has been for months narrating consitutively for the Ethiopian people in its "underground" publications about the "crimes" of Trotsky - a Russian counter-revolutionary who have died forty years ago. After this story was finished, the Proletarian League takes up in its following consitutitive numbers of its underground publications an elaborated explanation about the birth and growth of colonialism and neo-colonialism to cristalize the phenomena so that the Ethiopian people and revolutionaries should have a clear idea about it. As a matter of fact there is no harm in the articles, they could even be useful. However, that is not the point. First of all the question is, if the articles are useful, why are they not published in Addis Zemen? ( Official new-paper in Amharic where subject such as these are not subjected to censorship) Secondly, had the leadership of the Proletariat League realized, what they are objectively doing is the same as answering that one is in the twentyth century for a question asked to know what time it is now.

Such attempts to avoid or escape from immediate issues and burning questions that are on the order of the day is by itself a hinder for the unity of progressives. And in a situation which is characterized by the absence of either openly showing ones stand or openly criticizing the stand of others, there arises the problem of putting on a par the stand of an organization with statements of individuals that are suspected to be members of that organization or simply from feudal rumers. This can create a bad atmosphere that can lead to mis-trust, misunderstanding and accusation of one another that hinders the materialization of the unity of progressives.



The third obstacle for the unity of progressives is the dread and underestimation of the importance of turning and strengthening ties with the broad masses who are one important force that can implement the points where agreements have been reached upon, and the petty-bourgeoisie tendency that attempts at limiting the unity to few élites and a simple paper-work. In particular, it is necessary to understand, the reason behind the petty-bourgeoisie's dread for democracy emanates from the class nature of this section of the society that makes it pendulate between revolution and counter-revolution and makes it "at once both bourgeois and man of the people". As we have mentioned time and again, the petty-bourgeois class is always on the forefront to pick up slogans and echo with the masses, and to swear over its adherence to the revolution at every phase. However, just equally in that manner, it is also in the forefront to hinder the broad masses from playing their historical role through its anti-democratic stand. Today, the failure of Ethiopian ML-organizations to put slogans in action and play a vanguard role, and their being subsequently demanded by the broad masses - who by far have gone further and raised "put slogans in action" - merely comes from the fact that ML-organizations have not yet broken with the characters of the petty-bourgeois class once and for all.

In order to be able to struggle for a genuine unity of progressives that should be put in action, based on the conditions mentioned above ME'ISONE points out the following struggle guide lines for true ML-organizations and other revolutionaries.

a/ Since the foundation of the unity of progressives can only be strengthened when all the organizations reach the same stand on the basic questions of the revolution and when they firmly stand and struggle for this common stands, at present it is imperative to struggle in common and expose mercilessly before the broad masses all types of shifts on the basic questions mentioned earlier as well as others.

b/ Since the unity of progressives can only be implemented when members of the organizations based on open tactical stands commonly integrate and work among the oppressed masses, and since the desired unity is not only the written agreements of the leaders but also, a unity that should be implemented in practice by combatants who work among the masses, it is imperative to struggle in common against tail-enders, right-opportunists, those who flinch from burning tactical questions, those elements of the petty-bourgeoisie who dread and neglect the masses and feudal rumors to get clarity.

c/ ME'ISONE calls for a united struggle to stand firmly side by side with the broad masses and defend unflinchingly our comrades against the influence and attacks from reactionary forces.

## 2. "Down with the bureaucracy!"

"Down with the bureaucracy" is the most popular of all slogans that are echoed everywhere by the broad masses of contemporary Ethiopia. Be it in the mass-media, at seminars or demonstrations, there is no Kebele candidate, trade union leader, peasant representative who does not echo this revolutionary slogan. Seen from the objective conditions that are taking shape in the present day Ethiopia, the popularity of this demand among the people should not give us surprise. The broad masses did not take this anti-bureaucratic stand either from theory or from agitation of some progressive forces. On the contrary, today, the ever intensified struggle between the broad masses of Ethiopia and the bureaucracy is the product of the antagonistic contradiction that exists between the two irreconcilably opposed power structures of the rotten bureaucracy of the old order of yesterday which is dying, and the new peoples' power which is



emerging. This antagonistic contradiction between these two mutually exclusive forces can not be solved without one crushing the other. This is the basic truth. Lenin characterizing the dialectical relationship between the old bureaucracy and the new peoples power has once said that, the new order does not drop from the sky, it is born in the bowels of the old order and grows side by side in the struggle and contradiction against the old order.

Today, one of the reasons why the anti-bureaucratic struggle has gathered momentum all over the country is due to the fact that the 25,000 peasant associations, 2000 urban dwellers associations and thousands of workers and kebeles revolutionary defense committees, in general, millions of oppressed Ethiopians that are represented in these mass organizations are increasingly finding the bureaucracy an obstacle in their endeavour for self-administration and to put their destiny in their own hands. And there by they have understood that the reactionary bureaucracy has to be crushed in order to advance their struggle forward. Today, when the broad masses say "down with the bureaucracy" they are not as such demanding for for the transfer of the power of the central government into their hands. In fact, the demand for the overthrow of reactionary civil and military bureaucrats that are plotting to subvert the revolution is an indispensable part of the anti-bureaucratic struggle. However, when we look at the demand in a wider perspective, by "down with the bureaucracy" the Ethiopian oppressed masses simply mean, that the reactionary bureaucracy, which has been established by the former system for the sole purpose of oppression and exploitation and to protect the interests of feudalism and imperialism, should not continue to suppress the administrative and struggle organs of the broad masses. Their demand is not to put the administrative powers of the central government in their own hands, but rather to control the lower organizational and administrative powers in which duality of power exists between the rotten bureaucracy of the old system and the new mass organizations. Wherever such conditions exist, the masses demand a decisive supremacy of the peoples' organizations over the old bureaucracy. It is a demand forwarded by the people to put an end to the attempts of the bureaucracy to sterilize mass organizations, and the release of unrestricted democratic rights of the oppressed masses. Which ever way we look at it, the anti-bureaucratic struggle is a democratic question which aims to put the destiny of the masses in their own hands.

Today, the struggle that is pursued starting from the reactionary bureaucracy itself to reactionary elements within the DERG and right opportunist intellectuals is geared towards blacking-out this basic truth. There is an attempt to present the demand for democracy as a demand raised only by ME'ISONE and a handful intellectuals, in order to hide the fact that this demand is raised and forwarded by the millions of the broad masses in their struggle to crush the bureaucracy of the old oppressive and exploitive system. It must be clearly understood that unless democracy is seen and understood in this manner as a weapon of struggle, then there is every chance as we can see today in our country, every reactionary can present himself as an anti-bureaucrat and friend of the masses. Due to this, and in particular due to the confusion spread by right-opportunists who claim that "there exists substantial democracy today", "DERG can not give more democratic rights than what it has already given now", "we should not say unrestricted democratic rights for the oppressed but rather democracy for the oppressed", "democracy for the oppressed by our struggle", etc., and as a result of the separation of the anti-bureaucratic struggle from democratic question, at present we have reached such a stage where at every public and in seminars the bureaucracy itself which is supposed to be crushed has began mocking by echoing the slogan "down with bureaucracy".



But it is not enough to know only the fact that, those who pretend to be anti-bureaucrats in public and oppose democracy are only anti-bureaucrats in words but in practice agents of the bureaucracy. We believe that it is exceptionally important for the coming struggle to know how this state of affairs come about. It is necessary to show that in our country today we are witnessing a process of class-shift in the struggle to strangle the struggle of the Ethiopian oppressed masses. In contemporary Ethiopia, we have entered a new historical era, where the petty-bourgeoisie which has been leading the revolution with successive victories is now shaking in the face of the revolution and exhibiting more than any time before vacillation in its leadership role. As a result of this we are going through a period where the pendulating petty-bourgeoisie class in collaboration with the reactionary bureaucracy, is attempting to build alliance with anti-people forces. The people of Ethiopia, revolutionary forces, as well as progressive elements within the DERG must clearly understand this basic truth. We believe it is imperatively necessary to understand for our coming struggle, the process of formation of a new class alignment which is taking shape in present day Ethiopia. This objective fermentation in the new constellation of forces and the formation of a new class alliance between reactionary elements in the DERG and pseudo-progressives and opportunists - historical garbages, who are anti-bureaucrats in words but in reality agents of the bureaucracy - who have sold out the Ethiopian revolution for petty self interests have to be widely known and understood.

Departing from this analysis, ME'ISONE calls upon all true ML-organizations and other vehement revolutionaries, who stand firm for the pride, independence and unity of the Ethiopian oppressed masses, to jointly form alliance on the basis of the following points for the purpose of intensifying our struggle against the bureaucracy.

a/ Bearing in mind that "down with the bureaucracy" means, let mass organizations flourish, release free revolutionary actions of the masses and democracy, we call for a common struggle for the supremacy of mass organizations over the rotten bureaucracy of the old oppressive and exploitive order at every level when and where dual power between the two exist.

b/ It is clear at the outset that the growing strength of the bureaucracy is directly correlated with the diminishing of democracy. Therefore, one of our primary duties should be to reveal and expose the traitorous political stand of those who in words appear to be anti-bureaucrats but in deeds oppose the release of the unrestricted democratic rights of the oppressed masses.

c/ As we have mentioned earlier, today the anti-bureaucratic struggle is waged to crush the alliance which is taking shape with the help of the bureaucracy between the vacillating petty-bourgeoisie and all anti-people forces. We are aware that this struggle is a long-run perspective and is going to be long and difficult. However, in the short-run, our struggle should have the nature of exposing before the masses the anti-people acts of the leading reactionary elements in the DERG and the bureaucracy who are the ring-leaders of this unholy alliance. And to struggle for the replacement of reactionary bureaucrats by patriotic civil and military officers.

d/ To expose and unvail before the public the atrocities and attacks waged by the reactionary elements in the DERG and ring-leaders of the bureaucracy against Kebele candidates, leaders of peasant and worker organizations, revolution defence committees, progressive soldiers and other revolutionary forces in the struggle against the bureaucracy. ME'ISONE makes a revolutionary appeal for a united struggle to agitate the masses to stand against this anti-people attacks.



### 3. "Revolutionary mother land or death!"

Despite the clarity and plainness of this slogan there is hardly no slogan at present which is so bilittled and trampled as this one. The slogan "revolutionary mother land or death" simply means that the enemies of our revolutionary mother land are the enemies of our revolution, and in order to save our revolutionary mother land we have to crush the enemies of our revolution. Since our internal and external enemies work hand in gloves in their struggle against our revolution, any attempt to seek peace or reconciliation with internal reactionaries or an attempt at muffling the class struggle is to invite counter-revolution. It means that in order to stand against and crush our external enemies it is necessary to intensify the internal class struggle and to crush internal reactionary forces. In short "revolutionary mother land or death" means that we have to march forward along a conscious, organized and armed struggle without showing any vacillation because of external invasion.

ME'ISONE and other genuine revolutionaries, following this line have repeatedly echoed such slogans as "intensify the revolution to stand against external invasion", "don't let the bureaucracy lead the campaign rather lead the campaign against the bureaucracy", "we don't want reconciliation with internal reaction", "watch out the plots of internal reaction", "revolutionary leadership for the peoples' militia everything for the war front and the revolution". Having realized at the outset the disastrous consequences that could follow from the failure to adapt a correct and intirely consistant political line, ME'ISONE had presented concrete suggestions to the Provisional Military Government through its members that were engaged in legal work. However, due to the increased influence of reactionaries and the spread of the "policy of reconciliation" the suggestions of revolutionaries forwarded to PMAC lost considerations.

What so ever, in an attempt to brush aside this slogan, the anti-people forces starting from the reactionary bureaucracy upto right-opportunists have managed at present to bring our revolution at the brink of counter-revolution by separating the struggle for the Ethiopian revolution from the struggle to defend the integrity of revolutionary mother land. By misinterpreting the slogan "everything to the war front"-a slogan which has been revolutionarily implemented by Lenin - the reactionary bureaucrats and right-opportunists have changed it into a new theory which says "leave aside the revolution for the time being and fight against the foreign aggression. Let every body concentrate for the time on this war, then after this is over, we shall take up our revolutionary activities from where we have stoped". Therefore while we are in this state of war, to demand for democratic rights in order to advance the revolution, to wage an anti-bureaucratic struggle and to agitate for the intensification of the internal class struggle lost their grounds.

As a result of this theory, staunch reactionaries were rehabilitated and given key positions in the bureaucracy. Notorious officers that have been dismissed on the grounds of various counter-revolutionary plots with the CIA have been able to take comandng positions at the war front. If opportunists have not grasped that this episode goes at variance with the slogan of the broad masses, "revolutionary mother land or death", even if we have been able to throw out Somali invaders from Ethiopian soil, unless the Ethiopian broad masses prostrate for the counter-revolutionary forces that have strengthened their position under this condition, the prospects of the present situation are liable to lead into a grim civil war ever experienced before. If opportunists havn't noticed this truth, then infact they must have been blind. If, however, seeing and knowing these facts,



they mean to be reserved from showing and preparing the broad masses for the dangerous counter-revolution and the bitter struggle ahead, then we say, there is nothing more shaking before the reaction, more opportunism, more being a historical garbage than this.

It is against this background that L'E'ISONE calls upon true ML-organizations and other revolutionaries, to establish a unity not of words but of struggle, under the slogan "revolutionary mother land or death" and proposes the following guide lines of struggle.

a/ Since the slogan "revolutionary mother land or death" is a popular slogan which the broad masses raise all over the country and struggle for its correct implementation, and since the deviation from this question is day by day creating a very dangerous situation for our revolution, we should struggle in common to expose resolutely those forces that are betraying and shifting from this decisive slogan every day, and be on the fore front with the masses to fight against them.

b/ To guarantee the territorial integrity of our revolutionary mother land, and to come out victorious from the counter-revolutionary civil war which the reactionary forces are preparing for, the broad masses while defending the country from foreign invasion, must simultaneously struggle to raise their level of consciousness, organization and arms. Therefore, we have to stand united more than any time before, for a conscious, organized and armed peoples' struggle and thereby expose the opportunist "theories" which under the pretext of the war are strangling the anti-bureaucratic struggle, and the struggles to intensify the class struggle and democratic rights.

c/ To replace the slogan "all to the war front" which is becoming widely misinterpreted, by a clear slogan "all to the war front and the revolution", and jointly struggle under this slogan for strengthening the battle front as well as building strong and reliable defence within the intermediate provinces for the revolution and the battle front, and carry out a co-ordinated struggle in common with the broad masses the following points should be fulfilled.

1. In order to strengthen the battle front and give revolutionary leadership for the regular army and the peoples' militia who are sacrificing their lives in the struggle against invaders, reactionary military bureaucrats have to be replaced by progressive officers. Political cadres from the provinces as well as from our organizations have to go out in the battle fronts and integrate with the regular soldiers and militia in order to raise the political consciousness of the regular army and the peoples' militia. Instead of recruiting additional forces for the peoples' militia from far away provinces we have to agitate for the recruitment of peasant militia from the provinces of the battle fronts.

2. We have to co-ordinate in common the struggle to make the central regions of the country a reliable defense for the battle front, to struggle against the decrease in production that might take place because of the labour force engaged in the battle, to protect the families of those engaged in the battle from falling into economical problems, to agitate those who are not engaged in the battle to replace the labour force of those that are engaged, to agitate for the establishment of "battle front agricultural fields" that are farmed in co-operatives in order to strengthen the defense capacity of the country, to give all the necessary material and moral support for the families of soldiers, peasants, workers and other revolutionaries who have lost their lives in the battle.

3. In order to be able to make the central regions a reliable defense centers for the battle front, we have to stand united in the forefront and agitate the masses for the intensification of the free revolutionary actions to crush paid assassins. We have to advance more than



any time before the struggle to politicize, organize and arm the masses in order to give no chance for the counter-revolution. With this in mind ME'ISONE calls upon all true ML-organizations and other revolutionaries to struggle in common and resolutely expose the reactionary petty-bourgeoisie and the right-opportunists who under the pretext of the war oppose the release of democratic rights of the oppressed masses and who stand against changing the central regions into reliable defense centers for the war front. And to agitate in unity the broad masses to struggle against these anti-people forces.

4. "Unrestricted democratic rights for the oppressed now!"

We have mentioned earlier that, it should not be surprising to see if opportunists and reactionaries echo the same slogans as the broad masses and genuine revolutionaries at the Revolution Square. We have also mentioned the reasons why we should not be surprised to see if there arises opposition after "agreements have been reached" on the question of democratic rights which is one of the major questions from the point of view of the National Democratic Revolution. Whatsoever, in the present day Ethiopia of 1978, the question that differentiates the genuine revolutionary from the pseudo progressive, the Marxist from the petty-bourgeois socialist, the democrat and patriot who puts his beloved country before himself from the selfish opportunist, in general the progressive from the reactionary is the question of democratic rights. In fact, until some ML-organizations by making unprecedented class shift on this basic question of the people and the revolution took it out by majority vote from the action programme of ML-organizations of July 1977, starting from the National Democratic Revolution Programme (NDR-P) there was a complete agreement on the immediate and burning nature of this question and its decisive role for our revolution.

Today, it is crystal clear that, the slogans which the Ethiopian broad masses are echoing can only be implemented, without giving any chance for subversive plots of reactionaries, when democratic rights are recognized. Slogans such as "put unity of progressives in action", "establish working class party immediately", "down with the bureaucracy", "let us take our revolution from defensive to offensive", "free revolutionary actions to stand against paid assassins", etc., are directly or indirectly linked with the question of democracy. The slogans taken in their revolutionary context cannot be fully and practically implemented without democracy and outside the participation of the broad masses. We need not be surprised, therefore, if we are faced with a difficult struggle on this question of if this question is opposed under various pretext by reactionaries and opportunists.

At present, ME'ISONE has two objectives when it is struggling side by side with the broad masses for democratic rights. First, as we have mentioned earlier, they are rights that would enable the transfer of power to the broad masses both in towns and in the countryside where there exists duality of power between the power organs of the broad masses and the rotten bureaucracy, and where these two organs stand irreconcilably opposed to each other. Looking at the matter from this angle, we have shown earlier that this democratic question is not only a question of few intellectuals but rather a question that is echoed by the Ethiopian oppressed masses through the thousands of mass organizations.

The second reason why ME'ISONE and other genuine revolutionaries together with the broad masses echo the slogan "unrestricted democratic rights for the oppressed now", is to advance the revolution forward at an accelerated pace along a conscious organized and armed peoples' struggle. Today, no matter how opportunist one may be one cannot dare to deny the need for democratic rights in order to politicize, organize and arm the broad masses. However, the attempt to brush aside this



question revolves around the question "now". On the other hand, in order to defend the revolution and the revolutionary mother land from the internal and external enemies that are incircling and undermining the revolution everywhere, when "today our struggle is also against time", it will not be very hard to understand the imperative necessity of immediately politicizing, immediately organizing and immediately arming the broad masses for the very existence of the revolution.

While this remains the objective reality, while we are in a precipitous and urgent moment, by opposing the release of democratic rights to hinder, the urgent tasks of politicizing the people, the establishment of a working class party and other democratic parties, to impede the strengthening of the peoples' democratic organizations, the urgent tasks of establishing a peoples' revolutionary front, to try to leave the destiny of the country and the revolution still on the shoulders of few people, is nothing else than opening the door for counter-revolution and to stand responsible for this act before history. particularly, a government which claims in its programme to give all the necessary assistance for the above mentioned friends of the broad masses to organize at every level, it is not only historically strange to strangle, hinder and force progressive political organizations, women, youth...mass organizations to work in clandestine, but also with this very act it has clearly given ineffable chance and loophole for counter-revolutionary forces to create confusion and infiltrate the revolution camp.

Based on this reality, we make our revolutionary appeal to all ML-organizations and other revolutionaries who wish to strengthen the unity of progressives not in words but in struggle, to advance the struggle for democracy along the following guide lines.

a/It shall be recalled, that in view of implementing the slogan "unrestricted democratic rights for the oppressed", a decree was drafted by the Political Office for Mass Organizational Affairs a year and half ago. Due to DERG's vacillation and unwillingness to declare this decree, it is now moulding in the files. Therefore, we have to struggle in common and agitate the broad masses and revolutionaries to fight for the release of this decree.

b/Simultaneously with the fight for the declaration of this decree, to intensify the struggles, for flourishing of mass organizations, for crushing the reactionary bureaucracy, for the release of cadres of peasant organizations, workers' organizations, kebeles and POMOAs, that are languishing in prisons in the various provinces due to the anti-democratic activities of the bureaucracy, to bring before court bureaucrats that are responsible for the lives of innocent Ethiopians that have been brutally murdered.

c/ In towns also, with the intensification of the struggle for the release of the decree, simultaneously to agitate the masses to struggle for the intensification of free revolutionary actions of Kebele, workers' organizations and revolution defense committees. To bring before public judgement reactionary bureaucrats that are responsible for the lives of our revolutionary comrades, to agitate the broad masses to struggle for the unconditional release of revolution defense committees and other revolutionaries that have been arrested because of the machinations of the reactionary bureaucracy. To agitate the broad masses to struggle against the reactionary bureaucracy which is collaborating in the white terror by setting free paid-assassins that have been arrested and put under control after a bitter struggle. And to struggle against any attempts to release reactionaries without the consent of mass organizations with whose help these reactionaries have been caught.

d/ It is an open secret that we see before our own eyes that the



families of workers, kebele candidates, soldiers, revolution defense committees and other revolutionaries who have died in the service of the revolution as well as those who are languishing in prisons because of bureaucratic machinations are exposed to starvation. Therefore, we have to co-ordinate in common all the necessary moral and material support for these families.

e/ ME'ISONE makes its revolutionary call to all true ML-organizations and other revolutionaries, to give our revolutionary force reliable and correct line, to assist and struggle in common for the establishment of the working class party, and other democratic parties and organizations. To agitate women, students, youth everywhere to establish democratic mass organizations and to struggle in common against any sort of influence or hinder from the bureaucracy that would arise under this conditions. To struggle side by side with women, youth, teachers, democrats, patriots ..etc., who are fighting for the recognition of their rights to organize. To unmask unhasitatingly and wage a common struggle against the attempts to strangle or to bring these organizations under the control of the anti-people alliance of the petty-bourgeoisie and the reactionary bureaucracy.

### Conclusion

Just like the broad masses and genuine revolutionaries ME'ISONE is tired of only echoing slogans. Just like the broad masses it demands the practical implementation of slogans. It demands for a genuine unity not of words but of struggle, a unity not only of few vanguard organizations but also of all their combatant members. It demands for a united struggle for slogans that are raised not from the air but rather from the daily struggle of the Ethiopian broad masses. ME'ISONE struggles on the forefront for this kind of unity. Since a genuine unity is established for struggle and emerges from struggle, in order to establish such kind of unity ME'ISONE points out guide lines on questions that we can wage common struggle by moderating our differences. It has a strong belief that a genuine unity, comradeship, and closeness emerges when we mix with the masses and know each other in the struggle. It has openly presented for ML-organizations, other Ethiopian progressives and the Ethiopian broad masses guide lines which it believes would advance this cause. When we make this kind of open call some people might be surprised. However, ME'ISONE only believes in the broad masses. Unless the broad masses participate in the struggle, and unless we struggle on their side for their rights that would enable them to take full participation, agreements that are reached only between vanguard organizations are liable to fail. For this the failure of our action programme of last July stands as an outstanding example. It was based on this belief, and to integrate with the struggling masses that ME'ISONE was forced to change its tactics of struggle.

In order to take a decisive stand as that of ME'ISONE, one has to be ready for the practical implementation of the revolutionary slogans of the broad masses and be determined and prepared to struggle for these slogans to the end. In addition to this, one has to take an independent revolutionary critical support stand on the Provisional Military Administrative Council, free from any sort of right-opportunism or pseudo-left opportunism. An organization which does not fulfil these two points is a tailist organization which lags in the wake of events from the peoples' struggle, aspirations and slogans. It is an organization which toddles right and left following the footsteps of PMAC. In the final analysis, whether it likes it or not this kind of organization is doomed to end up as a historical garbage.



Unrestricted democratic rights for the oppressed now!  
Immediate release for the imprisoned friends of the masses!  
Let us co-ordinate aid and support for our imprisoned allies!  
A conscious, organized and armed struggle of the people  
shall triumph!