

ጠርነት



ERITREA

# LIBERATION

ጥራ-ዓክቲት 1977 6ይ ስታዳ ተ.3

Jan.-Feb. 1977 Vol. 6 No. 3



- \*HAIL THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE EPLF
- \*EPLF SERVES THE MASSES ON THE HEALTH FRONT
- \*THE STRUGGLE FOR SAHEL
- \*THE PRESENT STAGE OF OUR REVOLUTION
- \*FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE D.A.R.S.

# LIBERATION

## table of contents

1. Hail the Historic First Congress of the EPLF	3
2. EPLF's First Organizational Congress: Resolutions and Recommendations	11
3. Excerpts from the Declaration of the EPLF Congress	12
4. EPLF Serves Masses on the Health Front	17
5. The Struggle for the Liberation of the Whole of Sahel	24
6. The Present Stage of our Revolution And Its Orientation	29
7. First Anniversary of the D.A.R.S.	35
8. ታሪክ ደ ከገሳሰ ነገ ተዳግፆ ውደባ ደ ገብኦ ሀ . ሳ . ሳ . ኤ .	41

COVER PHOTO: The new flag of the EPLF

LIBERATION is the bi-monthly organ of the Eritreans for Liberation in North America. For further information, suggestions and criticism, please write to EFLNA, PO Box 1247, New York, N.Y. 10027.



## HAIL THE HISTORIC

### FIRST CONGRESS OF THE EPLF

The EPLF held its first congress from January 23-31, 1977 in the liberated areas in Sahel, Eritrea. Over 300 delegates, representing all units and departments of the EPLF and its mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth and students from inside and outside the country vigorously participated in the congress.

Representatives from revolutionary organizations such as the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO), Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP), and Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) as well as representatives from neighboring countries attended and presented solidarity messages to the congress.

The first congress of the EPLF incisively and thoroughly analysed the 15-year-old armed struggle and the development of the EPLF; discussed and passed appropriate resolutions on all the crucial issues facing the Eritrean Revolution.

The congress discussed and adopted the EPLF's National Democratic Program, which crystalizes the deepest aspirations of the Eritrean people and reflects the EPLF's revolutionary line.

The program calls for:

- \* The establishment of a people's democratic Eritrea.
- \* A self-reliant, independent and planned national economy.
- \* Safeguarding the unity and equality of all Eritrean nationalities.
- \* The development of a revolutionary culture, education and health care.
- \* Safeguarding the economic, political and organizational rights of the working class.
- \* The complete equality of women with men in the economic, political, social and cultural life.
- \* A foreign policy of peace and non-alignment, of anti-imperialist solidarity with all just and revolutionary movements.

The first congress also adopted the EPLF constitution which defines and

consolidates the democratic centralist organizational structure and methods of work of the front. The congress elected a 37-member Central Committee. The Political Bureau and the Secretary General comrade Romedan Mohamed Nur and Vice Secretary General comrade Isaias Afewerki were elected from the Central Committee.

The Congress resolved that the EPLF give priority and exert greater effort to organize, politicize and arm the masses; to the consolidation and development of the economic and social transformation of the liberated areas. It reaffirmed the correctness of the EPLF's strategy of people's war and resolved to intensify the protracted people's war until complete victory.

The question of national unity was given great importance in the deliberations of the congress. Reaffirming the EPLF's line that the formation of a united front between the EPLF and ELF is the correct transitional stage which guarantees the attainment of genuine and principled national unity, the congress outlined the minimum program for a united front.

The congress vigorously condemned the reactionary Osman Saleh Sabe clique (in the ex-foreign mission of the EPLF) and its attempt to organize a reactionary force, by exploiting national and religious differences and squandering the material and finances collected under the name of the Eritrean Revolution and the EPLF.

The congress also took a resolute stand condemning the military Junta's nine point proposal for "peaceful solution" and outlined the minimum preconditions for any discussion with the Ethiopian occupationist regime.

The congress discussed the international situation in general and the situation in the region in particular. It expressed resolute support for the National Liberation Struggles raging in Africa, Asia and Latin America and the revolutionary struggles throughout the World.

The congress stressed the importance of building strong and close relations with all liberations movements, revolutionary organizations and socialist countries.

### **SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CONGRESS**

The first congress of the EPLF is historic. It is the first congress in the history of the Eritrean revolution in which the thoroughgoing revolutionary forces, those who represent the interests of the workers, peasants and other oppressed masses have the upper hand. All previous congresses (so far only the ELF had held congresses) were dominated by the opportunists and reactionary elements. The first "National Congress" of the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) held in October-November 1971 empowered the ELF leaders to pass the infamous decision to launch the civil war against the EPLF. Even though developments forced the ELF's second "National Congress" held in May 1975 to agree to "democratic dialogue" with the EPLF, it failed to bring about basic change in the ELF.

The EPLF was formed in July 1970, by progressive and democratic fighters who broke away from the ELF after their repeated attempts to change the situation within the ELF had failed. The formation of the EPLF signified nothing short of a



**Delegates to the first organizational Congress of EPLF.**

rebirth of the Eritrean armed struggle on a new revolutionary basis. In the militant history of struggle of the Eritrean people, the EPLF became the first organization to chart a clear and correct path for the achievement of the people's age old aspirations for national independence and democracy. It clarified the character, objectives and motive forces, the strategy and tactics of the Eritrean revolution.

The EPLF grew and consolidated itself amidst fierce struggle. Right from the outset, the Ethiopian occupationist regime set out to nip the EPLF in the bud and launched numerous ferocious campaigns to stamp it out. Perceiving it to be a threat to their hegemony, the petty-bourgeois opportunist leaders of the ELF also declared a "war of liquidation" against the EPLF. In the meantime, reactionary opportunist elements within the EPLF, in particular the notorious Osman Saleh Sabbe clique, viciously fought the consolidation of the revolutionary line in the organization and attempted to foster secondary contradictions to weaken and divide the EPLF. The Sabbe clique also attempted to use its contact with the friendly countries and the material received from them to impose its opportunist line on the EPLF.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." The EPLF, because of its revolutionary line, its reliance on the workers, peasants and other oppressed masses and its principle of self-reliance,



has overcome all obstacles placed on its path by local reactionaries and their sponsors and consolidated itself ideologically, politically, militarily and organizationally.

In the short period since its birth, the EPLF has trained a conscious and formidable people's army, established a number of base areas in the countryside, inflicted extremely heavy defeats on the U.S.-Israeli backed Ethiopian occupation army and liberated large areas of the countryside. It has trained a significant number of cadres from among the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals, widely disseminated revolutionary ideology (including the translation of Marxist-Leninist classics), mobilized and organized the masses in the liberated and occupied areas. It has led the peasants in carrying out agrarian reform, in smashing the feudal colonial political structure and in setting up the organs of peoples power in the liberated areas. It has started self-reliant economic reconstruction in the liberated areas. It is developing agriculture, setting up handicraft industries and building roads. It has set up hospitals, clinics and schools. It has established close revolutionary links with revolutionary organizations in Palestine, Oman, South and North Yemen and Ethiopia.

The first congress of the EPLF was convened at a time when the situation at home and abroad is excellent, at a time when the liberation forces control 95% of the country and the enemy is huddled in his fortified camps in the cities; at a time when the EPLF enjoys great prestige among the masses, at a time when the reactionary Sabbe clique has been exposed and forced out of the EPLF, at a time when the Eritrean struggle is gaining increasing support among the revolutionary peoples of the world.

The successful conclusion of EPLF's congress, the active participation of delegates from the formidable EPLF's people's army and the mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth and students and the revolutionary program and resolutions adopted underline the fact that the scale has tipped decisively in favor of the thoroughgoing revolutionary forces in the Eritrean struggle.

While the situation is excellent, reactionaries at home and abroad are leaving no stone unturned in their effort to reverse the irreversible trend of independence, liberation and revolution in Eritrea. The fascist Ethiopian Junta with the sophisticated weapons of the U.S. imperialists and the "expert" training of the Israeli Zionists, alternately uses brute violence and deceptive tricks to bring the struggle to heel. The reactionary Osman Sabbe clique, long forced out of the EPLF, continues to squander money and material collected in the EPLF's name, in its vain attempt to rig up a reactionary "third force." The ELF leaders have recognized the Sabbe clique, and the two, with the active support of certain Arab countries, are working feverishly to isolate the EPLF and impose on it a sham and unprincipled merger.

The struggle ahead is arduous and complicated, but the future is infinitely bright. The first congress of the EPLF has illuminated the path forward: Persist on the road of protracted people's war! Struggle for principled national unity! Organize, politicize and arm the masses! Struggle for self-reliant reconstruction of the liberated areas!

The first congress of the EPLF is bound to have a decisive influence on the

further development of the Eritrean struggle and the revolutionary struggle in the region. It will further consolidate the position of the revolutionary and truly patriotic forces in the Eritrean struggle. The implementation of the guidelines and priority tasks that it has put forth will definitely advance the inevitable establishment of a revolutionary people's democratic Eritrea, dealing a heavy blow to imperialist-Zionist interests in the strategic Horn of Africa-Middle East region. □

**HAIL THE HISTORIC FIRST CONGRESS OF THE EPLF!  
LONG LIVE THE EPLF, REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD OF THE ERITREAN  
PEOPLE!!**

## **Excerpts from the**

## **Declaration of EPLF Congress**

Our masses and combatants,

At this historic juncture of our revolutionary struggle, the First Organizational Congress of the EPLF was held on January 23-31, 1977, under the slogans:

- Struggle to build a National Democratic Front through the United Front!
- Struggle for the economic and social development of the liberated areas!
- Organize, politicize and arm the masses to fulfill the tasks of the national democratic revolution!

Our Masses and Combatants,

The Organizational Congress of the EPLF, held at a time when imperialism and colonialism are hatching new conspiracies against the Eritrean revolution, has come to express the Eritrean people's revolutionary movement in its historic advance. Its coming after 15 years of arduous struggle ascertains one thing. That the Eritrean people are scoring great victories as they advance along the revolutionary path in the face of the fascist atrocities of Ethiopian colonialism and the tightening alliances of domestic reaction in its constant strivings to divide the Eritrean people, break up the Eritrean family and snatch away the people's victory.

The alliance of reactionaries has obstructed the programs that could have pushed our movement forward. The long struggle waged and the great price paid as well as the sacrifice made by the EPLF to disseminate revolutionary ideology and clarify the line of the national democratic revolution have made this congress possible.



**EPLF cadre on a cultural show.**

#### **Our Determined People,**

The six months' preparations accompanied by military operations scoring brilliant victories have made it possible to hold the Organizational Congress which has studied the developments since the formation of the EPLF and, taking the political, economic, military and organizational report presented by the EPLF leadership as a basis, studied and discussed the Eritrean revolution in general and the EPLF in particular. Furthermore, it analyzed the present world and national political conditions, studied the internal (field) and external situation and, after extensive discussions, unanimously approved the Front's programme and constitution drafted by the Preparatory Committee.

#### **Our masses and combatants,**

A matter which took a long time and received the special attention of our Congress is the question of national unity. After hearing the comprehensive report of the Dialogue Committee concerning its meetings and endeavours with the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) conducted for various purposes, in many places and considering all reports pertaining to national unity, it passed appropriate resolutions. In order to bring about a correct resolution compatible with the interests of our people, the congress called upon the ELF to open its doors to democratic dialogue with the EPLF. Besides, the Congress called upon the Central Committee to incessantly strive to create favourable conditions for the dialogue and discussions to be conducted with the ELF.

Bearing in mind the present conditions created by the ex-Foreign Mission, it

extensively discussed the experience of the EPLF with these reactionary elements from the very beginning. It analyzed in detail all the disruptive activities that the ex-Foreign Mission has been carrying out under the slogan of "National Unity" and the "Khartoum Agreement," and reiterated the correctness of the EPLF's stand pertaining to these reactionary and destructive elements.

The Congress discussed the position of the Ethiopian military regime (Dergue) concerning peaceful solution. It rejected the "peaceful solution" proposed to settle our people's case according to the dictates of Ethiopia and reaffirmed the correctness of our Organization's stand on this question. Furthermore, it outlined the basic preconditions for convening a meeting for dialogue. It also reiterated that the EPLF will not start any dialogue with Ethiopia without the participation of the ELF.

The Congress, having studied the economic, social and military report presented by the EPLF leadership, summed up our organization's revolutionary victories in these areas and attested to the correctness of the EPLF's revolutionary line.

Finally, after a detailed discussion of our organization's relations with liberation movements, governments and organizations, it reaffirmed its clear stand on the side of the forces of liberation and progress. Furthermore, it called





**Eth. \$200,000 worth of enemy medical supplies captured by heroic EPLF combatants.**

upon the newly elected Central Committee to consolidate and expand the revolutionary relations that exist with the forces of liberation and progress as well as friendly governments that stand on the side of the just struggle of our people.

The Congress elected the 37-member Central Committee, the Political Bureau and the General Secretary of the EPLF.

The Congress, while expressing its gratitude to all forces supporting the just struggle of the Eritrean people, conveys its happiness and pride to the combatants of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front who scored victory after victory in the battles waged before and during the procession of the organizational Congress. □

*Long Live Our People's Struggle for National Independence and Liberation!  
Down with Imperialism, Zionism and Colonialism!*

## **The First Organizational Congress of the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces**

### **RESOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The First Organizational Congress of the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces was held in the liberated areas on January 23-31, 1977. Besides dealing with various organizational, political, economic, military and social questions, the Congress deliberated on important matters concerning the Eritrean revolution in particular and the world situation in general. Delegations from six governments as well as several liberation movements and progressive parties from around our region and other parts of the world attended the Congress. The Congress passed the following resolutions:

#### **ON THE ORGANIZATIONAL FIELD**

**a) Programme** — The Congress, after extensive discussion, unanimously approved the Draft National Democratic Programme drafted by the Preparatory Committee as the programme of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF).

**b) Constitution** — The Congress, after sufficient discussion, unanimously approved the Draft Constitution drafted by the Preparatory Committee to be the constitution of the Organization.

**c) Change of Organizational Name.** The Congress, after studying the past experience of the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces and considering its present stage of development, unanimously resolved to change the name from the Eritrean People's Liberation Force (EPLF) to the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF).

**d) Insignia and Flag of the Organization.**

1. The Congress, in order to symbolize the role of the peasantry in the revolution and the consolidation of the unity of the nine Eritrean nationalities in the armed struggle, unanimously resolved to change the insignia of the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces, replacing the gun by a plough and making the number



of bullets nine. This shall be the insignia of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front.

2. The Congress unanimously resolved for the Eritrean People's Liberation Front to have its own flag to be raised alongside the Eritrean flag in all EPLF bases. The flag consists of green, red and blue triangles from top down with a golden star on the red triangle.

e) **Organ of the Organization.** The Congress resolved that the monthly journal, *Merih* (Vanguard) be the official organ of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front.

f) **Leadership of the Organization.** The Congress elected a 43-member Central Committee (37 permanent and 6 alternate members) vested with the highest authority for the two years between the two Congresses. The Political Bureau, the Secretary General and the Assistant Secretary General of the organization were also elected from among the Central Committee.

### ON THE POLITICAL FIELD

a) **The Question of National Unity.** After studying the development of the political conditions of the two organizations in the Eritrean field as regards the question of national unity, discussing the campaign of slander and swindles conducted against the EPLF ever since the signing of the "Khartoum Agreement" by the Eritrean Liberation Front and the ex-Foreign Mission, and reviewing the resultant obstacles to democratic dialogue, the Congress, in order to correctly bring about genuine unity, unanimously resolved as follows:

— Since National Unity is the guarantee for our people's independence and liberation, it is one of the great objectives which our organization fights for. Thus, the Congress invites the Eritrean Liberation Front to begin democratic dialogue with the Eritrean People's Liberation Front.

— Convinced that the united front is the transitional stage which guarantees the attainment of the genuine unity of the two fronts and enables the realization of the EPLF's strategic objective of establishing one revolutionary, democratic organization, the Congress outlined the minimum program for a united front. It entrusted the Central Committee with the responsibility of dealing with the question of dialogue and unity.

b) **On ex-Foreign Mission.** Whereas the ex-Foreign Mission besides trying to divide the Eritrean People along tribal, provincial, nationality, religious, etc., lines in order to create a reactionary force that is antidemocratic, anti-liberation and anti-national unity has been squandering the material resources which friendly governments and organizations have given in support of the Eritrean revolution in general and our organization in particular, the Congress strongly condemns the reactionary and anti-national line of the ex-Foreign Mission, opposes its destructive activities, and reaffirms that the Eritrean revolution shall settle accounts with it.

c) **On "Peaceful Solution."** Whereas the Dergue's (Ethiopian military regime) proposed nine policy for "peaceful solution":

1. Rejects the right of the Eritrean people to self determination and independence.



A manufacturer's registration plate from a downed plane.

2. Does not accept that the two fronts, the ELF and EPLF, are the legitimate representatives of the Eritrean people,

3. Has been designed to create division within the Eritrean revolution, and

4. Is a plot aimed at isolating the Eritrean revolution from its real friends,

The EPLF rejects and opposes the Dergue's conspiratorial "peaceful solution." Our view on peaceful solution is that the EPLF is prepared to enter into discussion for a peaceful solution when colonialist Ethiopia:

1. Recognizes the right of the Eritrean people to self-determination and independence.

2. Recognizes the two fronts, the EPLF and ELF, as the only legitimate representatives of the Eritrean people; and

3. Agrees that the dialogue be conducted on the international forum of the United Nations.

However, the EPLF shall not enter into any discussion without the participation of the ELF.

d) **On Liberation Movements in Africa and the World.**

— The Congress reaffirms its support to the forces of liberation and progress throughout the world in general and Africa, Asia and Latin America in particular.

— Condemns and opposes the system of oppression and racial discrimination in southern Africa—Zimbabwe, Namibia, Azania—and fully

supports the just popular struggles being waged against it.

— Reaffirms its support for the democratic and revolutionary movements in Ethiopia fighting against the Dergue's fascist regime.

— Supports the just struggle of the people of Djibouti and condemns the conspiracy being woven to deny them their right to self-determination.

— Expresses its solidarity with the revolutionary organizations which sent their delegations, messages or telegrams honoring the invitations extended to them.

— Supports the just struggle of the people of East Timor for national independence.

**e) On the Struggle of the Arab Peoples.** The Congress extends:

— Its unlimited support for the Palestinian people to determine their own destiny and establish a democratic state.

— Supports the struggle of the Omani people led by the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO) and condemns Iranian aggression against the land and people of Oman.

— Supports the struggle of the patriotic and progressive forces in Lebanon against the reactionary right.

— Supports the struggle of the people of Western Sahara for national independence.

**f) On Friendly Countries.** The Congress extends its appreciation to all friendly states which support the just struggle of the Eritrean people for national independence and liberation in general and the EPLF in particular. It also conveys its gratitude to the states which expressed their support for our just struggle by sending delegations to the Congress and urges them to increase their support in the future.

#### ON THE SOCIAL FIELD

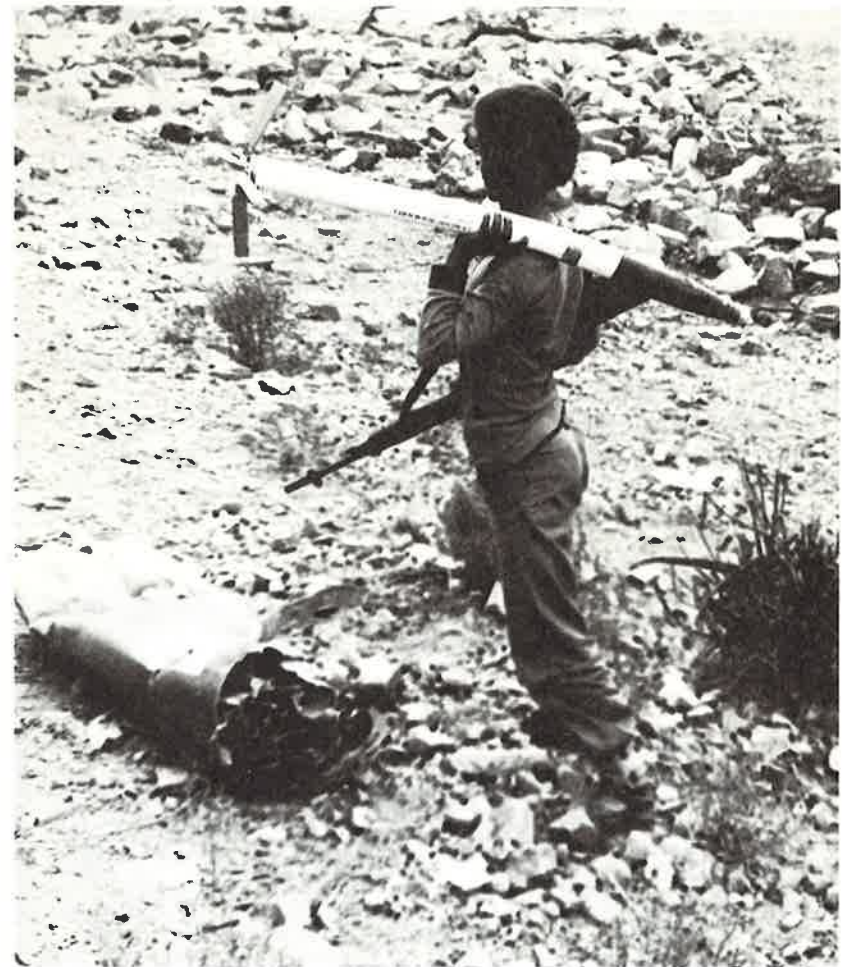
The Congress, after extensive study and discussion of social issues in general and the question of marriage in particular, passed the following resolutions concerning the marriage of fighters:

**a) Marriage shall be permissible** for EPLF fighters marrying civilians with the approval of the Political Bureau and the fulfillment of the necessary requirements.

**b) The Central Committee** shall set up a special committee to study the question of marriage among fighters, promulgate revolutionary laws and make an announcement through a declaration when the necessary conditions for its implementation are satisfied.

#### 4. ON THE MILITARY FIELD

After sufficiently studying the past military experiences of the Front in general and the strategy of liberating the land step by step in particular, the Congress confirmed the correctness of this strategy and resolved that its continuation is necessary for the victory of the people's war.



An EPLF combatant in front of the remains of a downed plane.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

In concluding, the Congress called upon the Central Committee to give importance to the active operations that must be carried out in the following fields:

**a) On the Political Field:**

1) To give priority to and exert greater effort on the organization, politicization and arming of the masses.

2) To give great importance to political work abroad and pursue it with the necessary energy.



3) To make the necessary effort to raise the consciousness and knowledge of the masses of combatants.

4) To provide for the greater organization and efficient functioning of the Information and Propaganda Department so that it may provide the services demanded of it.

**b) On the Economic Field.** Make all the necessary effort for the translation of self-reliance into practice in all fields in order to achieve the necessary results.

**c) On the Medical Field.** Carry out the necessary work and campaign to acquire medicine, medical equipment and other essentials to provide the required services.

**d) On the Social Welfare Field.** Make the necessary effort to create the conditions for the return and resettlement of immigrants as well as the provision of shelter and a self-reliant livelihood for the displaced; besides, conduct a campaign to procure them the necessary assistance.

**e) On the International Field.** The Congress recommended that the Central Committee make a great effort to consolidate our existing strategic relations with all liberation movements and progressive organizations as well as develop new relations with revolutionary organizations, democratic states and the socialist countries. □



**EPLF mobile medical team treating the peasant masses.**

## EPLF

### Serving the Masses on the Medical Front

*The following article is a summary of a detailed report prepared by the EPLF. The EPLF Medical Report has now been published here by the EFLNA [see ad on p. 23]. As the following article shows, the EPLF is scaling heights in the medical field, as it is in many areas in the revolutionary transformation of Eritrean society.*

#### **EPLF SERVES THE MASSES ON THE MEDICAL FRONT**

In the liberated areas of Eritrea, the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front (EPLF) is providing extensive medical services to the people. The EPLF has set up four hospitals, twenty stationary clinics and eleven mobile medical units. Substantial medical services are also given by hundreds of field-trained "Squad Doctors," very similar to China's barefoot doctors. All the medical services of the EPLF are provided free to the masses.

The health services of the EPLF which are preventive as well as curative and range from lectures on elementary hygiene to complex operations, have won wide acclaim from the masses. In the first half of 1976 alone, close to 500,000 people were treated in the EPLF's hospitals, clinics and mobile units. They came from all over the country, from the liberated areas as well as areas still under occupation, even cities like Asmara. Some had to travel for days to get to an EPLF health facility.

The EPLF is leading the masses not only to drive out the U.S.-Israeli backed Ethiopian aggressors from the country and win national independence, but also to build a new and democratic Eritrea, that serves the interests of the workers, peasants and other oppressed people. The struggle the EPLF is waging to serve the masses in the medical front is an integral part of this revolutionary struggle.

## GRAVE HEALTH CONDITIONS

As a direct result of decades of colonial and feudal oppression, the health conditions of 95% of Eritrea's population are extremely grave. Epidemics are prevalent and take the lives of thousands every year. Malnutrition kills tens of thousands of children. Many are deformed for the rest of their lives for lack of elementary medical care.

The overwhelming majority of Eritrean peasants and herdsman (about 80% of the population) have never been treated by a doctor or seen a clinic or hospital. The handful of health facilities in the country are mostly located in a few cities and towns. Even these serve only the colonial officials (previously Italian and British, now Ethiopian) and the Eritrean exploiting classes. The working people simply cannot afford to use these facilities.

The genocidal policy and unparalleled brutality of the Ethiopian occupationists has made the health condition of the Eritrean masses extremely critical. The Ethiopian aggressors poison water-wells, burn crops and savagely bomb the countryside, giving rise to hundreds of thousands of people who desperately need medical attention. At the same time, under the false pretext of security, they have closed the few clinics in the countryside and discontinued the little malaria eradication service that was being provided under U.N. sponsorship. In the urban areas, they have forced the hospitals to run at half or less than half of their full capacity, reserved some exclusively for the treatment of their badly battered aggressor troops and taken most of their medical staff out of Eritrea.

Today, the Ethiopian occupationist regime provides virtually no medical services to the Eritrean people. As the genuine representative of the interests and aspirations of the toiling masses, the EPLF has taken up the task of serving the extensive medical needs of the people, and primarily of the workers, peasants and herdsman.

## EPLF'S MEDICAL SERVICES

The medical services of the EPLF have grown and expanded rapidly. Three years ago, the EPLF had only one clinic, a meager staff and primitive equipment. It could do very little to serve the crying needs of the masses. Its wounded combatants had to be taken out of the country for treatment. Many heroes wounded in battle died for lack of quick and effective treatment.

Today, the EPLF has built a multi-faceted medical network. It has set up four hospitals with a total capacity of 1,392 beds and equipped with operation theatres, modest laboratories and X-ray machines. The central hospital located in the EPLF's main base area can accommodate 500 patients at a time and has four major wards—medical, surgical, pediatric and obstetrics, as well as a 60-bed TB unit, a 60-bed orthopedic and physiotherapy unit and a 15-bed fistula unit.

The four EPLF hospitals take in patients from all corners of the country—some of which are referred by the other units of the EPLF's medical network. Nearly



**An elderly peasant woman receives treatment from an EPLF medic.**

18,000 inpatients attended the EPLF's hospitals in the first half of 1976. One of the factors of rapid patient increase in the hospitals has been the excellent surgical practices of EPLF's conscious medical team. On the first half of 1976, the hospitals performed close to 2,000 operations, 382 of which were major operations, with gratifying results. Except for those requiring highly specialized surgery, almost all battle casualties (99.1%) now receive prompt and effective treatment in the hospitals in the fast consolidating liberated areas.

In addition to the four hospitals, the EPLF has set up twenty stationary clinics located strategically in the liberated and semi-liberated areas. These clinics, which are attached to army battalions, form an important screening point of patients for the major hospitals. They handle cases referred to them by the "Squad Doctors" from all units and squadrons. In addition to their overloaded outpatient services, the clinics have an average of twenty beds each for inpatient treatment of simple medical cases and deliveries. During the first six months of 1976, about 300,000 patients were treated in these clinics. More than a third of which were malaria or anemia cases.

Another important dimension of the EPLF's effort to serve the masses in the medical field is the service provided by the armed mobile medical teams. These teams, which are highly popular among the masses, travel on foot over



mountains, rivers, windy highlands and scorching lowlands carrying bags of drugs on their backs to serve the people.

A mobile team which travels two to six hours a day, covers twenty to thirty villages a month. Statistical data show that these teams see up to four hundred people daily, mostly in remote and inaccessible places where the people had never received modern medical treatment. The services these teams provide are both curative and preventive. They conduct medical studies to control diseases and are alert to fresh recurrence of epidemics. The disease prevention campaign they are waging includes extensive vaccination programs. Right now they are waging a campaign to vaccinate 100,000 people against BCG around the national base area.

The EPLF is constantly striving to expand its medical services so as to serve the masses in all corners of the country. Hence it has given paramount importance to the training of medically skilled people. Taking into account the present revolutionary situation in Eritrea and in line with the EPLF's principle of self-reliance, two levels of medical training programs have been started. The first level, which trains the "Squad Doctors," is a three month intensive course on the most common diseases in Eritrea, first aid and basic nursing procedures.

From those who have taken the elementary program and served for at least two years, people are selected to attend the intermediate medical education. This six-month training program, while stressing on common diseases, is more



**An EPLF nurse on lab work.**



**EPLF medic treating a wound.**

comprehensive, covering medicine, surgery, pediatrics, and gynecology and obstetrics. Emphasis is made on history takings and physical examination, so that the students can work later independently. Those who finish are assigned to head clinics or mobile teams.

Both courses are taught in native languages, which has facilitated the students' learning capacity. Great efforts are being made to translate and adopt foreign medical textbooks, and prepare medical books suitable to the Eritrean conditions.

Since 1975, 500 fighters and civilians have finished the first level training and some the middle level. With the sizable number of medically skilled people (12 doctors, 67 nurses, 80 practical nurses, 15 pharmacists, 8 lab technicians, etc.) who have joined the EPLF since 1974, there is relatively no acute shortage of trained personnel.

The most serious problem hampering the further expansion of the EPLF's health services is the acute shortage of medicine and medical supplies. Following EPLF's principle of self-reliance, the medical personnel have prepared certain basic medicines (cough syrup, ointments, antiseptics) from locally available materials. The EPLF's heroic peoples army has also made daring attacks on the enemy's lairs to capture medicine and medical equipment. In just one mission in September 1976, the EPLF army captured US \$100,000 worth of drugs and medical equipment from the enemy's central medical store in Asmara.

Needless to say, these efforts have not been able to meet the growing needs of the masses, who continue to flock to the EPLF's medical services.



## REVOLUTIONARY LINE IN MEDICAL WORK

The EPLF's struggle to serve the masses on the medical front is a concrete application of its revolutionary political line. As in other fields of revolutionary struggle, politics is primary in the medical work of the EPLF. The Front's medical personnel, from surgeons to the "Squad Doctors," are given political as well as military training before they join the medical department. Political education is continuous and regular criticism and self-criticism sessions are held.

The question of whom to serve is key in the health services of the EPLF. The health facilities of the successive colonial powers only served the colonial officials and Eritrean exploiting classes. The EPLF's health facilities serve the broad masses and primarily the peasants, workers and herdsmen.

The medical department strives to implement the EPLF's principle of self-reliance, i.e. reliance on the toiling masses and the resources of the country. In every village they visit, the mobile medical teams explain elementary principles of hygiene to the masses. Recently, the medical department has also started the publication of a bi-monthly newsletter, *Tchura Teena* (Ray of Health), to combat superstition and disseminate elementary medical knowledge among the masses. The EPLF has also taken up the task of training hundreds of medical personnel so as to serve the masses in all corners of the country.

Besides EPLF combatants, members of the mass organizations have been selected for this training. As part of its self-reliant efforts, the EPLF has started preparing basic medicines from local raw materials. Efforts are also being made to develop traditional medicine and integrate it with modern medicine.

The EPLF's medical work also reflects the Front's internationalist line. Despite limited resources, the EPLF has trained medical personnel for revolutionary Ethiopian organizations such as the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party (EPRP) and Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF). In line with EPLF's policy of humane treatment of prisoners of war, captured Ethiopian soldiers receive the same treatment in the same wards as EPLF combatants and the Eritrean masses. In May 1976, scores of Ethiopian peasants, victims of the Junta's infamous "peasant march," were treated in the EPLF's health facilities, many for the first time in their life.

The struggle of the EPLF to serve the masses in the medical front and the revolutionary line it follows in this work is one more proof that the EPLF is the genuine representative and vanguard of the oppressed Eritrean masses. □



# EPLF

## Serving the Masses on the Medical Front

EPLF's Medical Report, October 1976, is now available in pamphlet form

from EFLNA for 25c.

## The Struggle for the Liberation of the Whole of Sahel

Sahel, the northern province of Eritrea, has become the scene of major battles between the EPLF's people's army and the Ethiopian occupationist troops. The EPLF has launched a powerful offensive to liberate the whole of Sahel province, while the Ethiopian aggressors are desperately maneuvering to maintain their precarious presence in the province.

Sahel is very significant in the history of the Eritrean revolution. It was in Sahel that the EPLF built its first permanent base (Bilikat) in 1972. It was here that the progressive and democratic forces that were forced to split from the ELF united and struggled to build a revolutionary people's army to lead the national liberation struggle. It was in Sahel that the EPLF's revolutionary political line was first enunciated.

From its base in Sahel, the EPLF, having provided military and political training for its militants, set up training facilities for new recruits, hospitals to treat the wounded, an information department to publish the organs of the front, workshops to produce and repair various gadgets, expanded step by step and liberated large areas of the country.

The Ethiopian occupationists who realized the threat from the growth and consolidation of the EPLF set out to crush it with their massive military forces. In December 1973, the Ethiopian feudo-fascist regime dispatched over 11,000 troops and launched a ferocious land, sea and air attack in an effort to smash the EPLF's revolutionary base area in Sahel. After 15 days of fierce battle, the EPLF heroically and decisively repulsed the aggressor troops, inflicting heavy casualties on them and successfully defending their base area. The EPLF was even able to expand and build revolutionary base areas further into the other provinces.

Today, the whole of Sahel, except for two tottering enemy outposts, has become

an impregnable rear for the revolutionary advance in other areas. In the liberated countryside of Sahel, as in all liberated areas, the EPLF is successfully waging the struggle to transform the society by destroying the feudo-colonial relations and building cells of the new democratic society. The EPLF is actively engaged in organizing the masses, setting up people's assemblies, people's militia and establishing new schools, hospitals and clinics to serve the masses.

The offensive to encircle and wipe out the last of the enemy bases in Sahel began on September 17, 1976 when a battalion of the EPLF, which had encircled Nacfa, the provincial capital, launched a powerful attack on the four military camps inside the town.

For three consecutive days, the EPLF fighters shelled the enemy camps with heavy gun fire. Several enemy jet fighters, up to eight at a time, bombarded the area in order to save their embattled troops in the camps, but were unable to tilt the balance in their favor. Within the first 3 days alone, 3 jet fighters were shot down, 152 soldiers killed and 100 wounded.

On September 22, 1976, the Ethiopian junta dispatched 24 helicopters full of reinforcement troops (700 paratroopers and units of the Israeli Zionist trained 'Nebelbal' Flame Brigade). They landed on Naro, 10 miles south of Nacfa, hoping to divert the EPLF from its concentrated attack on Nacfa.

The EPLF was ready for their maneuvers and laid an ambush for the



**EPLF fighters lower the Ethiopian flag, signifying the end of Ethiopia's occupation of Karora.**





**The Eritrean national flag raised and fluttering in the middle of liberated Karora.**

disembarking troops, wiping out several of them. Bombarding the enemy troops with heavy gunfire, the EPLF blocked them from making any advance. After several days battle, the 700th man was annihilated with 112 of them captured. Five enemy planes were shot down, numerous weapons and ammunition were also seized.

With the victory at Naro, the EPLF focused its attack on Nacfa once again. The EPLF intensified the attacks on the military camps, soon destroying three of the four military camps inside Nacfa. The occupationist troops were completely helpless, with no reinforcement and their food supply dwindling.

In November 1976, the Ethiopian junta in a desperate move mustered its battle-fit troops from all over Eritrea to reinforce the besieged troops at Nacfa. Fearing dissidence within the army, the junta promised the troops that with the accomplishment of this mission they would receive three months advance pay and three months vacation. Thus, 4,000 troops set out in a convoy towards Nacfa escorted by tanks and planes. What ensued was the fierce battle at Anseba (near Keren) where the enemy convoy met with a strong wall of EPLF fighters blocking its path to Nacfa.

Two battalions of the EPLF surrounded the convoy on all sides—blocking the small pathway out of Keren—and bombarded the enemy troops with heavy gunfire. Despite their might of tanks, planes, etc., the Ethiopian aggressor troops

could not advance. After several weeks of fighting and after suffering heavy human and material losses, the entire convoy fled and retreated back to Keren, where they remain to this day.

The enemy troops at Nacfa, huddled in underground shelter in their single remaining camp, are in a hopeless plight. With their reinforcement cut off hundreds of miles away, the air supplies dwindling, their morale is totally crushed. They can't even step out of their shelters surrounded as they are on all sides by land mines which they planted to "protect" themselves from the liberation fighters.

Even this "protective" shield is fast vanishing as EPLF engineering units have already dismantled over 500 mines which they are now using to lay ambushes for the enemy in other areas.

As the situation is getting constantly worse for the besieged troops in Nacfa, the junta "decided to temporarily shift" the capital from Nacfa to Afabet, a town 50 miles south of Nacfa. However, the Ethiopian occupationists will not fare any better in Afabet for they, too, are encircled by another EPLF battalion which is constantly bombarding their camp.

The Ethiopian occupation troops in Nacfa and Afabet are bound the same fate as did the enemy troops at Karora, the military post at the Sudanese-Eritrean border, in the north.



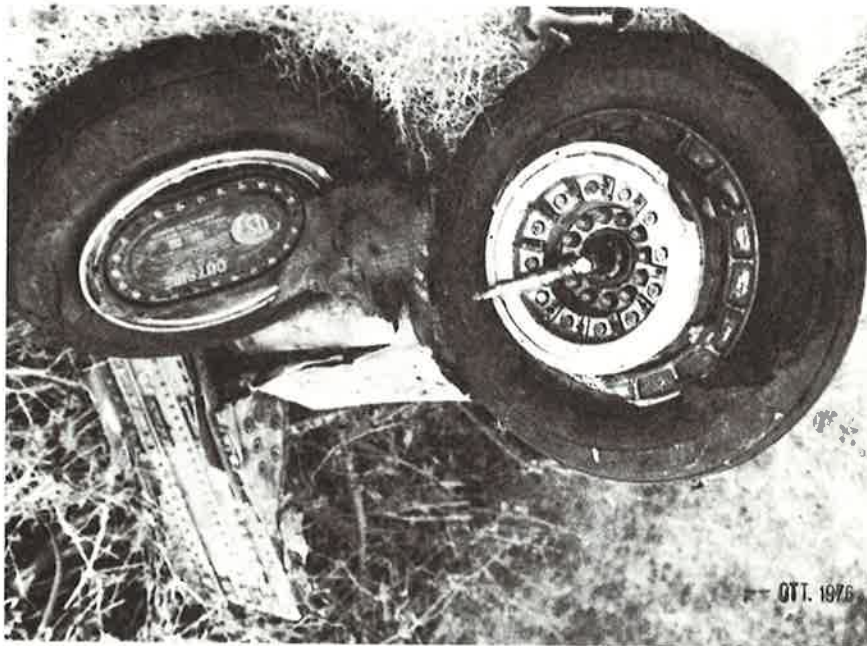
**Nacfa — the provincial capital of Sahel; Eritrea is presently under siege by EPLF fighters.**



EPLF fighters had encircled Karora for several months, when in early January 1977 they launched an attack on the military post. On January 6, 1977, the besieged troops unable to maintain their hold despite air support, fled across the border and surrendered to the Sudanese authorities. Today Karora is liberated. The Eritrean national flag fluttering in the middle of the previous Ethiopian post symbolizes the fate that awaits all the remaining enemy bases in Eritrea.

Meanwhile, Nacfa has become an important source of food and ammunition for the EPLF. In a single week in December 1976, the EPLF captured 17 parachutes full of supplies dropped by Ethiopian planes for their besieged troops in Nacfa. The EPLF is not even shooting at the helicopters flying over Nacfa anymore. "Why should we?" explained a member of the EPLF central committee, "The helicopters are causing us no harm. They are merely bringing us food and ammunition."

The siege of Nacfa, the victory at Naro, the liberation of Karora, and the encirclement of Afabet, clearly show that the whole of Sahel will be liberated soon and become the forerunner of the inevitable liberation of the entire Eritrea. □



Wheels of a downed U.S. plane supplied to the Ethiopian Junta.

*The following is a recent translation from the monthly EPLF journal, Vanguard. Liberation will print translations of insightful articles from the various EPLF publications in this regular column. The article included here appeared in Vanguard in late 1976. ELFNA is responsible for errors that may occur in translation.*

## The Present Stage

### of our Revolution and Its Orientation

The struggle that the oppressed people of Eritrea have been and are still waging with the method of peoples' war is essentially directed against foreign domination. Our fathers fought to destroy the colonial domination of the Turks, Egyptians, Italians and the British. The resistance we are putting up today is to smash the colonial system of expansionist Ethiopia. Our revolution unwaveringly fights to destroy imperialist exploitation and domination. We are fighting for the unity of the various nationalities and social groups, of men and women in the struggle.

Guided by a clear proletarian ideology, our revolution is waging a decisive struggle against all those who are against the unity of the masses, against progress. Our fight is also against all forms of feudal culture and reactionary bourgeois ideology. As our revolution represents the interest of the Eritrean masses, it is waging a resolute revolutionary struggle against internal reaction and opportunism of various shades.

Despite the inevitable ups and downs that the revolution has to go through and the human sacrifices that this entails, the objective conditions inside Eritrea, the surrounding region and the rest of the world, assert that the fruits of our struggle will culminate in the victory of the oppressed people of Eritrea.

## FAVORABLE REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION IN ERITREA

At this stage, except for a few reactionaries and traitors whose interest is linked with colonialism and imperialist exploitation, the broad masses of Eritrea—both inside and outside the country—are allying themselves with the revolution and are devoting all their resources and creativity to advance the national democratic revolution to its final phase. The active participation of the masses in our revolution is not due to emotional reasons but as a result of a conscious understanding of the necessity of waging protracted people's war to attain liberation.

Indeed, at this time, the motive forces of our revolution conscious of their responsibilities are actively participating in the National Democratic Revolution. This is also the time in which reactionary ideology and tendencies that are against progress and unity are evaporating from the midst of our society, and are being replaced by a revolutionary and scientific ideology. The dislike for and prejudice against work and workers is gradually being uprooted. The place of labour as the only respected task of human activity and the fact that those who labour are the makers of history is being ascertained. Conscious of this and in order to achieve self-sufficiency and guarantee the victory of the revolution, our fighters and people are engaged in production, in political as well as armed struggles.

Social and political relationships based on domination and favoritism are slowly being uprooted, giving way to relations based on democracy and equality. Economic relationships founded on exploitation and theft are gradually disintegrating and are being replaced by relationships based on collective work and mutual cooperation. In short, one sees a process of dissolution of the old oppressive and exploitative society and at the same time the emergency of a new and progressive one.

This achievement is the fruit of the stubborn political, economic, social, military and ideological struggles waged by our vanguard front, the democratic forces and mass organizations. These developments correspond to the level of destruction being inflicted upon the colonial expansionists and imperialist oppressors in our country. On the whole, these basic changes have been gradually translated into action in the liberated areas and have received wide acceptance from the masses in areas still under the control of the enemy forces and those forced to stay outside the country. Thus, the Eritrean people are prepared to fundamentally transform the society, and have attained great success in building the foundations for such a transformation. It becomes clear then that with the guidance of the vanguard organization and the sacrifices of the masses, our revolution will expand in width and deepen its roots.

As stated above, the colonized Eritrean people have a long history of strong resistance to foreign domination. But why has it taken so long to attain victory? On the one hand, there were and still are strong suppressive forces and intricate treachery and conspiracy machinations of colonialist and imperialist forces with local reactionary classes. On the other hand, there was an absence of an organized



Israeli bombs supplied to Ethiopia used to bombard Eritreans.

vanguard that could correctly mobilize and organize the masses and guide them in struggle. This was the determining factor that caused our struggle to grope in the dark. As a result of the correct and resolute internal struggle waged by the masses and democratic forces, the EPLF was formed in 1970, bringing the period of confusion to an end. Today the torch lighted by the EPLF leads the masses on the road to victory.

Learning from the revolutionary experience of the masses, its own bitter struggle and that of the world revolution, the EPLF is leading the new democratic revolution. The EPLF unites all nationalities and sexes, organizes all anti-colonial, anti-imperialist classes and social forces and struggles to raise their political consciousness. The EPLF scientifically analyzes the internal and external, the long-term and short-term enemies of the revolution and engages in struggle with well-studied strategy and tactics. Conscious of its internationalist duty, the EPLF cements its ties and works together with the basic allies of the revolution. Without compromising its principles and employing tactics appropriate to each particular stage, it works with temporary allies of the revolution. These are the reasons why the mass of our fighters and the people of Eritrea say that the guarantee for the victory of the revolution is the consolidation and development of the revolutionary EPLF.



## DETERIORATING SITUATION IN THE ENEMY CAMP

Today, one observes a general trend of downfall and defeat of colonialist and imperialist forces in our country. The political, military and economic structure of the enemy is being dismantled by the oppressed masses of Eritrea. It is the masses themselves that are bringing revolutionary transformation of Eritrean society, and it is impossible for any reactionary force to succeed in subjugating and exploiting the people.

The Eritrean people are not shaken by the glitter of the enemy's military hardware. The oppressed people of Eritrea do not submit to the economic pressure of the colonial regime and the imperialist monopolies nor are they to be duped by any neocolonial conspiracy. The masses are determined to reach their goal of independence and liberation by persisting in the armed struggle. Although the enemy has a temporary material superiority, its morale has been sapped, its movement disrupted and its offensive position overtaken by the revolution. The liberation forces attack the enemy at the day and hour of their choosing, inflicting heavy losses in men and material. Large quantities of captured weapons and materials are put at the service of the revolution, while items difficult to transport are destroyed on the spot.

The enemy bases are falling one after another, their economic and military structure coming under the control of the fighters and the people. By disrupting communications between the various camps, the fighters isolate the enemy. The usually destructive ground forces of the enemy have become a thing of the past in the countryside, where their movement is constantly checked. Hence, the revolutionary activities of our people's army has forced the enemy to rely only on aerial reinforcements in attempts to save besieged areas. Despite the extensive supply of arms, money and the advice it gets from the imperialists, the colonial regime, faced with the mounting waves of people's revolution, is nothing but a slowly dying beast.

For all practical purposes the colonial economic structure has lost its contact with the Eritrean countryside. The people in the countryside are engaged in production with a capacity that is adequate to satisfy their needs and that of the revolution. In the cities, in opposition to the enemies' economic pressure and oppression, the Eritrean revolution has mobilized the workers, handicraftsmen, small merchants, etc. to sabotage the economic life of the colonial system. Thus, in most factories, production is at a standstill, import-export activities and market exchanges have been held back. The effect of this is that Ethiopian revenues have been drastically cut, and the subsidiaries of imperialist monopolies have closed down. The general situation is such that with the development and consolidation of the revolution, the economic resources of Eritrea have been withdrawn from the enemy and put at the disposal and control of its oppressed people. The continuation of this trend is guaranteed by the determination and self-sacrifice of the popular masses in the armed struggle.

The petty-bourgeois, opportunist group holding the reign of power in Ethiopia

believes in the philosophy of "Greater Ethiopia" and Amhara supremacy. To quench its economic, strategic and political thirst and maintain the interest of imperialist monopolies, it has vowed to continue its colonial policy and war of aggression in Eritrea. Nevertheless, the strengthened popular resistance of the Eritrean people is not only going to shatter its colonial hold in Eritrea but it is also shaking the foundation of the exploitative system within Ethiopian society. Learning from the struggle of the oppressed peoples of Eritrea, the Ethiopian masses are rising to struggle with great energy. Despite the Junta's attempt to employ tactics to hide its true nature, in Ethiopia and the international arena, it has long been exposed among the Ethiopian masses and all peace loving peoples of the world. Ethiopian workers, peasants and students are engaged in various forms of struggle. The problems of lack of leadership and organization are being solved. The democratic forces within the Ethiopian military have voiced their demand for a democratic peoples government in Ethiopia, and for the right of the Eritrean people to self-determination. The different subjugated nationalities in Ethiopia have resorted to revolutionary struggle to resolve the national question.

The war of aggression in Eritrea is maintained only at the expense of and costly price paid by the toiling Ethiopian masses who are faced with a worsening state of poverty and hunger. The present condition in Ethiopia is such that economic production is low, size of imported goods decreasing, business transaction stagnant, taxes levied by the fascist government are high and unemployment rampant. This is nothing other than a complete economic ruin. It is unthinkable to bring about a healthy economic life in Ethiopia without disbanding the colonial system in Eritrea and the oppressive and exploitative structure in Ethiopia.



The engine of a downed U.S.-made enemy plane.



Although U.S. and other imperialist aid to Ethiopia will continue, it will by no means save the colonial system from its final destruction. The political consciousness, moral strength, the aspiration for freedom and the preparedness for struggle and sacrifice of the Eritrean masses outweighs the enemy's wealth, weapons and thirst for expansion. This is why in the final analysis, defeat becomes the sure and only harvest of colonialists and imperialists.

### THE REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION IN THE WORLD

The present international situation is such that it facilitates the downfall of Ethiopian colonialism and imperialist domination, and helps the consolidation of the victory of the oppressed peoples of Eritrea. Today, we see the crushing defeats of imperialist forces and their reactionary lackeys in the hands of the revolutionary resistance of the oppressed peoples of the world. Peoples' revolutions in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique have already achieved victories. Similarly, the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, anti-reaction and anti-opportunist struggles of the oppressed peoples of Eritrea, South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Western Sahara, Djibuti, Palestine, Oman, etc. are heroically advancing toward inevitable victory.

Across the world, the proletarian struggle for socialism is in the process of fulfilling its historic mission, and the just struggle to break the shackles of neocolonialism in different parts of the world is not to be underestimated. The socialist camp is strengthening its principled alliance with the oppressed peoples of the world and supporting their struggle against colonialism and exploitation. In such revolutionary internal and international conditions, victory belongs to the just struggle of the Eritrean people who are sacrificing for independence, liberation, progress and peace. □

## First Anniversary of the Democratic Arab Republic of Sahara

The Polisario Front celebrated the first anniversary of the independence of the Democratic Arab Republic of Sahara (DARS) on March 1977 in the liberated areas. To hail the occasion, there were fifty representatives of countries, liberation movements and democratic organizations present at the commemoration. The Polisario Front was established on May 10, 1973 to wage armed struggle against Spanish Colonialism and attain the liberation of the people of Sahara. After a series of political and military defeats, Spain was forced to physically withdraw from Sahara in 1976. However, in collusion with its imperialist masters, Spain instigated the annexation of Sahara by Morocco and Mauritania so as to perpetuate the imperialist stranglehold on the country. To frustrate this scheme, the Polisario Front declared the independence of the Democratic Arab Republic of Sahara on February 27, 1976.

The Polisario Front has rallied the people of Sahara behind their new republic. Its politicizing, organizing and arming of the masses is increasingly bearing fruit. To consolidate its achievements, the Front held its third General Congress on August 26-30, 1976, where it adopted a Constitution of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, political manifesto and program of action. It also reiterated to unswervingly continue the armed struggle until total victory.

On the military field, the Polisario Front has pinned down half of Morocco's army in Sahara and has struck deep the interiors of Morocco and Mauritania inflicting heavy damages on the troops of the two aggressor countries. In about one year it has killed, wounded or taken prisoner more than ten thousand Moroccan and Mauritanian soldiers.

Polisario's achievements on the diplomatic field is also gaining momentum. Many members of the OAU have recognized the right to self-determination of the Sahara people, and the liberation committee of the OAU has recognized the Polisario Front as the only legitimate representative of the Sahara people.

The tactics of imperialism in Sahara and Eritrea are similar. Both were subjected to aggression and occupation by reactionary and backward neighboring countries in the service of imperialism. In both cases futile attempts are made to deny the just struggle of the peoples and their right to self-determination and independence on the false pretenses that the issues concerned are the "internal affairs" of Morocco and Ethiopia. The struggles of the people of Sahara and Eritrea are just, and like all just struggles, support each other. It is in light of this that the Polisario at its first Congress in May 1973, extended its full support and solidarity "with the struggling peoples of Palestine, Oman, Eritrea and Southern Africa." For its part, the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front strongly fights to strengthen the anti-imperialist front and to solidify the strategic relationship between the Eritrean people and the oppressed masses of the world. Hence, at its first congress, the EPLF reaffirmed "its support to the forces of liberation and progress throughout the world in general and Africa, Asia and Latin America in particular." It also resolved to support the struggle of the people of western Sahara for national independence.

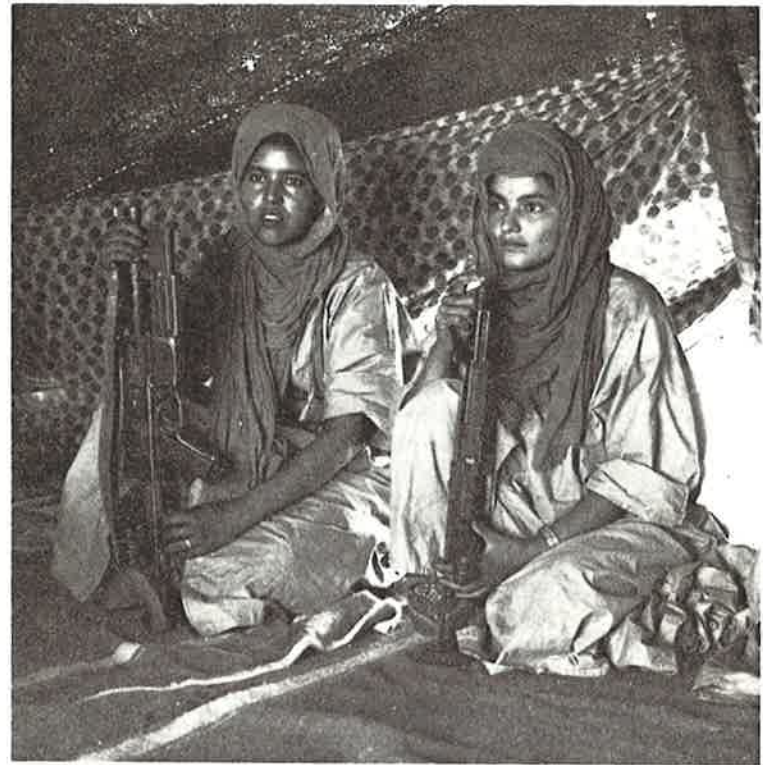
On the occasion of the first anniversary of the Democratic Arab Republic of Sahara, EFLNA hails the fighting spirit and determination of the Sahara people and expresses its resolute solidarity with Polisario.

To better acquaint our readers with the struggle of the Sahara people for national independence, we are reprinting excerpts from a *Merip* interview with Polisario representatives Mohammed Salem Ould Salek, Minister of Information, and Hasen Ali. The full interview was printed in *Merip* no. 53, 1976.

*First of all, what is the present military situation?*

In order to understand the present situation, we must take a step backwards. As you know, centuries ago, the Saharan people struggled against colonization efforts by the Portuguese and the British. The people then struggled against Spanish colonialism from 1894 until 1935 when they were finally beaten by a French-Spanish coalition. Even then the people were not really vanquished. Although Spain occupied the cities and towns, it could not control eighty per cent of the land which was semi-desert and small villages. The armed struggle of the present period began with old rifles which had been used then against the Spanish and which had never really been put down.

After three years of renewed armed struggle, our people liberated nearly all of the national territory from the grip of Spanish colonialism and obliged international imperialism to change tactics. Spain had to depart and other colonialists took its place: Morocco and Mauretania, who could pretend to have legitimate territorial claims. Our country was subjected to another aggression. Morocco and Mauretania invaded our country employing every kind of heavy weapon as well as weapons proscribed by international law—napalm, gas, chemicals—all were used against the civilian population. It was a war of genocide. But it did not succeed because colonialists never take into account the determination of the people.



Morocco and Mauretania tried to occupy Sahara in a month, according to a plan set out well in advance. The Spanish colluded with them, turning over one town after another, providing them with intelligence, arms, and even provisions from the Canary Islands. Morocco and Mauretania tried to seize all the territory, but when they began to take certain posts, we encircled and attacked them. Since Morocco and Mauretania had not respected the territorial integrity and sovereignty of our country, we began to carry out operations inside theirs: up to 1,500 km. inside Mauretania and up to 600 km. inside Morocco. In all war zones in the past several months there have been six or seven operations carried out each day. You are invited as a correspondent to come and see for yourself: to see the big operations, to see the bodies on the field, to see the tanks and armored cars which have been destroyed, the skeletons of vehicles and aircraft. In about one year, more than ten thousand Moroccan and Mauretania soldiers have been killed, wounded or taken prisoner. And we have seized many arms. I don't know the number of tanks, but certainly thousands of trucks have been captured or destroyed.

So now, on the field, enemy forces are encircled, supply routes are cut. We are fighting Moroccans inside Mauretania, for Mauretania had a very small army of only 2,600 before the war and had to call on the Moroccans for help. But neither



the Mauretanian people nor the Moroccan people want to fight this war. As the war continues, the aggressors are more and more strangled and encircled, they increasingly suffer defeats, while our people show their courage and determination to liberate all the occupied zones.

*What is the social situation of the Saharan people both in the camps and in the occupied territory?*

Since last year, our people have been the object of a war of genocide, suffering from the massive destruction inflicted by direct attack as well as starvation caused by blockade. Many people have fled the cities, towns and villages and come to the liberated zones. Many others have fled to the refugee camps in Algeria. We have a heavy task of supplying these people with the basic necessities, especially since we must at the same time supply the guerrilla fighters and the urban population in the occupied zones. We supply el-Aioun, Vila Cisneros (Dakhla) and Smara. If we didn't, three-quarters of the civilian population might die of hunger.

The population which remains in occupied territory is suffering through a great crisis. There is terrible repression and no work. The occupation authorities try to keep them busy cleaning the cities to keep them from thinking. Also, many families are broken up: perhaps a mother and children remain and the rest of the family has left. Some who fled managed to send money back to help their families, but the Moroccans soon banned the peseta. Now our people bring in a few sheep and otherwise sneak food through.

*Tell me something about the recent political development of the POLISARIO Front. There was a Congress. What emerged from it?*

The Third General Congress of the Front was held between August 26 and 30. The most important decision was to continue the struggle to the end. Also we adopted a Constitution of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, a political manifesto, and a general program of action. There was also the election of an Executive Committee and a Political Bureau. Although we are in the middle of a war, this all occurred very democratically. One month before the Congress, Primary Popular Congresses were held in every local area. Everyone, including old women and young people, came to discuss the political and military situation, social and economic problems, ideological issues, all in a mature way. Finally, they elected representatives, who went on to meet at the Congress of the Wilaya, the next level. And finally we all went on to the General Congress.

*I would like to move back to explore the origins of the struggle. What was the social structure of Saharan society like before the present war?*

Ours was a colonial, tribal society. The Spanish colonialists created a small comprador bourgeoisie, as collaborators, in the midst of a semi-feudal nomadic society. Production was herding and some agriculture, as well as fishing on the coast. Spain had largely destroyed the old independent subsistence economy and

created an economy integrated to the economy of Spain, but when Spain departed those arrangements were shattered.

*How was the subsistence economy destroyed?*

In recent years the nomadic Saharan people were sedentarized. This was partly due to the years of drought when their herds died and they were forced to come to the cities or towns. Then, with the launching of the armed struggle, the Spanish rounded up the people and brought them into the cities in order to control them. And finally, with all the tension in the region between Mauretania, Morocco and Algeria, the borders were closed so that the tribes could no longer circulate freely in search of grazing land.

This sedentarization was absurd, because it was not founded on any new production. Many people joined different sections of the Spanish armed forces: Tropas Nomadas, Ejercito, Policia Territorial, and so on. Some did become workers and even skilled workers. El-Aioun developed as a commercial center with a tariff-free zone. Sahara was used by foreign capital as a trading port with Morocco and Mauretania. Modern goods like tape recorders, radios, watches, cigarettes, perfumes and rugs transited through, mostly from Japanese or American manufacturers. In a sense, nomadism became mechanized, with many small merchants driving across the desert in small vehicles.

*What kind of workers were there then? Were some miners?*

No, in the late 1960s there was only prospecting. Apart from employment in trade, the main thing was public works such as building roads. You would find entire camps moving along with the progress of the road. Sociedad Cubiertas was the most important construction company. But Spain brought in lots of other companies too: Compania de Construccion, Obras Mineras, Obras Publicas, Transahara, and many others. These companies hired Saharan workers for very difficult work but they did not necessarily provide regular employment. Sociedad Cubiertas, for example, would hire workers for only six months, then lay them off for six months. Eventually Sociedad Bu Craa (the phosphate mining company) employed 15,000 workers. It was by far the biggest, and trained and employed skilled workers as well as unskilled.

*Why did the first big demonstration occur in 1970 in el-Aioun?*

That demonstration was fairly important in the development of the movement for independence, but there were many others before it. In the 1950s and 1960s there were protests against sedentarization and against Spanish colonialism. There was even armed struggle in 1958, which was much more extensive and violent than the demonstrations of 1970.

In the late 1960s there were renewed protests. The debates in the UN on the Sahara question had a certain influence. There was also the economic situation, the new exploitation of national riches, the lies of Spain, its cruel administration

and the heavy heel of the Spanish territorial police and the legionnaires. Our people could no longer tolerate this domination.

For a time the tribal chiefs were able to deflect the movement. It was not truly politicized or organized. National sentiment was at the base of it, but the people did not know what to do or how. There were demonstrations at the tombs of the great tribal leaders. Finally the demonstrations of 1970 were organized by the MLS (Mouvimento de Liberation del Sahara). The purpose was to protest against attempted Spanish "reforms." The organizers thought that Spain would respect this peaceful demonstration. But Spain responded with repression, imprisoning hundreds of our sons, including the Secretary-General of the Movement, Basiri, who has not been heard from since and was probably killed in the Spanish prisons. The Spanish fired on the crowds, on unarmed people. It was a massacre. The shooting continued from two o'clock in the afternoon until two the next morning. There were more than 60 dead and 100 wounded.

*Finally, how do you see the struggle evolving during the coming year?*

We are sure of final victory. We are sure that our people will have their total independence. Our slogan is: neither peace nor stability in the region until the return of our people to the national territory and total independence. □

**SUBSCRIBE TO LIBERATION**

**Annual subscription rates:**  
 \$6 for individuals  
 \$15 for institutions

**Name:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Address:** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Please make checks payable to EFLNA, PO Box 1247, New York, N.Y. 10027.

# ታሪካዊ ነገሳትን ቀዳማዊ ወደገደ ጉግኤ ሂ.ጣ.ጣ.ኤ.

ህዝባዊ ሳይልታት ሰርነት ኦርትዶ ቀዳማዊ ወደገደ ጉግኤ ከገ 23 ከገገ 31 ጥሪ 1977 ክብ°ቴ ሳይ ዘ ወጸ በታ ገበረት:: ህልው ከነታት ግለጋን ክከባቢ ኦርት ራገ: ሕሉፍ ተወከሮ ቃልሲ ህዝቢ ኦርትዶ: መዕባለ ሀ.ሳ. ሳ.ኤ.: ከልክ ገሰው ኦርትዶ ዘመልከተ ክገደስቴ ሕቶታ ት ደሕሪ መዘታይገ ጥልቅ ዘበለ ትገታኔ መገበርገ? ጉግኤ ገገዐዘ በውራ ኦርትዶ ዘቃለጥፍገ ክብቴ ዘተለጦ በቶ ከገ ጸሐፊ ዘቨክልገ ሰትራተኚገ ሰልትታትገ ሳይጸጸ:: ጉግኤ ፍ ይ°ቴ ዘቸረበ ገዳሬ ሃገራዊ ደወከራሲያዊ ፓርላሜንታ ጥዋ መገ ዘትፍ ብመሉክ ደመጸ ክጸደቅ: ከመኑ°ውገ ክብ°ዚ ጉ በኤ°ዚ ጣክከለይ ከጣቴ: መሪሕነት ህዝባዊ ገገባር ሰርነት ኦርትዶ / ሀ.ገ.ሳ.ኤ. / ተወርጸት::

ቀዳማዊ ወደገደ ጉግኤ መቼክ ወቨጣውገ ገዳማውገ ከነታት ክብ ዘለውሉ: ሰውራ ኦርትዶ ደገሬዑ ተረላጥነተ ክብ ግለጋ ከገ ክብ ዘብለሉ: ሀ.ሳ. ክብ ሳይሸ ተቸባል ነት ክብ ዘረሽበትሉ: ፍይ ባልሕ ባበገ ከራከረገ ክገታይ ነት ተሸጊሉ ከገ ሀ.ሳ. ክብ ዘተነጸለሉ: ግንዲ ሕቅ ጸ ላኢ ተሳጦሆገ 95% መራት ኦርትዶ ነጸ ክብ ዘወጸሉ ክፍ ገ ሰለዘ ተገባረ ገደወከራሲያዊ ሳይሊ ሰውራ ኦርትዶ ግቢ ግወት ኢዩ: : ክብ°ቴ በራክሰታት " ሸበሃ " ዘተሸመረ ቄ ፍገ ሕገጸጸ ገመክራዎ ዘገበር ሰውራዊ ቃልሲ ደጣ ፍሉይ



በታ ይህን::

ካብ ታሪኽ ሰው ኦርትዶ ገባኤ ከገበር ሕጂ ናይ መጀመሪያ ጊዜ ካይከነን:: ቀደሚ ሕጂ: ተጋድሎ ሻርነት ኦርትዶ " ሃገራዊ ገባኤ " ኢላ ኣትሪውያ ከልተ ገባኤ ታት ተገይረ ኢዩ:: ሰለጎነታይ ኢዩ ድካ ቀደሚይ ገባኤ ሀ.ሳ. ካብ ታሪኽ ሰው ኦርትዶ ሓቢ በታ ካለያ ዘበሃል: ካብ 'ቲ ተ.ሳ.ኤ ዘካየደቶ ከልተ " ሃገራዊ ገባኤ " ብጎነታይ ይኖላ:

ውዳባዊ ወይ ሃገራዊ ገባኤ ከበሃል ከሉ ከጎ'ቲ ተ በለጽትን ካዲሻርሻርትን መራሕቲ ተ.ሳ.ኤ ዘበልዎ ትክግር ዘበርሕ: ናይ ኩሉ ሸገራትን ጸገግትን መፍትሕ ካይከነን:: ዘኾነ ገባኤ ነቲ ዘተጻዕረሉን ዘተደሸመሉን ወገን ወልከ ዕ መልበሲ ጎበር ዘይተጻዕረሉ ነገራት ብተክግር ዘወጽኦ ግ ለት ካይከነን:: ኣመባካርከሰ ዘኾነ ካብ ገባኤ ዘጸድቅ ፕሮግራምን ቐዋምን: ዘሕገጸጽ መሰመር: ዘሻልፍ ውሳኔታት: ዘቐርቡ ጸውዒታት ካብ ሰጣይ ዳብ ዘበል ዘይከነሰ ነጸብራ ቐ ወይ ወጽኢት ናይ'ቲ ዘተነጸፈ ሰረት'ዩ:: ወጽኢት ናይ ከልቲኡ " ሃገራዊ ገባኤ " ናይ ተ.ሳ.ን ቀዳማይ ውዳባ ዊ ገባኤ ሀ.ሳ.ን ናይ'ዚ ጥላታ ካብነት ኢዩ:

ከልቲኡ " ሃገራዊ ገባኤ " ናይ ተ.ሳ.ኤ ብተበ ለጽትን ካዲሻርሻርትን ዘተጻብላላ ነበረ:: ካብ'ዚ ተበላ ጽትን ካዲሻርሻርትን ዘተጻብኡ ገባኤታት ዘሻለፈ ውሳኔታ ት ናይ ሰው ኦርትዶ መገሸር ከይኑ: ሰው ኦርትዶ ካብ ቲ

ዘመጥ በቶ ንክይበጽሕ ቀንጺ ዕንቀፋት ብጎይን ናይ ጸሓ ኢ ዕደግ ንሸናዎሕ ሻገዘ::

ብ 1970 ራክሰታት " ሂባሃ " ነቲ ካብ 1961 ሂግርግ ካብ ልዕሊ ሀዘቢ ኦርትዶን ሰውራኩን ዘፈጸመዎ ጉዳ ካትን ንዕዘይ ሰራሻትን ንጎሸፍን: ከጎኡ'ውን ነቲ ቀናን መሰመርግ ንጎዕራይ ካብ ነዊሕ ጊዜ ዘይሕለል ቃልሲ ዘካይድ ዘነበረ ካብ'ቲ ኣዋን'ቲ ካብ ተ.ሳ.ኤ ዘተነጸለ ደዎ ከራሲያዊ ሻይሊ ንጎቐንጻል ነቲ ቀደሚ ቀረብ ጊዜ ካየደልን ኢዩ ብመበል ዘቃወመዎ ዘነበረ " ሃገራዊ ገባኤ " ንሸገበር ናይ ሻሰት ጸውዒት ከቐርቡ ሂመረ:: " ሃገራዊ ገባኤ " መፍትሕ ናይ ኩሉ ሸገራት ሰውራና ኢዩ ኣናበሉ: መራሕቲ ተ.ሳ.ኤ ብ1971 ቀዳማይ " ሃገራዊ ገባኤ " ጸውዑ: ኣዚ ገባኤ'ዚ ጸረ ደዎከራሲያን ጸረ ሻፍሽን ትሕዝቶ ዘነ በር ጥቐሚ ካዲሻርሻርትን ተበለጽትን ዘሕሉ ነበረ:: ካብ'ዚ ገባኤ'ዚ ኢዩ ሸካ: ሰውራዊ ባይቶ ናይ ተ.ሳ.ኤ ናይ'ቲ ጥቀን ሻፍሽ ሀዘቢ ኦርትዶ ፈጸጦ ከርሰዓ ዘይከኣል ካብ ሰው ኦርትዶ ብርተዕ ሰመብራት ዘሻደገን ብዘኣ ናይ ሰብን ንዋትን ከሰራ ዘሰገብን ከፍት ሻይሕድ ንክባርዕ ሰል ሻን ዘተረ ገ::

ካብ መጠረብ ናይ 1974 ብጽግት ሻፍሽ ሀዘብን ደዎ ከራሲያዊ ሻይሊ ናይ ተ.ሳ.ኤ ን ቀኑዕ መትከልን መዕባላን ሀ.ሳ. ከፍት ሻይሕድ መመው መሰበላ: ኣቲ ካብ'ዚ ኣዋን ካብ ውሸጢ ተ.ሳ.ኤ ዘካየድ ዘነበረ ደዎከራሲያዊ ጎንቀሰ

ጌሰ ኢገዳር ረብሐኑም ከመዘኸነ ብግገዘብ ጠራሕት ተ.ሐ.ኤ. ከመ ከገደገና ኦቲ ኩሉ ዘከካሉ " ሃገራዊ ገባኤ " ገበገብር ዳውዲት አቅረቡ፡፡ ከልካይ " ሃገራዊ ገባኤ " ተ.ሐ.ኤ. ብዕላማን ብካገባብን ከብ " ቲ ተዓማይ " ሃገራዊ ገባኤ " ካይኖላን፡፡ ዕላማኑ ከካ ጠራሕት ተ.ሐ.ኤ. ረብሐኑም ዘረጋገጽሉ ሰልጥታት ሃበውበው ጠባል ነበረ፡፡ ነቲ ደብረቢያዊ ጠንቀብጊ ተጋደልቲ ተ.ሐ.ኤ. ናይ ጊዜ ዕድል ረኺቡ ተጠርፏ ኢገዳርግ ገዢይታለሰ ኢብ " ዚ ጉባኤ " ዘታተገጃ ፡፡ ነቲ ብጌልቢ ሓፍሽ ህዝብን ተጋደልቲን ዘተረፈበ 9ወት / ናይ ኩኖት ሓፍሽ ጠጠው ጠባል / ናረ ናይ ዳዕርግ ከመስሉ " ደብረቢያዊ ልዝብ ጠሰ ህ.ሐ.ግ. ዘብል በደ ጭርጦ ለዘመ ከብ ገባኤኦም ወጹ፡፡ ሰዕቤት ሽካኦ ኦቲ ወቲታዊ ዘኸነ ገረብሓ ሓፍሽ ዘይክሉ " ሰመዕ ካርቲ " ኢዩ፡፡ ብሓፍሽ፡ ካልካይ " ሃገራዊ ገባኤ " ተ.ሐ.ኤ. ካይጠርፈርትን ተበላሽትን ዘተግስሉ ኢብ ወሽጢ ወይብ ተ.ሐ.ኤ. ግጥም ጠረታዊ ለውጢ ካየመክኦን፡፡ ብካገዳረ፡ ነቲ ሓፍሽ ህዝብን ተጋደልቲን ሓፍሽ ጠሰ ከላይን ሃገራዊ ሰመረት ገበግበኦ ዘደኸሙ ኢብ ገብሪ ገዢይትርገም ዕገቀሩት ዘነ፡፡

ከባብ ሕጂ ኢብ ኡትራ ዘተገብረ ገባኤታት ገመሰሰ ሓፍሽ ዘዕመክሩን ዘገዕክሩን ከመዘ ነበረ ከብዚ ኢብ ለዕሊ ዘተጠቓሰ ኢብ ነታት ብረህ ኢዩ፡፡ ካይጠርፈርቲ ጠራሕት ተ.ሐ.ኤ. ደርባዊ ጥቕም ገመሰሰው ዘኖክግግም ገዕዘይ ተገባራት " ሕጋዊ " ጠልከዕ ዘለብሰ ኢብቲ ብሰመ ሓፍሽ

ህዝቢ ዘገብርግ " ሃገራዊ ገባኤ " ኢሎም ዘገመዕግ ገባኤ ኤታቶም ከመዘኸነ ከዘገገዕ ግብሩን፡፡ ብሓፍሽዊ ካዘረባብ ከልተ 9ይነት ገባኤታት ካሉ፡፡ ሓይ ገጥቑ ሓፍሽ ዘወስል ብደብረቢያውያንን ገሰገሰትን ዘተግስሉ ከይት ቀኑ ወባኒታት ዘሕልፍ ከኸውን ከሉ ኦቲ ካልካይ ከካ ብካይጠርፈርትን ተበላሽትን ተግስሉ ወይ ዘገልብብ ወገኒ ወይ ከካ ብጥሎዕ ጸረ ሓፍሽ ወባኒታት የሕልፍ፡፡

በቲ ሓይ ወገን ትሕዝቶ ተዓማይ ወይባዊ ገባኤ ኢን ተተልልከትና ዘመበረተ ከብ ገባኤታት ተ.ሐ.ኤ. ዘተረልዩ ከይት ገረፈበ፡፡ ኢንታይነት ናይ ዘኸነ ገባኤ ገመርባኦ ወገ ከመዘ ተባረሉን በዩናይ ኢገባብ ከመዘ ተባረሉን ጠፍላጥ የድሉ፡፡ ተዓማይ ወይባዊ ገባኤ ህ.ሐ. ገረብሓ ሓፍሽ ዘሕሉን ኦቲ ገሰገሰ ሓይሊ ገመጃውሪያ ጊዜ ኢብ ታሪኽ ገባኤታት ሰውራ ኡርትራ ለዕለቶይ በታ ዘሓዘሉን ነበረ፡፡ ኢብዚ ገባኤ " ዚ ተጋደልቲ በታሉ፡ 9ይነት፡ ካልኦት ውጽዓት ደርባታት፡ ኩላን ብሄራት፡ ደተገሰትዮ ተባተፈ፡፡ ኦቲ ዘገደሰ ነጥቢ ሓፍሽ ህዝቢ ጠሰታፈ ጥራሕ ካይከነን፡፡ ኢንታይ ድካ ሓፍሽ ህዝቢ በብደርቡን በብገጃኡን ተወጊቡን ነጂቡን ተራኑ ብጠፍላጥ ኢብቲ ገሰውራኑ ኢብ 9ወት ከብገገሙ ዘሸከሉ ሰትራተጂን ሰልጥታትን ወባኒታትን ብጠሰታፈ ኢዩ፡፡ ሓፍሽ ህዝቢ ዘተባረሉ ገባኤ ከበሃል ከሉ ብጠጃውሪያ ወዳብካ ዘካከል ፖለቲካዊ ግጥም ጠሰዘውሃብ ድካ ኦመበር ከመ ተ.ሐ.ኤ. ሓገቲ ናይ ግጥም ከይሰራሕካ ከብ ፈጥረ ወረዳታት ተሓባብርትኻ ካመጸካካ ሓፍሽ ተባረሪያ ጠባል



ካይከነን፡፡

ክብ ተጻጻፎ ውድባዊ ገባኤ ሀ.ሳ. ዘጸደቅ ሃገራዊ ደብዳቤዎች ፕሮግራምን ቸግሮ፡፡ ዘጠላረ ወብኑታት፡ ዘቸረብ ጸወዲታት፡ ገደሉትን ጥቅምን ሻፍቮ ሀዘቢ ኦርትዶ ዘ ውክል፡ ገበው ኦርትዶ ገቸዲት ዘገሰገሰን ጻወተ ዘቃላ ጥፍን፡ ክብ ጻለጦ ተፈላጥነት ከብ ዘበልገ ከይት ገረብ፡፡ ኦዚ ነጸብፈቅ ናይቲ በውዲ ወሰመር ናይ ሀ.ገ.ሳ.ኤ. ከኸውን ከሉ፡ ናረ ናይቲ ብደብዳቤዎታን ሻይልታት ብሓ ፈቐ ብሀ.ሳ. ከካ ብፍለይ ክገጸር ናይ ወሽጥን ደገን ዘተ ሻዩደ ዘይሕለል በሌክ ቃልቢ ኢዩ፡፡

ተጻጻፎ ውድባዊ ገባኤ ሀ.ሳ. በውዲ ኦርትዶ ክብ ከብ ዘበለ ወድብ ክብ ዘበጸሓሉ ኦዩን ስለዘተገብረ ተወ ሰቢ ካገገሰነት ካለዎ፡፡ ከብ ነዊክ ጊዜ ጸዲ ደብዳቤ ያውያን ተገደልቲ ክብ ውሽጢ ተ.ሳ.ኤ. ነቲ ብዘይ ገጽር ስትፈተዊን ዕላግን ዘካየዱ ዘነበረ ብረታዊ ቃልቢ ሀዘቢ ኦርትዶ ከብ ውሽጢ ገጽኦም ብዘክ'ደ ኦንተጸጻረ ከዕወተ ካይከኣሉን፡፡ ክብ ውሽጢ ኡገካ ኦቲ ዘነበረ ገገታትን ገ ዕዙይ ተገባራትን ከኦረጦ ከወዘይከኣል ጦሰ ተረገገጸ ብ 1970 ደብዳቤዎታን ተገደልቲ ብጥክክኸኸ ከብ ተ.ሳ. ኤ. ተፈልጎ ሀ.ሳ. ብጦጦሰፈት ክብ በውዲ ጥታን ሀዘቢ ኦርትዶ ሻፍቮ ጦዕፈፍ ከፈተ፡፡ ገጦጸመርያ ገዜ ቃልቢ ገ ዘክ ሀዘቢ ኦርትዶ ጦክነቲ ናጽነትን ሻርነትን ብቸኸዕ ጦሰ መር ክብ ትሕቲ ቀኸዕ መሪክነት ኪገጻዘ ጸመረ፡፡ መሪክ

ውድብ ሀ.ሳ. ወድብ በውዲ ኦርትዶ ብጦብረህ፡ ፈተውታን ጸላኦታን ብጦሰላይ፡ ዕላግኡ ብጦገጸር፡ ቀኸዕ ስትፈተዊን ስ ልትታትን ብጦወጸክ ገበው ኦርትዶ ብቸኸዕ መገገዲ ከትክ ልዩ ጸመረት፡፡ ብሻጸረ፡ ጦፍጠር ሀ.ሳ. ዘረታዊ ቃልቢ ሀዘቢ ኦርትዶ ሻፍቮ በውዲ ወሰረት ከሀበ ከኣለ፡፡

ሀ.ሳ. ክብ ውሽጢ ቃልቢ ተወላዳ ክብ ቃልቢ ጻበ ዩት፡፡ ገፍ ውልደ ከላ ገጦቸገጸላ መገገሰቲ ኢትጽግያ ብ ዘክ ወተሃደራዊ ዘመተ ክገጸር ሀ.ሳ. ክካየደ፡፡ ሀሳዊ ካን ጦዕባሌካን ክገጸር ደርባዊ ረብሻኦ ጦፊት ብጦርኣክ፡ ተበለጸቲ ገኡሰ ብርቶዎ መሪክነት ተ.ሳ.ኤ. ገሀ.ሳ. ገጦ ጸናት ከፍት ሻፋኦድ ካባርዑ፡፡ ክብ ውሽጢ ኸካ በቲ ፍሉ ጥ ተበላጺ ዕላግን ባልክ ሰበ ዘጦርጡ ሻደሻደ ካደሻርሻር ርቲ ባክታታት ክብ ውድብ ሀ.ሳ. ሕገፍቮፍቮ ገጦክታውን ነቲ ደብዳቤዎዊ ሻይሊ ገጦድቲን ዘይፈተንያ ነገር ዩ ለገ፡፡ ኦዚ ካደሻርሻሪ ገፍሎ'ዚ ክብ ሕብረተሰብ ኦርትዶ ዘሉ ከልካዊ ገርጭት ብጦጦዘግዘ፡ ጦሰ ደገፍቲ ሃገራት ዘለ ያ ርበባን ከብካተን ብሰጦ ሻፍቮ ሀዘቢ ኦርትዶ ብዘረብቦ ገንዘብን ተጠጭ ነቲ ተበላጺ ሕገጸጽ ክብ ውድብ ሀ.ሳ. ገብገሰ ብዘክ ቃልቢ ካካይቶ ኢዩ፡፡ ክብ ዘብነ በውዲ፡ በውዲ ሰነ-ሻባብን ቀኸዕ ፖለቲካዊ ሕገጸጽን ወባኒ ተሪ ስለዘለዎ ሀ.ሳ. ርክሰቫ ጦቫኣል ዘበል ናይ ሻፍቮ ሕገጸጽ ብጦቫታል ነቲ ብናይ ደገን ውሽጥን ጸላኦቲ ዘጸወደላ ዘነ በረ ጭሕላቫታት ጠረሰረሰ ካቢላ፡ ሰነ-ሻባባዊን፡፡ ፖለቲካውን፡ ውድባዊን ወተሃደራዊን ሰረታ ከተላጥኦ ከኣለት፡፡

ሀ.ሐ. ካብ ወሽጢ ሐደር ገዙ፡ ካብ ቃልቢ ዘተባሕሉን ብፖ  
ለቲካ ዘበሰሉን ንቕጽ ህዝባዊ ወተሃደር ከትዎልዎል፡ ካብ  
ገጠር ካብ ዘተፈለለዩ ቦታታት ወደቦፊት ከትከፍት፡ ካብ ል  
ዕሊ ጸሓኢ ብርቱዕ ጉዳካት ከተባሕሩ፡ ሰፊሕ ወሬት ሓፊ  
ከተወጸኹ፡ ከካለት፡፡ ኣዚ ጥራሕ ካይኮነን፡፡ ከይፈት ብ  
ብዘገብ ብዎስልጣን፡ ወሰረታዊ ናይ ማርክሰነት— ለጊነት  
ጸሐፊት ብዎትርጌ፡ ሓፊሽ ህዝቢ በብደርቡን በብጉዳኡን  
ብዎዳብ ነቲ ከሰፍን ዘድሉ ሰነ—ሓባብ ካብ ወገን ሓፊሽ  
ህዝቢ ብዘቐልጠፈ ንዎስርጣው ብርቱዕ ቃልቢ ትገብር፡፡ ኣ  
ብቲ ዘተሓረረ ቦታታት ነቲ ዘሉ ወገዛኡ ታውን ሓውሱ ወሰፍ  
ናዊ ወዘማዚ ስርዓት ብዎዕናው ካብ ከገድኡ ህዝባዊ ጾዎሕ  
ዳር ካብ ዎትከል፡ ህዝባዊ ግላሽ ካብ ጾዎስፊት ካብ ርክ  
ሰኻ ዎሽካል ዘተኮሪ ኣኮናጂ ካብ ጾህናጽ፡ ንካገልገሉት  
ሓፊሽ ዘኾውን ሆስፒታላትን ናይ ከገከን ጥዕና ወደቦፊትን  
ቤት ትዎህርትታትን ቤት—ንበባትን ካብ ዎሽፈት ትርክብ፡፡  
ብተወሰኹ፡ ንሰውራ ኤርትራ ዎስ ሓርነታዊ ዎንቅስቓስን  
ገሰገሰቲ ሃገራትን ብዎፍላጥ ካብ ወትከል ዘተሰረተ ዘዎ  
ድና ንዎፍጣር ከትደፍካሉ ትርክብ፡፡ ሀ.ገ. ኣዚ ቃልስታ  
ት\*ዚ ብዎክደድ ካብ ሓፊሽ ሱራ ሰለዘተኾለት ከብ ዘኾነ  
ይኹን ኮርናዕ ዘወጸኦ ሓይሊ ነቐ ዘዩብላ ወደብ ኢደ፡፡  
ዓወት ናይ ቀዳማይ ወደባዊ ገብኡ ፍረ ናይ\*ዚ ቃልስታት\*ዚ  
ኢድ፡፡ ኣዚ ዓወት\*ዚ ካብ ሰውራ ግዛን ሓይሊ ናብ\*ቲ ገ  
ሰጋሲ ከፍሊ ከዎዘዘዘወ ዩርኢ፡፡

ሸሕ\*ዚ ሓፊሽዊ ኮነታት ንሰውራ ኤርትራ ዎቕኦ ኣገተ

ሽነ፡ ናይ ደገን ወሽጥን ጸሓኢቲ ንሰውራ ኤርትራ ንዎዕን  
ቃፍ፡ ወንኮርኮር ታሪሽ ንድክሪት ንዎዎላሰ በብዓይነት ዎ  
ንቅስቓሳትን ወዲታትን ከብ ዎገባር ዓፄ ከዎዘይወዕሉ ዘተ  
ረጋገጸ ኢድ፡፡ ወሱድ ደርጊ ንሰውራ ኤርትራ ንዎድርጊ  
ከልተ ዘኣፈ ሰልቲ ካብ ግብረሓድ ይርከብ፡፡ ብሓደ ወገን  
ንሰውራ ኤርትራ ከብ ሓፊሽ ህዝቢ ኤርትራን ደገፍተ ሃገራትን  
ንዎገዳል ናይ ሓሰት " ሰላማዊ ፍታሕ " ዘብል ወዘወር  
ከዘዎር ከሉ፡ ብቲ ሓደ ወገን ከካ ብገይተተ ሃጸደውደን  
ዘተተኾሉ ዘዎናዊ ወባርደ ብዎጥቃዎ ንሰውራ ኤርትራ ብሓ  
ይሊ ንዎድርገዎ ህርዱን ይበል፡፡ ብኸልኦ ወገን ከካ፡ ልኡ  
ሽ ወጸኢ ጉዳይ ነበር ብሰዎ ወቕዕ ህዝቢ ኤርትራ ዘረኾቦ  
ገንዘብ ኣናተኾዎ ንህዝባዊ ሓይልታት ንዎገዳልን ኣድሓር  
ሓሪ " ሰልሳይ ሓይሊ" ንዎፍጣርን ሰዕልን ታሕትን ይብል  
ካሉ፡፡ ዕላዎኡ ከካ ዎስ ወሬሕቲ ተ.ሓ.ኤ ብዎሸፊሽ ን  
ሀ.ሐ. ከብ ፈተውቲ ሃገራት ንጸልካ ዘይወትከላዊ ሰዎረት  
ንሸትቅበል ዎገዳድ ኢድ፡፡

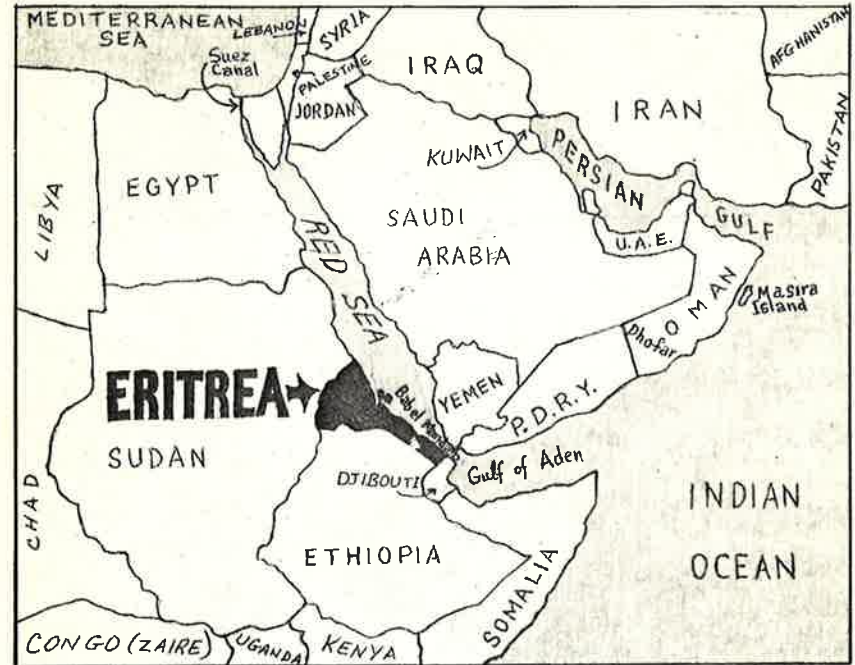
ሰውራ ኤርትራ ብድክርሕጂ ተሪፍደ ዘሉ ገዕዘ ዘተ  
ሓለሎን ጸንኮርን ኢድ፡፡ ይኹን\*ዎበር ብዓወት ናይ\*ቲ  
ገሰጋሲ ሓይሊ ከዎዘዘዘዎ ኣዩጣረጥርን፡፡ ሰውራዊ ወሰዎርን  
ቀነዕ ወተከለትን ናይ ህዝባዊ ገንባር ዘኾነ ኣድሓርሓሪ  
ወዲት ከፈሸሉ ኢድ፡፡ ቀዳማይ ወደባዊ ገብኡ ሀ.ሐ. ዘጽ  
ደግ ናይ ዘተናወሽ ህዝባዊ ኮፍት፡ ርክሰኻ ዎሽካል፡  
ወተከላዊ ሰዎረት፡ ሓፊሽ ህዝቢ ዎዳብን ዎገቃሕን ዎዕጣቕን



ወ.ዘ.ተ...ኸኣ ወሕስነት ናይ፣ ደተርፍ 90ት በወ  
 ራ ሳፋሽ ህዝቢ ኦርትዶ ኢዮ።

ተፃጫይ ውዳባዊ ገዢ ህ.ሐ. ኣብ በወራ ኦርትዶ  
 ጥራሕ ዘይኮነ ኣብ ከባቢ ኦርትዶ ፃቢ ጽልዎ ከህልዎ ኢዮ።  
 ወባኔታትን ፕርግራምን ናይ ተፃጫይ ገዢ ነቲ በወራዊ  
 ወሰወሰ ናይ ህዝባዊ ገንባር ብመደልፃል ገበወራ ኦርትዶ  
 ከብ፣ ደ ሕጂ ዘለዎ ደረጃ ናብ ከብ ዘበለ ደረጃ ኣበገገረ  
 ዎስ፣ ገሰገሪ ሳይሊ ብመትከሰባር ተፈላጥነት ኣብ ፃለዎ  
 ከብ ዩብሉ። ብሳይ፡ ተፃጫይ ውዳባዊ ገዢ ነቲ ከገሃነ  
 ጸ ገደሊ ሳይሰ ደብከራይዊት ኦርትዶ ገመፍጠር ከገወበደ  
 ዘለዎ ወገን፡ ተለዎ። ሰለ፣ ዘሽነ ሃገራውን ደብከራይ  
 ወን ኦርትዶዊ ፕርግራምን ወባኔታትን ለበዎታትን ተፃጫይ  
 ገዢ ኣብ ገብሪ ገመትርጓመ ከፀጠቐን ብመላኡ ልቢ ከታለ  
 ሰን ዩደሊ።

ፀደቀ ገ ህ.ገ.ሐ.ኤ. ወራሕ ህዝቢ ኦርትዶ !  
 ፀደቀ ገፃፃጫይ ውዳባዊ ገዢ ህ.ሐ.ሐ.ኤ. !  
 90ት ገሳፋሽ ህዝቢ !



Eritrea occupies a strategic location in the Horn of Africa and the Middle East.

## ERITREA 1977 CALENDAR

The 1977 Eritrean Calendar, prepared and published by EFLNA, details many historic dates and events of national and international significance. Many pictures depicting the struggle of the Eritrean people and those of the oppressed peoples of the world are also contained in the new calendar.

Send \$1.50 for your copy to:  
 EFLNA, P.O. Box 1247, New York, N.Y. 10027  
 BULK ORDER INQUIRIES WELCOMED.