

FORWARD!

Published by: the World Wide Federation of Ethiopian Students

vol. 1, nos. 6&7

APrîl-May 1977

Reading through EPRA's Report:

EPRA: AN INVINCIBLE PEOPLES' ARMY

It is an established fact, universally attested, that in this era of imperialism, the main form of struggle for the liberation of peoples and nations is revolutionary warfare. One of the three magic weapons for successfully carrying out the New Democratic Revolution is the existence and full engagement in liberation war by a peoples' army, an army organized and led by the communist party. As Chairman Mao puts it, "without the peoples' army, the people have nothing." This revolutionary maxim, this revolutionary red banner, is fully being reconfirmed in the Ethiopian revolutionary process.

"The Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Party (EPRP), since its inception, was clear that only through the resolute persecution of people's armed violence will peoples' revolutionary democratic power be set up," reads EPRA's report entitled "EPRA: Report on the Military Tasks of the Northern Front" and published in Abyot, Vol. II, No. 3. "Since 1974," the report continues, "the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Army has made political and logistical preparations for armed struggle by conducting armed propaganda in the Tigrean field." Overcoming patiently various difficulties that emanated from not having officially declared the party, the army has made progress with successful results. The report states that "after the party was declared, the struggle moved a step higher from armed propaganda to armed struggle to completely wipe out the false propaganda spread around against our army by carrying out the urgent and timely tasks of the revolution based on the peoples needs and sentiments. Moreover, in order to insure the continuity of the revolutionary struggle, following the revolutionary political line of our party,...EPRA has accomplished the following: wherever it operates profound organizational work has been accomplished; poor peasant associations, youth and women associations have been set up....EPRA has functioned as the armed force for the implementation of a radical agrarian revolution with peasant associations under the control and leadership of poor peasants. Examples are to be found in the already accomplished agrarian revolutionary changes in Agane and Adwa districts..."

Since January 1976, the EPRA has taken more than 17 tactical offences against the enemy in Tigrai and Begemder provinces inflicting heavy damages on the enemy's forces, destroying the bureaucratic

apparatus of the fascist derg in the rural areas and confiscating weapons, materials that are used for the revolution. The EPRA has also successfuly rebuffed the attack of the "Flame" Birgade three times inflicting heavy damages on its forces. The report states, "One major Flame Brigade force trying to enter Assimba was undercut on reaching around Adi Awlio since it was engaged with an EPRA unit. It sustained 15 deaths and 20 wounded and in disarray went back to Adigrat." Two similar attacks have resulted in heavy losses on the enemy side.

In towns and villages where tactical offences have been taken, radical agrarian reform, mass organizational work, and political education have been conducted. "EPRA conducts a long term protracted war, building up armed forces, creating economic, cultural, political and military bastions. As EPRA destroys the counter-revolutionary order, it builds a new revolutionary order, carrying out radical agrarian reforms, meeting the basic needs of the people with the establishment of a thrift economy, fulfilling the war time demands of the people on the basis of self-reliance, etc ... "

The EPRA has also been conducting armed propaganda and struggle against the "Raza project" right from its inception. Numerous are the the activities undertaken in this regard by the Army. In August 1976 around Sero town, with the fraternal EPLF, the EPRA ambushed military convoys destined towards Eritrea to reinforce and supply material to the war weary soldiers of the junta.

The EPRA's democratic style of work and correct strategical outlook have won the masses to its side. The following sums up its style of work:

"EPRP is at present leading, as Stalin said, "the armed revolution against the armed counter-revolution". In its armed actions, the EPRA always relies on the masses, combines political work with armed force, and has thus gained strength in the process of this fighting. It fights and multiplies with startling mobility and flexibility and always acts on a tactical offensive, being every where but not being found nowhere, with orderly scattering and concentration of forces. The essential character of the EPRA is that it is the organized armed force of thepeople, the organizer, leader and mobilizer of the broad masses to fight the counter-revolution headed by Colonel Mengistu and Haile Fida."

And this is why we say the EPRA is invincible!

LONG LIVE THE EPRP AND ITS PEOPLES' ARMY, EPRA! THE ETHIOPIAN PEOPLES WILL SURELY WIN!!!

but counter-revolution. EPRP is an ardent enemy of revisionism and champions proletarian internationalism. Today, revisionism is directly involved in the counter-revolutionary plot hatched up by fascists and social-fascists against the Ethiopian revolution which is led by our party. Therefore, as a genuine responsibility thereof, it is our revolutionary duty to say with Lenin, "...

Abyot, Vol. II, No. 3, P. 52

WWFES' TRIBUTE TO COMRADES TESFAYE DEBESSAY AND MARKOS HAGOS

According to Abyot, Vol. II, no. 3, Comrade Tesfaye Debessay, a member of the Central Committee of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party and Comrade Markos Hagos, the militant president of the Confederation of Ethiopian Labour Unions (CELU) have recently fallen victims to the brutal fascist butchers of the Mengistu-Haile regime.

Abyot, in paying revolutionary tribute to <u>Comrade Tesfaye</u>, disclosed that on the 25th of March, 1977, this outstanding hero of the Ethiopian revolution and a member of the Central Committee of the EPRP "killed himself than falling in the hands of fascists who tried to arrest him in central Addis Ababa. In the gun battle with the fascists, he ran out of

bullets and jumped through the window from the kidane Building."

COMRADE TESFAYE

"Comrade Tesfaye was born in 1941 in Alitena village, Irob, in the administrative region of Tigrai. He was from the Saho minority nationality." In 1974, he returned to Ethiopia (from Switzerland where he was staying) "to carry out the task he was assigned by the party. In 1975, he had to go underground as he was to be arrested. After two years of underground work, he was spotted by the social-fascists while performing his contact duties. The area was immediately surrounded with troops" after which an exhange of

fire ensued and Comrade Tesfaye had to die a hero's death rather than falling into the hands of the blood-thirsty fascist butchers.

Regarding the death of Comrade Markos Hagos, Abyot wrote as follows: "Comrade Markos Hagos, the president of the Confederation of Ethiopian Labour Unions (CELU) was killed on March 24 in a gun battle with fascists, who attempted to arrest him. In the fierce gun battle, the valiant revolutionary fighter had finished off well over 20 of the search squad soldiers before his death.

"Comrade Markos had served the Ethiopian working class as Chairman of CELU in the most critical hours of the struggle of the working class. Soon after CELU passed its historic resolution on its annual Congress in September 1975, Comrade Markos had been arrested without any charge. Not long after the May Day demonstrations of last year when Comrade Markos had to go underground. had actively taken part in the struggle of the Ethiopian working class from theunderground."

The World-Wide Federation of Ethiopian Students pays its highest revolutionary tribute to both of these outstanding revolutionaries of the Ethiopian peoples. We do this not with delusion and frustration and with tears on our faces but with further

resoluteness and increasing vigilance. We do this while picking up the bright red banner for which they have fallen victims and raisingit even higher. We do this while vowing to fight back with heightened vigilance and determination until final victory. And it is only then that we would have paid them the greatest revolutionary tribute. For it is for this sacred cause, the cause of the oppressed and exploited peoples, that they heroically laid their lives!

GLORY TO THESE OUTSTANDING REVOLUTIONARY MARTYRS!

COMRADE MARKOS

SELF-RELIANCE: FAITH IN THE MASSES AND A STRONG WEAPON AGAINST REVISIONISM

"...EPRP holds fast the principled view that regardless of the evolution of temporary shifts in imperialist and revisionist power equations in the region, the fate of the ongoing national democratic revolution in Ethiopia can only be determined by none other than by its very motive forces — the oppressed, exploited, degraded and dehumanised masses of Ethiopia as led, educated, organized, guided by EPRP."

Abyot, Vol. II, No. 3

The present situation in Ethiopia is, despite the confusion sowed by the fascistic demagogy and the echo it receives in the modern revisionist and capitalist bourgeois press, is excellent. Domestically, despite the enemy's barbaric repression, despite its attempt to 'liquidate' the revolution by brute force and demagogy, the revolution is advancing while the fascist clique is getting more and more isolated from the masses. Especially during the last three years and more, the masses of the Ethiopian people have advanced in political consciousness, have risen up in their millions to end up once and for all the rule of feudalism, imperialism, and bureaucratic capitalism and bring about a new democratic Ethiopia. Moreover, the masses of the people are not without a leadership. They have a Marxist-Leninist proletarian vanguard -- the EPRP -- and its peoples' army -- the EPRA. The establishment of the party and its army is a great victory for the masses of the people, a great victory for the Ethiopian revolution, and a great victory for Marxism-Leninism. It is a severe sign of defeat not only to the fascist junta and U. S. imperialism, but also to the modern day revisionists of the Soriet Union and its hirelings every where.

But in order to consolidate and develop the victories so far achieved and advance even further we must follow and adhere to the spirit of self-reliance in all our works. In this regard, the question of who are our friends and our enemies, whom to rely on, etc., not only domestically but internationally as well is a crucial one. The fascist regime which represents the interests of feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism sworn enemy of more than 90% of our Hence its interests as well peoples. as the interests of all those forces allying with it internally and externally are diametrically opposed to the interests, aspirations and wishes of the overwhelming majority of the people. It is able to retain its power only by brute force and through the material and political support it receives, directly or indirectly, from imperialists of all hues and colours.

But wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. The ever advancing struggle of the Ethiopian peoples

is a confirmation of this historic truth. But to advance from victory to victory step by step, we must keep the initiative in our own hands, maintain our independence at all times and basically rely on our own efforts. To adhere to the spirit of self-reliance means to realize that the war is a protracted and arduous one and that in this protracted war, we should depend on more than 90% of our people. It means that we should have boundless faith in the masses, boldly arouse their initiative and their creative energy.

Hence in the period of the NDR, which is essentially agrarian, the overwhelming majority of the peasants, especially the poor and middle peasants are our basic and reliable allies. The success or failure of the revolution depends to a large extent on whether or not they fully participate in this war, on whether or not we adhere to the mass line of "from the masses to the masses." True the enemy is armed to the teeth; true the enemy has superiority in weapons. But in the final analysis, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung

put it it is people that are the decisive force and not weapons; even the "reputedly powerful reactionary forces are merely paper tigers. The reason is that they are divorced from the people." Hence, although the enemy is in appearance strong, it is in essence weak and feeble. To adhere to the correct ideological and political lines and firmly keep to the spirit of self-reliance is a basic guarantee to our success.

This is closely related to our attitude towards the enemy. Revolutionary theory teaches and practice confirms that we should always "despise the enemy strategically and take full account of him tactically." This is a Marxist-Leninist principle summed up from the long and brilliant history of the Chinese revolution. This is how Chairman Mao put it: "In order to struggle against the enemy, we have formed the concept over a long period that strategically we should despise all enemies, but tactically take them seriously. This also means that we should despise the enemy in general but take him seriously on each and every concrete question."

Our Chinese comrades further summed up that "departure from this Marxist-Leninist principle in the revolutionary struggle will lead to opportunist errors of one kind or another. Any one who takes full account of the enemy tactically, but does not dare to despise him strategically, will inevitably commit right opportunist errors. Any one who despises the enemy both tactically and strategically will inevitably commit "left" adventurist errors. Any one who dares not despise the enemy strategically and moreover does not take full account of him tactically, will commit both right opportunist errors in strategy and "left" adventurist errors in tactics."

Does self-reliance mean that we are opposed to all sorts of aid? No, not at all! On the contrary, fraternal aid from genuine socialist countries such as China and Albania as well as from genuinely anti-imperialist and progressive sources can prove of much significance to the revolutionary struggle. As Abyot, Vol. II, No. 3, put it, "EPRP firmly believes on

self-reliance.... However, the Ethiopian revolution, as all other revolutions in the past, needs international support from the genuine socialist states and proletarian parties....International solidarity and active political as well as material support to the people's revolution would undoubtedly accelerate the speed of the revolution." What the principle of self-reliance means, therefore, is that we are to rely mainly on our own forces and efforts as well as the supplies of the enemy itself(!) -- our Cambodian comrades used to refer to the fascist butcher Lon Nol as their "supplier-in-chief"--) while seeking and making use of genuine aid.

Domestically, the fascist junta has the support of only a tiny percentage of the population while ours has the support of the great majority of our peoples. Internationally, the junta gets its material and political support especially from U.S. imperialism and the Soviet-led modern revision-The support of the latter to the junta is in particular getting louder and louder every passing day. A flurry of telegrams of support, of propaganda coverage, of visits by "prominent" representatives of modern day revisionism, is in high gear, and utterances of all sorts of rubbish which has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism continue to contaminate the air. They laud to the skies the so-called "achievements" of the military junta, its leadership of the Ethiopian revolution, and so on and so forth, while heaping abuses at the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party of the Ethiopian proletariat, the EPRP, and at the Ethiopian peoples. They distort and villify Marxism-Leninism, villify the party of the proletariat, scorn the Ethiopian peoples' forward march, only to pursue their criminal and counter-revolutionary designs. This should neither surprise us nor scare us. We should not have expected any thing better from modern revisionists in the first place. Being anti-marxists how can they be expected to uphold genuine Marxism-Leninism? Being ferocious political swindlers, how can they be expected to support genuine people's struggle?

But such futile attempts either by the \overline{v} S. imperialists or the Soviet

revisionists will come to naught as long as we continue following the correct ideological and political line. As Mao Tse-tung has said, "the correctness or incorrectness of the political and ideological line determines every thing." So long as the Ethiopian revolution follows the correct line, under the bright red banner of the EPRP, so long as it constantly determines who the enemies and friends of the revolution are not only domestically but also internationally, and so long as it adheres to the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, our revolution is sure to achieve victory.

As Abyot (Vol. II, No. 3) so brilliantly put it, "no matter what the revisionists may say, the Ethiopian

people have found in the EPRP, the party they need for their struggle and in the EPRA the people's army they need for the use of revolutionary violence against their enemy. Backed by the genuine socialist states and revolutionaries the world over, the Ethiopian masses would, beyond doubt, "do away with all pests" and would erase the dust of Ethiopia's history through their national democratic revolution. China has done it, Albania has done it, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos have done it; and there would be no force in the world that stops the masses of Ethiopia, guided by their vanguard part EPRP, from taking that -- ONLY THAT -road." (emphasis ours.)

There would not be more to say to this dauntless revolutionary spirit which undoubtedly emanates from complete faith in the masses! And this is what ensures the invicibility of the Ethiopian revolution!

EPLF SUCCESSFULLY HELD ITS FIRST CONGRESS

According to reports in "Eritrea in Struggle", Newsletter of the Eritreans for Liberation in North America , the first Congress of the EPLF was held from January 23-31 in the Sahel region of Eritrea. Over three hundred delegates were present at the Congress. Several foreign progressive and revolutionary organizations were also present to express their solidarity with the national liberation struggle of the Eritrean peoples.

Among the many important resolutions which were passed at the Congress include: - a progress of unity to be made between the two fronts, i.e. the EPLF and the ELF; condemnation of the Mengistu/Haile clique's nine-point proposal for "peaceful solution" of the Eritrean question, and adoption of preconditions for convening a meeting for dialogue with the Ethiopian regime which included such preconditions as: the regime must recognize the right of the Eritrean people for self-determination and independence, that it must recognize the EPLF and ELF as the sole representatives of the Eritrean people, that it must agree to conducting the dialogue on such international forums as the United Nations.

The Congress also adopted a new constitution and resolved to change its name from Eritrean Peoples Liberation Forces to Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front.

In another development in Ethiopia, the Mengistu/Haile Fascist clique is organizing a genocidal invasion of the Eritrean masses. It is to be remembered that last year a similar invasion plan code-named "Raza project" was attempted but only to have met with a disastrous failure. send thousands of peasants from various regions of Ethiopia into Eritrea under the demagogic slogan of "fighting Arab Imperialism" (sic!). The plan was a total collapse because of the immense agitational and propaganda work undertaken among peasants by the EPRP, EPLF and the ELF opposing the invasion plan.

The WWFES like always vehemently opposes each and every action by the fascist goons and calls upon all its member unions and all democratic and revolutionary forces to expose and denounce all such activities of the regime.

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Reprint fom Abyot: TORTURE IN JUNTA'S PRISON CELLS Political Prisoners Made to Eat Their Own Flesh: An Eyewitness Account

Editor's Note: The following is a reprint of a report that appeared in Abyot, information bulletin of the EPRP, Vol. 2, No. 3 (April, 1977).

Human and democratic rights violations in Ethiopia defy description. Premises are searched, properties are seized, innocent people are arrested, children less than 15 years of age are executed -- all this happens without any attempt at judicial recourse. Arbitrary arrest has become normal. To be detained has become tantamount to give oneself to known assassins and executioners.

Prison conditions are appalling. They are overcrowded. They are not even fit for animals. A horse stable They are overcrowded. They are not even fit for animals. A horse stable is cleaner than an Ethiopian prison. Prison conditions create the factors for either a spiritual collapse and/or physical liquidation of the prisoner.

The military junta claims those arrested are "criminals". Nothing is further from the truth. All Ethiopian prisons are filled with political prisoners. In fact the regime suffers from lack of prison so much so it has found it a big priority question to build concentration camps in remote areas of the country. The only "crime of the prisoners is to reject a fascist regime's herrondous terrorizing practices and tortures. At present, to be a dous terrorizing practices and tortures. At present, to be a political prisoner is to be doomed. The chance of surviving prison is practically naught. The prisons are invariably filled with suspected and real sympathisers and supporters of EPRP, militant workers, intellectuals, students, soldiers, youth, women and other democratic strata in the and other democratic strata in the society. It is people of conscience that are in for the fascists' machine guns. Prisoners are also picked en masse during one of the junta's extravagant celebrations. These are held without trial for months without a chance to come back alive.

The notion of fair trial is alien to the Ethiopian fascists. Neither secret nor public trials are permitted. Since the fascists execute as they see fit, they cannot allow impartial international observers. Undoubtedly, they have absolute contempt for the rights of the prisoners and hence for elementary legal norms. Often if secret trials happen it is either to serve some expedient political exigency or to stymic some articulate opposition. Fair disposition of cases is unknown to the fascist thugs. More often than not, prisoners are executed secretly or otherwise before they are given a trial of any sort.

Executions both secret and open have reached unbelievable proportions. Unrestrained by law or tradition, the fascist thugs execute at random. The bomb buildings and blame it on their political opposition. This they do, above and beyond, the quota of men and women they execute openly and secretly. Often brutal physical and psychological torture leads to death. Not a day passes in Ethiopia without some democrat being killed by fascists. The leader of the fascist thugs, Mengistu Haile Mariam, has called for the slogan "Go to offensive." This meant wirtually making a reign of termor virtually making a reign of terror rule a normal way of life for the

The Mengistu and Haile clique introduces its executions and bestial killings with songs of joy and happiness. The extent of the sadism of the little colonels and their "intellectual" mentors is boundless.

At present, although the exact number of political prisoners is unknown, the estimate is well over 10,000. The increasing number of concentration camps provides a clue to the inordinate number of political prisoners. The bestial "science" of torture is duly practised on suspected EPRP members to extract information from them. The foreign committee of our party has just secured a short report about the practices of torture in Ethiopia. Here are some excerpts from the report:

A. General:

Searching houses without warrant to look for a suspect, and if they do not find the person they (the torturers) are looking for, to torture his family; to kidnap people on the way to their place of work or on their private business; to murder them after taking them from their place of work; and to burn their bodies, these have become a daily companion of Ethiopians.

The fascist regime has prepared concentration camps in known arid deserts of Ethiopia. All existing prisons are filled with people whom the regime thinks are its opponents. Those in prison are secretly taken out for investigation and after that their whereabouts becomes a mystery. In general in the prisons, the torture extends from interrocation to the molestation of sexual organs (presuming that prisoners are not killed). Those suspected of being killed). EPRP members or sympathisers are made to suffer more. To alleged EPRP members the torture extends from flogging to cutting a part of the prisoners' flesh and forcing him to eat it.

CARLON CONTRACTOR CONT

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prisoners are subjected to daily flogging, beatings, flogging after putting a ball inside their moth and hunging them upside down naked, to pull them naked on a bid of cutting rock pepples or granular sand after tying their hands and feet with rope (on that which even walking on good shoes brings discomfort). After pulling them in rounds (like in a Russian Roullette) the torturer submerges them into ice cold water. It is not only that. In a fit of anger torturers burn the naked body of a prisoner with a red-hot ironing machine. Burning bedies using electric shocks is common. Those taken in automobiles to far away places for beating and who die being hit on sensitive organs are innumerable. As an example, the prisons in administrative region of Gomu Gofa are cases in point.

When they could not succeed with physical torture, they try psychological torture and the way is to try to buy the prisoner with money. Nevertheless, the innocent prisoners have rebuffed them. "Our death with the oppressed" and "your death with your money and power", have become the firm response to brutal torture.

B. Personal: When I was in prison here are some of the techniques of torture widely used on the youth to extort information:
- to place a pistol in one's mouth and
threaten execution, to insult and bully
around and to frighten; to make one overhear when others are being flogged;
- when they flog another prisoner to
make his comrade hold his feet, to force the friend to flog his comrade;
- to tie the hand muscles above the elbow on one's tack and to hang down the prisoner and to flog and beat the soles of the feet, to pit the forehead against the wall and press the sexual organs;
- After tying in front, raising the knees to pass through the fastened hards, inserting a stick through the joints of the hand and foot and overturning the body on a table to flog the sole, to cover the eyes, to insert a dirty ball of cloth in the moth;
- prisoners after torture remain with sores from flogging, burns and tone fractures: fractures;
- with an iron-fist nicknamed "make him confess", to constantly hammer at the finger rails and repeat the process until the fingers swell and the nails decay and then to bend them backwards and to break them; - to flog by standing the body on the fingers; - to place an iron rod on the toes and to hammer them on the floor; - to dislocate the hands and to flog any part of the body, to shave off the head and beat it; - to leave a prison in a cold rcom, to feed one's own flesh, to insert hot iron-rod in the rectum;
- to feign one's execution;
- to debate loudly with the intention of making others overhear -- should one's

eyes be covered or not;
- to torture psychologically by saying a friend has spoken, the incriminating paper has been found, etc...;
- to burn the body using electric power. As we know, cruel tortures are meted out to those who are taken to a section called No. 7. After torture in NP. 7, the prisoner is not returned to his cell;
- to make prisoners run and to make others overhear the march.

We thus see that the colonels and banda intellectuals indulge in brutal physical and psychological torture, combining barbaric and modern techniques of torture. These fascists subject political prisoners to severe beatings, sustained flogging from the sole to the shaved head, extraction of finger nails, crushing and breaking fingers, electric shock to sexual organs, thrusting hot iron rod in the annus rectum, mock executions, raping women political prisoners, threats or actual rapes of a prisoner's wife and children, etc... The barbaric cruelty of the regime is as grotesque as reprehensible!

The practice of torture in Ethiopia now is very widespread. The peoples of Ethiopia oppose the brutal military junta and this means virtually the entire peoples of Ethiopia are liable to face all sorts of harrassment from the junta. Fascism rules by the law of the jungle. It has absolutely no popular base. It is a desperate emergency regime. That is why in its desperation it is bound to make torture and execution its normal way of rule. But the empire of torture and execution bears the germs of its own destruction. This logic, if illusive to the torturer regime, is clear to the masses. The people know the junta has no future and that like all reactionaries will roll down to its graves before long!!

Abyot, Vol. II, No. 3, p. 58-59

Review Of Addis Hiwet's:

"ETHIOPIA: FROM AUTOCRACY TO REVOLUTION" -- A TRUNCATED HISTORY

This short review of the pamphlet entitled "Ethiopia: From Autocracy to Revolution" should not be viewed as an exhaustive rebutal of the facts asserted therein. Certain glaring facts in this pamphlet are, least to say, irritating and need a researched rectification -- a task for which neither am I capable at the present time nor have the facilities. My aim here is to provoke a rebutal by competent hands of this gibberish "authored" by the learned "pseudo writer" Addis Hiwet.

I would like to start from what the motive for the publication of this pamphlet seems to me. This pamphlet comes at a time when the different nationalities in Ethiopia have unified their forces and are engaged in a life-and-death struggle against a fascist regime operating under the protective umbrella of imperialism. Such divisive and falsified so-called history cannot be viewed as none other than one of the poisoned arrows imperialism has thrown against the unity of the masses of all the different nationalities in Ethiopia and thereby sap their energy and flout their revolution. The deadliest enemy of imperialism is the unity of the oppressed masses, especially when this is forged under proletarian vanguard leadership, and it is here that it concentrates its fire through dubious means such as hiring brains to falsify and tarnish history.

The fact that the pamphlet is peppered with Marxian phraseology should not deceive any one, because the only way of reaching the heart of the Ethiopian masses at the present time is by giving it a semblance of Marxism. This, alias Addis Hiwet and the fascist Derg know very well. They realize that the masses have embraced Marxism as the only avenue through which they can achieve their emancipation. Had it been for quoting Marx the Ethiopian fascist blood-thirsty thug Mengistu would have lulled the masses to sleep and would have queitly "enjoyed" the bouty which he snatched from

The "author" passing with a pseudoname Addis Hiwet starts with ill-conceived assertion that "the deep seated myth that has for so long enshrined Ethiopia...still blurs genuine historical understanding. Ethiopia's existence as a modern state masses. It is behind such pseudo-Marxisthat some who have been able to grab a few Kalanchikors and declare themselves "liberation forces", have found ideological refugee. The organizational unity of the masses gives fright to petit bourgeois saboteurs making them cling to

does not ... extend beyond 1900." Does the author have qualms with Ethiopia not being modern prior to 1900, or does he attempt to tell us that what we know as Ethiopia today did not exist? it is the latter here comes a new brand historian telling us that our country is nothing older than 70 years. Not that there is any thing in age, but the assertion is made with an intent to belittle the achievements of the masses, such as their struggle against European colonialism. The central theme of the pamphlet is that Ethiopia is an empire state. It was formed by conquest and the component states should therefore break up into their original constituency. Ethiopia was formed into its present constituency just as all other states in the world have been formed. Being off shoots of the era of capitalism, none of the present day states or nations were formed by voluntary association. The world history is rampant with wars where-by a central nuclear authority expanded its domain through conquest absorbing the neighbouring states, nations, nationalities, villages, etc. within its jurisdiction. Rome originally constituted only very small towns on hill tops and later expanded into what is Italy today. The present day Britain constittuted a small enclave around London. So were Russia and China. However, none of these states have been referred to as colonial empires to be broken up to their original elements as a matter of historical necessity. The clamour of pseudo-Marxists to label Ethiopia as a colonial power and therefore should be broken up into the original states which constituted it cannot be viewed in isolation from the present day Ethiopian revolution. Such pseudo-Marxists objectively serve the forces of division of the oppressed masses. It is behind such pseudo-Marxists that some who have been able to grab a few Kalanchikors and declare themselves "liberation forces", have found ideological refugee. The organizational unity of the masses gives fright to petit

a sinking ship and join the enemy camp as has already been seen in Ethiopia in the person of the so-called Tigrai Liberation Front. The pamphlet is meant to serve such sectarianism, create disunity, discord and hatred among the oppressed masses.

The pamphlet starts from the nineteen hundreds and yet it carries the title "Ethiopia". Apparently it is meant to enlighten us that prior to 1900 what is roughly known as Ethiopia did not exist. The author deliberately omitted reference to the earlier Ethiopia simply by wishing it away. What an originality!! But severly truncated to the writer, "... the epoch of conflict and contentions between feudalist and colonialists for the territorial definition of states started. The Battles of Dogali, Metema and Adwa all fall within this framework." According to the writer, these wars were not fought to repel colonialists, but were only territorial disputes. According to him no attempt was made to colonize Ethiopia. Further he writes, "the extant academic and popular assessment of the Battle of Adwa holds that it was fought in the cause of preservation of 'Ethiopian independence against European colonialism." If not to preserve the independence of Ethiopia, what else was it fought for? The Battle of Adwa has invariably been acclaimed as one of the greatest success stories of the African peoples against colonialism. But here comes a new breed of "intellectuals" belittling it as nothing more than border skirmish. Our argument here is not

that the Ethiopian masses secured their freedom from local oppression through these battles. But it remains true that they have dealt a telling blow against colonialism and imperialism. Neither is our argument here that national oppression did not and does not exist in Ethiopia. In fact nato national oppression of the worst kind existed and still exists and is currently being further aggravated by the fascist junta and its chauvinist hirelings.

In terms of its technical details, the pamphlet falls short of a standard much to be desired. It is written more like a fiction book. No sources are cited for assertions that fill half a page. The author talks of the Battle of Embabo in more than half of a page without telling us where he got it from. These new breed of "intellectuals" in their infinite wisdom might tell us that they have lived through it, otherwise we have no choice but conclude that they have plagiarized. And if that is the case, it is every body's guess as where it might be from.

Lastly, as to the English it is written in, a lot could be said. Suffice it to mention only that, may be it is not meant to be for us humble souls who are not "educated" enough to understand Victorian English.

OPEN LETTER TO SOMALI STUDENTS' UNION IN BERLIN

To: The Editor "The Dawn" Berlin From: Shekur Mussa (Selti)
Dendir Sebani (Cheha)
Arrega Bekele (Sodo)

Gentlemen:

We have read with amazement the first issue of the "Dawn" allegedly published by the Somali Students Union in Berlin. Since the nationality we are members of, namely Guragaie, was mentioned as one of "nations suffering under the brutal claws of 'Ethiopian' colonialism" (sic!), we have found it necessary to clarify our position on this oft repeated "Ethiopian colonialism."

Though we readily affirm that Ethiopia has been a prison of oppressed nationalities, yours and ours being two among many, characterizing these nationalities as colonies of Ethiopia is blatantly undialectical and in fact reactionary.

The assertion that the different nationalities in Ethiopia are colonies

arises from the failure to appraise or understand the socio-economic ingredients that should necessarily exist between colonizing and colonized nations. A colonial situation describes certain economic and social relations at a certain historical epoch of the oppressed and oppressor nation and therefore the relation per force is scientifically determinable. Being scientific then it cannot be chipped to fit petit bourgeoie whimps of certain elements of the oppressed nationality. We thereion that the feudal and semi-colony that Ethiopia is, could itself colonize and hold to a colony.

We are amazed at the extent to which you have gone to distort Ethiopian history. Ethiopian history to us is not a mere glorification of feudal scums and bandits. The Ethiopian history that we know and for which we are proud of, is that history of struggle of our peoples against colonialism and local oppression. And it is that history as in all class societies, that has been hewed by class struggle of the oppressed and the oppressor that we say we are proud of. Your argument that Ethiopia was not colonized due to the compassion of the Christian colonizers because as you say Ethiopia is "Christian", tantamounts to smearing mud in the eyes of history and is a negation of the well known maxim: the only compassion the colonizer understands is profit, plunder, raw materials, markets, etc. All facts also indicate that Ethiopia is a multi-religion country with Christians, Moslems, pagans, etc. living side by side, albeit not without oppression of Ethiopian peoples profess religions other than Christianity, the dominant among which is Islam. (Some estimates have it that about 47% is Christian, 43% Islam, and 10% others.)

Besides these distortions, you erected over the grave of feudalism, have endeavored to efface the innumer-imperialism, and fascism. able struggles the Ethiopian masses

have waged against colonial incursions. battles of Dogali, Gura, Metema, Adwa, Maitchew were theatres of wars in which millions of peasants of all nationalities and religious sects had laid down their lives in defence of their freedom. Battle of Adwa at which a major European power was decisively beaten by the united onslaught of the Ethiopian masses, has in fact been a source of inspiration and pride to all oppressed peoples.

History also confirms to us that the innumerable attempts to subjugate the Ethiopian peoples were not repelled by the fore reject the undialectical assert- Cross, the Koran or appeal to the compassion of the Christian and Moslem invaders, but by the readiness of the peasants of all nationalities to lay down their lives in defence of their motherland against foreign intruders. Your deliberate omission of the fact that the attempt to colonize Ethiopia was not only the doings of Christian Kaffirs alone, reveals your undisguised attempt to whip up petty religious fanaticism of certain elements. By attempting to do this, you only reveal how ignorant you are of what is exactly taking place in Ethiopia. Such divisive Such divisive tactics have long been burried along with Haile Selassie and his cronies. attempts of the current fascist regime along these lines have likewise been met with ignominious defeats. In the present day Ethiopia, pandering to religious prejudices of the masses is ineffective and down right backward and primitive even as a divisive tactic. At a time when class struggle has reached an unprecedented intensity and peak, peddling with such trifles as religious prejudices tantamounts to sabotage befitting agent provocateurs.

Your reference to Ethiopia within quotes apparently is meant to tell us that there is no such a thing as Ethiopia. We hope you are aware of the rule insult you have tried to inflict on all nationalities in Ethiopia. You have attempted one by the other. In fact, estimates to blot out our history and our very confirm that about 50% or more of the national existence with a stroke!! What an exercise in futility!

> We would like to confirm to you that the fighting Ethiopia against feudalism, imperialism and fascism is going strong and will soon be stronger when a new democratic peoples Ethiopia will be

We wholeheartedly agree with you that one of the burning issues of the Ethiopian revolution, the question of the equality of all nationalities has not been resolved and it would be naive to expect a solution to emanate from the blood thirsty fascist junta and its social chauvinist and revisionist advisors. We believe that the total redemption of the several nationalities from oppression can only be accomplished through establishing a proletarian state which task demands the total and unconditional organizational unity of the oppressed and exploited masses of all the nationalities. We need not confirm to you that we are wholeheartedly for the equality of all national— you are prepared to fight within this ities and that they have the irrevocable context which is the only correct right for self-determination, up to and including secession -- for the history of our militant student movement has been at one and the same time a history of struggle against all forms of national oppression and big nation chauvinism. however, we are equally opposed to expansionism, narrow-minded nationalism, sectarianism, etc. instigated by the so-called kith and kin of the oppressed nationality in the guise of self-determination.

The right to self-determination is the exclusive domain of the masses of the oppressed nationalities themselves and not of those self-appointed emigres who have recently been trumpeting an assortment of petty bourgeois fantacies about "Ethiopian history", "Ethiopian colonialism,"

If, as you claim, you are organized under anti-feudal and anti-imperialist plank, it is then incumbent upon you to agitate and fight for the unity of the oppressed masses, which means nothing more than rallying behind a multi-national proletarian organization fighting to end this oppression. If Marxist context, then we are and will always be by your side.

Down with national oppression! The struggle of oppressed nationalities shall triumph! Victory to the Ethiopian Revolution!

ACTIVE INTERNATIONALIST SOLIDARITY WITH THE ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTION

On May 13, 1977 ESUNA was invited as the key note speaker at a forum organized in New York City in support of the national liberation struggle of the Ethiopian peoples. The forum was organized by the National Liberation Struggles Support Committee (NLSSC), a committee composed of individuals from various Marxist-Leninist organizations.

The ESUNA speaker gave a detailed account of the present stage of the NDR being waged under the leadership of the The speech contained a point-by-point refutation of the counter-revolutionary "theory" peddled by the Soviet revisionist clique. The speaker also vehemently denounced the Soviet revisionists' campaign of villification against the Marxist-Leninist Vanguard, the EPRP.

Furthermore, the speaker exposed the growing counterrevolutionary collusion between the hangman Mengistu and

INTERNATIONALIST SOLIDARITY TO THE EPRP the Brezhnev clique. He called upon the heroic Eritrean combatants to close their ranks and firmly oppose all foreign machinations designed to sow division and incite civil war.



(continued on page 16)

HAIL AFRICA LIBERATION DAY -- MAY 28, 1977

The African peoples have a glorious tradition of struggle against old and new colonialism, imperialism, and reaction of all hues and colours. The toiling masses of Africa have long suffered under colonialism, imperialist domination and local reaction. Yet, never have they slackened their resistance both to internal and external enemies. True to their heroic traditions, the gallant sons and daughters of Africa have time and time again dealt death blows to imperialism and its henchmen.

In the past year, the militant struggle of the Azanian masses that spread throughout Azania after the Soweto uprising have rocked the fascist Vorster regime and its imperialist masters.

The advancing struggle of the Namibian people coupled with the armed struggle of the Zimbabwean people against the Ian Smith regime have made Southern Africa glow with flames of liberation. Unable to salvage the situation, due to the ever mounting struggle of the peoples of Southern Africa, the fascist regimes and their imperialist backers are hatching all sorts of counter-revolutionary plots to diffuse and dampen the raging revolutionary struggles. Yet, the oppressed masses have frustrated and exposed these various imperialist ploys and machinations by showing their determination to carry on their armed struggle to the end. through their arduous struggle, the people of Southern Africa have more than ever realized that they should rely on themselves and on the road of armed struggle rather than having faith on "shuttle diplomacy" a la Kissinger or a la Podgorny style to win theirliberation. Despite the various manouvers of the imperialists and those forces masqerading as the "natural ally" of the African masses, the struggle of the peoples of Southern Africa is surging forward.

In other parts of Africa, the militant struggle of peoples of Spanish Sahara, the new democratic revolution in Ethiopia led by the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Party, the Eritrean national movement and other democratic national movements in the Horn of Africa are increasingly gaining momentum. The independence of

Djibouti is the outcome of the struggle of the peoples of Djibouti against French colonialism. Though the revolutionary movements in the Horn of Africa are getting stronger, the forces of retrogression and reaction are making frantic attempts to sow confustion and disunity in the ranks of the revolutionary and democratic forces by attempting split in their ranks and to create favourable ground to pursue their counter-revolutionary objectives.

Aware of these machinations, the peoples of the Horn of Africa will undoubtedly frustrate all these ploys and make a modest contribution to the liberation of Africa.

When we celebrate African liberation day, May 28, 1977, we are confident that the peoples of Africa, by waging an uncompromising struggle against imperialism, colonialism (old and new), and all reaction, will make worthy contributions to the cause of the world proletarian revolution.

As we in WWFES have said in the past, victory is certain so long as the masses and their patriotic and revolutionary vanguards unite and persevere in armed struggle, cautiously combat all and every interference in their internal affairs, and keep the initiative in their own hands, always guarding against any form of neo-colonial compromise. It is of fundamental importance to grasp the need for undertaking a thorough-going liberation struggle and this requires, among other things, cautiously watching all wolves in sheep's clothing and keeping the initiative in one's own hands.

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM, COLONIALISM AND ALL REATION!

THE TOILING MASSES OF AFRICA WILL TRIUMPH!

member unions in action

TWO MONTHS OF INTENSIFIED STRUGGLE

The months of April and May saw an unprecedentedly intensified activity by every member union, by every branch unions and/or study groups, and in almost every region of the world. Extraordinary congresses, forums, demonstrations, hunger strikes, picketing activities, cables and letters of condemnation, etc. were undertaken. In every one of these activities Marxist-Leninist organizations, representatives of mass organizations, anti-imperialist groups, liberation movements, etc. attended and expressed unconditional solidarity with the struggle of the Ethiopian peoples and their proletarian vanguard, the EPRP. Running across each of these activities was the disgust and condemnation expressed against the Soviet modern revisionists who have recently stepped up their counter-revolutionary alliance with the Ethiopian fascist regime. In several countries, member unions carried out picketing activities in the embassies of the Soviet Union, and exposed the escalating collaboration of the Soviet government in the fascistic repression of the Ethiopian peoples.

Below is a summary of the activities carried out during the last two months by member unions.

I. Europe

1. West Germany:

The annual meeting of the W. German branch of ESUE was held in Gottingen from April 8 to 11. Representatives from branch unions in France, Sweden, Italy, Hungary, Holland, and England participated in this annual congress which was carried out under dauntless revolutionary zeal. The Congress sent a strong cable of condemnation to the fascist junta. On April 15, the branch union here organized a well executed form to expose the fascistic activities of the junta and its internal and external collaborators. Several revolutionary and democratic organizations and groups were present to express their solidarity.

Similar activities were executed in W. Berlin on May 6. Members of such organizations as the Azanian Students Union, Eritreans for Liberation in Europe, Ghanian Students Union, Confederation of Iranian Students (National Union), etc. were present to express their solidarity and present revolutionary songs.

2. Hungary
The Hungarian authorities have taken the despicable action of banning the militant branch of ESUE in Hungary as a result of the uncompromising and resolute stand of the branch union against the fascist junta and its revisionist collaborators.

3. France:

ESUE's branch union in France successfully carried out a forum in Paris, a city renowned for being the center of the social-fascist clique of the Haile Fida type and still houses a handful of their remanents. In this forum, where several antimperialist organizations and student groups from third world countries participated and fully supported the anti-fascist struggle of the Ethiopian peoples, the distortions, rediculous

lies and revisionist pronouncements of the social-fascist clique were exposed. A special committee set up for these purposes has started work; contacts have been established with Markist-Leninist organizations, labour unions, and anti-imperialist organizations. The branch union accordingly participated in a forum organized by the Parti Communiste Revolutionnaire (PCR), a Marxist-Leninist organization in France, and was able to expose the fascist junta's acts of terrorism.

On May 7, the branch union organized a big demonstration in Paris to condemn the massacre of over 1300 workers and student youth in Addis Ataba during the May Day week end this year. For several days following this, the union leafleted the city while talking on microphones and going around public places to condemn this despicable acts of white terror as well as the collaboration of the Brezhnev revisionist clique in these acts. Several Marxist-Leninist, anti-imperialist, third world liberation movement organizations and student associations took part in these activities.

Similar activities were also carried out by the union in Grenoble and Bordaux on May 20.

4. England:

The Ethiopian Students Union in Europe (UK branch) has been undertaking an enormous amount of struggle during these past two months, among which were a strong cable of condemnation sent to the revisionist head Brezhnev with copies to the OAU and the UN, a picket in front of the Ethiopian embassy in London on May 6 together with several anti-imperialit groups, a forum on May 16 in collaboration with the Student Action Alliance, another picket on May 20 organized by the Student Action Illiance and the Revolutionary Ethiopia Solidarity Committee where several thousand leaflets were distributed.

5. Holland:

ESUE's branch union in Holland carried out extensive exposing activities on May 12 and 18. On May 12, the union's members carried out an extensive leafleting, speaking in public places, and picketing throughout the city of Amsterdam. On May 18, a demonstration and a "long march" from the U. S embassy to the Soviet embassy was undertaken with leaflets exposing the counter-revolutionary collaboration of both against the Ethiopian revolution. The Soviet revisionist clique's embassy was closed so that the militant demonstrators would not enter and present their just demands.

.6. Sweden:

The Ethiopian Students Union in Sweden likewise distributed leaflets on April 3 exposing the counter-revolutionary activities of the Junta and condemning all of its collaborators.

7. Switzerland:

ESUE's branch union in Switzerland also organized similar activities on two occasions -- May 6 and May 24 -- where it was able to expose and condemn the white terror that the fascist butchers are carrying out in Ethiopia.

8. Eastern Europe

ESUE's member unions in revisionic countries of Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union, are carrying out their militant struggle under strict secrecy as a result of the repressive control and intimidation imposed upon them by these governments. Whereas the hariful of the social-fascists are allowed to freely operate, our militant and antifascist unions are suppressed. Even under these conditions, however, the unions have not bowed down. A case in point is the actions of the branch union in the Soviet Union during the visit of the fascist butcher, Mengistu, to the Soviet Union. The Soviet police had to assign two policemen for every suspected member so that they wouldnot carry out a demonstration. Hunger strikes were made in several cities to express their indignation and opposition.

II. North America

The Ethiopian Studens Union in North America (ESUNA) and the Ethiopian Women Study Group in North America (EWSGNA) carried out an intensified campaign against the attrocities of the fascist goons as well as the counter-revolutionary meddling of the Soviet revisionists against the orgoing Ethiopian revolution and its vanguard, the EPRP.

Beginning with the conclusion of the mid-year congresses held in April in Boston, Dayton, and San Francisco where a militant and uncompromising stand against modern revisionism was reaffirmed, a variety of activities were planned and executed. Among the many such activities are the following:

- 1. In Washington, D. C. a vigil was held for 72 hours in front of the Ethiopian Embassy. Over 16 radio and TV networks covered the occasion: about 20,000 leaflets detailing the situation in Ethiopia were distributed during this span of time and at the same time microphone-carrying trucks roamed the city's four corners reading statements about the nature of the fascist junta, the criminal machinations of the U.S. imperialism both in the past and at the present as well as the increasing intervention of the soviet revisionists to thwart the excellent revolutionary situation in Ethiopia. A similar picketing activity was carried in May in front of the U. S. State Department and the Russian embassy simultaneously at which times leaflets detailing the counter-revolutionary machinations of both powers were distributed to people as well as the press. Several anti-imperialist organizations took part in both activities.
- 2. In N. Y., a 48 hours picketing was undertaken in front of the United Nations where close to 10,000 leaflets exposing the fascist terror and the shameful and criminal involvement of U. S. imperialism and that of the Soviet modern revisionists.
- 3. In Chicago, the Mid-west and South chapters of ESUNA and EWSGNA jointly undertook a demonstration on April 16 for similar purposes, followed by a forum on the current situation in Ethiopia. A wide coverage of this mammoth demonstration was given by the bourgeois press as well as several Marxist-Leninist and anti-imperialist publications.
- 4. San Fransisco: The West coast chapters similarly undertook a hunger strike for 48 hours beginning on April 13. A member of ESUNA was interviewed by a progressive radio station with tens of thousands listners. The Iranian Students Association, the October League (M-L), the Black Students Union, and other anti-imperialist groups took part in this militant opposition to the fascist junta and its masters, U. S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionists.
- 5. Atlanta: A 38 hour hunger strike was made for the same purpose during the same week -- i.e. the week of April 12. On May 20, the Mid-West and South chapters of ESUNA and EWSGNA once again took to the streets their inignation with the white terror in Ethiopia where over 10,000 leaflets of various types, all centered around the current situation in Ethiopia were distributed. A forum and a film show followed by speeches of solidarity were also undertaken. Among those who participated in these activities were the Revolutionary Communist Party (USA), the October League (M-L), the Revolutionary Workers Congress, the Iranian Students Association, and the Revolutionary Student Brigade.

Similar activities were undertaken by Chapters of ESUNA and/or EWSGNA in such cities as Toronta (Canada), Boston, Madison, Houston, Dallas, Dayton,

The Middle East III.

The Regional Union of Ethiopian Students in the Middle East and North Africa, RUESMENA, has also been carrying out an intensified opposition campaign in the region. In Cairo, the branch union there distributed thousands of condemnation letters against the fascist terror. These letters were also sent to all embassies in Cairo as well as to progressive organizations, and humanitarian groups.

In the Sudan, the militant member union continued its all-round campaign against both the Junta and the EDU, the latter of which is, with the open collaboration of the reactionary regime of the Sudan, engaged in futile feudal intrigues and manuouvers in its bid for the state power with the fascist junta. In a joint communique signed with the General Union of Eritrean Students in the Sudan, a widely circulated statement of condensation of lated statement of condemnation of the fascist junta was issued. The tasks of this member union are increasingly being multiplied owing to the exodus of refugees fleeing the junta's terror as well as the reactionary manuouvers and intrigues carried out by agents of the EDU trying to recruit them as mercenaries for its counter-revolutionary bid for power in Ethiopia. The Union has successfully been exposing these reactionary intrigues and the these reactionary intrigues and the union's strength continues to grow by leaps and bounds.

IV. East Africa

The Ethiopian Students Union in East Africa also carried out an intensive campaign to propagate the precise nature of the Ethiopian revolution and its enemies. In an extraordinary meeting of the Union, a strong condemnation of the escalating intervention of the Soviet renegade clique against the Ethiopian revolution as well as the criminal machinations of U.S. imperialism through the EDU and reactionary Leaflets summarizing Arab states was made. its positions were distributed to all embassies in the East African Community as well as anti-imperialist and mass organizations in the region.

SUGGESTIONS MAY BE SENT TO:

FORWARD! P. O. Box 5372 Madison, WI 53705 U. S. A.

(cont'd from page 12)

The speech was followed by a two-hour discussion on the present situation in Ethiopia

Prior to the discussion solidarity messages were delivered by various fraternal organizations. All the messages (including the League for Proletarian Revolution - Marxis -Leninist)hailed the EPRP as the vanguard of the Ethiopian Revolution. ***

II. During the May Day demonstrations in West Berlin , proletarian and anti-imperialist organizations in W. Germany raised the red banner of the EPRP in support of the Ethiopian Revolution and in expression of their condemnation to the fascist regime and its supporters especially that of U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist gangster clique.



(Photo showing partial view of the rally)

Nearly 30 Marxist-Leninist organizations, anti-imperialist groups, third world liberation movements, student organizations, labour unions, etc. participated in the demonstrations and jointly passed a resolution condemning ALL INQUIRIES, COMMENTS AND/OR the fascistic attrocities of the junta and unconditionally supporting the vanguard of the Ethiopian revolution, the EPRP.

III. The African Students Union in the United Kingdom, in its annual meeting on March 5, 1977 passed a resolution supporting the revolutionary struggles of the Ethiopian peopl under the leadership of the EPRP and condemning the fascist terror. The Union is organizi a picket at the Ethiopian Embassy on July 1.