

Revisionism-Saboteur of Revolution

The People's World, an organ of the revisionist CPUSA, bore the headline "People's Victory in France and Portugal", on its May 11, 1974 issue. Throughout the revisionist press we find statements about Portugal's new "Junta of National Salvation". As the revisionists celebrate this "people's victory," it is our duty as communists to determine the real meaning of this change in governmental form.

Certainly, the old colonial regime was growing weak. But by no means does this new junta herald Portugal's "voluntary liberation" of its colonial possessions. The new form of government in Portugal signals new tactics for retaining its colonies.

Why must Portugal retain its colonies in Africa? What is the situation in these colonies that forces the change in tactics? What, exactly, is the change in tactics? What is the role of modern revisionism in this whole affair? And what is our role as communists in the USNA as regards these developments?

First of all, imperialism cannot exist without exploiting colonies and forceably retaining them. Imperialism is the export of finance capital, "Imperialism is the most barefaced exploitation and the most inhuman oppression of hundreds of millions of people inhabiting the vast colonies and dependent countries." (1) Portugal has served USNA imperialism as its watchdog and colonizer in countries, such as, Angola, where in 1973 Gulf Oil pumped out 7.5 million tons of petroleum. Exxon has received a concession covering 7300 sq. miles of Angola and J.P. Getty's Sun Oil, 3,861 sq. miles, according to the March 7, 1974 Wall Street Journal.

The USNA imperialists have \$500 million invested in the Cabora Bassa Dam Project on the Zambezi River in Mozambique. Overseen by the Portuguese and South African colonizers, the dam will have a capacity of 3,650,000 kilowatts, half of which will be supplied to South Africa. Over 100,000 Mozambique workers serve in South African gold mines each year. This "labor pool" has been called Mozambique's most valuable export. In addition, Mozambique is in a strategic location - Rhodesia's principal outlet to the Indian Ocean. And Rhodesia is a major supplier of chromium to the USNA.

Both Mozambique and Angola are located near South Africa, where the USNA imperialists own some 400 corporations. This is another reason why national liberation movements pose a serious threat to the imperialists. The Transvaal Coal Owners Association has signed

a \$45 million contract with USNA firms for the supply of two million tons of coal over the next three years. Coal, at the pithead, costs \$7.65 a ton in the USNA, but only \$1.95 a ton in South Africa, where miners barely get \$3 a day.

What is the situation in these colonies that forces the change in tactics for retaining them? In short, the sadistic, brutal troops of the old colonial regime proved helpless in stemming the turbulent forces of liberation in the African colonies.

Along with the military defeat of the Portuguese colonizers, over 2,000 workers at the Cabora Bassa Dam Project went on strike at the end of this May. The workers demanded not only higher pay, but the removal of the European managers and supervisors, most of whom were from South Africa.

The tremors of class struggle are also growing in South Africa where 4 workers were shot to death on June 9 of this year in a gold miners' rebellion. Twelve more gold miners were gunned down in another gold miners' struggle last September.

In January, South Africa's Minister of Information spent two weeks in the USNA meeting with Pentagon officials and Vice President Ford. In May, Admiral Hugo Bierman, Commandant of the South African Defense Forces, arrived in the USNA, his first stop being the Pentagon. Their mission was to consolidate tactics on crushing the liberation struggles of the peoples of Southern Africa. South Africa serves as the military bulwark in maintaining the fascist rule of the colonizers, and in butchering the freedom-loving people throughout Southern Africa. On May 28, Rhodesian Premier Ian Smith flew to South Africa to discuss with John Vorster, Prime Minister of South Africa, the future of their colonial axis.

In the Portuguese colonies, the tactics of colonial rule are changing. Faced with the reign of havoc upon the old colonial regime by the national liberation forces, the imperialists are compelled to use another form to deceive the colonized people and maintain the imperialist dictatorship. The form that the imperialists seek now to introduce into the Portuguese colonies, aaped in calls for "self-determination", is neo-colonialism. In a recent negotiations with representatives of the liberation groups have shown that the neo-colonial form will be difficult to impose on the people of the Portuguese colonies who have fought tirelessly against the torment of colonial oppression and exploitation.

Under neo-colonialism there appears to be an independent state, but in reality the state is absolutely subservient to the imperialists and the economy is controlled by the imperialists, that is "...the wolf has left by the front door, but the tiger has entered through the back door..." The colonizer leaves only to be replaced by a comprador ruler, selected and trained by the imperialists. "Under such conditions the worst butchers in the world, such as, Joseph Mobutu of Zaire, the murderer of Lumumba, and Kamitatu, emerge in the garb of national heroes and leaders in the struggle for national independence." (People's Tribune, Vol. 6 No. 5.)

"The fight against imperialism," says comrade Lenin, "is a sham and a humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism." (2)

What is the role of revisionism in the struggle for liberation of the oppressed colonies? In brief, as everywhere else, its role is to smash the international communist movement. Why were the revisionist, Alvaro Cunhal, and the social-democrat, Mario Soares, Cont. on p. 11

Attacks on Communist League

Comrades,

The events of the recent months point clearly to an increased effort by the USNA police agencies to survey, harass, and eventually disrupt the efforts of honest revolutionaries to form a Communist Party of a new type. The most obvious sign of this is the united efforts of all the Trotskyite organizations to brand the Communist League as the "number one counterrevolutionary". The Trotskyites have been aided in their efforts by every organization on the "left" including the CPUSA, who have echoed the chorus of anti-communist attacks upon the Communist League. One of the prominent members of a petty bourgeois grouping has even publicly preached violence against the Communist League membership. It is obvious that these efforts of the petty bourgeoisie and Trotskyites could only be orchestrated from one source, the State Department through agencies of the FBI and the CIA.

Further, it is obvious that these groupings, having failed to discredit Marxism-Leninism in theory or practice, will be paid to incite violence against the efforts of Marxist-Leninists. We urge the comrades to be extremely vigilant against the Trotskyites and revisionists. "To be forewarned is to be forearmed."

Africa

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brought back to Portugal and why have they united so sweetly with the new government? Because "Revisionism and social-democracy are two manifestations of the same bourgeois ideology: the first - in the communist movement, and the second - in the workers' movement. It is their common ideological basis and common political aims that bring revisionism and social democracy together, unite and integrate them into a single anti-Marxist, anti-socialist and counterrevolutionary trend." (3)

Cunhal and Soares, imperialists and scoundrels, refuse to lead the toilers with the demand for independence and the right

assembly plants and most of the other UAW plants. This paper exposed the betrayal of the auto workers by the UAW misleaders, demanded the removal of the anti-communist clause in the UAW contract, warned the workers of the rising fascism - showing the need for united action of the working class, and demanded the independence of the Negro Nation and Puerto Rico and Regional Autonomy for the Southwest.

In coordination with this general newspaper, the factory nuclei in factory newspapers linked local factory exposures with the overall struggle to unite the workers against the drive toward fascism and the UAW misleaders who are aiding that drive.

In addition, at many UAW shops, members of the factory nuclei ran as candidates for convention delegates. This campaign struggle served as a podium for polemics exposing union corruption, enlightening the class to the need for their united action against fascism, and for fighting to win vanguard elements of the working class to the cause of communism.

The success or failure of the united front against fascism depends on its having conscious leadership, a Communist Party that will take the struggle for unity not just to the organized section of the class, but to all sections of the class. We need a party that will unite the vanguard of the working class with the theories of scientific socialism. Only then will the party merge with the vanguard and, thus, become that vanguard. As Dimitroff says, "The united front of the proletariat brings to the fore an army of workers who will be able to carry out their mission if this army is headed by a leading force which will point out its aims and paths. This leading force can only be a strong proletarian, revolutionary party." (4)

1) R. Palme Dutt, Fascism and Social Revolution, p. 183.

2) Georgi Dimitroff, Selected Articles and Speeches, pp. 43-44.

3) Ibid., p. 87.

4) Ibid., p. 104.

of political secession from the Portuguese colonies. The Portuguese Communist Party, chaired by Cunhal, only "favors a nationwide discussion on the question of the colonies, 'toward the goal of immediately ending colonialism'..." (4)

Likewise, the Soviet social-imperialists have proven themselves saboteurs of the national liberation struggles in Africa, apologists for neo-colonialism and murderers of the African people.

According to the Christian Science Monitor (7/6/74)

Cunhal is acting under the direction of the Soviet social-imperialists in carrying out his reactionary policies. Was he directed to carry the struggle in Portugal forward towards socialist revolution? No! "The Portuguese party was told to stand for 'unity of all democratic forces and popular masses and for the setting up of a democratic regime'." This only lays the political base for a Portuguese neo-colonialist policy in Africa. And in the Portuguese colonies, "Moscow is dissuading the African guerilla movements...from making excessive demands." What could these "excessive demands" be, but the demand for independence?

Through the "Africa: National and Social Revolution Seminar," in 1966, the Soviet revisionists peddled the lie that "poverty, backwardness and ignorance" (not imperialism, ed.) are the three big enemies of Africa today. Several African liberation groups denounced the conference as being "calculated to control the liberation struggles of the Portuguese colonies and southern Africa in order to further Soviet collaboration with the United States for their joint domination of the world." (5)

The prescription for "independence" for the oppressed colonies, according to the Soviet revisionists is 1) "peaceful coexistence", which they say will "assist the unfolding of a process of liberation on the part of peoples fighting to free themselves from the domination of foreign monopolies" and can deliver a "crushing blow" to "the entire system of capitalist relationships." (6) The demand that the oppressed "peacefully coexist" with their oppressor is the counter-revolutionary demand for passive acceptance of colonial enslavement.

Point two is the importance of the colonies having "faith in the United Nations." On July 13, 1960 the Soviet revisionists joined with the USNA imperialists in voting for the dispatch of UN forces to the Congo, and even provided the UN forces with means of transportation. The Soviet press praised the UN to the skies for "helping the government of the Congolese Republic to defend the independence and sovereignty of the country." (Izvestia, July 21, 1960.) The Soviet revisionists

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played a key role in hurling Patrice Lumumba into an early grave, in persecuting and imprisoning the leadership of the revolutionary movement in the Congo, and in crippling and disorientating the struggle for independence throughout the colonial world.

Point three in the revisionist solution for the colonies is "disarmament". Khrushchev in his Report to the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, October, 1959, presented the "theory" that "even a tiny spark can cause a world conflagration" and that a world war would necessarily be a thermonuclear war, which would annihilate mankind. Khrushchev whines that "local wars in our time are very dangerous" and that "we will work hard... to put out the sparks that may set off the flames of wars." The Soviet revisionists have lived up to their claim of being extinguishers of the sparks of revolution, having declared revolution "dangerous", outmoded, unnecessary and something that should be abandoned. This is in essence the same garbage that Otto Bauer spewed forth in the Second International, attacking Bolshevism for being "in essence a warlike type of socialism."

The fourth point in the revisionists' prescription for the colonies is "aid" from the imperialists and social-imperialists. What is the role of imperialist "aid"? Militarily, it links the military apparatus in the oppressed country to the giver of the "aid" through the supply of armaments and advisors for the army. Politically, "aid" has been called "an insurance payment against revolutions." Economically, the drain of many times more capital from the colonies than the imperialists put into them show, as do military and political "aid", that imperialist "aid" is merely "a gift of the giver to the giver himself".

As our Chinese comrades have said, "The policy of the leadership of the CPSU on the national-colonial question is identical with the bankrupt policy of the revisionists of the Second International. The only difference is that the latter served imperialism's old colonialism, while the modern revisionists serve the imperialists' neo-colonialism." (7)

Henry Winston, chairman of the revisionist CPUSA, has the nerve to say that the "national liberation movement of South Africa" appeals to us to "bring about sanctions against South Africa. If this is done the possibilities exist for ending colonial rule in South Africa and helping this Black majority to take its rightful place as the leading force in the nation." (8) Among the six "points for guidance" that follow in Winston's "polemic" are "Congress shall tax and the Treasury shall collect taxes on all profits made in South Africa at maximum rates without deductions

Alliance

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the struggle for economic demands, such as, better wages and safety conditions. And in the Negro Nation which in 1970 was only 14% organized (2), or in other words, unorganized for the most part, and becoming more and more industrialized, strike after strike is exploding. The workers are demanding organization as the means to "get from under" the super-exploitation perpetrated upon them as colonial subjects.

for local taxes paid." "The Overseas Private Investment Corporation shall refuse to insure any new investments in South Africa and cancel all outstanding insurance on investments in the Republic of South Africa." And, "The immediate withdrawal of the sugar quota to the Republic of South Africa."

Mr. Winston, the question is not just of "black" leadership. Although the "whites" in South Africa have served as the colonizers of the "black" majority, just putting in a "black" leader does not necessarily mean an end to colonial rule - especially if that "black" leader is a puppet of USNA imperialism (like Mobutu in Zaire, Thieu in Viet Nam, etc.).

"In the last analysis, the national question in the contemporary world is one of class struggle and anti-imperialist struggle." "The question here is not whether to side with the white people or the coloured people, but whether to side with the oppressed peoples and nations or with the handful of imperialists and reactionaries." (9)

Nor is the task of the proletariat in the USNA to sing psalms to the most brutal colonial butchers in history - the USNA imperialists - begging them to bless their enslaved colonies with freedom.

Our task is the building of an independent Communist Party on the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism, hostile and uncompromising toward opportunism, demanding the independence and right of political secession of the oppressed colonies, while organizing and enlightening the workers in the USNA for the violent overthrow of the USNA state.

- 1) J.V. Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, FLPP, 1970 p. 5
- 2) V.I. Lenin, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, FLPP, 1970, p. 153
- 3) Enver Hoxha, The PLA in Battle with Modern Revisionism, Tirana, 1972 p. 185
- 4) Daily World, May 7, 1974
- 5) Afro-Asian Journalist, No. 1, 1973
- 6) Polemics on the General Line of the Communist Movement, "Apologists for Neo-Colonialism" FLPP p. 193
- 7) Ibid, p. 216
- 8) Henry Winston, Africa's Struggle for Freedom, the USA and the USSR, New Outlook Publishers, N.Y., Dec. 1972, p. 14-15
- 9) Op. Cit. p. 213