

THE COMMUNIST

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

"A communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against



all incorrect ideas and actions so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist." Mao Tsetung

VOLUME IV no. 13

WORKERS CONGRESS (MARXIST-LENINIST)

POB 1297 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60690

MAY 22, 1978

25

NEW TSARS' AMBITIONS EXPOSED IN HORN OF AFRICA

In recent months, world attention has focused on the Horn of Africa and the continued presence of Soviet and Cuban military forces there. In March, the government of Somalia withdrew its troops from the war against these forces and the Ethiopian army in the Ogaden Region of Ethiopia. The Soviets and Cubans said that they also were removing their military personnel, estimated at more than 1,000 Soviets and 12,000 Cubans. However, not only have they failed to do this, but Cuban pilots and other personnel are aiding Ethiopia in new attacks on the Eritrean liberation movement and people. Thousands of Cuban troops continue to occupy the Eritrean city of Asmara. In addition, recent statements by King Khalid of Saudi Arabia indicate stepped up activity by the hundreds of Cuban "trainers and advisors" in South Yemen, at the mouth of the Red Sea directly across from the Horn of Africa.

Many countries and peoples have condemned the continued presence of these foreign troops in the region. Their presence demonstrated to the world the determination of Soviet social-imperialism to increase its control over this strategic area. It has also highlighted the important role the third world countries of Africa play in strengthening the worldwide front against superpower hegemonism and in scuttling superpower war preparations.

It is no accident that the Horn of Africa has become the scene of social-imperialism's most aggressive meddling. Recent analyses from the bourgeois media have stressed the vital importance of this region, particularly militarily. The map reproduced on page 3 shows routes of oil to Europe, Israel, and the US that are adjacent to the Horn of Africa. Soviet bases in Ethiopia, particularly naval bases on the Red Sea coast (Eritrea), would allow easy disruption of these shipping routes. It also pointed out other potential uses for Ethiopian bases: as transfer points for air supplies for Cuban and Soviet forces elsewhere in Africa; as a threatening lever against the countries of the Saudi Arabian peninsula and other countries of the Middle East; as a base for infiltration of nearby nations such as Somalia, the Sudan, and Kenya. In addition, the Soviet Union would like to be able to control the Red Sea route from its home bases on the Black Sea to the vast Indian Ocean.

In February, Soviet Foreign Ministry official V. Sofinsky revealed that the Soviet Union has the same view of the strategic importance of the region. Clearly, domination of the Horn of Africa would not only aid the Soviet revisionist ruling clique in its drive for control of Africa and the Middle East, but also allow it to bring greater pressure to bear in Europe, already the focal point of its military build-up. Its strategic location gives it great importance in the overall maneuverings between the

CONTINUED ON P. 3

SOVIETS PUSH OFFENSIVE IN ERITREA

Today the Soviets and Cubans, through a massive intervention effort, are attempting to defeat the Eritrean people's liberation struggle. The Eritreans expected this offensive following the cessation of Ethiopia's war with Somalia that was also led by Cuban troops and fueled by a huge Soviet airlift of arms. The current large scale offensive is a last ditch effort by Ethiopia and the Soviet Union to break the hold that the Eritrean liberation forces have on 95% of the territory of Eritrea.

In the past year of armed struggle, the Eritrean people made tremendous achievements and liberated all but five towns and cities of Eritrea. The liberation forces encircled Asmara, the capital of Eritrea, and have held it under siege for over six months. Taking of Asmara by the liberation forces would probably result in the establishment of an Eritrean state.

Under these conditions with Asmara supplied only by airlift, the Ethiopian soldiers are demoralized. Desertions are numerous. In order to prepare for an offensive to try and recapture the territory surrounding Asmara, 4,000 Cuban troops and 600 Soviet technicians came as reinforcements to Asmara and 25 Soviet ships entered Eritrean territorial waters. Four ships have been shelling the port city of Massawa since early December. An additional 13,000 Cuban

troops stand ready to enter Eritrea if necessary.

The current military offensive includes massive bombing of civilian areas, destruction of economic and agricultural bases in the liberated areas, napalming wide areas surrounding Asmara, dropping cluster bombs on civilian targets and use of defoliants similar to those used by the US in Vietnam. Ahmed Nasser, leader of the Eritrean Liberation Front describes the Soviet backed action, "Relentless air raids have caused heavy property damage and enormous civilian casualties. The enemy clearly aims at panicking civilian inhabitants into fleeing their villages and towns to the mountains."

These actions are part of the Ethiopian effort to achieve a military solution to the Eritrean question. It is a similar policy to that followed by Haile Selassie under the tutelage of US imperialism. The only difference between the current policy and that of former imperialists is that the presence of Soviet and Cuban troops masks these actions under the cover of "socialism".

SOVIET HYPOCRISY SERVES HEGEMONISTIC AIMS

Prior to the defeat of Soviet social-imperialism last November, with the Somalian abrogation of its treaty with the Soviet Union, the revisionists claimed to be

the "friends" and "natural allies" of the Eritrean peoples. With the loss of their bases in Somalia, the Soviet Union looked elsewhere for bases on the Red Sea that could control the oil routes to Western Europe. Their new strategy saw Ethiopia as their main base in contention with the US for control over that strategic pathway for oil. But since without Eritrea, Ethiopia is landlocked, Soviet hopes for a base on the Red Sea depend on crushing the liberation struggle of the Eritrean people.

As a result, the Soviets and Cubans today hurl abuses and slanders at the valiant struggle of the Eritrean people. Whereas they previously supported the struggle as a just war, the revisionists changed their position to suit their imperialist designs. They now claim the struggle is one of "secessionists" (Castro) who are "agents of international imperialism and Arab reactionaries" (Pravda).

The Soviets further expose their hypocrisy by supporting a "political solution" through "negotiations". The social-imperialists say they support a negotiated solution, but mean one they supervise and direct. While the Soviets spoke of negotiations, they were airlifting thousands of Cuban troops and

CONTINUED ON P. 2

AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY

SUPPORT AFRICAN UNITY AGAINST HEGEMONISM

May 25th is African Liberation Day. In rallies and demonstrations held across the country, thousands of Afro-Americans and other progressive people will stand up in solidarity with the struggle of African people for national liberation. In view of the long standing history of US superpower interference, bullying, and aggression on the African continent, this support for African Liberation Day by the American people is particularly important.

African Liberation Day commemorates the founding of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) which came together on May 25th, 1963, behind the stated aims of promoting unity and solidarity of African states; strengthening African cooperation in the fields of politics, external affairs, economy, culture, and defense; defending African states' sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence; ending all forms of colonialism and achieving the total emancipation of all African territories; and promoting international cooperation.

AFRICAN UNITY AND LIBERATION

History has since proven that unity is a powerful weapon in the common struggle of all African countries and peoples for national liberation. Winning and safeguarding national independence, defending state sovereignty and national resources, and developing national economy and culture requires a common struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism, and hegemonism. It is these common objectives and identical interests that form the principle aspect in the relations among African countries and that lay the basis for African unity.

This united character to the struggle for African liberation is most clearly seen in the support and material aid provided by all of Africa to the armed struggle being waged by the liberation

forces in Southern Africa against the racist Smith and Vorster regimes. The OAU has also played a key role in this struggle for African unity. It has promoted and developed economic agreements and cooperation among African countries that erode the shackles of economic dependence on the imperialist powers. It has also taken the lead in settling border disputes and contradictions among African countries, which are mostly a legacy of the colonialist past, through peaceful consultation.

SUPERPOWER THREAT TO AFRICAN LIBERATION

Nevertheless, although the growth of African unity is an irreversible trend, the enemies of African liberation have not been reconciled to their defeat. In particular, the sharpening superpower contention between the United States and the Soviet Union poses the greatest threat to the African people.

While western imperialism once stood uncontested on the African continent, in the last dozen years or so the surge toward African liberation has dealt blow after blow at this old colonialist and racist rule. Donning the cloak of "socialism", however, and calling itself the "natural ally" of African liberation, the Soviet social imperialists have used this just struggle to

creep in, take advantage of the weakened West European, and particularly US, influence and begin to implement its own designs for control of the African continent.

As Lenin warned long ago, the use of a genuine anti-imperialist struggle by imperialists seeking their own ends is not a new tactic. "The struggle for national liberation against the imperialist powers may, under certain conditions, be utilized by another 'great' power for its own, equally imperialist aims." (The Socialist Revolution and The Rights of Nations to Self-Determination)

As the younger imperialist superpower, it is the Soviet Union that most aggressively seeks a re-division of the world. It has thus been more brazen in its meddling and interference on the African continent, even to the point of using thousands of mercenaries to carry out its military aims. This more aggressive nature makes it the gravest danger to African unity and liberation as its mercenary "foreign legions" must necessarily be a double-edged sword. One edge is pointed at the other superpower as it struggles for world hegemony. The other must be pointed at the growing political and economic unity of the African countries and peoples that

CONTINUED ON P. 2

REVOLUTIONARY TRAINING

The Path from Fragmentation to Party Unity (which begins on Page 4) is the second in our series of articles on Revolutionary Training. In part one, we showed that political exposures are the chief means of revolutionary training. In this article, we show that subjectivism and the tendency to be

drawn along the line of least resistance, which are obstacles to overcoming our fragmentation and lack of training, must be defeated by means of comprehensive political exposure. Our columns are open to readers for discussion and struggle on the question of revolutionary training and party building.

WAR IN ERITREA

CONTINUED FROM P. 1

sending a billion dollars of military aid to support the Ethiopian military offensive against Eritrea.

THIRD WORLD UNITY AGAINST SOVIET EFFORTS FOR HEGEMONY

The masses of Eritrean people are not intimidated by the actions of the Soviets and their forces. In spite of the new offensive, the liberation forces continue successfully to block the united efforts of Soviet, Cuban and Ethiopian forces to break out of the blockade of Asmara. In the face of Soviet aggression, the two main liberation forces, the Eritrean Liberation Front and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, have achieved a political and military merger that further strengthens their ability to resist Soviet intervention and greatly strengthens their struggle.

The Soviet and Ethiopian scheme for defeating the Eritrean struggle has nothing to do with the

interests of either the Ethiopian or Eritrean peoples. It serves Soviet social-imperialism in its fierce contention with the US over the strategic Red Sea region and the Horn of Africa. The conflict between the Eritrean and Ethiopian peoples is a remnant of imperialist colonization of Africa. As with other boundary or national conflicts, it should be settled by the people of the region. It should not serve as fuel for imperialist competition and contention. Third world peoples have nothing to gain by fighting each other, and a world to win by fighting against the hegemonist and enslaving ambitions of the Soviet and US imperialists.

In the face of current massive attacks on Eritrea, we should increase our efforts to expose the imperialist activities of the Soviets and build solidarity with the Eritrean people who are waging an heroic armed struggle against Soviet social-imperialism.

HISTORY OF ERITREA

** Eritrea is a nation located between the Sudan and Ethiopia, bordering on the Red Sea. With 600 miles of coastline on the Red Sea, it permits control of the passage from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean. through the Suez Canal. It is a country of three million people, mostly peasants, who have been engaged in armed struggle for their independence for the last 20 years.

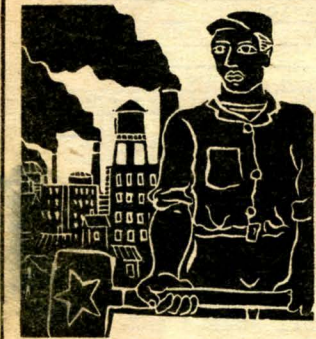
** From the end of the 19th century, Eritrea was colonized by the Italians. In 1935, Mussolini launched his campaign to conquer Ethiopia from Eritrea. In 1941, after the Italian defeat in Africa, the British reinstalled Haile Selassie on the Ethiopian throne and occupied Eritrea.

** In 1950, against the advice of an international commission of inquiry, the United Nations which was largely under the control of US imperialism, gave a mandate for the rule of Eritrea to the Ethiopian empire. In return

Haile Selassie offered the US big military bases, particularly at Massawa, the major Eritrean port.

** In 1962, Haile Selassie changed the mandate into a direct annexation, making Eritrea the 12th province of Ethiopia. Also in the early 60's, the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) was created which began armed resistance. In spite of extreme repression-- 300,000 -400,000 deaths and 500,000 Eritreans as refugees in Sudan-- the ELF continued to grow, so that today 95% of the territory has been liberated.

** In 1974, the feudal regime of Haile Selassie was overthrown by the Ethiopian people and for a time there was a definite hope for a peaceful solution to the Eritrean question. This possibility was destroyed by the intervention of the Soviet social-imperialists who have installed themselves in Ethiopia and now seek to control the destiny of the region for their own hegemonic interests.



FACTORY EXPOSURES

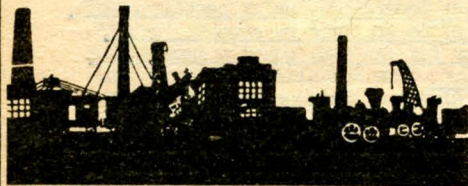
FACTORY EXPOSURES is a regular column of THE COMMUNIST. We encourage Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers to send in articles concerning trade union struggles, local grievances, health and safety issues and other forms of factory abuse.

BUREAUCRATS UNDERMINE STRUGGLE FOR HEALTH AND SAFETY

Everyday it becomes more apparent to the working class that the danger of injury, illness, or death due to unsafe or unhealthy working conditions is increasing. For this reason the opportunists in control of the trade unions are being forced by the demands of the rank and file to take up this issue.

But, they do this only to pacify the anger of the rank and file and to divert our struggle away from the capitalist system that is at the root of unnecessary job-related injury, illness, or death. A common way that they do this is to promote reliance on the bourgeois state in the form of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA). An example of this came up in a recent meeting of our local shipyard health and safety committee when an OSHA inspector was brought in to speak.

The inspector's opening statement about how great it was that the committee was "working with management and the regulatory bodies" tipped us off as to what his orientation would be. And, against his will, he could not help but expose the bankruptcy of OSHA as a bureaucratic ruse intended to divert the struggle for health and safety into endless



hearings and red tape, as he talked about how the allegations, charges, and fines he makes get challenged, postponed, and overturned in the courts. In this way he unintentionally let on what workers could expect if they confined their struggle to relying on OSHA.

All this did not seem to bother our local trade union bureaucrat who expressed his complete unity with the OSHA representative and added that we should "just face it, we work in heavy industry and it's dangerous." The local bureaucrat went on to say that "we should cooperate with the company especially on housekeeping." And, he also said that he "hesitated to shut down an area," that he "would rather call OSHA." He assured us that the OSHA man does try. This comment of his ignored the fact that this one inspector was the only one "on call" for every workplace within 150 miles!

Another statement that exposed this local official as an opportunist pretending to serve the working class was about how the working conditions in the shipyard

were the workers' fault. He said, "the workers don't care, they don't clean up, aren't safe, it's their fault also." This traitor was pushing the company's line on health and safety in our own union hall! And, it always seems to be that workers' individual responsibility for safety and tidy workplaces are the focus of OSHA's attention when they do make their infrequent inspection tours.

The bureaucrat's line that "workers don't care" is an attempt to divert our attention away from the far more serious and ever present dangers in the yard such as: welding fumes, sandblast dust, and faulty scaffolds to name a few. Dangers due to these conditions can only be dealt with by the companies, and their neglect shows that capitalism's concern for profits means utter disregard for workers' health and safety.

In our struggle for trade union leadership we have to firmly oppose the line that accidents and unhealthy conditions are the workers' fault. The drive for maximum profits and the conditions of wage slavery are the cause of unnecessary work-related injuries and deaths. And, they are also the source of the ever increasing number of debilitating diseases. As Marx said, the conditions of capitalist production are the cause of the ever increasing misery and degradation of the working class. Everyday we can see this more clearly. Unnecessary accidents are caused by obsolete machinery, too few people to keep the workplace safe (scaffold repair, ventilation workers, etc.), speed up, overtime, and workers forced to do two jobs. Even the increasing use of drugs and alcohol, often cited as the cause of accidents, must be understood as an attempt to escape the increasing misery and degradation of the working class.

But, as it is with all oppression, resistance to unsafe and unhealthy working conditions is growing. The character of the struggle for health and safety is objectively anti-imperialist in that the root of bad working conditions is capitalism.

The spontaneous movement for health and safety cries out for consciousness, it demands good leadership. Marxist-Leninists must rise to the call and take up the issue of health and safety and link it to the struggle against imperialism. We must draw the connections between this fight and the democratic struggles of oppressed nationalities and women and the struggle for socialism. Only through a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the building of socialism will we develop workplaces that reflect a genuine concern for the health and safety of the working class. --from a Correspondent

AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY

CONTINUED FROM P. 1

constitutes the chief obstacle to all imperialist domination. As an African saying goes, "When the elephants fight, the grassland suffers."

IMPERIALIST WAR PREPARATIONS

The Soviet quest for world hegemony must inevitably lead to a new world war with the US imperialists; and for both superpowers, control of the African continent holds strategic importance in their preparations for this war. Holding more than 60% of the world's known resources of strategic minerals such as chromium, cobalt, titanium, lithium, diamonds, and gold, the African continent has long been a main supplier of industrial raw minerals for Europe, particularly the industrially developed Western European countries.

In addition, geographically Africa occupies a very strategic position with respect to the European focus of superpower rivalry. For Africa commands Europe's sea lane to the South Atlantic and the Indian Ocean. Western European oil from the Middle East is mainly shipped through this lane. And, Africa is also critical to control of the European supply line from the Indian Ocean via the Red Sea.

All this is powerful reason for imperialist efforts to dominate Africa.

SUPERPOWER ATTACK ON AFRICAN UNITY

In their struggle for hegemony in Africa, both superpowers are exerting greater efforts to undermine the unity of African countries and peoples that is both the obstacle to foreign domination and the weapon of African liberation. In recent years, this attack on African unity is most clearly seen in the superpower interference and meddling that sabotaged the Angolan struggle for liberation. It was the massive infusion of superpower military "aid", foreign troops, and mercenaries that exacerbated the differences among the liberation forces, destroyed the growing unity among them, and set back the Angolan struggle for liberation.

In the more recent period, the criminal regimes propped up by US capital in Southern Africa have been working frantically to split the African solidarity and support for the armed struggle needed to smash their racist rule.

In the face of tremendous victories in the armed struggle led by the Zimbabwean Patriotic Front and the South West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO), the Smith and Vorster regimes have on the one hand put forward their phoney "internal settlement", "peaceful settlement", and "constitutional Conference" proposals, and on the other

hand increased their suppression of the Zimbabwean and Namibian peoples. All these proposals attempt to split African unity by excluding the revolutionary forces that have led the armed struggle and have a common purpose of trying to disintegrate and sabotage the struggle for independence and liberation and preserving the vested interests of the racist regimes. These desperate efforts to destroy African unity and block African liberation cannot be separated from the protection and support provided by US capital for the racist governments.

For its part, the Soviet Union continues its use of mercenaries and military "aid" for fanning differences between African countries in Central Africa and the Horn of Africa. The interference and meddling by these mercenary forces has undermined the peaceful solution of differences through consultation and mediation. Instead, Soviet interference has promoted armed conflict.



AFRICA WILL WIN

Despite the superpower machinations aimed at sowing discord and splitting African countries and peoples, the decisive factor is still African unity. Attempts by one superpower to preserve the "old colonialism" and by the other superpower to impose a "new colonialism" will be defeated by the growing political and economic unity of African countries and peoples which is Africa's powerful weapon in the fight for liberation.

Working and oppressed people from an imperialist superpower have a special responsibility to exert every possible effort to support and push forward the struggle for African liberation. And, we can give our support knowing that African liberation will provide a powerful impetus for our own revolutionary struggle. The forward motion toward political and economic independence in Africa, because it weakens the very foundation of imperialism, the oppression of nations, is a component part of the international proletarian movement for socialism.



The plan of the Workers Congress (Marxist-Leninist) is to fight for a newspaper modeled on Lenin's ISKRA as the main link in the fight to prepare the conditions for a new Communist party. While we discuss questions from our own definite point of view, our columns are open to all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary workers for topical exposures, polemics and reports on their work.

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HORN OF AFRICA

CONTINUED FROM P. 1

two superpowers, and in preparations for inter-imperialist war.

HISTORY OF SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN THE HORN OF AFRICA

Soviet social-imperialism first began to interfere in the Horn of Africa in the 1960's. At the time, all of Africa was in the process of shaking itself loose from Western colonialism and neo-colonialism. The social-imperialists, entering behind a banner of "proletarian internationalism" and promising aid for the just struggle against Western imperialism, were successful in making a significant penetration into Africa. But the zebra couldn't hide its stripes for long. With the consolidation of revisionism in the Soviet Party and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, it had become a social-imperialist power, and its actions betrayed it as such. Gradually the African countries began to see that this "natural ally of national liberation struggles" had no more respect for the sovereignty of nations or the well-being of their people than the old-line colonialists and imperialists.

Egypt had received Soviet "aid" since the mid-1950's, and relied on Russian weaponry in its just defense against the expansionism of the Israeli government. But Soviet aid carried with it superpower controls. The 20,000 "military advisors" and "experts" used any method to infiltrate and manipulate the Egyptian government and military. The burden on Egypt, both monetarily and politically, became a form of extortion. The climax came during the October War when the Breshnev clique colluded with the US to try to coerce Egypt into abandoning its victories in regaining its lost territories. As President Sadat commented, "The way the Soviets deal with others cannot be accepted by human dignity". In 1972, Egypt expelled the Soviet experts; and in 1976 it abrogated its 1971 "friendship and cooperation treaty" with social-imperialism. Soviet consulates and cultural centers were ordered closed in 1977, along with Egypt's announcement that it intended not to repay its military debts to the Soviet Union in the next decade.

Somalia also signed a "treaty of friendship" with the Soviet Union in 1974. Under cover of this treaty and agreements for "military assistance", the social-imperialists built all kinds of naval facilities and other military stations near the Indian Ocean coast. But in using these facilities, Soviet ships began to violate the sovereignty of Somalia by sailing in and out of its ports at will. Airfields and other facilities were similarly exploited to coordinate the superpower's activities over the whole of the Indian Ocean, Persian Gulf and Red Sea. In contrast to this military build-up, civil projects vital to the people's livelihood, such as water conservation projects, were held up. As in Egypt, the government was infiltrated and the people and country treated as a satellite of Russia. Finally, the new Soviet tsars tried all manner of coercion to force Somalia to join a pro-Soviet "confederation" of four states in the vicinity of the Horn of Africa. This was adamantly rejected by Somalia, and in November of last year the Somali government also abrogated its treaty of "friendship" and ordered all Soviet military installations and civilian and military experts out of the country. It also demanded a reduction of Soviet diplomats and embassy staff as protection against espionage. Said President Siad Barre, "If a country wants to maintain its sovereignty and enjoy freedom to exercise its rights, the Soviet Union can't be taken as a friend."

The Sudan was another country which refused to participate in the Soviet proposed "confederation". In 1976, it had smashed an attempted coup by conspirators trained with Soviet weapons. In 1977, it decided to terminate the contracts of Soviet military experts working in the Sudan, and subsequently ordered 40 embassy staff members to leave Khartoum. The Soviet cultural center was closed. Said President Nimeri, "We in the Sudan have learnt lessons in dealing with the Soviet Union. The Sudanese people have torn off the Soviet mask."

INTERVENTION IN ETHIOPIA

After expulsion from Somalia, the Soviet social-imperialists turned their aim to Ethiopia. Ignoring that it had previously supplied Somalia with weapons to use against Ethiopia, social-imperialism embraced the Ethiopian government as its "natural ally".

Then began a massive flow of Soviet arms and men into Ethiopia, along with Soviet financed Cuban mercenaries. There were huge shipments of equipment and personnel by air and sea, with Soviet ships clogging the seaport of Assab and Soviet planes, the Addis Ababa airport. Within a few months, the number of "advisors" and mercenaries grew to the thousands.

This influx of weapons and troops purposely fanned the flames of war in the region, and in particular led to a great step-up in the hostilities between Ethiopia and the Somali-backed Western Somali Liberation Front (founded in 1963 in the Ogaden Region to fight for national self-determination and independence). US sources claim that by March of this year, there were 50 MIG fighter bombers, 400 modern tanks, and an arsenal to supply 50,000 Ethiopian and 11,000 Cuban troops poised at the edge of the Ogaden. Propelled by this "aid" and commanded by Soviet officers, an Ethiopian offensive reversed previous gains of the liberation front and by mid-March had recaptured the Ogaden Region.

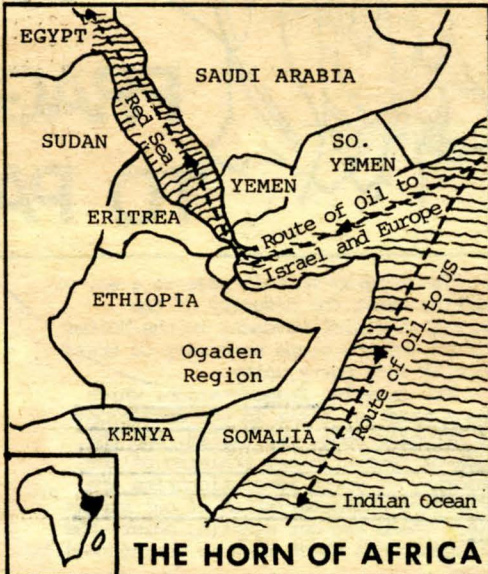
Since the cessation of fighting, the foreign troops have remained. Many African countries (including Egypt, the Sudan, Somalia, Guinea, Nigeria and Zaire) have condemned social-imperialism's brash interference in the internal affairs of African states. Other third world countries, and second world countries such as France, Britain and West Germany, have joined in the condemnation.

As the People's Republic of China has pointed out, "the Ogaden dispute between Ethiopia and Somalia is an issue left over from the last century by the colonialists of the West". That the dispute wasn't settled by peaceful negotiations and that the war grew to an intense level was clearly the result of social-imperialist intervention in the region. The Soviet Union made use of the historical contradictions in the area to introduce its military paraphernalia and personnel on a grand scale, attempting to regain its lost hegemony in the area. Also, as Sudan's President Nimeri observed, "...the Soviet Union wants to teach the Somalis a lesson and make them an example to other African states for expelling Soviet military experts."

OPPOSE ALL SUPERPOWER INTERVENTION IN AFRICA

During the recent conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia, the US said it supported the just demands of the African people for an end to "all military interven-

tion in Africa" and the removal of "extracontinental forces". This support of "liberty and independence" is sheer hypocrisy coming from the superpower that is still the major bulwark of the racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia--where it safeguards its vested economic interests.



At the same time, the Soviet Union continues to pose the greatest danger of war in Africa as in the rest of the world. It hides behind the disguise of its socialist past as it pursues its aggressive aims of worldwide hegemony. As a young imperialist power, it lacks the economic strength to dominate the world and must rely on military strength. But even when Soviet or Cuban forces are not directly involved, the social-imperialists meddle in the internal affairs of African countries, fomenting disturbances and open warfare in contradictions that might have been settled by other means.

Ethiopia is a clear and specific example that the presence of Soviets and their mercenaries is against the interests of the people of the third world. The social-imperialist interference has served to worsen the conditions of the laboring masses and oppressed nationalities in Ethiopia. Among the working and other classes of Ethiopia are many who fought long and bravely against European and US colonialism and imperialism. It is only a matter of time before Ethiopia, as its neighbors, comes to realize that, in "guarding against the wolf at the front door", it has truly "let the tiger in by the back". The resistance of the oppressed masses in the Horn of Africa in common struggle against social-imperialism's drive for hegemony is a concrete example of how the third world is the main force in the struggle against the two superpowers.

DOES THE SOVIET UNION DESERVE ITS SUPERPOWER LABEL?

In Ugly Features of Social-Imperialism, published by China, commentators expose how the Soviet Union has earned its label of imperialist superpower. Despite its false words, its actions betray its strivings for world hegemony and its rank, along with US imperialism, as one of the two chief enemies of the people of the world. Its interference in the Horn of Africa is a prime example of how its actions parallel those of the other superpower:

"**It feverishly expands nuclear armaments and conventional arms to serve as its backing by strength' in committing aggression and expansion abroad and scrambling for world domination". Clearly in the Horn of Africa and throughout the African continent, the Soviets are relying on military might and hardware to win a foothold and gain hegemony. That it is governed by no more principle than the old line imperialists is demonstrated in the use of Soviet weapons by both sides in the Ethiopia-Somalia conflict.

The Soviet revisionists "bank heavily on the doctrine of sea power", believing that whoever controls the seas dominates the world. They have inherited and developed the gunboat policy of old-time imperialism". The Soviet concentration on the Horn, with its strategic relation to sea routes and major bodies of water (in particular the Indian Ocean), is obviously related to this doctrine. It has consistently ignored the express desire of third world countries in the region involved "to have the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean be a zone of peace" and has instead, along with the US navy, maintained them as a "zone of conflict".

"**The new tsars attempt to exercise military control over other countries and carry out military expansion against them "by rigging up military blocs, establishing military bases and stationing troops on the soil of other countries". The well-established Soviet economic and military presence in Cuba allows it to exercise control over this country and use this stranglehold to force the Cuban army to fight its battles, using these troops to intimidate the people of Africa and other regions.

"**When the Soviet revisionists' attempts at expansion into other countries

by deception fail, they will try conspiracy against them, even plotting to subvert their government". When Egypt, Somalia and the Sudan expelled Soviet forces they gave Soviet espionage and conspiracy as one of the reasons.

"**Social-imperialism has no respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of others. The Breshnev clique invented the theory of "limited sovereignty", according to which "the sovereignty of other countries is 'limited' while Soviet revisionism's right to manipulate is 'unlimited'". This is demonstrated by Soviet interference in and attempted control of the internal affairs of Somalia, Egypt, the Sudan, Ethiopia, and its attempted formation of a tailor-made "confederation". Another blatant example of this was a giant un-announced airlift exercise the Soviets staged during preparations for the war in Ethiopia. Begun in November of last year, it involved 225 transport aircraft, dispatched simultaneously along seven routes to Addis Ababa, Aden and Maputo. Also involving Soviet naval units, spy satellites, and other military facilities, it was a threatening exercise of social-imperialism's ability to intervene promptly and massively in the Middle East and Africa. During this exercise it violated international law and the sovereignty of many states in Europe, the Middle East and Africa by flying through countries' airspace without permission or under false pretenses.

This blatant disregard of the rights of countries has led many African states to fear further Soviet penetration. Its aggressive position in the Horn of Africa supports the contention that the Soviet strategic goal is to grab the whole of Africa and threaten Western Europe by cutting the African continent right in the middle (from Angola to the Red Sea), facilitating its southward expansion and isolating and encircling the independent African countries. A Zairian official stated that the goal of the Soviets in the first invasion of Zaire was to "impose their domination on other parts of Africa starting from Zaire whose exceptional geographical position can serve as a springboard for their attempt to recolonize the continent from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean".

REVOLUTIONARY TRAINING

CONTINUED FROM P. 4

unsystematic or superficial or with orders given on the basis of scanty knowledge or a smattering of facts. Also an exposure which is topical is incompatible with a style of work and study which ignores current conditions and the concrete problems of the US revolution. Finally, an exposure which formulates policy and guides practice unites rather than separates theory and practice. In fact, political exposure promotes the unity of theory and practice in two ways: (1) by summing up practice and submitting it to the test of theory, and (2) by formulating policy and submitting that to the test of practice.

Practically, through training by means of political exposures, Marxist-Leninist individuals, local collectives and larger circles combat subjectivism and break down the fragmentation of our movement by submitting their views, their grasp of the science, their gathering and analysis of facts to the test of the national movement. In the same way, their exposures combat subjectivism and contribute to breaking down our fragmentation when the lessons gained by local activity are not allowed to become an end in themselves but are generalized and summed up to meet the needs of a nationwide revolutionary movement. Finally, they combat subjective tendencies and break down fragmentation when it is the generalized knowledge and experience of the movement as a whole which guides their political activity, rather than conclusions based solely on their own limited experience.

The general lesson of REFORM OUR STUDY is that party building depends on reforming the method and system of study of cadres throughout the party in order to overcome subjectivism and apply Marxism-Leninism. "Only when subjectivism is overthrown," Mao writes, "can

the truth of Marxism-Leninism prevail, can the Party spirit be strengthened, can the revolution be victorious."

If this applied to the powerful Chinese party which at that time already had a rich 20 year history, so much the more so does it apply to our own movement which has suffered without a vanguard party for more than 20 years. Reforming the method and system of our study is a condition for party building.

Since they are a vehicle for applying the scientific method of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete problems of US revolution, political exposures are an essential tool for reforming the method and system of our study. They are a means to take up the study of current conditions, to take up the application of history to current conditions, to take up the application of international revolutionary experience to US conditions and to take up the application generally of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism to the needs of the US revolution.

The vehicle for political exposure to reform the method and system of study must be a nationwide newspaper of the ISKRA type. For one thing, we need a tool which can reach every comrade and every collective in the movement as well as established organizations, so work reports, party schools and other forms of internal organizational study won't do. We need a tool that can establish ideological authority throughout the movement, lay a line for broadening the scope of our political agitation and establish mutual connections among Marxist-Leninists. The best vehicle at our disposal to accomplish these tasks is still a nationwide newspaper devoted to comprehensive political exposure.

THE PATH FROM FRAGMENTATION TO PARTY UNITY

The diagram on this page is a way of talking about the disunity of the Marxist-Leninist movement in the United States and the steps necessary to transform it into party unity.

For example, fragmentation, which has a material basis in the conditions of struggle under capitalism, and the lack of revolutionary training of the majority of young revolutionaries are objective characteristics of our struggle. These are our starting point--the circumstances which must be transformed.

AMATEURISHNESS

Amateurishness, on the other hand, is something more than lack of revolutionary training. In the same way, the small circle spirit connected with it is more than fragmentation. In both cases we deal with opportunist tendencies which hold back our struggle. Amateurishness, Lenin writes:

"denotes a narrow scope of revolutionary work generally, failure to understand that a good organization of revolutionaries cannot be built up on the basis of such narrow activity, and lastly--and most important--it denotes attempts to justify this narrowness and to elevate it to a special 'theory', i.e., bowing in worship to spontaneity on this question too." (WHAT IS TO BE DONE? Peking Edition, p. 128)

Lenin goes on to add that a young revolutionary movement can never eliminate narrowness associated with amateurishness without eliminating narrowness overall in the conception of Marxist theory as well as of the communist movement and its tasks.

Today, modern revisionism is the most consolidated form of narrowness in relation to the views and tasks of communists. Obviously, we can never defeat amateurish tendencies in our midst without defeating the influence of this form of opportunism which comes from outside our ranks. But even within the Marxist-Leninist movement there are narrow economist tendencies which feed on the conditions of fragmentation and inexperience, promoting ideological confusion, political narrowness and organizational amateurishness. Where Marxism-Leninism calls on us to transform our consciousness and activity through revolutionary training, amateurish and economist trends call on us to accept the narrow framework of circle activity. Where Marxism-Leninism calls on us to transform conditions of fragmentation and disunity, amateurish and economist trends call on us to perpetuate circle forms of organization that stand as a barrier to party unity.

It is also true that we shall never succeed in forging a new vanguard party according to the revolutionary theory and revolutionary style of Marxism-Leninism, nor in fact effectively battle modern revisionism, unless we purge our ranks of these opportunist tendencies.

THE INFLUENCE OF SUBJECTIVISM

In order to fight opportunist tendencies in our midst we want to know their source. To deepen our grasp of this question we can turn to a party building campaign very different from the campaign of Lenin set out in WHAT IS TO BE DONE?. In 1941, Mao Tsetung made a report to a cadres' meeting in Yen-an. In that report he identified shortcomings which hindered the struggle for unity in the Chinese Communist Party and which stood as an obstacle to its ability to provide vanguard leadership for the Chinese revolution. The report, REFORM OUR STUDY, carries general lessons applicable to the task of reconstructing a Marxist-Leninist party. They are particularly important for our own movement.

Mao pointed out that neglect of the study of current conditions, of history, of international revolutionary experience and of the application of the truths of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete tasks of revolution stems from a subjective style of work. He writes:

"First, take the study of current conditions. We have achieved some success in our study of present domestic and international conditions, but for such a large political party as ours, the material we have collected is fragmentary and our research work unsystematic on each and every aspect of these subjects, whether it be the political, military, economic or cultural aspect.

Generally speaking, in the last twenty years we have not done systematic and thorough work in collecting and studying material on these aspects, and we are lacking in a climate of investigation and study of objective reality. To behave like "a blindfolded man catching sparrows", or "a blind man groping for fish", to be crude and careless, to indulge in verbiage, to rest content with a smattering of knowledge--such is the extremely bad style of work that still exists among many comrades in our Party, a style utterly opposed to the fundamental spirit of Marxism-Leninism. Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin have taught us that it is necessary to study conditions conscientiously and to proceed from objective reality and not from subjective wishes; but many of our comrades act in direct violation of this truth."

Can we identify similar shortcomings in our movement?

Certainly we can. For every shortcoming Mao identifies we have examples 100 times over. The collection of data on domestic and international conditions is restricted, and fragmentary and unsystematic; study is often crude and careless; and comrades and organizations do indulge in verbiage or formulate policy on only a smattering of knowledge. Similarly, other examples Mao gives in his report also characterize our movement. Inexperience leaves many comrades "in a fog about US history" and there is also a neglect of international revolutionary experience.

The connection between the shortcomings analyzed by Mao and the shortcomings of the US Marxist-Leninist movement concern the inexperience of the majority of revolutionaries and our lack of mutual connections. Because of the revisionist betrayal of the CPUSA, young revolutionaries come forward without training or ties with other Marxist-Leninists. Inevitably, the grasp of Marxism-Leninism in this situation is somewhat superficial and the experience in the application of it to the concrete conditions of US revolution is meager.

In this situation, comrades can be led astray by a partial and one-sided style of work that exaggerates their own experience:

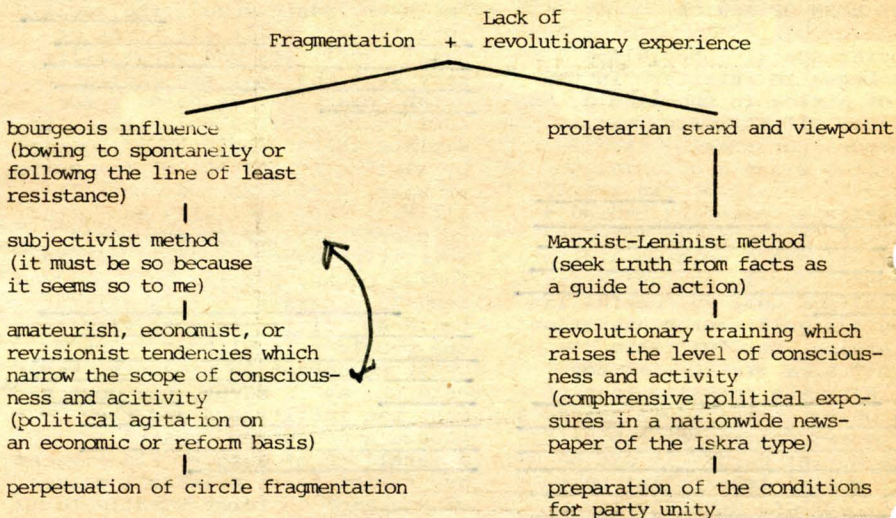
"Unwilling to carry on systematic and thorough investigation and study of the specific conditions inside and outside the country, the province, county or district, they issue orders on no other basis than their scanty knowledge and 'It must be so because it seems so to me'." (REFORM OUR STUDY)



That is, in our conditions, subjectivism is a style of work that bows to the shortcomings of a young revolutionary movement. The results of these shortcomings are not original. Some comrades are proud of knowing nothing or very little of current conditions, international revolutionary experience or their own history. Others are chauvinist in their application of a "smattering of knowledge" and think that Marxism-Leninism applies everywhere else, but that US capitalism can only be understood on the basis of their "creative" theory. Some insist on practice without theory and think they'll make a revolution if they shout loud. Others insist on theory without practice (and narrow theory at that) and think they can guide revolution without studying objective conditions and appropriating material in detail. When science counts for nothing and personal feelings measure revolutionary credentials, then "it must be so because it seems so to me" tests policy.

The willingness to declare one's circle a "party" without having prepared the conditions or welded the unity of the vanguard of the class is the worst

Comrades who lack revolutionary experience and a movement that is disunited provide the arena for the struggle of two class tendencies--one reflecting the influence of the bourgeoisie; the other showing a proletarian class stand. Which prevails will determine whether or not inexperience will be overcome by revolutionary training and whether or not fragmentation and disunity will be transformed into party unity.



The path from fragmentation to party unity requires that we repudiate the tendency to take the line of least resistance or to bow to spontaneity in our work. Instead of a subjective style and method, we must apply the scientific attitude and method of Marxism-Leninism which seeks truth from facts as a guide to action. The tool for this is political exposures which apply in practice a materialist analysis and materialist estimate of all aspects of social life and activity. The alternative is the consolidation of subjectivism in an opportunist tendency to amateurishness, economism and revisionism. Political exposures as the chief means of revolutionary training are a weapon to purge our ranks of subjectivism and of the opportunist tendency to narrow the scope of our tasks. Those forces who do not take up this struggle cannot prepare the conditions for party unity.

The best vehicle in our movement today for this task is a nationwide newspaper devoted to comprehensive political exposure.

example reflected in our movement of this partial or one-sided view. SEEK TRUTH FROM FACTS

SUBJECTIVISM AND FOLLOWING THE LINE OF LEAST RESISTANCE

Fragmentation and lack of revolutionary experience provide the fertile ground for the growth of subjectivism, but they do not inevitably mean that comrades must develop a partial and one-sided style.

Then what is it that waters this soil, so that it is subjectivism that flourishes rather than Marxism-Leninism? The answer, as the diagram suggests, is the tendency to seek the line of least resistance or to bow to spontaneity in our work.

If the conditions of a revolutionary's work are narrow and restricted, then the easier path is to formulate policy on the basis of the restricted framework that exists, rather than to act in terms of the broad and militant goals of communist work. Nationwide policy is announced on the basis of what seems to be true in this or that city or region where local work is carried on. If the grasp of Marxism is spotty, then the easier path is to use a smattering of knowledge to formulate policy and to issue orders. If ties with the masses are weak, then the easier path is to narrow the scope of work and forget about uniting all who can be united. Or if there is an effort to develop ties, it is easier to develop them by narrowing our political tasks to what is immediately acceptable. Integration with the masses then takes place not on the basis of bringing Marxism-Leninism from the outside, but on the basis of what is generated by the movement itself.

Most important, within the Marxist-Leninist movement, if there are no ties with other Marxist-Leninists, it is easier to ignore other groups or to label them opportunist. That is, a subjective style of study means subjectivism in organizational relations, or sectarianism, which reinforces the conditions of fragmentation and disunity. It also accounts for splits in young Marxist-Leninist organizations. Other groups maintain cohesion because unprincipled peace is easier than principled struggle. In any event, the easier path is to place the part above the whole, whether it is placing the individual above the organization, or the interests of a local collective above the national movement, or the interests of any Marxist-Leninist organization, including those who call themselves parties, above the demands of the movement as a whole.

In sum, it is the opportunist tendency to bow to spontaneity which transforms fragmentation and inexperience into subjectivism in learning and subjectivism in organizational relations.

In turn, as a subjective style of learning and of organizational relations becomes consolidated, it gives rise to opportunist trends of amateurishness and economism. Our party building efforts, therefore, must include the struggle to purge our ranks of every such tendency.

That is why Lenin's WHAT IS TO BE DONE?, which attacks the tendency to bow to spontaneity, is the ideological foundation of any genuine revolutionary party, and the foundation of every party building effort.

The lesson of REFORM OUR STUDY is that we fight subjectivism by applying a Marxist-Leninist attitude to the study of the concrete problems of the revolution. Mao continues:

"To take such an attitude is to seek truth from facts. 'Facts' are all things that exist objectively, 'truth' means their internal relations, that is, the laws governing them, and 'to seek' means to study. We should proceed from the actual conditions inside and outside the country, the province, county or district, and derive from them, as our guide to action, laws which are inherent in them and not imaginary, that is, we should find the internal relations of events occurring around us. And in order to do that we must rely not on subjective imagination, not on momentary enthusiasm, not on lifeless books, but on facts that exist objectively; we must appropriate the material in detail and, guided by the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, draw correct conclusions from it."

POLITICAL EXPOSURES ARE A MEANS TO SEEK TRUTH FROM FACTS

What Mao calls for above is no different than Lenin's call to make political exposures the chief means of revolutionary training. Mao calls for reforming the method and system of study within the party on the basis of applying the Marxist-Leninist attitude of seeking truth from facts as a guide to action and asks that we find the internal relations of events occurring around us. Lenin calls on class conscious revolutionaries to learn

"to apply in practice the materialist analysis and the materialist estimate of all aspects of the life and activity of all classes, strata and groups of the population" and adds that the worker must have a "clear picture" of "what is going on around us" (WITBD?, p. 86-87).

We can conclude that leninist political exposures are a weapon to reform our method and system of study and to overcome subjectivism. An exposure which evaluates events from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, which applies in practice the method of dialectical and historical materialism, which is comprehensive in its gathering of facts, topical in its focus and which lays the foundation for political agitation, leaves little room for subjectivism or bowing to spontaneity.

For example, an exposure which evaluates events from a Marxist-Leninist point of view is incompatible with a view which narrows the tasks of revolutionaries. Similarly, an exposure which applies a materialist analysis and materialist estimate of events is incompatible with policy formulated on the basis of personal feelings, subjective imaginings or without regard to objective conditions. An exposure which is comprehensive must investigate facts thoroughly and systematically and is incompatible with investigation which is

This is our guide to developing exposures.