

LSM NEWS

Liberation Support Movement
Information Center

Volume 2, Issue 1
Spring 1975



INSIDE: • Why We Support PFLO, • PORTUGAL'S REVOLUTION,
• ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION, • Interview with ZANU,
• Types of Proletariat...

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ISSN 0315-1840

LSM News

Quarterly Organ of the
Liberation Support Movement

It's purpose is to let people know about LSM -- our practice, politics, questions and contradictions -- in the struggle for international socialism.

1975 Issues will include:

- reports from Portugal, Guinea-Bissau, Namibia and Mozambique
- interviews with liberation movement leaders
- analyses of material conditions and revolutionary potential in North America
- discussion of LSM's Audio-Visual Tours on Revolution in Africa
- our relations with liberation movements and
- the dangers of neo-colonialism, national chauvinism, racism and social imperialism.

PLM News

Quarterly News of the
PLM Society

Standard Subscriptions.....\$2.00
Libraries and Institutions.....\$3.00
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(Write for Bulk Orders)

...Actions



Chantal Sarrazin and Ole Gjerstad at Vancouver International Airport prior to their departure for Europe and Guinea Bissau. February 1975.

INFORMATION CENTER CADRE NOW IN GUINEA-BISSAU

After numerous and fruitful contacts and discussions in London, Denmark, Paris and Lisbon, Chantal Sarrazin and Ole Gjerstad arrived in Bissau on 14 March. They are anxious to start their mission, which includes the taping of life histories and interviews with PAIGC guerrillas and cadre, taking photos and slides reflecting developments in revolutionary Guinea-Bissau, and recording music of the people and revolution. Analysis of events in Guinea-Bissau will appear in the next *LSM News*, and after that it's on to Angola, Mozambique and, hopefully, Namibia.

In Copenhagen, discussions were held with KAK (Communist Working Circle) and we hope the result will be a broadening of collaboration between our two organizations, which began in 1972. Ole and Chantal also had very good meetings with Mme. Minh (pronounced Binh) of the PRG, Thongsay Bodhisane of the Union of Laotian Students in France, and Khuon Davith of GRUNC, the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia. Discussed with all of the above were LSM's interest in doing more political and material support work in relation to the liberation movements in South East Asia and our desire to send cadre there to record life histories, in-depth interviews and music and do photographic work. Next year, or possibly even sooner, should see the expansion of LSM work into the Arab Gulf and Indochina and the establishment of genuine relations of international solidarity with the liberation movements and revolutionary forces on these important fronts of the anti-imperialist struggle.

LSM Group formed in Vancouver

Given the interest generated by our film series, "World in Revolution," we were able to form an LSM Vancouver Group in late December. Beginning with 10 or 12 members, we hope to develop a framework for effective anti-imperialist practice in Vancouver and attract other politically interested people in the process. The Group now meets every Sunday night to discuss various readings, relating the content to our own lives, experience and political objectives. It is also putting on political programs, with films, filmstrips and speakers, at local university and college campuses and in the community. Recent programs have dealt with the Palestinian struggle, the liberation movements in Eritrea and Namibia, and the growing movement for self-determination by Native Peoples in Canada. Our objectives here are to increase popular understanding of these struggles and raise concrete support for them.

The Vancouver Group is now developing an anti-corporate campaign against one of Canada's largest multinationals, Bata Shoes Corporation. Bata produces a range of products, from combat boots to missile launchers, and is illegally operating in Zimbabwe according to both Canadian law and UN sanctions. A variety of tactics are planned in order to expose the "Southern Africa Connection" of Bata and the complicity of the Canadian government, as well as to mobilize political and material support for the liberation movements struggling against both white racist rule and imperialist control.

In March the Information Center was visited by Mtshana Ncube of the Afro-Asian Latin American People's Solidarity Committee in Montreal. Mtshana is a ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union) member studying in Quebec. While here, Mtshana had a series of discussions with Information Center members, the Vancouver LSM Group, the Native Study Group and the Southern Africa Action Coalition. We discussed the politics, practice and structure of both LSM and AALAPSC and the developing situation in Zimbabwe. At an evening meeting with about 30 friends and members of LSM, Mtshana reported on and analysed recent information and communiques he had received from ZAPU. The principal theme of his talk was the unceasing attempts of the Smith regime and western bourgeois media to portray a split between ZANU and ZAPU at a time when their unity is stronger than ever before.

We invite all those who are interested in learning more about the LSM Vancouver Group to phone us at 273-3225.

Bay Area Unit Steps Up Support for the PFLO, FRELIMO & SWAPO

In January, LSM's BAU air-freighted some \$800 worth of antibiotics and vitamins to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO). Now being prepared for shipment in April are larger quantities of medicines and medical equipment, including stretchers, scrub brushes, sutures and syringes.

In March, half-a-ton of concentrated food was sent to FRELIMO in Mozambique. In addition, 20 cubic feet of antibiotics, vitamins and various medications (e.g., gastro-intestinal, coronary, respiratory, analgesic and emergency) were sent via Beira to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

These shipments were made possible because of the contributions and assistance of progressive clinics, doctors and pharmacists in the Bay Area. The concentrated foods were purchased from funds raised by the Research Group for the Liberation of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau, located in Riverside, CA.

Local film-and-speaker programs are now being carried out in the Bay Area in an effort to mobilize more support for the liberation movements of southern Africa and the Middle East. We are also trying to form a discussion/action group in the Bay Area. Those interested should phone (415) 532-5490.

LSM's West Coast Tour

For two months, from January to March, an LSM tour team travelled from Vancouver to San Diego showing films and speaking about anti-imperialism and liberation struggles in southern Africa. The films "Last Grave at Dimbaza" (South Africa) and "A Luta Continua" (Mozambique) were featured, complimented by talks updating developments and contradictions in the liberation struggles, exposing U.S. complicity, and the duty of North American radicals and progressives to support genuine national liberation struggles. Supporters donated a total of \$400 towards building a cadre training school for the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

Our three-person team, composed of Lori Barnett from the Information Center and Larry Wright and Beth Youhn of the Bay Area Unit gave 30 presentations - 13 in the communities and 17 at universities - reaching approximately 1,200 persons. Between 75 and 100 people expressed interest in becoming involved in certain forms of anti-corporate activities and material support work.

On the East Coast

LSM's East Coast Unit has now relocated in Brooklyn and is getting reorganized. Film/speaker programs were held at Brown and Southern Massachusetts Universities (30 January, 14 February) and a shipment of 584 medical field dressing kits were prepared for SWAPO. The Syracuse Committee on Southern African Liberation (COSAL) has contributed \$100 toward shipping expenses and another \$300 has been promised by the Department of East African Studies at Syracuse. Being prepared for shipment now is a large quantity of medical equipment. This will be sent to the PFLO as soon as necessary funds can be raised.

The three-month goals of the ECU include (1) making LSM politics more visible and viable in the New York area, (2) greatly increasing literature distribution to individuals and bookstores, and (3) developing solid political cadre within the unit. Those interested in learning more about the ECU should call (212) 772-1758.

LSM sends 1400 Publications to Native Study Group

Liberation Support Movement has had fruitful collaboration for several years with comrades in the struggles of the native peoples of Canada. Not only have we found ourselves in close agreement on a wide range of questions, and on our overall internationalist position, but we have also worked together on a variety of concrete activities.

In February of 1975 the Information Center donated one hundred each of fourteen LSM publications to the Native Study Group for distribution among native people and for use in literacy classes. They particularly wanted our life histories as they have proved useful in teaching reading while also having a political content. The publications include eight interviews with leaders of African liberation movements, two life histories from the African revolution and five other theoretical pamphlets.

The Information Center has been preparing the life history of a member of the Native Study Group as well. Volume One of *Bobbi Lee: Indian Rebel* is nearing completion as it goes to press.

Three Days In Portugal's Revolution

A View from Lisbon



by Ole Gjerstad & Chantal Sarrazin

Sunday, March 9

"Espana, my love; this year big revolution. Franco finished." The Spanish train attendant points back into the rising morning sun as he leaves us at the Portuguese border. Though the car is almost full, he doesn't bother to hide his views. Events in Portugal over the last ten months must have given the Spanish no small dose of encouragement.

In the small border village, however, the impact of April 25 is not overwhelming on the surface. Some red political graffiti on a wall is already fading; a Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) poster has had its hammer, sickle and star symbol torn off. But the young customs official rummaging through our suitcases just lets us pass right through when he finds a stack of LSM literature. With a smile he wishes us luck in reporting on the "important events in my country."

Lisbon is different, almost overwhelming at first. An explosion of posters and graffiti onevery wall to announce mass meetings - *comicios* - or advance this or that slogan. Red flags and banners decorate the front of many buildings along the docks and up the steep hillside. Downtown the newsies have spread out the best-selling editions of Che, Lenin and the MFA on the sidewalk next to the Lisbon dailies and stacks of American and European sex magazines, which also have profitted greatly from the lifting of the censure. Everyday, new Portuguese paperback editions of Marx and Engels, Gramsci, Luxemburg Reich, Sweezy, etc. appear in the bookstores. Portuguese publishers have been working day and night since April; some to serve the real need among the politically and culturally starved population, others mainly to make an easy buck. Brecht is featured at two of Lisbon's theaters and a series of Cuban films and Eisenstein's "Battleship Potemkin" have been smash hits with cinema audiences. The latter was even shown at the armed forces film nights.

At the central Rossio square 3,000 people gather for the first International Women's Day march and rally ever to be held in Portugal, while up at the other end of the wide, palm-tree-lined Avenida da Liberdade, about a mile away, a thousand delegates and at least that many observers gather in the old sports pavillion for the founding meeting of the UJC, the PCP's youth league. The eight-hour affair features young speakers from all over the country, expressing a much wider divergence of opinion than can be found within any other European or North American Communist Party. Flagwaving, endless "viva's" and unison shouts of "PCP-UJC" follows each one. Far less interesting are the platitudes of the French and Italian guests, but they get the same enthusiastic reception. The novelty of such rallies in Portugal gives them the air of anticipation and celebration which is reserved for truly historic occasions. And when Alvaro Cunhal - the white-haired Party leader - who spent eight years in solitary under the Salazar regime - has finished his keynote speech, the atmosphere is ecstatic.

The PCP has definitely emerged as the strongest organized political force in today's Portugal. Having spent 48 of its 54 years in existence in clandestinity, the Party had experience and enough organizational strength to attract massive support in the months following April 25. It moved fast, getting its cadre elected to leadership positions in most unions and gaining the upper hand in *Intersindical*, the central union organization. Then, after a short struggle with the social-democratic Socialist Party (PS), it took charge of the broadly based Popular Democratic Movement (MDP) - initially set up to oppose Caetano within the framework of the old fascist electoral laws - to gain another of the commanding heights in the political landscape.

Not least important for PCP's strength is its influence within the Armed Forces Movement (MFA). Already a decade ago, Cunhal predicted that the Portuguese military would be the force to topple the fascist regime, and his party was thus far better prepared for April 25 than any other clandestine political organization. The PCP has fully supported the MFA as the force that will carry through demolition of the fascist power structure and establish "democracy." It has been the strongest protagonist of the slogan "MFA, POVO -- POVO, MFA" ("MFA, the people -- the people, MFA!") What kind of democracy the MFA will establish, if any, is of course still unclear, but to the PCP any challenge to the MFA from the left in the current, uncertain situation is simply "adventurism" or "provocation" which may lead to chaos and open the door for a reactionary backlash.

With the sharpening of the struggle within Portugal, the situation of the colonies - or former colonies - is no longer at the center of attention; though, from time to time, events in Angola or Mozambique make the Lisbon headlines and there have been large demonstrations in support of the MPLA. There is something paradoxical in this, for there is general agreement on the fact that the wars in Africa were the detonators for April 25. Because of this, we find a tremendous interest in the work and material of LSM and CIDAC (Anti-Colonialist Information and Documentation Center), a similar organization which has emerged since the coup. The work of CIDAC has great political importance on the metropolitan scene since it is precisely in relation to the colonial question that some of the contradictions within the new regime become clearest. E.g., the government is presently trying to drive a hard bargain with FRELIMO to get some return for earlier investments in the Cabora Bassa project, and troops are still departing for Angola. More than 75,000 deserters and draft-dodgers are still scattered throughout Western Europe, awaiting the amnesty that seemed so obvious just after April 25.

Monday, March 10

Our downtown *pensão* is filled with ex-colons, recently returned from Africa. The government provided free passage and is now paying for their upkeep since most of them are unable to find jobs. This, however, will come to an end next week as Colonel Goncalves, the Prime Minister, has cut off all further funds. We hear unending grumbling over meals or in the lounge; real reactionary, racist garbage.

The big hotels are almost empty except for the ITT-owned Sheraton which houses large groups of Americans and Brazilians, ostensibly tourists. The Portuguese seem to have little doubt about their real mission, though one American "tourist" was apprehended at a TAP* workers' meeting a few months ago taking pictures of union leaders. The U.S. ambassador, Frank Carlucci, worked for the American government in Brazil just prior to the 1964 military coup. AFL-CIO-sponsored papers in thousands of copies have appeared for free distribution in some of the largest plants in the country. The whole thing is so obvious that on September 28, immediately after the failure of Spinoza's putsch, a huge crowd surrounded the Sheraton and would have occupied it had not a squad of COPCON, the MFA's trouble-shooting commandos, arrived.

The entire TAP workforce, 3,500 strong, is about to go on strike today. Their action but reflects the fact that, materially, the majority of the country's salaried and wage workers are far worse off now than they were under Caetano's rule. Caught in the general crisis of capitalism, the national and international bourgeoisie's sabotage of the Portuguese economy has placed a heavy burden on most workers. A run-away inflation has reduced some people's real wage by 40%, and with factories closing, the number of unemployed recently surpassed 250,000. True, the economic programs of the government will, when put into effect, alleviate some of the worst discrepancies; but this is still a ways off, in some cases several years, and it seems that not many workers are in a position to wait that long. Therefore, a strike movement is now developing in the face of the government's efforts to contain it. Some of the demands are also political, including workers' control and the purge of prominent collaborators of the old fascist regime.

Together with other civilian elements in the government - the right-wing PPD (Popular Democratic Party) and the PS - the Communist Party takes a strong stand against the strikes. In line with its strategy, it considers every challenge to the program of the new government a threat to the precarious position of the new order and thus objectively a tool of reactionary forces. At the same time, of course, the strike movement clearly presents a challenge to PCP's aspirations of hegemony within organized labor. In other words, the party's strategy has no room for working class initiative independent of the government's program at this stage of the national democratic revolution.

The Communist Party's position has no doubt cost it some support from those sectors of the working class which are now the hardest pressed. But there is not a single, strong alternative force on the left which can absorb worker discontent with the PCP. The "far left" is split among scores of small groups, and even if the lines are far clearer now than six months ago the confusion remains too great for any one group to gain a strong

*TAP Portuguese Airways



popular base. There are, e.g., no less than three PCP Marxist-Leninist organizations in addition to the original one!

MES, the Left Socialist Movement, is perhaps the largest and most influential of the "alternative" groups. With its heavy intellectual-professional tinge, it has rejected a centralized organizational form and displays sometimes marked internal differences between its branches in different parts of the country. It works to become a "democratic mass party" - quite distinct from a vanguard of the working class - and enjoys a small influx of disillusioned former PS and PCP members. By working together with the Communist Party, however, MES tries to keep the former from following the example of many European counterparts and turning to closer cooperation with the social-democrats.

Among those organizations that profess to be guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung thought, only a couple - UDP (Popular Democratic Union) and PUP (Popular Unity Party) - seem to have any significance here in Lisbon. Clandestinely formed in the sixties and now taking advantage of the new "bourgeois legality" to work in the open and even run in elections, their common problem seems to be in the translation of Marxist-Leninist theory into concrete practice within today's highly fluid situation. In struggling around strikes and the issues of unemployment, inflation and the desperate housing shortage, they have yet to find effective ways of challenging the revisionist party and government without becoming isolated themselves. Though PUP in particular appears to have a high proportion of student members, their differences seem hidden behind a screen of language hardly understandable by the wider masses they are appealing to.

The most visible organization on the "far left" is definitely the MRPP (Movement for the Reorganization of the Proletarian Party). Kept going by a devoted and hard working corps of cadre, the movement appears, in words and deeds, not unlike some "ultra-left" organizations in North America. It considers April 25 as "a coup by the ruling class to sidetrack the popular revolutionary movement," and thus emerged from clandestinity with slogans directed mainly at the revisionism and "social-fascism" of the PCP. Not surprisingly, MRPP is unwilling to work - or even talk - with any of the other organizations we met with in Lisbon, and is in its turn rejected by them as impossible to work with. It seems the crystallization of a clear anti-revisionist alternative is a process which will most likely demand more time as well as a further development of the present polarization within Portuguese society. Only then will it become clear whether the Communist Party can indeed respond to the needs of Portuguese workers and whether the Marxist-Leninist organizations can effectively attract mass support.

Tuesday, March 11

"The MFA is a highly heterogeneous force and there is no really stable equilibrium within it. I still think that both within the MFA and the military as a whole the Spinozists are becoming stronger every day." We are talking to a UDP leader at their headquarters, high on a hill overlooking downtown and the wide Tejo River.

At this point our conversation is interrupted - for the umpteenth time - by the telephone. This time, however, it is different: a comrade who works at the TV station tells us that the air force and a company of elite paratroopers are attacking the "RAL 1" light artillery regiment, the key military force in the Lisbon area and well known for its progressive leanings. Then he hangs up.

We immediately take down the big red UDP flag from the balcony facing the busy Maritires da Patria square; then the equally conspicuous plywood sign. Our friend starts a hectic telephone campaign to round up a vehicle; the files and party documents must be gotten out of the way. We start helping to load stacks of paper into boxes, but within fifteen minutes half a dozen UDP people have arrived and we become expendable.

From the square outside we can see the air force Harvards circle their target and the thumping sound of artillery is audible over the street noises, though a hill conceals the view of the RAL garrison itself, some three miles to the northeast.

Downtown, offices have closed for the mid-day break and the streets are filled with people. They all seem to be going about their usual business, unaware of what is happening. But by the time we reach our *pensão* the radio carries the news; no comment

or analysis, just a brief report from near the RAL barracks where the fighting is still going on. Uncertainty and confusion are heavy in the air. A formation of jet fighters sweeps the downtown rooftops with a thunderous roar. The radio and TV have nothing more to say. Among the ex-colons we sense anticipation, or even barely concealed elation, but they say nothing. The maid is afraid, crying; she doesn't believe the attackers can be Portuguese. We ask if she knows about Chile, but she doesn't understand.

At one o'clock Vasco Goncalves comes on the radio with a brief message: the putsch has failed and the responsible officers are being arrested. He calls on people to demonstrate their solidarity with the MFA. The response is immediate; everything but public transport closes down and thousands flock to the Rossio where groups are forming around the flag of the various "far left" groups. Discussions are at a high pitch. An angry crowd is chasing a woman with a child across the square - another ex-settler who happened to say something stupid.

A few army trucks appear and a roar of "MFA, obrigado!" (thanks, MFA) rises from the square. A demonstration forms behind the trucks and, caught in the massive surge, we climb the steep cobbled streets up to the Largo do Carmo square and the quarters of the GNR, the National Republican Guard.

The GNR is one of the military legions created by Salazar to reinforce the fascist regime. It has since remained intact even though it was here at Quarteiro do Carmo that Caetano sought refuge on April 25. The front of the old gothic building is still pocked from that confrontation. Now the GNR has been involved in the putsch and inside, a leading MFA officer is being held prisoner. But the game is over. Confronted with the army force and the growing mass outside, GNR commanders capitulate and are driven off in armored cars while the troops line up in the yard and are disarmed. In their blue, grey and green uniforms they resemble Mussolini's vanguard militants - not surprisingly, since they were formed on the same model. The men look disoriented, some of them crying in the face of an uncertain fate. The furious crowd outside is trying to break down the gate - "Death to the fascists!"

The seige of Quarteiro do Carmo lasts for several hours. People turn up steel bars and sledge-hammers to work on the heavy gate and would no doubt have ended up sacking the quarters had not, once more, COPCON arrived. With twelve monstrous armored vehicles the commandos cordon off the front of the building and drive the demonstrators back. Heavily armed and moving with great efficiency, they appear a formidable force. Still, less than a year ago they were taking heavy losses in the African bush. How many of these "invincibles," we wonder, could then even imagine their new assignment in today's Portugal?

The evening is one of celebration. 20,000 people with PS, PCP, MDP banners gather at the Rossio to express their appreciation of the MFA. This is the first time these parties appear openly after the attempted putsch, even if thousands of their members participated in the "disorders" earlier in the day. In the nearby Praca do Restauradores square, MES and a few marginal groups can gather only a couple of thousand supporters. MRPP banners are nowhere to be seen; to them the whole thing was just a wrangle within the ruling class and has no relevance to the masses. Nevertheless, many of their militants too are celebrating, maybe not fully understanding the correct line. The streets are literally covered with leaflets from scores of different organizations and unions. Impromptu wall bulletins announce that Spinoła and other prominent reactionaries have disappeared while others are being rounded up. The reactionary parties' offices are being sacked and their propaganda materials burned in the streets. They make huge bonfires that block the traffic. Bank workers have gathered in their offices to guard against any sudden action by their suspect employers.

In the short run, the unsuccessful putsch has no doubt strengthened the MFA's position. Its ability to contain the reactionary insurgency will certainly increase prestige among the population, and it is virtually certain that the movement will continue at the helm also after the up-coming April elections. The significance of the latter has therefore been greatly reduced.

However, the fundamental problems facing the new regime remain. Spinoła - or "Spinochet" as he has been known for some time - still has great influence among 80%



of the military officers who are not part of the MFA. Even if a return to a Salazar-style fascism may no longer be possible, these forces will do their utmost to check the current political slide to the left. One way to do this would be to construct a liberal capitalist democracy, and the belief is widespread here that if today's coup had succeeded, Spínola would have turned the government over to the PS of Mario Soares after a "clean-up" period of a few months. Soares, of course, is Portugal's most direct representative of Yankee imperialism and his party has also been heavily supported by the class collaborationist social-democrats of Europe.

But whether a bourgeois democracy is possible at all remains very questionable. With the colonies gone, and in the face of a growing and increasingly militant labor movement and pending land reforms, the larger part of the Portuguese bourgeoisie will be unlikely to survive. The only option, then, will be to further open the door for imperialist investment and lower the country even deeper into the pit of neo-colonialism.

The MFA itself is trying to avoid this solution, but it has not yet come up with a feasible alternative and is hesitant to start dismantling the capitalist economic machinery. Its leading brain in economic affairs, Melo Antunes, is just now in Algiers and has sent reports back that the Portuguese must seek the course of "the third world." In the meantime, however, the problems of the urban wage earners continue to grow. Their course of action may get well onto a collision course with that of the MFA. And even if, in the short run, COPCON is able to "handle" the problem, this conflict is something the new government can ill afford, particularly since party adhesion is still too novel and unstable for the PCP and other parties in government to rely on their continued popularity if present trends continue.

On the surface, Lisbon today is still in the grip of the initial tumultuous atmosphere that followed April 25. But below the surface new contradictions are forming, the negation of which will require a process much more far-reaching than what the current regime seems prepared to accept.

Angola: Developments & Dangers

Much has happened since the last issue of *LSM NEWS* in the unfolding contradictions within the Angolan struggle. Under severe pressure from the OAU and individual African countries, the MPLA reversed its earlier decision to have nothing to do with Savimbi's UNITA and the two movements entered a 10-point agreement guaranteeing to "end all sorts of hostility and propaganda" hindering cooperation, to defend and advance the interests of the masses, to work toward the creation of common organs, and not to interfere in each other's internal affairs. This was followed in early January by another agreement between MPLA, FNLA and, indirectly, UNITA, pledging each to "end all types of hostilities and propaganda which may impede frank and sincere collaboration" and "create a favorable climate of close cooperation and mutual respect" (*Financial Times*, Britain 1/10/75). These moves by MPLA were obviously made to derail the growing collaboration between Mobuto, the FNLA's Holden Roberto, the secessionist FLEC of Cabinda and the Chipenda faction of MPLA (which has since joined FNLA). They were also made in the light of increasing CIA and right wing Portuguese efforts to "destabilize" the situation in Portugal and remove power from the leftist-oriented Armed Forces Movement (AFM) leadership. (Rightist elements of the AFM only today [11 March] failed in an attempted coup.)

There followed a five-day meeting, beginning on 17 January in Algarve, Portugal, between the three movement leaders and officials of the Portuguese government. This "Angola independence summit" ended in an agreement which called for the formation of a Provisional Angolan Government on 31 January 1975 and total independence on 11 November. The transitional government now in operation consists of a 12-member cabinet and a 3-member Presidential Council, with equal representation to MPLA, FNLA and UNITA. Portugal retains partial control through a Governor-General, the military, and key ministerial posts. With something like 30,000 troops still in Angola, Portugal heads the ministries of Economy, Transport & Communication, Public Works, Housing and Town Planning. FNLA heads the ministries of Interior, Health & Social Affairs, and Agriculture; MPLA, the ministries of Information, Planning & Finance, and Justice; and UNITA, Labor and Social Security, Education & Culture, and National Resources. In addition, each movement will have a junior position within ministries it does not head, thus minimizing the possibilities of premature power plays. This cabinet, under the Governor-General, will rule Angola until the election of a constituent assembly in October, which will in turn elect a President and write a constitution. Only MPLA, FNLA and UNITA will be allowed to run candidates for the constituent assembly. An Angolan army is to be formed according to the following timetable: From February to June, each movement will contribute 500 men monthly while Portugal contributes 1,500 men; from June to September the movement contribution will go up to 1,500 a month and Portugal's to 4,500. The 24,000 Portuguese troops still in Angola by the end of April will begin to pull out in October and there are to be no Portuguese troops left in Angola by 29 February 1976 (*Daily News*, Tanzania 1/17/75).

That this is a positive development is clear; but that it is fraught with dangers is also clear. Should these plans unfold as agreed, I think there is little doubt that MPLA will emerge the dominant force in the constituent assembly and Neto will be chosen Angola's first president. Dr. Neto has recently stated, however, that there are 40,000 mercenaries being trained by crack South African instructors who "may attempt an alliance with a section of the Africans who served in the colonial army" (*Sunday Times*, Zambia, 1/12/75). In a later interview, Neto warns of difficult times ahead, saying ". . . there is an internal reaction. There is a group of Portuguese that is not yet used to the idea of independence. One way or another, they think they will have to continue dominating our country" (*Sempre Fixe*, Portugal, 1/25/75).

In addition, the imperialist powers, especially the U.S. through its CIA, are maneuvering for a right wing putsch in Portugal which would alter the future of Angola; they are also angling with Mobuto and co. for a victory - via elections or force - for "moderate" (read: non-MPLA) forces so as to consolidate neo-colonial control by the multinational corporations which dominate much of Angola's resources and wealth. As Neto has said, "Who exploits the iron ore in Angola? The Germans! Who exploits the oil? The Americans and the Belgians! And to whom belongs the Benguela Railroad? To the English! To whom belongs the diamond company? To the Americans, the Belgians, the French and the English! Who is exploiting the oil in the district of Cabinda? The Americans! . . . We are aware the imperialists are trying to divide our people to continue their exploitation. The example of Cabinda is notorious . . . [and] in future we will see other parts of Angolan territory in the same position. They will be mobilized by the imperialists to satisfy the interests of certain powers. Great powers. Today there is a silent invasion in our country. Not all who carry arms today, after the '25th of April,' were fighting the Portuguese. Some of them are not even Angolan nationals. These are real difficulties which we cannot forget. And we cannot forget that behind all this are those who want to continue exploiting the oil, the iron, the diamond, or gold, all the natural riches of our country" (*Ibid.*).

It is impossible to predict even the immediate future in Angola. Much depends on developments over the coming months in Portugal, where elections are scheduled in April, and on the fragile and precarious unity among the three liberation movements - each subject to different external pressures and ideological pulls. We can be certain of only one thing: much vigilance and determination will be required if Angola's war of independence is to move forward successfully into the struggle for socialist transformation and avoid the various and deceptive paths leading to neo-colonial accommodation and continued exploitation of the Angolan masses.

by Don Barnett



Agostinho Neto



Why We Support the Revolution in Oman

Over the past year the LSM/Bay Area Unit (BAU) has been working in anti-imperialist coalitions* around the Middle East and the Gulf (known by Iran and the West as the Persian Gulf, and by the Arab peoples as the Arabian Gulf). During this period our work in the area has increased as we've watched the imperialist powers, headed by the U.S., become increasingly involved in the Middle East. We see it as an important part of our practice to expose ruling class fascist aggression against the people's struggle in the Gulf and its intervention throughout the Middle East. The U.S. and Canadian media are sparing no efforts to build anti-Arab sentiment among the workers and middle classes in North America with racism and national chauvinism as weapons to "divide and conquer"; using U.S. workers as pawns in their imperialist aggression. The BAU is working to counter this and to build unity among the progressive forces within the metropolitan sector of the U.S. Empire.

One aspect of the strategy we are developing on the Middle East is the work we do around the struggle in Oman. Oman is a small but strategically located Sultanate near the entrance to the Gulf. For ten years the population has been engaged in armed struggles against their feudal ruler, British colonialism and the U.S.-armed and backed mercenary troops of the Shah of Iran.

Although Oman is formally independent, British domination continues and has only recently begun to yield to the stronger U.S. imperialism. The Sultanate of Oman has changed little since the 15th century - except for intense exploitation of its oil resources by companies like Shell Oil. When the armed struggle began in 1965 there were no schools or doctors, no electricity or water supply system, and only one road in the entire country. The Marxist-Leninist People's Front for the Liberation of Oman (P.F.L.O.) has liberated over 90% of the southern province, Dhofar, including a few major cities. Shell Oil operations have been forced out of the area. In the liberated zones the P.F.L.O. has waged a struggle to break down tribalism, collectivize property, eradicate illiteracy, provide medical care and liberate women.

The Omani guerrillas are the "threat" to Western oil sources recently referred to by Kissinger which would "justify" U.S. military action to maintain the flow of oil supplies from the Gulf. Sixty per cent of the world's known oil reserves are located in or near the Gulf. It now supplies metropolitan nations with from 60 to 90% of their oil needs. It is not surprising that the U.S. is already heavily involved in the area!

The attempt to "contain" and "crush" the revolution in the Gulf has been spearheaded by the Shah of Iran. The situation is not unlike that of southern Africa where the Portuguese played the role of gendarme for international imperialism, or of Indochina where Thai or Vietnamese mercenaries fight for U.S. interests. The Shah is spending billions of dollars per year on U.S. weapons while American corporations provide a front for the military training of Iranians by "special forces." Iranian troops were first introduced in Oman in large numbers to prop up the Sultanate and British forces in late 1973. According to the P.F.L.O., reinforcements for the current offensive brought the Iranian presence to about 8,000, along with several hundred British "advisors" and Jordanian secret police.

In January 1975, Oman's Sultan Qabus paid a low-profile visit to Washington to request increased U.S. support. Since then Kissinger has pledged to protect U.S. oil supplies; U.S. aircraft carriers were sent into the Gulf for the first time in 20 years, and the U.S. has requested use of the British island base of Masirah off the coast of Oman.

If the U.S. intervenes directly in the Middle East, Oman is a logical foothold for its military presence. Here they would not be so likely to arouse the nationalist ire of the Arab world, since the reactionary regimes of the area, e.g. Gulf sheikdoms, Saudi Arabia and North Yemen, see the revolution in Oman as a threat to their own continued existence. The U.S. also fears that Oman, along with its neighbor the Marxist People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, will become a base for revolution in the entire Gulf area. For this reason, it is no more likely to concede this small country's escape from the imperialist system without fierce struggle than it was in the case of Vietnam. Oman's oil resources add to its desirability, but its primary value is strategic. A hostile government at the mouth of the Gulf, where oil supertankers pass 24 hours a day, is totally unacceptable to the U.S.

The Bay Area Unit of LSM feels it essential that anti-imperialist forces try to create subjective conditions making U.S. military involvement difficult if not impossible. This means that we must direct our efforts to breaking down the racist and chauvinist attitudes toward the Arab people perpetrated by ruling class media. It is for this reason that, along with our practice related to southern Africa, we are developing a strategy to build support for the national liberation struggles on the Arabian peninsula. This will include propaganda, anti-corporate agitation and material support for the PFLQ. Part of LSM's immediate plan is to send a cadre to do informational work and act as a liaison with liberation movements in the Middle East. Having someone on the spot will enable us to understand more closely the struggles and the people, as well as to more accurately assess the political and material needs of the movements to guide our own practice.

U.S. imperialism spends many billions of dollars each year along with millions of lives, to prevent the collapse of international capitalism. Though already in decline, the imperialist system will be the scene of many protracted battles before its final defeat. As the ruling class loses its ability to extract superprofits from the peoples of the Gulf, the rest of Asia, Africa and Latin America, it loses its ability to co-opt or bribe the metropolitan population into acquiescence. Then the imperialists will switch to the jingoistic ideology of racism to convince people to support their goals. The correlation becomes obvious: when the U.S. escalates counter-revolutionary efforts in Indochina and the Middle East, and tries to "dampen" its economy to slow down war-related inflation, racist attacks within the metropole are simultaneously escalated - e.g. attacks on Blacks and school bussing in Boston, or on alien workers made scapegoats for domestic economic ills. One of the most effective ways anti-imperialists can make significant inroads on the grip of racist ideology is through political and concrete support for the liberation struggles. LSM/BAU is thus working to establish a material basis for building internationalist consciousness among potentially progressive sectors of the North American people.

*LSM is one of three organizations participating in the Support Committee for the Liberation Movement in the Gulf which produces *Gulf Solidarity* quarterly. We are steering committee members of the Coalition Against Political Repression and Deportation of Foreign Nationals and are also members of the Committee for National Liberation in the Middle East.

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by Candy Wright
LSM Bay Area Unit

Experiences & Reflections From a Film Tour

LSM's Fall film tour on "Revolution in Africa" was conducted by the East Coast Unit. This was the ECU's first large-scale educational activity, and was a valuable experience for our members. In this article we would like to share some of our reflections with *LSM News* readers. Our ideas are tentative - based on limited experience - and we would appreciate hearing from people whose own experiences and observations confirm or contradict them.

During the tour we put on some 15 film and speaking programs in Boston, Syracuse, Pittsburgh, New York and many smaller centers. Programs consisted of films, slideshows, speakers and literature documenting the history and current status of national liberation struggles in southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau. They also dealt with the role North Americans can and should play in these and other anti-imperialist struggles. Programs were held at colleges, political bookstores and community coffee-houses; our audiences varied from "movement people" and members of socialist organizations to others who knew little about imperialism or national liberation movements. In this article we will discuss three types of audiences and persons we had contact with, and reflections we have regarding how we related to them. The three types, defined by their response to the program and general political outlook, are: apathetic and cynical; reformist but sympathetic; anti-imperialist and positive. Of course, we met persons who would not fit into any of these categories, and with many there would be an overlap, but we can say that these are some broad, general classifications which apply to most of the people we met.

1. Apathetic and Cynical This clearly applies to the great majority of students today. On university campuses of over 15,000 students only 50 - 60 might turn out for a program. Next door to where we showed "Free People of Guinea-Bissau," films like "Death Wish" drew 5 to 10 times as many people. And apathy was evident among even those who were interested enough to come to the program. Many people were able to view (on film) the extreme oppression and exploitation of colonial and neo-colonial peoples, see the reactionary role of the US, learn of the peoples' struggles for self-determination and dignity ... without any discernible reaction. They seemed insensitive or numb to the conditions, struggles and aspirations of the bulk of humanity. This was reflected not only in the questions (or lack of them) in the discussion periods, but also in the small financial contributions made toward material support for the movements and the lack of desire to give time to such work. People who think nothing of spending \$2 for lunch or \$10 for a pair of jeans found it difficult to give \$0.75 to support FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) or SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization).

From our experience on the tour, it seems that most of the former radicalism on college campuses has evaporated. Today, college students lead quite a privileged existence and this is reflected in their response to liberation movements and the discipline, militancy and social responsibility they are associated with. With the Draft now gone and US presence in Southeast Asia hidden behind the racist "Vietnamization" policy, a tremendous amount of the former "solidarity" has vanished, despite the continued and escalating character of the wars and US military aid. Now, it seems, "capitalism is hip" and middle-class youth are getting back into the careerism and dog-eat-dog competition of school and job ... and are cynical and apathetic about any kind of politics.

What worked best for us in relating to this apathy and cynicism was to confront it directly and try to expose the false belief that one can be "not involved" in imperialism. Part of this student negativism is a passivity and unwillingness to question or debate ideas, so our first objective was to involve people, bring them out of their impassive "outside observer" position. We found it useful - especially at colleges - to explain very concretely how people are involved in imperialism, how they receive privileges from it (their school loans, welfare, etc.), and how they are objectively unconscious parasites living high at the expense of workers and peasants throughout the system. This wasn't always done successfully but we found it did generally get people involved and thinking about the matter, and on some occasions we got quite a good response. We think it's important to jolt people out of the passivity and cynical withdrawal from life that the system encourages and inculcates - and which is the luxury of the privileged accomplice. After all, most Germans in WW II didn't care to know about the concentration camps either.

2. Reformist but Sympathetic Both at programs and outside (in homes and collectives where we stayed, Left gathering places, etc.) we met many people who had formerly been involved in radical politics but had "dropped out." These people were frequently engaged in such things as food cooperatives, distribution of progressive literature, drug rehabilitation in the ghettos, public nursing, etc. Many had a desire for more political work than they were doing and clearly saw the reformist character of their current practice. But they did not see an attractive, viable alternative. Some had had experience with socialist organizations (Revolutionary Union, Socialist Worker's Party, etc.) which had turned them off by their dogmatism, rhetoric and unfilling practice. More, however, had never actually been in an organization - they had been part of the amorphous "movement." They had imbibed radical ideas and strong anti-establishment feelings, but were never attracted to the existing "socialist" parties. Many of these people expressed regret at what they saw as the gradual accommodation to a middle-class life-style (color TV, buying a house, cheap vacations in Mexico or the Caribbean, etc.). They saw this themselves and didn't like it. They were in the contradictory position of disliking the system and wanting to strike a blow against it, but being restrained by their own material interests and opportunities, as well as the lack of a realistic idea of how to go about it.

In relating to these people on the tour we tended to be overly critical of their reformist activities and expect too much from them. This is a mistake; many of these people have a basic opposition to capitalism and are sympathetic toward liberation movements and struggles. What has turned them off to more organized forms of political work is the arrogance, dogmatism and total lack of realism of most of the "big" Left organizations in North America - and this is exactly what we needed to avoid. Rather than struggling for a qualitative change all at once - which is very unrealistic - it would have been better to try to involve and motivate people one step at a time. Also, we should have been more open to new ideas and possibilities for utilizing skills and energies which could concretely contribute to the struggle. A good example of this was at a food co-op which donated all proceeds from the sale of cashews imported from Mozambique to material support for FRELIMO. Generally these are people who are working, who can appreciate productivity and are relatively action-oriented. While it is true that the objective life circumstances and opportunities for these people are a major factor in their de-politicization (the system allows, and in some ways fosters, these types of reformism - especially for educated white youth), it is also the case that some of them would be glad to contribute to a meaningful political alternative.

3. Anti-Imperialist and Positive While large numbers of people with Left views have disappeared, and many former militants have turned reformist, it does seem that there are still many serious political people who have learned from past experiences and are looking for a practice. On the tour we met a number of individuals and small groups like this - people who recognize the present collaboration of the mass of North Americans with imperialism; who see the importance of internationalism, and who are seriously developing or looking for a viable strategy and practice.

Our experience again confirmed that it is among the internally colonized peoples (Blacks, Puerto Ricans, etc.) that the greatest anti-imperialist and internationalist



sentiment exists in North America. It was with such individuals and audiences that we had the best discussions and received the most concrete support. Although it seems to us there is still a long way to go, it is clear that within North America it is this sector of the population that is least corrupted by imperialist bribes, which has the most to gain from an end to capitalism and which, therefore, expresses the most solidarity with super-oppressed peoples fighting the system in the "countryside."

Among Whites there also seemed to be serious people looking for a meaningful political practice, but they were much fewer and more isolated. Generally, it seems that the high tide of popular anti-establishment sentiment has waned, and that those who still retain these ideas and feelings are the more serious and hard-core elements.

In Pittsburgh we met people exposing Gulf Oil from an anti-imperialist perspective; at a program in New York we had good discussions with people who had experience in many areas (community struggles, armed self-defense, etc.), and who were looking for an approach that would reach the largest number of people while retaining a socialist, internationalist perspective. With these elements, who are carrying out or are seeking a serious internationalist practice, we obviously need to unite. LSM has something both to offer and to gain from such association. Our concrete practice, links with the liberation movements, and work in the countryside can benefit people such as those mentioned above whose own valuable experiences we certainly can learn from. Our collaboration should concretely aid the anti-imperialist struggle.

However, in relating to these people we made a mistake by insufficiently linking up the struggle of vanguard forces in the Third World with our own situation and the possibilities for meaningful practice here in North America. When asked what people here should be doing, our tour-team tended to be defensive and talk about what *we* (LSM) are doing. We should have discussed options which they or those like them could do. If people are most concerned about local activities within the metropolis, we shouldn't try to dissuade them, but should talk about the many positive possibilities which can advance the struggle. At the same time, of course, we want to continue to stress the tremendous possibilities for material and technical support for the more advanced struggles in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The main thing, it seems, is to better show how international solidarity and support for vanguard forces can be merged and fused with various other activities, and how politically serious individuals and groups seeking to develop a practice can employ an internationalist, dual strategy which links up work in the Third World with work in North America.

Today, with anti-imperialist struggles raging in Africa, Asia and Latin America, and with internal contradictions in the advanced capitalist oppressor nations sharpening, it seems more than ever essential to find effective ways to combat political apathy and national chauvinism. We need to oppose the reactionary elements and tendencies, win over those we can, and actively work with all forces in North America with whom we have basic agreement.

by LSM East Coast Unit

In a Context of Violence Pacifism Cannot Bring Peace

Pacifism is based on the assumption that principled non-violence will have the power, through moral suasion, to soften the hearts of the powerful. The problem, however, does not lie in their hearts (we all have both good and bad in our hearts), but in the conditions of their existence, and in the power they hold over others. No group in power has ever yielded any significant amount of that power to non-violent resistance. On the contrary, when their power is threatened there are no means they will not use to retain it.

Pacifists tend to believe that the world is governed by moral principles. They have never achieved any significant change in the world because they do not understand the primacy of power in determining the course of human events.

Principled pacifism may save the pacifist's soul, but it is powerless to effect political change. In a context of violence pacifism cannot bring peace.

The power structures of the U.S. and Canada earlier wiped out an entire race which stood in their way. Is it possible to imagine a more favorable outcome for the Native Americans, if they had resorted to non-violence instead of to arms? The same power structures stand ready today to do it again to any nation or group, whether ethnic or racial minorities, workers or students, which threatens its power.

The effectiveness of resistance to the power structure can be judged roughly by the intensity of the repression used against it. No repression? Then the resistance must be ineffectual. Is power *really* threatened? Then expect an effort at total repression. Imagine the fate of a pacifist movement under total repression.

Pacifism is a luxury available only to those who are not pushed to the wall, i.e. who do have something to lose. It is generally preached by the relatively privileged, who fail or refuse to recognize that they themselves have made the grade, directly or indirectly, through some sort of violence on the part of someone. Its stated goal may be social change, but in fact it places "purity" of individual conscience above social change. Those for whom social change is the only alternative to extinction cannot afford pacifism. In the struggle for social change, principled pacifism can only lead to extinction of the pacifists and those who follow them.

Those who are serious about radical social change must challenge the influence of pacifism in their movement. Fortunately, as repression becomes more general, the influence of pacifism declines.

Pacifism as a *strategy* for social change is a disaster. However, non-violence as a *tactic* is sometimes useful in exposing the violence inherent in the present power system. As a tactic it is especially useful in the early stages of a dissident movement, when direct confrontation is not yet generally possible. Ghandi is a case in point. Non-violent means of struggle are still useful in the U.S. and Canada today *tactically* but only because the violence by which the power structures govern is not yet fully understood, and because the movement today is too weak to engage in a power confrontation.

by Frank Giese

On the National Question

Letter from the Native Study Group

Native Study Group
P.O. Box 35663
Station "E"
Vancouver, B.C.

Dear Editor:

We have read with some pleasure the third issue of "LSM News." *LSM News*, while still retaining its "news" character, has provided the LSM, its supporters and fraternal organizations with a theoretical forum through which the political principles guiding LSM's practice can be expressed. This is important as it has been our experience that other "left" organizations have found it all too easy to categorically dismiss LSM as a "non-political, liberal" organization that "sends care packages to the 'good guys' in Africa." It also provides us (would-be anti-imperialists) with an objective view of the struggles and the obstacles/contradictions within some of the liberation movements themselves without the usual arrogance of the left. We have found that all too often North American left groups stand on the sidelines condemning, in a more or less puritanical way, the "flaws" of national liberation organizations from the vantage point of their own comfortable middle class, and without having done any prior social investigation into the conditions of the people they are analyzing. An example of such politically irresponsible criticism can be seen in the Canada Party of Labor's recent attack on the Frelimo's "anti-strike" law. It is indeed inspiring to read the publication of a regular journal by an organization that is not blinded by North American "big nation chauvinism."

In the article by Beth Youhn and C. Wright, "Americans in China," we noted the statement "...that most North American organizations which support China's anti-revisionist struggles have not yet even begun to confront this phenomenon - either in theory or practice - within their own country." I assume that Beth and Carol will take seriously their responsibility for dealing with this phenomenon in a later issue of LSM NEWS. In the meantime, I would like to make some comments on an equally condemned (by the left) phenomenon to which the remarks of Youhn and Wright are also applicable, i.e. social imperialism.

The recent propaganda of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), particularly during the Native People's Caravan, is the most glaring example of social imperialism. While the native people had organized themselves into a caravan (leaving from Vancouver and arriving in Ottawa on the opening day of Parliament) to oppose the Department of Indian Affairs' Colonial Policy, the CPC(M-L) was carrying out extensive support propaganda around the nebulous slogan of *Defend the Hereditary Rights of Native Peoples*. Interestingly enough, this same organization, while calling for hereditary rights for native people, is calling for national liberation of the Quebecois. This is not a thorough analysis of social imperialism, but I would like to comment here on how the social imperialism of the Canadian left affects the native internal colony in Canada.

In both theory and practice the left in Canada fails to recognize the historic right of internally colonized native people to self-determination. Instead they seek to establish political domination of the Canadian working class, of which they consider themselves the "vanguard," over the internal colonies. The manner in which they intend to accomplish this end varies from group to group but the result is everywhere the same, i.e. political parasitism and uncritical support of militant actions of native peoples with a view to establishing the ideological supremacy of their political line over the developing nationalism of the native people. That line being, of course, the strictly working class character of the Canadian revolution without the recognition of the right to nationhood, including secession, of the internally colonized native peoples.

The rationales for not recognizing our right to nationhood vary with the two main ones being: 1. That national liberation and secession is not feasible; 2. The Indian people cannot liberate themselves without allying with the Canadian working class. Both these arguments have little to do with the historic right of colonized peoples and the duty of socialists to support that right (Lenin did not exclude internal colonies), or with a clear Marxist analysis of imperialism and internal colonization. Given that objectively we are an historically colonized people and that our right to self-determination is *inalienable*, the next logical question would be: Under what conditions is national liberation for the internal colonies in North America realizable? The question of "infeasibility" arises only from the defeatist notion that the forces of imperialism are stronger than native people and that the Canadian working class is incapable and unwilling to support, and is indeed opposed, to national liberation for native people, and that their left representatives are incapable and unwilling to struggle courageously against the chauvinism within their own working class. Such political cowardice is objectively social imperialist. The second rationale, regarding an alliance with the Canadian working class, is equally cowardly and bespeaks of a certain type of chauvinism on the part of certain "left representatives of class struggle here in Canada." On whose terms should an alliance between the people of a dominated colonized nation and the workers of the dominating mother country be? It is obvious that using this "need for unity with the mother country workers" is a cover for denying us our right to nationhood; that in fact the terms of such an alliance, are to be dictated by the social imperialists of the left, backed by the chauvinist mother country working class. We, of course, cannot accept as conditions of an alliance those dictated by the needs of "mother country" workers. Any alliance between ourselves and the workers of Canada must be mutually beneficial and equal, based on mutual respect for each other's sovereignty. No other conditions of alliance will do!

The third, though not so popular, rationale is that the native people are scattered and split up geographically over the entire country. Of all the rationales this one is the most shameless as it lays bare the paucity of left knowledge and its lack of investigation of our situation, and indeed of their own conditions. In Canada the majority of citizens live within two hundred miles of the Canadian border. In the so-called Canadian north (above the 59th parallel), 75% of the people are native. Among northern native people, tribal and linguistic differences are minimized by like conditions and 100 years of common colonial history. They have a common cultural background, common land base; they form the majority of the population and are colonized, hence they have a right to nationhood.

These feeble excuses of the left, offered up as rationales for opposing our rights, belie lack of historical projection and indicate an absence of understanding of the historic and economic roots of social chauvinism and social imperialism. Indeed, the evasion of the question of privilege among workers in Canada in all their literature is clear proof of this.

Privilege among the people of Canada arises from its relation to imperialism, as a loyal beneficiary of which the Canadian workers receive an ample share of super-profit crumbs in exchange for fealty to imperialism. Canada has long boasted the second highest standard of living in the "free world." Its workers receive high wages; its unemployed enjoy welfare benefits, and it has a relatively low inflation rate. Industrially, it is the least productive of the advanced capitalist countries.

The loyalty generated by such privilege manifests itself in the general political paralysis of the workers, even in struggling for the slightest reform; its acceptance of "fat cat" union hacks as leadership; its racism and (let us admit) its genuinely anti-communist attitudes. These privileges are, of course, dependent on the continuance of imperialist super-exploitation of the neo-colonies/colonies from whence they derived. National liberation struggles ever more successful are puncturing holes in the well-being of the Canadian people and, as such, their privilege is decreasing. It is this as yet minor decrease in privilege that has given rise to what little "radical" thought and activity exists here, but not without a generous heap of social imperialism and chauvinism arising from long years of parasitic and privileged existence.

That the struggle of native peoples is intricately bound up with the general struggle for international socialism we will be the last to deny. But that has little to do with our historic right to nationhood, to our right to secede should we choose. Given that the political paralysis of the Canadian peoples is dependent on privilege arising from super-profits, and that these same privileges are dependent on the continuance of super-exploitation of neo-colonized and internally colonized peoples, it follows that the national liberation

struggles of these same peoples taken as a whole constitutes the determining factor in resolving the contradiction between imperialism and socialism.

The Canadian left, blinded by its own chauvinism and an undying slavish fealty to its own workers, has failed to see that the decisive factor determining the development of the objective conditions for revolutionary struggle here in Canada, and in our own nation, does not lie within its own country but rather with the success of national liberation struggle in the colonies/neo-colonies of imperialism. The left in Canada would do better to use Marxism as a guide to analysis rather than quote verbatim some of the slogans of the European working class of 1848.

Letter from Prison

On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination and Revolutionary Warfare

by M.S. , Lompoc , California

When, on 27 January 1975, the Armed Forces of the Puerto Rican Nation (FALN) bombed the Fraunces Tavern in New York City's financial district, killing four and injuring forty-four, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party leadership in New York City immediately condemned the bombing on the grounds that it would alienate the U.S. working class from the cause of socialist revolution. The Left community within the U.S. quickly fell in line behind the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and condemned the bombing for basically this same reason. In **Communique No. 3** the FALN explained the bombing was:

in retaliation for the CIA-ordered bomb that murdered Angel Luis Chavonnie and Eddie Ramos, two innocent young workers who supported Puerto Rican independence, and the conscienceless maiming of ten innocent persons and one beautiful Puerto Rican child, six years old, in a Mayaguez, Puerto Rico dining place on Saturday, the eleventh of January of 1975.

The FALN has also claimed responsibility for the bombing of five New York City banks **in an** expression of solidarity with the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day rally in New York City. **In** **Communique No. 3** the FALN explains why the former bombings were directed at property and **the** latter at people:

The bombs exploding in Puerto Rico and the United States in support of striking workers, in demand of the release of our political prisoners and our independence, and to protest the Rockefeller-Kissinger visits, have avoided any injury to innocent people. The attacks on our people have been elevated viciously to criminal brutality and murder of hungry, hard-working people. You have unleashed a storm from which you comfortable Yanquis cannot escape.

As FALN mentions in **Communique No. 3**, there are bombings occurring in both Puerto Rico and the U.S., both of which are directed at U.S. imperialism by the forces of the Puerto Rican national liberation movement. The FALN further points out that the struggle against U.S. imperialism is worldwide:

The Yanqui government is trying to terrorize and kill our people to intimidate us from seeking our rightful independence from colonialism. They do this in the same way as they did in Vietnam, Guatemala, Chile, Argentina, Mexico, the Congo, and in many other places including the United States itself.

When Algeria was a colony of France, the Algerians waged revolutionary war against French colonialism in both Algeria and Paris. Today the Irish Republican Army wages war against English colonialism in both Ireland and London. Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States. The Puerto Rican national liberation movement is today waging anti-imperialist war against U.S. colonialism in both Puerto Rico and New York. Colonized Algerians could not have won a war with France. Nor can the colonized Irish win a war with England. Nor can the colonized Puerto Ricans win a war with the U.S. The objective of these national liberation movements is to force the respective mother country to withdraw from the colony. Since colonialism is profitable for the mother country, the national liberation movements must make it unprofitable for the mother country to continue its colonial domination. As the Algerians and Vietnamese proved with France, and the African colonies with Portugal, the most effective means to employ in such a struggle is a protracted war that will drain the resources and man power of the mother country, thus threatening the domestic stability of the mother country.

During the age of imperialism and national liberation, the principal contradiction is not between the proletariat and bourgeoisie within the metropolis. On the contrary, the principal contradiction is between the international imperialist bourgeoisie of the oppressor nations, under the leadership of U.S. monopoly capital, against the oppressed people of the oppressed nations. Imperialist exploitation of the oppressed nations affords the metropolitan working class with a privileged standard of living, which in turn gives rise to what Lenin called the corruption of the working class and the national chauvinism and opportunism of the metropolitan left. The world revolution against the world system of imperialism is occurring in the hinterland of the oppressed nations of the world, and the metropolitan working class is involved in this revolution only insofar as it supports the imperialist bourgeoisie. Until the world revolution in the oppressed nations develops to a critical point and fundamentally alters the relations of unequal exchange, the metropolitan working class will remain a non-revolutionary class. For the metropolitan working class, as I've said elsewhere, imperialism is a historical detour from the revolutionary situation engendered by the capitalist mode of production and relations of production. In this epoch, the metropolitan working class does not proclaim its solidarity with the oppressed people of oppressed nations. The French working class did not support the Algerian national liberation movement. The English working class does not support the struggle of the Irish Republican Army. The U.S. working class does not support the struggle of the Vietnamese, nor does it support the Puerto Rican national liberation movement.

Since the epoch we live in is characterized by national liberation movements and not proletarian revolutions in industrialized nations, and since proletarian revolution in the oppressor nations is dependent on - and can only follow - the liberation of the oppressed nations, how does the U.S. left justify its demand that the Puerto Rican national liberation movement subordinate its revolutionary struggle to the non-existent revolutionary struggle of the U.S. working class? The U.S. working class supports - and benefits from - the imperialist bourgeoisie that has colonized and terrorized Puerto Rico. In this paper we are speaking of the working class as a whole and the U.S. left as a whole, as opposed to minorities that deviate from the established norm of national chauvinism and opportunism. The position of the U.S. left is characterized by ethnocentrism, national chauvinism, arrogance and opportunism. This position is not compatible with Marxism or the strategy of the world revolution.

When the U.S. left demands that the Puerto Rican national liberation movement must confine its struggle for independence to Puerto Rico, the U.S. left is objectively joining with the imperialist bourgeois to suppress that revolutionary movement. To say that revolutionary violence in the colonies is correct, and then to say that revolutionary violence in the mother country is incorrect, is both racist and national chauvinist. This position follows from the incorrect view that the U.S. and Puerto Rico are somehow separate

entities, when in fact Puerto Rico is a U.S. colony. This position itself stems from the notion that the U.S. is an isolated nation rather than an imperialist empire. While the U.S. left may acknowledge that the U.S. is imperialist and thus an empire, the false dichotomy between "within the U.S." and "outside the U.S." is still widely accepted as the methodological point of departure in Marxist theory. While the U.S. left is waiting for a proletarian revolution within the U.S., which includes the condemnation of the Puerto Rican national liberation movement as a part of that wait, there is a world revolution occurring in the U.S.-dominated imperialist bloc, of which the Puerto Rican struggle is only one manifestation. And it is the internationalist duty of the U.S. left to support all revolutionary struggles against U.S. imperialism, whether they manifest themselves in the colonies or in New York or anyplace else in the U.S. After all, the proletarian revolution that they are waiting on is dependent on the successful outcome of the very struggles they are today condemning.

What is KAK ?

(Translated from *Kommunistisk Orientering*, No. 1, Dec. 16, 1974)

Communist Working Circle (KAK) was formed in 1963 when a relatively small group of people were either excluded from or voluntarily left the Communist Party of Denmark because they supported the Communist Party of China's criticism of Soviet domestic and foreign policy and by that also the critique of "modern revisionism," here at home represented by the CPD.

Some years passed with internal discussions about the objectives, tasks and praxis of such an "anti-revisionist" organization. Little by little, through these discussions and through concrete work in support of Vietnam and the struggle of the Palestinians against Zionism, the theory of the "parasite state" was hammered out. On this theoretical basis rose in 1968 the Communist Youth League (KUF), which later - after renewed discussions about the implications of this theory - joined what is now KAK.

KAK's initial close and fraternal relationship with CDP came to an end in 1969 because KAK insisted on discussing the connection between the political line of Liu Shao-chi and the famous line of Comintern in Europe, and because KAK publicized its profound disagreement with the Chinese evaluation of a so-called "unprecedented gigantic revolutionary mass movement" among the workers of Western Europe and North America.

Between 1963 and 1969 KAK published "Kommunistisk Orientering." The politically important articles from this journal have since been published by FUTURA as pamphlets under the titles: *There Will Come a Day...* and *Class Struggle and Revolutionary Situation*. KAK's theoretical and practical main thesis is also expressed in *The Devious Roads of Revolution* by Gotfred Appel (1972) and in the preface to the Lenin collection *On Imperialism and Opportunism* (1973).

It is KAK's position that the working class in the developed West Europe and North America today find themselves in a dual position. It is at once exploited (in that it produces surplus value) and bribed (in that its standard of living - and thus its economic and cultural needs - and its union demands are based on decades of participation in imperialism's colonial and neo-colonial plunder). Furthermore, the bribe factor is today the dominating one.

In considering this dual position, it is impossible to calculate what part of the paycheck is derived from the value of the worker's labor power and what part from the bribe. It must rather be considered from the fact that the entire imperialist system's economic, industrial, technological, cultural and social development in the final analysis is based on the pillage and plunder of the old colonies and dependent countries, today's "Third World."

From this follows KAK's opinion that it is not today the task of revolutionaries to inspire or lead the economic and trade union struggles of the working class. At the present time such a struggle has not even the remotest connection with the struggle for socialism.

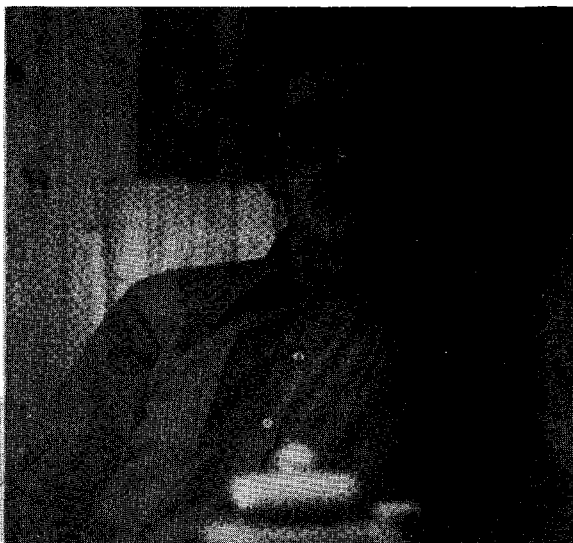
It becomes our task, rather, to try to inform the working class (currently one vast labor aristocracy) of the need for a new direction of economic development; a direction which will abolish the parasitism and pillage by the western world. However, we must realize that it is only this new trend itself - whatever its form - which will finally convince the working class. A parasitical, bourgeois labor aristocracy will not be turned into a revolutionary proletariat through speeches and articles. The workers must, to paraphrase Engels, "be punished through crises" before the results will show.

From this follows, too, that even if KAK as early as 1963 openly aimed for the creation of a revolutionary communist party in Denmark, KAK is not a "party building" organization in current left terminology.

Of course, KAK could long ago have changed its name and become a "party" - the ideological/political unity in the organization has long made this possible. Nevertheless, it is at best meaningless to do so, since the creation of a revolutionary party must be accompanied by an objective social need to do so. There must be motion - considerable motion in the society generally and particularly in large sectors of the working class - before a revolutionary party becomes a necessity and thus enters a position to influence the social processes.

When economic and political conditions have changed to such an extent that the bourgeoisie is about to *force* the workers to revolutionary struggle - a struggle for state power - then the moment will have arrived. The working class will then need a well-organized vanguard. People who previously have absorbed Marxism will then play a role when again, according to Engels, a spontaneous movement develops among the workers and they "succeed in taking control of it." In such a situation, "take control" will mean the ability to advance the correct slogans, to provide the correct leadership. Only those who achieve such "control" will become the working class vanguard; they will be the "party." The name of the organization is of no significance.

Through this brief sketch of KAK's basic position our tasks have been identified. They consist in political and practical support for those forces which, one way or another, actively combat the pillage by imperialism and thus help undermine the basis of metropolitan parasitism. Through such work combined with continuous study and investigation into the developmental processes of the entire world we must build an organization with ideological/political unity and with the highest possible level of discipline and willingness to sacrifice which will be gradually better equipped to predict that turn of events which "will carry the masses to the real, decisive and final revolutionary struggle" (Lenin) and which will, when the moment is ripe, be able to lead this struggle to victory:



Gotfred Appel,
Chairman of KAK.

Letters from PFLO ...

THE PEOPLE'S FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF OMAN

ADEN OFFICE Maktari Bldg. MAALLA, ADEN.

P. O. Box No. 6037 - Tele. 22842 - 23084

Cable: NHIRZ

الجبهة الشعبية لتحرير عمان
مكتب عدن

عمارة المفطري . شارع الشهيد مدرم . الملا . عدن
ص. ب. ٥٠٣٧ . تليفون ٢٢٨٤٤ - ٢٣٠٨٤

برقياً: تحرير

Date 7th February, 1975 التاريخ ٧ فبراير ١٩٧٥

The Omani Red Crescent

Temp. Address. P. O. Box 5298

Maalla, Aden, P.D.R.Y.



الهلال الاحمر العماني

العنوان المؤقت: ص. ب. ٥٢٩٨ الملا
عدن، جمهورية اليمن الديمقراطية الشعبية

3rd March, 1975

LIBERATION SUPPORT MOVEMENT
DON BARNETT, DIRECTOR
P.O. BOX 94338
RICHMOND, BRITISH COLUMBIA
CANADA

Comrades,

With much thanks we have received the carton of medicines sent by you. Unfortunately some of them have their validity expired in 1974. We wish to inform you that in future you send us larger quantities. We particularly need vitamins and antibiotics and they must bear a sufficient time for use as they take some time to reach the liberated areas.

Please do not send us any medicines by diplomatic mail because the duty on them is usually more than their actual value. The important things must be shipped by air. Large quantities of medicines or clothing or foodstuffs can be sent to Aden by sea with the address written on it.

Please accept our comradely regards and remain,

Comradely yours,

representative,
[Signature]

الرقم: ١٩٧/م

The Liberation Support Movement,
Bay Area Unit,
P.O. Box 756,
Berkeley - California 94701
U.S.A.

Comrades,

Ref: your letter dated January 4, 1975.

We received thankfully your letter dated January 4, 1975, with enclosed check for the amount of U.S. \$25.00.

We thank you very much for your active support and dedication.

Your propaganda and educational work is very much needed now, more than any other time because our people and our revolution are facing imminent danger posed by repeated Anglo-Iranian military campaigns against the liberated zone of Oman.

The latest U.S. step of acquiring facilities in the British base of Masirah Island and the big arms deal with the Sultanate accelerate U.S. involvement in Oman which has been going on covertly for a long time. This base will be another Guam used for a 2nd Vietnam.

We enclose some of the latest statements and photos about the recent Iranian military campaign.

Comradely Yours,

INFORMATION COMMITTEE

PEOPLE'S FRONT FOR LIBERATION OF OMAN

Zimbabwe: Toward Liberation!

Interview with Kumbirai Kangai, ZANU

Kumbirai Kangai has been a member of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) since its formation in 1963. He is currently ZANU Secretary of Labor, Social Services and Welfare and a member of the movement's Supreme Council. He was interviewed by LSM in New York on 7 February 1975.

Objectives & Structure

WHAT WOULD YOU SAY ARE ZANU'S MAJOR OBJECTIVES IN ZIMBABWE? HOW DO YOU ENVISAGE ZIMBABWE AFTER THE ARMED STRUGGLE HAS BEEN VICTORIOUS, AFTER YOU HAVE ACHIEVED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE?

We would like to affect a basic change in our country. We aren't really interested in just changing from white to black faces in the government. What we are now fighting is a system, not an individual or a particular race. It is true that the people who hold power, who control the reigns of government in our country are white, and that on the surface our revolution appears to be a racial conflict. This is unfortunate. We know, however, that our real enemy is capitalism and imperialism; and that there are many Africans who have become part of that system - African reactionaries. To us, these Africans are enemies as much as the white reactionaries, since our war is essentially being fought by the exploited people of Zimbabwe against their exploiters.

Now, to the second part of your question. Right now we are in the stage of what we call the "national democratic revolution." Our slogan at this stage is "One man, one vote!" and our aim is to unite all progressive forces in Zimbabwe - all class forces which seek national independence - in order to crush the immediate enemy: British imperialism and fascist white settler rule. Even at this stage, however, our actions and programs are guided by the methods and principles of Marxism-Leninism. And at some point these programs we are carrying out within the zones under our partial control will become, as they develop along with the struggle, the programs of a liberated, independent Zimbabwe. So, continuing along the course we are on today, it would seem that the prospects for socialist reconstruction in liberated Zimbabwe are really excellent.

Of course, the two stages in the development of a socialist nation cannot be reversed; you cannot start with socialist reconstruction, you have to begin with the national democratic revolution. But during this stage it is necessary to make sure that the leadership and militants have a correct Marxist-Leninist approach and that the masses are being oriented in a socialist direction. You know, in Africa today there is a tendency for some military people, or others, to come to power through a coup and then issue statements saying that they are "socialist" governments. This is ridiculous. Socialism is not something that comes overnight. People have to make a conscious effort to study socialist theory and then put it into practice; not just know the theory, but integrate it with practice. This is what we are trying to do now, in the field; and we hope the process will continue.

Today, at the stage we're at, we have a "dictatorship of the Party" - those who constitute the Party have the power to formulate and affect programs, and so on. But in an independent Zimbabwe there will be a "dictatorship of the proletariat," with the working class being in the vanguard of the revolution. This is reflected to some extent even today, with most of the leadership of the Party having come from working class backgrounds. Of course, we also have intellectuals and others who have come out of the petty bourgeoisie.

PERHAPS YOU COULD BRIEFLY OUTLINE AND DISCUSS THE CURRENT STRUCTURE OF ZANU.

Most of ZANU's members are organized in branches, which were established over most of Zimbabwe when we first formed the Party. Several branches make up what we call a district, and district councils are elected by representatives of the various branches. These councils in turn elect provincial councils, which communicate directly with the Party's national leadership. Originally this top leadership was called a central committee, led by our president, Comrade Ndabaningi Sithole. But when ZANU was banned in 1964 and many of our top leaders were arrested and detained, it became impossible for this central committee to function properly. We then formed the Supreme Council, which is now responsible for coordinating the armed struggle and which, for the most part, has operated from headquarters outside Zimbabwe. Each of the eight members of the Supreme Council heads a particular department and, as with all ZANU leadership, has received military training.

In addition to these bodies we have a policy-making council, the Chimurenga General Council, made up of a full range of representatives from the branches to the Supreme Council. The whole of ZANU is represented, including student groups studying abroad and Zimbabweans living in other countries - especially Zambia. Comrades living in Zambia, you see, are also organized in branches, districts and provinces. They contribute to the struggle in many ways - financially, materially and politically. This Chimurenga General Council meets for two weeks every other year and we carry out a comprehensive discussion and review of the Party's policies and elect members to the Supreme Council. Before this review council meets, of course, discussions and elections are carried out at all lower levels to insure that the cadre attending the meetings will be truly representative of the whole of ZANU's membership.

We are careful not to use the word "Congress" for this body, for ZANU Congresses can only be held inside Zimbabwe - the last being in 1964 just before the Party was banned. It was then necessary for some of us to come outside in order to carry out the necessary functions and policies decided upon at the 1964 Congress, and that is when we formed the Chimurenga General Council and the Supreme Council elected by it.

Of course the armed struggle is at the center of our efforts and therefore all members of the Supreme Council are members of ZANLA - the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army. Our policy is that all militants are to receive military training, though not everyone is directly engaged in the armed struggle as guerrillas.

ZANU HAS CLAIMED TO BE A DEMOCRATIC-CENTRALIST ORGANIZATION. COULD YOU TELL US WHAT YOU MEAN BY THIS? AND WHETHER CRITICISM/SELF-CRITICISM PLAYS A ROLE IN THIS PROCESS?

The guiding principle of ZANU is democratic-centralism. What we mean by this is that in our decision-making process there is a strong input of discussion and ideas from lower bodies and the membership at large, but once the majority has arrived at a decision it is binding - even upon the minority which opposed it during the course of discussion. This is in essence what we mean in ZANU by democratic-centralism.

As for criticism/self-criticism, it is extremely important. At every level of the Party there is an organ which meets, carries on intensive discussions, decides on matters within its sphere, and engages in constructive criticism. This is one of the things which has enabled ZANU to survive. You know, in Africa and elsewhere in the world, liberation movements often become split and fragmented because of their inability to rid themselves of reactionary ideas and tendencies. In ZANU we attempt to achieve this through engaging in constructive criticism. If a comrade goes wrong, makes mistakes, he is criticised and the correct line is pointed out. In ZANU we believe in remolding comrades who have made mistakes. Of course, from time to time we catch informers sent in by the Smith regime to spy, but our general policy is to remold rather than punish. Traitors must be dealt with differently.

Activities and Programs

WHAT IS THE EXTENT OF ZANU'S PRESENT POLITICAL AND MILITARY ACTIVITIES INSIDE ZIMBABWE?
WHAT TACTICS DO YOU EMPLOY AT THIS STAGE?

As you know, we are presently waging guerrilla warfare. After starting with small units and only scattered actions we are now operating on a larger scale and hope to advance soon to mobile warfare along the lines of successful liberation movements in other countries.

Actually, ZANU started the armed struggle as far back as 1966 when we attacked the enemy at Sinoia. But over the next few years we did not have much success, indicating our lack of experience in guerrilla warfare. With time, however, we learned from liberation wars in other parts of the world - China, Cuba, Vietnam and the Portuguese colonies - drawing lessons from the experiences of these comrades and studying conditions in our own country. Between 1969 and 1972 we carried out intensive political mobilization in Zimbabwe and were able to establish a strong base among the masses. And, of course, support of the masses is a precondition for success in any people's war. Our first attack in the current campaign took place on 21 December 1972.

As ZANU proved able to challenge and even defeat the enemy, more and more people approached us to participate in the struggle. Thus, the question of recruitment, which used to be a real problem for us, no longer poses any difficulties. Men and women, old and young - they are flocking into our camps.

So far we have not used the term "liberated areas" to describe the situation; there are now extensive "combat zones" where we have initiated educational, medical and agricultural programs among the population. This area amounts to roughly 50,000 square miles with a population of about 2.5 million...nearly half of Zimbabwe's African population.

Of course, the regime does everything it can to hide these facts. In their reports on ZANU activities the settlers keep referring to clashes in the Northeast, where we started the current campaign two years ago. But the armed struggle has now spread far beyond the Northeast into the East and Northwest, as well as in the outskirts of Salisbury. Many reports in the Rhodesian press substantiate this.

You may recall that when Ian Smith announced the so-called ceasefire back in December, he purported to have the support of ZANU. But shortly after this he had to swallow his words and admit that ZANU was not only going on with the war, but had opened up another front.

WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT EDUCATIONAL AND MEDICAL PROGRAMS, SUCH AS THE INNOCULATION CAMPAIGN AGAINST CHOLERA THAT ZANU CARRIED OUT IN ZIMBABWE, WHAT AREAS ARE YOU TALKING ABOUT? QUITE FRANKLY, I HAVE A PROBLEM IN SEEING HOW YOU CAN REACH HALF OF THE ZIMBABWE PEOPLE WITH SUCH PROGRAMS AT THIS STAGE OF THE STRUGGLE, ESPECIALLY WITHOUT HAVING EFFECTIVELY LIBERATED AREAS.

Throughout the combat zones I mentioned we have relatively safe base areas, and this is where we carry out such programs. Here we teach hygiene, maternal care and basic literacy. We have a rehabilitation program to help wounded fighters and care for old and injured civilians. Of course, all these things are done under very rough conditions, in the bush or under a tree, and sometimes our literacy classes have to disperse because of enemy attacks. In the areas where we operate the level of underdevelopment is extremely high. It is ZANU policy however, that all militants at least know the basics of reading and writing. As Secretary of Labor, Social Services and Welfare, many of these things are my particular responsibility.

CAN YOU COMMENT ON THE INVOLVEMENT OF WOMEN IN ZANU, PARTICULARLY IN RELATION TO THEIR TRADITIONAL ROLE IN SHONA AND NDEBELE SOCIETY? HOW DOES YOUR PARTY DEAL WITH RESISTANCE TO THE CHANGING ROLE OF WOMEN?

The participation of women in our struggle reflects the changes that the revolution forces upon Zimbabwean society. In speaking to Zimbabweans and American supporters during my visit here, I used this subject to illustrate how deep these changes go. For example,

we often recruit couples, man and wife, for the ZANLA forces. In some cases the woman turns out to be the better militant and she is promoted to unit commander. This means that her husband, like other militants in the unit, has to salute and take orders from her. Now, anyone who knows a bit about traditional man-woman relationships among our people can see what a big change this is. And it is clear that the contribution of women has been an essential ingredient in ZANU's success.

Of course, we also encounter resistance. There is always resistance to change. It is very difficult for many Zimbabweans, particularly men, to accept it, but as Marxist-Leninists we are committed to the liberation of women from their old submissive roles. Our main tool in forging such change is political education. We work very hard among the people to educate them politically and this, combined with the pressure of the armed struggle, makes them accept surprisingly fast what would otherwise have taken a long, long time.

On this I can speak from personal experience. Since I joined the struggle, I have started doing things I never thought I could or would do. When I was a student, not too long ago, I felt we were all products of capitalist society; that everybody grew up oriented toward nothing but material wealth and self-advancement. Now, this attitude is being countered by political education and my experiences in the struggle. And I'm sure that everyone working for the revolution is going through a similar process. I know that I myself have gone through an enormous change in ideas and values.

Relations Among Zimbabwean Movements

THE FOUR ZIMBABWE NATIONALIST ORGANIZATIONS - ZAPU, ZANU, ANC AND FROLIZI - HAVE RECENTLY MERGED TO FORM A NEW "UMBRELLA-TYPE" ANC. WHAT IS THE EXTENT OF YOUR COOPERATION WITHIN ANC? WHAT ARE YOUR PRESENT RELATIONS WITH THE OTHER ORGANIZATIONS?

The defeat of Portuguese colonialism and the growing wars in Zimbabwe and Namibia have put a lot of pressure on the racist regimes in Salisbury and Pretoria. As conflicts and contradictions mount among their constituents, Vorster and Smith have become desperate for a solution. This has created a somewhat new situation in southern Africa and some African governments have taken the opportunity to promote a so-called "detente" involving the whole sub-continent, including Zimbabwe. They feel this requires the Africans of Zimbabwe to speak with one voice, and they therefore brought pressure on the various nationalist movements to unite. As part of this "detente," some few ZANU and ZAPU leaders were released from Rhodesian jails and flown to Lusaka to discuss the question of a merger. But from ZANU's point of view, this move has raised a number of questions.

First, there are differences between our organizations, some ideological, some strategic and tactical. Unlike ZAPU and ANC, we did not accept the African presidents' initial demand that the existing organizations be dissolved and replaced with something completely new. What guarantees would there be that we could continue to expand the armed struggle, the only trump card the Zimbabwe people hold against the hand of Smith? We were also concerned about the continuation of our civilian programs, which only ZANU can administer effectively at this stage. In addition, one of these organizations, FROLIZI, has no basis within Zimbabwe whatsoever and we were opposed to even including them in the negotiations.

For days we were arguing back and forth and an awful lot of pressure was applied on us to find a compromise. As Lenin said, even revolutionaries must learn to compromise; but they must know what they are giving up and what they are to gain. We finally agreed therefore to join ANC, but as organizations retaining our own separate structures and with the freedom to withdraw if we deemed it necessary. So, in our view, we now have a united front in which ZANU, ZAPU and ANC participate as separate organizations, though coordinating our efforts. This is as far as we can go until conditions change. In the meantime, we have no intention of halting the armed struggle. Though Smith tried to appease his fellow settlers by saying that ZANU had agreed to a ceasefire, we have not even discussed this

question with him; he's just playing for time.... In fact, we have decided to redouble our efforts and intensify the war. I was working in our combat zones less than three weeks ago and I can assure you that ZANLA is hitting the settler forces harder every day.

THE RELEASED LEADERS, INCLUDING ZANU PRESIDENT NDABANINGI SITHOLE, HAD BEEN DETAINED FOR A DECADE. DURING THIS PERIOD THEY WERE ISOLATED FROM THE MASSES, THE PARTY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE. WHAT PROBLEMS DID THIS POSE IN THEIR RESUMING LEADERSHIP, PARTICULARLY GIVEN THE EXTERNAL PRESSURES YOU MENTIONED?

When comrade Sithole and the others were released we were naturally apprehensive about the state of both their physical and mental health. Since then, however, we have been positively surprised. Sithole was detained mainly in Salisbury Central Prison where he had the chance to meet many recently arrested ZANU militants. Some had participated in the armed struggle and could brief Sithole on the development of the war. Thus he was almost up-to-date when he emerged from prison last November and we found him as sharp and alert as ever - just like the old Ndaba of the early sixties. The gaps that did exist were filled in through discussions with other leaders and cadre immediately after his release, so comrade Sithole was fully able to speak on behalf of ZANU within a few days after his arrival in Lusaka.

Later, when he returned to Zimbabwe, the masses gave him an overwhelming reception - in fact, he told us he had never experienced anything like it in his whole life. Wherever he goes there are crowds of people following him in the streets, carrying him on their shoulders, pushing his car, and so on. Our advance in the struggle has made a tremendous impact and comrade Sithole now embodies our people's hopes and aspirations.*

WHAT, THEN, WOULD BE YOUR COMMENT ON THE MANY REPORTS OF SERIOUS SPLITS WITHIN ZANU OVER QUESTIONS REGARDING THE CONTINUATION OF ARMED STRUGGLE AND YOUR POSITION ON COOPERATION WITH THE OTHER ZIMBABWEAN MOVEMENTS?

The reports you refer to are without any substance. There is no split within ZANU whatsoever! These rumors were set loose by British media, in particular, and started to appear when the Lusaka negotiations were at a critical juncture. So it's clear that they were intended to sow confusion, undermine ZANU and sabotage our efforts to reach an agreement with ZAPU and ANC.

Some of these rumors, though, were no less than ridiculous. For example, when most of us in the ZANU leadership were meeting at the Mulungushi Villa in Lusaka, we heard on the radio that we were supposed to be out fighting each other. That really made us laugh!

ON THE QUESTION OF RELATIONS WITH THE OTHER ZIMBABWE MOVEMENTS, PERHAPS YOU COULD OUTLINE THE REASONS FOR THE INABILITY OF ZANU AND ZAPU TO COORDINATE THEIR EFFORTS IN THE STRUGGLE, DESPITE HEAVY PRESSURE FROM THE OAU AND ZAMBIA, AMONG OTHERS? ZAPU EXPRESSED ITS VIEWS IN THE LAST ISSUE OF *LSM NEWS* AND I THINK IT WOULD BE VALUABLE TO HEAR WHAT ZANU HAS TO SAY.

Unless you are talking about a complete, overnight merger of ZANU and ZAPU, I don't think recent efforts have been unsuccessful. Our progress may be slow, but we are moving in the right direction and our two organizations are now much closer than they have been in several years. Since we are both carrying out armed struggle, guided by revolutionary theory, and are both being threatened by reactionary forces, we definitely have common interests. Under the present conditions, however, we have to be careful. From time to time we consult each other and eventually we'd like to see an integrated army. ZAPU now has a small military force in Zimbabwe and carries out some actions, though they have not been very successful yet in the battlefield. If we were to merge our forces at this time, it would most likely cause disorganization and detract from the present ZANLA offensive. This, of course, we can ill afford. It's urgent now that we intensify the armed struggle to put maximum pressure on Smith. If we are successful in this, conditions will be better for full collaboration with ZAPU later on.

*President Sithole was rearrested in early March 1975 by the Smith regime.

You see, even looking back as far as 1964-65, the major difference between ZAPU and ZANU has been in the sphere of strategy and tactics, and not ideology. ZANU has had a militant orientation from the start; we were always eager to confront the enemy. After our first attack, at Sinoia in 1966, James Chikerema, then Acting President of ZAPU, denounced it as an "irresponsible act." But since then, of course, ZAPU too has adopted the means of armed confrontation and our organizations have really been moving closer together.

HOW DO YOU SEE THE ZIMBABWE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN THE CONTEXT OF WORLDWIDE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE?

Zimbabwe is part of an imperialist system that reaches all over the world. Therefore we have common interests with people everywhere who are fighting imperialism. Take the example of the U.S., the strongest imperialist force today. The U.S. depends on Zimbabwe for chrome. U.S. corporations use underpaid, starving Zimbabwean workers to mine this chrome, which is then shipped to the U.S. - in violation of United Nations sanctions - where American workers refine it and use it in finished products. To realize their big profits, U.S. capitalists exploit both Zimbabwean and American workers - though not equally. Therefore, if we can defeat imperialism in Zimbabwe, we will be severing one of the tentacles which enables the capitalists to exploit workers here in the U.S. as well.

At this moment, we in Zimbabwe are fighting an armed struggle against imperialism and if we can liberate our country, it will become the basis for further assault on imperialism elsewhere.

Zimbabwe is just one case: revolutionary liberation struggles are going on as well in other regions of Africa and in Asia and Latin America. Imperialism is everywhere the enemy. Its weakest links right now are on these Third World continents and a concerted effort must be made to defeat the system on every front. We are trying to do our part in Zimbabwe. Of course, Zimbabwe is only a small country with only six million people - a very tiny portion of the world's exploited population. But for now our primary concern is to liberate Zimbabwe; it is the area where we can be most effective. But once Zimbabwe is liberated, if we create a government which limits its concerns to the boundaries of Zimbabwe, then I think we will have sold out the whole cause. I believe it our international obligation to continue in a concrete way to advance the struggle beyond the borders of Zimbabwe.

This, in brief, is how we see our struggle in a global framework. You can find a more detailed explanation in comrade Chitepo's speech to the Pan-African Congress held in Dar es Salaam last year.*

THE SINO-SOVIET SPLIT HAS BECOME A DOMINANT FACTOR WITHIN THE NORTH AMERICAN LEFT. HOW HAS THIS ISSUE AFFECTED THE STRUGGLE IN ZIMBABWE, AND ZANU AND ZAPU IN PARTICULAR?

First let me say that in our struggle we accept aid from anybody, so long as it is aid without strings. As for the Soviet Union, we have approached them several times asking for military, financial and other forms of assistance but they say "No." Okay, that is their prerogative. We can't force them to give us aid. I just want to stress that ZANU's policy is to accept all aid which does not compromise the independence of our movement or country. We must be free to carry out our programs and radically change the system.

Many people view the split between ZANU and ZAPU as reflecting the split between China and the Soviet Union. This is not true. The Chinese, you know, for all intents and purposes, recognize ZAPU. They give assistance to ZAPU, invite them to meetings and to celebrate various Chinese occasions in Lusaka. We know this because we meet the ZAPU comrades there - Jason Moyo, George Silundika and the other ZAPU leaders. That is well and good. But we never have been invited by the Soviet Union to any of its affairs. They have always said that they don't even want to know ZANU. Recently I think they have started to realize their mistake in this area and perhaps things will change in the future.

*An excerpt from this speech appears in LSM's 1975 Africa Liberation Calendar.

Unfortunately, Herbert Chitepo was assassinated by a land mine in Lusaka on 17 March 1975 very likely by an agent of the Smith regime.

I must stress that we have nothing to do with the Soviets' quarrels with the Chinese. That is their own business. As far as we are concerned, we have our own line regarding outside assistance. And even if I were to go to Canada today and Trudeau offered ZANU aid without strings, we would accept it.

AS A MATTER OF FACT, WITH THE GROWING STRENGTH OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, CANADIAN AND OTHER IMPERIALIST GOVERNMENTS HAVE STARTED GIVING AID, OFTEN CHANNELING IT THROUGH SO-CALLED "NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS." AS IS THE CASE WITH THE U.S. PEACE CORPS, MUCH OF THIS AID IS DESIGNED TO YIELD NEO-COLONIAL RESULTS. DO YOU VIEW THIS AS A DANGER OR A PROBLEM?

Of course, but what happens in Zimbabwe after independence will ultimately depend on the correctness or incorrectness of our political line. If it is correct, we will be able to deal with the imperialist forces without being manipulated by them. Even now, every day, they try to manipulate us. But they haven't succeeded in infiltrating or destroying ZANU because our political line is correct. And by the same token, I am very optimistic that we will be successful in defeating these subversive forces after we have won our independence. Of course, no country can afford to isolate itself, but as long as we hold to a correct line, I believe we will be able to prevent imperialist manipulation and control of our government machinery.

The Importance of Internationalism

AGREED THAT YOURS IS BUT A PART OF THE INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM, WHAT DO YOU SEE AS BEING THE ROLE OF SOCIALISTS IN THE IMPERIALIST METROPOLES IN RELATION TO THE ZIMBABWE REVOLUTION?

There are many areas in which organizations like LSM can play an active part. The imperialists are trying to cut our lines of support, to strangle the movement, and this is why international solidarity is so important. We need funds and equipment to film and publicize our struggle, and inside Zimbabwe there is a great lack of clothing, medicines, tents and all kinds of supplies which are often quite easy to obtain on this continent.

The political aspect is also very important. The powerful bourgeois media distort the facts of our struggle and do their best to discredit the liberation movements. You people who understand what's going on must do all you can to bring out the truth. If you have no access to TV or the big papers, you must find other ways of getting the information out. This is extremely important!

Of course, comradesly support must not be confused with slavish and uncritical following. We don't expect our friends and supporters abroad to always agree with what ZANU does and says. For example, there may be things in our bulletin, *Zimbabwe News*, which you don't agree with. In that case, we appreciate your informing us and maybe we can have a discussion. We want to relate to the people and organizations we work with, including groups such as yours, in a politically principled and critical way.

So there is no question that Marxist-Leninists and other progressive people who are concerned about putting an end to all exploitation can play an important role. I myself must fight in Zimbabwe because, right now, conditions being what they are, this is where I can be most effective. I know the conditions; I can help mobilize the people and participate in guerrilla warfare, the most advanced form of anti-imperialist struggle. But when we have liberated Zimbabwe we will not drop out. Then there will be ways that we, too, can help in ending capitalist exploitation wherever else it exists.

LSM DEFINITELY AGREES THAT IT IS IMPORTANT FOR REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS TO MAINTAIN PRINCIPLED RELATIONS OF THE KIND YOU MENTION. WE WERE THEREFORE SURPRISED TO FIND, IN THE AUGUST 1974 ISSUE OF *ZIMBABWE NEWS*, AN UNPRINCIPLED ATTACK ON LSM AS A "DUBIOUS HALF-BAKED AND REACTIONARY" SUPPORT GROUP "COMPOSED OF CAPITALIST ORIENTED, PSEUDO ANTI-IMPERIALIST, WHITE LIBERALS." PERHAPS YOU COULD EXPLAIN THE REASONS FOR THIS ATTACK?

Well, I don't work in our publicity department so I can only give a partial answer to this question. I'm not quite certain about the content of this attack, but if I remember correctly, its purpose was to refute certain statements by ZAPU's George Silundika which appeared in an LSM interview. They presented a false picture of ZANU and the Zimbabwe struggle and since this information was published by you and spread all over the world, we had to use our bulletin to put the record straight. We based our criticisms on objective evidence and, I think, proved that Silundika's statements were incorrect.

THE POINT, THOUGH, IS THAT THESE STATEMENTS WERE MADE BY COMRADE SILUNDIKA AND *NOT* BY LSM. AND THE ALLEGATIONS MADE ABOUT LSM WERE CLEARLY FALSE AND COULD NOT HAVE BEEN THE RESULT OF CAREFUL INVESTIGATION OF THE OBJECTIVE EVIDENCE. WE HOPE THAT THIS MATTER CAN BE SET STRAIGHT AND THAT FROM NOW ON WE WILL CONDUCT OUR RELATIONS IN A PRINCIPLED, COMRADELY AND CRITICAL MANNER.

Comrade, I think I understand now what you are saying. I wasn't really aware of how this article came out in the *Zimbabwe News*, as all we saw were the statements prepared by our publicity department before they went to press - before they were really completed for publication. I quite agree with the observations you have made. The information which our comrades had about LSM was incorrect and their criticism was unprincipled and inaccurate. Let me add, however, that as people struggling against imperialism in this world we do run into these things. It is unfortunate, but they happen. The most important thing, though, is that our major revolutionary objectives should bind us together. We should begin now to build a solid relationship and work to achieve our common end. Principled criticism is always welcomed; that is how we learn and grow. If we stopped criticizing one another then our movement would die - we could not make improvement and develop. But I fully agree with you that the criticism has to be principled.

We will surely schedule a meeting between LSM and the comrades responsible for *Zimbabwe News* the next time you are in Lusaka, and I'm sure we can straighten out this problem. As revolutionaries, we must not let such things distract us from our struggle against the real enemy.

by Ole Gjerstad



LSM: Problems in Theory, Strategy and Practice

by Don Barnett

LSM & ZANU: Principled Relations are Worth Struggling for

In our interview with the ZANU comrade, Kumbirai Kangai, published elsewhere in this issue, an important step was taken in establishing principled and mutually critical relations between ZANU and LSM. The honest and open exchange of views regarding the attack on LSM which appeared in last August's *Zimbabwe News* did much to clear the way for future ZANU/LSM collaboration in our common struggle against imperialism. In addition, we believe it an important victory in our struggle against both slavishness and arrogance in relations between Marxist-Leninist organizations of differing size and strength.

It is unfortunate that comradely and collaborative relations between North American Left organizations and the various liberation movements in socialist countries are taken to imply an obligation to refrain from any criticism or questioning. In many cases it is as if support for, say, China or FRELIMO rests upon the assumption that such countries or movements were the embodiment of perfection or infallibility - were beyond comradely criticism. Or that, given their size and greatness, we had no "right" to criticize or question.

Of course, criticism does imply a possible shortcoming or weakness in the movement or country criticized. And for many, support is contingent on the absence of weakness in that which is supported. In fact, shortcomings or mistakes are often viewed in an almost religious way, as destroying the moral basis of support for or relations with their perpetrators. And when they are glimpsed or suspected, it seems the test of one's loyalty and revolutionary discipline to repress such "counter-revolutionary" thoughts and certainly avoid raising them in open and comradely criticism. Our political world thus becomes dichotomized into the idyllic religious world of "good" and "evil," with no need for analysis of the many-sidedness of things, the unity of opposites, the negation of negation and the varied processes by which strengths can be transformed into weaknesses and weaknesses into strengths. All such complicated and confusing thought is alleviated when we place China and Mao, FRELIMO or ZANU on pedestals to be worshipped in reverent awe. And should they at some point err, make serious mistakes or reveal weaknesses, the answer is equally simple and clear-cut: outright and total repudiation. We have been deceived, tricked into blind servility; our moral purity remains intact - we have discovered the sin and exposed and rejected the sinner. Yesterday's faultless object of adoration becomes today's devil, a dark and sinister enemy.

Now this may seem a caricature, and to some extent it is, but those who can recall the adulation of the Soviet Union prior to Hungary and the 20th Congress by such organizations as the Labor Youth League, or the more recent rise and demise of China in the eyes of the Progressive Labor Party, will see in this caricature an essential truth. And one which remains as virulent today as in the past.

As Marxists we believe that relations based on blind faith and the myth of perfection, relations lacking an open exchange of comradely criticisms and questions, can only do damage to the individuals and organizations involved and hinder progressive and revolutionary development. We believe that "weaknesses" or contradictions exist in all of us, at both the individual and organizational level, and that all progressive development requires the recognition, understanding and resolution in practice of such contradictions. We expect that mistakes will be made, as they are unavoidable, and ask only that we remain self-critical and open to the criticism of others so as to learn as much as possible about such mistakes, rectify them where possible and avoid similar errors in the future. It is sometimes the case that contradictions we are unable to recognize in ourselves are discovered by comrades. It is not only their "right" but their revolutionary duty to communicate in a constructive manner their understanding of such contradictions so that we are better able to deal with and resolve them.

Returning to ZANU and comrade Kangai, we would like to thank them for their openness and self-critical approach to the problems which have emerged between our two organizations. Honesty and humility are, in such instances, great revolutionary strengths. If we are to move ahead in the struggle for international socialism, it is essential that we overcome both arrogance and timidity in relations between socialist and revolutionary organizations regardless of their relative size and strength. No organization is so large or strong that it is beyond criticism or should refrain from self-criticism; and neither is any group so small that it cannot both make and receive useful and constructive criticism. Mutual respect and comradely criticism and self-criticism are the only basis for principled relations and collaboration between revolutionary organizations.

On Dogmatism and the Proletariat ...

Is it possible to be a Marxist and avoid dogmatism? To be seriously involved in the struggle for socialism and not become self-righteous? To be politically committed without being fanatic? To strongly hold a particular interpretation of social reality and not be arrogant? To engage in criticism without being contemptuous and denigrative?

We believe the answer to all these questions is "Yes" - but that the realization of this affirmation requires intense and prolonged struggle, both within ourselves as individuals and within our respective organizations. The historic tendency to transform Marxism into a religious dogma from which unquestionable truths must merely be deduced, memorized and acted upon is almost as old as Marxism itself. Marx constantly inveighed against those for whom "The materialist conception of history...serves as an excuse for *not* studying history." Noting this tendency among French "Marxists" of the 1870's, Marx used to say: "All I know is that I am not a Marxist."¹

After Marx's death, Engels had to contend with an even stronger effort to canonize Marxism. "Our theory," he said, "is a theory of evolution, not a dogma to be learnt by heart and repeated mechanically...our conception of history is above all a guide to study, not a lever for construction after the manner of the Hegelian. All history must be studied afresh, the conditions of the different formations of society must be examined individually. Of the British social democrats and German Socialist Worker's Party (U.S.) in the 1890's he wrote: ["They] have managed to transform our theory into the rigid dogma of an orthodox sect; it is narrow-mindedly exclusive and...has a thoroughly rotten tradition in international politics."³

Lenin, Mao and others have continued this struggle for a scientific and creative Marxism. Unfortunately, however, today as in the past, the tendency toward reification and orthodoxy are very strong. In North America, despite the many lessons which might be learned from ideological struggles and revolutionary processes over the past century, those who call themselves Marxist-Leninists are almost without exception still burdened with the leaden political weight of dogmatism, sectarianism and arrogance. It is strange, if not tragic, that after so many years of numbing Soviet-oriented CP dogmatism and slavishness, more than a decade of Black power, anti-war and counter-culture politics, and the rich experiences of the Chinese, Cuban, Vietnamese and African revolutions - to name but a few - the North American Left is once again manifesting tendencies to become mired in a slightly new version of the old uninspiring and unimaginative orthodoxy. Ironically, what is new is

the replacement of the Soviet Union and Stalin by China and Mao; ironic because of Mao's own creative departures from the orthodoxy of the Comintern, especially his views on the revolutionary role of the peasantry, and because of China's more recent break with Soviet ideological hegemony and the fluorescence of Marxist ideas during the cultural revolution.

What is old, uncreative and generally a bore is the refashioning of infallible heroes and objects of worship which act as sources of truth and "proof" of the correctness of one's line. And along with this is the resurrection of an ahistorical, undifferentiated "proletariat" and the millenarian faith that this "working class," led by a vanguard "Leninist" party (which several Left groups now claim to be building) will soon rise to crush the bourgeoisie and establish a socialist America or Canada. Reading the literature of these aspiring "vanguards" is in many respects similar to reading science fiction, though the repetition of catch words and phrases dulls rather than excites the imagination and intellect. Nevertheless, page-after-page of "militant strikes," "deepening crises," "rising working class consciousness," "emerging new communist party," and the assignment to purgatory of all "revisionists," "counter-revolutionaries," "lackies," etc., slowly draws one into a new "social" world, an America or Canada where the masses are about to move into full revolutionary motion, where socialist consciousness is reaching fever pitch, where all that is needed is a "genuine" communist party to channel the revolutionary energy of the masses forward to victory.

What I would like to do here is to make a few fairly simple though, I believe, important points. First, that the proletariat is differentiated into several types over both space and time, and that not all sectors, strata or types of proletariat are revolutionary. Second, that it is necessary to examine the real conditions of life - material, political, subjective and cultural - of particular classes, as well as their relations to the means of production and other classes, in order to understand and be predictive about their political behavior. Third, that while Marxists accept the thesis that we are living in an epoch of proletarian revolution and socialist construction, this in no way implies that the proletariats of all contemporary countries or nations are revolutionary or possess revolutionary potential. That, in other words, it is possible for there to exist non-revolutionary - even reactionary - proletariats at particular places and moments of history within this epoch. Fourth, that while a number of answers seem plausible and suggest themselves in the light of existing data and recent history, it is extremely important that we abandon lifeless dogmas and develop a thoroughgoing analysis of classes and class relations in contemporary imperialist society. Fifth, that while maintaining a high level of political practice, we should regard the assumptions and hypotheses underlying such praxis as tentative, as subject to change in the light of our experiences and new evidence. That, in short, we should strive to become and remain "open" scientific Marxists, struggling to avoid the tendency or temptation to transform operative assumptions or hypotheses regarding revolutionary classes and processes into unquestionable "truths" which function to rationalize existing practice, filter out contrary evidence, and consign all deviating ideas to those who have abandoned the revolutionary cause and become "revisionists," "reactionaries," and/or "counter-revolutionaries."

Types of Proletariat...

It is somewhat strange that when Mao writes of poor, middle, upper-middle and rich peasants in China⁴ and, later, of the need to eliminate the upper-middle and rich peasants as classes, no one on the Left seems terribly upset or concerned. But when the subject of proletarian rather than peasant types is mentioned, and the possible need to do away with rich and privileged proletariats, it is quite a different matter and many a revolutionary's feathers are ruffled. The prevailing view seems to be that there is "a proletariat," defined primarily if not exclusively by the fact that surplus value is derived from its labor, and a narrow stratum of "labor aristocrats" who collaborate with the bourgeoisie from their seats of power in the trade union bureaucracy. These proletarians are rarely analyzed further into types, sub-classes or strata; rather, they are viewed in their commonality as a single exploited and revolutionary class being duped into a false consciousness and errant political ways by bought-off labor leaders and revisionists of one or another "so-called" Marxist-Leninist organization.

Mao, of course, dealt with different kinds of proletariat as well as with varieties of peasantry. He wrote of a "semi-proletariat" consisting of five categories - "semi-owner peasants," "poor peasants," "small handicraftsmen," "shop assistants" and "peddlers"; the "proletariat" proper, comprised of "modern industrial" workers; and a "fairly large *lumpen proletariat* made up of peasants who...lost their land and handicraftsmen who [couldn't] get work."⁵ This analysis of the Chinese proletariat rested upon the precedents of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Let us now briefly consider some of these.

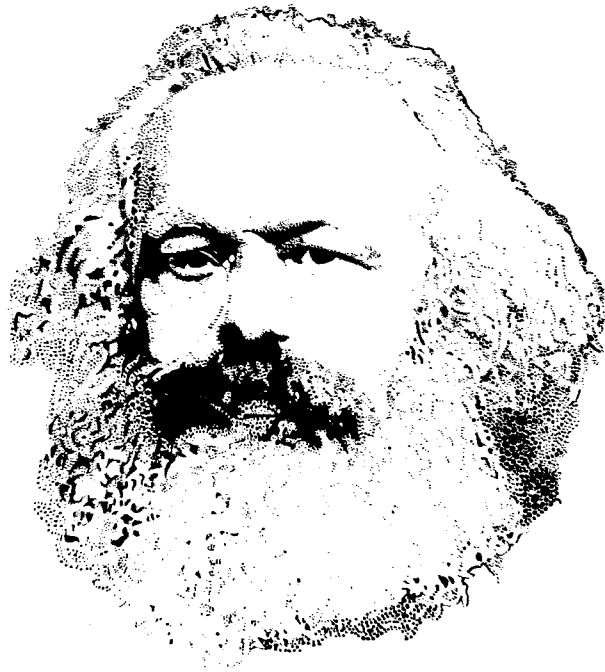
In *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, written in the mid-1840's, Engels investigated "the different sections of the proletariat" in terms of each one's "own peculiarities." He described in depth the conditions of work and life of (1) the industrial proletariat, "those employed in manufacture, in the working up of raw materials"; (2) the mining proletariat, "a new proletariat"⁶ of coal and metal miners; (3) the agricultural proletariat, and (4) the immigrant Irish proletariat which formed "the lowest class of the population."⁷ Writing forty years later, Engels noted "A permanent improvement for two 'protected' sections of the working-class," First, "the factory hands," and secondly, "the great Trades' Unions...The engineers, the carpenters, the joiners, the bricklayers [who] form an aristocracy among the working-class; they have succeeded in enforcing for themselves a relatively comfortable position, and they accept it as final."⁸ Finally, in 1892, Engels noted the emergence of a "New Unionism," "the organizations of the great mass of 'unskilled' workers." These masses, "looked down upon the working-class aristocracy," had an "immense advantage, that *their minds were virgin soil*, entirely free from the inherited 'respectable' bourgeois prejudices which hampered the brains of the better situated 'old' Unionists."⁹ (Italics in original)

Marx, writing in 1846-7, noted that the nature and scope of "society" depended upon the division of labor, and that, "Thanks to the application of machinery and of steam, the division of labor was able to assume such dimensions that large-scale industry, detached from the national soil, depends entirely on the world market, on international exchange, on an international division of labor."¹⁰ Given the machine, "the spinner can live in England while the weaver resides in the East Indies."¹¹ These working classes living in different countries within the same society, Marx asserts, are interdependent but certainly not equal. In discussing the momentary prosperity of English cotton workers during trade booms, he says: "But perhaps also, in speaking of improvement, the economists were thinking of the millions of workers who had to perish in the East Indies so as to procure for the million and a half workers employed in England in the same industry, three years' prosperity out of ten."¹²

This rejection of a simplistic and false separation of English workers from their "co-workers" in India and the other colonies was accompanied by an 1850 attack within the Communist League on those who tended to idealize and reify the proletariat. "The minority," Marx argued, "replaces critical observation with dogmatism, a materialist attitude with an idealist one. It regards its own wishes as the driving force of the revolution instead of the real facts of the situation. Whilst we tell the workers that they must go through 15, 20, perhaps even 50 years of war and civil war, not only in order to alter existing conditions, but even to make themselves fit to take over political power, you tell them, on the contrary, that they must seize political power at once or abandon all hope. Whilst we point out how undeveloped the German proletariat still is, you flatter the nationalism and the craft prejudices of the German artisan in the crudest fashion, and that is naturally more popular. Just as the Democrats made a sort of holy entity out of the word people, you are doing the same with the word proletariat."¹³

In viewing the proletariat in England during the 1850's and 60's, Marx drew attention to the important conflict and differences between English and Irish immigrant workers.

"The ordinary English worker," he wrote in 1870, "hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he feels himself a member of the *ruling* nation and so turns himself into a tool of the aristocrats and capitalists of his country *against* Ireland, thus strengthening their domination *over himself*. He cherishes religious, social, and national prejudices against the Irish worker. His attitude towards him is much the same as that of 'poor whites' to the 'niggers' in the former slave states of the USA. The Irishman pays him back with interest in his own money. He sees in the English worker at once the accomplice and the stupid tool of the English rule in Ireland."¹⁴ (Italics in original)



Both Marx and Engels were aware of the impact these conflicts and strata within the laboring population - both at home and within the empire - were having on the consciousness and character of English workers taken as a whole, and especially on that sector organized within the trade unions. Marx saw the antagonism between English and Irish workers as "the secret of the impotence of the English working class, despite its organization."¹⁵ And Engels noted that "the so-called liberty of English citizens is based on the oppression of the colonies."¹⁶ And that "the English proletariat is actually becoming more and more bourgeois, so that this most bourgeois of all nations is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy and a *bourgeois proletariat* alongside the bourgeoisie. For a nation which exploits the whole world this is of course to a certain extent justifiable."¹⁷ And some 24 years later, Engels indicated that this "aim" had virtually been realized; that the English workers thought about colonial policy "exactly the same as they think about politics in general: the same as the bourgeois think." And this was a result of the fact that "the workers gaily share the feast of England's monopoly of the world market and the colonies."¹⁸

Lenin dwelt at length with the above conceptions of Marx and Engels and, writing in 1916, contrasted the "*actual* condition of the workers in the oppressing and in the oppressed nations." He found that economically, the difference was that "sections of the working class in the oppressing countries receive crumbs from the *super profits* the bourgeoisie of the oppressing nations obtains by always doubly exploiting the workers of the oppressed nations." And that, to "a *certain degree* the workers of the oppressing nations are partners of *their* bourgeoisie in plundering the workers (and the masses of the population) of the oppressed nations." Politically, Lenin held the difference to be that the "workers of the oppressing nations occupy a *privileged* position in many spheres of political life compared with the workers of the oppressed nations." And ideologically, "the difference is that the workers of the oppressing nations are taught, at school and in life, disdain and contempt for the workers of the oppressed nations."

"Thus," Lenin held, "*all along the line* there are differences in objective reality.... In *real life* the International is composed of workers *divided* into oppressing and oppressed nations."¹⁹ (Italics in original) He also devoted considerable time to analyzing the consequences of this "division" upon the workers and labor movements within the oppressor imperialist nations, and repeatedly noted the dangerous growth of "groups, or sections of the working class which *objectively* have been bribed by the bourgeoisie (by better wages, positions of honor, etc.), and which help *their* bourgeoisie to plunder and oppress small and weak peoples and to fight *for* the division of the capitalist spoils."²⁰ Lenin, therefore, supported Engels' contention that imperialist-nation workers were divided into "a privileged minority," within the trade unions, and the "lowest mass, the real majority." He also cautioned that no one could calculate the proportion of workers which would end up following the opportunists and social chauvinists in the trade union movement and petty bourgeois political parties.²¹ It is clear today, of course, that during the past fifty years Lenin's "privileged minority" has become a super-privileged "majority"; and that the "real masses" are now located, with but few exceptions, in the neo-colonies of a much more tightly integrated and sophisticated imperialist system.

The foregoing suggests that for both the founders and major developers of Marxism, the term "proletariat," if it is to be scientifically and politically useful, must be viewed historically in all its concrete diversity, change and internal conflict. To move in a deductive fashion from the generally correct statement that we are living in an epoch of proletarian revolution to the proposition that any particular proletariat is revolutionary, regardless of its actual life conditions and relations to other classes (including other proletarian classes!), is both un-Marxist and counter-productive.

It might be useful here to indicate and briefly sketch some of the types of proletariat which capitalism has given rise to since its hegemony over feudalism in the late 16th century. (1) *Early Proletariat*. England provides the model for this type of proletariat, which was the predominant early form of wage labor throughout Europe from the 15th to the late 18th century. This proletariat emerged with the disbanding of feudal retainers and breakdown of craft guilds, but the greatest number resulted from the forceful expropriation of the peasantry from their land. These proletarians of the manufacturing period retained much of their peasant mentality. Many continued working the land on the side while living in small rural villages and engaging primarily in handicrafts and domestic industry. Marx refers to these laborers as the "free and outlawed proletariat"²² because of the "bloody legislation against vagabondage" according to which all who could not find work were treated as criminals and punished severely. Trade unions were outlawed and material conditions worse than those of serfs. Rebellions against the bourgeoisie were largely in the form of crime and the destruction of machinery.

(2) *Classical Proletariat*. England again is the model, with this type of proletariat becoming predominant throughout Europe and North America from the late 18th century to around 1871 - the year both of the Paris Commune and the legal recognition of trade unions in England. This is the industrial and mining proletariat which emerged with the invention of modern machinery, the jenny and the steam-engine (1764), spinning throstle (1767), and advances in communication and transportation - e.g. MacAdam roadways, canals, the steamship (1807) and railroads (1830). This proletariat is described vividly by both Marx and Engels²³ - it suffered absolute deprivation of food, clothing, housing and education, lived entirely and from hand to mouth on extremely low wages, was systematically dehumanized and beyond the reach of bourgeois values, ideology and illusions, and "constantly exposed to loss of work and food, that is to death by starvation, and many perish[ed] in this way."²⁴ There was widespread employment of women and child labor, causing severe strain and breakdown in family relations. Mortality among factory operatives, day-laborers and the service class in general was extremely high, especially among children. Average longevity for these proletarians was but fifteen years. Children in the coal mines started as young as four or five years of age.

This classical proletariat, as well as the agricultural proletariat we shall consider next, has been reproduced in many of its essential features and conditions of life within the colonies and neo-colonies of imperialist powers over the course of 20th century capitalist development. It is here where, together with national subjugation and

humiliation, the super-exploitation analyzed by Lenin and contemporary Marxists has yielded proletariats of high revolutionary potential.

(3) *Agricultural Proletariat.* The phenomena which gave rise to the early and classical proletariats of Europe also produced the "free" and pauperized agricultural proletariat. Thrown off their small holdings and the great estates by the enclosure acts and other repressive laws, these peasants were forced to sell their labor to the large farmers or landlords. With the continued mechanization of agriculture, the rural population of laborers expanded and wages were driven as low as possible. Day-labor became the predominant form in England around 1830 and the traditional protective bonds between masters and their farm-hands were shattered forever. Trade unions were non-existent among agricultural laborers. Their main form of rebellion against bourgeois farmers and their own miserable conditions of life was incendiarism. As indicated above, replicas of this proletariat have been created in late 19th and 20th century colonies and neo-colonies, where European settlement and the expropriation of land for plantations and large farms has created an oppressed and super-exploited class of agricultural laborers.

(4) *Minority Proletariats.* This type of proletariat includes immigrant national and/or ethnic minority groups of laborers who, for the most part, have been driven onto the labor markets of oppressor nations by the destruction of domestic industries and traditional forms of agriculture in their homelands or by release from previous conditions of servitude, as with the slave population in the U.S. The Irish proletariat in England is the model for this type, along with Black and Chicano proletarians in the U.S. These "internally colonized" proletariats occupy low wage, low skill categories of the work force, are viewed by non-minority workers as inferior in both race and culture and as actual or potential competitors for scarce jobs. They are generally the "last hired, first fired," are poorly represented in or by trade unions - from which they are often excluded, and usually live in segregated slums or ghettos where material conditions range from bad to miserable. In terms of food, clothing, shelter, health and education, their standard of life is significantly lower than that of majority group workers. As "internally colonized" peoples, facing both economic super-exploitation and the degradation of racist discrimination and national chauvinism, these proletarians are more volatile and receptive to revolutionary ideology and practice than non-minority workers, often rebelling against bourgeois racist oppression by means of incendiarism, rioting and looting.

(5) *Union Proletariat.* This type of proletariat was predominant throughout Europe and North America from the last quarter of the 19th century until World War 2. From the defeat of the Paris Commune and the dissolution of the London-based International in 1871, increasing numbers of industrial and mining workers were brought within trade unions and trade union federations which were nationalistic in character and led by labor aristocracies and bureaucracies. As labor unions gained in numbers and strength, winning wage and other gains for their members, material conditions improved considerably for organized workers by contrast to the earlier period. Opportunism, class collaboration and national chauvinism grew strong - especially during times of inter-imperialist strife and war - among union bureaucrats and a widening stratum of privileged workers. This, along with general gains in the economic sphere, provided a basis for the development of increasingly petty-bourgeois values, illusions and ideas of national superiority among rank-and-file union members. Engels describes this phenomenon well for England in the 1890's²⁵ as does Lenin in much greater depth for Europe during the first two decades of the imperialist era.²⁶ It was imperialism and the super-exploitation of people and resources of oppressed colonies and semi-colonies which enabled the bourgeoisies of European and American "great powers" to meet the growing demands of organized labor at "home" and thus bribe increasingly large strata of the working population. Though political demands and socialist ideology became stronger during periods of depression - especially the Great Depression of the 30's - the objectives of the trade union movement became more and more reformist in character when viewing the period as a whole. Militancy was employed to gain a bigger slice of the pie rather than a basic change in relations of production. And as trade union ideology became more bourgeois and reformist, the revolutionary potential of the union proletariat was reduced to a low and manageable level.

(6) *Bourgeois Proletariat.* This type of proletariat emerged after World War 2 with the consolidation of imperialist control over colonies and neo-colonies and the establishment of "welfare states" in Europe and North America. With great wealth flowing

in from the imperial "countryside," and an increasing concentration of capital and labor productivity in the OECD countries and North America,²⁷ the absolute standard of living of this modern metropolitan proletariat increased considerably, along with the strength and conservatism of large trade union bureaucracies. Legislation affecting unemployment and health insurance as well as minimum income guarantees through various welfare schemes have virtually removed the threat of starvation and death for the unemployed and unemployables. Improved material conditions and the growing impact of mass media have shaped in this proletariat an essentially bourgeois mentality and value system. And as a "bourgeoisified" proletariat, the modern metropolitan working class is neither revolutionary nor possessed of any revolutionary potential. It seeks to protect and expand its economic gains within the international capitalist system, even where this means periodic armed defense of the "free world" as in the case of U.S. workers in Vietnam. Racism, national arrogance and chauvinism are very strong and there remains little if any sense of the existence, let alone the solidarity, of an international proletariat. This bourgeois proletariat demands and gets the reformist leadership required to advance its non-revolutionary interests - and those Marxist parties seeking to lead it become transformed in the process into non-revolutionary, revisionist organizations tailing a largely reactionary proletariat in order to curry favor and gain a following.

(7) *Third World Proletariat.* This type of proletariat has grown quite rapidly since the Second World War and with the quest for cheap labor pools by the emerging giant multinational corporations of Europe, Japan and, especially, the U.S. These are low-paid proletarians of oppressed "Third World" nations, working mainly in labor-intensive manufacture industries and mining. By 1959 there were 46.6 million such workers in Third World manufacturing industries with an annual output per person of \$592 - as compared to \$3,760 and \$7,180 for the OECD countries and the U.S. respectively. This proletariat is similar in many essential respects to the classical proletariat of Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries. High unemployment rates, usually around 25% of the work force, create huge "labor reserve armies" and depress wages down to or below the necessary minimum to sustain life at the accustomed low level and reproduce the class. Unions are few and weak; there is no job security or unemployment insurance; health and other welfare schemes are absent; unemployment generally means starvation and sometimes death. Material conditions for this under-privileged proletariat are therefore quite bad in terms of food, shelter, clothing, health and education. Illiteracy is high and life expectancy ranges from 35 to 45 years. Many workers live in shanty towns or slums surrounding the larger cities. In addition to being economically super-exploited - working for as little as \$1 a day - these proletarians of the Third World are subject to various forms of national and/or racial discrimination, degradation and humiliation. Receptivity to revolutionary ideology and practice is relatively high, especially where economic exploitation is combined with direct and visible foreign imperialist control.

A sub-type of this proletariat might be called "Third World Agricultural Workers." These rural laborers, employed largely on foreign-owned industrial-crop plantations or large farms, are generally drawn from the expropriated and landless peasantry. Their material conditions of life are in most respects even worse than their fellow workers in the towns and mines. Wages are usually below what is necessary to maintain life at the accustomed level, though expectations are extremely low. Disease, illiteracy and a short life are the rule. Even more so than their counterpart workers in the factories and mines, these rural proletarians are receptive to revolutionary ideology and have a high revolutionary potential.

This typology is obviously tentative and incomplete. It might well have included consideration of various "lumpen proletariats" - classical, modern industrial and Third World - as well as several additional types and/or sub-types of both oppressor and oppressed nation proletariats in contemporary imperialist society. Important also would be consideration of Soviet-bloc and Chinese proletariats which have emerged in the course of revolutionary struggle and socialist reconstruction. What has been dealt with, in an admittedly brief and inadequate manner, is intended to be suggestive rather than definitive, the basis for further discussion and, hopefully a spur to more thoroughgoing analyses of both proletarian and other classes within the international capitalist system as well as their interrelationship (historical and social) and links to various modes of production and exchange.

It is also hoped that the above sketches of proletarian types will show that, despite their being "proletariats" by virtue of bourgeoisies deriving surplus value from their unpaid labor power, they exhibit important differences - e.g. in wages and real income, material conditions of life, degree of unionization, ideology, values and class mentality, etc. - which have affected, and continue to affect, their respective receptivity to revolutionary (or reformist) ideology and praxis. That just as it is important for those with a proletarian ideology to analyse the material and subjective bases for revolutionary potential among different types of peasantries, it is likewise important to do this with regard to various types of proletariat. We should no longer delude ourselves with the metaphysical assumption that all proletariats, simply by virtue of their being proletariats, are revolutionary or possess revolutionary potential. And the latter point should not be confused with the *historical potential* for the emergence, under altered material conditions and relationships, of genuinely revolutionary proletariats which will displace those that *now*, given the real conditions of their existence, are without revolutionary potential.

A few additional points and trends might be noted in closing. First, the competition and conflict between proletariats within industrial nations (e.g. between English and Irish proletariats of the "classical period") have been extended and intensified between contemporary proletariats of oppressed and oppressing nations, respectively. National and/or racial hegemony and degradation has and continues to impede international proletarian solidarity. And it would seem that such solidarity can only be achieved after resolution of the national question, i.e. the termination of hegemonic relations among national groups, including both internally colonized peoples such as the Blacks and Indians in North America and "externally" colonized nations. Mutual respect for the right of all nations to self-determination is, as Lenin pointed out, the only basis for genuine international proletarian solidarity in the struggle against both imperialist and social imperialist domination.

Secondly, as trade unions have grown in both numbers and strength they have succeeded, simultaneously, in both securing greater economic gains and security for successive generations of metropolitan proletariats and in "depoliticizing" them. From a class in 1848 with "nothing to lose but its chains," they have become transformed into bourgeois proletariats with a vested interest in perpetuating the modern imperialist division of labor and system of unequal exchange. From a class with no bourgeois illusions or values, there has emerged a proletariat which has imbibed practically the whole range of petty-bourgeois dreams, attitudes and ideals. It has certainly been a long road, with more than one qualitative leap, from the Chartists and associations of early 19th century England to the AFL-CIO of today. Imperialism, with its control and super-exploitation of non-metropolitan peoples and resources, has enabled the bourgeoisies of Europe, North America and Japan to utilize the trade union movement - both nationally and internationally, through organs such as the ICFTU and ILO - as a means for integrating their domestic working classes into the international capitalist system and securing their collaboration against proletariats and peasants of the oppressed Third World nations. Arghiri Emmanuel has recently stated the matter very clearly.

...it is no longer a question of abstract rhetoric of concepts - surplus-value, capital, profit, and so on - but of material consumption. [The] great mass of the population of the advanced countries, the wage-earners themselves, are implicated. [The] peoples of the rich countries can consume all those articles to which they are so attached *only* because other peoples consume very few or even none of them. It is this that breaks solidarity between the working class of the two groups of countries....The only solution lies in a global change in the very pattern of living and consumption, and the very concept of well-being. Since the parameters of this solution must be those of mankind as a whole, the contradictions between classes within the advanced countries, which still undoubtedly subsist, have nevertheless become historically secondary. The principal contradiction, and driving force for change, are henceforth located in the realm of international economic relations. Imperialism is certainly not indestructible. But nor is it withering away...It is waiting to be attacked and destroyed from outside. What lies 'outside' imperialism is not - is no longer - the working classes of the home countries of imperialism; but those of the world outside their frontiers.²⁸

Finally, it is inevitable that in the process Emmanuel alludes to above there will occur both the disintegration of the welfare states of Europe and North America and, with this, the material basis for continued existence of bourgeois proletariats. Though it will clearly be a long and tortuous road with many zig-zags, it is certain that at some stage in the struggle against international capitalism and hegemonism there will emerge new, revolutionary and internationalist proletariats within what are now the oppressor nations of the imperialist system.



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To Our Readers

After reading this issue of *LSM News* you have some idea of the scope and purpose of our work. LSM's only source of funding is through individual contributions and literature sales. To date, this has not been sufficient. Several of our full-time members also work at outside jobs in order to meet subsistence needs. It is thus becoming increasingly difficult for us to sustain the ever-growing demands of our political and publishing work. . . especially in the face of constantly rising costs of living and supplies. Each year since 1969 we have doubled or trebled our distribution of literature -- one of our primary objectives. But in order to do this, we have had to put in more hours and find a larger shop.

The fact that we are now behind schedule with some of our publications is the result of a contradiction between (1) the growing inadequacy of available LSM labor power and (2) the need for our members to hold outside jobs in order to subsist. We will continue to do our best, but *you too can help*. LSM members work for a subsistence "wage" within the Information Center of \$1.00 an hour. Your contributions can help sustain these full-time political workers! Your monthly pledges can help us resolve the above contradiction, enabling LSM to concentrate its full energies on the important and expanding work which lies ahead in 1975. The struggles for national liberation and socialism are reaching a critical juncture in southern Africa. Popular awareness and consciousness, the pressure of an informed and concerned world public opinion, have an important role to play in this process.

While the "mass" (read: "ruling class") media frantically works to falsify and distort contemporary history, sowing confusion and false consciousness among the people, it is of particular importance for Marxists to seek out and analyse the concrete historical facts and situation. While the ruling class tries to neo-colonize southern Africa under the banner of support for "national self-determination" and "majority rule," we must seek clarity and a critical understanding of this process, supporting those revolutionary national liberation forces and movements which are struggling to move beyond "independence" to socialism, and exposing those elements which seek a self-enriching accomodation with international capital at the expense of continued oppression and exploitation of the African masses. To help accomplish this task we are sending two LSM cadre to various parts of Africa during 1975. We hope in this way to provide *LSM News* readers with critical analyses of the developing situations in Mozambique, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Angola, Namibia and South Africa. By 1976 we plan to send members to the Middle East (and perhaps South East Asia) as well.

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