



AFRICAN PEOPLE HAVE SMASHED COLONIAL SHACKLES. NOW SUPERPOWER AGGRESSION, ESPECIALLY SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM MUST BE DEFEATED. MOZAMBICAN SOLDIERS MARCHING.

ANGOLA WILL WIN!

THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE WILL SURELY WIN.
LIBERATION THROUGH SELF-RELIANCE!

KICK THE SUPERPOWERS, SOUTH AFRICAN
AND CUBAN TROOPS OUT OF ANGOLA!

For 500 years, the Angolan people have fought against the Portuguese colonialists and, more recently, against the U.S. and Western European imperialists. In the course of these heroic struggles, they have learned rich lessons about the true nature of colonialism and imperialism. This understanding will enable them to see through the true nature of the rising new imperialist danger: Soviet social-imperialism.

ANGOLA CONTINUED ON P.22.

ANGOLA

POWER POLITICS OF

SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

& US IMPERIALISM

ANGOLA CONTINUED FROM P.1.

The struggle to kick the super-powers and South Africa out of Angola is not only a struggle for the Angolan people's independence and liberation, for the independence of Africa and the Third World countries; it is also a struggle against the danger of world war for the oppressed peoples around the world. For the working class in the U.S., this struggle also means fighting against fascist rule at home, which will inevitably accompany world war!

A brief survey of recent developments will show naked imperialist power politics. This is especially evident since the recent military successes of the MPLA. U.S. imperialism has abruptly changed its past policy towards the MPLA. The State Department has once again allowed the Boeing Aircraft Corp. to negotiate jet sales and also allowed Gulf Oil Co. to reactivate its production in the Cabinda enclave. These commercial ties were cut off just a month and a half ago. Even racist South Africa has started to negotiate diplomatic relations with the MPLA. Practically the entire Common Market, with the exception of West Germany, has also established diplomatic relations with the MPLA. Though the U.S. has not officially set up diplomatic relations, Daniel Parker, an administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), said in an interview, according to the Christian Science Monitor, that the AID has already made a "computer print out" of officials with background and language training who could serve in Angola. This is clearly a prelude towards extending full diplomatic recognition.

After forcing the military victory of the MPLA through Cuban troops and "advisors" from the Soviet Union, the Soviet social-imperialists have faked some phony "official" gestures about how, in principle, they are for a compromise solution, etc.

This is the latest trick in their attempt to cover up their imperialist nature. But African countries and the whole world are beginning to see through their treachery and deceit!

Meanwhile, the UNITA and FNIA have retreated into the countryside and promise to wage a protracted people's war with the MPLA, Cuban troops, and Soviet "advisors."

Kamana, Zambia's permanent representative at the UN, put this situation very clearly in his letter to the N.Y. Times:

"It was the O.A.U. that recognized all the three movements in Angola; it was the O.A.U. that asked and mandated Zambia along with Tanzania, Zaire and the Congo to carry out the task of uniting the three movements.... Zambia has always believed that it could co-exist with any government that finally established itself in Angola. That government can be MPLA; it could be UNITA or FNIA; it could be a combination of two or three movements.... Another set of principles that has guided Zambia in her Angolan policy has to do with democracy and non-alignment. Zambia believes that its policy on Angola must reflect its own at home. For this reason, Zambia has never found it necessary to usurp the right of the Angolan people to choose a government for themselves.

This is clearly the prerogative of the Angolan people, and even if the MPLA overruns all of Angola, as appears to be the case now, and defeats the other parties in a conventional war, this would be no proof of the popularity of the victor or the unpopularity of the vanquished.

Military victory by one party is not proof of the nonexistence of the other political parties.

Finally, Zambia has taken care throughout the Angolan crisis to distinguish between the question of assisting liberation of an African state from colonial rule and going beyond the threshold of liberating a territory and getting involved in the making of governments for sovereign states.

It believes that it is one thing to help Angola with its independence but quite another to help any group of Angolans impose a government over the people of Angola. (New York Times, Feb. 25, 1976, p. 39.)

We think this is an example of a staunch and principled position.

The WVO upholds the position that Angolan people have to choose their own government. In the long run, if the MPLA has a correct line, they will win the masses of Angolan people and consolidate its government. If the UNITA has a correct line, then they will win the masses of Angolan people to their side. But the present MPLA regime is imposed partly by the Soviet Social-Imperialists and Cuban troops and does not constitute the voluntary choice of the Angolan people and is not the result of their internal struggle. That's why we still uphold the position that coalition government is the only correct solution now.

Coalition government, as Dimitrov said, is a particular form of united front tactic. It's a transitional form of government and does not necessarily mean the dictatorship of any particular party or class.

The principal danger to the Angolan people still remains the super-powers, particularly the Soviet Social-Imperialists and the South African apartheid regime. The unity of the 3 groups in a coalition government, a particular organizational form of the united front, will enhance their strength against the imperialists and South Africa. Internal struggle should take place in the context of fighting the super-powers and South Africa. Whichever party proves to be the most staunch and consistent in resisting imperialism and racist South Africa will inevitably be chosen by the Angolan people themselves. To put this position in perspective, we must examine the history of the 3 liberation groups, the FNIA, MPLA and UNITA, in their past struggle against Portuguese colonialism.

HISTORY OF THE 3 LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Since 1961, the Angolan people began to wage armed struggle against the Portuguese colonialists. In fighting against colonialism, three liberation movements, the MPLA, UNITA, and FNIA, representing different regions and three main tribal groups of Angola have emerged.

The MPLA, under the leadership of Agostinho Neto, which waged armed struggle against the Portuguese police and troops since 1961, was mainly based in the oil-rich northern corner of Cabinda enclave, Luanda, the capital city of Angola and areas surrounding it, and areas around major ports of Lobito, Benguela, Nova Redondo and Mocamedes. They have support mainly among the Mbundu people.

The UNITA, led by Jonas Savimbi, was based mainly in the central region of Huambo, where a significant portion of Angolan people (about 40%) lives. They mainly based their support among the Ovibundu group.

The FNIA, led by Holden Roberto, developed around 1961 out of armed peasant uprisings of the Bakongo tribal group with over a million people; it was based mainly around the northern regions of Angola, bordering Zaire.



In a multi-national state such as Angola, with its varied regional, tribal, and linguistic groups, with varied histories of struggle, differences naturally exist. There were many efforts since 1961 to reconcile their differences so that they could be united to fight the common enemy - the Portuguese colonialists. Some of these efforts were temporarily successful, some were not. However, all three groups agreed to fight first of all for the independence of Angola.

On Nov. 10, 1975, after over a decade of armed struggle against the Portuguese colonialists, the Angolan people finally forced the Portuguese to surrender. The Portuguese High Commissioner to Angola was forced to agree to return the sovereign rights of the Angolan people. That was a great victory for the Angolan people, as well as a victory for the whole of Africa and the oppressed people around the world. The victory of the Angolan people's armed struggle marked the total collapse of Portuguese colonialism in Africa.

After the signing of the Alvor agreement in Jan. and the Nakuru agreement in June 1975 in Kenya, the three liberation groups all agreed to a coalition government with equal representation. This was recommended by the OAU (Organization of African Unity) which has aided the armed struggle of the whole Angolan people for the last several years.

SUPERPOWER CONTENTION BREAKS

ANGOLAN UNITY

It was then, just as the Angolan people were about to realize their centuries-old dream of national independence, that both superpowers, the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists, started to play their imperialist power politics, speculating on the gains of the people and placing "bets" on the "winner."

They did it by pumping large sums of money and large amounts of weaponry to different liberation groups, sabotaging the coalition government that just got off the ground. The U.S. pumped in at least \$50 million in support of one group. Because of the notori-

ous reputation of U.S. imperialism in Africa, and because of growing opposition from the masses at home, as well as inter-monopoly fights as to how to handle the situation, the U.S. imperialists instigated aggression secretly thru the CIA.

The Soviet Union, however, being a state-monopoly capitalist country, with highly centralized social-fascist rule at home, has no such concern for domestic opposition, and started interference and subversion by declaring one group to be "revolutionary" and the others "reactionary" and "paid agents" of the U.S. imperialists. It pumped in an unprecedented amount of sophisticated arms and weaponry, which it had denied the Angolan people during the

15 years of armed struggle against the Portuguese colonialists. These weapons include tanks, SAM missiles, armored cars, helicopters, and other heavy weaponry that other liberation groups don't have. This was a way to make sure that "their bet" came out winning, a treacherous imperialist move to wreck the agreement for the coalition government.

Since the start of the civil war, the MPLA, encouraged by the Soviet Union, has declared the establishment of the "Peoples Republic of Angola". Correspondingly, the FNLA, temporarily allying with the UNITA, also set up their "People's Democratic Republic of Angola." This further aggravated the civil war - and plunged Angola into a blood bath with more people killed in the last few months than the total casualties over a decade of armed struggle against the Portuguese. The collapse of the coalition government gave a pretext for racist South Africa to send troops into Angola.

The Soviet social-imperialists have also started an arm twisting "diplomatic offensive," pressuring other countries, in particular neighboring African countries such as Uganda and Zaire, to recognize only the "People's Republic of Angola." This was done through their "foreign aid" strings, slander campaigns, and Big Power chauvinist diplomatic blackmail. Many countries, including Uganda under president Amin, and Zaire, openly resisted this kind of imperialist strongman power politics.

This imperialist power politics has not only led to a blood bath in Angola, but has also caused tremendous damage to the OAU, an organization that has so far led and successfully persisted in fighting colonialists and racist South Africa, and is still aiding armed struggle throughout Africa. Presently, a majority of member states of the OAU, including Zaire, have already recognized the MPLA; some of the others, like Zambia, have not.

Disunity and even a possible organizational split in the OAU would wreck the unity of the whole African continent against racism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, and hegemonism. This is the crime of the superpowers, in particular the Soviet social-imperialists. This represents an escalation of imperialist power politics to a higher stage.

RIISING THREAT OF SOVIET SOCIAL- IMPERIALISM IN AFRICA

The Chinese CP warns us, "In kicking a wolf out of the front door, beware of the tiger coming in thru the back door." This is exactly what's happening in Angola, and it has serious consequences for the liberation of Africa. For example, after the Indo-Chinese people kicked out the French imperialists, they had to deal with the U.S. imperialists, who came in under the slogans "democracy and freedom," and posed as "liberators of the S.E. Asian people." Actually, the U.S. was the rising imperialist power after World War II, filling in the economic, political, and military vacuum left by the defeated Japanese imperialists. And that's why an imperialist power that is relatively new to the scene is more dangerous, because it pretends to be the "friend of the people." U.S. imperialism waved the banner of "anti-fascism, democracy, and freedom" right after World War II; the Soviet social-imperialists today wave the banner of "socialism." This only shows that history has now developed to a higher level! For that reason, the new imperialists have to be more cunning and appear more "progressive" and "revolutionary."

Part of the progressive, anti-imperialist and communist movements of today came out of the struggles in the 1960's and early 1970's in support of liberation struggles around the world against U.S. imperialism. From these struggles we have developed a particular hatred for U.S. imperialism and understand well its "language", "popular logic," and its essence. However, our understanding of imperialism is uneven. This unevenness is most clearly seen in a poor understanding of the development of revisionism - for example, how and why Lenin's great party, the bastion of the world proletariat, degenerated and restored capitalism in the Soviet Union. Lack of understanding leads to a tendency to centrist thinking with regard to international questions.

Today, these people either see the Soviet Union as a "friend of the Third World," or only as a secondary danger. Some see the Soviet Union as static or in absolute terms: once the Soviet Union is socialist, it is always socialist. They deny the danger of Soviet social-imperialism and its international role today.

ANGOLA CONTINUED ON P.24.

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The Soviet party has degenerated since the death of Stalin. Capitalist bureaucrats took over the leadership of the party and changed the relations of production so that workers are once again exploited by a small class of capitalist bureaucrats at the top. Using the name and past prestige of the great Leninist party, these revisionists covered up the shameful restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. Their imperialist foreign policy is nothing but a reflection, a concentrated expression of their domestic capitalistic economy. Its policy on "peace" and war, under the deceitful slogan of "irreversible detente," is nothing except the logical extension of their imperialist economy at home. Let's take a look at their practice:

If they were genuinely socialist and supported national liberation struggles, why did they resort to blackmailing China, pulling the strings of their "foreign aid," withdrawing their technicians and closing down plants in construction in 1959, when China disagreed with Khrushchov over how to fight U.S. imperialism. And in the early 1960's why did the Soviet Union take the stand that the Algerian liberation movement for self-determination was "an internal affair of France?" If they supported national liberation struggles and the right to self-determination, why did the Soviet Union give armed security guarantees to Israel, precluding full rights of self-determination for the Palestinian people for a multi-national secular state in Palestine?

If the Soviet Union supports national liberation struggles, why did they deny the right of self-determination to the Kashmir people in the Indian sub-continent who have struggled as long as the Indians and Pakistanis against colonialism and for liberation? By the same account, why did they choose to encourage India's annexation of Bangladesh, and more recently Sikkim in the same region?

If they are for "peace" and "detente", then why did the Soviet Union invade Czechoslovakia under the so-called Brezhnev doctrine, which views the sovereignty of Eastern European countries as their sovereignty. By the same account, how can the Soviet Union unilaterally sign an agreement with the U.S. imperialists over the national boundary of Germany, to partition a third sovereign state? If they are so "consistent" in supporting national liberation struggles and fighting for "peace" between nations, why did they jump out and support Turkey against Greece during the Cyprus crisis and then, seeing the wind blowing the other way, switch sides and support Greece?

All these are nothing but despicable old colonial politics, merchant style "arms dealing," unprincipled speculation on which side "wins" and who comes out "losing," and selling out the interests of the oppressed peoples of the world!!

The revisionists and social chauvinists cannot possibly answer these questions!

NEW GLOBAL STRATEGY FOR SOVIET

SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

The Soviet social-imperialists are now using Cuban troops to test their new global strategy of using the Third World countries to fight the Third World - a new version of the Nixon Doctrine of using

Asians to fight Asians. This is the strategy repeatedly used in the Indian sub-continent, in Bangladesh and Sikkim. They are testing to see how successful it can be, as well as using it as a litmus test for "detente" policy, to see how far they can go without damaging their "detente" policy of colluding with U.S. imperialists around the world, and of borrowing money and technology from them. Soviet social-imperialists are using revolutionary Cuban sons and daughters as cannon fodder, to keep themselves from being stuck in a long, drawn-out war, the way the Portuguese colonialists were trapped in Angola and the U.S. imperialists were trapped in Indo-China by the resistance of liberation movements. For if the Soviet social-imperialists were trapped in a "Vietnam-like" situation by liberation forces it would be a strategic defeat for them in Africa as well as the world over.



LEFT TO RIGHT. JONAS SAVIMBI (UNITA), HOLDEN ROBERTO (FNLA), PRESIDENT JOMO KENYATTA OF KENYA, AGOSTINHO NETO (MPLA)

Cuban soldiers today, however, are objectively acting as mercenaries in Angola, essentially paying off their "mortgage" to the Soviet social-imperialists. More important than this blackmail, however, is the petty-bourgeois revisionism of the Cuban leadership. Cuban people, including Che and Castro, have made great contributions to the anti-U.S. imperialist struggle. The leadership, however, holds the incorrect view that revolution can be exported, and hence are pawns of the "Communist" Party of the Soviet Union ("C"PSU), which long ago renounced Marxism-Leninism and degenerated to revisionism. Genuine Marxists hold that revolution can only be made and then safeguarded - which is more important from the historical point of view - through the ripening of the objective and subjective factors within a country. Revolution can only be made through the application of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete, particular conditions of the country. Without developing a correct line based on the concrete conditions of the particular country, even if we were able to successfully seize state power mainly through the aid of out-side forces, we could not consolidate and further develop the revolution. In fact, we would sooner or later lose it, or be subjugated by another state. Such is the case of Cuba today, with the Soviet Union.

CHINA'S PRINCIPLED POSITION

China is the country that holds the only correct proletarian internationalist position towards the Angolan question. She aided, militarily and politically, the armed anti-colonial struggle of the Angolan people. However, after the Portuguese surrendered, and after the signing of the agreement between

the three liberation movements, she ceased all military aid to the three groups. This is based on the principle that now it is their own internal affair and that all three groups should settle their own affairs thru peaceful means in the interest of the Angolan people.

Many forces today, in particular the "C" PUSA and various Trotskyite sects and, of course, our "buffer" the Guardian centrists, have all, with hidden ulterior motives, come out attacking China and China's principled stand on the Angolan question. Actually, all these dirt and marsh forces are mouthing the U.S. and Soviet social-imperialist propaganda. Lenin once said that a political organization should be judged not by what it says, but by whom it serves. It is quite clear by now that, for example, the "Bangladesh bandwagon", with all its "popularity" and "chic," did not serve the interests of people of Bangladesh and did not lessen their suffering, nor promote their liberation. In fact, it only intensified their sufferings and prolonged their new subjugation under new foreign rulers, the Indian expansionists and the Soviet social-imperialists.

We see the same situation today with regard to Angola. The chauvinist slander by the "C" PUSA and various Trotskyite sects, who say that UNITA and FNLA are merely paid agents of U.S. imperialism, are lies which play into the hands of the Soviet social-imperialists. These marsh forces have taken their whole analysis, their whole stand, viewpoint, and method, wholly from the superpowers' press! By mouthing anti-China and anti-communist slander, these "friends of the Angolan people" try to impose the imperialists' interests upon the Angolan people. If the UNITA and FNLA are "agents of U.S. imperialism", then why did the MPLA, which they all recognize as "genuine," negotiate with them throughout the last fifteen years and even recently agree to form a coalition government with them? Would a "genuine" organization agree to sit in a coalition government with mere "agents" and allow them to have the majority??

So you have, on the one hand, revisionists, centrists, Trotskyites, and scores of marsh forces from the "left" that pretend to be the "friends of the Angolan people." On the other hand, there are misleaders like Roy Innis of C.O.R.E., who have not only sold out the Afro-American struggle here at home, but also peddle the "defense of the ancestral homeland" to serve the U.S. imperialists.

EXPOSE THE SELL-OUT MISLEADERS OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN MOVEMENT

Recruiting 300 Afro-American veterans to go to Angola to "assist anti-communist" forces as "combat medics," Innis said, "...on the basis of patriotism, I applaud their noble action (for supporting) their ancestral homeland in times of war." This is nothing but jingoism, to attempt to sell U.S. imperialist intervention in Angola to the American working class, in particular, the Afro-American people.

With such "friends of the Angolan people," from both the right and the "left", the working class is being deceived as to the real enemies and the real content of the superpowers' contention for world hegemony.

As we said earlier, fighting against superpower interference in Angola is more than just an Angolan affair. It involves the inter-



PARALLELS TO THE INFAMOUS MUNICH PACT AND THE START OF WORLD WAR II

The situation resembles the infamous Munich Pact, signed before the outbreak of World War II, where the West wanted to lure Hitler into attacking the Soviet Union, then the greatest bastion of socialism at that time, by giving Czechoslovakia to fascist Germany in order to divert the fascist danger away from themselves. There is a similarity today to that situation.

Today, the Soviet social-imperialists are comparable to the fascists in Germany, while U.S. imperialism is comparable to the West before World War II. The Soviet and U.S. imperialists fear China, much like the West and fascist Germany feared the Soviet Union, because all imperialists fear the forces of socialism, the international proletariat, and the forces of national liberation! Today, the U.S. imperialists want to divert Soviet social-imperialism toward China and away from themselves. This is their global strategy. But as the lesson of Munich shows, this will back-fire. Encouraged by the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists will have greater ambitious desires for Europe and other areas where their interests overlap and conflict. Such a policy will lead to world war. In fact, it is a fast rising trend today, along with the trend for revolution.

ests of all the oppressed peoples around the world. The imperialists' predatory policy of "detente," this imperialist policy of "peace," will inevitably lead to a world war. It's clear that "hot spots" have shifted from Indo-China in the 1960's and early 1970's, to Europe, the Middle East and Cyprus, and now to Angola. The contradictions are shifting from one between U.S. imperialism and the Third World countries, to the one between imperialists. Though Europe is the strategic area of contention, the superpowers periodically reach out their hands to grab where ever they think they can get a quick buck, a quick victory. Now, it's Angola.

RISING DANGER OF A NEW WORLD WAR

Escalation of competition between the two superpowers, directly or, more often, indirectly, will lead to a new world war!

The only way to end the danger of world war is to uproot the cause of world war - imperialism. As long as imperialism exists, there will inevitably be war. Even though the subjective factors for revolution in the U.S. and Soviet Union are excellent, they are not ripe, however, and will most likely not be ripe for successful revolution, even if there is a revolutionary situation now or in the next few years. Yet, potential hot spots for world war constantly flare up. There will be constant flareups. Successful national liberation struggles and the strength of the Third World have tremendously reduced the danger of world war. It is only when people are divided, such as in Europe, Cyprus, and Angola, that the superpowers can jump in and fish in troubled waters. Disunity among the oppressed countries, nations, and peoples are conditions for imperialist contention and world war. Imperialism itself is the main cause, the real basis for war.

Weaknesses of the European Second World countries resulted last year in the infamous "European security treaty," the Helsinki pact. This pact actually encouraged the Soviet social-imperialists, who are now more dangerous than the U.S. imperialists and are the main source of war, just like Hitler's Germany before World War II.

Weaknesses in the Third World, like in Angola, allow the superpowers to sneak in with their treacherous, imperialist power politics, which further splits our forces, as in the OAU.

Chairman Mao says that either revolution will prevent world war, or world war will lead to revolution. The most likely situation now is that world war will lead to revolution. But for us in the U.S., world war means fascist rule at home. World war will mean that the U.S. bourgeoisie will have to stream-line their collapsing economy at the expense of the U.S. working class. This will bring about mounting working class resistance and corresponding fascist repression. That is why our interests and the Angolan people's interests to fight the superpowers are intimately linked. We are fighting the same enemy!

The Angolan people have waged hundreds of years of struggle against colonialism and imperialism. Their struggle will not be derailed by either superpower! The Angolan people will stand up and be victorious!!

KICK THE SUPERPOWERS AND SOUTH AFRICA OUT OF ANGOLA!!

PEOPLE OF ANGOLA AND THE U.S., UNITE!

LONG LIVE THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE'S
STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE AND
LIBERATION!

THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE WILL SURELY WIN
LIBERATION THRU SELF-RELIANCE!!

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES
OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!!

