



Revolutionary Cause

POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE AUGUST 29th MOVEMENT

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COUNTRIES WANT INDEPENDENCE, NATIONS WANT LIBERATION, PEOPLE WANT REVOLUTION

FREE GREG JONES!

CAPITALISM MEANS OPPRESSION



LNS

Caterpillar Tractor Company is the 36th largest corporation in the United States. This company employs over 80,000 workers throughout the world and had over 4 billion dollars in sales and 229 million dollars in net income for the year 1974 alone. Caterpillar is controlled by a group of finance capitalists who also control Wells Fargo Bank, Crocker Citizens Bank, the Tenneco Corporation as well as many other enterprises. Needless to say, the huge profits made by Caterpillar are stolen from the labor of their workers. Caterpillar is part of the system of US monopoly capitalism (imperialism) which not only robs the fruits of the laborer's work, but also helps to maintain a worldwide system of national oppression.

THE ROSY DAWN OF US CAPITALISM

The landowning and industrialist rulers of this country started out by stealing the lands which belonged to the native Americans, destroying their social institutions, and literally exterminating thousands of tribes. They participated eagerly in the world slave trade in the 16th and 17th centuries, and they established a slave system to develop the cotton trade of this country (slave labor made cotton the "king" of the capitalist world prior to the US Civil War). In addition to all this, the US ruling class "fattened up" by stealing the southwestern part of this country

from Mexico in a war of aggression. Finally, the US capitalist class owes its "success" to the millions of workers it has robbed throughout the decades -- workers here at home and throughout the world.

It is easy to see that the cheery "Bi-Centennial" picture that the ruling class paints for us is far from complete. US capitalism was built upon blood, robbery, slavery and sweat -- NOTHING ELSE!

In this article we would like to discuss a particular instance of capitalist oppression and try to explain its significance to the revolutionary working class

WHY DID IT HAPPEN?

On October 17, 1975 Greg Jones, a 25 year old Black worker at the Caterpillar Tractor plant in San Leandro, California was involved in a minor traffic accident. Greg thought that the man who had hit him was a hired killer from the Caterpillar company. He got out of his car, pulled out a pistol and killed the other driver. Last month the state of California convicted Greg Jones of second degree murder.

Why did all of this happen?

THE AFRO-AMERICAN NATION

400 years ago, when the first settlers came to this land, they began a "tradition" which was to live in infamy -- slave trading and the use of slave labor. The sale of Blacks

kidnapped from Africa and their use as slaves in the cotton and tobacco fields of the southern US was to continue until the middle of the 19th Century. Although slavery developed rather slowly in the US, it soon picked up so that by 1715 almost one third of Virginia's population were slaves, and Black slaves outnumbered whites in South Carolina by 1760. And of course many of our illustrious "founding fathers", such as George Washington, were slave owners -- whose slaves had no more "right" to existence than ordinary draft animals. For example, Maryland once passed a law which put Black slaves in the same category with "working beasts, animals of any kind, stock, furniture, plate, books and so forth."

Most of the slaves stolen from Africa came from its western coast, because of its proximity to the Americas. The slaves were stolen from different tribes, among which were the Foulahs, Coromantees, Eboes and the Angolese. These tribes had different histories, cultures and languages. Over the decades these slaves from diverse backgrounds began to lose their old language, to forget their traditions. This was forced upon them by the lash of the slave owners who forced the Black African slaves to adopt the language, dress, manners and religion of their masters.

By 1861 the southern slave system had come into irreconcilable contradiction with the growing capitalist system of the north -- which lived on "wage slavery" rather than direct slavery. Their contention for economic and political control of the country broke out into an armed civ-

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THE STRUGGLE IN S. AFRICA

Since World War II the majority (43) of African countries have fought for, and won their independence from imperialism and colonialism. In the past year Mozambique and Angola, by persevering in armed struggle have ended 400 years of Portuguese colonial rule. These recent independence struggles have lent inspiration to the revolutionary peoples of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Azania (South Africa), and Namibia (Southwest Africa) in their struggle for liberation from white racist rule. These struggles are presently increasing in breadth and depth and the end is clearly in sight for the rulers of the minority racist regimes. The following is a brief summary of the situation in the strategic area of Southern Africa and our assessment of the tasks of communists and class-conscious workers

ANGOLA REVEALS THE UGLY FEATURES OF SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

The Portuguese colonialists established their rule over the Angolan peoples 400 years ago after meeting with fierce resistance. In 1621, for example, Jinga, the sister of the King of the Ndongo people launched an armed uprising against the colonizers, and were able to successfully disrupt the Portuguese slave trade for years. The struggle of the Angolan people continued throughout the centuries and culminated with the birth of the liberation movements -- MPLA, FNLA and UNITA -- in the 1950's and 60's. All of the liberation organizations fought to win independence for Angola in the past decade.

During the recent Soviet instigated civil war in Angola, the chauvenist forces of the U.S. communist movement, led by the Guardian, were trying to tell the American people and the Angolan people that the only correct stand was to support the MPLA because it was the only "revolutionary" liberation organization, and the other two were reactionary CIA props

This position totally distorts reality, covered the features of Soviet social-imperialism with a pseudo-revolutionary mask, and put these "comrades" on the side of one of the two superthieves, in opposition to the interests of the peoples of the world. Comrades, the issue in Angola was not whether one group was more revolutionary than another, but of supporting the people of Angola against the interference and meddling of both superpowers, and in particular, the Soviet social-imperialists. The essence of the struggle in Angola was the contention between the two superpowers for control of Angola, not the struggle among the liberation organizations.

SOME HISTORY OF THE STRUGGLE IN ANGOLA

The facts show that all three liberation organizations contributed to the independence struggle of Angola.

The Movement for the Popular Liberation of Angola (MPLA) was formed by a group of patriotic intellectuals in Luanda, the Angolan capital, in December 1956. In 1961 MPLA opened up armed struggle against the Portuguese, with their first major offensive occurring on the Cabinda front in northern Angola. The opening of this front proved extremely impor-

tant for the people of Angola. Here is how an MPLA leader describes it.

'The Cabinda front was really useful to our movement. Many cadres were formed there, and there, too, the first revolutionary center was founded and we acquired valuable experience for conducting guerilla warfare. Most of our commanders were formed in that territory. Cabinda was the school in which were trained the essential elements for the development of the struggle in other regions.' (A. Neto, Portuguese Colonies, Victory or Death)

The program of MPLA includes, among other things, the following:

and the principles of the Organization of African Unity; struggle for a united front of all Angolan nationalist forces without any discrimination.

The Front for the National Liberation of Angola (FNLA) was formed out of a merger of L'Uniao das Populacoes d'Angola (UPA) under the leadership of Holden Roberto and other smaller groups which merged in March 1962. The UPA, formed in 1954 in order to fight for Angolan independence, was guided by the ideas of Pan-Africanism, and influenced heavily by the works of Nkrumah, Fanon, Lumumba and other leaders of the nationalist movements in Africa. UPA began armed activity against the Portuguese in 1961, with the launch-



Guardian Photo

the right of self-determination for the people of Angola, political amnesty for all political prisoners, civil liberties, namely the legal right to form political parties and establish solid guarantees for their effective exercise

UNITA was formed in March 1966. It is the youngest and smallest of the three liberation groups. It is the only Angolan liberation group to be totally based inside of Angola. Its founder and leader is Jonas Savimbi, who has based the organization among the peasantry whom they have consistently tried to educate around Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. UNITA adhered to the principles of peoples war and self-reliance, as evidenced by the fact that they sustained their struggle for years with captured Portuguese weapons. UNITA's program includes full independence; anti-imperialist solidarity, a planned economy, a program of industrialization, adherence to the UN charter

ing of a military campaign in northern Angola. This action was brutally crushed by the Portuguese who inflicted 2000 casualties upon the UPA and forced many of their adherents to flee into the Congo. In the Congo the UPA continued to organize among the Angolan refugees. In 1962 the FNLA set up the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile (GRAE). Jonas Savimbi was foreign minister of this exile government until 1964 when he resigned, charging Holden Roberto of the FNLA with corruption and tribalism. GRAE was recognized by the OAU as the official representative of the Angolan people and FNLA as the only active liberation group until 1968 when it became clear that the MPLA was also a liberation organization of importance in Angola, and due to the fact that GRAE had no mass following and influence inside Angola. Despite these political setbacks FNLA continued the armed struggle against the Portuguese. The program of the

INTENSIFIES — FACTORS FOR REVOLUTION INCREASE

FNLA included independence under a democratic system based on universal declaration of human rights; agrarian reform, a planned economy and industrialization, diplomatic non-alignment.

We are all aware that there existed serious contradictions among the different Angolan liberation organizations stemming from ideological and tribal differences. These contradictions were antagonized by the corruption on the part of some of the "leaders" of the liberation groups (especially Roberto). However the Angolan leaders correctly recognized throughout the period of the struggle against Portugal that these contradictions were secondary and subordinate to the principal contra-



help of imperialism to settle accounts with this reactionary clique. The Chinese were perfectly aware that it can never be "objectively progressive" for one robber to use a liberation movement to gain an advantage over another robber. The only result of such thinking is to strengthen the hand of one bandit at the expense of his victims! The Chinese Communist Party never lost sight of the principal contradiction with Japanese imperialism and with this perspective defeated ALL of their enemies one by one.

THE ROLE OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS

U.S. imperialism has had huge in-



South African workers burn identification passes

dition with imperialism and colonialism. This principle contradiction became extremely acute when the two superpowers intervened in Angola's independence struggle (particularly the Soviets, who instigated the civil war by splitting the liberation organizations into "revolutionary" and "reactionary" camps, by supplying one of the organizations with huge quantities of sophisticated weapons -- weapons which they had never supplied during the Angolan peoples struggle against the Portuguese.) It is clear that the Angolan people themselves could settle their own differences -- they did not need the help of one of the two biggest imperialist robbers in the world to "solve" their internal contradictions. For instance, everyone knows that the Chiang Kai-chek clique in China was rotten with corruption, used to assassinate communists during the war against Japan (instead of fighting the Japanese). But the Chinese people did not need the

vestments in Angola for decades, mainly in the copper, petroleum and mining industries. These interests led them to give political, economic and military support to the Portuguese colonialists in their war against the Angolan people. This fact is known to all. But what role did the Soviet Union, the social-imperialists, play?

For two decades the USSR has exported capital to the African countries to the tune of approximately 3 billion U.S. dollars. Much of this "aid" has taken the form of "joint-stock enterprises" -- a form of joint ownership by which the social-imperialists can more readily plunder the African countries while at the same time retaining control of the technical operations of the enterprises. In an article entitled "Big Exposure of Soviet Revisionist Colonial Expansion", the Chinese comrades clearly show the motives of Soviet intervention in Angola.

"The Soviet revisionists have repeatedly claimed they 'do not seek anything in Angola - either economic, military or other gain.' This is a typical self-exposing lie. In fact, Soviet social-imperialism has long coveted Angola, 'the jewel of Africa', and set its mind on awaiting an opportunity to replace Portuguese colonialist rule there. For a long time, the Soviet propaganda machine has openly talked of 'the enviable natural resources in Angola' and its 'extremely important strategic position.' That the Soviet revisionists have got their hands on Angola regardless of all consequences is due not only to Angola's abundant mineral deposits including both oil and diamonds, but also to the need in their counter-revolutionary global strategy of seeking world hegemony. Their attempt to seize Luanda and Lobito and other naval and air bases in Angola is to threaten from the east and the south the sea passage of the United States and West European countries for oil shipment and dominate the Southern Atlantic. Furthermore, they also intend to make Angola a springboard for expansion in central and southern Africa, and further undermine the national-liberation movements in all Southern Africa and grab the regions strategic resources. It is very clear that their bare-faced intervention in Angola is an important move for the seizure of strategic areas and their intensified strategic disposition in the interest of their contention with the United States for world hegemony."

(Peking Review, #6, 2/6/76)

With this understanding of the role of social-imperialism in Angola what are the implications of supporting their instigation of civil war in that country? It leads our "comrades" from the Guardian to the following: (1) They stand on the side of one robber of the world's peoples (USSR) which is attempting to use the civil war to weaken the other robber (US) and to gain an advantage for itself; (2) They stand directly opposed to the interest of the Angolan people, and consequently the workers and oppressed peoples of the world -- by strengthening the "objectively progressive" thief at the expense of the other -- rather than fighting against both bandits (by calling for Superpowers Out of Angola), (3) They deceive the masses by asking them to believe that the USSR, whom the Chinese have called the GREATEST menace to world peace, can somehow take a stance in the interest of oppressed peoples-- this at a time when more and more nations and countries are starting to see the real ugly features of the Soviet imperialists. (4) They lent support to the internecine carnage among the Angolan people, whose only interest lies in unity against the U.S. and the USSR. By the way, the Guardian stands in good company with their position -- the CPUSA, the CLP, PSP, and all of the trot groups agree with them one hundred percent.

THE CURRENT SITUATION

The civil war in Angola was politically and militarily resolved in

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SOVIET ECONOMY - A COMPLETELY AND

Comrades, we are reprinting this article from ALBANIA TODAY as a response to the Communist Labor Party which holds that the social-imperialist Soviet Union is "fully socialist", that the Khrushchev and Brezhnev cliques "prefer" socialism to capitalism, and that the Peoples Republic of China is acting together with the U.S. and the Federal Republic of Germany to "isolate" the "socialist" USSR. As for the opportunist CLP, this position has led them to intensified attack against the Communist Party of China and to social-chauvinism-- i.e., direct support of the Soviet Union's imperialist intervention in Angola. We call on all comrades to study this article with the purpose in mind of exposing the poison of the CLP in the ranks of the workers' and national moves, and of rousing the masses to revolutionary struggle against both superpowers!



PALANTE

POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE
PUERTO RICAN REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS
ORGANIZATION



Party building is the central task of all genuine Marxist-Leninists. The two main tactical tasks which must be conducted simultaneously to achieve material unity in the form of a new party are:

Uniting all Marxist-Leninists, and winning the advanced workers and advanced elements from other strata to communism. By putting forward the political line of the PRRWO, we believe that Palante is contributing to the fulfilling of these tasks.

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LIFE, TIME HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE BEST JUDGE OF THE CORRECTNESS OF THE CONCLUSIONS OF OUR PARTY IN ALL QUESTIONS IT HAS DEMONSTRATED THEIR INCALCULABLE VALUE AND HISTORIC IMPORTANCE. THIS IS JUST WHAT OCCURRED ALSO WITH THE CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING THE RESTORATION OF CAPITALISM IN THE SOVIET UNION

1

Without doubt the great ideological betrayal and the usurpation of the leadership of the CPSU by a group of traitors which took its open form at the ill-famed 20th Congress of the CPSU constituted the prologue to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. This group of traitors headed by Khrushchev, began the process of the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat that existed in the Soviet Union into a dictatorship of the new Soviet bourgeoisie which began to emerge.

The entire superstructure of Soviet society degenerated. The former dictatorship of the proletariat was transformed into a savage fascist dictatorship of the new revisionist bourgeoisie, the socialist Soviet State was transformed into a social-imperialist state. Although the beginning of the process of the degeneration of the Soviet superstructure was also the beginning of the restoration of capitalism, this degeneration of the superstructure could not advance itself without the degeneration of the economic base. Therefore, with the beginning of the process of the degeneration of the superstructure the process of the degeneration of the economic base began too. Here we have to do with a dialectical and complicated interaction of the degeneration of the superstructure and the base, where the one pushed ahead and impelled the other until at last they assumed their complete capitalist form. Also in the question of the degeneration of the socialist relations of production into capitalist relations just as our Party has pointed out in its documents, the treacherous Khrushchevian leaders exploited some shortcomings which existed especially in the relations of distribution (the great discrepancy of salaries which our Party has rightfully described as a dangerous evil).

It is known that capitalism is the highest and most general stage of commodity production. With scientific genius Marx proved in his work "Capital" that wherever commodity production becomes general and flourishing, there capitalist exploitation comes into being spontaneously. Therefore in his work "Capital" Marx begins his whole analysis of capitalism precisely with his analysis of the commodity. Defending and further developing Marx's economic theory Lenin underlined that

"The essential features of capitalism, (author's emphasis) according to his theory, are (1) Commodity production, as the general form of production. The product assumes the form of a commodity in the most varied organism of social production, but only in capitalist production is this form of the labour product general and not exceptional, isolated accidental. (2) The second characteristic of capitalism is the fact that not only the product of labour but also labour itself, i.e. human labour power takes the commodity form. The degree to which the commodity form of labour power is developed is an indication of the degree to which capitalism is developed."

After the usurpation of the leadership of the Soviet Party and State, the Soviet revisionist traitors in a camouflaged way created objective conditions for the emergence and development of the above two features in the Soviet economy. And in as much as any practical activity requires prior ideological preparation after 1953 the first thesis attacked by the Soviet revisionists in the Marxist economic theo-

ry was that about commodity production and the law of value in socialism.

It is well known that Marxism-Leninism does not negate the necessity of the existence of commodity production after the seizure of state power by the working class. On the contrary in the first stage, this form of production exists objectively, but being a "vestige" of capitalism, it is never allowed to extend and flourish, on the contrary, with the extension and strengthening of the socialist sector of the economy with the maturing of the socialist relations of production the sphere of commodity production and of the operation of the law of value is also narrowed and limited until objective conditions are finally created for their complete liquidation. While they consider commodity production as inevitable for a certain time the genuine Marxist-Leninist Party and the socialist state of the working class are also aware of the danger it conceals, and take conscious measures for the creation of the objective conditions for its final liquidation in the future.

But in opposition to all this with the aim of concealing the process of the restoration of capitalism with demagogic phrases after the year 1953 the Soviet revisionist traitors brought out the diabolical thesis that before they cease their operation, and in order to bring about this cessation the old categories inherited from capitalism (thus including commodity production and the law of value) must be developed and flourish in a full and general way.

In the impossibility of presenting here all the "scientific arguments" for this diabolic thesis suffice it to mention that in a camouflaged manner it found its expression in the so-called "Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union", which was approved at the 22nd Congress of this party, which says

"In communist construction it is necessary to fully utilize the commodity - money relations." (author's emphasis)

As is seen in opposition to the entire Marxist-Leninist theory, which stresses the indispensability of the limitation and restriction of commodity production during the transition to communism, the Soviet revisionists as conscious traitors to Marxism wanting to conceal the process of the restoration of capitalism, speak of "full utilization" of commodity money relations in communist construction. As to what is the meaning of the words "full utilization", this emerged clearly from all the practical economic measures they adopted which are measures for the transformation of socialist production into capitalist commodity production. All the "theoretical" creations and practical measures of these renegades were blatant betrayal of the precepts of Marxism-Leninism which they claim they are "developing".

Here, concretely is what Lenin stresses. "Marxism teaches us that the society, which is based on commodity production, at a certain level of development, inevitably, takes the road of capitalism." (author's emphasis)

And precisely the measures taken by the Soviet revisionists after the year 1953 in the economic field along with the process of the degeneration of the superstructure objectively created that certain level of development of commodity production of which brought about the birth of capitalism in the economy, which has now been completely and definitely formed. Lower into commodity did not take place in the Soviet Union at the touch of a magic wand but through a whole process of the degeneration of the dictatorship of the

proletariat into a dictatorship of the new revisionist bourgeoisie.

Inasmuch as the processes of the degeneration of the superstructure of the change of the character of ownership of the transformation of labour power into a commodity of the extension and flourishing of capitalist commodity production were completed the process of the restoration of capitalist exploitation too in all its breadth and depth, was automatically completed in the Soviet Union. This was the inevitable result of the restoration of the capitalist commodity production. Here is what Marx teaches us

"To the extent that commodity production develops in conformity with its inherent laws into capitalist production, to the same extent the property laws of commodity production are turned into laws of capitalist appropriation."

2

Now there is no doubt that the main form of capitalism in the Soviet Union is state monopoly capitalism of a new type. But this "new type" does not mean at all that we have to do with another essence of capitalism. The new type consists only in the way of its birth and its role, while as far as its essence is concerned it is capitalism as in all the capitalist countries.

State capitalism in the western countries came into being mainly as a result of nationalisations with compensation carried out by the bourgeois state whereas in the Soviet Union it came into being through the completion of the process of the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the new bourgeoisie. In the western capitalist countries, state capitalism plays a role dependant on private capital as a tool of the latter, while in the present-day Soviet Union it plays the dominant principal role.

But while stressing the fact that the main form of capitalism in the Soviet Union is state monopoly capitalism of a special type, we must also mention the other forms of capital and capitalism existing there today.

As a result of the fat salaries which the new Soviet bourgeoisie receives in the state and collective farm sector, it manages not only to lead a fabulous life, but also to create colossal "savings" in the form of deposits which by means of interest, "give birth" to other money. Here it is not a question of denying the possibility of savings in socialist society. Naturally, parallel with the increase of general wellbeing, the working people also create savings in order to better fulfill their needs of consumption in the future. But when these savings belong only to "people with special abilities", when they stem from the exceptionally high salaries and bonuses they receive, and yield large sums of interests, they are no longer savings but loan capital, money which gives birth to money.

Here is what Lenin says.

"The starting point of any capital, - both industrial and commercial - is the formation of free financial means in the hands of individual persons (the words "free means" should be understood as those financial means which are not necessarily used for personal consumption etc)."

Today the new Soviet bourgeois and a part of the worker aristocracy possess almost 60 billion rubles of deposits, bringing in 2 billion rubles interest annually, without even lifting a finger. The formula of capital loan P.P., demonstrated by Marx a century ago is precisely the formula of these "savings" of the new Soviet bourgeoisie.

But this is not the only form of private monetary capital possessed by the new

DEFINITELY CAPITALIST ECONOMY

Soviet bourgeoisie There are also other forms, in the form of state obligations, insurance etc. Finally, we cannot fail to mention another form of commodity pro-

All the concrete measures of the Soviet revisionists after the year 1953 in the field of the economy, which reached their culmination in 1965 with the so-called «economic reforms», had one aim: the restoration of the capitalist economy of commodity production. Irrespective of «Marxist» phraseology with which these measures have been justified, or how their capitalist essence has been concealed from the working people, in essence they were measures for the reestablishment of capitalism which has now been completed. At various periods these measures have affected production, distribution, exchange, the management of the economy, etc., but in their entirety they express one thing: the degeneration of the socialist economy, the unlimited extension of the commodity money relations, the creation of the economy of capitalist commodity production, the creation of conditions for the emergence and operation of all the categories of the capitalist economy which will be mentioned below.

The most important element in the whole process of the extension and flourishing of capitalist commodity production in the Soviet Union was precisely the transformation of labour power into a commodity. Marxism teaches us that «capitalism is that stage of the development of commodity production when even labour power becomes a commodity». Precisely because this process of the transformation of labour power into a commodity has been completed in the Soviet Union, it is understandable that we have to do here with a completely capitalist economy.

For labour power to become a commodity it is necessary for the worker to be divested of all means of production and be obliged to sell only his labour power. The process of divesting the Soviet labour force of the means of production, has been the very process of the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the new Soviet bourgeoisie. Thus with the degeneration of the Soviet State with its transformation into a dictatorship of the new Soviet bourgeoisie the means of production too, which were state or collective farm property, were automatically transformed into property of the new revisionist bourgeoisie, which usurped the state power. The Soviet working class was deprived of the means of production, it no longer has anything to sell for its livelihood but its labour power, which like all the other factors of production, has been transformed into a commodity.

In order to become convinced that the character of the state property depends on the character of the state itself, on whose hands the state is in suffice it to cast a glance on the present day reality of the western capitalist states, where state ownership has been extended in recent years. Nobody thinks of considering the state ownership existing today in the western capitalist states as socialist ownership by the workers. Why? Because state ownership is always the ownership of that class which holds the state power. And as long as the state power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie, of the capitalists, state ownership too is a form of capitalist ownership, is state monopoly capitalism.

In essence we have the same thing also in the Soviet Union. It is not superfluous to note here that a century ago, in his work «Anti-Dühring» Engels pointed out that the character of state ownership depends on whose hands the state is in.

Of course the transformation of socialist ownership into state capitalist ownership of a special type and of labour po-

duction which gives birth every day to new capitalists in the Soviet Union, which involves the so-called «collective farmer's personal plot». No Marxist has denied that as long as the agricultural cooperatives are unable to fulfill some of the needs of their members, the cooperativists must have a personal plot of land for some of their family needs. But when this «personal plot» is extended beyond measure and is used not for personal needs, but to supply the market then it is turned into an economy of simple commodity production which, as Lenin has said, every minute, every hour, and every day, gives birth to capitalism. This is precisely the type of the economy of a large number of «collective farmers personal plots» in the present day Soviet Union. These «personal plots» today supply up to 60 per cent of the vegetables, 80 per cent of the fruit, etc. Therefore as commodity production economies, they give birth to new capitalists every day.

3

The analysis of the capitalist character of the Soviet economy must be done not on the basis of external appearances, of the demagoguery of the traitors to Marxism, of the laws and juridical forms which still preserve the «socialist» shell, but in the way in which the classics of Marxism-Leninism, the Party of Labour and comrade Enver Hoxha teach us, on the basis of the real economic relations.

Criticising the Narodniks, Lenin taught the Marxists

«In order to define the «type» (of an economy - A. Pano) we must naturally, consider the principal economic features of an order and not its juridical forms». And the economic reality of the Soviet Union today is such that, without having in their pocket any deed entitling them to ownership of the country's means of production but thanks to their actual position the new revisionist bourgeoisie use these means for the exploitation of the working class for the capitalist appropriation of the surplus value created with the unpaid labour of the rank-and-file working people.

Just as all the other elements of the relations of production the relations of distribution too have degenerated completely. Just for this reason the new Soviet bourgeois can readily allow the workers to keep in a drawer the text of the Soviet constitution, which legally consecrates the right to common property, provided these bourgeois themselves keep hold of the bank book in which the sums of deposited rubles continually increase.

The whole of the surplus value appropriated by the Soviet bourgeoisie assumes various forms. A large part of this surplus value is transformed in various ways by this bourgeoisie itself as the collective owner of the means of production into capital of the form of state monopoly capitalism. This part like the means of production, it owns as a class and not as individuals. Another part of the appropriated surplus value it distributes individually among the members of its class in the form of the fat salaries and numerous bonuses established for the new Soviet managers in recent years, which are constantly increasing.

Suffice it to compare the second part of the surplus value appropriated individually by the members of the Soviet bourgeoisie in the form of «salaries and bonuses» with the wage of a rank and file worker, to understand the entire exploiting character of the capitalist relations of distribution in the Soviet Union. Today the salaries and bonuses of the top Soviet managers (let alone the elite of the Party State army and science) are 15-20

times higher than the minimum wage of ordinary workers. Of course, in order to preserve its domination more easily the Soviet bourgeoisie, by means of bonuses, also corrupts a small part of the working class, transforms it into an aristocracy of the working class as is the case in any capitalist society.

But the entire system of distribution operating in the Soviet Union today, the colossal number of bonuses, which in some cases are entirely unlimited, have nothing in common with the socialist principle of distribution according to work but under the label of the «recognition of the special merits of managers», serves the individual appropriation by the new bourgeois of a part of the surplus value produced with the unpaid labour of the Soviet workers. Precisely on this background we have the growth of the social contrast. On the one hand, the class of the new Soviet bourgeoisie, leading a fabulous luxurious life, and on the other hand, the rank and file working people who live in such poverty that, as the Soviet newspaper «Socialisticheskaya Industriya» unintentionally let out a few years ago, only now are they replacing their wooden spoons with metal spoons! It could not be otherwise. It is true that immediately after he came to power, Khrushchov promised golden spoons to everybody, but by the word «everybody» he implied only the new Soviet bourgeoisie, which became the masters of the state power and the means of production, while the others were reckoned to become, as they did, wage slaves.

The degree of exploitation of the workers in every capitalist economy is measured with the norm of surplus value, which represents the ratio of the surplus value to variable capital. The Soviet statistics of these categories still preserve the so-called «socialist» terms and falsify the amount of variable capital, by including the salaries of a part of the new Soviet bourgeois, which, as we said, represent a part of the surplus value. But even from those figures «fiddled» by the Soviet statistics it emerges that the norm of exploitation of the Soviet working class in 1972 was 23 per cent greater than in 1960. Such is the «gain» of the Soviet working class from the so-called construction of communism (read restoration of capitalism).

4

The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union also brought about the replacement of all the socialist economic laws and categories with the capitalist ones. The process of the restoration of capitalism extended over a number of years, which were also the years of the extension of the operation of capitalist laws and categories, until they reached their complete and final state.

The fundamental law of the present day Soviet economy is the law of drawing maximum profits. One of the aspects of its manifestation in practical activity consists in the fact that the entire activity of Soviet enterprises is evaluated from the main index, which is the so-called «profitability on funds» (read profitability on capital). The Soviet revisionists may engage in demagoguery as much as they want, claiming that the aim of their production has remained the fulfilment of the needs of the working masses however it is not words that are important but deeds. As long as the fat bonuses of the new Soviet managers depend only on the «profitability on funds» everybody understands that in order to fill their pockets, they do their utmost not to fulfill the needs of the economy and the working people but to increase their bonuses. Their motto is precisely the old Russian saying «Svoja ru-

bashka blizhe k tjellu» (my shirt is closest to my body).

The only regulator of Soviet production is the law of value and market spontaneity. Volume of sales is the second index for evaluation of the work of Soviet enterprises. But the volume of sales is directly determined by the situation of the market, therefore, it is precisely this market spontaneity that regulates Soviet production, and not the «plan» as they prattle. For sake of appearances the Soviet revisionists may play comedies and «criticize» the so-called «market socialism» of a certain Otto Schick, but they themselves have long ago established market capitalism.

The distribution of investments in the Soviet Union today, is done according to the so-called «normative coefficient of capital investments», which is nothing but a «socialist» table for the average norm of profit. The category of the capitalist price of production for which the revisionists find a thousand and one «socialist» names and justifications, is operating in the entire Soviet economy. Through the decentralisation of prices, which are fixed by the enterprises themselves, «escalated prices» etc., etc., the free play of prices is fully operative, although in other forms. The capitalist category of interest on capital has been established in the entire economy.

The struggle of individual enterprises for the most favourable conditions for the creation of incentive funds, for the most advantageous credit and capital, for a more profitable structure of assortments etc., is nothing but a form of competition operating in the capitalist economy. Through uniting, merging and transferring the activities of individual enterprises, the Soviet revisionists conceal the processes of the bankruptcy of individual capitalist enterprises but in fact, this bankruptcy exists. Many Soviet enterprises today have landed in a bankrupt financial situation. During the 1965-1971 period, the bank loans alone not repaid on time by the enterprises increased 2.3 times. During the period 1966-1970, violation of the normal timetable for the liquidation of obligations by Soviet enterprises increased by 25 per cent while the total of all the obligations not paid on time increased by 78 per cent.

The complete restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union could not fail to bring about the fabulous enrichment of the new bourgeoisie, the impoverishment of the working masses, continuous economic failures, unemployment and crises, manifested in hidden forms, and other capitalist phenomena.

To show the disastrous consequences of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet economy, we shall mention only the marked decline of the rates of economic development in comparison with the time when socialist economy still existed. Thus, in comparison with the 1945-1960 period, the average rate of increase of national income in the Soviet Union in the years 1960-1965 dropped by 44 per cent, in the years 1965-1970 it dropped 35 per cent, and in 1974 it dropped 58 per cent. And it must be said that the rates of economic development calculated by the Soviet statistics contain in themselves the colossal increase, in recent years of Soviet military production and if this were excluded, the situation of crisis and the real Soviet economic decline would be even more pronounced.

All analysis of real facts shows very clearly that the Soviet economy today is completely and definitely a capitalist economy. It is precisely this economy which constitutes the basis of Soviet social-imperialism which is characterized in the internal field by savage exploitation of the working people, by antagonistic class contradictions by phenomena of decline and successive crises, unprecedented militarization etc. while in the external field it is characterized by expansion, not only political and military but also economic, by the exploitation of other countries, and primarily of the East European «allies».

JONES...

CONT'D FROM PG. 1

il war. With the active support of the slaves, who operated behind the lines (as well as in actual combat), sabotaging and undermining the southern war effort, the northern capitalists defeated the southern slave-owning class.

After a short period of "reconstruction" during which the Northern capitalists consolidated their victory, and during which the freed slaves began to exercise their hard won democratic rights and to build new lives for themselves -- they formed an alliance with their defeated enemies and unleashed a reign of terror on the emancipated slaves. Thousands of Blacks were murdered, the women raped, their land stolen, and their homes and villages burned -- especially by the night-riding Ku-Klux-Klan! At the end of it all the Black people had lost their democratic rights, such as the right to vote, and had been forced into the back-breaking sharecropping system. The plantation owners now had a new form of slavery over the Afro-American people -- forcing them to eke out a survival existence at the cost of over 60% of what they produced. Often they were kept forcibly on the land which they had to work -- being hunted down and dragged back in chains if they attempted to leave.

What has been the result of these centuries of oppression of the Black people, and of their heroic, often armed resistance?

From a people who came from diverse tribes, with a multitude of languages and cultures were formed one people, one nation, which lived and worked in the "black-belt" south of the US. A people who speak one language, who forged a distinct culture in their common struggle for emancipation. The Afro-American people, after the Civil War, went from a single class of slaves to a people of many classes and strata -- a few capitalists, intellectuals, small shop owners, workers, farmers, etc. Excluded from the mainstream of economic life by their Anglo-American oppressors, they were forced to nurture and develop their own market.

For 400 years they have broken their backs in the fields and factories of the Black Belt and yet this land does not belong to them. This land is in the hands of the same class of capitalist thieves who throw us out of work to save their profits. The same gang of parasites who have robbed and plundered the riches of the Third World countries. The same clan of bandits who have forcibly sterilized over 1/3 of the women of child-bearing age in Puerto Rico. The same people who oppress and exploit the working people and oppressed nationalities of this country -- the capitalist class of the United States!

This class of robbers has used terrorism, political rule, and social inequality to FORCE millions of Black families from their homeland -- into the crowded ghettos of the north to serve as a cheap and handy supply of labor. The family of Greg Jones was one such family which migrated from the Black Belt south.

BRANDED!

But the Afro-American people who came to work in the North carried

with them the badge of their second-class citizenship -- they are branded with the oppression of their nation. And so, like Greg Jones, they are not allowed to "assimilate" into the "melting pot" when they leave their nation. They are given instead the lowest paying and dirtiest jobs, when they can find work at all. They also receive the worst housing, medical care and education that capitalism can provide. In addition they daily face racism on and off the job, as well as a growing spiral of police violence. In other words, Afro-Americans, such as young Greg Jones, lack their basic democratic rights. They lack them, not just because they are Black, but because the US imperialists have their homeland under the gun (literally -- there are dozens of military bases in the South, which protect the interests of such capitalists as plantation-owning Senator James Eastland of Mississippi).

GREG JONES -- A FIGHTER

Greg Jones, like millions of Black people whom we never hear of, fought against the national and class oppression which he, and others faced. Working in his trade union he was elected shop steward by



CAPITALISM CANNOT BE OVERTHROWN WITHOUT AN ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE WORKING CLASS AND THE NATIONAL MOVEMENTS IN THIS COUNTRY.

his fellow workers. Particularly did Greg Jones fight against Caterpillar's policies of discrimination -- failing to even hire Blacks until 1966 ("coincidentally", around the same period when Black Rebellions were flaring up around the country). Caterpillar then saw to it that Blacks got the lousiest jobs, with constant harassment from foreman and little chances for promotion past the machine operator classification. Caterpillar was merely upholding the fine "tradition" of national oppression of the capitalist class which subjugates the Afro-American nation and then tries to justify it in the eyes of white workers by trying to convince them that Blacks are "inferior" and somehow "deserve" the treatment they receive at the hands of the ruling class. This poison is their effective tool for dividing the working class -- a trusty device to divide and rule!

Because Caterpillar felt threatened by Greg Jones (as well they should have) they began a systematic campaign of harassment and intimidation of him -- increasing pressure from his foreman, transferring him from one department to another, even firing him until forced to take him back. The constantly increasing pressure finally caught up with Greg Jones one day and he had a nervous breakdown. He was sent by Caterpillar to a local county hospital not-

orious in the Black community of Oakland for its poor medical care. They bounced him over to Kaiser hospital (part of the huge Kaiser industries which had a net income of \$35million in 1974), which also failed to treat him. Released from Kaiser he became involved in the accident which resulted in the killing.

OUR TASKS!

Capitalism cannot be overthrown and socialism established without an alliance between the working class and the national movements in this country. And, as we laid out in REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE # 3, the movement of the Afro-American people is undoubtedly a revolutionary movement. To forge a real alliance with this movement the working class must champion and lead the struggle for democratic rights of Afro-Americans in the north, and for the right of the Afro-Americans to freely determine their political destiny, including the secession of their nation if they so desire. However the fight for democracy does not consist of one single battle -- but is composed of numerous battles during which it is the task of communists to educate the masses in the spirit

of proletarian internationalism and to give a consistently revolutionary direction to their struggles. But unless communists and advanced workers take up the fight against national oppression, such as the Greg Jones case, or against every single instance of national oppression on the job, our fine phrases about self-determination mean nothing. It is the task of the revolutionary proletariat to fight for the freedom of Greg Jones. It is our task to indict capitalism in the eyes of the masses, and not oppressed Black workers. In the course of fighting to free Greg Jones, or against all instances of national oppression we must show that the root cause of the oppression of Afro-Americans in the north is the forced oppression of their nation in the south. We must educate them so that they fight to free that nation from the bondage of the Anglo-American imperialists. Every partial struggle such as that of Greg Jones must be linked to the basic struggle of Black people for their democratic rights. And we must show the masses, step by step, that democratic rights can only be won through revolutionary struggle for them, not through passive tactics of reformism, which allows the ruling class to weaken our struggle and to divide us in the process.

The proletariat will someday establish its own dictatorship, a dic-

JONES...

tatorship which must practice the most consistent democracy for the vast majority of people. It cannot learn how to do this unless it wages a consistent and uncompromising struggle for democratic rights NOW. For it is through the struggle for democracy under capitalism that the masses learn that it is not "lack of rights" which causes their misery -- but capitalism. And if communists give a consistently revolutionary direction to that struggle -- by leading it through mass actions in the direction of the fight for democratic rights, self-determination and socialism -- the masses will learn the elemental force of their power, the value of organization and will come to realize, through their own experience, the necessity and inevitability of the overthrow of capitalism.

THE GREG JONES DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Presently ATM is working on the Defense Committee formed to try and free Greg Jones. The Committee is actively seeking support for Greg Jones from the working class and Black community of Oakland, as well as that of progressive peoples from surrounding areas. The Committee is attempting to show everyone that Greg Jones' case is not an isolated incident, but a part of the general pattern of capitalist oppression. The Committee is composed of workers from Caterpillar, members of the Jones' family, Black community groups, as well as ATM, the February 1st Movement (a Black, anti-imperialist student organization), and the Fruitvale Law Collective. An organization called the New Voice initially participated in the Committee but dropped out when they couldn't get ATM "condemned" for upholding right of the Afro-American nation to secession.

The October League also originally participated in the Committee but withdrew when the Committee refused to become an appendage of its "Fight Back" organization. During their time on the Committee the OL refused

1. to show how the Greg Jones case was linked to the oppression of the Afro-American nation, even though they claim to uphold the right of that nation to self-determination.
2. To advocate and fight for the right of the Afro-American nation to secession.
3. To show that the struggle of Afro-Americans for their democratic rights could only be solved in a revolutionary manner

In spite of all their Congress resolutions and pamphlets on the Afro-American question, the October League refused IN PRACTICE to fight for the national rights of the Afro-American people. In addition they never once showed in their agitation that the Afro-American struggle is part of a revolutionary movement, or even attempted to give that movement a consistently revolutionary direction. Instead they made their usual vague calls for "unity" and wound up attacking the Committee for "reformism" because it supported Greg Jones' legal defense (a pretext by the OL for leaving the Committee). Lenin made it very clear how we should characterize such "communists".



REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE

Revolutionary Cause is published monthly by ATM. We encourage our readers to submit any comments or criticisms you have of the paper. Also, any letters or articles will be most welcome. Revolutionary Cause reserves the right to edit for

length letters or articles submitted for publication.

Please send them or to write for more information on ATM. write to the following address: August 29th Movement, P.O. Box 32026, Los Angeles, Ca., 90032.

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- 3 - PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE

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AUGUST 29th MOVEMENT

The August Twenty-Ninth Movement is a multi-national communist organization formed in May of 1974. It takes its name from the great anti-imperialist march and demonstration which took place August 29, 1970 in the largest Chicano barrio in the United States -- the east side of Los Angeles, California. The demonstration was multi-national and mostly of working class origin. However the overwhelming number of demonstrators were from the Chicano oppressed nationality, and the event had a decidedly nationalist character -- i.e. protesting the use of Chicano youth as cannon fodder in the imperialist war in Viet Nam and protesting the lack of democratic rights for Chicano people. As such this event stands out as a shining symbol of the willingness of the people to struggle determinedly against their oppression and exploitation. Moreover it confirmed in the heat of storm and fire that the struggle of the oppressed nationalities is a component part of the world revolution.

Our organization bases itself on the principles of proletarian revolution as summed-up by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse Tung. We strive to achieve proletarian dictatorship, socialism and ultimately a classless communist society. This can only be achieved through forging the unity of the proletariat and the oppressed nationalities of this country and the armed overthrow of the existing bourgeois state. This overthrow can only occur as a result of a long protracted struggle led by the proletariat under the banner of its vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party. The building of such a party is the central task of all communists and advanced workers of the United States. This has been our task since the treacherous betrayal of the working class by the revisionist "Communist" Party of the USA.

This new party and socialist revolution in general cannot be achieved without a consistent relentless battle against any and every type of opportunism -- right opportunism and revisionism -- and left opportunism and trotskyism -- but most especially against the main danger world-wide and nation-

ally, revisionism and right opportunism. The "Communist" Party of the Soviet Union leads the revisionist parties, such as the "CP" - PUSA in promoting revisionism and counter-revolution.

We stand together with all the world's peoples in recognizing the leading role of the People's Republic of China under the leadership of the Communist Party of China with Chairman Mao Tse-Tung at its head, and the People's Republic of Albania under the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania and Chairman Enver Hoxha in the worldwide struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. As part of this struggle we are duty-bound to uphold the right of nations to self-determination, and to give direct support to the national liberation struggles of the peoples against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. At the present time the storm center of this struggle is in the Third World.

We pledge ourselves to unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninists to carry out our tasks and to fulfill our proletarian internationalist duty.

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AFRICA...

CONTINUED FROM PG 3

favor of the MPLA. The MPLA government, the Peoples Republic of Angola has been recognized as the official government of Angola by the OAU and many countries throughout the world. For the Soviet Union viz-aviz the U.S. this stands as a clear political victory. The attitude of communists and advanced workers must be to stand in favor of Angolan national unity and to call for the Angolan people to take a clear-cut stand against the two superpowers. Given their long and heroic history, we are sure that the Angolan people will soon see who their real friends are, will settle their own differences and "settle accounts" with the Soviet revisionists.

ZIMBABWE (RHODESIA)

Inspired by the victories against imperialism and colonialism scored in the past several years by the peoples of southeast Asia, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Sao Tome Principe, the Camoros Islands, etc., the peoples of southern Africa are increasing their armed struggle,



GUARDIAN PHOTO

proving that the factors for revolution are on the rise. There is nothing more significant than for imperialism and reaction to actually come under the gun -- something we, communists in many advanced capitalist countries, are working towards -- to get the masses to take up weapons against their enemies. Today the Zimbabwean people stand in irreconcilable contradiction with the white racist regime led by Ian Smith and backed by the forces of U.S. and world imperialism. The patriotic fighters of Zimbabwe have formed several revolutionary organizations and initiated armed struggle throughout the countryside.

One such organization is the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) which was formed in the 1960's and represents a continuation of the independence struggle dating, in the recent period, to the formation of the African National Congress in the 1950's, the National Democratic Party and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) in the 1960's. Although there are naturally contradictions among the various liberation forces, they have never allowed these differ-

ences to hinder their struggle against their main enemy, and have never given up their armed struggle.

THE UNITED FRONT AND "DETENTE"

ZANU and other liberation organizations are committed to the line of building the united front of all political groups who can agree to (1) the principal of immediate majority rule based on one man, one vote; (2) the principal of armed struggle as the primary means of struggle, constitutional and peaceful means of struggle being secondary.

The ongoing armed struggle has laid the basis for the building of a strong and successful united front of all patriotic Zimbabweans. It has also forced the Smith regime to resort to the counter-revolutionary tactic of "detente" as initiated by the racist South African Prime Minister Vorster. The armed struggle within Zimbabwe and the changed political situation flowing from the defeat of Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mozambique, has forced the racist minority governments to use sugar-coated bullets while at the same time beefing up their military operations and maintaining apartheid at home. This "detente" policy was aimed at creating "frien-

dly" relations with the independent African states (ie., splitting African unity) and domestically to try and create "constitutional illusions" among the liberation forces, to confuse and split them, with the ultimate objective of wrecking the armed struggle of the Zimbabwean people. However as recent events testify (increasing armed struggle in Zimbabwe) the Zimbabwean people are seeing through this whole "detente" business -- recognizing that there can be no "detente" between slave master and slave. In recent articles in the Los Angeles Times, Ian Smith admitted that unless the situation changed drastically in Zimbabwe it was "the beginning of the end" for his regime.

THE TWO SUPER POWERS AND ZIMBABWE

U S imperialism is deeply involved in Zimbabwe. The U S. government refused to apply the United Nations' sanctions against the racist minority regime -- on the contrary, they provide economic aid, investments and military supplies to the regime. The U.S. multinational corporations

totally control the economy of Zimbabwe which guarantees the exploitation of the African majority within Zimbabwe. It is very clear that U.S. imperialism is a main enemy of the Zimbabwean people.

Soviet social-imperialism plays its role in Zimbabwe by encouraging accommodation with the Smith regime, and "the constitutional path" rather than the path of making armed struggle the main form of struggle, and peaceful means a secondary form. By encouraging the path of accommodation, rather than resolute armed struggle, the Soviet revisionists are fanning the flames of aggression by seeking to split the united front by attempting to lull the armed vigilance of the people of Zimbabwe. We have seen the result of such a policy in Chile -- where the Soviet Union also encouraged "accommodation" and discouraged the armed revolutionary path.

THE CURRENT SITUATION

Armed struggle is playing the leading role in Zimbabwe at this time and is enjoying maximum support throughout the country. Currently, a military offensive is in full swing against the Smith regime all along its borders. The offensive is significant in that it comes at the same time as the revolutionary Mozambican people have closed their border to the Rhodesian racists and applied strict sanctions against them. In addition, the offensive clearly shows the Zimbabwean masses the real road to liberation, and shows up the "detente" schemes of the racists. Now is the time for the Zimbabwean people to grasp firmly the key link of armed struggle, while utilizing all other means of struggle which are to their advantage. Just recently, negotiations between the Zimbabwe liberation forces and the Smith regime broke down, due to the intransigence of the Smith government -- its refusal to accept the principle of Black majority rule of Zimbabwe. This fact confirms that it is only by persevering in armed struggle that the Zimbabwean people will win their freedom.

AZANIA AND NAMIBIA

The revolutionary movement of Namibia, (South West Africa) has in the past year intensified the struggle for independence. The racist Pretoria authorities have refused to recognize the UN mandate of 1966 which called for the withdrawal of all South African forces from Namibia. South Africa continues to occupy the territory illegally, and in the face of world opposition. The South West African Peoples Organization, (SWAPO) representing the interests of the Namibian people, has initiated guerilla struggle along the 700 mile long border between Angola and Namibia. UNITA of Angola has given mutual aid and support to SWAPO, allowing them to use their base camps as staging areas for armed attacks against the Pretoria regime.

In Azania (South Africa) the racist government has carried out their notorious "homelands" policy in a fruitless attempt to crush the liberation struggle of the Azania People, which is being led by the African National Congress of South Africa. They use this policy in combination with their proposed "detente" between colonizer and colonized. They brag that their homelands policy amounts to separate "independence" for each "homeland". Nine

JONES...

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"In the internationalist education of the workers of the oppressor countries, emphasis must necessarily be laid on their advocating freedom for the oppressed countries to secede and their fighting for it (emphasis ours - ATM). Without this there can be no internationalism. It is our right and duty to treat every (communist) of an oppressor nation who fails to conduct such propaganda as a scoundrel and an imperialist." (emphasis ours - ATM)

FREE GREG JONES!

We call upon all revolutionaries to support the case of Greg Jones. Show your support by raising his case in your mass work, by raising the banner of his defense on May Day, by sending in financial contributions to his defense fund, by writing about his case in your publications - both legal and illegal. In this way can we begin rouse truly mass support for this courageous Black worker; to make concrete the struggle for democratic rights for Afro-Americans and to fight for the liberation of the Black nation.

FREE GREG JONES! FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN NATION TO SECESSION! FIGHT FOR THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF AFRO-AMERICANS!!

Please send your financial support to:
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 3276 East 14th St.
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Guardian photos by George Cohen



AFRICA...

separate homelands have been set up on "native reserves" under the racial segregation acts. Political power is wielded by white officials assigned by South African authorities (in a country with 19 million Blacks and 4 million whites). Homeland leaders have no power and are also appointed by the South African regime. These homeland leaders cannot even leave the "native reserves" without the permission of the racists. To call this "independence" would be like calling the concentration camp Indian reservations of the United States "free and independent" nations. Wounded Knee showed just how "free and independent" these reservations are.

In addition Prime Minister Vorster is dedicated to his program of "separate development" which means that the 4 million whites control 87% of the land, while the 19 million Blacks are "allowed" to keep the other 13%.

Why is it that Vorster is trumpeting "detente" and claiming that his "homelands policy" is the road of independence and freedom for Africans? It is because the tide of history is surging forward. In the past year the last of the Portuguese colonies won their independence. In Southeast Asia the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos have defeated imperialism. In Zimbabwe and Namibia the armed struggle is growing, not declining. In particular do the South African authorities fear the revolution in Zimbabwe because then South Africa will be totally surrounded by independent African states born out of the struggle a-

gainst imperialism. This situation spells coming doom for the white racist regime of South Africa!

Summing up events in Southern Africa clearly reveals that the factors for revolution are on the rise and the truth of Chairman Mao's statement:

"The oppressed peoples and nations must not pin their hopes for liberation on the 'sensibleness' of imperialism and its lackeys. They will only triumph by strengthening their unity and persevering in struggle."

OUR TASKS

It is first of all the duty of communists and advanced workers to rouse the proletariat to give direct aid and support to the liberation struggles of the peoples of Africa; through intensifying their own struggle against U.S. imperialism here at home, by demanding that the U.S. government immediately cease giving all military and economic assistance to the white racist regimes and that the U.S. adhere to the UN sanctions against those governments. We must demand that both superpowers get out of Angola.

A part of carrying out our task of party building, our responsibilities as revolutionaries is to consistently uphold proletarian internationalism -- in this case by supporting the liberation struggles of the peoples of Angola, Zimbabwe, Azania and Namibia.

SUPERPOWERS OUT OF ANGOLA!!

SUPERPOWERS OUT OF AFRICA!!

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 WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM!

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MAY DAY & OUR TASKS

MAYDAY - 1976

Since the time of the first celebration of International Workers Day (May Day) in 1886, the world has gone through many profound changes. No longer is the whole world dominated by capitalist rule. Today over 800 million people live in socialist societies, where the working people control political power and plan and run their countries for the benefit of the working majority. Led by China and Albania the working masses of the socialist countries have put an end to capitalist exploitation of their markets, their resources and their labor.

THIRD WORLD SPEARHEADS THE STRUGGLE

In contrast to 75 years ago, when the world was composed of a handful of imperialist countries and a majority of colonies and semi-colonies, it has now become divided into 3 parts: the first world, consisting of the two main robbers and enemies of the peoples - the United States and the Soviet Union (superpowers), the Third World, consisting of the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the second world countries in the intermediate zone between the first and third worlds. Of course the U.S. has long been a capitalist country -- basing itself on the exploitation of wage labor. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, is a new imperialist power. The people of the USSR at one time had smashed the rule of the imperialists and built a flourishing socialist society which stood as the backbone of the struggle of the world's peoples against capitalism. However elements of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and from within the Soviet state, betrayed all of the ideals of communism, captured the leadership and corroded the party from within, turned it into a revisionist-capitalist party and restored capitalism in the Soviet Union. Hungering to take the place of the United States, the USSR has armed itself to the teeth and is maneuvering for military and political position with the U.S. (for example, in Portugal, Angola, etc.) The world stands on the brink of war!

In 1886 almost all of Asia, Africa and Latin America were direct or indirect colonies of the few "great powers". Today the mighty Third World has thrown off, or is throwing off, the yoke of imperialism and is spearheading (putting imperialism under the gun) the world revolutionary struggle against it.

THE TASKS FACING US

What are the tasks facing communists and class-conscious advanced workers on this May Day?

We still lack our Communist Party, the general staff which can lead the struggle of ALL the oppressed towards socialism. Therefore we must intensify our efforts to build the party. We can do this only by answering the questions which the practical movement puts before us -- the national movements, the labor movement, the struggle of women for emancipation, etc. We must develop a thorough understanding of the international events so that we understand our revolution in the context of those events. We must know how

the current economic and political crisis of imperialism effects the development of the labor and national movements. In other words, we must struggle even harder to apply Marxism-Leninism to our concrete conditions in order to develop the line and program which can unite all that is honest and advanced into one vanguard organization.

Secondly, communists must arm the advanced with a thorough understanding of the Marxist-Leninist approach to the burning questions of our movement -- we must continue to make propaganda the chief form of our activity, combining it with the concrete training in the actual mass struggle. Armed with a scientific understanding of these questions the advanced can give scientific leadership to the mass movements of which they are a part. This is extremely important, we cannot build a party and then fight against war, fascism, and the other issues facing us. We must build our party in the course of fighting against war and fascism, national oppression, etc. This is extremely important -- IF we are to prevent war and fascism, it can ONLY be through revolutionary mass struggle! When our Chinese comrades tell the people of the world to "get prepared", they mean that they must wage revolutionary struggle against

perialism and social-imperialism, and to support the second world countries which are beginning to unite against the two superpowers. We must concretely uphold our part of the world united front against the two superplunderers!

Thirdly, to carry out our tasks we must, in the course of struggle, win the masses away from the influence of reformism -- whether it be disguised by the "Marxist" phrases of groups like the CPUSA or the October League, or the militant piety of bureaucrats like Cesar Chavez who want to "build" unions by deporting undocumented workers, or who refers to a court injunction limiting a United Farmworkers' picket line as a "victory" (Los Angeles Times, 3/14/76). Remember, only to the extent that we do this can we wage a revolutionary struggle against war and fascism. For communists it is particularly important to raise our unity to a higher level through our struggle against opportunism -- especially against the October League. But we must never confine this struggle to the ideological sphere -- we must defeat opportunism ideologically and politically.

OUR TASKS ARE INTERRELATED

Despite the many changes the world

We must build our party in the course of fighting against war and fascism, national oppression, etc. This is extremely important-- If we are to prevent war and fascism, it can ONLY be through revolutionary mass struggle!

imperialism. We cannot use the excuse of the lack of a Party to ignore our responsibilities to lead these struggles as best as we are able -- to understand the crucial role leading these struggles has to play in the building of our Party. We must strive ever harder to arm the advanced to lead this struggle now -- with a Marxist-Leninist understanding of WHY imperialism inevitably leads to war, and HOW we must fight it, HOW communists link the immediate aims of the masses with the struggle for socialism, WHY the national question is such a significant part of our socialist revolution and HOW we can give it revolutionary leadership. Only Marxism-Leninism can answer these questions and it is our task as communists to give the advanced these answers and to train them in the course of the mass struggles. The advanced must turn the struggle for jobs, for democratic rights, for self-determination, for women's emancipation, etc. into a revolutionary torrent against war and fascism and for socialism. A component part of this is winning the masses to support the construction of socialism in China and Albania, and the policies of those countries; to supporting the struggle of the Third World countries against in

has gone through in the last 75 years or so, the revolutionary proletariat is still faced with the job of seizing political power and building socialism. We can see that our tasks are interrelated. Only through participation in the mass movements can we integrate theory with practice, win over and train the advanced and further develop our general line. Only through the struggle against opportunism can we win the masses to our side and determine the correctness of our line. Only through beginning to win the masses away from influence of the opportunists and reformists can we wage a revolutionary struggle against the real danger of war and fascism, and for jobs, peace, democracy and socialism. Our carrying out of these tasks is the guarantee of the already considerable unity of the revolutionary Marxists and advanced workers of the United States.

We call on all Marxist-Leninists and advanced elements to grasp firmly the tasks facing us and to redouble our efforts to build our party, lead the mass struggles and to smash the danger of war and fascism in its cradle. Let's make May Day a REVOLUTIONARY HOLIDAY!! WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE!!