

**Countries want
independence,
Nations want
liberation,
People want
revolution!**



**Selected articles on the
international situation
from GETTING TOGETHER**

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Nations want liberation,
People want revolution!**

**An Anthology from
GETTING TOGETHER**

The articles in this pamphlet originally appeared in **Getting Together**, the newspaper of I Wor Kuen (IWK), a Marxist-Leninist organization in the U.S. This pamphlet presents our views on some questions concerning the international situation, as a contribution to the development of the revolutionary movement and to the building of a genuine communist party in this country.

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Chairman Mao and friends from Asia, Africa and Latin America, 1959.

Theory of Three Worlds: A Major Contribution to Marxism-Leninism

On November 1, 1977, the Editorial Department of China's *People's Daily* published a major article entitled, "Chairman Mao's Theory of the Differentiation of the Three Worlds is a Major Contribution to Marxism-Leninism." This 35,000 word article provides a comprehensive and in-depth presentation of China's line and policy regarding the international situation, as formulated by Chairman Mao.

Marxist-Leninists around the world are hailing the publication of this article and the theory of the three worlds as a powerful weapon for the working class and peoples of the world. It is crucial for all revolutionaries to study and apply the three worlds analysis in order to proceed from reality and advance the worldwide revolutionary movement. It is available in the U.S. in the November 4, 1977 issue of *Peking Review*, No. 45.

The article concretely refutes the modern revisionists as well as the Trotskyites' view of the international situation. It shows in real life how the three worlds analysis enables us to unite with all forces in the world opposed to the main common enemy — the two superpowers, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. It narrows the enemy target and broadens the allies of the proletariat and oppressed peoples in making revolution, and analyzes class relations on an international scale.

The article consists of five parts: 1) The Differentiation of the Three Worlds is a Scientific Marxist Assessment of Present-Day World Reality; 2) The Two Hegemonist Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are the Common Enemies of the People of the World; 3) The Countries and People of the Third World Constitute the Main Force Combatting Imperialism, Colonial-

ism and Hegemonism; 4) the Second World is a Force That Can Be United With in the Struggle Against Hegemonism; and 5) Build the Broadest International United Front and Smash Superpower Hegemonism and War Policies.

Throughout the article, it stresses the importance of proceeding from a dialectical and historical materialist analysis of the world's main forces and fundamental contradictions. It points out that Chairman Mao's analysis of the three worlds is a direct continuation of Lenin and Stalin's teachings applied to the contemporary world situation. The special introduction to the *People's Daily* editorial pointed out that "all the revolutionary teachers of the proletariat differentiated the world's political forces by relying on an objective and penetrating analysis of the overall situation of the international class struggle in different periods instead of following any hard and fast formula."

In describing the role of the first world, consisting of the two superpowers, the article points out that they are bent on winning world hegemony and have placed themselves in opposition to each other and to the countries, people and nations of the entire world. It brings to light the intensifying war preparations on the part of the superpowers, and points out sharply that it is the Soviet Union which, between the two superpowers, constitutes the main source of the danger of a new world war. The reasons cited are that the Soviet Union is a newcomer to imperialism, and has to grab for areas already controlled by other imperialists, chiefly the U.S. It is a fascist state with highly concentrated state monopoly capitalism, so it is easier for the Soviet Union to gear its economy toward militarization. Also, the Soviet Union still masquerades as "socialist" to cover its aggression and hegemonism.

In regard to the third world, the article stresses the long-term role of the countries and people of the third world as the main force in the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism. As the introduction to the editorial states, "The third world people account for over 70% of the world's population, and as a worldwide anti-imperialist force, they are the mainstream of the world revolutionary struggle. . . subjected as they were to the most ruthless oppression, the countries and people of the third world have been the most resolute in their resistance. For a fairly long historical period, they will continue to wage a fierce struggle against imperialism and above all the superpowers." It also points out that the political awareness of the third world has risen, and that they are uniting more and more against their common enemies.

The editorial clearly points out that in today's world, the lesser imperialist powers of the second world are also a force that can be

united with in the struggle against hegemonism. They are being bullied and even threatened by the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and are more and more striving to safeguard their national independence and are increasingly opposing superpower hegemonism. For the working class within the second world countries, a part of their revolutionary struggle against domestic monopoly capital must be to stand in the vanguard of the struggle against hegemonism. The editorial states, "Of course when we refer to the second world as a force that can be united with in the struggle against hegemonism, we certainly do not mean to write off the contradictions between the second and third world countries and the internal class contradictions in the former, nor do we in the least mean that the struggle of the oppressed nations and people against oppression and exploitation should be abandoned. The world can only advance in the course of struggle, and it is only through struggle that unity can be achieved."

Overall, the article emphasizes the importance of recognizing the objective basis for a united front of various forces worldwide against superpower hegemonism and war preparations. As the editorial states, "It has been the consistent revolutionary policy of the international proletariat to form the broadest possible united front in worldwide revolutionary struggle to strike at the chief enemy."

The three worlds analysis is very important to our understanding of the international context of our struggle here inside the U.S. for the revolutionary overthrow of U.S. monopoly capitalism. We must support every struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism around the world. We must unite with the anti-imperialist struggles of the third world countries and peoples, and see that even the lesser imperialist countries of the second world can make contributions to the worldwide revolutionary movement. In this way, we can see how all of our struggles here contribute to our goal of advancing step-by-step toward world communism.

Vol. VIII, No. 12, December 1977

Soviet Social Imperialism and the International Situation Today

Pivotal to understanding the world situation today is grasping the nature of the Soviet Union. Is it an ally of national independence, national liberation and revolution or is it a mortal enemy? Do we extol the Soviet Union as an example of socialism or expose it as a fascist and imperialist superpower?

Getting Together's stand on these questions is unequivocal; the Soviet Union, once ruled by the proletariat, is now under the rule of a monopoly capitalist class that has fully restored capitalism. The Soviet Union is fascist at home and social-imperialist abroad, socialist in words and imperialist in deeds. It is a superpower and contends with the U.S. for the domination of the world. Everywhere the Soviet social-imperialists are enemies of the masses of people.

In this editorial we wish to outline our view of the Soviet Union as a capitalist superpower, the significance of this development for the people of the world and finally, the tasks for the Marxist-Leninist movement in the U.S. on this question.

How did the Soviet Union become an imperialist superpower?

From the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 to the 1950's, the people of the Soviet Union under the leadership of their communist party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) led first by V.I. Lenin and then by Joseph Stalin, made momentous strides in building the first workers' state. The Soviet people set a shining example to the whole world of what economic, political, cultural and moral progress the laboring people

can make when they throw off their exploiters and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Soviet people and the CPSU valiantly defended socialism and fought against the many attempts of international capitalism to overthrow or subvert the Soviet Union. Right after the revolution, the capitalist powers invaded Russia in an attempt to destroy socialism. But all the various attempts of the imperialists failed — the most outstanding example is that of the successful Soviet resistance against Nazi aggression in World War II.

At the same time that the Soviet people defended socialism from external imperialist aggression, they conducted a sharp battle against an even more dangerous enemy. The revisionists, capitalist elements masked under Marxist words, represented a mortal threat right within socialism. Their objective, like that of the foreign imperialists, was to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

The battle between the two roads, that of socialism or that of capitalism, is not decided once and for all with the overthrow of the rule of the former exploiting class, but rather remains throughout the entire historical period of socialism.

The CPSU scored major victories against the revisionists to keep to the socialist road. Trotsky was soundly defeated as was a whole pack of careerists, opportunists, bureaucrats and self-seekers. These bourgeois elements were right within the party and government and aimed to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union.

In 1945, the Soviet Union emerged triumphant from the Second World War, and was in a position of unprecedented strength. However, certain circumstances arose which facilitated the rise and eventual triumph of revisionism in the CPSU; under these conditions, the socialist Soviet Union turned into its opposite — a monolithic capitalist state.

The external source of revisionism in the Soviet Union was the surrender to imperialist pressure, while the internal source of revisionism was the existence of bourgeois influence. These are the political and ideological sources of the new bourgeois elements. Externally the U.S. imperialists threatened nuclear blackmail of the Soviet Union, invoking the fear of atomic destruction. At the same time, the U.S. imperialists promoted reformist illusions that capitalism could be peacefully transformed. Capitulation to these pressures leads to a general abandonment of revolutionary ideals and principles.

Within the Soviet Union, the revisionists took advantage of the death of Stalin, who had led many fights against revisionism in the Soviet Union, in 1953. These revisionist elements inevitably

emerge under socialism; the revisionists and bureaucrats in the government, careerists in the party, unreformed bourgeois intellectuals and technicians, corrupt administrators, militarists in the armed forces are produced because of the remaining inequalities in socialism that are inherited from bourgeois society. These inequalities exist right in the economic basis of socialism. In the areas of ownership, relations among people, and distribution, there still exists bourgeois right which gives certain material privileges to some. New capitalist elements are engendered from the soil of bourgeois right.

These elements found their political representative in the person of Khrushchov who by 1956 launched an all out offensive against socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. He attacked the record of Stalin and the whole history of socialism in the Soviet Union in order to overturn the advances made by the working people. He promoted the "theories" of the "state of the whole people" and "party of the whole people" to destroy the workers' state and the workers' party. Led by Khrushchov, the revisionists soon took over the entire leadership of the party. "Nearly 70% of the members of the central committee of the CPSU who were elected at its 19th Congress in 1952 were purged in the course of the 20th and 22nd Congresses held respectively in 1956 and 1961. And nearly 50% of the members of the central committee who were elected at the 20th Congress were purged at the time of the 22nd Congress." (*On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism*, Peking 1964)

The triumph of revisionism in the Soviet Union, the seizure of state power by the revisionists means that the bourgeoisie controls state power and not the proletariat. And what do the revisionists do with state power in their hands? They restore capitalism in an all-round way.

Mao Tsetung has incisively summarized this experience and drawn a very important lesson on the dictatorship of the proletariat. He said as early as 1963:

"Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist country. These movements are a sure guarantee that Communists will be free from bureaucracy and immune against revisionism and dogmatism, and will forever remain invincible. They are a reliable guarantee that the proletariat will be able to unite with the broad working masses and realize a democratic dictatorship. If, in the absence of these movements, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and ogres of all kinds were allowed to crawl out, while our cadres were to shut

their eyes to all this and in many cases fail even to differentiate between the enemy and ourselves but were to collaborate with the enemy and become corrupted and demoralized, if our cadres were thus dragged into the enemy camp or the enemy were able to sneak into our ranks, and if many of our workers, peasants, and intellectuals were left defenseless against both the soft and the hard tactics of the enemy, then it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at the most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party and the whole of China would change its colour." (from *On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism*, p. 72)

Soviet Union today

The Soviet Union today is not the red color of revolution but is counter-revolutionary through and through.

At home, there is state monopoly capitalism. Brezhnev openly advocates operating on the profit motive. He proclaims that the Soviet capitalists should "allocate each ruble to the place where we can be compensated by two, three and even ten rubles tomorrow... All of us, from the central to local organizations, must learn the complex art of money making. That is nothing to be ashamed of." (Brezhnev, *On Basic Problems of the CPSU Economic Policy at the Present State*) The salaries of the managers of the big enterprises are 15-20 times higher than those of the average workers.

Wage slavery prevails in the Soviet Union and is legally authorized and enforced. "The Regulations Governing Socialist State Productive Enterprises" published recently in the Soviet Union openly stipulates that a manager of an enterprise "has the right to recruit and dismiss personnel" and "has the right to fix the workers' rate of wages and bonuses." This is an unabashed confession that wage labor is bought and sold in the Soviet Union today.

There is widespread unemployment, as with any capitalist society. It is reported that there have been 6 million industrial workers without jobs every year since 1970. There is increasing taxation: in 1960 state employees paid an average of 84 rubles in taxes. This increased to 158 rubles by 1973. According to Soviet yearbooks, the retail prices are also soaring. For example, between the years 1970-73 state retail prices of meat and poultry rose 29%, animal oils by 28%, vegetables by 23% and flour by 48%. These are all common characteristics of capitalist society.

In order to serve its imperialist ambitions, the new capitalists in the Soviet Union have militarized the economy: 60% of industry is directly or indirectly related to the military. In 1960 the Soviet revisionists spent 13.1% of its national income on military expenditures, but by 1974 this had increased to 19.6%. This proportion surpasses pre-war Nazi Germany (19%) as well as U.S. imperialism even at its periods of conducting wars of aggression in Korea (15%) and Vietnam (10%).

The Soviet military itself is immense. It has 4.2 million personnel in active service, almost twice the number of the U.S., and has another 25 million in reserves. It has close to 800 submarine guided nuclear missiles and over 1600 land-based ICBM's. Its naval forces are close to, if not surpassing those of the U.S. It has close to half a million men occupying countries in Eastern Europe.

These military forces are not to fulfill the defense needs of a socialist country, but rather are the forces of a mighty imperialist superpower aiming for domination of the world.

Some may ask if the USSR has any profit in its foreign expansion. It certainly does. It bleeds dry the Eastern European countries, just as the U.S. does in Western Europe. The USSR is also aiming to make money in the third world. It is establishing "joint stock companies" that are no different from the U.S. monopoly capitalist corporations.

From its so-called foreign aid and arms deals too, the Soviet Union makes huge profits. The Soviets use "foreign aid" as an imperialist tool just as does the U.S. bourgeoisie. The chairman of the State Foreign Economic Relations Committee of the Soviet Union, S.A. Skachov, bluntly stated that "the Soviet economic assistance is no charity," that "the technical assistance of the Soviet Union to the developing countries has served to promote the growth of our foreign trade and increase our equipment export," and that "this has added to the possibility of meeting the increasing requirements of the Soviet national economy." In other words, the purpose of Soviet aid is not to assist the developing countries but to help propel Soviet capitalist needs.

This is clearly seen in terms of Soviet "foreign aid." Soviet loans for example must first of all be used to buy Soviet machinery and equipment usually at prices 20-30% *higher* than in the world market. Furthermore, products turned out by the Soviet-aided projects must first be used as debt repayments — usually at prices 10-15% *lower* than the world market. Therefore a Soviet loan can often produce a huge profit 4-5 times more than the original loan. By the time that India has cleared all its present debts to the Soviet Union, Indian journalists estimate that she

would have paid back 565.9% of her original loan.

The Soviets have also conjured up elaborate imperialist theories to justify their exploitation of other countries. Brezhnev propounds that all countries should "take part in the international division of labor" which means that the Soviet Union, which is developing "the material basis for communism," builds industry while other countries subordinate themselves to the Soviet Union's economic plan. (Brezhnev, "The Triumph of Soviet Democracy") This amounts to industrialized Russia and underdeveloped Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The Soviets also have rationales to interfere and subvert national liberation struggles. They humbly proclaim that "it is universally recognized" that "without the assistance of the USSR" the national liberation forces would not achieve "success." (B.N. Ponomarev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, "Following Lenin's Course Towards Socialism," April 22, 1974)

What we are dealing with then, is the USSR as a superpower under the mask of "socialism." The revisionist leaders of the CPSU run state monopoly capitalism and exploit the working people both at home and internationally, while aiming at world hegemony.

The significance of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union to the present world situation

The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union has serious implications for the people of the world. The Soviet Union is a big country with a large population and has a highly developed economy with international connections. It is more than a capitalist state, for it is one of the two superpowers of the world. In contention with the other superpower, the U.S. it strives to gain domination over all other countries and nations, including lesser capitalist states. The two superpowers are the enemies of the people of the world.

The world's people have already seen how a superpower operates. Following World War II, the U.S. became the number one exploiter and oppressor of people everywhere. It attacked the third world and bullied even its own "allies" such as Japan and Western Europe. Objectively, a broad united front could be forged which included the international proletariat, masses of people in the U.S., the socialist countries, the oppressed nations of the world and even the lesser capitalist powers.

But the rise of the Soviet Union as a superpower alters this situation. It is only correct now to see forging a broad united front against both superpowers, which must include all the various

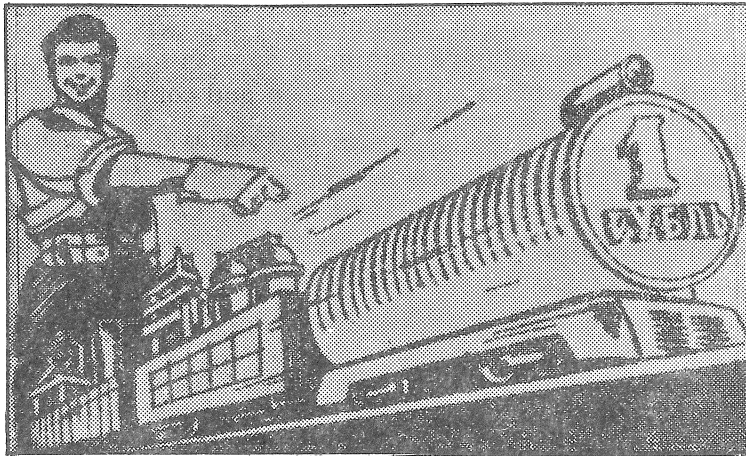


Illustration from Soviet journal promotes the capitalist idea that "money is the locomotive hauling everything forward."

countries fighting for independence, nations for liberation and people for revolution. The proletariat must support whatever is in the interests of the masses of the world's people and helps to defeat the imperialism of both superpowers.

This means that the proletariat must support activities such as the liberation movements of the African people as in Azania and Zimbabwe and condemn the direct interference of the Soviet Union in Angola where they incited a tragic civil war. Several months after the end of the civil war, the Soviet Union continued to support over 10,000 mercenary troops on Angolan soil.

The proletariat must also support those activities of the third world countries to defend their national independence and strengthen their economic position, for these struggles too help isolate and weaken the two superpowers. We support Egypt's decision to throw out the Soviets from their country as well as the oil exporting countries' attempts to control their own natural resources. Actions should be encouraged too such as the Iranian government's attempt to make the Indian Ocean a zone which would prohibit U.S. and Soviet atomic weapons in the area.

There are also contradictions between the lesser capitalist countries and the superpowers. The attempts of these countries to develop their ties with the third world such as the recent UNCTAD Conference are positive steps towards breaking away from the domination of the superpowers. At the same time, the recent interference of both superpowers in the internal affairs of countries such as Portugal and Italy should be exposed.

The people's revolutionary struggles for self-determination,

national liberation and socialism are every day winning more and more victories and must be resolutely supported.

Both superpowers are enemies of the world's people: Soviet Union most pernicious

Both superpowers are enemies of the people of the world and both are vicious and bloodthirsty exploiters. At the same time that we oppose both superpowers, we must recognize that, of the two, the Soviet Union is the even more pernicious foe.

Why is this?

The Soviet Union relative to the U.S. is a rising imperialist power. The U.S. suffered irreversible defeats in Indochina. It is being forced to retreat all around the globe. The Soviet Union on the other hand is even more aggressive and ambitious. It hopes to fill in everywhere the U.S. leaves or is weakened.

At home, the U.S. is beset with monumental economic, social and political difficulties. It finds little support for its imperialist activities. The Soviet Union is also internally weak. It is meeting more and more resistance from the people of the Soviet Union. In the economic field it is still weaker than the U.S. But it has the advantage of state monopoly capitalism which it can more directly use for its aggressive plans. It imposes a fascist dictatorship on the people at home to prevent any opposition.

The Soviet revisionists have put millions of Russians into concentration camps and "mental asylums" to crush opposition to fascist rule. The director of Soviet internal security himself admitted that there are over 600 scientists in his bureau whose purpose is to find new ways to physically and psychologically suppress the people.

The Soviet Union furthermore is a social-imperialist superpower. It masquerades under the cover of Marxism and socialism. It pretends to be an ally of revolution, but nothing could be further from the truth.

The U.S. is like the thug on the street whom you know wants to beat you over the head to get your wallet; the Soviet Union is the backstabbing "friend" who waits to get into your home to steal your food.

Factors for both war and revolution are on the rise

The basic contradictions in the world are sharply intensifying. The factors for both war and revolution are rising.

The contradiction between the superpowers on the one hand and the people of the world on the other is developing in a positive direction. Great victories have been won by the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. The countries of the second world, the lesser capitalist countries, are also uniting against superpower subversion and interference. Everywhere, there is a growing Marxist-Leninist movement with new genuine communist parties emerging to lead the various struggles.

The world situation is excellent and is developing in a direction favorable to the people of the world.

The contradiction between the two superpowers is also intensifying and the danger of war between the two increasing. Imperialism means world war. The U.S. and the USSR compete with one another over the robbery of the world. The objective of world domination leads them to direct contention. This contention inevitably leads to war and all people must prepare themselves for this danger. Thus we believe that the best way to characterize the concrete situation in the world today is that factors for both war and revolution are on the rise.

Of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union is the more dangerous and the main source of the war danger. The U.S. is on the defensive, while the Soviet Union is more aggressive and ambitious.



Czechoslovakian masses stoning Soviet tanks during 1956 invasion.

The aggressive nature of Soviet social-imperialism in its contention with U.S. imperialism is evident in such places as Angola, the Middle East, Portugal and Cyprus. The vastly aggressive nature of the Soviet Union is also evident in the fast pace of its arms buildups and war preparations. For instance, in Europe, the strategic objective of superpower contention, the Soviet Union is carefully preparing for combat. Seventy-five percent of Soviet troops abroad are deployed in the Warsaw Pact countries and recent military exercises between Soviet troops and Warsaw Pact bloc troops have been noticeably on the increase.

The Soviet Union makes a lot of noise about "detente" and the relaxation of tensions between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, but there can be no such thing. Detente in fact is simply a cover for the real situation — the increasing hostilities between the two superpowers. It is used to disarm the masses, leaving them unprepared for war and allowing the imperialists to have a free rein.

The relationship between war and revolution is very close. The two world wars gave rise to the great October Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Chinese revolution of 1949. The earth shaking revolutionary torrent in the third world during the 1950's and 1960's greatly weakened U.S. imperialism and assisted in preventing war against the socialist countries. In this era, whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, revolution will be the final outcome.

Any force that tries to oppose or go against the tide of the surging revolutionary struggle will in the end be defeated. Without a doubt it is the millions upon millions of people of the world who decide the future and not one or the other superpower. "To eliminate the inevitability of war, it is necessary to abolish imperialism." (Stalin, *Economic Problems in the USSR*) And, if the superpowers launch a world war, they will only hasten their overthrow.

Our tasks today

The U.S. revolutionary movement must fully appreciate the implications that the factors for both war and revolution are on the rise. The contradiction between the two superpowers and the people of the world is sharpening and the situation is favorable for the people to advance in their struggles. At the same time the contradiction between the two superpowers is also sharpening and leading towards world war, with the Soviet Union the most dangerous source of a new war.

We believe that this situation requires heightening revolutionary work in all areas, for such work is the only way to combat the growing danger of war. Only revolution can prevent world war.

There are implications for three areas in particular which we wish to note:

1) in party building, the current world situation necessitates that the U.S. communist movement intensify its efforts to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism-Leninism and develop a correct line around which communists can be united. The formation of this party is the cornerstone for furthering the U.S. revolution and for getting prepared here for the growing danger of war. It is an illusion to think that qualitative advances in either area can occur without such a party.

We must push ahead our theoretical work and learn from the history and current experiences of the international working class movement and integrate these lessons with the concrete realities of the U.S. revolution. This theoretical work is particularly important in these times due to the upheaval in the world and sharpening struggle everywhere.

At the same time, the communist movement must deepen its ties with the working class and oppressed masses in the U.S. by bringing further their advanced elements into the ranks of the communist movement and expanding communist influence over broad numbers of people.

2) in our work around the world situation, we must promote proletarian internationalism by winning the working class to support all the various struggles that weaken and isolate the principal enemy in the world, the two superpowers. This means resolutely supporting and encouraging the countries fighting for independence, nations for liberation and people for revolution.

Furthermore with the danger of a new world war on the rise, we must point out this danger, that its source comes from the contention of the two imperialist superpowers and that the only way to combat the threat of war is to persevere in making revolution.

While maintaining that both superpowers are enemies, we must intensify our struggle in exposing the Soviet Union. This means that in our educational work on world events we must place emphasis on exposing the fascist nature of the Soviet Union, its insidious social imperialism and its menace as the most dangerous source for a new world war in the contention with the U.S. for world hegemony.

Special emphasis must be directed against the Soviet Union because of its particularly aggressive and ambitious nature and

because it masks as an ally of revolution. U.S. imperialism is relatively well-known and it has difficulty executing its various plans, but the same cannot be said of the Soviet Union. While the people are becoming rapidly more conscious of Soviet imperialism, it is still deceptive — hence the necessity to stress the exposure of the Soviet Union's social-imperialism.

And 3) in our revolutionary work in the U.S. we must expose and defeat the counter-revolutionary role of the "Communist" Party, U.S.A. revisionists, centrists such as the *Guardian* newspaper and "liberal appeasers" who in various ways promote, apologize for or obscure the danger of Soviet social-imperialism. These opportunists mask the reality of the treachery of Soviet social-imperialism and the danger of war, thus actually assisting and encouraging Soviet ambitions. They create confusion by making enemies into "friends."

The opportunist Guardian

In recent months, in the midst of growing clarity and opposition to Soviet social-imperialism, the *Guardian* newspaper has emerged as an especially active force covering for the Soviets and revisionists.

The *Guardian* is particularly despicable because it pretends to be Marxist-Leninist, anti-revisionist, anti-social-imperialist, a "friend" of China, etc. But the *Guardian's* actual actions speak louder than its words. In fact, the *Guardian* because of its opportunist smokescreen, is able to promote Soviet social-imperialism *better* than such discredited and unpopular forces as the Communist Party, U.S.A., an unabashed supporter of Soviet hegemonism.

The *Guardian's* stand has never been thoroughly Marxist-Leninist, but during the past several months it has mounted systematic campaign to support Soviet social-imperialism from Portugal to Angola behind a thoroughly dishonest and unprincipled attack on China's foreign policy. The *Guardian* is despicable in that it fundamentally *misrepresents* and distorts China's line. Not once for example during the past month's tirade against China has the *Guardian* reprinted even one single article from China so that the *Guardian's* readers could judge for themselves what is China's position. Rather, the *Guardian* has opened its pages to obviously Trotskyite and outright revisionist views.

The *Guardian* engages in demogogy (such as accusing the U.S. Marxist-Leninist movement, which holds that capitalism has been fully restored in the Soviet Union, as "knee-jerking and genuflecting" toward China) in order to obscure the basic and decisive question: Is the Soviet Union a monopoly capitalist social-imperial-

ist superpower? It is the *Guardian's* position, which holds that the Soviet Union is not a capitalist superpower, which is at the heart of the differences.

The *Guardian* bases itself on eclecticism, a usual characteristic of centrism, which attempts to reconcile two mutually contradictory stands. The *Guardian* in opportunist fashion asserts in one breath that the Soviet Union is "social-imperialist" and a danger and that the CPSU is a revisionist party but then in the next breath maintains that the Soviet Union is a country with socialist relations as dominant. These two views are not compatible — how can there be a social-imperialist country run by a revisionist party, a capitalist party which is socialist at the same time? Such phantoms cannot exist in reality but only in the minds of opportunists such as the *Guardian*. The *Guardian's* view of the Soviet Union is nothing but a confusing cover for its actual conciliation with and apology for social-imperialism.

Not content with slandering the Marxist-Leninist movement in the U.S. as a way to shield its defense of Soviet social-imperialism, the *Guardian* during the past several months is trying to slander China as a further way to shift attention away from the basic question of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and social-imperialism. In particular, this "friend" of China has initiated a whole debate and attack not around Soviet foreign policy but China's foreign policy.

The *Guardian* is thus objectively assisting Soviet aggression around the world and encouraging revolutionaries in the U.S. to unite with the CPUSA.

* * *

The current struggle around the Soviet Union and the international situation is not around secondary issues of importance but concern fundamental questions of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought — such as on the dictatorship of the proletariat, scientific versus petty bourgeois socialism, nature of imperialism, war and peace, etc. And this debate is integrally related to answering basic matters of the practical movement — who are our friends and enemies, our strategy and tactics, immediate tasks, etc. It is because of all this that the struggle around the Soviet Union and the international situation takes the character of increasingly differentiating the opportunist currents in the U.S. revolutionary movement from the Marxist-Leninists striving to forge a genuine communist party.

Vol. VII, No. 2, July 1976

Africa Belongs To The African People!

Africa belongs to the African people! This demand resounds today throughout the entire continent of Africa. For centuries, the African people have struggled against various forms of vicious colonialism, imperialist aggression, and racist white settler rule. The African people's demand is for complete control over their destinies, and they are sweeping aside all that stands in their way.

Africa has been ruthlessly plundered for centuries by foreign powers, causing great misery and impoverishment of her people. Africa's vast natural resources were carried off, the African people were enslaved by the millions, and the African people were colonized by various foreign powers, including Belgium, Portugal, Spain, Britain, France, Germany and Italy.

But in the past several decades, the anti-colonial national liberation struggles of the African people rose in a mighty storm, and one colony after another finally won political independence — Morocco from Spain in 1956, Sierra Leone from Britain in 1961, and Algeria from France in 1962, to name a few. By 1975, all the former Portuguese colonies had won their independence, bringing an end to over 400 years of Portuguese colonialism. Before World War II, only three countries in Africa had achieved political independence, but today only a very few countries remain under colonial or white settler rule.

The struggles of the African people against foreign domination are an integral part of the struggles of all third world countries and people which have historically been oppressed by imperialism and colonialism. The African people have made great contributions to defeating imperialism and to the worldwide revolutionary movement.

But in the midst of this storm of struggle, the two imperialist superpowers — the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. — have both stepped up their aggression and subversion in Africa, with the aim of taking



Black women guerrilla fighters in southern Africa.

over Africa for themselves. They are now locked in fierce contention for complete hegemony over Africa.

The situation in the African continent today is characterized by the fierce contention between the two superpowers to dominate Africa on the one hand, and the increasing struggles of the African people to end all foreign domination on the other.

Superpower contention for hegemony

The U.S. has been in Africa longer than the Soviet Union and is more entrenched. It has made use of many tactics to maintain and expand its massive investments in diamonds, gold, uranium, oil and other raw materials and precious minerals, and to keep its military and political foothold on the continent.

The U.S. has used fake "support" for independence movements, armed aggression under the guise of U.N. troops, CIA subversion, and other means to protect its vested interests in Africa. More recently, it has also begun to mouth "support for Black majority rule" in southern Africa. In short, the U.S. imperialists use whatever tactics suit their interests, but often try to cover up their actions by claiming to stand for "democracy" and "freedom."

However, especially since the 1960's, U.S. imperialism in Africa has been particularly exposed and denounced throughout Africa

and around the world. Many African struggles have been directed against U.S. imperialism. The U.S. has become even further isolated due to its long and undisguised support for the white settler regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia. But the U.S. today is on the decline internationally and has passed its peak in Africa. While it still backs white settler rule, it has been forced to retreat from such open support.

However, the Soviet Union is also an imperialist superpower, and is challenging the U.S. imperialists for hegemony over Africa. Since capitalism was restored in the Soviet Union in the 1950's, the Soviet social-imperialists (socialist in words and imperialist in deeds) have gone around the world seeking out colonies and areas to expand their imperialist empire.

The Soviet social-imperialists are relative newcomers to the plunder of Africa, but already the Soviet Union has made heavy investments in African raw materials and has reaped big returns at the expense of the African people. Between 1954 and 1974, the Soviet social-imperialists exported over \$3 billion to Africa which was invested in a variety of African industries and agricultural enterprises, aimed at grabbing up more and more of Africa's natural resources. One survey showed that the Soviet social-imperialists took out around \$4.7 billion worth of food and raw material between 1960 and 1974. This is the type of economic "aid" which the Soviet Union wants to expand, in addition to using Africa as a market for its own highly priced manufactured goods.

However, everywhere the Soviet social-imperialists go in Africa, the U.S. is already there. In order to expand more rapidly and drive out their imperialist rival, the Soviet social-imperialists have resorted to more open armed aggression and subversion in Africa during the past two years.

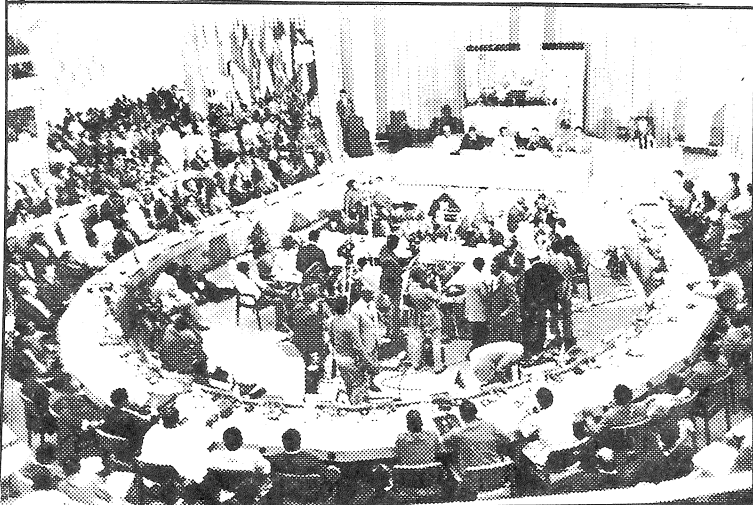
The Soviet social-imperialists used Angola as a testing ground to see how far their military aggression would get them in Africa. In 1975, the Soviet Union gave massive amounts of arms to one of the three liberation organizations in Angola in order to divide the liberation movement on the eve of Angola's independence from Portugal. Although the Soviet social-imperialists claimed that their arms were "aiding national liberation," in actuality they were only trying to sabotage the formation of a coalition government of national unity and incite a bloody civil war which to date has cost over 150,000 Angolan lives. In addition, the Soviet Union sent over 10,000 mercenaries into Angola to fight against the Angolan people, under the guise of "fighting South African aggression." But long after South Africa retreated from Angola, the Soviet mercenaries remained to take on high government offices and to

interfere in Angola's internal affairs on behalf of the Soviet Union.

In the wake of Angola, the Soviet Union engineered an outright mercenary invasion into Angola's neighbor, Zaire, in March, 1977. The Soviet Union's aim was to make Zaire a "second Angola."

Throughout the Zaire invasion, the Soviet Union talked about how the Soviet-backed mercenaries were "liberating" the country from imperialism, hoping that the Zairian people's just hatred for U.S. imperialism would lead them to accept Soviet social-imperialism instead. But no matter what rationale the social-imperialists give, the Zairian people will not accept subjugation. Due to the Zairian people's and government's strong defense of their territory and sovereignty, the Soviet-backed invasion has been defeated.

These are some of the contemptible tactics employed by the Soviet social-imperialists in their contest with the U.S. imperialists for hegemony over Africa.



10th Conference of the Organization of African Unity reflects the growing unity of African countries.

The situation in Africa today points out the correctness of the scientific concept of the three worlds advanced by Chairman Mao Tsetung. He pointed out that internationally, there are the first world countries which are the main enemies of the world's people — the superpowers. Then there are the oppressed third world countries, nations and peoples which comprise the majority of the world's people and which are the main force in the worldwide struggle against imperialism. In between are the lesser imperialist

powers of the second world, which are unable to rebuild their empires and cannot compete for world domination with the two superpowers.

The African people are taking up struggle against the Soviet social-imperialists who are trying to infiltrate and take over Africa, while fighting the U.S. imperialists and U.S.-supported white settler regimes, who are trying to protect their vested interests and expand their domination.

As a member of the O.A.U. Liberation Committee said, "If in the 1960's, Africa began to know U.S. imperialism, then, in the 1970's, it began to know Soviet social-imperialism."

All Africa is standing up!

The African people today are continuing their long history of resistance to imperialism, colonialism and racism. After defeating one colonialist power after another, they are continuing to win victories in driving all forms of foreign domination from Africa. This includes the superpowers. In the past year, both superpowers have suffered many defeats, and the African people are becoming more awakened and tempered in struggle.

Presently the national liberation movements in southern Africa are surging forward. The masses of people are continuing to intensify their armed struggle against the racist white settler regimes which have long been supported by the U.S. imperialists.

In Namibia, illegally annexed by South Africa in 1915, the armed struggle which began in 1966 is scoring new victories against the South African racists under the leadership of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO). The Namibian people have also refused to submit to U.S. imperialist pleas for "peaceful evolution" as the way to win liberation from South Africa. This is simply an argument for SWAPO to lay down its arms.

In Azania (South Africa) last year, a mass uprising of thousands of Soweto students touched off mass strikes and demonstrations of workers and people throughout the country. This uprising has continued in spite of tremendous government repression, and the South African regime has found itself further isolated and weakened.

Last year the Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) liberation forces rejected a bogus plan for "black rule" put forth jointly by the U.S. imperialists and the racists Smith and Vorster. They vowed to heighten armed struggle as the only way to gain freedom and genuine black majority rule.

The governments of independent African countries have also opposed the superpowers. For example, Egypt dealt a blow to the new Soviet tsars when it boldly broke off the treaty of "friendship and cooperation" which it had signed with the Soviet Union in 1974 and closed its port facilities to the Soviet Navy. The Soviet Union had trampled over the treaty; using it to gain military bases in Egypt and to sabotage Egypt's resistance to Zionist and U.S. imperialist aggression.

Overall, the African countries are taking numerous steps to strengthen themselves and oppose foreign domination on their continent. The efforts to develop economic, political and military cooperation and unity on the African continent are reflected in such measures as the building of the Organization of African Unity. The superpowers are fearful of this unity and have tried to foment splits and subvert the unity of the African countries, but these actions simply arouse greater opposition to meddling in African affairs.

The various measures taken by the governments of the African countries to break away from and oppose the superpowers and to develop their economic and political independence are in the interests of the African people. Insofar as the measures taken by the African countries assist in ending foreign interference they are consistent with the African peoples' aspirations for freedom.

While the African governments have taken measures against the superpowers, the imperialists still have some degree of connections and influence in Africa. This is because African governments are not consistent in opposing the superpowers. It is the masses of people in the African countries who are the most thorough fighters of foreign domination. It is they who will utilize all which strengthens the African people as part of the revolutionary movement to attain full independence and self-determination.

Internationalist tasks

The African liberation struggles are striking blows against the two superpowers and they are part of the worldwide revolutionary movement. The people in the U.S. must support these struggles and unite with them as part of our revolution.

This means that we must oppose both superpowers, for both are the main enemies of Africa. It would be wrong to side with the Soviet Union against the U.S., as if the Soviet Union were not a superpower too, or as if the Soviet Union posed no serious threat to African liberation. It would be wrong too, to side with the U.S. imperialists and see only the rising Soviet social-imperial-



At the funeral of Azanian leader Steven Biko's funeral in 1977, thousands of Azanian people vow to continue struggle against the Vorster regime and all imperialism.

ists as a danger in Africa.

The internationalists tasks of the people in the U.S. are to oppose the two superpowers in Africa and around the world, and support all that assists the countries, nations and people of the world in ridding themselves of the two superpowers.

Today, it is definitely the imperialists who are afraid of the African people, and not the other way around! It is the people, and not the two superpowers, who determine the future of the world.

**Superpowers out of Africa!
Africa belongs to the African people!**

Vol. VIII, No. 7, July 1977

Oppose Soviet Aggression In Angola

IWK delivered the following speech on behalf of the Coalition for Angolan Self-Determination. [] indicate our summary of sections summarized from the original speech. . . . indicates deletions. The speech was edited due to the length of the original. Subheads are ours.

It was through the combined effort of the three liberation movements that five long centuries of Portuguese colonialist domination of Angola was finally ended. The MPLA, FNLA, and UNITA, who had all fought against the Portuguese colonialists, signed the Alvor and Mombassa Agreements in January 1975. The Alvor Agreement was signed in Alvor, Portugal by the three liberation organizations and the Portuguese government. This joint agreement replaced the separate agreements previously made between the liberation organizations and the Portuguese government. It called for an end to hostilities with Portugal in exchange for Portuguese withdrawal from Angola. The Mombassa Agreement, signed in Mombassa, Kenya, was an agreement among the three liberation organizations themselves to make preliminary plans for the projected coalition government. These agreements, along with a previous ceasefire agreement, represented a great step forward in forging a workable unity between the three liberation movements for national reconstruction following the date set for final independence in November, 1975. As further evidence of their working to achieve unity to end colonial domination, the Nakura Agreement was signed in June, 1975. Each group pledged to work together to form a transitional coalition government and to merge their military forces to carry out the transfer of power from the Portuguese back to the Angolan people themselves.

Each of these movements acknowledged that historical, regional and political differences existed between them, but they felt these differences were secondary and that the primary aspect of the

situation was to maintain principled unity and move towards independence. The work of resolving their differences could be done within the confines of a nationally united Angola and would have to be done free from outside intervention. Each agreement, therefore, was a further step toward a united and liberated Angola and a concrete blow against imperialism.

There were also strong forces working for the unity of the liberation movements, who saw that this unity would safeguard Angola's sovereignty and independence. The Organization for African Unity historically has played a strong role in the fight of the African nations against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. The OAU analyzed the Angolan situation in mid-1975 and felt that it was crucially important to uphold the unity of the three liberation movements. They refused to recognize any one organization as representing the Angolan people, and instead recognized FNLA, MPLA, and UNITA as the combined representative of the Angolan people.

China's support

The People's Republic of China also strongly supported the unity of the three liberation movements — asserting that existing differences among them could only be resolved without foreign interference. China concretely implemented this by aiding all three liberation movements in their just struggle against the Portuguese



The Angolan people waged a heroic and protracted struggle against the long rule of Portuguese colonialism.

up until the Nakura agreement in June, 1975. At this time, with the agreement to form a coalition government signed, the affairs of Angola were seen by China as an internal matter for the Angolan people themselves to determine. China indicated that henceforth it would provide assistance to a coalition government only.

Despite this drive and support for unity, however, the fight for Angolan independence was brutally sabotaged by the aggressive intervention of the two superpowers with the Soviet Union acting as the initial and primary instigator. Following the defeat of the U.S.-backed Portuguese colonialists and the resolve for unity among the liberation movements, the Soviet Union heightened its campaign to label one of the movements, the MPLA, revolutionary and patriotic, and the other two as reactionary and against the interests of the Angolan people. The call issued from Moscow was that the main task in Angola was the "transference of political power into the hands of the patriotic forces."

Simultaneously, the Russians began shipping arms, heavy weaponry and military personnel into Angola to support this position. These arms shipments were at a level which far surpassed the whole previous 15 years of fighting against the Portuguese colonialists and included thousands of tons of heavy weaponry. Although liberation forces had previously requested heavy arms, the Soviet Union refused to send them to the liberation forces in their fight against the Portuguese. Furthermore, there was an influx of Russian military advisors and personnel into Angola who actively participated in planning attacks against the Angolan people, and Soviet warships were used to cover ground forces by firing on non-Soviet-backed Angolans.

Soviet bullying

By exploiting the differences among the three liberation movements to further its own designs, the Soviet Union has exposed its true nature. Under its socialist cover, it is functioning as an imperialist power. It is betraying the genuine desires of the Angolan people and contending with the U.S. in seeking to grab up and exploit the natural resources of Angola, exert control over the destiny of the Angolan people and the rest of southern Africa, and establish a military presence in the Southern Atlantic. In addition to these acts against Angola and her people, the Soviet Union has tried to undermine the unity of the African continent as a whole. . . For example, the Soviet Union sent a memo to the OAU's 12th Summit Conference in 1975 denouncing FNLA and UNITA as reactionary organizations going against the interests of the Angolan people, while labelling MPLA as the only

revolutionary and patriotic force. Because of acts such as this, member nations of the OAU have repeatedly warned the Soviet Union that it must stop its big nation bullying tactics and threats in trying to manipulate member nations. The OAU has had to assert time and time again that *Africans* will settle their own affairs.

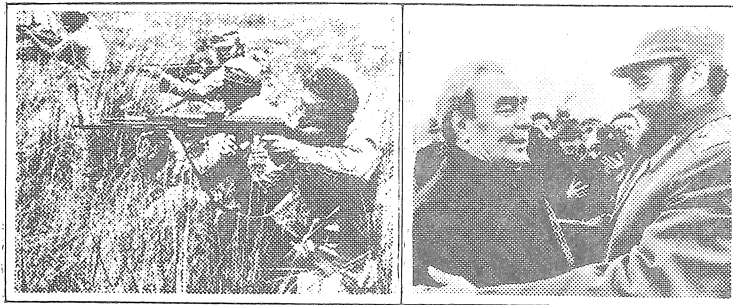
Of course, the other superpower, the United States, has also played a strong role in undermining the Angolan people's fight for independence and self-determination. As the main backer of the Portuguese fascist regime, U.S. imperialism suffered another crucial blow with the fall of this regime. Contending actively with the social-imperialists of the Soviet Union for control over Angola and the rest of southern Africa, the U.S. has tried to gain another foothold in the Angolan situation by sending aid both overtly and secretly through the CIA and through other means to forces which had been incited to civil war. By further exploiting the differences between the liberation movements and raising the cry of "fight communism," the U.S. attempted to subvert the Angolans' struggle for self-determination and gain neo-colonialist control over Angola. A number of U.S.-based multi-national corporations like Gulf Oil have large operations in Angola and after years of exploiting the natural resources such as oil in the northern Cabinda region, they are not about to give them up without a fight. At the time that Portuguese domination was defeated, U.S. imperialism was the single largest exploiter in Angola. We can see, therefore, that for the Angolan people to exercise self-determination as a people, the Soviet Union — which aggressively instigated the civil war — and the U.S. — BOTH these superpowers must get out.

Outside intervention

In addition to these superpowers, their allies and agents must leave as well. Under the deceiving guise of proletarian internationalism, the Soviet Union and Cuba have justified the presence of 10,000 Soviet-backed Cuban troops in Angola. The Soviet Union, which dominates the political and economic life of Cuba, is once again guilty of shedding the blood of third world people to advance its own social-imperialist designs. Clearly these Cuban troops are not helping the Angolans' struggle. Their presence, along with all other foreign presence, has served to split the Angolan people and is holding back the struggle of the Angolan people for true self-determination.

Another enemy of the Angolan people has been the racist South African regime which has openly invaded Angola in an attempt to

safeguard its already shaky position in southern Africa, and to protect the dam sites in Angola which supply South Africa with power. State Chief Vorster, in alliance with the U.S., has sent troops and support into the Soviet-instigated civil war in the hope of exerting control and protecting the racist South African regime's self-interest.



Left: Soviet-backed Cuban mercenaries in Angola.
Right: Leonid Brezhnev and Fidel Castro.

The rising up of the Angolan people is a direct threat to Vorster's white minority rule, both in South Africa and Namibia (which borders Angola and South Africa). The struggle of the Angolan people also provides strength to the people's struggles in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa against white minority rule. By throwing itself into the Angolan civil war, South Africa along with its ally the U.S. hopes to forestall the day when they are crushed under the revolutionary tide of the African people.

A further aspect of the South African involvement is the way it has furthered the split among African nations. Because of their racist and colonial stand, the South African regime has earned the hatred and determined opposition of the masses of African people. When they intervened in the Angolan struggle to further their own needs, this served the disunity already preyed upon by the two superpowers. In reaction to South African involvement in Angola, many of the member nations of the OAU who had strongly supported the unity of the three movements now recognize the MPLA as a way of opposing the South African's bold interference in Angola. Furthermore, the Soviet Union and others have added fuel to the slanders of UNITA, falsely accusing UNITA of inviting the hated South African invaders to come in. The Soviet Union has also slung mud at China to cover up its own tracks in Angola, by accusing China of aligning with South Africa in the Angolan civil war. This points up even more the thoroughly destructive

effect that superpower contention has had on Angola. This contention succeeded in splitting the liberation movements and laid the material groundwork for the expansionist designs of the likes of South Africa. [The civil war was a direct result of superpower intervention and contention. The struggle of the Angolan people for genuine self-determination continues.]

Debate in the U.S.

The issue of Angola and how to support the just struggle of the Angolan people has been a main question of struggle among the oppressed peoples and nations throughout the world. In the U.S. it has become an important issue differentiating positions on the international situation. In the course of this struggle, revisionist and reactionary lines have been exposed.

As other struggles have shown us, the leading upholder of revisionism in the United States is the Communist Party — U.S.A. The CPUSA glorifies so-called detente and upholds the Soviet Union as a great socialist country, thereby attempting to deceive and disarm the oppressed people of the world. Though once the spearhead of the revolutionary struggle in this country, the CPUSA has degenerated into a prop of imperialism and social-imperialism. It has abandoned the revolutionary struggle, putting forward a bankrupt program of "peaceful transition to socialism" and a reliance on the bourgeois electoral process and the myth of detente. The stand it takes aids the war-producing contention of the two superpowers by sabotaging the revolutionary struggle against *both* superpowers through deceptive claims about the Soviet Union. The CPUSA promotes the Soviet social-imperialists in every way as the leaders of the oppressed peoples in their struggles against imperialism and as the upholders of world peace. In this era of imperialism, imperialist war is inevitable. What we mean by this is that only the revolutionary world-wide struggle against the superpowers, against imperialism and social-imperialism can prevent imperialist war. Through their activities, the CPUSA is taking a firm stand *against* the oppressed peoples and nations of the world. We must fight to expose and defeat this position in our movement in every form it shows itself.

Around this question of how to support the Angolan struggle, there are also many honest forces who have raised the call — "Support the MPLA, U.S. Out of Angola." These demands are seen by some as part of the continuing struggle against U.S. imperialism, which they see as the main danger in the world today. However, they see only the intervention of one superpower and

fail to grasp the primary role of the Soviet Union as well, with its rising, aggressive and treacherous system of social-imperialism which incited the Angolan civil war. Angola must be seen in its international context. We are raising slogans of "SUPERPOWERS OUT OF ANGOLA" and "SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ANGOLA" so that people will see the true nature of the Angolan situation.

Guardian Newspaper

There are still other forces who are blatantly dishonest and who attack us as conciliators of U.S. imperialism because we firmly oppose the intervention of *both* superpowers, all imperialist intervention, and expose the war-producing contention of the superpowers. We especially see the *Guardian* newspaper playing such a role. They have destructively promoted incorrect ideas and confusion among the people in the U.S. and have objectively aided the Soviet social-imperialists by covering up their role in Angola and apologizing for the CPUSA revisionists at home.

Though giving lip service to the fact that the Soviet Union is a social-imperialist power, they remain "unconvinced" that capitalism has been restored and insist that the struggle should be focused on one superpower — the United States. By treating the Soviet Union's role as a *secondary* question in Angola, they feed into the very criticism they claim to make against the CPUSA. They treat social-imperialism as a policy, not as a system of world-wide exploitation and aggression. This cannot be true, for there is no such thing as a benevolent imperialism, a kindly imperialism. The Soviet Union is a social-imperialist power and has proven this in Angola by ruthlessly exploiting the differences among the Angolan people, by robbing the products and natural resources of the African people, by using big nation bullying tactics to gain hegemony in Africa, and by establishing military presence on foreign soil. By championing one liberation movement over the others, the *Guardian* is not "performing its proletarian internationalist duty" as it would like to think, but rather it is upholding the position of the superpowers. It is doing the work of supporting the Soviet Union and providing a left-sounding justification for Soviet social-imperialism and modern revisionism. Instead of supporting national liberation movements, the *Guardian's* analysis helps to cover up Soviet oppression of people throughout the world. The *Guardian* fails to see that national liberation struggles are objectively revolutionary because they are striking blows against imperialism. They should be supported by all pro-

gressive forces. In the case of Angola, the unity of all three liberation movements needed to be upheld, not destroyed.

... By not exposing *both* superpowers and attacking those who do, we state again — the *Guardian* has objectively sided with the revisionists and is contributing to the disarming of the oppressed peoples here and abroad.

[The U.S. raised the call for a coalition government midway through the civil war, from a recognition of its own weakness in contending with the Soviet Union over Angola. The United States' call for unity was a cover-up for its imperialist hopes of installing their own puppet regime as they have done in other parts of the world.]

Important lessons

This coalition came together around two principles — Superpowers out of Angola, and Self-Determination for the Angolan People. Through these slogans, we are raising two of the important lessons to be learned from Angola.

First, the superpowers will contend everywhere throughout the globe in an attempt to establish their domination over the oppressed peoples and nations of the world. Furthermore, this contention, especially by the more aggressive superpower whose strength is on the rise, threatens the people of the world with world war.

Detente is a myth which hides this fact. Concretely, both superpowers are now engaged in an escalation of arms and war preparations. The reality of the "arms agreements" are that the agreed-upon levels far exceed what each country presently contains and gives each the excuse for even further escalation. This includes both nuclear arms as well as conventional arms.

In the Soviet Union, this growing militarization accounts for over 35% of their overall expenditures. The Soviet Union's use of its force and arms is clearly revealed in Angola.

The second lesson revolves around the revolutionary struggle of the Angolan people for self-determination. The Angolan people have waged a fierce struggle for hundreds of years, for independence and liberation. This cannot be accomplished with the presence and intervention of foreign powers. We support the right of all countries to freely determine their own destiny. Thus Angola reflects the world situation today. The struggles of countries for independence, nations for liberation and people for revolution is the irresistible tide of world history. In the present

period, factors for both war and revolution are increasing.

[In the U.S. the ruling class is stepping up militarization and arms build-ups, as well as its propaganda campaigns directed against the national liberation movements. Repression is intensifying. The U.S. ruling class is preparing for war. At the same time, the struggles of the working class and oppressed nationalities are increasing. Militant and concrete support for national liberation movements among the masses in this country is growing, too.]

The people of the United States must support the Angolan people's struggle for true self-determination and to kick the U.S. and Soviet social-imperialists out of Angola. The Angolan people are fighting the same enemy as the United States working class and oppressed nationalities, as well as the vast majority of the world's people. They are fighting against imperialism and superpower hegemonism. The masses, not the superpowers, are the makers of history!

**SUPERPOWERS OUT OF ANGOLA!
SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE!**

(Originally titled *Coalition speech condemns both superpowers*)

Vol. VII, No. 1, May 1976

Somalia Kicks Out Soviet Overlords

On November 13, 1977, the Somalia government renounced its "friendship treaty" with the Soviet Union and gave all Soviet civil and military "experts" one week to leave the country. Somalia also abolished all Soviet military and naval installations and reduced the number of Soviet diplomats in Somalia. In addition, Somalia severed its ties with Cuba and gave all Cuban forces 48 hours to leave.

In the days following this decision, hundreds of thousands of Somali people celebrated throughout the country in mass rallies. Firecrackers, singing and shouts of "Independence yes! Russians no!" and "Russians and Cubans go home!" filled the air. By November 16, the first batch of over 100 Soviet technicians were already leaving.

This is a big defeat for the Soviet social-imperialists in the African Horn. It is particularly significant because of the extent of Soviet presence in Somalia.

Soviet crimes sow resistance

The expulsion of Soviet forces from Somalia was the inevitable outcome of Soviet hegemonism and aggression in the Horn of Africa.

For years, in its rivalry with the other superpower, the U.S., the Soviet Union stretched its tentacles over Somalia and the African Horn, aimed towards controlling the Red Sea, key oil routes between the Persian Gulf and Europe, the rest of Africa and the Mediterranean.

While offering economic "assistance," the Soviets lost no time in penetrating the political, military and economic life of Somalia. After a "friendship pact" was signed in 1975, thousands of Soviet military personnel were dispatched to Somalia; Soviet officials and



Somali people hailed their government's firm steps against Soviet social-imperialism.

"advisors" took posts in the government. They began to use Somalia as a staging area for further interference into African affairs. They set up military installations, secured two ports for the Soviet navy, and built their own missile silos in the deep-water port of Berbera.

They also set up an interior airfield at Uanle Uen, from which Soviet long-range TU-95 aircraft were launched to patrol the north-west portions of the Indian Ocean and to conduct reconnaissance over East Africa and the Mediterranean.

However, resistance to Soviet expansionism and aggression in the African Horn has grown steadily. Only a few months ago, the Sudan expelled all Soviet forces from their country. Both Somalia and the newly-independent Djibouti refused to buy the Soviet Union's "plan" for creating a "confederation" of Red Sea states. They instead called for the Red Sea to be a region of peace, independence and neutrality.

The Soviet Union still insisted on brazenly pursuing its aims of controlling the African Horn. In recent months, they have fanned up contradictions between Somalia and Ethiopia. They tried to fish in troubled waters by pouring even more arms into the region; encouraging armed conflicts; sending Cuban mercenaries to the area; and "supporting" first one side and then the other.

As Somalia President Siad Barre said, "The Soviets are pouring massive and highly sophisticated armaments on an unprecedented scale into the region, an act which can only be regarded as an

all-out invasion against the Somalia Democratic Republic... Soviet intervention poses a direct challenge to the sovereign states in Africa, in the region, and the OAU as an organization, but also the conscience of all peace and freedom loving people the world over." He further pointed out that the "friendship pact" which Somalia abrogated was in fact already nullified because the Soviets themselves trampled all over it. As one Somali demonstrator put it, "The Soviet Union gave you food with one hand and took away your freedom with the other.

"We are not intimidated"

The just decision taken by the Somalia government and people in defense of state sovereignty and national independence reflects the strong feelings of the peoples of Africa against foreign domination. It is a significant development in the anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonist struggle of Africa. It shows that the Somali people are not to be trifled with. As President Siad Barre stated in his speech to a mass rally, "We are neither weak nor friendless. We are not intimidated by modern weapons or political deceit. We shall courageously build our nation and defend our independence."

Vol. VIII, No. 12, December 1977

Norwegian People Protest New Tsars

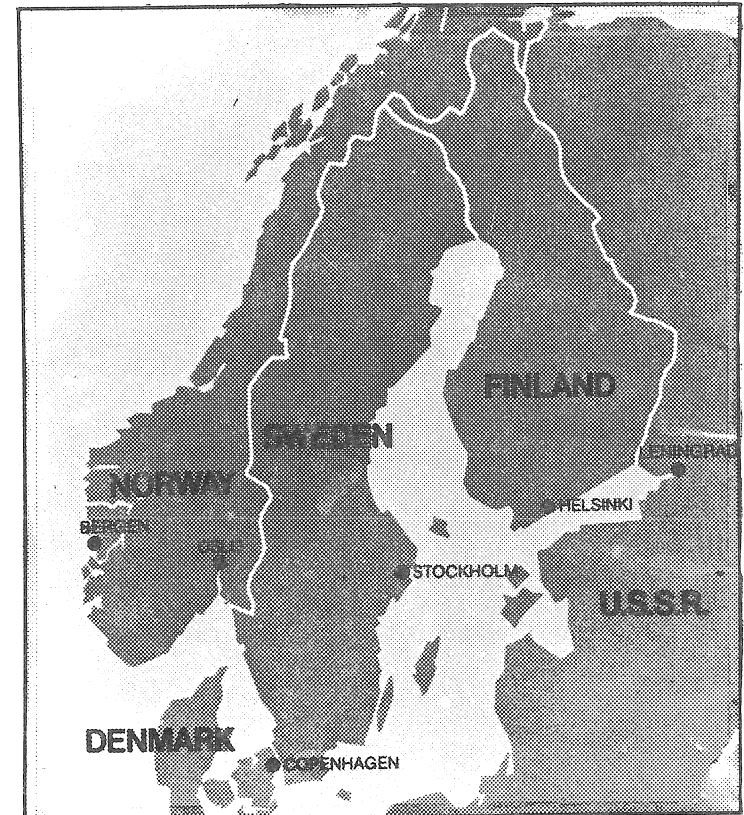
The Soviet Union has recently stepped up its aggression, towards Norway, a small second world country of Northern Europe located right next door to the Soviet Union. The actions of the Soviet social-imperialists have prompted opposition from the Norwegian people to safeguard their territorial sovereignty.

In the past year, the Soviet Union has twice conducted missile tests in an area of the Barents Sea less than 200 nautical miles off Norway's coast, with the latest tests lasting over one month. The Soviet testing area is within the historical Norwegian fishing grounds, and is Norwegian territory by international law. In 1959, the Geneva convention stated that this area is part of the Norwegian continental shelf, but the Soviet Union has arrogantly and arbitrarily created its own boundary line to conduct its tests.

The Soviet press has also stepped up its propaganda against Norway accusing the Norwegian government of violating the Paris treaty of 1920 concerning the Svalbard Archipelago, a series of islands north of Norway's mainland. In truth, the Svalbard islands have for more than 50 years belonged to Norway under the 1920 Paris treaty. Yet the Soviet Union is boldly carrying out large-scale military activities and construction on these islands and is attempting to pressure Norway into relinquishing control over them.

All of these acts, along with the ever growing presence of the Soviet Navy in the Northern Seas, are part of the Soviet social-imperialists' attempts to gain hegemony over the entire area between the Svalbard islands, the mainland of Norway, and other Nordic countries. This sea passage is strategically important for the Soviet Northern Fleet to sail freely into the Atlantic Ocean in order to carry out Soviet designs to conquer Europe.

In the face of the growing Soviet menace, the Norwegian people have heightened their vigilance against the new tsars in the Kremlin. In the past period, government officials and military



Map shows Soviet Union's proximity to Norway.

leaders have refuted Soviet slanders of Norway concerning the alleged surveillance of the Svalbard islands by Norwegian planes. The islands belong to Norway not the Soviet Union. It is the Soviet Union which is "surveilling" the islands and hoping to take them over. The Norwegian government has stood firmly for Norwegian territorial integrity and independence.

Demonstrations by thousands of Norwegian people have also taken place to protest the growing threat of Soviet hegemony in the Barents Sea. At a recent demonstration organized by the Norwegian Communist Workers Party (M-L) in Oslo, demonstrators raised the slogans "Svalbard Archipelago is Norwegian territory! Resist Soviet pressure!" and "Soviet missile tests are grave provocations against Norway!"

Soviets Plunder Japanese Waters

The continued operation of Soviet fishing vessels in Japanese coastal waters in open defiance of a Japanese-Soviet fishing agreement has aroused widespread resentment throughout Japan. Soviet fishing trawlers are literally surrounding Japan, stealing fish and causing havoc for Japanese fishermen. This has daily sharpened the contradictions between Japan — a fully developed second world country — and Soviet superpower hegemonism.

At a rally held in Hokkaido, Japan, on November 3, 1976, over 700 fishermen and fishery workers protested the operation of Soviet fishing boats in Japanese coastal waters. The rally was jointly sponsored by Japanese fishery organizations who angrily denounced the acts by Soviet fishing boats toward Japanese fishermen.

A spokesperson for the Kojohama fishery cooperative, speaking on behalf of the coastal fishermen in Hokkaido, stated: "Even after the conclusion of the Japanese-Soviet fishery agreement, wanton operation of Soviet fishing boats has never ceased. Soviet fishing boats are cruising everywhere along the Japanese coast as if it were their own big fishing base. Facing Soviet boats of two to three thousand ton class, Japanese fishing boats of only three to five tons each are quite helpless as Soviet fishing boats run against them. Moreover, as Soviet fishing boats line up in operation, no more fish are left to be caught by the Japanese boats. As a result, many Japanese fishermen are forced to suspend operations, thus suffering many difficulties in their living." The spokesperson vowed, "We will never yield before the high-handedness of the Soviet Union."

On November 11, 1976, a local Japanese paper reported that Japanese fishermen had spread six fishing nets with buoys 25 kilometers off the coast of south Hokkaido, but two days later found that their nets and buoys were taken away by Soviet fishing

trawlers.

Besides the despicable acts of the Soviet fishing trawlers, the Soviet Union has stepped up its activities to steal four northern islands of Japan. A leaflet distributed by the Tokyo Association for the Promotion of the Return of the Northern Territories has condemned the Soviet fishing fleet's actions along the coastal waters of Japan. It stated, "Japanese fishing grounds have been ravaged to a great extent in recent years as a result of the reckless operations of the Soviet fishing fleet." And further, "The Soviet Union has not only unlawfully occupied Japanese Northern Territories, but instituted a 12-nautical mile territorial line along the waters around these islands. It arbitrarily detains Japanese fishing vessels and destroys Japanese fishing grounds. Indeed, Japanese sovereignty and security are threatened by the Soviet Union."

The hegemonic acts of the Soviet fishing fleet have deepened resentment and resistance of Japanese fishermen and the masses of Japanese people in their demand for an end to Soviet intrusion into Japanese coastal waters.

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Masses of Japanese people protest against Soviet occupation of four northern islands of Japan.

Independence for Puerto Rico!

Just before going out of office, President Ford made the outrageous proposal that Puerto Rico be made the 51st state. This proposal has nothing in common with the interests of the Puerto Rican people, who desire freedom, independence, and an end to the centuries-long domination of their country by foreign powers.

U.S. workers and progressive people should firmly support the Puerto Rican people's struggle and condemn the U.S. government's statehood plan.

U.S. Annexation of Puerto Rico

Puerto Rico is a small island country in the Caribbean which came under the control of Spanish colonialism at the time of the first voyages of Columbus in the 1490's. It was dominated by the Spanish colonialists for 400 years. Throughout this period, there were many rebellions and uprisings by the masses against the oppressive Spanish rule. By the latter part of the 1800's, the Puerto Rican independence movement had developed into organized resistance, and the people took up arms against Spain. The Puerto Rican people came very close to achieving independence from the weakening Spain.

At that time, U.S. imperialism was on the rise and was aggressively seeking new territories to dominate and annex. The U.S. fought a war with Spain for control of various Spanish colonies, and invaded Puerto Rico outright in 1898. Spain lost the war, and as a result, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines came under U.S. control.

Since 1898, Puerto Rico has been held in U.S. "territorial" status, like the island of Guam in the South Pacific. A "territory" is nothing more than a colony of U.S. imperialism, and is controlled by the U.S. in every respect. The U.S. imperialists hold

jurisdiction over all questions of Puerto Rican defense, foreign affairs, currency, citizenship, immigration and emigration, foreign trade, communications and transportation, and other matters. Everything is organized to benefit U.S. imperialism.

The U.S. government also forcibly restricts all of the basic rights of the Puerto Rican people. For example, it has tried to suppress the use of the native language, Spanish, and has carried out the genocidal policy of sterilizing one third of Puerto Rico's women of child-bearing age. Puerto Rican youth have been forced to serve in the U.S. military for U.S. wars of aggression such as the Korean and Indochina wars. The island itself has been militarized, with 13% of the land taken over for U.S. military bases and operations, which are used to protect U.S. imperialist interests in the Caribbean and Latin America.

U.S. Economic Domination of Puerto Rico'

The U.S. imperialists have drained huge superprofits from the island's resources and labor. Soon after the U.S. takeover, the monopoly capitalists took away the land of the peasantry to build up huge sugar and tobacco plantations. This destroyed the island's self-sufficient agriculture and turned Puerto Rico's agriculture into basically a two-crop industry, leaving much of the peasantry without a livelihood. As a result, Puerto Rico is dependent upon U.S. imports for her food and living necessities.

The U.S. tourist industry also came to the island to take advantage of the mild tropical weather and beautiful land. Massive developments have been built in the coastal regions for the tourist trade, resulting in an even more unbalanced and dependent economy.

By the 1940's, many U.S. corporations had begun large-scale movement of branch-factories to Puerto Rico, taking advantage of the 100% tax exemption granted by the U.S. imperialists for such corporate investments. Organizations of Puerto Rican workers were ruthlessly suppressed and the workers were forced to labor for extremely low wages. The monopoly capitalists have thus extracted enormous superprofits from the Puerto Rican people.

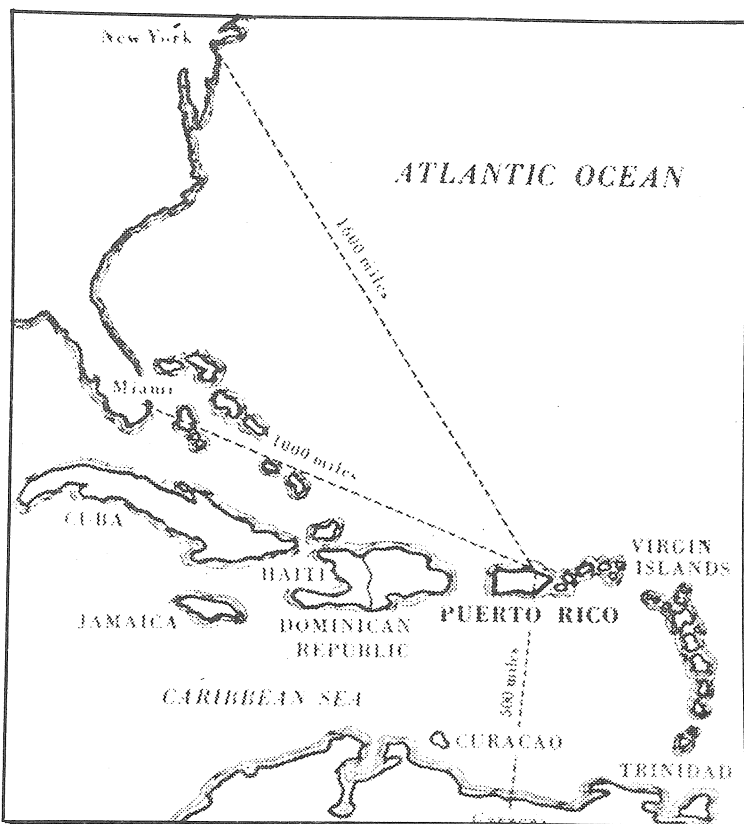
The devastating effects of U.S. imperialism are evident in the present conditions of life for the Puerto Rican people. Over 40% of the people are unemployed overall. In some cities such as Jayuya, the current unemployment rate is 96%!

Puerto Rican workers' wages average only 1/3 that of the wages of U.S. workers. The average income for Puerto Rican families is half the average income for families in Mississippi, where family incomes are the lowest in the U.S. Half the people

of Puerto Rico live below the federal poverty line. At the same time, the cost of living in Puerto Rico is skyrocketing. Presently, it is 25% higher than in New York City, where costs are among the highest in the U.S.

Due to these conditions resulting from U.S. imperialist domination, about two million Puerto Ricans have been forced to leave their homeland and migrate to the U.S. in search of employment.

U.S. domination has, however, also given rise to a strong mass movement for an independent Puerto Rico which would allow the Puerto Rican people to take matters into their own hands and end the years of oppression by the U.S. imperialists.



Puerto Rico's strategic location is the object of superpower contention.

Puerto Rican Masses Call for Independence

The Puerto Rican masses have struggled for independence since the days of Spanish colonialism. They have continuously resisted the oppression brought about by U.S. imperialist domination of their country and have risen up in many militant struggles.

Early struggles against U.S. imperialism included the militant labor struggles of the Puerto Rican sugar cane workers in 1917. In 1937, a major demonstration took place in the town of Ponce, calling for independence and freedom for all Puerto Rican political prisoners. The demonstrators were brutally assaulted by the forces under U.S. control which opened fire on the masses. Many were killed or wounded during this battle for independence.

Another historic example of the determined resistance of the Puerto Rican people was the 1950 rebellion. Standing up to tremendous repression, the Puerto Rican people engaged in an insurrection which spread to many parts of the island. In the town of Jayuya, the independence fighters declared the Republic of Puerto Rico. They held off U.S. Air Force bombers and the U.S. National Guard which was armed with tanks and machine guns, standing their ground for nearly a week. Although thousands were imprisoned and massacred, and whole towns were flattened by bombs, the independence struggle has only grown stronger through the inspiration and experience gained in struggles such as these.

Today, mass resistance to U.S. imperialism is growing in Puerto Rico. Many militant and large scale strikes have been waged by farmworkers, cement workers, aqueduct and sewage workers, electrical and postal workers over the past two years alone. Their struggles often combined economic demands with political demands for independence. In addition, numerous important demonstrations demanding freedom for political prisoners and an end to the U.S. military and government repression, and other forms of oppression have taken place. They have invariably been linked to the demand for a free and independent Puerto Rico.

Through their heroic and persistent struggle for independence, the Puerto Rican people have won the overwhelming support of countries throughout the world. In 1973, the United Nations General Assembly reflected this support by denouncing the colonial status of Puerto Rico and calling for independence from U.S. rule. International support for the Puerto Rican people's struggle has continued to grow, including right within the United States among the masses of workers, oppressed nationalities, and progressive people.

Superpower contention over Puerto Rico

In the face of this independence movement, Ford's pronouncement about statehood is a clear declaration of U.S. imperialism's attempt to tighten its grasp on Puerto Rico. At the same time, Soviet social-imperialism, which is vying with the U.S. everywhere for dominance, has been trying to use the Puerto Rican people's strong sentiments for independence for its own purposes.

The Soviet Union is claiming to be the Puerto Rican people's "ally" in the struggle for independence, just as the U.S. tried to do before it took over the island. By talking of "solidarity" and claiming to be an "ally," Soviet social-imperialism has been trying to infiltrate and expand its influence on the island and even within the independence movement itself. In recent years it has vastly stepped up its military encirclement of the island and has brazenly staged naval and war games in the Caribbean. What the Soviet Union really wants is to take the place of U.S. imperialism by bringing Puerto Rico under its own control.

Both the U.S. and Soviet Union have only their own imperialist interests in mind. The Puerto Rican people will certainly win independence by uniting in the struggle to overthrow U.S. imperialist domination while at the same time opposing the expansionism and penetration of the Soviet Union.

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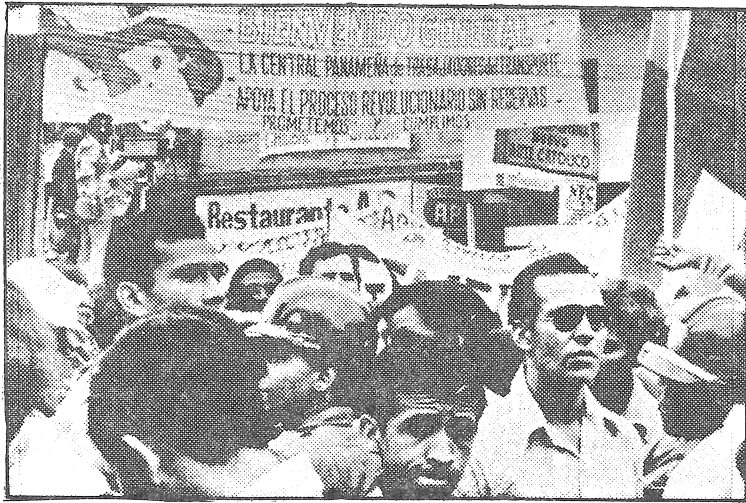
The Canal Belongs to Panama!

The ever-growing struggle of the Panamanian people for the return of the Panama Canal has forced the U.S. government into negotiations. On August 10, 1977, Panamanian and U.S. negotiators announced that they had reached an agreement in principle on the basic provisions for a new Panama Canal treaty. The new agreement liquidates the heinous 1903 "treaty" which the U.S. imposed on Panama by force. The agreement provides for termination of U.S. control of this vital waterway, while increasing the present U.S. annuity payments for the next 23 years. Panama would take jurisdiction of the canal three years after ratification.

The Panamanian people's demand is a just demand, for the U.S. did not have a legitimate claim to the Panama Canal in the first place. Panamanian land was never sold, ceded, or even leased by the Republic of Panama. It was occupied by force by the U.S., and the canal itself was built by Panamanian and Latin American workers, tens of thousands of whom died in its construction. The U.S. imperialists forcibly set up military bases on Panamanian soil to protect their claim, and arrogantly granted themselves "permanent" control of the zone.

Masses demand full sovereignty

In 1964, there was a militant mass upsurge demanding the return of the canal to Panama. In one major demonstration, thousands of students massed in Panama City, and marched into the Canal Zone, tearing down the American flag and declaring, "The canal belongs to Panama! For sovereignty and independence!" For 13 years since then, the masses of Panamanian people have militantly struggled for sovereignty over the canal. It is the masses who forced the U.S. imperialists to negotiate a new agreement.



Panamanian people celebrate their victory in forcing the U.S. government to sign a new Panama Canal treaty on September 7, 1977.

The just struggle of the Panamanian people has won the support of many Latin American countries. Government leaders of Colombia, Costa Rica, Mexico, Venezuela, Panama, and Jamaica issued a communique recently in Bogota, Colombia. The communique strongly supported "Panama's legitimate and undelayable aspiration to reestablish sovereignty over the whole of its territory."

Superpowers are doomed

The treaty is not yet ratified, and the U.S. is still seeking to maintain a military presence and special privileges in the canal zone. But the Panamanian people have struggled for 13 years, and will certainly not stand for this.

On the other hand, the Soviet social-imperialists have pushed a plan for "internationalization" of the canal, meaning that Panama would not be sovereign and that the Soviet social-imperialists would try to replace the U.S. imperialists. The Panamanian Foreign Minister, in a brief communique in May, 1976, rejected this plan outright.

The Panamanian people will surely settle for nothing less than full control over their own land and canal. When they achieve this goal, it will be a tremendous victory for the Panamanian people and a great setback to both superpowers.

Vol. VIII, No. 1, January 1977

U.S.-Soviet Statement Bypasses the PLO

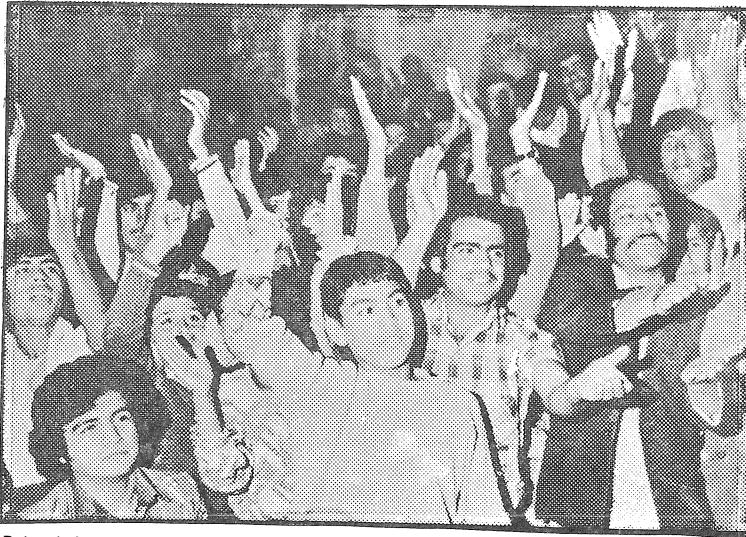
On October 1, 1977, the U.S. and the Soviet Union issued a joint statement pushing for resumption of the Geneva Convention on the Middle East question before the end of the year. The statement came out of talks held recently in New York between U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Soviet Foreign Minister A.A. Gromyko. The statement talks about bringing about a "peaceful settlement" of the Middle East situation, with both superpowers volunteering to be "international guarantors" of a demilitarized zone which is supposedly to help establish "normal" relations between the Arabs and Israelis.

However, the joint U.S.-Soviet statement is not a sign that a "peaceful settlement" is just around the corner. Both superpowers want world hegemony. Both greatly value the Middle East. Neither has any intention of losing control over the region. Therefore, the joint statement is not a sign of growing cooperation and mutual support, but a sign of deepening superpower contention over the Middle East. So long as this is the case, there can be no "peaceful settlement."

Superpower rivalry in the Middle East

Both superpowers have varied their tactics recently to further their rivalry over the Middle East. On the part of the U.S. imperialists, the joint statement conceded to Soviet participation in so-called "international guarantees" of "peace" in the region. In the past, the U.S. government's policy was to try to ease the Soviet Union out of the diplomatic process.

While the U.S. has been giving vague lip-service to recognizing the Palestinian people's national rights, the U.S. has been maintaining ties with the expansionist Israeli government. On October 12, 1977 Israel made public a U.S.-Israeli working paper in which



Palestinian rally at Ein Mahel, within the Israeli-occupied Palestinian homeland.

the U.S. accepted Israel's terms in denying any official representation of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in negotiating a settlement, and promised that the question of setting up a Palestinian state would not be discussed. It also agreed that Israel would not have to negotiate peace with a Pan Arab delegation, but would negotiate on a state-to-state basis instead.

The Soviet Union, for its part, has been shifting its tactics and has shown no scruples in changing its positions on the Middle East question at the expense of the Arab people. For a long time, the Soviet Union has not directly taken part in talks on the Middle East question, but now it wants to squeeze into the Geneva Convention by any means necessary to further its own aims in the Middle East.

In the past, the Soviet Union has flaunted its so-called "support" for the Arab people, but now it is shifting its positions to gain entrance and leverage in the Geneva talks.

As the Egyptian press reported, the Soviet Union agreed in the Joint U.S.-Soviet statement that: 1) The Soviet Union would make no reference to the Palestinian Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. 2) the Soviet Union would not insist on Israel's withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories seized in the 1967 war; and 3) the Soviet Union would not push Israel to negotiate with the Arab states collectively. All this amounts to support for Israeli Zionist aggression,

and in essence is quite similar to agreements worked out between the U.S. and Israel.

* * *

By their recent moves, both superpowers are trying to sabotage a just settlement of the Middle East question in favor of furthering their own aims toward world domination. It is impossible for the superpowers to be "guarantors of peace" since their contention is the very source of war and intranquility in the world. It is their direct and indirect backing of Israeli aggression, their flagrant interference in the internal affairs of the Arab people that generates tension and maintains a situation of "no war, no peace."

The Arab countries have responded to the U.S.-Soviet maneuvers and proposals with disdain.

Vol. VIII, No. 11, November 1977

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