

EDITORIAL: "ANTI-SOVIETISM" - WORST POISON IN THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT? A REPLY TO PSP

On July 25, 1898, U.S. imperialism invaded Puerto Rico militarily and began its savage domination over the Puerto Rican nation. The commanding general of the invading forces, Nelson Miles, said:

"We have not come to make war on the people of a country that for centuries has been oppressed, but on the contrary, to bring you protection, not only to yourselves, but to your property, and to bestow upon you the immunities and blessings of the liberal institutions of our government. This is not a war of devastation, but one to give all within the control of its military and naval forces the advantages and blessings of enlightened civilization."

Since then, U.S. imperialism, under the mask of "democracy," has enslaved and plundered the Puerto Rican nation and other nations in Latin America, Asia and Africa. It attempted to mask its imperialist aims by saying that it would transform Puerto Rico into the "democratic showcase" in the Caribbean, into "an example" for all of Latin America.

Since then, U.S. imperialism has become a leading superpower that has gone on mad scrambles to achieve hegemony over the world's people. It has justified its aggression and expansion under the cloak of "safeguarding democracy," "policeman of the world," "supporter of freedom and justice," and has penetrated and enslaved many countries under its sham foreign aid policies, such as the Marshall Plan, A.I.D., or in Puerto Rico, Operation Bootstrap.

Today, U.S. imperialism has been joined by USSR social-imperialism. Together, they are the two top dogs striving for plunder, redivision and hegemony of the world. Just as the U.S. imperialists in the 1890's and early 1900's justified their aggression under the cloak of "democracy," and "support for those fighting Spanish colonialism"; USSR social-imperialism has justified its aggression and expan-

sion under the cloak of "socialism," "support for national liberation struggles against U.S. imperialism," and its false "aid" to the East European countries and developing Third World countries. Along with the U.S., the USSR social-imperialists claim to uphold "peace" under the policy of "detente," yet both these superpowers have been competing to redivide the world and working together to crush the revolutionary movements that threaten their hegemonic ambitions. They have been contending and colluding, bringing closer the danger of a third imperialist world war. (See Palante articles on superpower contention and collusion in the Middle East, Vol. 4, #5,#6)

USSR'S SHAM SUPPORT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES

USSR social-imperialism poses a danger to Puerto Rico and all national liberation struggles. With their signboard of "socialism" and false "aid," they claim to be genuine supporters of the national liberation struggles.

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But facts prove otherwise. The USSR, under the guise of detente and their distortion and revising of the policy of peaceful coexistence have united with the U.S. imperialists in suppressing national liberation struggles. They hold that any "disturbance" of the "equilibrium" between the U.S. and USSR would upset the world balance and lead to a nuclear war and therefore the smaller countries have to "limit" their sovereignty and come under the influence of one or the other superpower.

"The leaders of the CPSU have the famous 'theory' that 'even a tiny spark can cause a world conflagration' and that a world war must necessarily be a thermonuclear war, which means the annihilation of mankind. Therefore, Khrushchov roars that 'local wars in our time are very dangerous,' and that 'we will work hard...to put out sparks that may set off the flames of war.' Here Khrushchov makes no distinction between just and unjust wars and betrays the Communist stand of supporting just wars." (from "Apologists of Neo-Colonialism," Foreign Language Press, Peking)

For example, in the heroic Cambodian revolutionary struggle, the social-imperialists had supported the reactionary Lon Nol Clique, calling the traitor Lon Nol "a brother" of the Cambodian people and saying that the Cambodian revolutionary struggle was a "fratricidal" war. The Soviet revisionist clique raised a hue and cry about the "pernicious consequences" of the war and "political and economic chaos in the country," in support of the dying Lon Nol clique. They had refused to recognize the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia until the revolutionary victory was certain - at which time they abandoned Lon Nol and switched their "support" to the revolutionary government. They had disregarded the Cambodian people's demands till the very end, hollaring that there was a need to bring about the turn of developments in Cambodia "to the restoration of peace and political settlement."

The Soviet revisionists have not only demanded that oppressed nations abandon the revolutionary struggle to "peacefully coexist" with the imperialists, but even have sided with imperialism outright. The Soviet revisionists withheld support of the Algerian people and supported French imperialism. They treated Algeria's national independence as "internal affairs" of France. Speaking on the Algerian question, Khrushchov said, "I had and have in view, first of all, that the USSR does not interfere in the internal affairs of other states. We do not want France to grow weaker, we want her to become still greater." The Soviet revisionists did not recognize the provisional government of the Republic of Algeria until victory was certain in the hands of the Algerian revolutionary people.

The Soviet revisionists committed the same sham support to the Congolese people. They not only refused to give active support to the Congo, but were anxious to "co-operate" with U.S. imperialism in putting out the spark in the Congo.

And recently it has been clearly pointed out how the social-imperialists use weapons sales to try to control the internal policies of the oil-producing Arab nations.

The Soviet social-imperialists have, since the rise of Khrushchov and Brezhnev, followed a social-imperialist policy of plunder and enslavement, sham support for national liberation struggles, under the guise of "socialism." But this danger is intensified when we have groups within the countries waging national liberation struggles that support USSR social-imperialism. Such is the case with the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (as well as the sold-out revisionist "Communist Party" USA).

These "leaders" fail to develop the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggles to be vigilant against USSR social-imperialism. On the contrary, they aid and give support to the social-imperialists and become their greatest defenders, as well as push the revisionist theories of the Soviet revisionists (e.g., the detente line, peaceful transition to socialism, etc.) These friends of the social-imperialists will lead the national liberation struggles into the neo-colonialist lap of the Soviet revisionists. Such is the case in Cuba.

"Cuba's increasing indebtedness to the Soviet butchers, whose loansharking certainly doesn't support any Cuban move towards self-reliance, has placed this once 'liberated territory of America' under Soviet 'limited sovereignty,' attempting to match U.S. control in Puerto Rico. At the Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Alligned Nations held in Sept. 1973 in Algiers, Premier Fidel Castro was booed by the Third World countries, who know

too well what Soviet 'aid' means, for attempting to raise the Soviet Union as a 'friend' of the Third World. The Cuban Communist Party has been used by the Soviet revisionists to deliver attacks against China and the international communist movement. Clearly, the Soviet plan is to make Cuba its 'Latin neo-colony.'" (from "In the U.S. Pregnant with Revisionism; the Struggle for Proletarian Revolution Moves Ahead"- political positions of the PRRWO)

Yet, the PSP (who claims that they are not the defenders of the USSR) comes to the defense of social-imperialism in their article in Claridad, March 23, 1975, "Anti-Soviet Feelings in the U.S." They try to feed to their cadres and the masses of people the lies that the struggle against Soviet revisionism, social-imperialism, is the same bourgeois anti-Soviet campaign that developed at the birth of the USSR, when it was under Lenin and Stalin's leadership. We would therefore like to trace back to the period when the USSR under Lenin's and Stalin's leadership was the true land of the international proletariat and how today the Khrushchov and Brezhnev revisionists have conducted an all-round restoration of capitalism and developed social-imperialism in the USSR.

RESTORATION OF CAPITALISM AND DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM IN THE USSR

Under the leadership of Lenin, the Great October Socialist Revolution brought about the fundamental change from the old world of capitalism to the new world of socialism, opening up a new era in the history of mankind.

"After the death of Lenin, Stalin inherited and defended the cause of Leninism in his struggles against domestic and foreign class enemies and against the right and 'left' opportunists in the Party. He led the Soviet people in continuing the advance along the socialist road and in winning great victories. During World War II the Soviet people under the command of Stalin became the main force in defeating fascist aggression and made magnificent contributions which will live forever in the history of mankind." (from "Leninism or Social-Imperialism")

Like Lenin and Stalin, Comrade Mao Tse Tung has taught us that socialism is a transition to a classless society, communism; and therefore it is necessary to promote revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this process, it is of vital importance that those bourgeois elements disguised under a socialist mask, who take the road of capitalist restoration, are thoroughly exposed and purged from the Party. If not, then these bourgeois elements will take hold of the leadership of the Party and the state, will begin a process of all-round restoration of capitalism, and will either become a social-imperialist power (as in the case of the USSR) or be reduced to a dependency or colony (as in the case of Czechoslovakia and the Mongolian People's Republic).

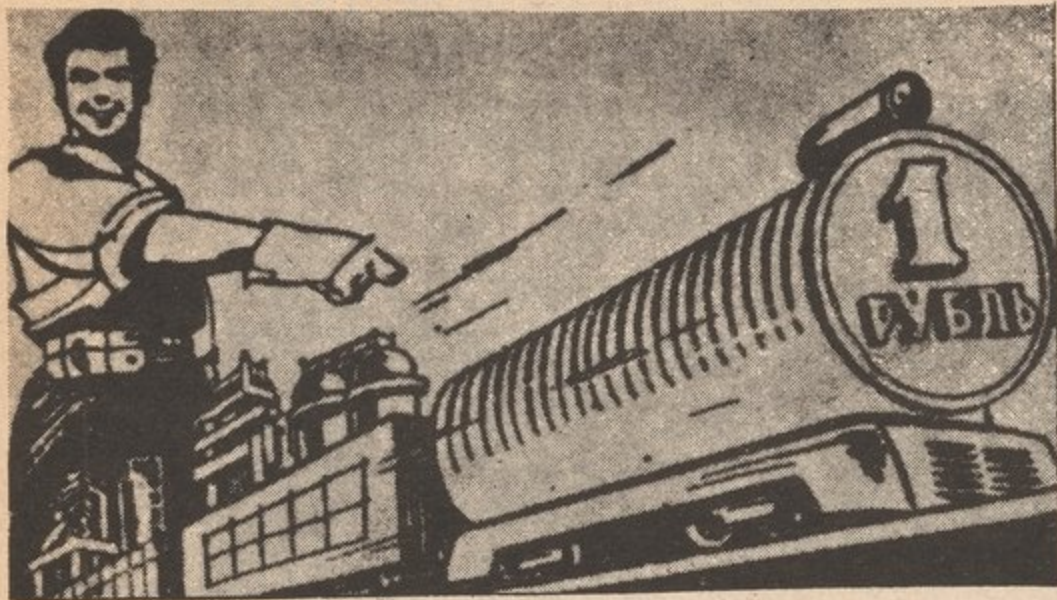
As historical materialism has taught us, history has its twists and turns. Just as Bernstein's and Kautsky's revisionism developed after the death of Engels, Khrushchov and Brezhnev revisionism developed after the death of Stalin. The only difference between Kautsky and Bernstein and the modern revisionists is that the Khrushchov and Brezhnev cliques have usurped state power in the first socialist republic.

At the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, the revisionist Khrushchov clique developed their revisionism into a complete system. They not only rounded off their anti-revolutionary theories of "peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition and peaceful transition," but also declared that the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary in the Soviet Union, and put forward the revisionist theories of the "state of the whole people" and the "party of the entire people." This changed the whole character of the USSR for it allowed the revisionists to take power and develop a bureaucrat-capitalist class that paved the way for the capitalist restoration under the guise of "full-scale communist construction."

Khrushchov raised to a state policy the imitation of the methods of capitalist management in the U.S. He energetically enforced "reforms of the economic system" that placed profits above everything else. In March, 1965, they issued a report on agriculture, saying that "the rate of profit should be made the basis for the objective assessment of the operation of the collective and state farms." They have also pushed a policy of (material or) "economic incentives" and that they be increased through "prices, profits, bonuses and credits."

"The enforcement of the 'new system' has resulted in abolishing the former system of unified economic plan-

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Promoting private enterprise and the profit drive over collective, planned, socialist economy, the Soviet revisionists promote the idea that money, not the masses, is decisive. The above picture, from a Soviet journal, is called "The Powerful Locomotive." The words on the front of the engine read "One Ruble."

ning by the state and setting profit above all. It authorizes the enterprises to decide independently on their production and management plans and gives them free rein to seek high profits as in capitalist enterprises. It provided the leaders of the enterprises with more and bigger privileges and endows them with the power to deal freely with matters concerning production, finance and personnel in the enterprises." ("All-Round Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR," FLPP)

They also developed a resolution allowing for state banks to issue long-term loans to promote the increase of private livestock. Therefore, private economy has developed daily. Like in capitalist society, the revisionists have lifted all restrictions on the prices of agricultural produce and livestock products, thereby developing capitalist free markets and free competition, leaving the doors wide open for private merchants. These free markets, that have replaced "state stores," are under the control of private merchants "who engage in speculation, demand cut-throat prices and practice all sorts of swindling." At the same time, the revisionist clique has followed an "open door" policy that has allowed monopoly capitalist groups from the U.S., France, Italy, Japan, etc., to penetrate the economy of the USSR and plunder the natural resources, damage the national interests, and exploit the working people. One well known example is that of the Italian company, Fiat, which built an auto plant in the USSR. For every car the Soviet workers build, the Italian capitalists get a cut. The profits are shared between the Soviet state-monopoly capitalists and the Italian capitalists.

"The core of this 'new system' is to use every means to encourage the enterprise to seek profit and to promote production by material incentives." (Ibid)

Like all exploiting class societies, the restoration of capitalism in the USSR has led to the development of a privileged bourgeois-managerial class which is in fundamental, antagonistic contradiction with the proletariat and laboring masses. Capitalism in the USSR has brought back the anarchy in production which causes confusion in production, rise of unemployment, sharp decline in the quality of goods, and has caused speculation and theft to become rampant.

The revisionist clique has increased the labor intensity (similar to speed-ups in the U.S.) so that they may be able to extract as much surplus value from the working people as possible. They have developed new technology under the guise of "scientific organization of labor" that needs less workers (therefore sending them into the ranks of the unemployed) and increasing the labor intensity. A good example of this is the "Shchekino System" in the USSR, which was put together by a chemical combine under the slogan of "less men, more products," to get high profits and big bonuses.

"It (Shchekino System) has two main features: one is combining different kinds of jobs, enlarging the worker's sphere of work, making one worker responsible for many jobs, having one man do the work of two or three and dismissing 'redundant workers' in large numbers; the other is so-called "scientific organization of labour," filming the motions of a worker's hands during production, noting

'the number of times the hands are idle,' drawing up a diagram chart for the worker's hands to follow' and then forcing the workers to work intensively with no let-up according to these 'scientific' charts. Under this system of 'scientific organization of labour,' the workers are under such pressure that they have not time to stop for even a sip of tea and are completely reduced to 'talking machines.' After a day's work, they are absolutely exhausted and their health, both physical and mental is gravely affected." (Peking Review, June 6, 1975)

The Shchekino Chemical Combine has dismissed more than 1,300 workers, nearly 20% of the original number of workers in the plant, from 1967 to 1973. Since then, over 292 enterprises have "followed the example of the Shchekino people," cutting about 70,000 from the labor force by July 1, 1973. Today, even the Soviet press has to admit that "there is a surplus of labor power in some areas of the USSR," and "residents' employment has already become a problem." "A large reserve army of labor power has emerged" in the Kurgan Region, and as a result of their failure to find work in their own region, the unemployed have to leave their homes to go job-hunting elsewhere. (Peking Review, May 16, 1975)

A Soviet journal, Socialist Labour, revealed in 1973 that the 1972 floating labour force in Soviet industry was 20% of the total, i.e., 6.5 million workers. Before being re-employed, each worker lost 28 work days. This means that 780,000 persons did not work for a whole year.

There has also been an inhabitant's tax paid by workers which represented more than 11% of a family's combined wages. Inflation has also been seen in the USSR, such as the 48% increase in the cost of flour, 33% increase in beef, and 66% increase in cabbage.

In the USSR, there has also been a rampant rise of national chauvinism. The average monthly wage of the workers and staff in most non-Russian republics is lower than that in the Russian Federative Republic. For example, it is lower by 16% in Byelorussia, by 20% in Georgia, and by 21% in Moldavia. The non-Russian republics are also discriminated against in consumer goods supply, housing, culture and education, and medical and health services.

In response to this capitalist oppression and exploitation, the Soviet workers and peasants have spontaneously begun to fight back against the monopoly bureaucrat-capitalist class. Workers have held slowdowns and absenteeism has spread widely. Mass strikes and demonstrations have taken place repeatedly in different parts of the USSR. But the revisionist clique has resorted to a fascist dictatorship to suppress the workers and laboring people. (Here, we are not talking about the phoney "dissidents," anti-communist, counter-revolutionaries like Solzhenitsyn.)

"Since 1965, the Brezhnev clique has considerably amplified its fascist dictatorship machinery, setting up many new organizations and reinforcing the police and special agent departments...In 1968, police power was also expanded, the number of police greatly increased and 'professional security offices,' 'night shift police stations' and 'motorized police units' were set up. The most modern equipment for reconnaissance and suppression were set up...In addition to new prisons, the Soviet revisionists have in the last few years set up many 'labor camps' for the suppression of revolutionary people...It is reported that there are over 1,000 'labor camps' with a total of more than a million prisoners." (Peking Review #4, 1974)

We can definitely see that Chairman Mao's statement was correct when he said: "The Soviet Union today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type."

The phenomena explained in the preceding sections; i.e., the profit motive, material incentives, encouragement of private economy, rise of a privileged managerial class, free markets and free competition, increased labor intensity with rising unemployment, inflation, national chauvinism and national discrimination and the fascist repression - are clearly manifestations of a capitalist society. Yet the PSP and other friends of social-imperialism will say that "the USSR's economic system is not exactly like that of capitalist countries." As we have explained in previous polemics:

"Like U.S. imperialism, the economic base of Soviet social-imperialism is also monopoly capitalism. In 1917, the working class in the Soviet Union, led by the Bolshevik Party seized state power, took possession of the means of

production in the form of state ownership, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. With the usurping of state power and the restoration of capitalism, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union has been changed once again into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The socialist state ownership has been changed into ownership by the bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class." (PRRWO, Proletarian Internationalism or Revisionism, January 1975)

"The phenomenon of social-imperialism or state monopoly capitalism, differs from 'capital-imperialism' (Peeking Review, #25, 1972) only in the form of ownership of the means of production and appropriation of wealth. In a capitalist country, the form of ownership and appropriation is 'private.' In a revisionist country the form used is the state. In both cases, the essence behind the forms is a system of monopoly capitalism ruled by the bourgeoisie." (PRRWO, In the U.S. Pregnant with Revisionism: the Struggle for Proletarian Revolution Moves Ahead)

With the further restoration of capitalism in the USSR, the stance of proletarian internationalism has degenerated and in its place, the social-imperialists' ambitions of hegemony over the world's people have developed. Aside from their sham support and betrayal of the national liberation struggles, the social-imperialists have been building an imperialist empire to match that of the U.S. Despite its revisionist policy of "peaceful coexistence" and "detente," and its phrasemongering for disarmament, it has developed a military economy in the USSR, disregarding the daily necessities and consumer goods for the Soviet people, and has utilized the Warsaw Treaty Organization as a tool for aggression in Europe (the main area of contention by the two superpowers).

Under the "socialist community" signboard, the Brezhnev clique has reduced a number of East European countries to Soviet satellites and colonies and has made the organization a tool to prop up its colonial rule, subjecting these countries to military control and occupation. The Soviet Union maintains over 2.4 million troops and about 11,000 aircraft in Eastern Europe and the European part of the USSR. It has 75,000 troops in Czechoslovakia alone.

The Brezhnev clique also disguises their neo-colonialist aims by flashing phrases such as a "division of labour," a "specialization of labour," "economic integration" and "limited sovereignty." It has utilized the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and Council of Mutual Economic Aid (COMECON) to place the markets of these countries, as well as their productive branches, under the control of the social-imperialists. The USSR has forced their dependencies to sell cheap to the USSR and buy Soviet raw materials and finished goods at high prices. The COMECON member countries are completely dependent on the USSR for raw materials, fuels, machinery, equipment and other important materials. Thus, for example, 90% of Czech imports of oil, iron ore and non-ferrous metals, 80% of food grains, over 60% of cotton, and over 60% of sulphur and various phosphorites are of Soviet origin.

Also, the investments of the COMECON are intended to fulfill the needs of the USSR. For example, the COMECON Investment Bank over the last two years has granted about 900 million convertible rubles in the form of credits for the construction of 26 projects in six member countries. The USSR has absorbed over 2/3's of this sum, while Poland only received 3.3%. Aside from this, many projects under construction in Eastern Europe are subsidiaries of Soviet trusts, such as the automobile plants in Bulgaria and Hungary. (Albania Today, May-June 1974) So that the USSR also draws cheap labor from the satellite countries. And, as pointed out before, the USSR's false "aid" is nothing more than another trick to have countries not only of Europe, but of the Third World to be dependent on the USSR social-imperialists.

PSP DEFENDS AND SUPPORTS SOCIAL IMPERIALISM

Despite the numerous facts that exist to prove that the USSR has restored capitalism and is a social-imperialist power, the PSP, as well as the revisionist "CP"USA, claim that the USSR is a socialist country and practices proletarian internationalism. They claim that the present criticism of Soviet social-imperialism is the same bourgeois campaign that developed during Lenin's time, with the birth of the USSR. So that according to PSP, Mao Tse Tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist in our era, is building a "bourgeois campaign" when he says that in the USSR, "The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie."

PSP tries to ignore the fact that the USSR under Lenin and Stalin was fundamentally different from the

USSR under Khrushchov and Breznev. They try to pass this revisionist clique as "friends" of the people and at the same time claim that "anti-Sovietism is one of the worst poisons that progressive, revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces have faced over the years." Yet, when we seek truth from facts, we find that in the U.S. revolutionary movement, the obstacle that has created the most serious setbacks has been the parliamentary, social-pacifist, class collaborationist road that the revisionist "CP"USA has followed. Of course, PSP would not agree with this, since they consider the "CP" a fraternal organization, and recently even had Gil Green, a member of the "CP" give political education to PSP cadres and supporters on the topic of "The trade union movement today." (Viernes Socialista, May 16, 1975, NYC)

PSP in the U.S. and in Puerto Rico not only defends Soviet social-imperialism and the "CP"USA but unites with them in pushing revisionist theories like "detente" which was put forward by Juan Mari Bras, Secretary General of PSP, at the Oct. 27th rally in NYC. Not only do they unite with those theories, but they further develop their revisionist theories, such as their theory of the Puerto Rican "divided nation." In the U.S. the role that they play is to consciously lead the Puerto Rican workers and progressive elements away from their revolutionary task. All communists in this country must struggle against this.

CONCLUSION

Today in Puerto Rico, the workers movement is spontaneously rising, fighting against U.S. plunder and enslavement. Recent years have shown a rise of strikes, demonstrations, student protests, etc. all over Puerto Rico. At one time MPI-PSP played a progressive role in the broad revolutionary upsurge. However, because they did not struggle against opportunism, struggle to bolshevize their ranks, instead of going from a lower to a higher level of Marxism, they went from a lower to a higher level of opportunism. Today there are many honest cadres in PSP who want to play a progressive role in the Puerto Rican struggle for national liberation; but by holding a revisionist line and defending social-imperialism they are unable to do this. Instead, implementing the line of PSP, they will spread revisionist ideology among the working class, thereby paving the road for the revolutionary movement in Puerto Rico to be infested with bourgeois elements that will create serious setbacks in the revolutionary movement.

The genuine Marxist-Leninists in Puerto Rico must polemicize and expose the opportunist lines in the revolutionary movement, begin to merge communism with the workers' movement and unite the genuine Marxist-Leninists in a Bolshevik Party that will build a United Front Against Imperialism and superpower hegemonism, particularly the U.S. imperialists, and lead it to an armed overthrow of the state apparatus to begin the construction of socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At present throughout the world, the revolutionary people are uniting in a broad united front against imperialism and superpower hegemonism. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have already gained many victories against the reactionaries. We have

already witnessed the rising workers' struggles in the advanced capitalist countries. In the USSR, the Soviet people too have begun to organize themselves and fight back against the revisionist-fascist clique. Marxist-Leninist groups have built underground organizations such as the Stalin Group, the Old Fighters Group, and the Committee for Re-Building a Marxist-Leninist Party. These facts further prove Mao Tse Tung correct when he said:

"The Soviet Union was the first socialist state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was created by Lenin. Although the leadership of the Soviet Party and the state has now been usurped by revisionists, I would advise comrades to remain firm in the conviction that the masses of the Soviet people and of Party members and cadres are good, that they desire revolution and that revisionist rule will not last long."

The world is in great disorder. The danger of a world war between the two superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR, does exist, but revolution is the main trend in the world today. It is the task of all Marxist-Leninists to unite the revolutionary movement in struggle against imperialism and social imperialism headed by the U.S. and USSR.

To those who would deny this task, defend the social-imperialists, and whine about "anti-Sovietism", we can only say that you are singing a tired old song that the masses of the world's people are increasingly rejecting. You say



"ANTI-SOVIETISM"

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we are "anti-Soviet." But this label cannot be stuck on us. It is you who are really anti-Soviet. Our criticisms of Soviet social-imperialism are precisely for the purpose of defending the heroic Russian masses, the mighty Bolshevik Party, and our great revolutionary leaders and teachers, Lenin and Stalin.

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!

LONG LIVE THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!

DEATH TO U.S. IMPERIALISM AND USSR SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM!