

THE COMMUNIST

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

"A communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against



all incorrect ideas and actions so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist."
Mao Tsetung

VOL. III NO. 11

WORKERS CONGRESS (M-L)

POB 1297 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60690

JUNE 6, 1977 15¢

A FESTIVAL OF THE OPPRESSED



IN CHICAGO'S HUMBOLDT PARK, THOUSANDS OF PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE MILITANTLY BATTLED POLICE. HERE, PUERTO RICAN YOUTHS OVERTURN AND DESTROY A POLICE CAR, HATED SYMBOL OF THEIR NATIONAL OPPRESSION.

"IT IS RIGHT TO REBEL!"
Mao Tsetung

The Humboldt Park neighborhood, a center of Chicago's Puerto Rican community, erupted in spontaneous rebellion the weekend of June 5th in angry response to the police murder of two youths. At the root of this anger is resistance to years of national and class oppression.

June 5th was Puerto Rico Day in Chicago. This day grew out of the 1966 rebellion in the Puerto Rican community. But the event has been dominated by the Democratic Party political machine and local business. They have instituted a parade where bourgeois politicians have floats declaring their once a year "respect" for the Puerto Rican community. This year the parade was held two weeks early so it could be used to promote the mayoral election of the Democratic Party machine's successor to Daly.

But these attempts to channel the patriotic sentiments of the Puerto Rican people along the lines of bourgeois politics show how deeply the ruling class misjudge the growing political consciousness of the Puerto Rican national minority. More and more, the people have taken over Puerto Rico Day. In recent years a contingent in the parade has demanded PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE NOW and called for liberation of the five Puerto Rican nationalists imprisoned in US federal jails.

This year after the parade thousands of people congregated in Humboldt Park. Puerto Rican flags were everywhere. The park was filled with a festive mood. Thousands picniced, played congo drums, played soccer, danced, sang, etc. There was tremendous enthusiasm and a strong sense of patriotic unity.

At one point there was a dispute between two gangs that gave rise to some hot words in one corner of the park. Within minutes police appeared to "quell a disturbance". One of the youths yelled, "Get out of here, this is none of your business," and waved a gun. The police pulled their guns at once to firing position. The small crowd which had gathered turned and ran. The police fired and two persons, Rafael Cruz, 25, and Julio Osorio, 26, fell dead, shot in the back while running. Police chief James Rochford said, "A gun was pointed at the sergeant and he opened fire. Two persons were killed. Then things blew up."

Within minutes 40 to 50 police in riot gear were encircled by three thousand people. Years of oppression and the sight of two more dead youths bloody on the ground exploded like a volcano. With rocks and bottles they attacked the armed police. The police were overwhelmed by the fury of the spontaneous rising and this first group were beaten and routed.

Police reinforcements quickly arrived and they attempted to charge the crowd, but basically the masses were in command of the situation and on the offensive. During police advances police fired into the crowd. But every attempt by the police to force back the lines of resistance was itself driven back. Police cars and vans were abandoned, turned over and burned. Onlookers of all ages laughed and cheered each time a rock or bottle hit its target.

A FESTIVAL SPIRIT

The mood of the crowd was one of national and patriotic celebration; their energy was festive and confident. Non-police traffic, including kids on bicycles, continued along the streets. But across from the people the police were uptight and anxious.

With a helicopter hovering overhead, police, now numbering in the hundreds, succeeded in clearing the park like an occupying army. They swept up neighborhood residents in random arrests. Over one hundred were arrested and scores injured. But for several hours police could not go beyond the boundaries of the park where thousands still formed a line of resistance.

A Poll in the Streets

US ruling circles have been talking a lot lately about making Puerto Rico a state and claim that the majority of Puerto Rican

people support statehood. They back this up with all kinds of polls. But Chicago saw a more accurate poll--a poll of the streets. The Puerto Rican masses have shown their hatred once again for national oppression. Their spontaneous outburst reflected a relatively high level of political consciousness. Anger was clearly focused on the police (what looting occurred was directed against selected targets with a reputation of fleecing the community). The people's courage and enthusiasm stemmed from their unity and the patriotic celebration of Puerto Rico Day. Their actions exposed the connection between national oppression in the US and US imperialism's plunder and domination of Puerto Rico.

The Puerto Rican national movement has become a target of increased repression in the recent period. Earlier on Saturday, June 5th, the FALN, a Puerto Rican terrorist group, exploded a bomb in City Hall for Puerto Rico Day. For a long time now, the activity of this small terrorist group has been a police excuse for harassment and oppression of the Puerto Rican community. For many months the police have been breaking into apartments in the area under the pretense of searching for an FALN "bomb factory". Cars have been
CONTINUED ON PAGE 3.

A PARTY BUILDING RETREAT

The August Twenty-Ninth Movement (ATM) has announced an organizational retreat from the line that propaganda is the chief form of activity. In their May Day Editorial, Part II, in "Revolutionary Cause", v.2, no.3, May, 1977, they repudiate this line, claiming that it is part of a "left" opportunist line on party building.

This development is a setback for our movement, and must be quickly isolated and defeated. Propaganda as the chief form of activity goes to the essence of party building. At bottom, the attack on this line is a retreat from party building as the central task.

ATM is not alone in this attack. Martin Nicolaus opened the campaign in his journal "Forward". The Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee (MLOC) then followed,

purporting to prove that the line on propaganda - put forward by Stalin in his outline on Strategy and Tactics - was actually an example of Trotskyism in our movement.

In the footsteps of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), these forces casually discard Stalin. ATM has a consistent line on this question. Stalin is inconvenient for them so they condemn any reliance on teachings of his which do not fit their narrow prejudice as "textualism".

We first saw this in their pamphlet on the Chicano National Question. They made it plain they did not want to really pursue the matter according to the science of Marxism-Leninism. Instead they complained that applying Stalin's criteria for the existence of an oppressed nation in the Southwest would be "making reality fit

definitions"--ie. textualism.

Now ATM is smarting from the so-called "Revolutionary Wing's" distortions of Marxism-Leninism which ATM for a time swallowed whole. One of the most flagrant of these distortions was the Wing's misuse of the line that propaganda is the chief form of activity. ATM is so anxious to put a good face on a bad situation that they rush not only to repudiate distortions of that line, but also to repudiate Bolshevik lessons on party building strategy summed up by Stalin. Instead of fighting to grasp the line correctly and make a good application of it, they abandon it on the first sign of difficulty.

ATM claims that the application of Stalin's line on propaganda is a "mechanical application of a summary done by Stalin

of a particularly restricted period of Bolshevik activity in Russia." Convenient, but wrong. Stalin's outline was made in preparation for a pamphlet summing up the general lessons and international significance of the experience of the Bolshevik party on strategy and tactics.

Furthermore, ATM, like others, tries to drive a wedge between Stalin and Lenin, and attempts to ignore that Stalin's pamphlet only summarized principles put forward by Lenin in the "Conclusion" to "LEFT WING COMMUNISM - AN INFANTILE DISORDER". In that book, Lenin is clearly speaking not to a "restricted period of Bolshevik activity" but to the international significance of the Russian revolution.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

"10) Tasks:
a) To win the vanguard of the proletariat to the side of communism (ie, build up cadres, create a Communist Party, work out the programme, the principles of tactics). Propaganda as the chief form of activity.
b) To win the broad masses of the workers and of the toilers generally to the side of the vanguard (to bring the masses up to the fighting positions). Chief form of activity--practical action by the masses as a prelude to decisive battles."

PARTY BUILDING RETREAT
from page 1

We have quoted the passages of Lenin and Stalin so that the reader can judge for himself the source and significance of the propositions summarized by Stalin.

According to Lenin and Stalin, the revolutionary preparation of a Marxist-Leninist party places on the agenda two strategic tasks. These tasks are:
(1) winning the vanguard to communism; and
(2) winning the broad masses to the side of the vanguard.

The first task is the task of creating a Communist party, that is, party building. "Without this," Lenin writes, "not even the first step towards victory can be made."

The second task, which alone can ensure victory, is to develop the practical revolutionary activity of the broad masses under the leadership of the party. This is the task of mobilizing the United Front.

These are general principles broadly applicable to Marxist-Leninist leadership in every country and not narrowly confined to a "restricted period of Bolshevik activity in Russia."

What is the relationship of propaganda and agitation to these two strategic tasks?

Winning the vanguard to communism requires that propaganda be the chief form of activity. Winning the vanguard to communism means winning the vanguard over ideologically. It means winning the vanguard to the science of Marxism-Leninism. It means achieving a complete ideological and political victory over opportunism and social chauvinism. None of these can be accomplished, Lenin emphasized, unless priority goes to propaganda work.

That also is a general principle.

The reasons are evident. A propagandist, Lenin writes, "must present 'many ideas', so many indeed that they will be understood by (comparatively) few persons." An agitator, however, "will direct all his efforts to presenting a single idea to the 'masses'....he will strive to rouse discontent and indignation among the masses." (WHAT IS TO BE DONE (WITBD) Peking ed., p.82) An agitator prepares the conditions for a call to action.

Marxism-Leninism is a scientifically connected body of many ideas. Winning the vanguard over ideologically must be done by propaganda work. Obviously no one can be won to scientific knowledge by agitation or the presentation of a single idea to the masses. This is not "textualism" but common sense. What ATM attacks is the proposition of Engels that since socialism has become a science it must be studied like a science.

There is another point. Marxist-Leninists internationally have become steeled in their struggle against formal declarations of Party unity, for which they reserve their scorn. In opposing the first efforts to call a second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, Lenin insisted:

"Before we can unite and in order to unite we must first of all draw firm and definite lines of demarcation." (Declaration of the Editorial Board of ISKRA and ZARYA, LCW, v.4, p.329)

"As long as it was (and inasmuch as it still is) a question of winning the proletariat's vanguard over to the side of communism, priority went and still goes to propaganda work; even propaganda circles, with all their parochial limitations, are useful under these conditions, and produce good results. But when it is a question of practical action by the masses, of the disposition, if one may so put it, of vast armies, of the alignment of all the class forces in a given society for the final and decisive battle, then propagandist methods alone, the mere repetition of the truths of 'pure' communism, are of no avail. In these circumstances, one must not count in the thousands, like the propagandist belonging to a small group that has not yet given leadership to the masses; in these circumstances one must count in the millions and tens of millions. In these circumstances, we must ask ourselves, not only whether we have convinced the vanguard of the revolutionary class, but also whether the historically effective forces of all the classes--positively of all the classes in a given society, without exception--are arrayed in such a way that the decisive battle is at hand...."

This is also a general principle of party building applicable to our own revolutionary movement. Because it involves distinguishing shades of difference on matters of principle, it is also necessarily a matter of propaganda work.

Party building is winning the vanguard to communism. The lesson of the Bolshevik Party is inescapable:

"As long as it was (and insofar as it still is) a question of winning the proletariat's vanguard over to the side of communism, priority went and still goes to propaganda work". (Lenin, "LEFT" WING COMMUNISM)

For these reasons the attempt to repudiate the line on propaganda as the chief form of activity is actually a retreat from party building as the central task.

What then is the role of agitation? Agitation is a means of developing the class consciousness and guiding the class struggle of the proletariat. It is inseparably connected to propaganda.

Agitation demands that Marxist-Leninists take part in all spontaneous manifestations of the working class struggle, drawing attention to every manifestation of tyranny and abuse:

"Just as there is no issue affecting the life of the workers in the economic field that must be left unused for the purposes of economic agitation, so there is no issue in the political field that does not serve as a subject for political agitation." (Lenin, The Tasks of the Russian Social Democrats, LCW, v.2, p.329)

One aspect of this is political exposure which trains proletarian leaders and the oppressed masses to systematically appraise all aspects of political life and every example of working class struggle and popular resistance. This is the task of providing an independent communist policy on every issue that concerns the proletariat. It is not a matter of either propaganda or agitation, but of skillfully using both. Agitation fosters the class consciousness and striving of the proletariat for communism. In this respect it lays a basis for the work of the propagandist who must give a more complete explanation of capitalist oppression and proletarian revolution. This applies particularly to vanguard elements which may be set into motion by agitation, but who must be won over by propaganda.

Agitation is also a means to guide the broad masses in the conduct of political struggle. As such it is a weapon of the leadership of the proletariat. When Lenin says in WHAT IS TO BE DONE that we need an organization that makes nation-wide political agitation the cornerstone of its program, he is referring to the role of agitation in leading the proletarian masses. Through agitation the vanguard lays a line around which the broad masses can mobilize. By arousing discontent and indignation at every example of abuse, the vanguard prepares the conditions for practical actions of the masses under the leadership of the proletarian party.

Agitation is therefore a means to win the broad masses to the side and leadership of the vanguard.

ATM is wrong to conclude that because we strive to create an organization capable of unfolding nationwide political agitation that therefore agitation is the chief form of activity. This confuses what an organization does, with what must be done to forge the organization. As long as our primary task is to build a party, we must give priority to propaganda work. Insofar as our task is one of winning the masses to the leadership of the party, agitation comes to the fore.

But on the other hand, it is also an error to conclude that we can put off tasks of party agitation among the masses because party building is our central (or "only") task. Party building is a practical task. A vanguard organization does not sit around in self-congratulation being won to a science in isolation from the every day struggle of the proletariat. Our science is not to interpret the world but to change it. From day one, an organization of the vanguard must act like a party in order to change the world. In other words, winning the masses to the side of the vanguard is an integral part of party building itself. Unless we undertake simultaneously with the principal task of winning the vanguard to communism, the task of giving leadership to the masses and strive to enter and lead spontaneous manifestations of class struggle, we do not win the vanguard to communism in a practical way. We fail to train the vanguard in the most important characteristic of the proletarian party - its capacity for political leadership - unless we take

up simultaneously the tasks of political agitation and propaganda.

But here too propaganda must be the leading factor, giving direction and depth to our agitational work. "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. This thought cannot be insisted upon too strongly at a time when the fashionable preaching of opportunism goes hand in hand with an infatuation for the narrowest forms of practical activity." (Lenin, WHAT IS TO BE DONE, Peking ed., p. 28.)

In an earlier article in THE COMMUNIST, we give a good example of the relationship of propaganda to our agitational work:

"For example, we have an article in this issue of THE COMMUNIST on agitation in one plant carried out around the struggle for trade union democracy. This work was based on a relatively low level of propaganda and small consolidation of the advanced forces. If it is to go forward and expand, broadening its scope to include also political agitation, it will be on the basis of the full consolidation of a Bolshevik core. This depends first of all on our propaganda work and the chief form of our activity is geared to that. Any belittling of our propaganda work in this sphere means to restrict the scope of our agitation as well, condemning our work to tailing the trade union movement. Thus we must be vigilant against any attempt to belittle the decisive role of propaganda or divert us to aimless agitation at the workplace and in the mass movement. ("Win the Vanguard", THE COMMUNIST, August, 1976, v.II, no. 11, p.9)

There has not been adequate struggle over the character of our political agitation and its relation to our party building tasks. If ATM and the other forces in our movement who have now retreated from the principal tasks of party building had developed struggle on that basis--had, for example, deepened our grasp of the necessity for genuinely communist political agitation for the dictatorship of the proletariat in contrast to more familiar examples of anti-imperialist agitation -- we would have supported them in the struggle. But they have not done that. Instead their position reflects a capitulation to longstanding right opportunist tendencies never rooted out of their work. Retreating to a line on practical activity guaranteed to tail rather than lead the spontaneous struggles of the working and oppressed masses, these forces have attacked the essential task of party building -- winning the vanguard to communism. ATM throws the baby out with the bathwater.

Nonetheless the struggle opened up will be a healthy one. But it begins with consolidation on the line that propaganda is the chief form of activity. ATM calls that "textualism". We call it a defense of militant orthodoxy essential to grasping the science which is our only guide to revolution.

Difference between agitation & propaganda
winning the masses to the side of the vanguard
These papers must be to spontaneity
Agitation being primary
objectively negates goal
propaganda
more
also reflect
building
from context of party building



SUBSCRIBE TO
THE COMMUNIST

THE WORKERS CONGRESS (MARXIST-LENINIST) IS A MULTI-NATIONAL COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION WHICH TAKES MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSE TUNG THOUGHT AS THE THEORETICAL BASIS GUIDING ITS THINKING. OUR FUNDAMENTAL AIM AND PROGRAM IS THE COMPLETE OVERTHROW OF THE U.S. MONOPOLY CAPITALIST BOURGEOISIE AND ALL OTHER EXPLOITING CLASSES AS PART OF A WORLD WIDE UNITED FRONT AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, THE TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM OVER CAPITALISM, AND THE ULTIMATE REALIZATION OF COMMUNISM.

WE ARE STRIVING TO BUILD "THE COMMUNIST" AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR THE LENINIST TREND, TO BE USED AS A WEAPON IN THE STRUGGLE FOR A SINGLE COMMON ISKRA TYPE ORGAN. WE CONDUCT THE COMMUNIST IN THE SPIRIT OF ORTHODOX LENINISM AND DIRECT ITS PAGES PRIMARILY TO ADVANCED WORKERS AND MARXIST-LENINISTS. WHILE WE INTEND TO DISCUSS QUESTIONS FROM OUR OWN DEFINITE POINT OF VIEW, WE OPEN OUR COLUMNS TO POLEMICS AMONG COMRADES. WE CALL ON ALL MARXIST-LENINISTS AND REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS TO JOIN WITH US IN BUILDING "THE COMMUNIST" AND CALL FOR REPORTS AND CORRESPONDENCE ON FACTORY AND POLITICAL EXPOSURES, THE TRADE UNION STRUGGLE, THE DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION AND FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN, ETC. IN ORDER TO STRETCH A LINE NATION-WIDE IT IS ESSENTIAL TO HAVE A BROAD NETWORK OF CORRESPONDENTS AND COLLABORATORS. ONLY IN SO FAR AS WE SUCCEED IN UNITING MARXIST LENINISTS AND CLASS CONSCIOUS WORKERS THROUGHOUT THE U.S. CAN WE ESTABLISH "THE COMMUNIST" AS AN ORGAN WHICH SPEAKS FOR THE LENINIST TREND. JOIN WITH US IN THIS URGENT TASK!

Subscription rates to THE COMMUNIST are \$4.25 per year. The paper is published every two weeks. Please make checks and money orders payable to: WORKERS CONGRESS

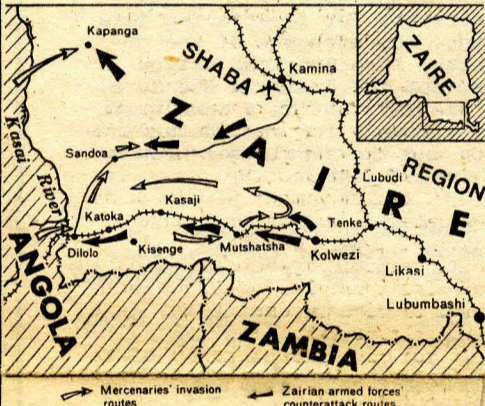
The WCML can be contacted at: WC - POB 1297 - Chicago, Ill. 60690

WC - POB 11713 - LA, Calif. 90111

RHODESIA INVADES MOZAMBIQUE

from page 4
1976 that 80 US mercenaries had arrived in just one area of Zimbabwe. These mercenaries are recruited with the direct knowledge and assistance from the US government, despite official laws against this and despite their constant denials of this fact. It has been established that the 12th Special Forces Group (Airborne) Headquarters, located in Arlington Heights, Illinois, actively participates in the soliciting of US citizens for mercenary recruitment in Rhodesia and also produces and distributes T-shirts with an advertisement for recruitment that features soldiers landing from a black "Huey" combat helicopter and reads "RHODESIA is ready when you are."

Furthermore, an officer in the 12th Special Forces Group (Airborne) US Army Reserves, Robert Brown, set up a company in 1975 called Phoenix Associates that advertised across the country for mercenary recruitment information for the Rhodesian army. After the closing of this enterprise, he then opened Omega Group Limited which publishes "Soldier of Fortune" magazine. This magazine features articles on the advantages and "glamor" of becoming a mercenary in Rhodesia and provides specific information on recruitment. While Brown was engaged in this supposedly illegal activity, he was promoted from a Major to Lieutenant-Colonel. Six other members of the editorial staff of "Soldier of Fortune" are also currently holding US military rank.



ZAIRE INVADERS ROUTED

THIRD WORLD UNITY KEY IN VICTORY

The Soviet-backed invasion of Zaire by Katangese mercenaries is ending in a complete fiasco, an ignominious setback for social-imperialism's design to supplant US imperialism as the main imperialism in Africa. In the last few weeks the joint Zairian-Moroccan troops have won important and decisive victories in repulsing invaders and defending Zaire's sovereignty against Soviet hegemonism.

Beginning a counter-offensive in late April with the recapturing of the Shaba region, the joint troops recovered many towns and cities such as Mutshatsha, Kasaji and Luchai near the manganese-producing center of Kesenge. The recapture of Sankasa where the joint armed forces captured and displayed Soviet-made weaponry used by the invaders was followed by more recent victories in the last few weeks in Paleta, Sambege and Kapalonga. The only city still occupied by the mercenaries was Sandoa; they had been driven out of all the rest. The joint army decisively turned the tide in the favor of the people and government of Zaire, providing living proof that the mercenaries and their social-imperialist masters are truly only paper tigers.

The key factor in repulsing the colonialist mercenaries and exposing the Soviet Union as the instigator of the invasion was the unity of the third world, especially the Arab and African countries. From the first, the Zairian people let the social-imperialists know that they would not let them grab one inch of Zairian soil. The Zairian government organized mass rallies in Kolwezi and other cities in which tens of thousands of people participated in rallying to the defense of their country. The Zairian press condemned the social-imperialists for their crimes in Africa and their latest act of aggression. The newspaper "Elima" said, "We will never permit the Soviet Union to turn Zaire into another Angola!"

In April, when Zaire issued a call to its fellow members in the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for help in countering the

invasion, the response was tremendous. Besides the example of Morocco, Egypt sent its own pilots to help operate planes in the Zairian air force and also sent medical supplies for the army. The Ivory Coast sent in two large shipments of medicine and food. The Central African "Empire" offered food supplies. Other Arab and African countries sent solidarity messages and offers of assistance. The heads of state of the various countries lent their voices to the anti-hegemonist call. President Nimeri of the Sudan, in a televised speech before his countrymen, affirmed that the Sudanese government and people's support for Zaire would remain firm. He solemnly declared that "Together with the African people, we put up a common resistance against attempts to control the African people's will". President Nimeri issued subsequent reports exposing the crimes and aim of social-imperialism in Africa and also directed defense measures to prevent an adventurous excursion into the Sudan by Soviet social-imperialism and its lackeys. Ismail Fahmy, Egypt's foreign minister, said "Egypt cannot watch developments in Zaire with arms folded because these developments directly affect Egypt and the African countries." King Hassan of Morocco refuted the slanders by Moscow against the African countries' aid to Zaire by pointing out that whenever the new tsars invade a country like Czechoslovakia, Angola or Zaire, this is a 'proletarian internationalist duty', but when the Arab and African countries aid Zaire, it is 'interference'.

The people of the third world condemned and opposed the Soviet invasion of Zaire. Events proved that the Soviet Union had picked up a rock only to drop it on its own feet. Social-imperialism is becoming increasingly exposed and isolated to the people of the world. The third world people in particular are becoming increasingly aware that they must guard against the tiger at the back gate while repulsing the wolf at the front.

military forces in Eritrea. This valiant struggle has received widespread support from African countries such as Guinea, Somalia, Uganda, Tunisia and Senegal; and from Arab countries as well. In 1975, a 40 nation Islamic Conference recognized the Eritrean peoples' right to self-determination. The armed struggle and militant support put great pressure on the US to withdraw. Because of this pressure the US imperialists cut back on the amount of military aid they were giving to the military junta. While this was done under the pretense of Carter's "human rights" campaign, it was in fact dictated by the self-interest of US imperialism which was desperate to salvage some presence in the area.

SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

But the junta looked for aid from the other superpower to prop up its corrupt rule, and once this was guaranteed, it ordered the US out. Already 50 Cuban mercenaries are in Ethiopia and there are promises of increased military supplies. This latest Soviet action further reveals their imperialist intentions. For a period of time they had attempted to gain influence in the area through Sudan and the Eritrean liberation movement, and so were critical of the brutal military government. Now they praise the junta as "Marxist-Leninist" while they move to help in the bloody suppression of the Eritrean struggle - and justify their aid on the false threat of an invasion of Ethiopia by Sudan, which recently threw out Soviet military personnel. The lackeys of social-imperialism, such as the "C" PUSA here in the US, have libeled the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party (EPRP) which had led a militant struggle against US imperialist presence in Ethiopia as "CIA agents" and "anarchists", and give approval to the recent vicious murder of EPRP cadre and supporters by the junta. But this latest imperialist excursion by the USSR will fare no better than the US imperialists. Their interference will surely meet defeat at the hands of the armed revolutionary masses in Ethiopia and Eritrea and will further expose their hegemonic ambitions in Africa.

IMPERIALIST COLLUSION

In response to their setback in Ethiopia, the US imperialists are pretending that their withdrawal was their desire all along. While for many years the US played a direct role in the counter-revolutionary suppression of the masses in Ethiopia and Eritrea, now they are weeping crocodile tears over this bloodshed. Recently vice-president Mondale, in an interview on NBC's Today program, hypocritically called the murder of EPRP cadre and their supporters "outrageous" and "bloodthirsty". The spokesmen for US imperialism have even gone so far as to express support for the Soviet intervention. Andrew Young stated that, despite "grave concern" over the arrival of the 50 Cuban military advisers, "The Cubans might have a little more rational manner than the Ethiopians. If they can halt the killing, that might not be a bad thing." This outrageous chauvinist statement must not be misunderstood. In many areas of the world, the US and the USSR collaborate to set up "spheres of influence" - where each justifies their own presence by the presence of the other. US imperialism would rather see an area under Soviet influence - with whom they could bargain - than one that is genuinely liberated and opposed to all superpower interference and "negotiation". The "killing" that Young stated he hoped would end is in fact the armed liberation struggle for national liberation and independence. The US imperialists will still strive to maintain their influence in the area and will use Soviet intervention as an excuse to pursue this course. But the peoples of Ethiopia and Eritrea have a long history of struggle. This will not end until all imperialist domination is ended and their national liberation is secured.

FESTIVAL OF THE OPPRESSED

from page 1
stopped and searched. Community residents are rounded up for grand jury hearings that are part of a government offensive against the Puerto Rican nationalist movement. On Saturday the bombing was used as an excuse to send police in riot gear to Humboldt Park in the early afternoon in an effort to create a mood of intimidation that would break the spirit of national enthusiasm that prevailed. The Chicago police chief has already used the bombing to justify increased political surveillance which has come under strong attack.

The weekend rebellion has also been used to justify stepped up surveillance by the political police. We can expect the bourgeoisie to use both the "hangman" and "the priest" to respond to these events. On the one hand they will make a pious show of pumping some government money into the community to paper over vicious exploitation. More to the point the police presence in the community and open intimidation will be intensified.

But the Puerto Rican people have had enough of fire-trap apartments (and landlord arson to collect insurance), deteriorating schools without adequate Spanish language instruction, government indifference to community need and above all lack of jobs to be either bought off or intimidated.

This uprising demonstrates the tremendous readiness and willingness of the oppressed masses to fight against tyranny and abuse. Their courage and capacity for sacrifice in carrying forward the struggle, their confidence and unity once the struggle had unfolded -- all this is what revolutions are made of.

Our goal must be to take up the tasks of propaganda, agitation and organization that, as Lenin writes, "brings closer and merges into a single whole the elemental destructive force of the crowd and the conscious destructive force of the organization of revolutionaries."

Without such an organization, a spontaneous outbreak must sooner or later lose its sense of direction, and once over, the degree of mobilization and organization achieved in struggle is more or less quickly lost. Also, the spontaneous upsurge, however righteous and whatever its fury, cannot fundamentally change the conditions of the oppressed masses as long as it is not led by the ideology of Marxism Leninism, which is a science of revolution, and a vanguard party which bases itself on Marxism Leninism.

On the other hand, an organized vanguard that bases itself on Marxism Leninism is capable of keeping the final goal and direction in view -- the seizure of state power -- and of connecting every local outbreak to that struggle and to its ongoing demands. An organization of revolutionaries is also capable of consolidating and preserving levels of organization and experience gained in struggle. And an organization of revolutionaries based on advanced theory is capable of mastering every twist and turn in struggle. That organization is a new Communist Party.

The rebellion in Humboldt Park makes clear once again the failure of the Marxist Leninist movement to grasp the full significance of the principle that the spontaneity of the masses demands a mass of consciousness from communists. The greater the upsurge of the masses, so much the more rapidly grows the demand for greater consciousness in our theoretical, political and organizational work. At present our movement and our struggle for unity lag behind the demands of the spontaneous struggles of the masses. What we need is an organization of the vanguard in advance of their revolutionary initiative.

The struggle of Puerto Rico for independence is an inseparable part of the world socialist revolution and of socialist revolution in the US. Neither national liberation and independence for Puerto Rico nor socialist revolution in the US are possible without the formation and consol-

idation of a common revolutionary front between the US multinational working class and the Puerto Rican liberation movement.

The struggle of oppressed nations, nationalities and minorities in the US is the main ally of the US multinational working class.

We need an organization capable of all sided agitation among the proletariat and oppressed nationalities that will make clear the revolutionary connection between the national and the class struggles in the US.

Lenin calls revolution the "festival of the oppressed". We shall be traitors to and betrayers of the revolution, he adds, if we do not use the festive energy and revolutionary ardor of the masses to wage a ruthless and self-sacrificing struggle for the most direct route to complete, absolute and decisive victory for working and oppressed people.

Humboldt Park puts those responsibilities squarely on our agenda.

CUBANS IN ETHIOPIA

from page 4

of the masses in Ethiopia and Eritrea. The Eritrean and Ethiopian peoples have long desired control over their own destinies and have taken up armed struggle against imperialist and internal reactionary rule. One aspect of this resistance to foreign domination was taken by the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions (CELU) in 1975 when they broke off all relations with the imperialist oriented AFL-CIO. This rupture marked an increased anti-imperialist and revolutionary stand by the Ethiopian proletariat.

In Eritrea, the armed struggle, begun in 1961, has made great advances. At the present time, the growing unified action of the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Forces (EPLF) and the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) has liberated large areas of the country and put pressure on the Ethiopian

JUDGE JUSTIFIES RAPE

A particularly abhorrent example of the promotion of the bourgeois ideology of male supremacy recently took place in the city of Madison, Wisconsin. Archie Simonson, a county judge, presided over a case concerning the rape of a 16-year old girl by three of her male class mates. The judge expressed sympathy for this assault, stating,

"This community is well-known to be sexually permissive. Should we punish a 15 or 16-year old boy who reacts to it normally?"

The judge's chauvinist claim that rape, the violent assault on women by men, is a "normal" reaction under any circumstances is intolerable! It is an affirmation

A Chauvinist Weapon of Terror

of the reactionary view that when it comes to rape the main burden is on the woman to prove that she didn't do anything to "provoke" the attack. This attitude was revealed in another statement by Simonson:

"Women's activist groups concerned about rape should follow the old saying that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. I'm trying to say to women: stop teasing. Whether women like it or not they are sex objects."

The judge's use of "sexual permissiveness" to apologize for the act of rape is as bankrupt as an argument pardoning a lynch mob because racist attitudes exist in society. Just as lynching is a tool of national oppression, rape

is a weapon of terror used by one sex to subjugate another.

The Madison Common Council voted 21-0 to urge Simonson to resign and a petition campaign for his ouster was begun. Simonson should certainly be thrown out of the court system without a moment's hesitation. But more than "urging" by the Council is required. The masses in Madison should let the judge feel the full weight of their condemnation of his reactionary stand.

But the removal of one man will not eradicate the vile ideology of male supremacy from the court system. It is part of the bourgeois state apparatus and therefore functions on the premises of

bourgeois ideology. The ideology of male supremacy is spread by the capitalist class among the masses of people to justify the special oppression of women. The inferior political, economic and social position of women guarantees added profits for the bourgeoisie. The fight against this ideology and the special oppression of women must be militantly taken up by the proletariat as a whole and linked to its revolutionary struggle to overthrow the capitalist class, the destruction of the state apparatus of this class and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

DOWN WITH ALL REACTIONARIES!

SUPERPOWER CONTENTION IN AFRICA

Cubans In Ethiopia

Recent events have demonstrated the growing contention between US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism for control of Africa. Their maneuverings have been accurately described as a "peripheral war for Europe". Both superpowers seek domination over Africa's valuable mineral resources and strategic oil tanker sea routes to further their domination over the countries of Europe. One of the battlegrounds for this superpower competition has been Ethiopia and Eritrea. Recently the US, which had been the dominant imperialism in the area for many years, was ordered by the military junta that presently controls Ethiopia to close down its military bases and withdraw all its military and CIA personnel. But as the tiger was thrown out, the wolf, Soviet social-imperialism, entered by the back door. 50 Cuban military advisers entered Ethiopia and the new tsars in the Soviet Union promised further military aid.

STRATEGIC POSITION OF ETHIOPIA AND ERITREA

Ethiopia and Eritrea are located at the cross-roads of the Horn of Africa and the Middle East. Eritrea, with over 1,000 kilometres of coastline on the Red Sea, lies right at the entrance to the Red Sea from the Indian Ocean. Because of this, imperialist interests have long attempted to gain control of this area. In the late 1800's Italy established a hold in Eritrea and attempted to also gain control of Ethiopia, but was repulsed. Later, in 1935, the fascist Italian army invaded Ethiopia again in an attempt to set up its Italian East African Empire. Following Italy's defeat, Britain took over, only to be replaced by US imperialism in the 1950's.

ROLE OF US IMPERIALISM

While the US was getting consolidated in Ethiopia, it also desired the strategic access to the Red Sea that Eritrea provided. For this reason it forced through

"During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes constantly hounded them, received their teachings with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred and the most unscrupulous campaigns of lies and slander. After their death, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonize them, so to say, and to surround their names with a certain halo for the 'consolation' of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping the latter, while at the same time emasculating the essence the revolutionary teachings, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it." (Lenin, STATE AND REVOLUTION, LCW, V.25, p. 390)

May 20th a march and rally was held in San Diego in honor of Malcolm X, who was born May 19th, 1925, and in support of the Azanian people. Events like this are held every year all across the country. Celebrations in remembrance of Malcolm X are important events for the Afro-American people, the working class and all oppressed peoples.

Malcolm X stood for uncompromising struggle against imperialism. On February 18, 1965, in his last formal speech he made his stand clear:

a UN resolution in 1950 to annex Eritrea to Ethiopia. On this basis it was able to gain military bases in Eritrea. The most important military base was the Kagnew Station in Asmara. The Kagnew Military Communications Base, located at an altitude of 7,600 feet near the equator, was interference free and therefore an important base for the gathering of world-wide military intelligence. It was particularly used for the gathering of counter-insurgency data against the Arab and African liberation movements. The US also established naval bases in Massawa and Assab, and had over 100 CIA agents stationed in Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia. In order to solidify its presence and to contribute to the suppression of the revolutionary struggle of the masses, the US imperialists gave over \$200 million in military aid to the Ethiopian government from 1955 to 1975. In 1975, Gerald Ford justified a grant of \$25 million in military supplies by claiming it "was required by the national interests of the United States." US military personnel collaborated with Israeli special forces in training Ethiopian soldiers in counter-insurgency measures and from 1950 to 1971, over 3,200 military officers were trained in the US.

Besides its military importance this area also provided superprofits for the US monopoly capitalists. Sinclair, Tenneco, Shell, Mobil and Gulf Oil companies acquired concessions to oil and natural gas deposits. Other US capitalist interests exploited the areas of lumbering, paper and pulp making, mining and the hotel and tourism industry. This imperialist exploitation sucked dry the economy, with the result that as of 1975, the average per capita income in Ethiopia was \$60, 90% of the people were illiterate and the average life expectancy was below 35 years.

POWERFUL RESISTANCE

The decline of the US imperialists' position was primarily due to the revolutionary struggle

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

Rhodesia Invades Mozambique

The colonial regime in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) recently launched an attack 50 miles into the interior of Mozambique. Supported by attack helicopters and jet fighter bombers, the Rhodesian troops aimed their attack at guerrilla camps located near the town of Mapai. These camps are used for the training of Zimbabwean freedom fighters in their just struggle for the national liberation of their country. While the Rhodesian racist forces claimed the death of 32 guerrillas, past history teaches that these counter-insurgency actions result more often in the murder of civilians than guerrilla fighters. This attack, which was repulsed after 5 days by Mozambiquan armed forces, was a desperate attempt by the Smith regime to counter the growing armed resistance movement under the leadership of the Zimbabwean Nationalist Patriotic Front, and the growing support this armed struggle is receiving from revolutionary and progressive people around the world.

A WOLF IN SHEEP'S CLOTHING

The US imperialists would like to pretend that they are part of this opposition to the racist, illegal Smith regime. Carter, and his emissary, imperialist spokesman Andrew Young, continue their charade of "support" for the Zimbabwean people. They both have become fond of making statements that would appear on the surface to show support for "majority rule."

At the end of May, Young gave an address to a UN conference on South-West Africa (Namibia) and Rhodesia. Young was in his finest form as he pleaded for peaceful methods of struggle by the oppressed African people. In his speech he drew parallels between the situation in Zimbabwe and the US civil rights movement. He tried to make a case for his good intentions by bringing up his own and Carter's role in the civil rights movement, portraying their participation as progressive. In reality, Young's role had been to pacify and sell-out

the revolutionary struggle of the Black masses, while Carter's racist and segregationist stands were well-known. Leslie Harriman, of Nigeria, responded to Young's demagogy, saying,

"We are not talking about improving the lot of the Africans. We are talking about liberation, majority rule. He [Young] talked about raising the level of Blacks. That is not what we are talking about." The struggle of the Zimbabwean people is an anti-imperialist struggle for national liberation and self-determination. Here in the US, despite the claims of reformists, opportunists and apologists for imperialism like Young, the struggle of the oppressed Afro-American nation is also not for "raising the level of Blacks", but is a revolutionary struggle for self-determination and the final overthrow of US imperialism.

What is in fact behind the honeyed words of the diplomats in the service of US imperialism?

First of all, the US is interfering in Zimbabwe in order to pressure through a negotiated settlement that does not guarantee the self-determination of the Zimbabwean people, but in fact which would continue the white colonialist rule under a more democratic cover. It would also guarantee the maintenance of US imperialist interests in Zimbabwe. Secondly the US still continues to support the Smith regime militarily. One way they do this is through the passage of arms from the US, over to Israel, and then through South Africa to the Rhodesian regime. Another is the continuing recruitment of US citizens to serve as mercenaries in the white Rhodesian army.

The Zimbabwean African National Union (ZANU) estimated in early 1975 that 400 US mercenaries were serving in the colonialist army. Since then this number has grown—the South African newspaper "Die Vaderland" reported on April 27,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

SDOC (M-L) MALCOLM X

"It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro people as simply a racial conflict of Black against white, or as a purely American problem. Rather, we are today seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter."

And, since Malcolm stood for uncompromising struggle against imperialism, he was feared and hated not only by the bourgeoisie, but by the opportunists as well. He recognized the responsibility to expose those within the civil rights movement. In a speech given in November of 1963 (Message to the Grass Roots) Malcolm described how the bourgeoisie used reformist Black leadership of the civil rights movement to divert a march on Washington from one of militant struggle into a non-violent march which was carefully regulated and acceptable to the bourgeoisie. The opportunists in turn labeled him a fanatic. The "C" PUSA was characteristic of the opportunists when it referred to statements by Malcolm as "irresponsible drivel". (Political Affairs, August, 1963, p.25)

The march in San Diego was attended by over 500 people and was multi-national in its character. Like a demonstration held earlier in the month in Newport Beach, California, where the South African Davis Cup team was playing, the participation in the march reflected the strong opposition to US imperialism in Africa.

Ironically, the leadership of the march and rally in San Diego was dominated by opportunists of the type so detested by Malcolm X. And, it was an event clearly supported by the imperialist US bourgeoisie itself! Among the speakers were Mervin Dymally, the Black Lieutenant Governor of California, and Leon Williams, a Black city councilman of San Diego. Other speakers included representatives from Congress and other politicians. Some of those who spoke called for a "revolution of the mind" and others called for "change through the ballot box." Tom Hayden, a prominent social-democrat, also spoke. While pointing out that US corporations benefit from neo-colonialism in Southern Africa, he also called on people to "participate in the system" through elections to change this and other social evils.

As the passage from STATE AND REVOLUTION which begins this article explains, it should not be surprising that these social props of imperialism who would have trembled in Malcolm's presence, would use his name to promote bourgeois ideology. "Change through the ballot box", "revolution of the mind", "social-democracy"; CRAP! Malcolm was resolute in his support for the right of armed defense, and understood the violent nature of revolution:

"Revolution is bloody, revolution is hostile, revolution knows no compromise, revolution overturns and destroys everything that gets in its way." (from "Message to the Grass Roots, November, 1963)

Why did the bourgeoisie support this event? Because oppression breeds resistance—spontaneous mass movements. Utilizing its social props, the bourgeoisie will always attempt to divert these mass movements onto the path of reformism, which was the clear cut message being preached in Malcolm's name!

For communists, the life and words of Malcolm X inspire us to intensify our uncompromising struggle against all opportunists who would divert the masses from the path of national liberation and proletarian revolution.

Material support of Smith regime