

Revolution and Superpower Drive to War

Angola Spotlights World Trends

The superpowers' war over which would grab domination over Angola has ended—for now, at least. But the imperialist rulers of the U.S. and the USSR are already issuing warnings to each other about "further interference" on the continent and beefing up the troops at their command in Africa, threatening to re-fight their Angola battle in other countries.

To say that the people of southern Africa are rising up is not just a slogan—it's daily news. At the same time, the two superpowers are locked in combat over the continent's strategic resources and areas, each trying to form a bloc of countries under its control to serve its interests, including military ones, as the superpowers' contest for world domination sharpens and threatens world war. Both these trends are tightly intertwined, and the revolutionary forces of each country must take them fully into account or suffer great reversals.

Alongside the revolutionary advances there have been serious setbacks, as bourgeois forces in some countries, drawn by greed and fear, are sucked into the whirlpool, falling in behind one superpower or the other. This question is getting sharper every day, as the rulers of the USSR crow about the invincibility of their "aid" and move to grab up more countries now dominated by the U.S., while the rulers of this country try to whip up support for the defense of their empire under the guise of stopping Soviet aggression.

Superpowers Pose as "Anti-Imperialists"

Lenin described the two sides in World War 1 as "a slave holder who owns 100 slaves warring against another who owns 200 slaves, for a more 'just' redistribution of the slaves." (*Socialism and War*) This is exactly what has happened in Angola. Under high-sounding slogans about the "freedom" of Angola and either "freeing" other Africans of keeping them "free," depending on which side you listen to, each superpower is trying to use the other's aggression as an excuse for more aggression and war preparations. We can see this very clearly in the way our own rulers use the Soviets' crimes to justify their own aggression and further arm themselves for more crimes against the world's people.

The "aid," troops and other superpower interference changed the nature of the Angolan war from a war of national liberation to a war over which imperialism would bleed the Angolan people. From a just revolutionary war it became an unjust, reactionary war, a war of imperialist plunder. Until just a year ago Angola was occupied by Portuguese troops paid for and advised by U.S. imperialism. Now it's occupied by Cuban troops and their Soviet social-imperialist "advisors."

In early February, Cuban and Soviet troops smashed the cities held by the FNLA in northern Angola. Then the armoured columns headed south, taking the areas held by UNITA. Now the only major part of the country not under the control of the MPLA government is a strip near the southern border with a dam and power station which the South African government has vowed to hold. The dam is crucial to South Africa's exploitation of the riches of nearby Namibia, which it occupies.

This military sweep has been followed by increasing diplomatic recognition for the MPLA government. The Organization of African Unity, which had urged a coalition government of the three groups, recognized the MPLA on February 11. By the end of the month, neighboring Zaire, which had given the FNLA and UNITA bases in its territory, agreed to recognize the MPLA and throw the other two groups out.

U.S. Scurries to Pick Up Pieces

With the two groups it backed in full retreat, the U.S. government began an about-face to "do business with the MPLA," as the *Christian Science Monitor* put it, trying to shore up U.S. investments and influence. The U.S. State Department gave the Gulf Oil company permission to "resume normal business transactions" in Angola. Gulf has now paid the MPLA several hundred million dollars for the oil Gulf took from its Angolan fields during the fighting, and it's begun negotiations for a permanent arrangement for the \$1 billion in oil these fields produce yearly—only a tiny fraction of their estimated potential. The U.S. and European-owned Diamang Company, whose Angola property has produced much of the world's yearly diamond haul, also began negotiating with the MPLA. Boeing Aircraft began sending back the technicians and personnel it had withdrawn earlier.

But despite the U.S. imperialists' hopes that some

thing can be salvaged, and despite whatever anyone in the MPLA might want, state power in Angola now depends mainly on Soviet guns. It was Soviet tanks, helicopter gunships and heavy artillery and over ten thousand Soviet-sponsored Cuban troops that put the MPLA where it is today. All this puts the Soviet Union in a very good position to steal Angola's oil and diamonds for themselves and use Angola as a military base for further conquests. The "liberation" they've imposed is not liberation at all, but naked imperialist aggression.

This is not the liberation the Angolan people fought for during the last 12 years. Together with the people of Portugal's other colonies in Africa and the Portuguese people who opposed the war, the Portuguese army was driven out and the Portuguese ruling class brought into crisis. While today each superpower likes to contend that Angola's liberation from the other depends on them, it was by relying mainly on their own efforts that the masses of people were able to smash Portugal's 500 year old colonial rule, while the U.S. actively opposed the war of liberation and the Soviets basically sat it out.

The U.S. supplied Portugal with the most modern weapons and training, while U.S. investments flooded into the colonies. So much for the U.S. imperialists' claim that they want to see Angola "free"—free for themselves to plunder alone. And this also shows what the Soviets claim for their magical "aid" amounts to, because the Angolans had already put Portuguese and U.S. imperialism on the run long before massive Soviet "aid" arrived.

Superpowers Provoked Civil War

During these years three liberation organizations arose in three different parts of the country, each based mainly on one or two tribes. All three were recognized by the Organization of African Unity (the organization of the heads of state of the various African governments). But once it became obvious that Portuguese rule was about to fall, the superpowers threw themselves into the country like a ton of bricks.

The USSR, which had never provided more than token amounts of aid to the liberation movement, began pouring heavy weapons and troops into the MPLA, hoping to fuel a civil war and make the MPLA so dependent on the Soviets that it would never be able to break free, while the U.S. did the same with the FNLA and UNITA, bringing in mercenaries and South African troops. The superpowers worked to turn these organizations into their opposite, from liberation groups into tools of the superpower drive to snatch Angola. A coalition government of the three which had been approved by the OAU was destroyed by fighting between them.

This superpower crime has brought the murder of thousands in Angola and tremendous suffering to the Angolan people. It has also made it much clearer to millions of people exactly what superpower "liberation" means, exposing the U.S. imperialists who have long been under fire in Africa, and also the Soviet social-imperialists now occupying the country, who try to disguise their aggression behind the fact that the USSR was once a socialist country. This victory for the social-imperialists, while a very bad setback for the struggle, will turn out to be a nail in their coffin in the long run because the Angolan people have already proved that no amount of guns and troops can hold them prisoner forever.

Revolutionary Struggle Advancing

In fact, the situation for revolution in Africa is excellent. Many countries in southern Africa and elsewhere on the continent have just won their independence from Portugal and Spain, the last bastions of old-style colonialism in Africa, and the struggle in the white settler ruled countries is also reaching a high point. A great many people have been drawn into active combat, and the armed struggle is spreading. At the same time, however, the superpowers are determined to turn this tide. Now the USSR wants to use the techniques it employed in Angola, including its new Cuban foreign legion, to push on in southern Africa and in other places, while the U.S. is trying to use both old and new ways to hang on to and extend its empire.

In Zimbabwe (called Rhodesia by the imperialists, after Cecil Rhodes, an early British imperialist), the Africans who make up 95% of the country have stepped up their struggle against white settler rule. Liberation fighters waged several fierce battles with government forces in February and March, and that war is growing sharper every day. An embargo by newly independent Mozambique is strangling the Rhodesian rulers' exports and imports. The Rhodesian government has been forced to cook up negotiations with an African "moderate leader" who they hope will allow them to salvage what they can of their rule by allowing Black people some voting rights over a period of years.

In Namibia (South West Africa), ruled by South Africa as a "protectorate" (colony), liberation fighters have stepped up their activity. Since both of these countries border on South Africa itself and are dependent on the South African capitalists and their white supremacist government, the situation is very grave for the local capitalists and their U.S. backers. And within South Africa itself, strikes and demonstrations by Black workers and a recent wave of student protests have shown just how shakey that rule is. Shares of U.S. and other companies with investment in these three countries have been tumbling on the stock exchange.

Superpower Contention Spreading in Africa

For the superpowers, Africa is both a rich prize in itself and a strategic base which each needs in its contention over Europe. In southern Africa and elsewhere on the continent, the USSR is offering some groups its magical "aid" to try to bring them under Soviet influence, while maneuvering to bring in its own military forces when it can. The U.S., for its part, is trying to salvage what it can in a crumbling situation. It is backing the old order and outright suppression of the strug-

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Over the last seventeen years, the Soviet ruling class has collected a lot of I.O.U.'s from Castro & Company. As partial repayment, this Cuban soldier and more than 10,000 others have been sent to do the Kremlin's dirty work in Africa.

Angola...

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gle by force wherever it can, and trying to buy up bourgeois African forces to front for it where it has to.

In Zimbabwe, for instance, the U.S. is trying to build up some African forces to rule the country for it if the white regime falls, while the USSR is also trying to pervert the revolutionary struggle in order to bring Zimbabwe into its own sphere of influence. Meanwhile, the threat of intervention grows from the Soviet-led army in Angola and the U.S.-backed army of South Africa. Both superpowers are working day and night spreading their contention throughout Africa.

The very advances which the African people have won are bringing new questions to the fore. The same question which faced the liberation struggle in Angola also faces the people of other countries—whether to rely mainly on their own efforts or to swallow the bait of imperialist "aid" hook, line and sinker, and get caught. At stake in each country is whether it will truly liberate itself from foreign imperialist domination or simply change masters.

This is a question for the people of many countries as events of the last few years have increasingly shown. Everywhere that the people's struggles have come to a boil—in Portugal, the Middle East and Bangladesh, to name only a few examples—the superpowers have done everything they could to turn these advances into their opposite, to use the people's struggles against one imperialism to conquer countries for another imperialism and keep the masses in slavery. And the Soviet rulers as imperialist "up and comers" challenging U.S. imperialism's "old order," have used this trick with special success—hiding behind their mask of "socialism."

U.S. Ruling Class Appeals for Patriotism

Especially as the superpowers move to form blocs of countries for war, bourgeois forces which have resisted superpower domination are tending to fall in line behind one or the other. This sharpens the class struggle within these countries. While uniting all who can be united to move the struggle forward through this storm, the working class has to rely on the masses of people in

each country, who are the only force that can really stand up to the rulers of the two superpowers and carry forward the struggle against all exploitation and oppression.

The Angolan war raised the question of superpower contention and their drive toward war sharply in the U.S. The American people want no part of any U.S. intervention to prop up colonialism, white rule and imperialism in Africa, but already the U.S. bourgeoisie is trying to use the Soviet victory in Angola to hide its own efforts to hang on in Africa under the guise of opposing Soviet expansionism. Under this slogan, they even got loyal flunkies like Roy Innis of CORE to take advantage of high unemployment among vets to recruit mercenaries to fight and die for them in Angola. And while in fact recognizing the USSR as the imperialist rival that it is, they didn't miss the chance to take advantage of the Soviet's phony "socialist" cover to spread anti-communism by declaring that "communism" is a system just as bloodthirsty as their own, and denying that there is an alternative to their rule anywhere. They are trying to use what's happened in Angola to bring the American people into line behind them for war.

During the Vietnam War the ruling class also attempted to justify its aggression on the grounds of opposing "communist aggression" and rally the people around the flag. But as the war dragged on and as the tremendous movement of the American people against that war gathered steam, more and more people saw through their lies. But while large numbers of people came to see the so-called "enemy" we were supposed to fight was none other than the common people of Vietnam, by and large the bourgeoisie was able to prevent the masses from coming to a clear class understanding of the nature of that war.

Both directly and through the bourgeois agents leading the anti-war movement (including the revisionist Communist Party and the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party) they tried to turn the hatred of the masses for the Vietnam War into bourgeois pacifism (opposition to all war in general) and, especially, promoting the view that the Vietnam War was a "mistake" because the Vietnamese didn't present a serious enough danger to U.S. interests to justify the war.

But today the Soviet social-imperialists are rapidly becoming the biggest immediate threat to the interests of the U.S. ruling class. And the USSR, as everyone knows, is armed to the teeth and capable of engaging in world war with the U.S. The ruling class is making use of these facts to try to overcome people's resistance

halls just as the opening ceremonies were beginning. Hundreds of people who were there for the ceremonies broke into applause as the demonstrators entered, and some joined the protest themselves.

The action clearly upset the politicians and their big business pals who were there to enjoy the opening day festivities, for suddenly the capitol security guards and city cops attacked the group, arresting five people on charges of "disturbing government operations." But the attack, which was meant to intimidate people and smash the growing fight, had just the opposite effect.

Nearly a thousand people witnessed the attack, booing the cops and shouting, "Let the people go!" while hundreds of thousands more saw the action on TV or read about it in front page stories of both daily papers. It became the number one topic of discussion in shops and neighborhoods throughout the city, as tens of thousands of people talked about the eviction struggles and the government's complicity with the big landowners and developers.

Right after the arrests, nearly 75 of the demonstrators moved to the police station, picketing and chanting until the five were released. The cops were visibly shaken and the officer in charge even offered to speed things along if the people took down their picket line. They didn't. The coalition began planning further actions at the State Attorney General's office, keeping the issue in the public spotlight for days, and by the end of the week the government had been forced to drop all charges.

March a Big Advance

By the time February 14 rolled around people were ready to roll over anybody in their way and turned out in large numbers for the march. The march itself, its size, spirit and discipline, brought out the potential strength of the working class. This was reflected in the powerful slogans: "Stop All Evictions Now," the main slogan; "Unite to Fight, Decent Housing is a Right," "People Not Profits, Make the Bosses Take the Losses;" and "Stop Ruling Class Attacks on Working People's Communities." As one of the marchers, a resident of one of the eviction communities, said afterward, "I've never before felt so powerful as I did walking down the street with all those people behind me."

This campaign was a big step forward, both for the fight against evictions and for the overall worker's movement in the islands. It was the first time all the many eviction areas joined forces to build a single, united campaign against their eviction and the first time in many years that workers from industries throughout the state came together as a class to take up important battles against the bourgeoisie. ■

to another war, and get over with their appeals to patriotism.

Both spontaneously and through the work of various opportunists who've hitched their star to one imperialism or another, many people fell into confusion around the war in Angola. Some, mainly petty bourgeois radical forces, fell into supporting the Soviet rape of Angola out of hatred for U.S. imperialism, while far more commonly, people were led to believe that U.S. aggression there was necessary to stop the Soviets.

Efforts to create a climate of public opinion that will give the imperialists a freer hand to contend with the Soviets have already begun to take a concrete and systematic form. While some Congressmen opposed the U.S. throwing its money away in Angola because it was too late and the Soviets already held most of the cards, almost all of the politicians, the news media and the bourgeoisie's other mouthpieces are united on saying that the Soviets may have caught us with our pants down this time but next time we'll fight. Presidential candidates are falling all over themselves to denounce American "weakness" in the face of the "Soviet threat." Ford himself has taken the opportunity of the Soviet victory in Angola to announce that he's no longer using the word "detente," but rather "peace through strength"—a truly magnificent piece of doubletalk accompanied by a bigger war budget than ever and cries for even more weapons and troops.

The "liberation" the Soviets have brought to Angola is a crime rightly hated by the masses of this country. But the U.S. rulers have long proved themselves to be equally an enemy of the people of Angola and the masses everywhere, and everything about their interference and aggression is reactionary, no matter how it might be dressed up as "liberation" from social-imperialism. The Soviet rulers sing a similar song, telling the exploited workers of that country that they have to line up behind their masters to fight off American imperialism which already is squeezing the life out of hundreds of millions around the world. But neither superpower is liberating anyone—all they can do is grab and grab. And because the battle between them today is, as Lenin called World War 1, "a war between slaveholders for the purpose of consolidating slavery" under one or the other, both are aggressors no matter which one moves first.

The Angolan people, having overthrown one set of imperialist masters, have tragically been set upon by another. While the U.S. imperialists mourn these losses in their opportunities for plunder, the working class has other reasons to be outraged by this crime. It is still another indictment of the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression worldwide.

And while our capitalists seize this opportunity to beat their war drums for further aggression, which they demand that we fight for them, it is becoming clearer daily that our fight is here, against them. And as the class nature of the enemy becomes still clearer, the working class will become even more determined to build that fight, together with the fight of the people of the whole world against the imperialist system and the two superpowers that head it up, until these great robbers and murderers are overthrown. ■

Nixon...

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of our enemy became clearer.

The Chinese, too, know well who Nixon is. In their dealings with heads of capitalist governments—even negotiating with Chiang Kai-shek, a gangster and flunky for foreign imperialists who ruled China for years—they have had to set down good food in front of human garbage many times. To the Chinese leaders and people, Nixon is not all that much different from Gerry Ford. It's six of one and a half dozen of the other. Both sat or sit in the Oval Office, heading up the government of one of the two superpowers, who talk "detente" while they prepare for world war, who talk of "prosperity" while they ruthlessly exploit millions.

The Chinese are doing all they can to help the struggle on the world scale. And today, for them, this includes giving special emphasis to placing all sorts of obstacles in front of the new capitalist rulers of the Soviet Union, who are even more on the offensive these days than the U.S. and who pose a special military threat to China. This even includes making use of the contradiction that exists between the U.S. rulers and the Soviets to help in this.

If inviting a low-life like Nixon to China can throw some turmoil into the U.S. ruling class and put the heat on them for a useful goal, so much the better. Obviously, none of this changes the fact that our struggle in this country, just as it was in the Watergate affair, is directly against these ruling exploiters and can only have the goal of throwing them off our backs once and for all.

Bringing the Bum to Peking has worked so far. The commentators are commenting, the analysts are analyzing, the politicians are fuming. The *Wall Street Journal* called Nixon's visit a "rebuke" to the U.S. government and a "diabolically clever ploy for making their point." Aides to Ford called it an "embarrassment" to the President. Let 'em stew! And let's us turn up the heat! ■

Hawaii...

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for rip-offs anymore!" Other people came forward and exposed how this proposal would not only split the coalition but would also leave the eviction struggle greatly weakened in the face of the enemy's attacks.

The line of relying on "liberal" politicians and slick lawyers was also defeated as person after person stood up to expose that "the developers, bankers and politicians are all in on this thing together," to denounce "ruling class people who are causing all our problems" and to sum up their experiences in struggling against the capitalists.

As a result the demonstration was built very broadly among the people in Hawaii. People took leaflets to work with them, and workers in many shops sold "Stop Evictions!" bumper stickers and circulated petitions supporting the struggles. The Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC) had leaflets on its table at the unemployment office. Altogether over 100,000 leaflets and thousands of bumper stickers were passed out.

The *Worker* newspaper carried a number of articles on the eviction struggles during the course of the campaign, and it also sponsored a successful evening program of speeches, songs, and a skit, attended by over 200 workers and others. Working class youth at one local high school, some of whom are also involved in a growing fight for jobs, drew over 200 students to a rally they held on campus to build for the larger event. Members of the Revolutionary Student Brigade united with other students on the University of Hawaii campus to hold a similar rally.

Preliminary Skirmishes Build Demonstration

About three and one half weeks before the march nearly 100 people went on a "roving demonstration" held on the opening day of the state legislature, to help build for the main demonstration. The demonstration marched through town, stopping to picket a half dozen of the main forces responsible for the evictions, including the banks, big landowners and the courts.

The demonstration wound up at the State Capitol building, marching into the central courtyard with banners waving and chants echoing through the legislative