

# LSM NEWS

Liberation Support Movement  
Information Center

Volume 1, Issue 2.  
August 1974



## WHY LSM NEWS?

SINCE THE FORMATION of LSM and the Information Center in 1969, a major objective has been to increase effective collaboration among organizations in the anti-imperialist struggle for international socialism. Though some progress has been made, much improvement is necessary in communications with groups and

individuals interested in our practice and political perspective.

LSM NEWS IS INTENDED TO help us achieve this goal. As a quarterly newsletter it will contain reports on LSM activities as well as commentaries on some of the problems -- theoretical, organizational and practical -- which we confront in

our daily work and in the implementation of our strategic plans. We hope *LSM NEWS* will stimulate a broader and deeper interest in anti-imperialist activities and open up new avenues for cooperation and the exchange of ideas. Your comments and criticisms will always be welcome!



AL FATAH Freedom Fighter.

## Revolution in the Arab World

AS PART OF OUR EFFORTS TO CHALLENGE the silence and distortions of the bourgeois media, LSM sponsored two programs on Middle East liberation struggles in mid-May. The speaker was René Theberge of the Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP), who showed slides and a film on Palestine, Oman and People's Yemen.

FUNDS RAISED AT THE PROGRAMS will be channeled into support for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf (PFLOAG), which is presently fighting the combined forces of reactionary Oman, Iran and Saudi Arabia, backed by British mercenaries and American arms. With the intention of carrying out more information work on the Arab World we have also purchased and shown the film, "We Are the Palestinian People," which - though it reflects the views of only one of the Palestine movements, Fatah, and makes no mention of the Marxist PFLP and PDFLP whatsoever - contains much useful background material on this struggle.

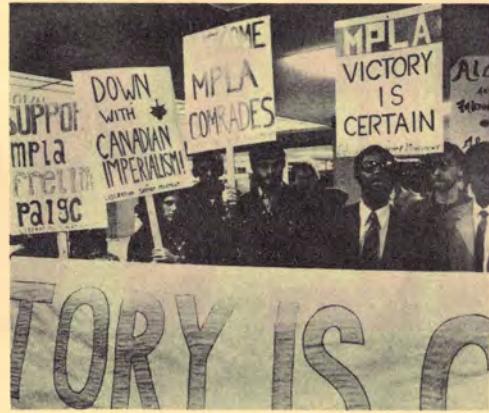
## Comrades and Friends

IN THIS SECOND ISSUE OF *LSM News* we had a bit of a problem finding a format to achieve our goals: to stimulate deeper critical interest in internationalist, anti-imperialist work and increase effective collaboration among organizations engaged in such work. At present, we feel we can best do this by conveying to our readers a fuller range of LSM activities, problems, contradictions and progress.

Though we received some constructive criticism and suggestions after our first issue, the feedback was not what we had hoped. No doubt, a lot could be improved in this issue as well, and we ask those who support and sympathize with our work to take some time and give us their criticisms.

Since we believe that *LSM News* could be an important tool for promoting proletarian internationalism within the anti-imperialist movement, we are now using a considerable part of the Information Center's meager resources to finance the free distribution of 5,000 each of the first three issues. We cannot sustain this expense for long, however, and will set up a subscription arrangement starting with the January 1975 issue. Annual rates will be \$2.00 for individuals and groups and \$4.00 for libraries and institutions. (\$1.00 should be added for outside North America or for airmail.) In the meantime, we welcome donations, large or small, to help defray the cost of producing these initial issues.

# ...Actions



LSM welcomes MPLA Delegation at Vancouver International Airport.



MPLA Representative, Said Mingas speaks in Vancouver.

## Brazilian Fascism -- Canadian Imperialism HIT!

A 35-MAN STRONG DELEGATION representing Brazilian industry, banking and government toured Canada in the latter half of June. Its objective was to increase Canadian investment in Brazil, double trade between the two countries and improve all-round capitalist relations. In Vancouver, LSM joined with a number of progressive organizations and individuals to protest the tour, do political education around the real character of Brazilian fascism, gain support for the Brazilian resistance movement and expose the role of Canadian imperialist corporations.

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Canada, V6Y 2A8

# LSM: Problems in Theory, Strategy and Practice

by Don Barnett, LSM Chairman

## Liberals With Dirty Hands

SINCE THE 1964 COUP which brought the military junta to power, Brazil has become a favorite target of Canadian investment; especially for "our" large multinationals like Alcan, Brascan and Massey-Ferguson. It is particularly interesting to note the close ties between these corporations and the ruling Canadian Liberal Party, represented by such luminaries as the late Bob Winters (Brascan President and federal Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce) and Jimmy Sinclair, Pierre Trudeau's father-in-law. Mitch Sharp, that well-known friend of the "poor countries," and currently Minister of Foreign Affairs, served as Brascan's V-P for four years.

## The Disruption

IN PREPARATION for the delegation's visit, 130 people attended an organizing meeting addressed by Hernan Ortega of the Chilean Socialist Party. Later, a smaller group of activists disrupted the delegation's opening session at a plush downtown Vancouver hotel. The actions ended with a picket and rally in front of the delegations display, by then under heavy police guard. Soon the tour continued to Winnipeg, Toronto and Montreal, where other radical groups were waiting to "receive" them.



## An Introduction

IN ORDER TO UNDERSTAND AND DEAL WITH THE VARIOUS PROBLEMS AND CONTRADICTIONS which arise in the course of LSM's practice, it is essential to situate them within the general context of LSM theory and broad strategic objectives. It should be clear at the outset that our purpose here is not to "solve" - even at the theoretical level - the problems we shall raise. Rather, as Marxists, we believe it important to the process of resolving contradictions that they be clearly articulated, analyzed in their concrete historic context, and resolved in practice. Much of what we shall discuss in this series of articles is both tentative and exploratory; we don't pretend to know all the answers, or even to have asked all the pertinent questions. It is our purpose, rather, to probe historic trends and recent developments so as to better inform and guide LSM practice, endeavouring to maximize the revolutionary effectiveness of our limited energies in dealing with the problems and contradictions which inevitably emerge in the course of the struggle.

A FEW OF THE QUESTIONS WE SHALL BE DEALING WITH might be mentioned here. How can LSM best determine which among several competing liberation movements in a colony or neocolony is genuinely revolutionary and should be supported? How can we direct our support work so as to strengthen revolutionary tendencies within a given movement as distinct from opportunist or narrow nationalist tendencies which in the past have led to various forms of neocolonial accommodation? How do we relate our opposition to revisionism and "great power" chauvinism to our support of movements closely linked to the Soviet block? How are wars of "national independence" to be distinguished from socialist revolutions? How can progressive and reactionary forms of "nationalism" be identified both within liberation movements and metropolitan centers? How is it possible to establish and maintain a mutually critical and political relationship with a liberation movement rather than a paternalistic or guilt-ridden philanthropic one? And how do we deal with these and other sensitive questions without seriously jeopardizing our existing relationships with a number of liberation movements?

INTERNALY, there is the important question of how we can best overcome petty-bourgeois tendencies and their underlying values without the constant pressure of criticism-from-below, from the masses? How do we develop an effective democratic centralism, employing the method of criticism/self-criticism, and avoid falling prey to deeply rooted ultra-left tendencies such as pure egalitarianism, ultra-democracy and adventurism? And how can we maintain our high level of practice without succumbing to sectarianism and closing our minds to further theoretical development? How, finally, can we best reach that small but important number of metropolitan radicals, or potential radicals, whose peculiar life experiences have prepared them to join and work with LSM?

At this juncture, it is best if we attempt briefly to make clear LSM's theory and major strategic objectives. . .though fuller presentations can be found in numerous LSM pamphlets. Only in relation to this theoretical position and strategic set of goals can the questions raised above, and the practical problems and contradictions related to them, be correctly understood and effectively dealt with.

(con't on p. 10)



FRELIMO Guerrilla

# ...Our Units

## On Forming the Bay Area Unit

THE BAY AREA LSM, an organization autonomous from the LSM Information Center since August 1971, was recently dissolved. Most of its former members have now formed the LSM Bay Area Unit (LSM/BAU), structurally connected with the LSM Information Center in Canada and the LSM East Coast Unit in New York. Our application for unit membership which has as its core a projection of our practice for the next year, has with minor changes been accepted by the LSM Chairman.

### Projection of Work

OUR PROJECTED PRACTICE will include informational work (the production of posters, pamphlets, etc.), political education, material support for national liberation movements and local distribution of LSM Information Center publications. We plan to increase the scope of our material support activities, adding the collections of army surplus requested by FRELIMO to our regular shipments of high priority medicines. We will also expand the range of our support work to include struggles in the Middle East. We hope to send materials to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf (PFLOAG) when the Suez Canal reopens, allowing a feasible shipping route.

### To Raise Our Level of Practice

The basic political consideration in our decision to dissolve the Bay Area LSM in favor of forming an LSM unit was the need to raise the level of our practice and increase the rate of our political development. In a critical appraisal of the ultra-democratic form of our past activities, we realized the necessity of working within a democratic-centralist organization.

LSM/BAU members want to develop a deeper understanding of class struggle (i.e. theory) and contribute in an historically meaningful way to the revolution underway within the imperialist system (i.e. practice). To do this we need leadership such as the LSM Information Center has developed, both ideologically and practically.

We also need contact with the masses within the system. This can most realistically be achieved in connection with the Information Center, which has a useful product for revolutionary movements - interviews, life histories, analyses, etc. - and a program to prepare cadres for work in the countryside of the imperialist system.

### In a Democratic-Centralist Organization

We recognize that this step demands reordering those things in our lives which interfere with our ability to function politically. The development of some comrades has been severely held back because of full-time jobs, which drained energies and left only a few exhausted "spare time" hours for political work. For others, a petty-bourgeois lifestyle in non-political households has consistently militated against the development of sound, disciplined political work habits. These problems require radical measures if we are to become more effective political persons. So, wherever possible, those with full-time jobs will get part-time positions. To make this economically feasible, we plan in the very near future to collectivize our living situation, as far as that is now possible, with the intention of creating a more politically structured environment to counter the lumpen and individualistic lifestyles that we so easily fall into, and release more time for concrete political work. (This, in contrast to those who would "revolutionize" *themselves* through collective living as an end in itself.)

TO SUM UP, our becoming an LSM unit will be more than just a "structural" change, with old styles and attitudes toward politics continuing under new organizational forms. But, or course, it won't mean that our commitment and contribution to the world revolution will be qualitatively transformed overnight simply through taking this step, or because we wish them to. Rather, we see that by becoming part of a highly disciplined democratic-centralist organization, with concrete ties to the masses of the capitalist empire, and by adhering to its principles and leadership, we shall begin the process toward this transformation. By becoming an LSM unit we will have a framework in

which we can struggle to develop ourselves politically and contribute in more meaningful ways to the international socialist revolution.

LSM Bay Area Unit

## On the East Coast

Over the past few months the LSM East Coast Unit (ECU) has organized a series of audio-visual programs in New York and New Jersey, with films and slides on African liberation struggles. The follow-up discussions centered on questions like, "What role does North America play in these struggles?" and "How can we relate and contribute to anti-imperialist struggles in Africa, Asia and Latin America?"

THE LSM RESOURCE CENTER, staffed by the ECU, has visited a number of campuses and central locations in the New York area and set up booths at political events. In July they participated in the New York Book Fair. In June the ECU raised funds and arranged for the shipping to FRELIMO of 95,000 buttons bearing the slogan *ESTUDAR-PRODUZIR-COMBATER*. These were requested by the movement for its mass mobilization campaign in the liberated areas of Mozambique.

## Arrange a Program for the Fall Tour!

In September, October and November this year the ECU will be touring the eastern US with audio-visual materials on South Africa, Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique. The tentative itinerary is as follows:

September 15 - October 1: New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts.

October 2 - October 10: New Hampshire, Vermont, Maine, New York.

October 11 - October 25: Upstate New York, Ohio.

October 26 - November 5: Pennsylvania

November 6 - November 20: New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland.

November 21 - November 31: Washington D.C., Virginia, North Carolina.

WE HOPE THAT people in these areas concerned with serious anti-imperialist work will take this opportunity to familiarize their constituencies with the African liberation struggles by sponsoring a program. A brochure and further details are available from LSM/ECU, P.O. Box 349, New City, N.Y. 10956.

## LSM Member Frank Giese Faces 60 Years Imprisonment on Trumped-Up Charges:

OUR FRIEND AND COLLABORATOR, Professor Frank Giese of Portland State University in Oregon, is under a federal indictment, with four others, accused of conspiring to destroy government property, bombardment of a recruiting center, and other related charges.\* He has pleaded innocent to all charges. Trial date has been set for September 30.

Since his return from a visit to the People's Republic of China last winter, Frank has been translating for LSM Information Center various materials arriving from Africa in French. He has recently joined LSM as a member, and is preparing a pamphlet on "U.S. fascism and American workers," which LSM plans to publish this Fall.

Frank speculates that the accusations against him stem from his political activities: his opening a radical political bookstore in 1971, sending books to prisoners in the Oregon prison system, and his volunteer work as a group counsellor at the invitation of psychologists in the Oregon State Correctional Institution.

He feels this case is consistent with the repression now growing in this country. "Over the last few years," he maintains, "the American people have become increasingly aware of the acute problems facing the nation: racism, imperialist economic and military domination of much of the world, inflation which is sky-rocketing with no relief in sight, and the corruption now exposed at the highest levels of government. U.S. authorities would like to draw attention away from the obvious conspiracy that exists throughout the government and the multi-national corporations which control it."

Frank estimates that his defense will cost at least \$20,000. He is actively seeking both publicity for the case and financial support. Address all correspondence to the Giese-Cronin Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1186, Portland, Oregon 97207.



\*Frank Giese is charged on six counts: unlawful possession of a destructive device, bombing government property, destruction of government property, carrying a firearm during the commission of a felony, concealing a felony, and conspiracy.

# ...Experiences of a Trial Member

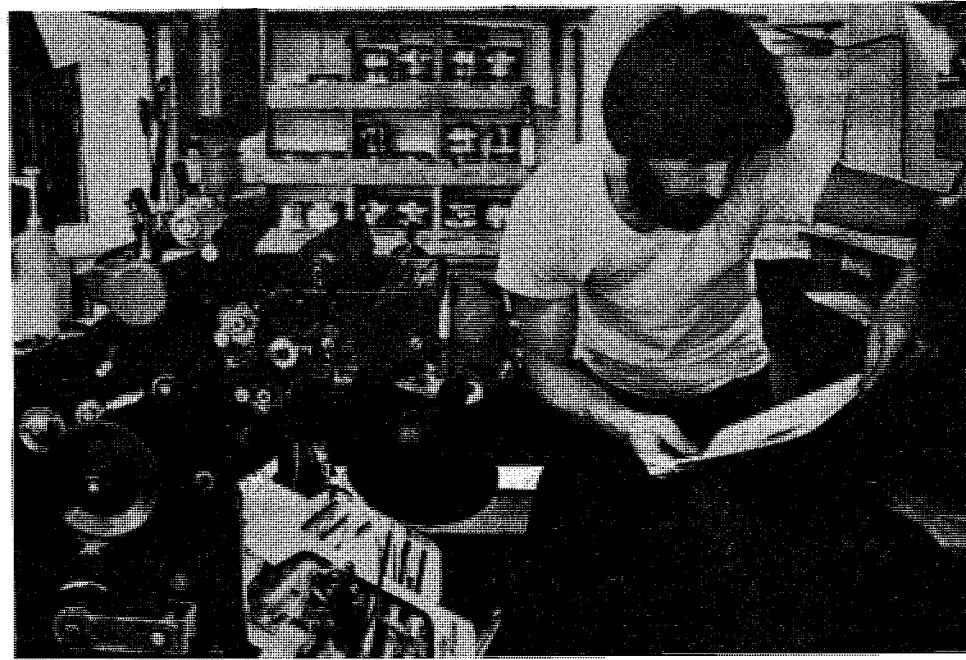
*...I Have Now Begun to Reconcile My Own Needs  
With Those of the Struggle*

From time to time we get letters from people wondering what LSM is doing and wanting to work with our organization. Correspondence like this often leads to fruitful collaboration at various levels. For a few, such contact has been a first step toward making a long-term commitment and joining LSM. In this article, one of our trial members, Carroll Ishee, explains how he came to take this step and describes some of his experiences working with the Information Center here in Canada.

## Rebellious

I FIRST CAME INTO CONTACT with LSM by meeting two members who were touring the East, speaking and showing films on African liberation struggles. At this time I was living in a collective of radical young people in Vermont, looking for a way to develop a stronger political practice.

I'M ACTUALLY FROM THE SOUTH; from a small town in southern Mississippi. My family was liberal and integrationist and this caused us to be regarded with some hostility, especially during the civil rights period. As I grew older and wanted to "make it" socially, I tried to avoid these issues; I didn't want to be ostracized so I never articulated my views. Later I started rebelling in petty ways, such as cutting classes at school and running away from home. A few times I went to stay with my elder sisters and brothers-in-law who lived in the North, and their radical ideas had some impact on me. The Black Panthers and their confrontations with the police also caught my imagination. But my ideas were really confused, and finally I dropped out of school altogether and got into drugs and the counter-culture.



BUT IN OUR SMALL TOWN this kind of life-style was not treated lightly and both cops and angry parents gave us a lot of trouble. Once I spent two weeks in the county jail for no reason - I was only fifteen and it was a real frightening experience. Well, things finally built up to where the antagonism around me - with my parents, the police, etc. - just became too much, so I went to live with one of my sisters in Vermont. I was extremely frustrated and turned off by the establishment.

## Developing an Internationalist View

IN VERMONT I finished school. Compared to the South, things were liberal; in class we talked about Vietnam and racism and I ended up doing a project on imperialism. I think this was the beginning of my getting an internationalist view of things and I attached great importance to it.

AFTER GRADUATING I WORKED for a year, building a house, and then moved into this collective. I wanted to do political work and saw this as my best option at the time. We spent a great deal of time on internal matters, striving for egalitarianism, but without doing anything about the real struggles going on elsewhere in the world. In many ways I was the odd man out in the house; the other socialists felt that a revolution in

North America was possible at this stage, and I didn't agree. They were into food co-ops, daycare centers, free clinics and even reformist electoral politics, while I was more interested in things like the Venceremos Brigade and going to North Vietnam.

## Discovering LSM

WHEN I HEARD OF THE LSM TOUR, I set up a program in Vermont. We had a few discussions and I got quite excited since I felt I had run across an organization with a solid internationalist practice which seemed well founded. I read some LSM literature which reinforced my views and a couple of months later I drove out to Vancouver to visit the Information Center people. My plans for working with LSM were very vague, but when it was suggested I come out to work for a year as a trial member, I thought this would be a good opportunity and agreed.

This was almost one year ago. I decided to work with LSM mainly because it was a chance to do political work in my day-to-day life. In some ways, this has worked out quite well; I've been able to use my carpentry skills and have learned to work in different areas of the Information Center; to print, bind books, etc. The work I do every day benefits the revolution and I derive a certain satisfaction from knowing this.

## Always A Struggle

But in other ways, however, THINGS TURNED OUT VERY DIFFERENTLY from what I expected. In the beginning I had some pretty romantic notions about going with the guerrillas or doing dangerous, clandestine work on this continent. Well, for the most part, these misconceptions have now vanished and I can see the importance, at this stage, of informational work and open organizational activities. Other things have been more difficult. For example, I thought that just working with the organization on a daily basis would automatically resolve the contradictions between my political aspirations, on the one hand, and my life-style and values, on the other. During this period, however, I have come to realize how my internalized middle class, non-revolutionary values really conflict with my political goals, and this has caused some problems. For instance, it's easy to see, at the purely

intellectual level, the need for discipline and criticism in a Marxist-Leninist organization. But to be able to actually apply this to your life is far from easy. My earlier experiences have made me hostile to any kind of leadership, and it will no doubt take a lot of struggle to overcome this. I think the problem is that I - as most people of my background - tend to see myself, my own person, as something more important than anything else, and cut off and separate from everything and everybody - from the comrades I work with, from the people who right now are fighting imperialism arms-in-hand, from humanity as a whole. Many people feel that to work from a directive almost makes you an inferior person. Well, as long as you see things this way, individual needs will always take precedence over the needs of the struggle.

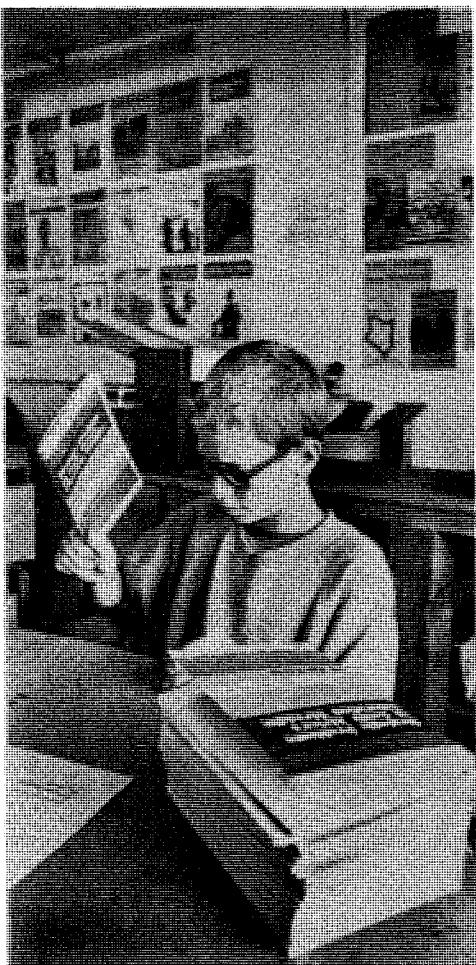
I FEEL THAT DURING THIS YEAR I have just begun to approach the stage where I can reconcile my immediate aspirations with the needs of our organization. Eventually, I hope to be able to identify my self-interest with that of the revolution; but this, of course, is still far, far away and is something which is impossible to accomplish in isolation from serious political practice. Therefore, I attach great importance to my work here; I feel that my experience in LSM so far has enabled me to see some of these contradictions and I hope to develop further as part of this organization, as we grow in strength to increase our contribution to the international revolution.

Carroll Ishee



...I Have Now Begun to Reconcile My Own Needs With Those of the Struggle.  
PAIGC GUERRILLAS IN GUINEA-BISSAU.

# Put Politics in Command at the Printshop



Jomo binding our books.

DURING THE FIVE YEARS that we have been printing and publishing LSM literature, there has been a continual problem of maintaining and developing a positive political consciousness among comrades primarily involved in technical work. For example, several printers left LSM when their politics reached a low point and outside pulls and personal contradictions became too great. They acquired technical skills, but lost their political commitment.

TODAY OUR ORGANIZATION is much stronger and our Printing Unit - responsible for printing, cutting, collating and binding - now has three full-time and three part-time workers. But the problem of developing a firm political consciousness while doing this work persists. It manifests itself in the following ways:

## A Narrow Technical Mentality

Being concerned with small technical matters while neglecting political concerns, such as discussing the objectives of our work and being attentive to the political development of each unit member. One comrade, in particular, needs to overcome some serious weaknesses, but instead of striving to help him advance - which would be to the unit's and organization's benefit - our main concern has been with narrow, technical improvement.

## Small Group Mentality:

Being concerned with "our" unit only; forgetting about the problems and concerns of the whole organization. This was evidenced in our recent attitude to the Information Center's performance. Lately we have fallen considerably behind schedule, thus failing to meet political commitments to the liberation movements, and damaging LSM's credibility. Instead of recognizing the problem, discussing it with other units and helping to get the materials ready for printing faster, we confined our areas of responsibility to printing and binding. Our work did not start until we received the ready negatives from the Graphic Unit. It was a comfortable pace, so why stir things up? Viewing things from a narrow angle, we forgot the overall political goals and responsibilities of LSM.

## Employee-Boss Relations:

Low political consciousness has also been reflected in leadership-member relations within the unit. On the leader's part, there has been a tendency to use orders and commands rather than political education and discussion to organize and oversee the work. This has reinforced an "employee mentality" among the members, who have at times carried out their work slavishly, not using their own creativity and initiative, or have undermined leadership by acting independently or not implementing decisions. Such relations bear too much resemblance to a capitalist work situation, where the boss and employees are in conflict due to the nature of their positions. When such tendencies arise in our work it becomes a serious political problem which, if not dealt with, can only hinder both productivity and political development.

## Anarchistic Attitudes Toward the Work:

A casual, sloppy attitude, manifested by being late, joking around at length or carrying on long conversations which hamper the work. Not seeing the importance of punctuality and concentration at work - thus failing to better contribute to the organization and its revolutionary aims - may be seen, at one level, as a problem of discipline. Fundamentally, however, it reflects a low level of political consciousness.

AS A RESULT OF THESE PROBLEMS, the quantity and quality of our work has been greatly restricted and there has been an absence of active spirit at our printshop. This was brought sharply to our attention over the issue and failing to meet our schedule. Through this issue we were also forced to take a critical look at other aspects of our activities - at the level of political education and struggle, at the relations between members and leadership, and at our work habits. Through discussion and criticism/self-criticism we have come to better recognize these problems and take some corrective measures. Already, productivity and morale have increased significantly.

GIVEN THE CLASS CHARACTER and tendencies of our membership and our present distance from the revolutionary masses, we can expect a continuing struggle to overcome low or stagnating political consciousness and various negative petty-bourgeois tendencies in our organization. Because of the technical nature of its work, the Printing and Graphics Units are perhaps especially prone to problems in this area. Through the application of Marxist-Leninist dialectics and criticism/self-criticism we hope to better combat these tendencies in the future and more effectively put politics in command at the printshop.

LSM IC Printing Unit



Peter packing in Distribution



Carroll at the press.



Printing Unit Leader Rick, at the cutter.

# ...New Publications

Over the past year an unfortunate backlog of publishing work has been allowed to build up in the Information Center. As a result, publications have been postponed and back orders have piled up. Now, after serious self-criticism and the acceleration of our production pace (see related article in this issue), we are catching up. Items which have figured in our catalog for more than a year are finally available. These include the life histories, *From Shantytown to Forest* (South Africa), *The Organizer* (Zimbabwe), and *Breaking Contract* (Namibia); also the 100-frame filmstrip, *In Liberated Mozambique*.

## Perspectives on the Continuing Struggle

We have changed the title of our book on Guinea-Bissau from *PAIGC 1973* to *Guinea-Bissau: Toward Final Victory*. It has, in addition, become more comprehensive than at first envisaged, comprising 100 pages with much material being presented for the first time in English. (\$1.25)

We are also pleased to have

published Ben Turok's critical analysis, *Strategic Problems in South Africa's Liberation Struggle*. Turok is a former leader of the South African Congress of Democrats and participated in the first sabotage actions organized by the military wing of the African National Congress. Twice banned under the suppression of Communism Act, Turok worked underground until arrested in December 1961 and sentenced to three years in prison, including six months solitary. Released, he fled with his family to Tanzania and later to London. Turok currently works on the editorial board of *Sechaba*, ANC's official organ.

*Strategic Problems* thus offers the insights of an experienced activist into the imperatives of armed struggle in South Africa. It treats critical issues, such as the transition from mass protest to sabotage and deals with the controversial question of focussing on "black liberation" rather than democratic, non-racial goals. Combined with the recent LSM interview with ANC Secretary General Alfred Nzo, Turok's book is essential for understanding the development and prospects of the South African liberation struggle.

LSM IC Distribution Unit



# ... Popular Bulletins

LSM'S QUARTERLY TRANSLATIONS AND REPRINTS of Liberation Movement bulletins are becoming an increasingly popular source of information on the struggles. As of last June, we had the following numbers of annual subscriptions:

*Angola in Arms* (MPLA) 650  
*Mozambique Revolution* (FRELIMO) 527  
*Namibia News* (SWAPO) 468  
*PAIGC Actualites* (PAIGC) 429  
*Zimbabwe Review* (ZAPU) 393

These numbers have been increasing with every issue - as have local Unit sales - and we are receiving a growing number of orders for back issues from libraries and institutions. Recent communications from some of the Movements, some of which are reproduced below, also indicate their appreciation for this kind of support work.



**Zimbabwe African People's Union**  
 (Southern Rhodesia)

Telephone: TACCO  
 P.O. Box 5655  
 LUSAKA,  
 Zambia

Date: 1st May, 1974.

Dear Sirs:

This is to register our admiration of your wonderful work in the reproduction of our "Timbuktu Review" and in affording it to reach such a wide readership in North America. It is our earnest hope that your untiring efforts will continue until we have liberated our country from colonial oppression and racism.

We hereby request that you please send us 20 copies of each of your quarterly reproductions of "Timbuktu Review," send us also 5 copies of every one of the back issues. In addition, we would be very grateful if you could send over issues 7 earlier to each one of our external offices - addressed at the back.

We thank you ever so much for anticipative of your co-operation.

Yours sincerely,

Peter Katjavivi  
 SWAPO Representative

**South West Africa People's Organisation**  
*Solidarity — Freedom — Justice*

10 Dryden Chambers  
 129 Oxford Street  
 London W1

12 May 1974

LSM Information Center  
 P.O. Box 94338  
 Richmond, B.C.  
 Canada

Dear Friends:

We found the reprint [of Namibia News] an impressive job, but more than that, the whole endeavor of reprinting and distributing the publication is extremely valuable, and we wholeheartedly welcome LSM's effort.

The interview with Sampa has also provoked a great deal of interest, and we are finding it very useful in informing people about the nature of our struggle. We do very much appreciate your efforts.

Yours in Struggle,

Peter Katjavivi  
 SWAPO Representative

## *Summary of LSM Theory*

IN ESSENCE, our view is that capitalist growth over the past five centuries has seen both the concentration of productive means, wealth and power in Europe, North America and Japan, and the retardation, distortion and stagnation of economic, political and cultural development within dominated territories containing the vast majority of the world's peoples. This grossly uneven development within the international capitalist system between "rich" and "poor" nations, the West and the "Third World," has accelerated rapidly this past century and qualitatively shifted the principal contradiction in the system from that between the Western working-class and bourgeoisie to one between the latter and the super-exploited peasant-worker masses in the dependent colonies and neocolonies.

Metropolitan workers, led by an increasingly numerous and powerful "labor aristocracy," have been bribed and corrupted out of the super-profits from the colonies. Class collaboration between Western industrial workers and their domestic bourgeoisies has, since the 1870's in France and even earlier and more clearly in England, "de-revolutionized" the metropolitan proletariat. They will ally themselves with the bourgeoisie until such time as the Western "welfare" states can no longer maintain that standard of life to which they have become accustomed at the expense of unpaid labor and looting in the colonies. Increased real incomes from rising wages and public-sector spending (the result of centuries of unequal exchange, capital concentration yielding increased productivity and government taxation of multinational corporate super-profits) have shaped a set of material and subjective conditions among the metropolitan proletariat which is in conflict with and threatened by genuine national liberation movements promising political, economic and cultural independence for colonized peoples - promises which can only be achieved through socialist development and proletarian internationalism.

UNFORTUNATELY, WESTERN WORKERS, along with their union leadership and erstwhile "Marxist" vanguards, rationalize these non-revolutionary material interests by a class-based ideology riddled with national chauvinism and various forms of racism and ethnocentrism. They see their own well-being as tied to "national" interests and throw themselves willingly into the trenches in defense of bourgeois hegemony over the so-called "Third World."

Only through the armed struggle to free themselves from imperialist control will the oppressed masses and revolutionary classes of the colonized "countryside" liberate themselves, and in so doing force a sharpening of metropolitan class contradictions which will revolutionize wage workers, setting them against the bourgeois state apparatus and transforming their chauvinism and racism into revolutionary proletarian internationalism.

Of utmost importance for metropolitan revolutionaries, therefore, is to find a praxis which hastens this process of imperialist disintegration and the concomitant transformation at the structural and ideological levels from bourgeois nationalism to socialist internationalism.

# **LSM: Problems in Theory, Strategy and Practice**

(cont'd from page 2)



## Our Origins

In order for both our readers and members to better understand the questions posed above - their basis and the nature of their importance for LSM - it is necessary to provide at least a minimum of background material. In this and the following section, therefore, we shall briefly sketch the concrete origins of LSM and the development of our relationship to the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). We shall then pose for future analysis some aspects of the current problems we face in our relationship with the Angolan revolution.

LSM REMAINS A RELATIVELY SMALL organization with headquarters in Vancouver, Canada, units in New York and Oakland and individual members in Portland and Seattle. We began in 1966 as an offshoot of the Iowa Socialist League, affiliated to the May 2 Movement - spawned by the then Progressive Labor Movement and named after the date of the first Vietnam war protest rally in New York. Our theoretical position, in skeletal form, was contained in the article, "Notes on a Strategy for North American Revolutionaries," published in September 1967 by the Cubans in *Pensamiento Crítico*. At first the group was clandestine and bore the ambitious, if not pretentious, name International Liberation Front (ILF). We had some 15 to 20 members, most of whom were students at the University of Iowa, engaged in the study of violent techniques of struggle as well as revolutionary theory. We held secret meetings and carried out intensive criticism/self-criticism sessions in an effort to "transform" ourselves into genuine revolutionaries. Our ideals were of a petty-bourgeois romantic variety, though not lacking in sincerity. Our practice was quite narrow, though we did play a leading role through the Iowa Socialist League in the newly emerging anti-war movement, along with the then non-Marxist, anti-socialist SDS.

OUR AIMS WERE TO ACQUIRE USEFUL skills while sending two members to Africa to establish functional ties with one or more liberation movements. We hoped also to set up a "University in Exile," using it mainly as a recruitment center and front for political and military training - an idea which proved unfeasible and was soon dropped. At a later stage, we wanted to recruit and train defectors and draft dodgers for high-level military activities directed against NATO bases and installations in Africa and elsewhere, perhaps setting up bases within liberated zones in Angola, Mozambique, etc. Lofty, even romantic goals, indeed; but at the time they seemed reasonable if approached with care and preparation, step by step.

UNFORTUNATELY, OUR PETTY-BOURGEOIS ULTRA-LEFT self-criticism degenerated into self-purifying marathons, damaging morale and leaving little time or energy for productive work, training or study. A split finally resulted, with about half our members departing for more "revolutionary" pastures shortly before the Africa trip. (An interesting aside is that the catalyst for the split, Jerry Long from New York, later became a leader in the Weather Bureau, along with another ex-ILF member, Jim Mellen.)

Nevertheless, I departed with a comrade for Dar es Salaam in May 1967, leaving a demoralized group of seven members behind to continue their preparations. Though seriously weakened by the split in an already small and fragile organization, our spirits were somewhat buoyed by the fact that a number of radical luminaries had given their sympathy, support and agreement with the essential ideas and strategy contained in the "Notes. . ." - i.e. people such as Gunder Frank, Paul Sweezy, Bill Hinton, John Gerassi, Kathleen Gough, etc. A few even gave financial support and came close to joining, though most preferred to keep their theoretical work removed from the "messy" organizational work of political practice. It was only later that I learned the vast and qualitative difference between "revolutionary intellectuals" and "intellectual revolutionaries." Few of the former ever deal with the important "What is to be done?" question, since when theory is pursued into its strategic and organizational spheres it yields prescriptions for personal action which clash with well-entrenched values and class interests. This is not meant as a condemnation of the individuals involved, but merely as confirmation of Marx's view that real life determine one's consciousness; that what one is willing to embrace at the theoretical level, especially as it pertains to strategy and tactics, has limits set to it by one's acquired needs and class values.

Some radical activists, especially those in the PLP whom I knew and SDS community organizers, attacked us as "copping out" of the "real" struggle, which was for them apparently taking place in New York, Iowa City, etc., and





not in the super-exploited hinterlands of imperialism. And even when the importance of these struggles was acknowledged, as was most often the case, it was steadfastly maintained that they were not *our* struggles, being waged by *our* people. But on this important question, more later.

## On Relations with MPLA

DURING THE LATTER PART OF 1967 we discussed the ILF position and intentions with leaders in both FRELIMO and MPLA. Eduardo Mondlane, FRELIMO President later assassinated by the Portuguese in 1969, fully agreed with the major theses put forward in the "Notes. . .," but unfortunately FRELIMO was at that time entering a period of severe internal problems and struggles which prevented any concrete implementation of ILF plans for support and collaboration in the Mozambique liberation struggle. Later, however, Agostinho Neto, the MPLA President, read and agreed with our overall position and arranged a visit to Angola by three ILF members.

After attending MPLA's First Eastern Regional Conference in August 1968, the movement's Central Committee offered to establish fraternal relations with the ILF as a small but promising Marxist group - thus forming its first ties with a North American organization. Some concrete modes of collaboration were worked out and our relationship was to be mutually critical and political rather than patronizing and philanthropic. Unfortunately, this meeting was cut short when a hand grenade fell from a guerrilla's shirt pocket as he leaned over to stir a nearby fire. Two MPLA comrades were killed, including the Zone "B" commander, whose *nom de guerre* ironically was *Cuidado*, meaning "caution."

LATER THAT SAME NIGHT WE met again to arrange our immediate plans. One ILF member would return to Zambia to help put together some radio equipment we had sent; another would continue working on a film he was shooting and would go northward toward the Benguela railroad, and I would go west to the new Zone "C" base camp to record guerrilla life histories. After my almost two months in Angola, abbreviated by a Portuguese attack on Hanoi 2 during which all of my equipment was either destroyed or captured (and, more tragically, where that great medical doctor and revolutionary, Américo Boavida, was killed), I was asked by Regional Commander Spartacus Monimambu for a written critical

evaluation of my work and experience with the MPLA guerrillas. Prior to this, in Angola, I had to engage in some serious self-criticism after becoming overly demoralized and uncomradely at one point during an arduous march of 14 hours. I mention this to highlight the point that ILF-MPLA relations were at the outset embedded in concrete practice and reinforced by mutual and self-criticism. With a number of MPLA militants, this relationship was further cemented during early October 1968 when we were imprisoned in Zambia for illegal entry and other charges.

THUS BEGAN SIX YEARS OF collaboration and support activities - material and educational - for the MPLA. Angola was one of many active and important fronts in the anti-imperialist struggle. For the ILF, and its offspring, LSM, our work with MPLA marked the beginning of internationalist struggle grounded in concrete praxis and fraternal political relationships with imperialism's revolutionary classes and movements. In addition to several later missions to East Africa and the border regions of Angola, for technical and information-gathering work and political discussions, we have undertaken a wide range of support activities - from sending medical supplies, clothing, tents and concentrated foods to providing research on means to counter chemical defoliants; from publishing interviews and life histories dealing with the struggle to sending vital components and information dealing with radio transmission; from organizing the first MPLA tour of North America by Commander Toka in 1970 to producing albums of MPLA revolutionary music.

Unfortunately, though perhaps inevitably, we suffered setbacks during this period and committed numerous errors. In the 1968-69 period, finding recruitment to our clandestine ILF extremely difficult, we created an open organization with the intentionally liberal name African Relief Services Committee (ARSC) - a move designed to increase our capacity for fund-raising among liberals and as a base for recruitment into the ILF. Branches existed in Vancouver, Seattle and Berkeley. Not only did we recruit liberals and few ILF members, however, but one of our overly ambitious ILF members (Jacques Roy) betrayed our intentions to ARSC liberals in a treacherous move which eventually led to the end of both ARSC and the ILF and the founding of LSM in early 1970. Due to internal disarray for over a year, very little support work was done.

EXTERNALLY AS WELL, WE BEGAN TO SUFFER a diminution in the political content or aspect of our relationship with MPLA. Communications with the movement became increasingly irregular and undependable; critical comments on our work were asked for but not received; responses to political questions posed by us were ignored, etc. This situation developed unevenly though continuously until an LSM mission went to East Africa in September 1972. In the course of several meetings, both in Dar es Salaam and Lusaka, some matters were cleared up but several crucial problems remained unresolved. On the positive side, MPLA comrades accepted our criticisms regarding their failures to correspond, do follow-up work necessary to certain of our support projects (such as our "MPLA Printshop Project" - toward which we had sent a press and training printer, but MPLA failed to provide a shop and cadre to be trained), and respond to our political queries. On the negative side, we were unable to re-establish our political relationship with the movement and I was not allowed, for the first time, to interview middle cadre or visit the border area. Signs of MPLA disorganization were visible on numerous occasions and it was clear they had suffered serious military setbacks during the previous year and also faced weighty internal conflicts and problems related to their relations with the FNLA and Holden Roberto. Some of these matters are revealed in the interview I did with Paulo Jorge, head of MPLA's Department of Information and Propaganda (DIP).

'SO, THOUGH WE PARTED ON AN OPTIMISTIC NOTE, matters did not significantly improve once we returned in January to Canada and the U.S. In fact, they have grown worse. Most of the problems are rooted in the serious political and military situation which MPLA has had to face over the past two years. . . and it goes without saying that these matters have a qualitatively higher priority for MPLA than does its relationship with a small North American Marxist group. Nevertheless, despite efforts to understand the problem from MPLA's point of view and fully consider extraneous factors, a number of developments have taken place in the first half of 1974 which force us to re-evaluate LSM's relationship with the MPLA. These we will deal with in the next issue of *LSM NEWS*. They concern events ensuing upon the military coup in Portugal; the MPLA "diplomatic" visit to Canada; the apparent complete breakdown of the MPLA/FNLA alliance; and, most importantly, the seeming three-way split within MPLA itself between the core of the old Neto-led leadership (now based in

Brazzaville and with strong support from Tanzania), the Chipenda faction (with strong support from Zambia) and a third group whose stated aims include reunification of the movement, overcoming "presidentialism" and the breakdown in internal democracy, re-establishing patriotic enthusiasm among the cadres, militants and masses, and correctly organizing the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism as the common enemy.

LSM IS NOW IN THE PROCESS OF OF ANALYZING THE SITUATION WITHIN Portugal, Angola and the MPLA. This is crucial if we are to develop a correct practice in relation to the struggle on this important front in the fight against international capitalism.



# ...August Seminar

To develop our theoretical position is a matter of great concern to all of us in LSM. Theoretical development is the prime mover of our organization, at once motivating us to work hard and giving direction to our praxis. Nevertheless, we experience continual problems trying to fit analysis into our day-to-day work. With our current heavy production schedule, we have recently been unable to give sufficient thought to long-range objectives and issues of a theoretical nature.

To help resolve this contradiction we have decided to halt publishing activities for a two-week period in August, during which time we will discuss the fundamentals of our praxis. Many of the topics on the agenda deal with the Marxist method of class analysis: e.g., what is a "class-in-itself" as distinct from a "class-for-itself?"

How do we deal terminologically with changes in the qualitative nature of a "class?" For instance, are U.S. workers still "proletarians?" How do changes in the relations of a group to other groups affect that group's class character? And what relevance does this have to metropolitan workers, whose relationships to "third world" peoples have changed so qualitatively during the imperialist stage of capitalism?

To ensure the necessary break with our daily routine we have rented a place in northern British Columbia for the two-week period. A report on these important discussions will appear in the next issue of *LSM NEWS*.

Ole Gjerstad

*PHOTO CREDITS:*

- Page 1 - "Al Fatah," Di Carlo Vogel  
MPLA visit - LSM photos
- Page 3 - Frelimo photo
- Page 4 - Frelimo photo, from *The Mozambican Woman in the Revolution*, LSM Press, 1974
- Pages 5,7,8 - LSM & PAIGC
- Page 9 - Angola Comité
- Pages 10,12 - Boubaiker Adjali, from *Africa Liberation Calendar*, LSM Press, 1972
- Pages 6,11,14 - T. Ogawa