

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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**Paris Commune:
The Lessons
For Today**

LAOTIANS ROUT US IMPERIALISM



Workers League participated in march commemorating Ponce Massacre. WL banner calls for an independent and socialist Puerto Rico; Down with imperialism and Stalinism

Thousands March To Commemorate Ponce Massacre



**Ruling Class Attacks
With Frame-up Trials
Of Seale - Huggins
Davis - Magee**



EDITORIAL

YLP, PRSU Must Oppose MPI's Hooligan Attacks



"This is mobile tactical maneuvering!"

What The Editors Think...

As the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia are delivering the biggest defeat to U.S. imperialism in Laos since DienBienphu, they are joined by American G.I.s in open mutiny refusing their orders to go into Laos.

At the same time American workers are striking independent blows against imperialism at home. Construction workers in Michigan have called for a mass march in Washington while other unions have raised the call for a general strike against Nixon and his anti-labor policies.

So now this movement of the working class internationally is preparing the defeat of imperialism in Southeast Asia. But there are those who cover themselves with socialist phrases who seek to stop this movement, who seek to bail out U.S. imperialism precisely at the moment when it is doomed. These are the forces who are behind the coalition for the April 24th demonstrations, namely the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

As the working class moves forward, these forces seek to unite with capitalism and its representatives against the working class.

This we pointed out would be the inevitable result of the capitulation of the SWP-YSA to the Stalinists at the February Student Mobilization Conference and the deal worked out for unity between these forces for April 24th.

The Socialist Workers Party has now taken this unprincipled alliance to its logical conclusion with open overtures to the Democratic Party. This is the meaning of its printing without comment a letter from Democratic Senator Hartke to the National Peace Action Coalition in the March 26th issue of the Militant. Hartke "wholeheartedly" endorses the NPAC's "program for April 24th."

Simultaneously a letter has appeared in the recent Student Mobilizer written by SWPer Don Gurewitz, head of the SMC, to Senator Edmund Muskie. This letter by its tone could very well have begun, "Dear Comrade Muskie..." In this letter Gurewitz agrees with Muskie that this war is a war being "fought among the Vietnamese people for political ends." According to Gurewitz the war is "an unwanted invasion into a civil war in which we have no business." In other words Gurewitz refuses to take a class stand with the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia against imperialism. Rather he stands with the man who has been one of the most outspoken advocates of attacks on the American workers.

This is what lies behind the People's Peace Treaty movement whose slogan "Set the Date" has for all practical purposes been agreed to by the SWP in their unity statement.

Stalinism seeks to turn every victory scored by the workers and peasants on the battlefields of Indochina into a defeat and a victory for imperialism. Leading this counterrevolutionary strategy has been the very leadership in North and South Vietnam which has been sending a barrage of statements to the U.S. anti-war movement. These statements lay down the policy of the

Popular Front, calling for unity of all "strata belonging to various political tendencies, religions and nationalities."

Thus, "Set the Date" has become the rallying point for whole sections of the capitalist class who know full well the valuable role played by the Stalinists and revisionists, who know full well that the independent mobilization of the working class against this war will mean their overthrow.

The reaction of the American Communist Party to the tremendous victories being scored by the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia is to push its Popular Front to head off the struggles of the working class and youth in the U.S.

According to the Daily World's editorial of March 23rd the "utmost urgency" of the situation is expressed in Senator Hartke's statement. Senator Hartke, of course, like all his class brothers does understand the urgency of the situation—the threat to his system. That is why he is supporting April 24th.

Trotsky writing in an Open Letter For The Fourth International in 1935 under the heading "Revolution Alone Can Eliminate War" said: "The combinations between working class organizations and petty bourgeois pacifists render the best service to imperialism by distracting the attention of the working class from reality with its grave struggle and beguiling them instead with impotent parades...."

"The struggle against war is the preparation for revolution that is to say, the job of the working class parties of the International."

The April 24th demonstrations will not only be an impotent parade but one of the greatest betrayals of the working class here and in Southeast Asia in the recent period. These Stalinists and revisionists turn openly to the capitalist class precisely as this class prepares for civil war against the working class. As Lenin put it the only way to end imperialist wars is through the war of the working class against capitalism.

This is why the Workers League will have absolutely no part of it—will give absolutely no support to April 24th. On April 24th the Workers League will organize independently mass demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco AGAINST imperialism and all its supporters.

These demonstrations will be rooted in the general strike movement in the U.S. in the independent action of the working class to take it forward, to pit this movement politically against capitalism. At the center of these demonstrations will be the strategy for the defeat of imperialism. This means fighting to bring forward an assembly of the labor movement together with the students, the minorities which will fight for a labor party based on a socialist program for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all forces from Indochina, for the wage offensive, for full employment and the demand for 30 hours work at 40 hours pay, for the nationalization of the bankrupt industries under workers control, for the class defense of all political prisoners.

In the March 8th issue of the Bulletin Juan Farinas wrote an article on the recent formation of an alliance between the MPI (Movement for Independence) and the Communist Parties of the United States and Puerto Rico. The article stated:

"The reason why the MPI, which is a nationalist organization, can have a joint conference and issue a joint statement with the Stalinist Communist Parties is that, despite all its recent talk of 'socialism' and turning the MPI into a 'Leninist revolutionary vanguard,' it has never fundamentally broken from its nationalist and middle class past.

"It sees the struggle in Puerto Rico as a 'patriotic' one whose aim is the establishment of an independent republic of Puerto Rico which, through some unknown process, will eventually move toward socialism.

"The nationalism of the MPI fits right into the policy of the Stalinists, who have for ages pushed precisely this kind of perspective in the colonial countries. This perspective of a 'two-stage revolution' (first the fight for independence, later the fight for socialism) in the colonial countries has brought defeat after defeat to the international working class."

Farinas posed in opposition to this perspective the perspective of the Trotskyist movement which, basing itself on the lessons of the Russian Revolution, sees independence only being achieved through a break with the capitalists and the open struggle for socialism led by the working class.

Juan Farinas himself is a class fighter who faces two years in jail for his opposition to the imperialist war. The MPI is one of the few organizations which has consistently refused to support Farinas against this attack from the imperialist American government.

Following the publication of this article, the Workers League and its supporters have been subject to a series of physical threats and attacks openly directed by the leadership of MPI in New York aimed at preventing the distribution of the Bulletin. There have been physical threats in front of MPI headquarters.

At the recent Bronx march honoring the anniversary of the Ponce massacre, the MPI first sought to prevent the Workers League contingent from marching. When the other participants in the march would not agree to this, they then physically attacked Bulletin salesmen at the rally which followed the march. It became necessary for the Workers League delegation to leave the rally place in order to avoid a physical confrontation which could only disrupt the rally.

More recently MPI acted to bar Workers League members from a public meeting at Brooklyn College to which everyone was invited, a meeting sponsored by the Puerto Rican faculty and staff. At this meeting Mari Bras spoke once again in favor of a patriotic unity of all classes in the struggle for independence putting forward the same line which the Farinas article attacked.

The MPI will not defend its political line, its differences with the Workers League, and its political bloc with the party which Huey Newton correctly characterized as the American Revisionist Party. Instead it has resorted to hooligan tactics to prevent a working class tendency from distributing its press. Now it accuses the Workers League of being "police agents" and a "CIA front" in the spirit of the Moscow Trials. It refuses to defend our comrade Juan Farinas who faces jail for fighting imperialist war and then accuses us of being imperialist agents!

These attacks are the direct result of its right wing political line. It not only advocates unity with the capitalist oppressors of the Puerto Rican working masses, but it objectively aids the imperialists by seeking to prevent a socialist newspaper from being sold.

The role of the Young Lords and the Puerto Rican Student Union is indefensible. Both groups have attempted to abstain from confronting this issue and have stood by while MPI hooligans have attacked Workers League members. The Young Lords and the PRSU must take a stand!

Do you agree with MPI that anti-imperialist militants should be physically attacked because their paper expresses differences with another political group? Do you agree with the MPI that the Communist Party is not revisionist but a revolutionary force with which one should form an alliance? Do you agree with MPI that the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico can go forward in a common bloc with the capitalists of Puerto Rico? Do you agree with MPI that we must not fight for socialism today?

Under no circumstances will we be intimidated from selling our paper any time and any place. We have had much difficulty in establishing this right against harassment from the imperialist state and from fascists. We have no intention of allowing this right to be taken away by the MPI or anyone else.

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US, Puppet Troops Routed In Laos

BY DAVID NICHOLS

Nixon double talks "Mobile Maneuvering," Thieu and Ky pretend the operation is over, the capitalist press whispers "retreat," the Stalinists pass around their peace treaty, but the "elite" first ARVN Division soldiers of the South Vietnamese Army, as they cling helplessly onto helicopters, illustrate the rout in Laos that is taking on the proportions of a Dien-bienphu.

The victory of the workers and peasants in Southeast Asia cannot be hidden by the lies of the capitalists nor passed over by the Stalinists who are busy talking of defeat for the NLF.

For 120 days prior to the invasion of Laos, B-52s dropped over 100,000 tons of bombs on the Ho Chi Minh Trail, more bombs than were dropped on Germany during World War Two. The Air Force, Navy and Marine air corps sent every available fighter-bomber over the trail during that same period. U.S. imperialism used every type of bomb it had from 2,000 pound bombs guided by laser beams to time released fragmentation bombs. But after the smoke cleared reconnaissance reported that trucks were still rolling down the road. Reluctantly the imperialists admitted defeat and ordered in the best troops Saigon had to offer. Operation Lam Son 719 (named by Thieu himself) began.

TRAP

The goals of Lam Son 719 were to cut the trail that 100,000 tons of bombs could not. "The initiative no longer belongs to the enemy in Indochina," Melvin Laird declared as the elite paratroops, rangers, and infantry poured across the border meeting light resistance. Victory was supposedly in the grasp of the puppet troops. For two days the workers and peasants allowed Saigon's best to walk deeper into the trap.

On the third day of the operation, the resistance began as the workers and peasants had begun in 1956. Small guerilla bands began planting mines made from unexploded American bombs on Route 9, the road the elites had cleared. But the unsuspecting generals took this to be a sign of weakness and began speculating about the complete decay of the liberation forces. By the end of the first week of the invasion Saigon had progressed to the point of talking about staying in Laos until May.

The second week began with stepped up activity. Saigon became cocky and began claiming victory. The Air Force began talking about the tremendous job it had done and in Washington rumors of a planned invasion of North Vietnam were circulating. The Stalinists also stepped up their activity pleading with everyone to please sign the People's Peace Treaty before the workers and peasants were wiped out. At the same time Peking started hinting about protecting its borders. The Stalinists in the U.S. started talking about World War Three to push their counter-revolutionary deal. But Saigon, Hanoi, Moscow, Peking and Washington forgot to consult the workers and peasants of Indochina who had no intention of allowing the puppet troops a victory.

The third week marked the beginning of larger scale actions on the part of the workers and peasants. The puppet troops has stretched their supply lines far enough. The workers and peasants stood in front

of the "elite" First Division and heavy fighting broke out. Out of Saigon came the report that the drive had temporarily bogged down. By the middle of the week the generals were saying "they can hack it" when asked about a counter attack mounted by the NLF.

By the end of the week attacks had been mounted on Hills 30 and 31 and the elite rangers had been defeated and driven from their strategic vantage points overlooking one of the trails. By this time Air Force officials were saying off the record that the traffic down the Ho Chi Minh Trail had doubled.

The generals did not want their troops demoralized by any more defeats so they were airlifted to the town of Tchepone after it had been declared vacant of any liberation forces. The capture of the town of Tchepone was hailed as another victory for the puppet troops.

The elite troops were aware enough to see that any town surrounded by hills could be nothing more than a trap so on their own began to withdraw. This withdrawal prompted the Pentagon's General Vogt

to say "... (Tchepone) is not an objective," and later not a "worthwhile military objective." General Vogt, however, was forced to admit: "Of course it is the main hub of all the highways running North and South." (Newsweek, March 8)

PANIC

When the withdrawing troops began getting attacked they panicked and began their run for the border. All along the way they were hit from their flanks and all of their fire support bases came under attack. Each one of these fell before the onslaught of the workers and peasants. "The NVA would like to make this look like a retreat," said an American military observer in Khesanh (Christian Science Monitor, Friday, March 19), as troops began arriving hanging onto helicopters.

Saigon, in a panic of its own, called the invasion a success and said the operation was drawing to a close. They boasted that they had killed 11,000 workers and peasants but added that most had been killed by American airplanes. They claimed to have captured 2,000 weapons which have not been seen outside of a few old World War I and II weapons.

But this talk of an operation being over cannot hide the fear etched on the faces of Saigon's best as they run for the border.

But Saigon's lies are nothing in comparison to the double talking Nixon did on TV on March 22. He claimed that 75 percent of the traffic down the trail has been cut. Of

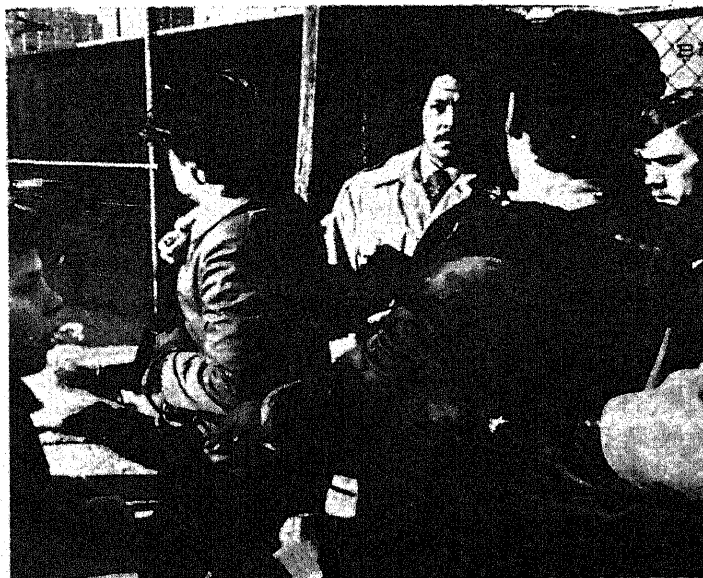
course one could argue that with all of the supplies left behind by the fleeing troops of Saigon, the workers and peasants do not need as much supplies.

But the hard reality of the war exposes his lies as supplies continue down the trail at a much greater rate, so much so that new attacks have been mounted in Cambodia which have driven the puppet troops back from Kratie, another strategic point the puppet troops claimed they held. Nixon's attempts to make the operation appear successful are pathetic.

Of course the capitalists and their lackeys would like to believe that the operation is over; but it is not. The operation of Lam Son 719 is just beginning. The beginning of the end. The workers and peasants are mounting an ever increasing attack upon the troops now trapped in Laos. At the same time new offensives are starting in Cambodia to drive the puppet troops back in South Vietnam. The workers and peasants are not stopping there however. They are going to drive them into trap after trap.

Khesanh will be the site of greater victories as the workers and peasants surround the Americans and puppet troops. Saigon sits like a fat turkey waiting for the axe that is sure to come, as its troops are forced more and more on the defensive. Already Khesanh has been attacked and these attacks will continue until the imperialists are pushed into the sea.

Marches Commemorate Ponce Massacre



MPI, unable to answer political questions raised in the Bulletin, launched physical attack on Workers League. Above, left, Workers League member being shoved, just before he was thrown to ground and kicked by gang of MPIers. Right, a follower of MPI tearing down banners of Lenin and Trotsky.

BY HANK PADRO

NEW YORK, March 23—Last Sunday demonstrations called by the Young Lords Party, in conjunction with the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico were held here, in Bridgeport, Philadelphia and Ponce, Puerto Rico, commemorating the massacre in Ponce in 1937.

The demonstrations were supported by the MPI (Pro-Independence Movement), the Puerto Rican Student Union, El Comite and other radical Puerto Rican organizations.

At least 3,000 people, mostly Puerto

Rican youth, assembled in St. Mary's Park in the Bronx for a march to Plaza Borinquena. The march moved toward Plaza Borinquena with spirited chants of "Pick up the Gun," "Jibaro Si, Yanqui No," "Vivia Puerto Rico Libre," and "Free Puerto Rico Right Now." Many of the contingents carried Puerto Rican flags.

A contingent from the Workers League marched carrying red flags and two large banners. One of the banners read "Unite the Class—Black, White, Puerto Rican, Employed and Unemployed." The other was a huge banner of Lenin and Trotsky and read in Spanish: "For an Independent and Socialist Puerto Rico; Down with Imperialism and Stalinism."

MPI

Although the march was called by the Young Lords, politically it was dominated by MPI, and one of the main speakers at the Plaza was Juan Mari Bras, leader of MPI. At the outset of the march, the MPI demanded that the Workers League not sell its paper, the Bulletin.

This came after weeks of threats and attempts to prevent the sale of the Bulletin, after an article exposing the fact that MPI is now in alliance with the Communist Party U.S.A. and the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, and warning of the dangers of Stalinism internationally.

At the Plaza Borinquena the marchers gathered for a rally. When the Workers League and the Juan Farinas Defense Committee had asked for speakers at the rally, they were told by the YLP that the MPI controlled the speakers list and would

not allow them to speak. In Bridgeport at the YLP rally, a Workers League member who had been scheduled to speak was informed at the last minute that he had been taken off the speakers list, in order to preserve the coalition between the YLP and MPI, because MPI objected to his speaking.

As Workers League members began to sell the Bulletin, they were attacked by members of MPI, who grabbed the papers and ripped them up. Carman Baerga of the MPI seized the microphone from Fredrico Lora of El Comite and accused the Workers League of being CIA agents and provocateurs.

It was only under these conditions that MPI felt safe enough to launch a physical attack on the Workers League, whipping up Stalinist slanders and the lowest racist baiting.

SOCIALISM

But the size and spirit of the demonstration as a whole shows that thousands upon thousands of working class youth are moving to fight against imperialism and the attacks of capitalism here in the U.S. The fight for the independence of Puerto Rico is inseparable from the fight for socialism in Puerto Rico and the United States.

This fight can only be taken forward with a program for the independent mobilization of the working class in the U.S. and Puerto Rico against imperialism and against the national bourgeoisie which seeks to tie the masses of the working class to capitalism.

This is the program of Trotskyism which the Workers League put forward at the march to commemorate the Ponce massacre, and it is this program which the MPI is afraid of, because it is afraid of the independent movement of the working class of Puerto Rico and the U.S.

16 Pager To Be Out Next Week

Starting next week the Bulletin will expand to 16 pages and at the same time go over to a different format. The 16 pager will include an expanded two page West Coast section edited in San Francisco, a cultural page, and expanded international coverage.

Throughout the past year a number of radical papers have experienced difficulties. The Guardian has been progressing downward towards a 16 pager. The Daily World has dropped color and is in continual financial straits. The Militant is having a difficult time of filling its subscription goals. Challenge has expanded its circulation but comes out only every three weeks unable to achieve that minimum for a serious publication—a weekly schedule.

It would seem with the sharp development of the class struggle over the past year all these papers would achieve a certain growth and stability. But the opposite is the case. These papers are

actually rooted in the old middle class radicalism—precisely that strata which is thrown into the greatest crisis by the development of the class struggle. This development in turn throws them into deep crisis.

STRATEGY

The importance of the development of the Bulletin is that the Bulletin's perspective is rooted in an understanding of the international crisis and a strategy to take forward the struggle up to and including the revolution itself. Therefore its growth is at every point solid and rooted in the developing situation, not in strata rooted in the past. Each movement forward of the working class strengthens the Bulletin and in turn requires us to deepen the work of the Bulletin.

We move forward to the 16 pager with a solid financial base for the paper and solid plans to raise paid circulation to 10,000 by September. At that time we will announce further plans and then carry them out. We have every intention of moving from the weekly Bulletin to a daily paper and are laying plans to do so right in the midst of expanding the weekly paper.

British General Strike Answers Ford, Heath

BY MELODY FARROW

On March 18th, millions of British workers went out in a general strike against the Tory government's anti-union Industrial Relations Bill. The strike far surpassed the March 1st action in its scope and militancy.

Newspapers, auto plants, shipyards, engineering works, docks, and construction sites were shutdown. At least a million workers were on strike in the industrial Midlands alone. About 1,000 workers marched through Birmingham in pouring rain chanting: "Throw Out the Bill!" "Throw Out the Tories!" "Tories Out!" and "TUC Call a General Strike!"

At a special meeting of the Trades Union Congress (TUC-equivalent to U.S. AFL-CIO) at Croyden, a 1,000 strong lobby of workers demonstrated outside. The general strike demand very clearly displayed on the banner of the Socialist Labour League (British Trotskyists) was taken up by the majority of those present drowning out the feeble "Kill the Bill" message put over a loudspeaker by the Stalinist-led Liaison Committee for the Defense of the Unions.

A meeting of over 12,000 workers in Merseyside sent a telegram to the TUC demanding that the TUC call a general strike to force the Tories to resign. This action shows the determination of the British working class to fight the government.

In the front line of the struggle against the Tory government's strategy to cut the wages of the entire working class and destroy their unions has been the Ford

auto workers who have been on strike for two months now.

The Transport and General Workers Union rejected Ford's stated "final offer," a four pound (\$9.60) weekly increase and on March 14th, 15,000 Ford workers in one area voted to continue the strike despite the threat of massive layoffs. The strikers are determined there will be no repeat of the sellout of the postal workers strike.

As the strike entered its seventh week, Henry Ford II himself flew into London to confer with Prime Minister Edward Heath. Ford was clearly worried about his investments and stated that the situation is "becoming increasingly difficult due to labor problems. The problem is a British one—no matter what industry it is." To make his position even clearer he stated "I wasn't bluffing either when I said Ford would re-invest elsewhere... things have to be cleaned up."

The purpose of the meeting of the Tory Prime Minister and the international auto baron was to discuss the way to beat back and defeat the working class. This is what Ford means by "cleaning things up."

The real holders of the purse string of the British government are demanding that their money be protected. Ford is not simply trying to frighten the auto workers

into submission with the threat of unemployment, but is attempting to frighten the British government with withdrawal of its investments unless they can defeat the workers.

Ford comes to Britain with all the arrogance of a feudal lord visiting his domains. Through investment of their capital Ford and other American capitalists have attained an enormous power over the economy of other countries. The American capitalists are the real masters and issue the orders.

The United States was able to do this because of the tremendous weakness and decline of European industry, especially Britain, which no longer could compete with the U.S. These investments however in no way altered the decline of British capitalism which now forces the British ruling class to turn on the working class and drive down its living standards in order to keep up falling profits.

Ford complains that he is not getting "as good a return on his investment" anymore. The demand of the Ford workers that their miserable wages be raised to the level of parity with other auto workers in England must be sacrificed for Ford's profits.

This is the sole reason for the existence of capitalism which can only thrive off the continued impoverishment of the working class.

The one factor that is upsetting all of Ford's and Heath's plans is the combativity of the workers, not only in Britain, but all over the world. The British workers are fighting back against these attacks

and threaten not only British capitalism but American capitalism as well which is now closely tied up with the British economy.

Ford, speaking for the American capitalist class, is no longer in a position to bolster Britain. He is willing to plunge the whole British economy deeper into crisis to save his own neck. This is the meaning of the threat to "re-invest elsewhere."

The truth is there is nowhere for Henry Ford to go where his profits will be safe. The capitalist class is setting its hopes on the Industrial Relations Bill to enslave the unions. What Ford recommends for the British workers is what he will try and dish out to American workers as well. The March 18th general strike made it clear what the British workers think of these plans.

Just as Trotsky predicted in the 1920s that the attempt by the Conservative government to impose a wage cut on the miners would and did touch off the 1926 General Strike, today the attempt to pass the Industrial Relations Bill is leading to an even deeper explosion of a strong and undefeated working class.

The question facing British workers is to expose and defeat the trade union leaders who today propose the same policies which led to the betrayal of the 1926 General Strike.

The right wing union leaders in the Trades Union Council have won the praise of Heath himself with their opposition to any industrial action against the Bill. They only propose to soften its effects with some amendments.

The "left" unions such as the Transport and General Workers Union are calling for a series of one day strikes which will provide an outlet for the militancy of the more advanced workers but will not go beyond a more militant form of pressure.

VICTORY

The way to victory is through the program of the Socialist Labour League which fights for a general strike to force the Tories out of office and to re-elect the Labour Party pledged to full socialist policies.

At the rally sponsored by the Socialist Labour League on February 14th, 4,500 workers and youth supported the call for the general strike and for the construction of a revolutionary party in Britain. The fight for the general strike must be taken up in the Trades Union Congress to force them to call this strike beginning May 3rd.



The Socialist Labour League (above during March 18 strike) is fighting for a general strike to force the Tories to resign.

"STATE OF EMERGENCY" DECLARED IN CEYLON

BY MARTY JONAS

On March 17 Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike declared the second state of emergency in two weeks in Ceylon. Troops are guarding the American embassy and key points throughout the country.

The crisis in Ceylon has become so extreme, with chronic shortage of food-stuffs that Mrs. Bandaranaike has had to look around for scapegoats. She has used attacks against the Maoist youth group, the People's Freedom Liberation Front, in order to divert the attention of the masses from the growing shortages.

In a radio broadcast, she declared: "We shall not allow any dissident elements bent on creating chaos by acts of terrorism to frighten the peaceful citizens of this country."

These new measures present a threat to the entire Ceylonese labor movement. Though swept into power last May by the masses with a mandate to smash imperialist and domestic reaction, the "United Left Front" coalition, headed by Mrs. Bandaranaike's bourgeois nationalist Sri Lanka Freedom Party, has delivered nothing but increasing misery to the Ceylonese workers and peasants.

SCAPEGOAT

Mrs. Bandaranaike's strategy to avert the militancy of the masses has been to try to pit the Sinhalese majority against the Tamil minority. The economic crisis has now gotten so deep that further methods are needed. The "state of emergency," with its scapegoat hunting that will go deeper and deeper into the labor movement is the local bourgeoisie's newest answer to their problems.

Complicit in this counterrevolutionary move are the two other members of the "United Left Front" coalition, the ex-Trotskyist LSSP and the Stalinists.

The Pablotites in Ceylon (supported by the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S.), headed by Bala Tampoe, although not in



Mrs. Bandaranaike

the government coalition, have done nothing more during this crisis than to put pressure on Mrs. Bandaranaike. After two workers were shot dead by police during a plantation strike, Tampoe called upon Mrs. Bandaranaike to bring forward regulations protecting workers from the plantation owners and the police.

TROTSKYISTS

Only the Trotskyists, in the Revolutionary Communist League, the Ceylonese section of the International Committee, fight to bring down the coalition government. They fight among the masses to build up a movement to force the LSSP and the Stalinists, the two largest working class parties in Ceylon, to break from the coalition government. At the same time they fight to build revolutionary cadres to lead the masses against reformism and revisionism and towards a successful socialist revolution.

Chilean Government Bans Anti-Stalinist Film

BY LOU BELKIN

The government of Salvadore Allende has banned the motion picture, *The Confession*, from public exhibition in Chile. This was announced in the March 13 issue of the *New York Times*.

The film stars Yves Montand and Simone Signoret and was directed by Costa-Gavras (see *Bulletin*, March 8, 1971, for film review). The film depicts the trial and ordeal of Artur London, one of the defendants in the Slansky trials in Czechoslovakia in 1952.

The defendants were accused of "anti-socialist activity, Trotskyism and conspiring with imperialism to overthrow socialist Czechoslovakia." Although all defendants were granted official pardons in 1956, eleven of the fourteen defendants, including Czech Communist Party Secretary-General, Rudolph Slansky, were liquidated.

Initially, the film was to be shown in January of this year. However, the Chilean Communist Party, which was the first of the Stalinist parties to support the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, has attacked the film as "an instrument of Yankee imperialism." Along with the American Stalinists, they have forbidden their members from seeing the film. Because they are directly participating in the Allende government, they have influenced Allende so that he has barred the film from commercial exhibition. Stalinist youth brigades in Chile have threatened violence if the film is presented.

BETRAYALS

Costa-Gavras' previous film, *Z*, was presented in Chile and widely acclaimed, even in *Sigle*, the Chilean Communist Party paper. However there are great differences in the films. *Z* is essentially a liberal presentation of the 1967 coup in

Greece. In that film the role of the Greek CP in relation to the events surrounding the coup and historically, the massive betrayals carried out under Stalin's leadership particularly during and after the Second World War, are consciously left out. The film sees the coup as essentially a triumph of evil over good, as a misfortune which should not have happened. With liberal sentiments it concludes with the hope that democracy and righteousness will return to the Greek shores once again.

The Confession was made by Costa-Gavras and written by J. Semprun. Both technicians were former CP members in Greece and Spain respectively. In fact, Semprun remained in the CP in Spain during and after the Civil War. The two co-stars, Yves Montand and his wife, Simone Signoret, have been sympathizers of the French CP for thirty years. For the production team the film was a painful experience. But as Montand expressed it, "This film had to be made. I could not have achieved peace of mind knowing that Stalinism had turned socialism into a caricature of itself."

FEAR

The Confession's merciless depiction of the bureaucracy's prisons and methods of torture expose the counterrevolutionary barbarism of Stalinism in Czechoslovakia. The Stalinists in Chile fear what world Stalinism as a whole fears: the graphic depiction of its own methods in dealing with fighters for socialism and enemies of Stalin.

CLASS STRUGGLES IN AFRICA

by N. MAKANDA



THE ILLEGAL British occupation of the lands of the Matabele, Mashona and other Bantu-speaking tribes took place by means of stealth, open plunder, deception and large-scale warfare.

The wars against Lobengula and the Mashona lasted for some ten years, during which British forces murdered tens of thousands of African peasants and stole 156,000 square miles of land from the African tribal owners in Southern Rhodesia alone: 1½ times the area of Britain!

The wars, conducted by Cecil Rhodes from the Cape—Britain's base in southern Africa at the time—were carried out with the help of the British churches, the Salvation Army under Booth and the Boy-Scout founder, Baden-Powell, all of whom were officially thanked in the Cape Town Drill Hall by Rhodes after the first major Rhodesian victories in the 1890s.

In particular, Rhodes thanked the missionaries for their role in the conquest of Rhodesia—the same missionary institutions with whose present-day apostles the African National Congress is collaborating and through whom the Anti-Apartheid Committee insulted the memory of the martyrs of Sharpeville by parading and following an Anglican-Church Bishop at the Sharpeville rally at Trafalgar Square on March 21, 1970.

Expansion

The conquest of Rhodesia was motivated by the expansion of British interests which followed upon the opening of the Kimberley diamond mines in the 1870s and the gold mines of Johannesburg in the 1880s.

The search for further mineral concessions was itself an immediate and pressing cause of the British invasion of Matabeleland.

In addition, the land itself was to be a prize of war.

Finally, the labour of the African owners of the land

Race laws are not new to Rhodesia

This is the last of a series of articles on "Class Struggles in Africa" reprinted from the Workers Press, daily paper of the Socialist Labour League.



Typical conditions for African pupils in South Africa, where 'Bantu education' means an inferior education designed only to create servants for the white masters.

had to be exploited and the first step towards this aim was the separation of the African tribal-peasants from their land by means of forcible dispossession.

Having expropriated the African people by force, having stolen the land wealth and cattle of the Africans, the British conquerors set about marshalling, regimenting, controlling, tapping, seizing and subjecting the labour power of the conquered people.

The wars were primarily land wars. The laws that followed were primarily cheap-labour laws, based on the land laws which legalized the illegal land-robbery of the wars.

These land and labour laws,

from the beginning, took the form of colour racialism.

Done before

Smith did nothing that Rhodes had not done before and that British governments had not done year in, year out, all the time from the conquest to the unilateral declaration of independence, for nearly three quarters of a century.

As in South Africa, so too in Rhodesia, Britain legislated on the basis of colour.

From 1890 until 1923 the laws were made under the aegis of the British South

Africa Company, founded by Rhodes and granted a charter by the British government.

This company had colossal powers, financial, commercial, mining, land-owning as well as political. It had all the legal powers of a state. It was monopoly finance capital itself ruling a colony.

'White' settlers, mainly from Britain, were given vast acreages of land stolen from the Africans.

Great financial companies grabbed enormous mineral concessions (copper, gold, asbestos, iron, coal, chrome).

The country became either the private property of British settlers and companies or else Crown Land.

The Africans were wholly dispossessed in the country of their birth. They were, moreover, segregated into Bantustans which were in existence under British rule long before Verwoerd concocted the term.

Eventually some four million Africans were allowed to 'own' (really occupy conditionally) four and a half million acres, while some 200,000 'whites' fully owned 50 million acres in farm land alone.

40 million acres were reserved as labour reservoirs for cheap African labour-rural concentration camps, nothing less or else.

The whole land situation was frozen by the Land Apportionment Acts, which were openly racialistic and which had the full sanction of the British parliament.

This was the only set of laws sanctioned by the 'mother of democracy' there were pass laws (1895), poll taxes, hut taxes and other devices to 'smoke out' cheap labour from the countryside,

to force the Africans to 'learn the dignity of labour', as Rhodes always put it—on behalf of the work-shy whites!

There were Labour Regulation Laws, locating, compounds and the social colour bar.

Educational segregation, carried out mainly by the missionaries, became a major instrument of educational starvation and indoctrination—once more, in the hands of the British liberals—the same ones who are today the friends of the ANC and Anti-Apartheid Committee.

The missionaries laid the basis for racial discrimination in education which is reflected in the statistic that European children get £150 a year spent on them by the state and African children in school £8 a year.

This figure is not the average for African children of school-going age—for 80 per cent of these children have always been denied effective schooling by 'civilized' Britain.

In 1923, when Britain officially took over the colony, a constitution was fashioned by British 'democracy' which placed the local political power exclusively in the hands of the 'white' minority.

This British constitution for Rhodesia (amended in 1961 to admit 15 African traitors as window-dressing) was the one which brought Smith to office and later to power.

A 'white'-controlled army was formed, a 'white' police force, a 'white' judiciary, and a 'white' executive.

With this machinery of state went an all-powerful 'state-within-a-state', a Native Affairs Department, which controlled the lives of the Africans from birth to death all the time, everywhere, at all levels, on the basis of cheap slave-like labour and the total denial of political rights.

It was full-blooded racist dictatorship, nothing less, nothing else. And it was created by British 'democracy'.

There is nothing paradoxical in this.

'Childhood'

For British 'democracy' has always been a Greek democracy, in the sense of ancient Greece, where the slave-owners were citizens and the slaves were outside the pale of the famed classical Graecian democracy.

But this was in what Marx called the 'childhood' of civil-

ization. British democracy grew up in the old-age of class civilization. It is part of its senility, a second childhood at best and most.

But, like the Greek democracy, it rested fair-square on slavery, wage slavery at home and, at first, actual slavery in the colonies, and later on colonial slavery, including the slavery of apartheid.

Colonial neo-fascism has always been the base of British

'democracy' and British 'democracy' has always been a luxury made possible only by the colonies.

This was true of Rhodes and Victoria. It is equally true of Smith and the second Elizabethan era.

It goes without saying that democracy inside Britain was not simply 'granted', but was wrung out of the feudal and capitalist classes by long and bitter class struggles.

But the point is that the

ruling classes could, for a while at least, afford to tolerate the 'luxury of democracy' in the imperialist countries, because of the wealth pouring in from the colonies.

It can still afford it only because this wealth still pours out of Asia and Africa into imperialist countries like Britain.

As for the colonial toilers, they fought no less hard, for an equally long period, under incomparably worse conditions

and hardships, for this same legal 'democracy', but they never got it, neither before, during nor after 'independence'.

They belong to the neo-fascist camps of imperialist 'democracy'.

Democracy is not for them.

So it was all over the colonies, so it was in British Rhodesia and so it is under Britain's creature, the Smith regime.

ONE OF the systematic propaganda myths perpetuated by the British ruling class through its press, radio, TV and pulpits, has been the lie that the Boers or settlers were responsible for apartheid in S Africa and S Rhodesia, or that they were 'worse' than the Liberals and the British.

The same falsehood was repeated during the recent S African elections.

Sufficient has been said about S Rhodesia in this column to show that there have never been elections under British rule which did not deny the franchise to the vast majority of the inhabitants.

Elections to a 'Europeans-only' parliament are not elections, nor is such a 'parliament' a parliament.

The same is true of S Africa. There have never been elections in there under British or Boer rule, from 1806 until today. The April, 1970, elections in S Africa were not elections, except in the Nazi sense.

The system of political apartheid in S Africa, as in S Rhodesia, was basically created by Britain, as part of the whole apartheid structure which it created, in a basic sense, in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Britain created the system of 'native reserves' which the present Nationalist Party renamed Bantustans.

Britain created the system of 'native authorities' which the Nationalists renamed 'Bantu self-rule'.

Britain created the system of mining, urban and rural compounds and locations which the Nationalists could not even rename, so stark were these creations in themselves.

Britain created the industrial colour bar, backed by the white workers.

Britain set up the elaborate system of educational segregation and starvation, through the British missionary societies.

Britain set up the system of judicial segregation (apartheid) using 'native law' as an excuse.

Britain was the major thief of the land of the African tribal owners during a century of wars of conquest and dispossession, and on this basis the vast system of territorial segregation and apartheid land-ownership and occupation was set up in S Africa, as in the Rhodesias.

And it was Britain which made the basic political apartheid law of S Africa, the 1910 Act of Union, which was made and passed, without dissent, in the British Houses of Parliament, at Westminster, London.

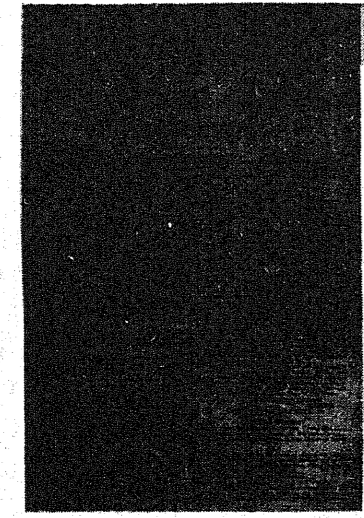
It was this Act which legalized the political dispossession of the non-Europeans and concentrated political power exclusively in the hands of the Europeans in S Africa, a pattern later followed in Rhodesia.

Servants

It was Britain who first defeated the Boers in the Anglo-Boer War at the turn of the century and then rehabilitated them financially, rurally and politically, in order to make them political managers of the enormous British mining, agricultural, financial and industrial estate in S Africa. They did the same in S Rhodesia, through the British settlers there.

By this device Britain was able both to use the Boers and settlers as powerful, socially based, agencies of imperialist rule over the non-European workers and peasants, and, at the same time, to avoid all direct blame and responsibility for the laws, made in Britain, but carried out by the Boers and settlers.

It was one of the most ingenious and diabolical deceptions in history. And it continues to this day, as the British press, radio and TV treatment of the recent S African 'elections' showed once again—when it was claimed that a shift towards the more openly pro-



The first issue of the 'Governor Gazette' proclaiming the appointment of Lord Gladstone as Governor-General of South Africa.

British United Party was a 'leaning to the left'.

It is hard to imagine anything less 'left' than the pro-apartheid, anti-non-European United Party whose industrial, financial and mining supporters base themselves upon apartheid.

Apartheid at all levels is the cement of imperialist super-exploitation of cheap non-European labour in S Africa, which, like Smith's Rhodesia, is a mainly British semi-colony kept together by apartheid.

No system of 'indirect rule', such as has worked for imperialism in W Africa and E Africa, is possible or has been risked by imperialism in southern Africa.

Concessions

For them it has long been

clearly understood that the only alternative to apartheid is not 'liberalism' but communism. This is the basis of their politics and strategy in southern Africa.

The reasons for this are deep and seemingly complex and will be dealt with periodically in this column. But briefly they amount, in essence, to this: that imperialism has always based itself on a 'white' social base in S Africa, has deliberately shut out the non-Europeans from all civil and political rights, has blocked the formation of a non-European petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie, especially among the Africans.

Imperialism has frustrated the formation of a peasantry and has, this time in vain, tried to frustrate the development of a proletariat (i.e. a non-European proletariat) and this, its sole failure, has sealed its doom in advance and precluded even practical thought of a major concession.

Even formal equality in S Africa would signify the collapse of imperialism.

Aspirant

Those African Nationalists who hope to get for their aspirant class in S Africa what British and French imperialism granted in the rest of Africa are barking up the wrong historical tree.

Neither imperialism nor the proletariat can or will listen to them.

The only 'concession' possible is the abolition of apartheid.

And this at once and inevitably means the end of imperialism in S Africa.

It is not that the Boers do not want to make concessions. They can't even if they wanted to. Nor can the United Party, which acted in no wise different from Verwoerd and Vorster when it was in office.

All parties in S Africa, as in S Rhodesia, have been Smith-like or Vorster-like.

All intensified apartheid.

Diluted

Nor could they do otherwise. A United Party victory in S Africa would mean not diluted apartheid as the British press claims, but more apartheid.

There is no other way for imperialism's agents to rule S Africa, where the vast mass of its investments in Africa lie.

And, as before, any victorious party 'elections' there exist only on the basis of imperialist investments and interests and have no way other than apartheid of defending these interests against the S African revolution—which will be a social revolution, advancing under the banner of 'full democratic rights'.

Churches further apartheid

THE PRESENT 'stand' of the Catholic Church in S Rhodesia is not against Smith's anti-African land law, but against any encroachment of the state on the preserves of the Church.

The Church ultimatum to Smith that it would close all its schools, hospitals and old-peoples homes is not directed against apartheid, but against the danger to the church of state interference with the implementation of apartheid which the Roman Catholic Church, like every other church in S Rhodesia, has always practised.

There is thus every likelihood of a 'compromise' between Smith and the Church and it is for the purpose of such a compromise that Smith agreed to meet the Church leaders and that the ultimatum itself was issued at the end of April.

The Roman Catholic Church in Rhodesia has, for half a century, carried out the various anti-African land laws made by Britain.

By 1939 the missionaries who are now loudly 'protesting' against Smith were mainly responsible for a system of 'education' which starved the African child by means of a state expenditure of 1s 5d per African child, compared with £6 (a year) for each European child to be practised by the holy missionaries themselves.

By the time of 'independence' for Malawi and Zambia there was the grand total of 3,300 Africans in secondary schools in S Rhodesia (with some million people classified by the British racial classifiers), 2,108 in N Rhodesia and 1,300 in Nyasaland.

The total for 'European' children was 21,671 (for some quarter million 'Europeans')—a racial discrimination of over 100 to 1.

The Churches participated fully in the running of this apartheid system of education starvation for the African colonial slaves and of training for 'white supremacy' for the children of the 'whites' of all classes.

They have owned and managed special inferior schools into which they segregated African children even when there was no law to enforce such segregation.

At the same time they have owned and managed separate, luxurious 'Europeans only' schools, old people's homes and hospital services.

They are the oldest masters of apartheid in S Rhodesia. It was not for nothing that Rhodes' special thanks went out to them in the 1890s—already after the defeat of the Matabele and Mashona by Britain.

The Catholic and other major imperialist churches—for that is what they are in the modern epoch—have always practised and also preached the apartheid they now pretend to condemn in order to curry bogus favour with the 'independent' African states and to divert anti-imperialist struggle into liberal, pro-imperialist diversions.

A look at the educational position in S Rhodesia makes this respect clear enough.

One hand-book says of the present, Smith period:



Tangwena tribesmen fleeing their ancestral home designated as 'white' under Rhodesian Land-Appropriation Act.

Most schools in S Rhodesia are run by missions, grant aided by government (e.g., A. Gordon-Brown). Since the educational system in S Rhodesia is notoriously segregationist, the missions bear the main direct responsibility for this apartheid.

The missionaries were experts in the practice of educational apartheid and starvation. Their main role was to regiment and starve 'African education'. They were the major party to the fact that up to 1939 there was no secondary school at all for any African children in Nyasaland, S Rhodesia or N Rhodesia.

For the 'European' child there was a luxurious system of separate well-equipped schools. The purpose of the mission schools was to indoctrinate the African child with a slave mentality. The purpose of the European schools was to prepare the 'white' child to be a master.

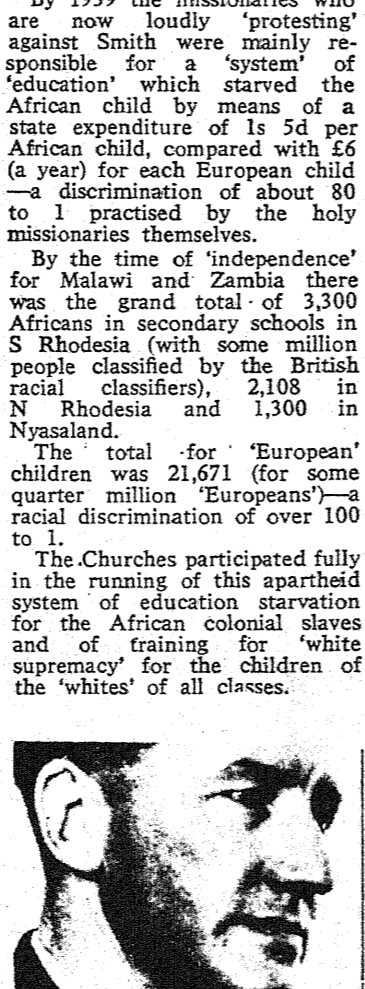
These purposes were often openly stated as British state policy in S Rhodesia, as they had been in S Africa.

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SMITH

School colour bar

ONE OF the many colour bars introduced into Rhodesia by Britain, long before Smith, was the system of school fees.

By 1960 not only was Britain spending £103 a year on each 'white' educand (compared with £8 per African educand in South Rhodesia, £9 in North Rhodesia and £3 in Nyasaland), but fees constituted



Every major law which permits the Smith government to persecute African workers was introduced by the British government before UDL. Above: A specially-trained dog attacks a passing African worker.

an almost insuperable barrier.

'British hypocrisy'

This barrier affected only the African since the 'white' parents' income was invariably subsidized by the super-profits made by cheap African labour. The fees system was a colour bar in all but name—an absolutely typical example of 'British hypocrisy'.

Like the S African government, the British government claimed that African education was a burden on the British taxpayer. This was the old story of 'white man's burden'—the burden of the packhorse on the rider.

The fact is that the British taxpayer in S Rhodesia and in Britain contributed not a penny to African education, but had his own education and much more besides subsidized by super-profits sweated out of cheap colonial labour, including that in S Rhodesia.

Nor did the situation change after 'independence' for Malawi, Zambia and other semi-colonies of British imperialism.

Myth

The myth of the British taxpayer was and remains one of the deceptions of the people.

In reality the children of the African workers and peasants were starved of education by Britain.

Part of this starvation consisted of the system of missionary schools and of segregated education.

Another part consisted of the colour discrimination in educational expenditure between white and non-white educands.

Yet another part was the fees system. These fees ranged from £3 to £60 a year for Africans—and this, in turn, was the equivalent of from one month's to several years' income for 99 per cent of the African people.

Not only were such fees of little consequence to white parents, because of their earnings, which are subsidized by African labour, but, in addition, no fees at all had to be paid by whites, who received a subsidy for their education from Britain.

Britain, in turn, got this subsidy out of the super-profits created by cheap African labour toiling for British companies in S Rhodesia.

Difficulty

Whereas white children had no difficulty in entering high schools, at one college alone there were 16 applicants for one African place.

The colour discrimination of the British state was well illus-

trated in 1962 when the British government gave its S Rhodesian regime a loan of £3.5 million, of which £200,000 (about 6 per cent) was earmarked for African education.

Repay

This 'gesture' was worth exactly 2s per African child of schoolgoing age. To repay this loan the African worker had to refund to Britain 30 times what he 'received'.

The 'civilizing influence' of British rule in Rhodesia was no different from that of Smith's dictatorship.

The British claimed that by 1953 there were 263,223 in school and that by 1962 this figure had risen to 600,000, including 60,000 European children.

All European children were educated, compared with a third of the African children.

But while the European children spent a full span at school, African children who did go to school spent a short period in school before being 'spewed onto the labour market' by British rule. (This phrase was commonly used by the anti-apartheid Teachers' League of S Africa, a non-racial teachers' union.)

While the European child was taught in modern, over-stuffed institutions, the 16,243 African teachers (1963 figures) taught in overcrowded, inferior, segregated schools, including 662 'farm schools' (child labour camps).

School career

Out of a total of some 3,300 schools, 58 were secondary schools, holding 6,000 pupils.

In 1964 75 per cent of all European children reached form IV, compared with 5 per cent of all African children in S Rhodesia, Zambia and Malawi.

The average length of a school career for those Africans who entered schools at all was less than two years.

Out of 80,000 African children entering the British mission schools in S Rhodesia only 15 reached form IV. (In Zambia the figure was 28 out of 28,000 i.e., one in a thousand.)

In the British semi-colony of Malawi, the British 'civilizing influence' was such that by 1960 only 80 Africans emerged out of the secondary schools. (The Malawi Minister of Education, Chieme, set a target of 1,000 for 1965, to overcome the backwardness introduced by British rule in Nyasaland.)

For all practical purposes the British state and churches introduced almost no educational system for the African children in S Rhodesia and what they did introduce was starved and segregated. Smith could not conceivably have done 'worse'.

'Protested'

His regime thus has a long-standing common denominator with the Roman Catholic and other missions who recently 'protested' against the effects of the latest Land Bill and then entered into 'talks' with Smith.

What they were protesting against was not the effects of this or any other law on the Africans, but on themselves—that is, on their 'freedom' to continue to administer and control the system of educational and 'health' starvation and segregation which these missionaries have introduced and operated ever since they came to S Rhodesia.

As the Mau Mau general, Dedan Kimathi, was to say before he was executed by the British in Kenya:

'Before the coming of the missionaries, we had the land and they had the bible—now we have the bible and they have the land.'

It is for this reason that in S Africa, as elsewhere in British Africa, the struggle against the biblebearers necessarily plays such a vital part in the anti-imperialist movement.



In S Rhodesia the majority of the population die before they are 40 years old. A half to a third of babies die before they are one year old.

LIVING in a British colony or semi-colony means premature death for the workers and peasants super-exploited by British companies and the British state, through investments and 'aid'.

In S Rhodesia, for example, the majority of the population die before they are 40 years old.

Furthermore, a half to a third of the babies die before they are one year old.

Such is 'life' in a British semi-colony, whether this be an independent African state, or a 'White Republic' like Smith's British-made Rhodesia, or S Africa.

The short life of the Africans in S Rhodesia is due to his super-exploitation by British imperialism and to his oppression by the political arm of British imperialism, whether this arm be a Crown Colony dictatorship, or the dictatorship of Ian Smith.

Average income

The average income of an African worker or peasant in S Rhodesia is one tenth of the average wage in Britain.

As a result the conditions of living become conditions of dying. They bear comparison only with the most terrible crisis years of the industrial revolution in England and the Irish famine.

British 'democracy' has meant that the majority of the people of 'British Africa' have been systematically murdered by British monopoly capital and the British state—a genocide which is measured by the British statistics themselves.

Health statistics are but one reflection of the extent to which British rule has produced 'backward countries and underdeveloped states' in Africa.

Such 'civilization' as Britain brought was either confined to the Britishers and other Europeans who settled like social locusts on the lands stolen from the African tribes in devastating wars of conquest, or else has to be measured relative to the total destruction of life and of the means of life by the British conquest, dispossession and enslavement of the conquered and dispossessed.

'Civilization's' price

For every non-European treated in a (segregated) missionary or state hospital, 13 died of super-exploitation and lack of hospital facilities.

No European died for lack of hospitals. For every non-European admitted to a mission hospital, thousands were killed by the British conquest and rule. The destruction of life itself wrought by Britain was almost infinite in comparison with the lives 'saved' by the imperialist 'civilizing missions'.

The price of civilization can hardly be measured in other spheres as well.

How many Africans were not killed by British troops and police in the struggle for educa-

tion for their children (a major issue for a long time in Rhodesia and Nyasaland, in which British forces murdered great numbers of parents and children)?

What price the inferior, segregated, starved 'education' given in return for this slaughter and much more by the missionaries and state of Britain? Even today, ten children are killed off by super-exploitation for every one in school for a few years.

Medical 'aid'

Since the average life-span of an African in S Rhodesia under Britain or Smith is half a normally expected span in the 20th century, it is not an exaggeration to say that British imperialism regularly and systematically murders half the Rhodesian population.

The press and pulpit, otherwise so vocal about 'genocide', say nothing of this.

It is against this mass killing of semi-colonial people by the imperialist system of super-exploitation that medical and other 'aid' has to be measured—apart from the enormous profits made by British investors and the British state through this 'aid'.

As for the hospital services provided by Britain, these hardly exist for the African population.

Moreover the general state of health among the dispossessed is far lower under British rule than it was under the old tribal system.

In S Rhodesia there was one doctor for every 3,600 inhabitants—a 'better' ratio, compared with the 8,000 in N Rhodesia and 35,000 in Nyasaland.

This ratio was entirely due to separate, superior, services for the 'white' settlers, the number of doctors being almost directly proportional in the three territories to the number of Europeans.

Doctors 'reserved'

In the United States the number of inhabitants per doctor is about 750.

In British 'tropical Africa' there are about 25,000 Africans per doctor and the latter is usually reserved, firstly, for his European patients.

There is one hospital bed for every 1,300 people (100 in the USA) and this bed is firstly, for Europeans only in well-equipped mission and state hospitals, health services in British Rhodesia having been entirely segregated along racial lines.

In addition to the starvation of medical facilities for Africans and hospital segregation, hospital fees of 10s to 18s a day (for minor treatment) effectively excluded the population from medical treatment, for this was the average weekly wage of a Rhodesian wage-slave 'enjoying' British rule, as they do under Smith today.

This is how British rule in S Rhodesia denied and deprived the African workers and peasants of even the most elementary benefits of world civilization.

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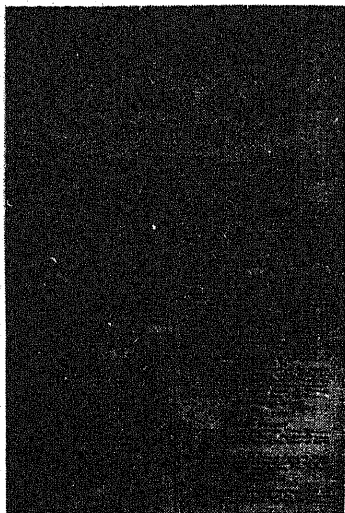
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The first issue of the 'Government Gazette' proclaiming the appointment of Lord Gladstone as Governor-General of South Africa.

British United Party was a 'leaning to the left'.

It is hard to imagine anything less 'left' than the pro-apartheid, anti-non-European United Party whose industrial, financial and mining supporters base themselves upon apartheid.

Apartheid at all levels is the cement of imperialist super-exploitation of cheap non-European labour in S Africa, which, like Smith's Rhodesia, is a mainly British semi-colony kept together by apartheid.

No system of 'indirect rule', such as has worked for imperialism in W Africa and E Africa, is possible or has been risked by imperialism in southern Africa.

Concessions

For them it has long been

clearly understood that the only alternative to apartheid is not 'liberalism' but communism. This is the basis of their politics and strategy in southern Africa.

The reasons for this are deep and seemingly complex and will be dealt with periodically in this column. But briefly they amount, in essence, to this: that imperialism has always based itself on a 'white' social base in S Africa, has deliberately shut out the non-Europeans from all civil and political rights, has blocked the formation of a non-European petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie, especially among the Africans.

Imperialism has frustrated the formation of a peasantry and has, this time in vain, tried to frustrate the development of a proletariat (i.e. a non-European proletariat) and this, its sole failure, has sealed its doom in advance and precluded even practical thought of a major concession.

Even formal equality in S Africa would signify the collapse of imperialism.

Aspirant

Those African Nationalists who hope to get for their aspirant class in S Africa what British and French imperialism granted in the rest of Africa are barking up the wrong historical tree.

Neither imperialism nor the proletariat can or will listen to them.

The only 'concession' possible is the abolition of apartheid.

And this at once and inevitably means the end of imperialism in S Africa.

It is not that the Boers do not want to make concessions. They can't even if they wanted to. Nor can the United Party, which acted in no wise different from Verwoerd and Vorster when it was in office.

All parties in S Africa, as in S Rhodesia, have been Smith-like or Vorster-like.

All intensified apartheid.

Diluted

Nor could they do otherwise. A United Party victory in S Africa would mean not 'diluted apartheid' as the British press claims, but more apartheid.

There is no other way for imperialism's agents to rule S Africa, where the vast mass of its investments in Africa lie.

And, as before, any victorious party 'elections' there exist only on the basis of imperialist investments and interests and have no way other than apartheid of defending these interests against the S African revolution—which will be a social revolution, advancing under the banner of 'full democratic rights'.

Churches further apartheid

THE PRESENT 'stand' of the Catholic Church in S Rhodesia is not against Smith's anti-African land law, but against any encroachment of the state on the preserves of the Church.

The Church ultimatum to Smith that it would close all its schools, hospitals and old-people's homes is not directed against apartheid, but against the danger to the church of state interference with the implementation of apartheid, which the Roman Catholic Church, like every other church in S Rhodesia, has always practised.

There is thus every likelihood of a 'compromise' between Smith and the Church and it is for the purpose of such a compromise that Smith agreed to meet the Church leaders and that the ultimatum itself was issued at the end of April.

The Roman Catholic Church in Rhodesia has, for half a century, carried out the various anti-African land laws made by Britain.

This Church, like the Anglican Church, has practised every form of apartheid law made by Britain during its long and brutal direct rule over S Rhodesia. Its recent protest cannot therefore in any way be interpreted as anti-apartheid.

In particular the Churches were the main agencies of educational apartheid and starvation from the very beginning of British rule until the present day.

They have owned and managed special inferior schools into which they segregated African children even when there was no law to enforce such segregation.

At the same time they have owned and managed separate, luxurious 'Europeans only' schools, old people's homes and hospital services.

They are the oldest masters of apartheid in S Rhodesia. It was not for nothing that Rhodes' special thanks went out to them in the 1890s—already after the defeat of the Matabele and Mashona by Britain.

The Catholic and other major imperialist churches—for that is what they are in the modern epoch—have always practised and also preached the apartheid they now pretend to condemn in order to curry bogus favour with the 'independent' African states and to divert anti-imperialist struggle into liberal, pro-imperialist diversions.

A look at the educational position in S Rhodesia makes the role of the missionaries in this respect clear enough.

One hand-book says of the present, Smith period:



Tangwena tribesmen fleeing their ancestral home, designated as 'white' under Rhodesian Land-Apportmentment Act.

'Most schools in S Rhodesia are run by missions, grant aided by government (e.g., A. Gordon-Brown). Since the educational system in S Rhodesia is notoriously segregationist, the missions bear the main direct responsibility for this apartheid.'

The missionaries were experts in the practice of educational apartheid and starvation.

Their main role was to regiment and starve 'African education'. They were the major party to the fact that up to 1939 there was no secondary school at all for any African children in Nyasaland, S Rhodesia or N Rhodesia.

For the 'European' child there was a luxurious system of separate well-equipped schools.

The purpose of the mission schools was to indoctrinate the African child with a slave mentality. The purpose of the European schools was to prepare the 'white' child to be a master.

These purposes were often openly stated as British state policy in S Rhodesia, as they had been in S Africa.

By 1939 the missionaries who are now loudly 'protesting' against Smith were mainly responsible for a 'system' of 'education' which starved the African child by means of a state expenditure of 1s 5d per African child, compared with £6 (a year) for each European child—a discrimination of about 80 to 1 practised by the holy missionaries themselves.

By the time of 'independence' for Malawi and Zambia there was the grand total of 3,300 Africans in secondary schools in S Rhodesia (with some million people classified by the British racial classifiers), 2,108 in N Rhodesia and 1,300 in Nyasaland.

The total for 'European' children was 21,671 (for some quarter million 'Europeans')—a racial discrimination of over 100 to 1.

The Churches participated fully in the running of this apartheid system of education starvation for the African colonial slaves and of training for 'white supremacy' for the children of the 'whites' of all classes.



SMITH



School colour bar

ONE OF the many colour bars introduced into Rhodesia by Britain, long before Smith, was the system of school fees.

By 1960 not only was Britain spending £103 a year on each 'white' educand (compared with £8 per African educand in South Rhodesia, £9 in North Rhodesia and £3 in Nyasaland), but fees constituted

an almost insuperable barrier.

'British hypocrisy'

This barrier affected only the African since the 'white' parents' income was invariably subsidized by the super-profits made by cheap African labour. The fees system was a colour bar in all but name—an absolutely typical example of 'British hypocrisy'.

Like the S African government, the British government claimed that African education was a burden on the British tax-payer. This was the old story of 'white man's burden'—the burden of the packhorse on the rider.

The fact is that the British tax-payer in S Rhodesia and in Britain contributed not a penny to African education, but had his own education and much more besides subsidized by super-profits sweated out of cheap colonial labour, including that in S Rhodesia.

Nor did the situation change after 'independence' for Malawi, Zambia and other semi-colonies of British imperialism.

Myth

The myth of the British taxpayer was and remains one of 'the deceptions of the people'.

In reality the children of the African workers and peasants were starved of education by Britain.

Part of this starvation consisted of the system of missionary schools and of segregated education.

Another part consisted of the colour discrimination in educational expenditure between white and non-white educands.

Yet another part was the fees system. These fees ranged from £3 to £60 a year for Africans—and this, in turn, was the equivalent of from one month's to several years' income for 99 per cent of the African people.

Not only were such fees of little consequence to white parents, because of their earnings, which are subsidized by African labour, but, in addition, no fees at all had to be paid by whites, who received a subsidy for their education from Britain.

Britain, in turn, got this subsidy out of the super-profits created by cheap African labour toiling for British companies in S Rhodesia.

Difficulty

Whereas white children had no difficulty in entering high schools, at one college alone there were 16 applicants for one African place.

The colour discrimination of the British state was well illus-



Every major law which permits the Smith government to persecute African workers was introduced by the British government before UDL. Above: A specially-trained dog attacks a passing African worker.

trated in 1962 when the British government gave its S Rhodesian regime a loan of £3.5-million, of which £200,000 (about 6 per cent) was earmarked for African education.

Repay

This 'gesture' was worth exactly 2s per African child of schoolgoing age. To repay this loan the African worker had to refund to Britain 30 times what he 'received'.

The 'civilizing influence' of British rule in Rhodesia was no different from that of Smith's dictatorship.

The British claimed that by 1953 there were 263,223 in school and that by 1962 this figure had risen to 600,000, including 60,000 European children.

All European children were educated, compared with a third of the African children.

But while the European children spent a full span at school, African children who did go to school spent a short period in school before being 'spewed onto the labour market' by British rule. (This phrase was commonly used by the anti-apartheid Teachers' League of S Africa, a non-racial teachers' union.)

While the European child was taught in modern, over-staffed institutions, the 16,243 African teachers (1963 figures) taught in overcrowded, inferior, segregated schools, including 662 'farm schools' (child labour camps).

School career

Out of a total of some 3,300 schools, 58 were secondary schools, holding 6,000 pupils.

In 1964 75 per cent of all European children reached form IV, compared with 5 per cent of all African children in S Rhodesia, Zambia and Malawi.

The average length of a school career for those Africans who entered schools at all was less than two years.

Out of 80,000 African children entering the British mission schools in S Rhodesia only 15 reached form IV. (In Zambia the figure was 28 out of 28,000 i.e., one in a thousand.)

In the British semi-colony of Malawi, the British 'civilizing influence' was such that by 1960 only 80 Africans emerged out of the secondary schools. (The Malawi Minister of Education, Chiume, set a target of 1,000 for 1965, to overcome the backwardness introduced by British rule in Nyasaland.)

For all practical purposes the British state and churches introduced almost no educational system for the African children in S Rhodesia and what they did introduce was starved and segregated. Smith could not conceivably have done 'worse'.

'Protested'

His regime thus has a long-standing common denominator with the Roman Catholic and other missions who recently 'protested' against the effects of the latest Land Bill and then entered into 'talks' with Smith.

What they were protesting against was not the effects of this or any other law on the Africans, but on themselves—that is, on their 'freedom' to continue to administer and control the system of educational and 'health' starvation and segregation which these missionaries have introduced and operated ever since they came to S Rhodesia.

As the Mau Mau general, Dedan Kimathi, was to say before he was executed by the British in Kenya:

'Before the coming of the missionaries, we had the land and they had the bible—now we have the bible and they have the land.'

It is for this reason that in S Rhodesia, as elsewhere in British Africa, the struggle against the biblebearers necessarily plays such a vital part in the anti-imperialist movement.



in S Rhodesia the majority of the population die before they are 40 years old. A half to a third of babies die before they are one year old.

LIVING in a British colony or semi-colony means premature death for the workers and peasants super-exploited by British companies and the British state, through investments and 'aid'.

In S Rhodesia, for example, the majority of the population die before they are 40 years old.

Furthermore, a half to a third of the babies die before they are one year old.

Such is 'life' in a British semi-colony, whether this be an independent African state, or a 'White Republic' like Smith's British-made Rhodesia, or S Africa.

The short life of the Africans in S Rhodesia is due to his super-exploitation by British imperialism and to his oppression by the political arm of British imperialism, whether this arm be a Crown Colony dictatorship, or the dictatorship of Ian Smith.

Average income

The average income of an African worker or peasant in S Rhodesia is one tenth of the average wage in Britain.

As a result the conditions of living become conditions of dying. They bear comparison only with the most terrible crisis years of the industrial revolution in England and the Irish famine.

British 'democracy' has meant that the majority of the people of 'British Africa' have been systematically murdered by British monopoly capital and the British state—a genocide which is measured by the British statistics themselves.

Health statistics are but one reflection of the extent to which British rule has produced 'backward countries' or 'under-developed states' in Africa.

Such 'civilization' as Britain brought was either confined to the Britishers and other Europeans who settled like social locusts on the lands stolen from the African tribes in devastating wars of conquest, or else has to be measured relative to the total destruction of life and of the means of life by the British conquest, dispossession and enslavement of the conquered and dispossessed.

'Civilization's' price

For every non-European treated in a (segregated) missionary or state hospital, 13 died of super-exploitation and lack of hospital facilities.

No European died for lack of hospitals. For every non-European admitted to a mission hospital, thousands were killed by the British conquest and rule. The destruction of life itself wrought by Britain was almost infinite in comparison with the lives 'saved' by the imperialist 'civilizing missions'.

The price of civilization can hardly be measured in other spheres as well.

How many Africans were not killed by British troops and police in the struggle for educa-

tion for their children (a major issue for a long time in Rhodesia and Nyasaland, in which British forces murdered great numbers of parents and children)?

What price the inferior, segregated, starved 'education' given in return for this slaughter and much more by the missionaries and state of Britain? Even today, ten children are killed off by super-exploitation for every one in school for a few years.

Medical 'aid'

Since the average life-span of an African in S Rhodesia under Britain or Smith is half a normally expected span in the 20th century, it is not an exaggeration to say that British imperialism regularly and systematically murders half the Rhodesian population.

The press and pulpit, otherwise so vocal about 'genocide', say nothing of this.

It is against this mass killing of semi-colonial people by the imperialist system of super-exploitation that medical and other 'aid' has to be measured—apart from the enormous profits made by British investors and the British state through this 'aid'.

As for the hospital services provided by Britain, these hardly exist for the African population.

Moreover the general state of health among the dispossessed is far lower under British rule than it was under the old tribal system.

In S Rhodesia there was one doctor for every 3,600 inhabitants—a 'better' ratio, compared with the 8,000 in N Rhodesia and 35,000 in Nyasaland.

This ratio was entirely due to separate, superior, services for the 'white' settlers, the number of doctors being almost directly proportional in the three territories to the number of Europeans.

Doctors 'reserved'

In the United States the number of inhabitants per doctor is about 750.

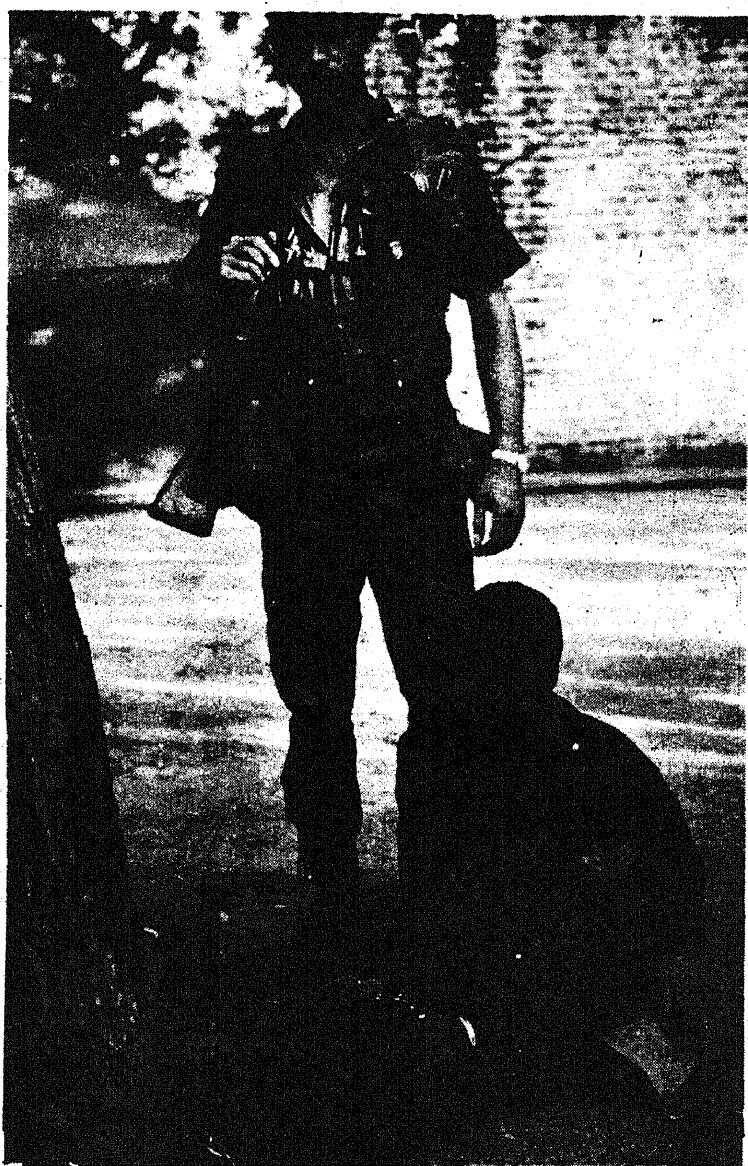
In British 'tropical Africa' there are about 25,000 Africans per doctor and the latter is usually reserved, firstly, for his European patients.

There is one hospital bed for every 1,300 people (100 in the USA) and this bed is, firstly, for Europeans only in well-equipped mission and state hospitals, health services in British Rhodesia having been entirely segregated along racial lines.

In addition to the starvation of medical facilities for Africans and hospital segregation, hospital fees of 10s to 18s a day (for minor treatment) effectively excluded the population from medical treatment, for this was the average weekly wage of a Rhodesian wage-slave 'enjoying' British rule, as they do under Smith today.

This is how British rule in S Rhodesia denied and deprived the African workers and peasants of even the most elementary benefits of world civilization.

Labour bureaucrats and bourgeois nationalists



A Chad peasant guerrilla held prisoner by a French soldier in October 1969.

MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA

THE KEY semi-colony of British imperialism is S Africa. It is by far the major trading, investment and profit-yielding semi-colony in Africa.

For Britain it is a third of Europe and the USA, it is of the utmost importance.

Strategically, for Britain, W Europe and the USA, it is of the utmost importance.

For this reason all imperialist countries dare not disturb the basic apartheid system fashioned long ago for S Africa by Britain in the Victorian era.

The verbal protestations against apartheid by the imperialists are designed not to replace apartheid, but simply to ease relations with those African 'independent' governments managing imperialist affairs in the rest of Africa.

To maintain its S African bastion, imperialism has, with the active participation of the Vorster regime, drawn the ex-Protectorates and Malawi closer to direct S African supervision.

This control has gone so far that the S African frontier police, for practical purposes, operate inside the borders, for example, of 'independent' Botswana.

They are able to arrest, kidnap and arraign in S Africa anti-apartheid refugees taking refuge in Botswana.

For Lesotho, which under Moeshoeshe a century ago put up a long and heroic resistance against Victoria and the Boers, the S African police control is interwoven with persecution of anti-apartheid fighters by the Jonathan regime.

These activities relating to the neighbouring 'independent' states,

are combined with a strategy of the 'white belt' protecting apartheid imperialism — namely S Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique.

Sandwiched between the Portuguese, S Africans and Rhodesians is the active agent of apartheid, Hastings Banda, head of 'independent' Malawi.

The Portuguese situation is important and difficult for imperialism. Guinea is not a problem, probably not for Portugal itself, as long as the Portuguese imperialists can find a face-saving formula to 'grant' independence instead of admitting almost inevitable defeat by the African guerrilla armies in Guinea.

But Angola and Mozambique do not present such a relatively easy solution.

In relation to the economic size of Portugal, both are major colonies and sources of superprofits, even though a slice of these are taken off by Britain, the USA and other partners in Angola and Mozambique.

In the second place, there are some 600,000 Portuguese 'settlers' in Angola and Mozambique and of late there have been circles in high quarters of Lisbon which have been urging some form of 'independence' for Angola and Mozambique, with power in the hands of the local 'Whites' and some 'concessions' to Africans.

In Beira, a Portuguese businessman has put forward such views without the usual interference by the Portuguese censors.

The plan has the advantage of trying to create a split in FRELIMO and the Angola guerrilla movements.

THE PROMINENCE given to recent diplomatic visits suggests that Britain and France are becoming increasingly interested in each other's former spheres of influence.

These reports noted the so-called tribal Toubou clashes with French soldiers in Chad and the visit of the President of Gabon to Britain in October. Another noted Kaunda's visit to Pompidou.

Presidents Bongo of Gabon, Tsiranana of Malagasy, Banda of Malawi and Ojukwu of former Biafra all openly advocate African collaboration with 'white' South Africa.

Bongo toasted Vorster before sending doctors to S Africa in exchange for visits from Christian Barnard, the heart surgeon and the plastic surgeon, Penn.

Essentially they follow the 'open-door' policy of 'critical' contact with 'white' S Africa pursued by the Anglican Church of England.

After criticizing arms sales to S Africa, Dr Michael Ramsey is due to visit his segregated, racialistic, discriminatory, anti-African, Anglican 'diocese' this month.

This is the same apartheid S Africa which the Anglican missionaries and Church had such a major hand in forming; the same Anglican Church whose Canon Collins and Bishop of Woolwich spoke at the so-called anti-apartheid committee rally at Trafalgar Square on October 25.

It is only because they are defined by the race-classifiers of Britain, S Africa, W Europe and the USA as 'black' that Bongo, Banda, and company are regarded as collaborators with apartheid.

A similar colour prejudice was manifested towards Kaunda and the OAU during their recent tour of Rome, London, New

York and Paris.

The major disadvantages are two-fold.

Firstly, even under the fraudulent 'assimilado' system, Portugal did not allow the rise and formation of a significant African petty bourgeoisie from which could arise an 'independent' government serving Portugal, as Kenya serves Britain, for instance.

'Majority rule' in Angola or Mozambique could become a social-political reality and not a fraud and is a double-edged sword for Lisbon, apart from frightening Britain and USA, whose eyes are always firstly on S Africa.

Secondly, the local 'White' population, being 99 per cent racialist, could be as much of a problem to Lisbon as the OAS was in Algeria to de Gaulle and as Smith's UDI remains today.

'White' power exists anyway in Angola and Mozambique, but if it existed in the form of local 'White rule', it would upset the political balance both to the South and to the North of the Angola - Rhodesia - Mozambique 'White belt'.

As a result the 'Beira plan' (reported to the writer by first-hand sources in Beira, Mozambique, in June 1970) has no chance of acceptance in Lisbon, Washington or London.

Twin servants of imperialism

The Kaundas were either patronized in a negrophilistic manner by their social democratic mentors, or were ridiculed as 'black bourgeois' and snubbed by their white masters.

In fact, the Kaundas represent a nationalistic semi-colonial bourgeoisie too petty and small in size and capital to match wealth with the trade union and labour bureaucracy of the USA, UK and W Europe. The two are identical twin servants of the same boss—imperialism.

The nature of this semi-colonial bourgeoisie makes it necessary for the far more 'bourgeois' social democratic labour bureaucrats of the USA, Britain and W Europe to place them under ideological tutelage, and for the imperialist bosses of both to rule the semi-colonies with an iron fist, and not with the 'luxury of democracy' that it can, albeit decreasingly, afford in the imperialist Grecian democracies themselves.

An example of this direct tyranny is shown in the recent events of the ex-French colony of Chad in former Equatorial Africa.

There the French Army had to guard French groundnut, tin, and cotton interests because the weak Tombalbaye regime could not stand up to the struggle for real and not paper independence being demanded by its people.

Francois Tombalbaye was the Quising whom France installed to rule after 'independence' was granted in 1960—to Chad—within the French Community.

Over 2,500 French troops were stationed at Fort Lamy and elsewhere to protect French investments against the workers and peasants whom France derided as 'tribalists' and whom all French governments, including the Stalinist-backed Popular Front government of the 1936-1938 period, and that of Thorez and de Gaulle after the 1939-

This leaves Portugal with no options at all in the present situation.

The dilemma of Portuguese imperialism is not only that Angola and Mozambique are major colonies for Portugal, but also that they lie on the northern border of imperialism's greater semi-colony in Africa—apartheid S Africa.

So unless an incalculable element enters the scene, the struggle against Portugal cannot proceed along the lines of the 'independence' struggles in W and E Africa simply by renewing and intensifying imperialism through the device of 'granted independence'.

It is a 'bitter-end' struggle in Angola and Mozambique.

And the consequence of Portugal's dilemma and her allies is also the dilemma of the anti-Portuguese liberation movement.

There is no resolution of this dilemma other than the systematic construction of a party basing the anti-imperialist struggle for independence, land, democracy, education and nationalization on the tried, proven and totally practicable theory of the Permanent Revolution, first enunciated by Marx and Engels and later worked out by Leon Trotsky and acknowledged and approved by Lenin.

Of this theory much must necessarily be said in this column, not only for Angola and Mozambique, but for the rest of Africa as well.

1945 war, repressed murderously.

Early in October 1970 the French press lamented the death of some 11 French soldiers at the hands of the N Chad peasant-guerrillas who were falsely described as 'tribes' but who lost a reported 40 men in what the Algiers Chad Resistance Movement described as a guerrilla victory against France.

The French Army could not take this humiliation lying down and on October 26 claimed to have killed over 100 'Toubou rebels' as a reprisal for the earlier defeat of the French.

Reports

It is certain that the reports of the French press cannot be taken at face value, but equally clear that French 'independence' is not having an easy passage at the hands of its worker and peasant victims.

Their position under French domination is shown by the fact that 99 per cent of the 3.3 million people of Chad live no more than 29 years (less than half the life-span in France); have a per capita annual income of under £30 (about 1/15th that of France); have under 20 per cent of their children in primary schools and less than 5 per cent of those who should be at secondary school are in such schools.

Such is 'life' under French 'civilization' in Chad. And it is against this that the 'backward, savage, tribes' are fighting today.

'Independence' was a manoeuvre of the French 'socialists' and de Gaullists to prevent a Dien Bien Phu in Africa.

Already in 1947 there had been a massive rising in Madagascar (Malagasy) which France, with typical democratic genteelness, overcame by massacring some 150,000 people.

Tsiranana came to power as the French puppet to mask the numerous role of the French Army and only recently helped France to hold naval exercises off Malagasy. His support for 'contact' with Vorster is merely an extension of the French arms sales to Vorster—who, unfortunately for France, happens to be the local manager of what is 90 per cent a British estate.

But French capital has been creeping into S Africa and Mozambique and has hopes of slightly undermining the immense fortress of British interests in S Africa, Rhodesia and Zambia.

This is the reason for Pompidou's double-handed deal with Kaunda in Paris after Kaunda's empty-handed but still servile return from his rebuff by Nixon and Heath.



Francois Tombalbaye

As Contract Deadline Approaches BUG Ranks Demand Living Wage

BY A LOCAL 101 MEMBER

BROOKLYN—At a demonstration here on March 19th in front of the Brooklyn Union Gas Montague Street office, the rank and file of Local 101, whose contract expires at the end of the month, clearly expressed their willingness to fight for a living wage and job security.

Chants of "Strike! Strike!" and loud boos were hurled at supervisory personnel as they left the building. At another point a strong protest arose from the ranks, turning back two postal trucks and drivers when an attempt was made to cross the picket lines.

Throughout the demonstration, the Local 101 Rank and File Caucus contingent intervened with placards, leaflets and slogans calling for "Two dollars an hour or strike," "We want a mass meeting," and "Light the flame under Kirrane," which were taken up by some of the workers. At the end of the demonstration, the head of Local 101, Kirrane, sent a goon squad to physically harass and red bait caucus members.

Such foul methods plainly show for all to see the depths to which the Kirrane leadership will stoop to crush any and all opposition to its bankrupt sellout policies. Indeed it is no surprise that Kirrane has even stooped to the level of trying to split the union along racial lines.

The bureaucracy is so frightened by the rank and file that they are spreading the story that the Rank and File Caucus is an affiliate of the Black Panther Party in an attempt to stir up racism and to split the white and Black workers. Kirrane is using this as a guise to cover up the issues. It is a cover for his complete prostration before the Brooklyn Union Gas (BUG) bosses and

their starvation contract offer.

Kirrane ignored the petition of over 500 signatures collected by the Rank and File Caucus in support of a mass membership meeting and dragged his feet waiting for a settlement at Con Edison. This is all a buildup to the zero hour and an attempt to get a deal from the bottom of the deck.

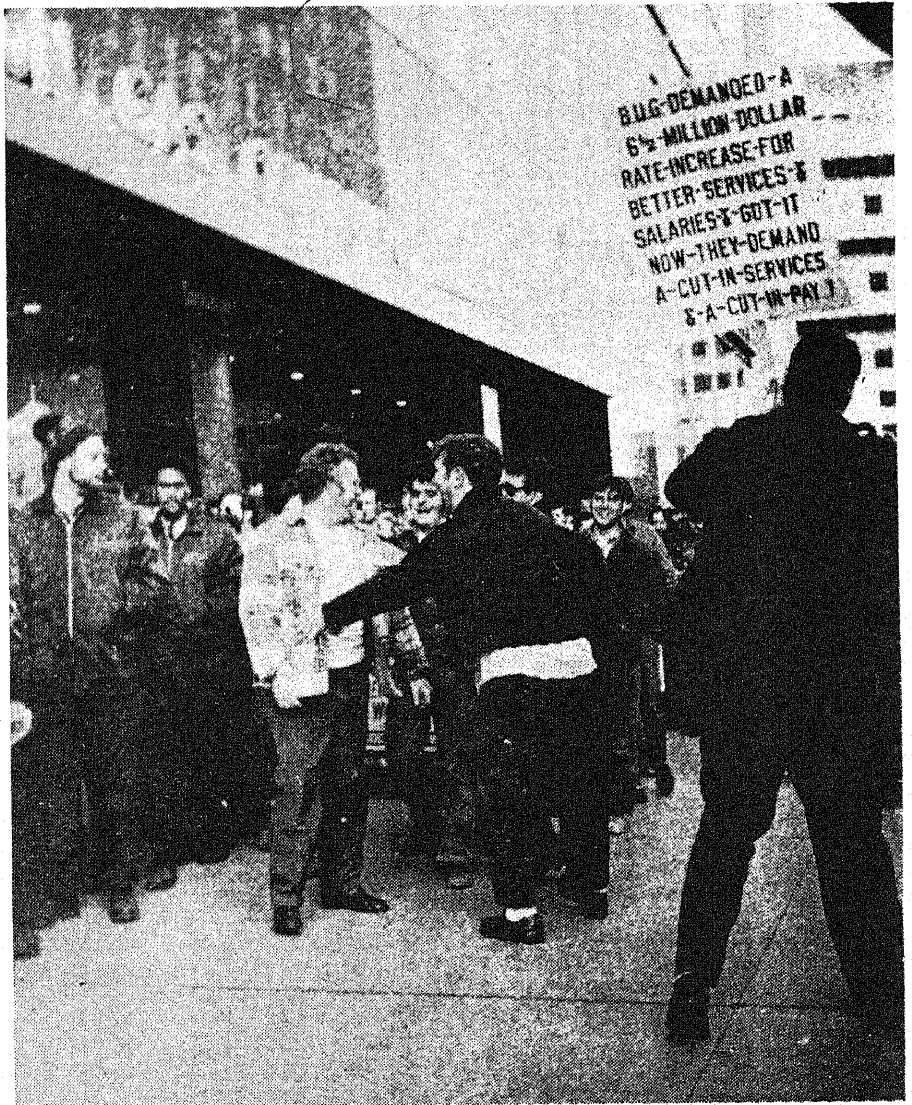
With the BUG bosses sticking to their measly wage offer of 12% over three years and with the militancy of the union members expressed at the demonstration, Kirrane, as one worker from the Canarsie plant expressed it, is in "a hell of a position." He has promised the men that the union will not accept a three year contract and the men will definitely not swallow another one.

DEMANDS

This clearly poses to the ranks the need for a strong caucus within the union, a caucus that will fight for the only demands which will beat back inflation, the attacks of the BUG bosses on jobs and conditions and the underhanded deals of the Kirrane leadership.

The rank and file must go all out for the March 31st mass meeting to fight for nothing less than:

- \$2.00 per hour increase over two years!
- Full cost of living escalator clause!
- Two man crews in dangerous areas!
- No layoffs or forced transfers!
- Same benefits as TWU Local 100!



Brooklyn Union Gas workers, members of Local 101, demonstrate against Company's breaking off negotiations, and attempts to slash wages, destroy job security, conditions.

Bobby Seale Trial Opens

BY KLAUS KNIGHT

NEW HAVEN, March 19—The trial of Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins of the Black Panther Party began yesterday in Superior Court, after four months of pre-trial proceedings.

Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins face the electric chair on trumped up charges of murder and conspiracy to murder. Both have been imprisoned on these charges since the middle of 1969. Seale and Huggins have been accused of "master-minding" the murder of Alex Rackley, a Connecticut Panther whose body was found in a river in May, 1969.

The prosecution is based on the testimony of a police informer within the Black Panther Party, George Sams, who claims that Bobby Seale ordered him to kill Rackley.

It is on Sams testimony that the state is trying to railroad Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins to their death. The only "evidence" which the prosecution has is the admission of a mentally-disturbed paid informer that he himself murdered Rackley!

The flimsiness of the state's evidence and their persistence in trying to frame, jail and murder Panther leaders is shown by the fact that they had to release three other Panthers facing lesser charges in the case, and that they offered four other defendants immunity if they would testify against Bobby and Ericka.

Margaret Huggins, a Panther who had testified earlier for Lonnie McClucas in his trial, was grabbed as she entered court and subpoenaed to testify for the prosecution. But, her testimony makes absolutely no connection between Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins and the death of Alex Rackley.

The ruling class has deliberately created an atmosphere of repression and racist hysteria through their press against the Panthers, and in articles like those in the New York Times magazine of last week, which tries to use the split in the Panthers as a way of attacking the defense of Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins, and obscuring the meaning of this trial.

The attacks and witchhunts and sham trials of the Black Panthers and other militants are a preparation for the wholesale attacks by the capitalist class against the working class. The fight to defend Bobby Seale, Ericka Huggins and all political prisoners is the fight to build a Marxist movement to bring the working class to power.

ILA Leaders Accept LASH Job Cuts

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK—International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) leaders, Teddy Gleason and Tony Scotto, are competing to see who can offer the most outrageous sellout. Earlier this year Scotto refused to allow Brooklyn longshoremen to honor even an ILA official strike against the LASH Turkiye, which shipped a scab crew on its maiden voyage.

Gleason was in the thick of settling that dispute, working out a deal by which LASH will be accepted in maritime, although it really requires no longshoremen at all—barges can simply be nudged into place by tugs and loaded on board ship by a few men.

Gleason's "deal" of getting full longshoremen's gangs on each barge leaves untouched the principle of LASH—that each ship can replace five or more conventional ships and will certainly lead to massive unemployment on the docks. The only reason LASH is being used at all is to cut down on manpower.

Now Gleason is taking forward this sellout by trying to prove the "compatibility" of LASH to the interests of both owners and dockers. In return he is proposing that they do not use the Taft-Hartley law against the ILA in this fall's contract negotiations.

Earlier this month, he spoke at the Rudder Club giving assurances that there would be no strike at the expiration of the contract on September 30.

Tony Scotto is going even further than Gleason. This "militant" spoke earlier this month at the Maritime Management Institute seminar in New York saying that

the New York Shipping Association has a "rough time" meeting the ILA assessments for the pay guarantee and container bonus. He then stated that it would not be necessary to depend on the guarantee if the union could guard its work jurisdiction. This would mean giving up the guarantee in return for keeping stripping and stuffing rules for containers.

The very next day the Maritime Management Institute, mouthpiece for the shippers, made clear its hostility to any compromise by attacking just what Scotto proposed to "defend" by giving up the guarantee. A speaker stated that it was just the stripping and stuffing of containers, along with other work rules, that had to be smashed.

The Nixon Administration itself, through the Federal Maritime Commission, stepped into the shippers-ILA battle by taking up complaints by Transamerican Trailer Transport that it could not pay the ILA assessment in New York that is

used to pay out for the wage guarantees. The bosses have made it clear that they intend to knock out the guarantee and the work rules won in the last contract.

The shippers are at war against the ILA. In this battle the strongest weapon against the rank and file is the ILA bureaucracy itself. The fight now is to build a new leadership. The wage guarantee must be defended and taken forward with a contract granting a big wage hike the first year. The container money must be paid out in full and at once to all men in the ILA. The work week must be cut to thirty hours at full pay to give more employment.

Gleason's phony LASH "victory" must be turned into a boycott of all LASH ships which, under bosses' control, can only eat up more jobs. The shippers such as U.S. Lines and American Export-Isbrandtsen who are going broke must be nationalized without compensation and run by the workers.

Solidarity House Employees Strike UAW

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT—In the last few months news concerning the auto industry has been dominated by the strike of the General Motors' workers and the contract the auto workers here received.

For the last week the 350 members of the Office and Personnel Employees Union, Local 42, have been picketing Solidarity House, the headquarters of the UAW. They are mostly the secretaries that work in Solidarity House. The issue is wages. They want a \$10.85 a week increase and vacation

pay. The UAW bureaucracy is offering them \$8.05 a week.

The strike is significant because it shows the extreme crisis the bureaucracy faces. In the next few months, Woodcock, Mazey, and Company will be facing a wave of strikes throughout auto. Grievances and absenteeism are raging in the plants. The afternoon shift of Local 124 Fisher Body has asked the union bureaucracy for a strike vote over working conditions.


The strike by Local 42 shows that no section of the auto industry, no matter how close to the bureaucracy, will accept a decline in living standards and worsening working conditions without a strike.

Secondly, the strike shows again the reactionary character of the UAW leadership. Emil Mazey, the Secretary-Treasurer of the UAW, publicly referred to the strikers' demands as "selfish and greedy." It is only the most vicious and vile of the bourgeois press that use this terminology in referring to the strike demands. Mazey is clearly reflecting the bureaucracy's attitude toward the workers' demands.

At the 1942 convention of the UAW a raise in salary for union officers was proposed. Mazey, then a militant, rose in opposition. He argued: "Pay them like bosses and they'll think like bosses." So true. So convincingly proved by Mazey now in the UAW bureaucracy.

This should be a lesson to all auto workers. They will get nothing from Woodcock, Mazey and Company. This bureaucracy must be toppled.

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Haitian Revolutionaries Must Fight For Socialism

BY JACQUES GAGNON

NEW YORK—On March 27th, 100 years since the Paris Commune, the Haitian opposition will hold a demonstration against Duvalier. It is critical that this demonstration take a new direction which reflects a complete break with the bourgeois classes. This is, of course, the meaning of the Commune.

Previous demonstrations in New York and Washington show the way forward in that they represent the beginnings of a break with underground propaganda circle activity and a movement towards mass struggle. The old exile politics are bankrupt but what is now required is not only mass struggle but a political development which means a complete break from the class policies of Duvalier. We do not want to replace one Duvalier with another!

GROUPS

The "Haitian Resistance" since the coming to power of Francois Duvalier, became the focal point of all political trends, including leftists, militarists and even the anarchists. This situation poses the need for a deep analysis of the role played by each tendency and the dangers that they represent.

The MR 12N (Revolutionary Movement of November 12th) is a pro-fascist movement. It is the last gasp of the ancient aristocracy which ceased to be revolutionary upon independence. The components of this group are diverse. It includes the old bourgeoisie, the elite of the old, and the new army, and of course, the anarchists.

Recently, this group formed a bloc with the "Gerald Baker Brigade" to prepare for armed struggle against Duvalier with the aid of the United Nations and American imperialism. This totally desperate perspective expresses the anxious character of the decaying bourgeoisie, searching for a new lease on life in adventurism.

It is dominated by the ex-officers of Duvalier's army, the darlings of the reactionaries who escaped the occasional purges of the dictator. Hunters of militants in Haiti on Duvalier's side, they become the champions of national unity against Duvalier in New York with the militants. This flip flopping between right and left at various times is quite revealing; it is the building block of fascism.

NATIONAL

National unity, in its essence is reactionary. This concept is counterrevolutionary since its main objective is class unity, i.e., the sublimated union of antagonistic classes. Nevertheless, this concept is not new. It is based on Duvalierism in all its nakedness. It comes from Duvalier and it is followed by his most devoted disciples, Francois Benoit and Yves Volel.

If there is any doubt about that, let us hear the dictator through Rodger Gaillard in relationship to the problems of classes:

"Their existence is a fact, their struggle can lead the nation to the abyss, but the latter can save itself by the union of its classes, on the condition of course that the champion of this union shall be the larger class, led by leaders who think that 'class' will lead of necessity to 'nation.'" (Duvalier, Essential Works, Volume 1, p. 893)

The only relationship that can possibly exist between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is exploitation. It is true that their existence is a fact but the fact of their existence cannot be taken for granted. They do not exist separately either. There

is a dialectic that links them. This dialectic, through clash, not unity, always ends by a transformation of the entire society or by the mutual destruction of both classes.



Haitian dictator "Papa Doc" Duvalier, with his son Jean, who is to follow him.

Our militarists do not accept this latter position because it does not correspond to their fascistic dream. F. Benoit, the theoretician of the group, informs us that it is impossible to make a revolution with the "illiterate masses." The revolution has to come from "above." The alliance of the progressive section of the army with the intelligentsia is required for the overthrow of the present regime and the establishment of a "nationalist government based on the army." To think bourgeois in the Duvalier sense is tantamount to thinking nation.

Nationalism is a bourgeois ideology. Among the discontented middle classes and lumpen elements, like those around the "Brigade" it serves as a basis for fascism. The feeble Haitian bourgeoisie cannot complete this revolution. It is reactionary in every way.

It will take a proletariat revolution in Haiti in order to make full use of the productive forces and lay the groundwork for socialism. All militant workers and youth should beware of such slogans as "National Unity," "Honor" and "Patriotism." These abstractions were used by Duvalier before he was elected president. They are still being used by Nixon and Agnew to divide the working class on the question of racism and anti-patriotism. The Hitler and Franco regimes sprang from these very conceptions.

Haitian chauvinism is to be fought by mobilizing the working masses around a class program not national unity. A class program cannot be abstractly conceived outside the construction of a revolutionary party.

This party must be based on Bolshevism-Trotskyism. The national struggle of Haitians is not separated from the international class struggle. Only with the participation in the international struggle of the Fourth International can we acquire the necessary strength to defeat Duvalier, the nationalist-fascists and imperialism.

Only through the socialist revolution can Haiti free itself from imperialism and poverty. What is now required of Haitians in New York is to participate as part of the Workers League to build a revolutionary party here to bring about the unity of the working class in America including its Haitian section. At the same time a party must be constructed to take forward the struggle for socialism now in exile and soon in Haiti itself.

CP SABOTAGES DAVIS, MAGEE DEFENSE

BY PAT CONNOLLY

The judge in the Angela Davis-Ruchell Magee case, Judge John McMurray, disqualified himself on March 17th after Ruchell Magee made a motion that the entire proceedings take place in Federal Court, and moved that the judge disqualify himself as prejudiced.

Both Magee and Davis are charged with murder, kidnapping and criminal conspiracy growing out of the Marin County courthouse incident last summer, in which Jonathan Jackson, two prison inmates from San Quentin, and a judge died. Magee is accused of killing the judge, and Davis is accused of buying and supplying the guns to Jonathan Jackson.

The pretrial motions are taking place in a highly charged and repressive atmosphere. Magee enters the courtroom chained and is chained to his chair, surrounded by guards.

On March 17th, when Magee made the motions, the heavily guarded court was in the middle of hearing arguments on a motion to have the indictment against Davis dismissed.

The complete bankruptcy of the policies of the Communist Party are exposed in

this case. While Angela Davis' battery of lawyers are moving for bail, Magee, with two court appointed lawyers, is fighting alone for the right to defend himself. He had no chance to question or challenge the appointed lawyers and wants to be able to present his own case.

After Magee made the motions he was led in chains from the courtroom into a separate room where he was to hear the court proceedings through electronic equipment. When he stamped his feet in protest at being moved from the courtroom itself, the radio connecting his room and the court was shut off so his rattling chains could not be heard in the court.

After this motion, Angela's lawyers moved for a bail hearing for her.

In its paper the Daily World, the CP clearly expressed its point of view. Under a subhead "Magee's Attitude," in the March 19 issue the CP states:

"Though Miss Davis and Magee have been made co-defendants by the state, their cases contain different elements.

"Magee who has been in prison many years on an indeterminate sentence, had a bitter experience with some attorneys and came to the conclusion that no lawyer is to be trusted. On that ground he insists on defending himself."

The article then goes on to say:

"The indictment links Miss Davis to the Magee case and the alleged conspiracy to kidnap the judge because, according to the prosecution theory, she bought and registered the guns allegedly brought into court by Jackson. She was no where near the scene and there is not an iota of evidence in the indictment to show that Miss Davis had anything to do with their use in that court."

MORALITY

What the Communist Party is doing is "defending" Angela Davis on the basis of bourgeois legality and morality, and civil liberties. They want to forget about Ruchell Magee, treat him like a political leper, because he cannot be defended on the basis of bourgeois morality. He can only be defended on a class basis. This is what the Daily World means when it speaks of the two cases as having "different elements."

But the question is not whether Angela Davis is "innocent" or "guilty" by bourgeois law. What does the CP say about Jonathan Jackson? By bourgeois law he was guilty of all that Magee and Davis are charged with. His only chance, had he survived the brutal onslaught of the police, would have been a defense of insurrection, a defense of revolutionary struggle.



Ruchell Magee.

In the eyes of the working class of the world, Jonathan Jackson, Ruchell Magee and Angela Davis are innocent of crime—the judges who enforce class rule, and the capitalists in whose interest it is made, are the criminals.

This is what the Stalinist CP will not confront, cannot confront, because of its stake not only in bourgeois legality, but in the preservation of capitalism itself. Jonathan Jackson's action went completely against the policies of peaceful coexistence, class compromise and class collaboration of the Stalinists. This is why they cannot defend those who survived the Marin County Courthouse shoot-out.

Magee has more than legitimate grounds to distrust lawyers, and in particular, state-appointed lawyers. He has every right to have the lawyers he wants or to defend himself, just as Bobby Seale fought to do in Chicago, and like Bobby Seale he is being chained and gagged and subjected to the most vicious treatment.

CLASS

The Stalinists' policies of class collaboration and "peaceful coexistence" will mean defeat, not just for Angela Davis and Ruchell Magee, but for the working class as a whole.

The fight to free Ruchell Magee and Angela Davis and all political prisoners must be based on the movement of the working class and the fight for the working class to smash capitalism to end exploitation and oppression.

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PARIS COMMUNE -- THE LESSONS FOR TODAY

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, March 18—Nearly 125 people crowded into the Workers League commemoration meeting on the 100th anniversary of the Paris Commune. At the side of the meeting hall were large portraits of Marx and Engels. At the front of the hall was a huge hammer and sickle and the closing sentences from an article written by Lenin in 1911 on the Commune:

"The cause of the Commune is the cause of the social revolution, the cause of the complete political and economic emancipation of the toilers. It is the cause of the proletariat of the whole world, and in this sense it is immortal."

The main speaker was Fred Mueller. Comrade Mueller began by referring to these sentences of Lenin, and stressing that just as important to our understanding of the Commune was the way he had ended an article in 1908, referring to both the Commune and the Russian Revolution of 1905: "And although these magnificent uprisings of the working class were crushed, there will be another uprising, in face of which the forces of the enemies of the proletariat will prove ineffective, and from which the socialist proletariat will emerge completely victorious."

For us the Commune is alive because we prepare for a new Commune, on a vastly greater, more powerful scale, and one which will succeed. The lessons of the Commune are more urgent than ever because of the tremendous revolutionary struggles we have entered into.

ALIVE

This is the meaning of the British general strike involving over two million workers which took place on the day of this commemoration meeting. This is the meaning of the tremendous capitalist crisis, the May-June events in France which brought that country to the brink of revolution, and the determined struggle of the workers in Poland and in the other countries ruled by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

In Southeast Asia, the speaker said, "For 25 years the military might of French and then American imperialism, and the diplomatic maneuvers and sell-outs assisted so crucially at every point by the Stalinist traitors, have failed to stop the struggles of the Vietnamese workers and peasants."

In the U.S. itself, we no longer have just national strikes encompassing one section of the working class, but strike action drawing in many sections at once, strikes posing sharply the very existence of the labor movement, and calls from the union movement for general strike action against the ruling class and government attacks.

The Commune is alive because the conditions that gave rise to it not only still exist, but have deepened and matured.

Paris 1871 was the first time the working class took power in its own name. The immediate background to the Commune was the Second Empire of Louis Napoleon, who took governmental power out of the direct control of the capitalist class in order to serve the long range interests of this class.

The bankrupt Bonapartist regime sought to extend French frontiers at all costs. The final result was the war between France and Germany in 1870, which led to a series of rapid defeats for the French.

After the surrender of Napoleon in September 1870, the Third Republic was set up, and a "Government of National Defense" was formed to continue the war. This quickly became a "Government of National Defection," in Marx's words, since the bourgeoisie feared its own working class 100 times more than it feared the foreign enemy.

But the Parisian workers were armed in the National Guard, and when Paris surrendered on January 8, 1871, it was under the unprecedented conditions of the workers retaining their arms and the conquerors not daring to enter Paris.

The French government was now headed by Thiers, who was to become the notorious butcher of the Commune. Thiers knew what had to be done, and he did not shrink from the moves necessary to defend capitalism. On March 18, 1871, he sent troops to confiscate the arms of the National Guard. He was repulsed, civil war was declared, and Thiers and his government fled to Versailles.

POWER

This was the beginning of the Commune. Power had been thrust into the hands of the workers and their leaders, who had no clear idea of what was happening.

The Commune had no clear program in the beginning. The deepening class struggle had burst to the surface in the

wake of the war and the treachery of the capitalists. But the measures taken by the Commune in self-defense were to clarify its class character.

The Commune abolished conscription



Fred Mueller speaks on the meaning of the Paris Commune of 1871 and its lessons for the working class today at packed meeting in Labor Hall in New York.

and the standing army. The Central Committee appealed to the voters to "avoid the property owners, for it is an extremely rare occurrence when a person who is well-off is inclined to consider a worker as his brother." The Commune declared that 6,000 francs was to be the highest salary of its functionaries. It decreed the separation of church and state, it destroyed the Victory Column of Place Vendôme, the first Napoleon's symbol of chauvinism and national hatred. It began the tabulation of factories closed by their previous owners and made plans to have them run by the workers.

The Versailles government gradually took the upper hand in the civil war, with the crucial aid of Bismarck himself. But the Commune did not go down without a fight. In spite of treachery, against all the odds, the workers fought to the end because they understood they had no other choice. It took eight days of fierce fighting in the east end of Paris to finally vanquish the Communards.

MARX

Marx and Engels were participants in this revolutionary struggle. Supporters of the First International were among the most active participants in Paris.

Marx understood the Commune as part of the forward movement of the working class, the actual movement of reality and the class struggle, a new source of knowledge, inspiration and above all of theory.

The Commune began as a defense of the Republic and the working class against the treachery of the bourgeoisie. It was forced by the logic of events to take measures against capitalism, but it did not win because it lacked conscious revolutionary leadership.

The Commune proved the necessity of smashing the old state apparatus, and it showed what this apparatus was to be replaced by, a new form of rule, a workers state.

BOLSHEVIKS

The Commune did not die with its defeat. Basing themselves on an understanding of the Commune, the leaders of the Russian Revolution proved in practice that it was not dead. The Bolsheviks built the party which the Communards did not have, they avenged the Commune. The Soviets came to power in October, 1917, expropriated the capitalists, instituted the monopoly of foreign trade, built the Red Army and defeated the enemy, and appealed for the extension of the revolution on a world scale.

The leaders of the Russian Revolution, Lenin and Trotsky, built the revolutionary party through the most ruthless struggle on the economic, theoretical and political fronts, the most ruthless struggle against the theory and philosophy of the class enemy as it was expressed in the workers' movement. That is how a party was built which could wage the necessary ruthless struggle against the murderous heirs of Thiers.

The bourgeoisie could not continue to

rule for a day without fooling the masses, using "socialist" and "communist" phraseology through its agents within the working class.

The Stalinist bureaucracy and the Communist Parties around the world carry on the dirty work of trickery and betrayal on a far larger scale than it was done in the days of the Commune or the Russian Revolution.

The privileged bureaucracy destroyed the Bolshevik Party, endangers all the gains of the Revolution, and covers up and distorts the meaning of the Commune.

continued existence of capitalism and a precarious balance between the working class and imperialism.

The pressure of the ruling class takes another form within the revolutionary movement, the Trotskyist movement. Here a retreat from theory turns all the lessons of the Commune into their opposite. The revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party utilize the same method as the Stalinists in adapting to surface movements rather than struggling to lead the working class. This expresses a complete capitulation to the Stalinists and the bourgeoisie.

This is the meaning of the revisionist theory of neo-capitalism, the conception that the capitalists can postpone their crisis indefinitely, that the working class is no longer the decisive revolutionary force and that it is no longer necessary to build a revolutionary party based upon the working class and in struggle against Stalinism and revisionism.

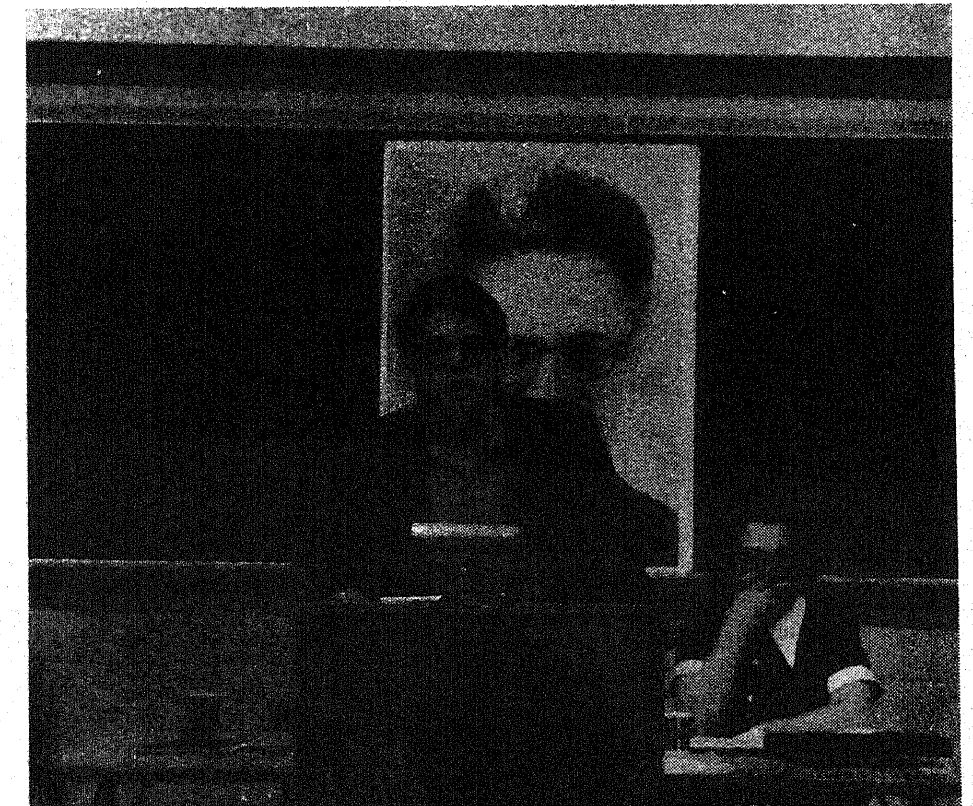
In 1871 the workers were forced to take the power when the odds were against them. In 1971 we are faced with a vastly different situation, with the choice posed more sharply than ever before—socialism or barbarism. Yet the Stalinists and revisionists want to deny this, want to keep the working class within the limits of capitalism, want to throw the working class back before 1871 in terms of theory and understanding. This is the full meaning of their counterrevolutionary politics.

While the question of civil war is posed once more, the revisionists base their perspective entirely on nationalism, women's liberation and every bankrupt middle class movement. They feed the betrayals of the Stalinists, who now come forward more and more aggressively to tie the struggles of the working class and the youth to the liberal bourgeoisie.

On every front of the class struggle the Stalinists put forward the line of the popular front. They call on the "American people" to defend Angela Davis, they completely support the liberals in the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucracy, they derail the militant struggles of the youth into reformist channels, and they present their People's Peace Treaty campaign as a means of achieving unity with the capitalists directed against the workers.

And the revisionists line up behind the Stalinists at each crucial moment. This is shown clearly in the plans for the April 24th march on Washington, where both Stalinists and revisionists are now working closely to mobilize hundreds of thousands behind the protest of the liberals at Nixon's policies in Southeast Asia.

The struggle for the Commune in the U.S. today is the fight for power. The Workers League is fighting for a mass convocation of labor to take forward the general strike movement against the attacks of Nixon and the bosses and the building of a labor party to take up the political struggle and pose the only solution possible, the solution of the Commune, workers power.



Bob Jackson speaks at meeting commemorating Paris Commune. Meeting was sponsored by the Workers League and the University of Minnesota Workers League club. The "Workers Press" and "Youth International" films were shown and discussion followed.



San Jose Cops Hit Youth With Arrests And Raids

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER
SAN JOSE—Acting in accordance with its stated objective of crushing left movements in San Jose, the San Jose Police Department has in recent days arrested a total of nineteen members of local radical groups.

from an incident at San Jose State College, on March 4th, where anti-recruiter demonstrators fought dozens of San Jose uniformed tactical squaders, plainclothesmen, and campus security forces. Originally, a confrontation between police and a small group of demonstrators who were carrying a mock oil derrick to the entrance of the room where Standard Oil was recruiting resulted in the injury of five policemen and the arrest of several of the militants.

This action was met by the call for thirty plainclothesmen who arrived a short time before the appearance of riot-gear tactical squad police. Eye witnesses and an Associated Student Body investigating board determined that it was this body, "fired up" by the original scuffles, whose imposing presence and intimidation instigated the major outbreaks of violence. Beatings and macings ensued as a number of the demonstrators and surprised bystanders were arrested and taken away.

ARMADA

With thirteen demonstrators then jailed, the police were apparently not satiated as the following days saw continued repression throughout the city. Five more people were arrested as police in a seven-car armada raided houses, both kicking in doors and searching houses without presenting warrants, while rounding up those accused of crimes during anti-recruiting demonstrations as long ago as February 23.

At the same time, four more people were arrested at another local college, San Jose City College, for presenting the "possibility (!) of creating a disturbance" and "trespassing" (on a public campus). It appears that with such attacks the groundwork is being laid for further repression of every radical and left group in San Jose.

REPRESSION

The repression here can only be seen in the context of the offensive of the capitalists to drive back the living standards of the American working class. Any militant or organization which fights these attacks faces the same viciousness which the San Jose Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Union have recently collided with.

When analyzed on this class basis it will be evident that those arrested in San Jose are political prisoners and are victims of the same attacks that put Angela Davis, Juan Farinas, and all other political prisoners in the hands of Nixon's courts.

An answer to the blatant attacks and to the metropolitan squad police who have vowed that "We're going to crush the San Jose Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Union in San Jose by summer," students here must fight for a student strike based on class demands against the war, repression, educational cutbacks and unemployment, with the perspective of building toward a general strike of the entire labor movement.

SF Teachers Strike -- All City Labor Must Go Out!

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—Last week Mayor Alioto sucked enough "blood out of a turnip" in a vain attempt to re-assert his image as "Friend of Labor." On March 18 he signed a 4% pay raise for city employees into law.

"I realize that this increase doesn't match the increase in the cost of living, but the taxpayers simply cannot afford more at this time," he said, while notably omitting any reference to his friends in the Chamber of Commerce.

He acknowledged that a mere 4% increase is "not generous in relation to the cost of living, but in relation to what is happening in other cities, where salaries have been cut and employees laid off."

Labor Council Executive Secretary, George Johns, refused to give strike sanction to the Hospital Workers and Janitors last Tuesday on the basis that city workers really do not want to strike. But the fact is that despite the fear of another sellout by union leaders, those two unions voted to strike. Whereas Local 400 did vote "no" much of the discontent was over the strike demands. Months before the strike vote many sections tried to amend the demands to include a fight against layoffs, but the union leaders refused to open up discussion on the demands. Many conjecture that if this demand had been taken up seriously the vote would have been "yes."

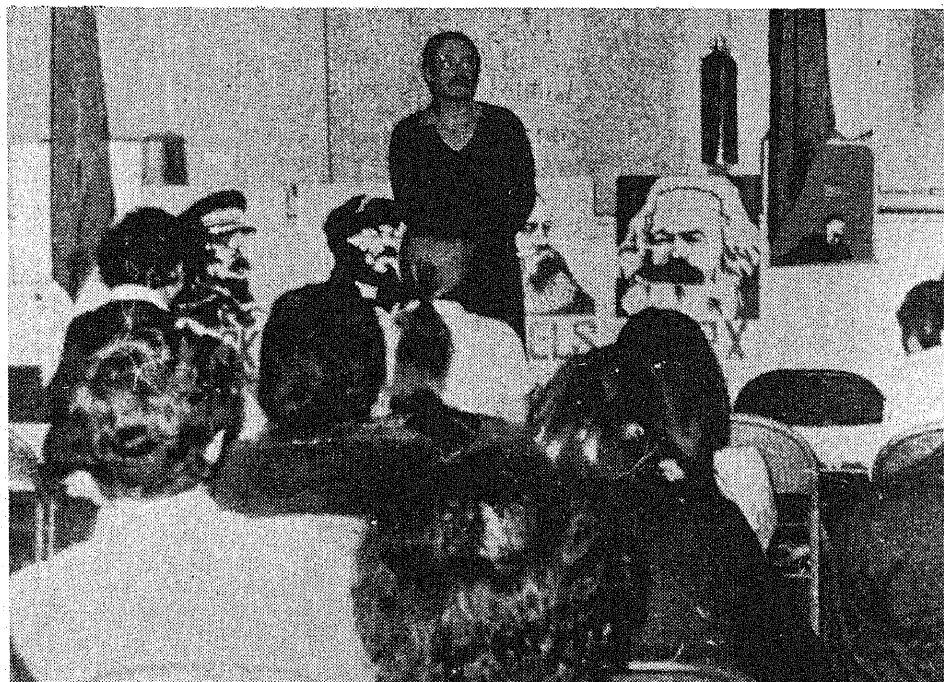
In his statement on TV, Johns was quick to add that the "no" vote was "not to be interpreted as rebellion against the union leadership." But nine out of ten city workers will tell anyone just the opposite.

Last week at a building meeting, one city department voted for a resolution that read, "We feel that the 'no' vote at the strike meeting is a vote of no confidence in our leadership and we demand the resignation of Executive Secretary John Jeffrey." More sections are meeting in the next few weeks to discuss this resolution and to prepare for a new leadership that will fight City Hall.

Union elections come up this spring and the Rank and File Caucus of Local 400 will fight for one of the central issues to

STOP PRESS: March 24—The teachers in the city of San Francisco have gone out on strike. A number of other unions—janitors, transit, hospital and clerks—have voted to go out on strike. What must now take place is a general strike of all city labor supported by the entire labor movement. Local 400, which has just received a measly 4% wage raise, must reverse itself and vote to strike as well.

be the building of a labor party, that Local 400 fight in the Labor Council



Juan Farinas, now on a national tour, speaking (above) before a meeting in San Francisco. After meetings in Los Angeles, San Jose, San Diego and on various campuses, Farinas will continue his tour in the Midwest next week.

NTU Leaders Accept Gibson's Offer, Prepare Sellout

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEWARK, March 23—As the teachers strike goes into its eighth week here, a sellout on the contract is all but accomplished.

The leadership of the Newark Teachers Union, for all its militant rhetoric, has accepted Gibson's wage offer of no money the first year and \$500 in the second year. All that needs to be done now is to make the contract palatable to the membership.

The NTU leaders are trying to maneuver around the question of wages by saying that "we didn't start this strike over money anyway" and by claiming that the major question now facing the union is that of binding arbitration in grievance procedures.

MAJOR

But the major question in the strike revolves precisely around the wage issues. With Nixon's cutbacks in spending on education, the city government of Newark, like those in the rest of the country, is trying to make the workers pay for the crisis of capitalism. Thus, it is forced to attack not only educational standards, but also the

teachers union and this of necessity takes on a political form.

Because the NTU leadership begins with a blind acceptance of the crisis and the need to work within its confines, these leaders must logically give in to Gibson's demands. And because they accept the "legality" of the imprisonment of three of their leaders, they see no reason to fight these jailings.

PROSTRATION

This political prostration before Gibson and his hirelings on the part of the NTU leadership which sees this strike as an isolated trade union struggle now leads to an outright betrayal of the Newark teachers.

This must be stopped now! The road being taken by the NTU leaders must be reversed. A rank and file committee must be formed which will lead the fight for a strategy that will win the strike. Only the harshest fight can now prevent the strike from collapsing into a complete defeat.

Teachers and trade unionists cannot afford the bootlicking of the Communist Party and the Labor Committee in their uncritical support to the betrayals being developed by the NTU bureaucracy.

The line-up of the Labor Committee and its paper, New Solidarity, with the Stalinists of the CP only gives the NTU bureaucrats a militant "left" cover which they use to hide their preparations for the sellout.

GENERAL

Only the Workers League has consistently fought for a program of victory for the NTU by calling for a general

Can Pact Danger To Steel Ranks

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

Some 36,000 members of the United Steelworkers have now ended a month long strike against three of the four major can manufacturers. The strike began on February 15.

The contract accepted by the union's Can Industry Conference is based on that made with National Can, where agreement was reached at the last minute without a strike.

It includes wage increases going from 75 cents to \$1.023 over three years, a full cost of living clause beginning in 1972, and pension increases.

But what those Steelworkers who struck American Can, Continental Can and Crown

strike of the labor movement of Newark to last until all the union's demands are met, including \$1,000 first year raise, no binding arbitration, free the jailed NTU leaders.

Only a general strike aimed at defeating Gibson's attack can begin to prepare the working class for its struggles ahead. Marciano and the AFL-CIO must be made to call this strike. The outcome of the NTU strike will effect all future struggles of the labor movement.

Cork and Seal now want to know is this: if they could get this with no strike at National Can, why could not four weeks of strike action force the other three companies to make a better settlement? Equally important, why was the demand for a shorter work week, supposedly USWA policy, never seriously raised in the can negotiations?

What this all means is that the Steelworkers International leadership intends to use the can contracts as their pattern for the upcoming contracts in aluminum, copper and basic steel.

What Steelworkers must now take up is the fight to build a strong rank and file movement that can prevent their present leadership from imposing such settlements.