

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOL. 7 NO. 21-181 FEBRUARY 1, 1971 103 TEN CENTS

A Political Review

**SEIZE THE TIME**  
**BY BOBBY**  
**SEALE**

FEB 8 1971



State Of Union Speech Reveals Move To Bonapartism

# NIXON PLANS INFLATION FREEZE ON WAGES



Orrie Chambers, organizer of New Jersey State Federation of Teachers, speaking at Newark rally in defense of Juan Farinas. Rally marked growth of support for Farinas.

## *Labor Support Grows For Farinas*

**New Series In This Issue**

# CLASS STRUGGLES IN

# AFRICA

BY  
N. MAKANDA



# New Deal Pushed In Mid East; Stalinists Back Attacks On PFLP

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

New movement is being made towards a deal in the Middle East, a deal paid for with the blood of the Palestinian revolutionaries. Emboldened by Jordan's armed defeat of the guerrilla movement, the Arab bourgeois regimes are moving toward a new deal with Israel, their movement being oiled by U.S. imperialism.

The elements of the deal are now in the works. Israel's latest proposal is so constructed as to concede that at least some of the territory it occupies will have to be returned to the Arabs. The Arabs, while formally insisting upon a return to the true lines existing before the Israeli invasion have, particularly through Egypt's cooperation in cease fire arrangements, made clear their willingness to compromise on almost everything.

The deal that is in the works will no doubt leave under Israeli control—with a possible United Nations cover—the areas contiguous to Israel, leave most of the useless desert in Arab hands while some mutually agreed to United Nations or joint body will patrol the Suez. Most important to the imperialists is a situation where the

disarmed and decapitated.

This latest reactionary move is openly endorsed by the Daily World, organ of the American Communist Party, in an article in its January 19 issue entitled "Jordan Patriots to Act Against Provocateurs." This article goes so far as to state of the PFLP that "its action have caused more harm to the Arabs than to anybody else." "Anybody else" obviously includes the Israelis, U.S. imperialism and the Hussein regime! It then blames the 20,000 casualties of the civil war in Jordan upon it and not Hussein and the imperialists. Needless to say, this like all "Daily World Foreign Department" articles are written directly from Tass and other Moscow sources reflecting not only the counterrevolutionary policies of the American CP but of the whole Stalinist world.

## EXPLOSIVE

However, the Stalinists and the imperialists are very uneasy over Habash precisely because in their blows against the Palestinian movement they have both forced sections of the guerrillas underground and to the left politically. Their victories on the surface are creating an extremely explosive situation underneath.

In the meantime back in the oil fields the Shah of Iran, in the style of "revolutionary" Nixon has begun talking of "neocolonialism" and threatening to turn off the oil in the course of negotiations between the oil producing and imperialist oil consuming countries. These negotiations could have a great deal to do with the future settlement which imperialism seeks to impose on the Middle East, the major oil producing area.

It has been in large part the closing of the Suez Canal which has created a tight oil supply situation allowing the oil producing countries a certain bargaining power. The imperialists are well aware of that and they also note that under all the bluster the Shah and buddies want to strike a favorable deal before a Middle East deal opens the Suez again. The imperialists on the other hand want to open the Suez so that they will have to make minimum concessions to the oil producing countries during a period of capitalist crisis where they need every penny of super profits they can drain out of the underdeveloped countries.

## PRICE

One would think under such circumstances that the solution for the imperialists would be to insist upon the collaboration of these reactionary leaders of oil producing countries in forcing through a deal which will open up the Suez as the price for a moderate percentile increase now for the producing countries. The United States government is deeply involved in this maneuvering as the Justice Department has privately assured the American oil companies that they will not be prosecuted under anti-trust laws for any joint deal they work out with the producer countries.

The entire situation is creating new conditions for revolutionary explosions in the Middle East. No deal will go through peacefully but the needs of the imperialists for such a deal increase daily as does their pressure on their lackeys in the region. The revolutionary masses have learned through bitter experience certain lessons about the bourgeois nationalist leaders and their opportunist and Stalinist lackeys. The situation is therefore highly favorable for the construction of sections of the Fourth International. This is now more than ever the urgent task.



New Mideast deal of imperialists is threatened by the masses and the guerrillas.

Suez is reopened with their influence dominant over it while the bourgeois regimes on both sides are strengthened against the masses.

## DEAL

The main impediment to the deal so far has been the rebellious Arab masses. So long as Jordan in particular and Lebanon and other contiguous countries were vulnerable to revolutionary overthrow by the masses through guerrilla leadership then no deal could be implemented. It is the hope of the imperialists now that with the help of the Stalinists the Palestinian movement has been so weakened that such a deal can take place. It is their hope but by no means is it yet clear that this hope will be fulfilled.

It is important that right at the moment of the new Israeli offer the Palestine Liberation Organization, whose main ingredient is El Fatah and which is uncritically supported by the Communist Party and the revisionist Socialist Workers Party, announced that it would join with Jordan's army in putting down Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine should it violate the cease fire agreement under which the Palestinian movement is being

## EDITORIAL

# Nixon Spells Out Plans To Crush Working Class

Nixon's State of the Union address can only be described as one of the most reactionary statements yet to come forth from the ruling class. It reflects the sharp turn of the capitalist class which is going to war against the powerful American working class.

With the claim that he was "returning power to the people", Nixon used the semi-fascistic demogogy of the Huey Longs, the George Wallaces, the Goldwaters and the Buckleys. When Nixon talks about returning to 1776, he is talking about turning back all the gains the working class has won since its very existence.

Behind Nixon's preparation for dictatorship lies the tremendous threat the offensive of the working class now poses. Nixon has decided to meet it head on. Nixon's State of the Union message is just the beginning. He has now made it clear that he intends to deliver a separate message on measures "to deal with strikes creating national emergencies."

Only days before his message, Nixon gave an ultimatum to the trade union movement. Either the wage offensive is stopped or the government will institute a wage freeze and will pass what legislation is necessary to subdue the unions.

Two weeks ago Secretary of Labor Hodgson lashed out at the construction unions. He said that if there were a "button" the Administration could push to stop the wage increase, they would push it.

Now they have pushed the button. In a private meeting last week with representatives of the construction industry and the unions, Nixon laid it on the line. He gave them thirty days to come up with a "system of self control."

Nixon who in the past has been the number one opponent of controls has now changed his line. At this meeting he bluntly said that the Administration was preparing to move towards a wage freeze.

Big tax credits are to be given to business, price increases are to be allowed as with steel, but American workers are going to pay for inflation with wage cuts.

In fact Nixon's plans for "self control" are the first step in instituting a wage freeze. The Administration together with the employers announced that they were setting up a "stabilization board" to control wage-price levels in the construction industry. This board will include the bosses, the government and the unions.

The main purpose of the board is to freeze wages and to restrict and deny the construction unions the right to strike.

While immediately these plans involve the construction unions, this is the strategy Nixon and the employers have for the entire labor movement. The unions are to be destroyed as instruments for defending the interests of the working class.

So now we have a better look at the real face of the capitalist class. This is the meaning of Nixon's "revolution."

Nixon's "revenue sharing plan" is nothing but a dressed up version of the reactionary states rights program of the Southern bourgeoisie whom he is courting. The five billion dollars additional funds which Nixon is asking Congress to approve "to be used as the states and localities see fit" is nothing. The city and state governments throughout the country are on the verge of bankruptcy.

Above all what this plan means is the preparation to dismantle all the federal programs from OEO, Medicare, welfare, down to Social Security. All the social reforms and rights won by the working class through years of struggle are to be eliminated.

Instead he is consolidating the state as an instrument of oppression, restructuring the government and the Constitution. This is the meaning of the consolidation of the Cabinet and the call for a "constitutional convention." These are moves toward Bonapartism as Nixon relies more and more on the right wing forces of the ruling class, strengthens the state for repression and does it all in the name of the "people."

In his program Nixon has the full support of the Democratic leaders. Recently the leading contenders for the Democratic Presidential nomination, Muskie, called for the institution of wage-price controls. Almost every politician in Congress, reservations or not, is supporting the new revenue sharing plan.

The labor movement must answer with its own State of the Union address. Two months ago 4,000 construction workers marched on San Francisco's city hall against unemployment.

The unions must organize a massive demonstration in Washington mobilizing the millions of trade unionists and unemployed against the wage freeze, unemployment, repression and anti-union laws. This action mobilizing the power of the working class must be the first step in the building of a labor party to challenge the Democrats and Republicans in 1972.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas

THE BULLETIN, Weekly Organ of the Workers League, is published by Labor Publications, Incorporated, Sixth Floor, 135 W. 14th St. New York, N.Y. 10011. Published weekly except the last week of December, the last week of July and the first week of August. Editorial and Business offices: 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Phone: 924-0852. Subscription rates: USA—1 year: \$3.00; Foreign—1 year: \$4.00. SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y. Printed in U.S.A.



# Farinas Defense Holds Newark Rally

BY FRED MUELLER

NEWARK, Jan. 22—The Juan Farinas defense campaign was brought to Newark in a public meeting held here tonight by the Farinas Defense Committee at the Douglas Hotel.

Close to 50 people attended the meeting including high school and community college students and trade unionists, particularly teachers, from the Newark area. Speakers at the meeting included Juan Farinas, Orrie Chambers, Organizer of the New Jersey State Federation of Teachers, and Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League.

Juan Farinas was the opening speaker. "Newark is a very appropriate and significant city," said Farinas, "in which to hold a meeting in defense of a victim of political repression. The situation facing the Newark Teachers Union and all of labor expresses sharply and clearly the reason behind the attacks on me, Angela Davis, the Panthers and other militants."

## DEFENSE

The repression can only be fought by deepening these struggles, said Farinas, by mobilizing the workers and youth independently of the capitalists, basing the defense of victims of repression on the strength of the working class.

The Communist Party, in the campaign in defense of Angela Davis, was proceeding in exactly the opposite way, with the policy of the popular front, of tying the workers and the youth to the liberals and the church.

The only way to defend Angela Davis, Juan Farinas and all victims of the class struggle was to break decisively with this policy. The January 29 rallies against repression in New York's Foley Square and also in Minneapolis, San Francisco and Los Angeles were being built on the basis of a class defense policy.

Orrie Chambers of the State Federation of Teachers spoke to the meeting about the relationship between the persecution of Juan Farinas and the attacks on Newark teachers.

He showed how workers had been stripped of their illusions on the role of the government and the courts. Many of the Newark teachers had said, before and during last year's strike, "We're teachers, they can't hurt us." Many considered themselves better than other workers, considered themselves professionals, but they had been arrested, fingerprinted, fined and sent to jail.

Teachers who had completely rejected the idea of defending the Black Panthers from government attack now began to reconsider this issue. Black workers in Newark had been through the experience of black power, said Cham-

bers, and they had learned that black Democrats, like Mayor Gibson, and black Republicans are no different from white.

## JONES

Black separatists like Leroi Jones were out to break the working class, doing the bidding of the ruling class. Chambers said that at the time of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville crisis over community control of schools in New York two years ago, he had asked himself, "Why is the Ford Foundation behind community control? Why does Mr. Ford want the study of black history? Why is the ruling class 'on my side?'"

We have to take up the struggle, said Chambers. The choice is revolution or fascism. We have to take up the defense of Juan Farinas, Bobby Seale, Angela Davis, the teachers, railway workers, and all workers.

The last speaker was Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League. He spoke on the need for theory in order to lead the working class.

While the ruling class attacks vanguard elements, said Wohlforth, the mass of the working class is moving forward. This is the meaning of the GE, postal, and GM strikes and now the situation facing Newark teachers.

The upsurge of the working class presents a fundamental problem to the ruling class. Its aim is to keep the vanguard away from the masses.

They want to crush the vanguard before it can establish a base in the working class, said Wohlforth. That is why they attack those who speak in the name of Marxism or are searching for Marxism. That is why they attack Juan Farinas, who fought against the war as a Marxist and joined the Workers League precisely through the struggle for Marxist theory.

It was Lenin who said that there can be no revolutionary practice without revolutionary theory. This is posed today. If we say that what is posed is socialism or fascism then we must learn the lessons of history, of a previous period of struggle when this was posed, of the 1930s in particular.

If we don't learn, fascism will triumph again. Fascism won because of the policies of the leadership of the workers' movement, of Stalinism in particular. The Stalinists had come to terms with the capitalists, they presented the popular front conception that we could fight fascism by allying with the liberal capitalists.

## CP

Today the Communist Party refuses to support Ruchell Magee because he is guilty of rebellion. It refuses to support Magee along with Angela Davis because it wants to maintain its alliance with the liberals.



Juan Farinas (below) speaking at the Newark rally held last Thursday. The enthusiastic response was expressed in the collection for the Defense Committee (above).



We must say no more popular fronts, no more betrayals. We must learn the lessons of history, develop theory and build the revolutionary party in struggle against the misleaders and betrayers.

After the meeting many of those in attendance signed up for a class in Marxism which is being organized in Newark and for the Newark contingent to the January 29 demonstration in defense of Juan Farinas.

## CURRAN'S GOONS ATTACK NMU RANK & FILERS

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK, Jan. 25—Goons egged on by the bureaucrats beat several rank and file members at the NMU port meeting here tonight when they protected Gaston Firmon-Guyon, leader of the Seamen's Defense Committee.

This Committee is demanding that the union strike to stop the layoffs of passenger ships and the shutdown of marine hospitals. One man was sent to the hospital and several others beaten and kicked.

This vicious attack completely exposes the real stand of the Curran bureaucracy on the side of the shipowners. The meeting chairman Rich tried to beguile the ranks with talks of a small delegation to go to Washington to beg hat in hand, that Congress not allow the layoffs. But seaman after seaman during and after the meeting expressed agreement with the Seamen's Defense Committee program of nationalization of the ships to prevent layoffs, guarantees of full pension and other union rights, a strike to save NMU jobs, and union democracy.

This is the program that Firmon-Guyon was trying to get the meeting to approve tonight, and it is the program already passed by special meetings on four Grace Lines ships.

The ranks will not be beaten back! Demonstrations held by the Seamen's Defense Committee drew 125 members of the laidup Santa Rosa last Thursday, and thirty members from the Santa Paula the week before.

These actions, a brief strike by the Masters, Mates and Pilots, and the threat of an NMU strike have already forced a concession out of Prudential-Grace Lines. The company announced last week that it would not lay up the four "M" class freight-passenger ships as it had originally planned, but would only eliminate passenger service on them.

# Union-Busters Set To Take On Newark Teachers

BY DAN FRIED

NEWARK—The prospect of a strike by all educational employees of the public school system when the contract of the Newark Teachers Union expires on February 1, poses a struggle of national significance.

Kenneth Gibson has appointed the worst enemies of labor to the Board of Education and hired self-proclaimed union-buster Donald Saunders as chief negotiator for the Board. It is now clear that Gibson and the Board want to finish the job of smashing the union that Addonizio attempted in last year's teachers strike.

In this year's struggle, Gibson, the Board, the "poverty pimps" and the black nationalists headed by Leroi Jones have become the vanguard of the Nixon-Agnew ruling class drive to smash the unions. The slogan of "black control of the black community" pioneered in Ocean Hill-Brownsville to smash the UFT and pit black workers against white workers now dovetails with Nixon's strategy to eliminate the right to strike and to move toward open wage controls.

## RACISM

The latest appeal by Mr. Saunders to kindle the flames of racism against the teachers is the demand for a "black contract" which would eliminate all school holidays except for "Black" and "Latin" holidays and would eliminate all white teachers from the school system. It should

be remembered that two thirds of the teachers are white, that the union president and several other union officials are black and that the teaching aides who are largely Black and Latin voted overwhelmingly to support a "no contract no work" policy along with the teachers.

The open appeal to racism, the attempts to separate the aides from the teachers, the witchhunting attacks on the union leaders, the organization of vigilante groups against the union, the threat of mass jailings and the rumored plan to issue injunctions to the teachers en masse as they leave school on January 29—these are the preparations for war.

The plans of the union call for following up last week's membership meeting which voted unanimously for "no contract no work," with a mass meeting January 31 which is expected to vote overwhelmingly to approve a strike unless there is an unexpected retreat by the Board and a contract is signed.

## SCABS

With the almost certain prospect that the Board will try to keep the schools open with scabs, the union has gone to the New Jersey labor movement for support. The union that represents school firemen who turn on the furnaces has agreed to honor the picket lines. Most of the major unions in the Newark area as well as the New Jersey State AFL-CIO have agreed to support the teachers, pledging mass action against scabbing and injunction.

# British Postal Workers Join Battle Against Tories

BY MELODY FARROW

When Edward Heath, head of the Tory government in England, told the capitalist rulers at the United Nations that they must prepare for civil war, he was not talking about the distant future.

It is precisely war that he has launched against the British workers and, in particular, against the postal workers who have been on strike since January 20.

The deepening anger and ferment among British workers is sharply expressed in the fight of these workers who have traditionally been held back by a timid, spineless leadership which has kept the wages of British postal workers way below those of other workers. The workers are demanding a 15% wage increase, while the Tories are determined to hold it down to a mere 8% barely covering the rise in the cost of living.

The postmen's present salary is around \$47 a week for a 43 hour week and they only make \$60 if they put in a 50 or 60 hour week. Younger workers only reach the adult pay level after 10 years of service. In addition, the Tories are planning to de-nationalize the post office which will mean layoffs and speed up for the workers.

## EDGE

The postal workers have been pushed to the edge and are ready for a long fight

## RIVER ROUGE HIT AS FORD LAYS OFF 5,000

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT, Jan. 23—Over 5,000 Ford workers have been laid off short term nationally, some of them at the largest Ford plant in River Rouge. These layoffs are the first the River Rouge workers have felt in a number of years.

The layoffs at the Rouge plant are for seven work days—January the 25th through 29th, and February the 1st and 2nd. Many of the Ford workers here know what these layoffs mean. Two workers said that Ford may impose four day, thirty-two hour work weeks later in the year in an attempt to make the workers pay for their problems.

We say that these layoffs are only the beginning. They must follow the rising unemployment with full-scale attacks on the workers in the form of wage freezes and restrictions, and anti-union laws.

The UAW leadership, both local and national, is not doing a thing to fight these attacks. They are selling the workers out on the question of job security just as they sold them down the river with the new contract.

The ranks must answer Ford's schemes with the demand for a thirty hour week at forty hours pay.

even though they will not receive one penny of strike pay. The Post, Telephone and Telegraph International Union in Brussels which represents communication workers all over the world is calling on all operators to cut off service for Britain as an act of solidarity with the strike.

Despite the miserable wages of the postmen, the Tory government, representing all the big business interests, refuses to allow the workers the slightest improvement in their living standards. They immediately launched a vicious tirade against the workers in the press, portraying them as monsters who want to deprive old people of their pension checks.

In fact it was the government which purposely misled the pensioners so that they would not get their checks before the strike began. The Tories' aim is to use the frustration of the middle class and unorganized workers and place the blame for inflation and the economic crisis on the backs of the working class.

## SMASH

At issue in the postal strike is far more than a wage increase. Attempts to solve the crisis with fiscal measures have been abandoned and the Tories are taking on their historic task. The only way they can restore their rate of profit is to push the working class back to slavery, to smash all its basic rights.

The Tories know that the attempt to hold down and actually slash real wages will not be enough and are proposing an Industrial Relations Bill which would place the unions under complete control by the state, legalize the open shop and outlaw unions who dare to strike. Increased unemployment and witchhunts against militants and socialists, bomb scares and all the rest are key elements in their strategy to divide, weaken and destroy the unions.

The postal strike comes on the heels of a whole wave of strikes. Now it is the postal workers who are taking the lead to defeat the Tory offensive and in this sense their victory will be a blow against the capitalist class internationally and a victory for all workers.

## RESIGN

The postal strike comes little more than a week after thousands of workers throughout England walked off their jobs and marched against the anti-union Industrial Relations Bill chanting "Out with the Tories." The importance of this action was the fact that advanced sections of wor-



London postal workers cheer during giant rally held during the strike. The Tories and Heath are out to smash down the trade unions through Industrial Relations Bill.

kers are no longer merely protesting or demanding that the Tories withdraw the Bill. They are taking up the fight of the Socialist Labor League and its paper, Workers Press, to call a general strike and force the Tories to resign. The strength and power of the workers as seen now in the postal strike must be mobilized to completely throw the Tories out and defeat their reactionary plans.

The trade union leaders and the Stalinists have refused to wage a fight not only for the salary demands of the workers but against the Tory anti-union Bill. They have in fact already reconciled themselves to hoping that things will not be as bad as they seem.

## TREACHERY

The perspective of the Stalinist led Liason Committee for Defense of the Trade Unions is to somehow persuade the Tories to change their minds. As the struggle deepens the treachery of these leaders becomes more and more dangerous.

If there is not to be a repetition of the defeats of the 1930s, the Stalinists must be exposed and their influence destroyed. The key to the victory of the postal strike, the defeat of the anti-union bill and the fight against the Tories is the fight to build a revolutionary leadership in the unions.

## Mt. Sinai To Fire Doctor For Protest

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK, Jan. 25—About a month ago Mrs. Marjorie Davis died in Misericordia Hospital in the Bronx after waiting over two hours in the emergency room. Mrs. Davis, a young mother of two, had been working at the Dietary Department of Mount Sinai Hospital. The day before her death Mrs. Davis had gone to the Employees Health Service at Mt. Sinai complaining of severe pains but was sent back to work.

The workers at Mount Sinai are well aware of the inadequate conditions in the Health Service and the crisis throughout the hospital. The resulting poor care and negligence is a direct result of the slashes in medical care. The hospitals deal with the crisis by a job freeze with the result that all departments are understaffed and workers overworked.

## LEAFLET

About a week ago several supporters of the Progressive Labor Party at Mount Sinai circulated a leaflet on the death of Mrs. Davis and made the following three demands: 1) Reparations for the children of Mrs. Davis 2) 24 hour health service for the employees with one or two doctors available at all times 3) improvement of the emergency room for the benefit of the community, functioning 24 hours a day with more staff.

The same day, the Mount Sinai administration answered this leaflet with its own leaflet. The Administration claimed that Mrs. Davis had not been to the Health Service, and that her death had nothing to do with any negligence on the part of the hospital.

Dr. Jerry Gelles, one of the signers of the original leaflet, has been threatened with dismissal by the administration.

## VICIOUS

Incidents such as the one at Mount Sinai can and do happen all over the city. The trustees of Mount Sinai Hospital and others are responsible for this decaying system. Their only answer to it is vicious attacks on all those who fight back, on all workers who fight to uphold the union contract, to maintain and improve working conditions and fight for better health care.

Hospital workers must demand not simply improvements in one department but an end to the job freeze, understaffing and attacks on working conditions. This fight must be taken up through the union. Local 1199 must fight for an investigation by a workers' committee into the death of Mrs. Davis, absolutely no victimizations of any employee who speaks out, new hiring and an end to the job freeze.

## Welfare Suspensions Force Showdown With City

BY AN SSEU 371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—On Wednesday, January 20 Mrs. Cleola Hainsworth and her four children, after being denied an accommodation renting for \$100 per week, were placed in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel by workers at DeKalb Social Service Center in Brooklyn.

The action was taken on an emergency basis and for a two day period after which time it was hoped that other accommodations could be obtained. The director of the center, Sal Ciccolella, ordered the money paid and approved all actions taken by staff in relation to the referral.

Mayor Lindsay who was in Washington at the time immediately ordered three workers, Mr. Ciccolella, Case Consultant A. Baer, and housing worker Dorrance Henderson, suspended and charged them with "malicious intent."

Lindsay was outraged that the family had been placed at such "a reputable hotel."

## BLAME

Lindsay and the City used this incident to blame the welfare recipients and workers for the situation. The truth of the matter is that the city has been spending millions of dollars a year to house over one thousand welfare families in rat-infested slum hotels. The cost of these hotels in many cases is well over the cost of the Waldorf and the conditions are deplorable.

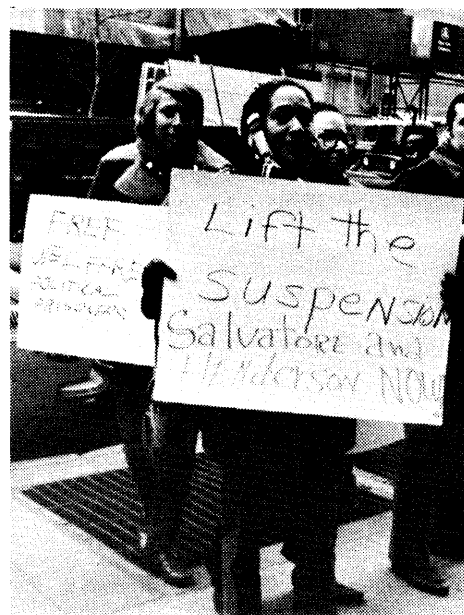
The responsibility for this lies with the City alone which has allowed thousands of apartment buildings to be abandoned by landlords who no longer find them profitable. It has refused to build low cost housing.

The vicious slander against Mrs. Hainsworth and the action taken against the three staff members provoked an immediate reaction at the DeKalb Center the following day when the whole center walked out and demonstrated at the offices of the Human Resources Administration.

## ACTION

At the demonstration, Herb Karasik, caseworker delegate said: "Lindsay is going too far this time and we're not going to let him get away with it. If the workers aren't rehired we're not going back."

As a result of the militant walkout at DeKalb and threats by Victor Gotbaum, head of DC 37 and Stan Hill, SSEU 371 president, the City agreed to lift suspensions on two of the three workers. However, hou-



SSEU members picket against the City's suspensions of workers at DeKalb center.

sing worker Henderson remains suspended.

Hill has refused to mobilize the ranks in defense of this worker and has handed over his job to an arbitrator. At the same time he has done nothing in relation to the contract fight.

Over 70 delegates and activists in the union signed a statement circulated by the SSEU 371 Committee for New Leadership demanding that the SSEU take up a fight against Lindsay with a work action to begin on February 1 unless agreement is reached on job security, wages and workload.

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# CLASS STRUGGLES IN AFRICA



by N. MAKANDA

STARTING with this issue we will be running as a series of articles by N. Makanda which have appeared over the past year in the Workers Press, daily organ of the British Socialist Labour League. Future articles will include a history of the Communist Party of South Africa, imperialist interests in Nigeria, Nasser's financial link with imperialism and a two part series on Ethiopia.

1960 was the 50th anniversary of the Act of Union, passed without dissent by the British parliament, which gave South Africa its fundamental apartheid constitution.

The same year the South African ruling class massacred African workers at Sharpeville and faced a mass protest which forced the government to declare a state of emergency and created a panic in the Johannesburg, London and New York stock exchange.

The year of the 50th anniversary of white domination became a year of 'the writing on the wall'.

## Long series

Sharpeville was not an isolated murder of non-European workers, but one of a long series of such massacres.

To see it in its simplest context it is necessary to remember that after 150 years of sporadic wars of conquest by Holland (1625-1805), Britain waged war for 100 years, from 1806 to 1906, against the Batwa, Khoi-Khoi and Bantu inhabitants.

Hundreds of thousands were killed, the ancient communal economy was destroyed and the people robbed of their land and their labour in a series of wars of racial laws unprecedented in human history.

During the last phase of this process, British finance capital made a colony of South Africa under Queen Victoria and politicians Disraeli, Gladstone and Rhodes.

It is necessary to remember,

## MASSACRE AT SHARPEVILLE



too, that these wars and laws formed the basis of the present-day South Africa, including the Sharpeville massacre.

The 'Boer' Nationalist Party government which carried out this brutal murder was but the agency of the giant British imperialist interests which continue to dominate South Africa to this very day.

The people who were killed ten years ago at Sharpeville, Langa and elsewhere were butchered by Verwoerd's regime to protect enormous finance-capital interests. And these interests were, and remain, 90 per cent British.

British imperialism is basic-

ally, in a very real sense, responsible for the Sharpeville massacre.

## No mention

The British Tories, Labour and Liberal spokesmen single out Sharpeville because it was the open work of a 'Boer' government.

They make little mention of the fact that this government was, at the same time, a member of the British Commonwealth.

The massacre certainly did nothing to disturb diplomatic or other relations between

## ten years ago

Britain and South Africa, without whose economy Britain could not survive as a 'democratic' capitalist country for a week.

Nor do they mention the atrocities at Bulhoek, Bondelzwart, Marabastad, Witzi-shoek and elsewhere during the long reign of the British ally and hero General Smuts—leading apostle of segregation (apartheid).

This laying of the blame is

not confined to the Tory, Labour or Liberal parties.

It is also the policy of the Communist Party of South Africa—which worked the apartheid Native Representation Act of 1936 and the apartheid Industrial Conciliation Act—and the African National Congress and so-called Anti-Apartheid Committee centred in London.

It is for this reason that





**Verwoerd: Under his regime African workers were butchered to protect the interests of British finance-capital.**

these organizations are 'commemorating' Sharpeville tomorrow (March 21) at a ceremony under the official leadership and patronage of Ambrose Reeves, ex-Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg.

We must keep in mind that the Anglican Church remains one of the old-established and major segregatory, apartheid, racial discriminatory, land-robbing and investment institutions of South Africa.

It has operated a rigid colour bar in South African schools for more than 100 years and did so even when there was no law to this effect.

Thus the 'anti-apartheid' committee commemorates those who fell before the bullets of apartheid ten years ago.

## Collaboration

The Anti-Apartheid Committee ceremony is yet another act of collaboration by the ANC-CPSA coterie with the liberal wing of British imperialism.

According to the weekly 'Torch' of March 22 and March 29, 1960, Reeves lamented the fact that police had not first fired warning volleys at Sharpeville. He had asked the government why they had not used tear gas and fire hoses instead.

The third comment upon Sharpeville is that it was not an expression of the strength of the 'Herrenvolk' regime, but of its weakness, its dying, declining, diseased economy and its crisis in the state.

It was not a measure of the



**General Smuts: leading apostle of segregation.**

ruling class 'going forward', but of one desperately defending itself against the rising revolution of the non-European exploited and oppressed people.

It was this weakness and fear experienced by the 'white' ruling class which made it unleash a renewed reign of terror against the African people, starting with the Sharpeville massacre itself.

The rulers may appear strong, for they have the massive foundation of British finance capital beneath their feet, along with heavy US, French, West German, Italian, Swiss, Japanese, Canadian, Australian and other imperialist capital. They also have the secret backing of NATO.

They have the 99.9 per cent backing of the 'white' population, including the so-called 'white' workers and middle class, about two million of whom come from Britain itself and still continue to flow into the country.

But despite all this and more, 'white' South Africa lives in fear of the non-European liberatory struggle, led by the heavily-concentrated proletarian-peasant.

This struggle is not only a continuation of the centuries-long resistance to conquest and dispossession, but is also an extension of the international class struggle against imperialism, which first fully erupted in South Africa itself after the Russian Revolution.

It was further inspired by the Chinese Revolution, the ousting of capitalist-imperialism from eastern Europe, and the North Korean, Vietnamese and Cuban Revolutions.

Simultaneously, the South African liberatory struggle became an increasingly conscious rising against the system of colour oppression and its accumulative intensification.

This intensification of apartheid was a defensive reaction of the 'Herrenvolk' against the rising liberation movement.

In economic origin apartheid was and remains a means to obtain and regiment cheap semi-colonial labour.

But apartheid also has a political motivation and this political purpose was to prevent the anti-apartheid revolution by every means possible.

More and more laws were passed to curb political move-

ments, to ban them, to decapitate them. And where laws failed, the police and military were called in to close every loophole through which the mass movement for democracy and land could make its way.

The Sharpeville massacre was the forcible closing of such a loophole.

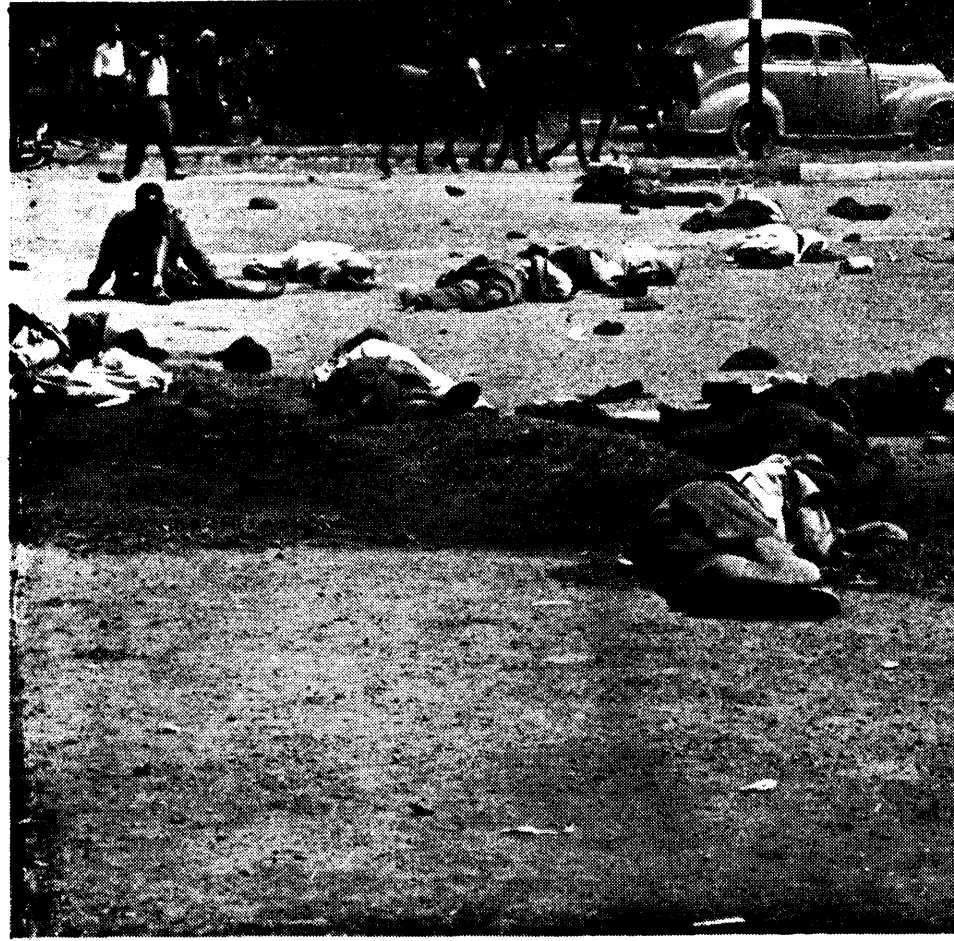
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## Emergency

Whether the Anti-Apartheid ceremony conducted by Bishop Ambrose Reeves at Trafalgar Square will reveal this 'perfidy of Albion' is hardly a matter for conjecture.

In the South African parliament the pro-British Liberal Native Representatives rallied behind the call for emergency action for the sake of 'security'—the same Native Representatives put into the all-'white' parliament by the ANC and other components of the present Anti-Apartheid Committee.

So urgent was the situation for the ruling class that it introduced a state of emergency, which began with 23 areas and by March 31 covered 80 magisterial districts.

Meetings of more than 12 were banned. Eighteen units of the Citizens' Force were called up.

Three thousand army and navy troops sealed off Langa and Nyanga. Saracens came out at Cato Manor and Durban.

Police baton-charged strikers at Jabavua and Natalspruit. 234 persons were seized in dawn raids on 11 organizations.

On March 27, General Rademeyer, Union Police Commissioner, said that Africans would not 'for the time being' have to produce their passes—a liberal-inspired trick to break the political strike of the workers.

Erasmus, Defence Minister, made it clear, however, that the pass laws would be reinforced later. A three-week ban on public meetings in 'riot areas' was extended by him to **Natal and Transvaal towns.** Sebukwe, PAC President, was remanded to April 4 on charges of incitement and contravention of the pass laws.

A Bill was drafted to outlaw certain organizations not readily covered by the 1952

The same day, in Sharpeville, the people buried 34 of the victims of the massacre of the previous Monday. Demonstrations took place at Stellenbosch, Somerset West and Waterkloof, at all of which the police attacked the oppressed with batons or bullets.

At a demonstration at Orlando, Johannesburg, Saracens were used against the strikers. Other demonstrations took place at Meadowvale and Moroka—where police stations were attacked by the strikers—and at Durban, where the police used machine guns against the demonstrators.

Not only did the oppressed attack the NAD and police stations—they showed their class consciousness by burning down some of the hated Roman Catholic and Dutch Reformed Churches, (report by Major T. J. Crous, March 28, 1960) and at Durban a mission church was fired.

By this time the shares of the huge British mining company, De Beers, had fallen by £33 million, Anglo-American by £11 million and Western Holdings by £5 million.

Still tougher measures were called for by the South African regime.

De Wet Nel, the Minister for Bantu Administration, the most important political organ of the British and other monopolies, announced a 'new type of reference book', a consolidated pass book.

On the Thursday the emergency was made general: groups and processions were prohibited, 34 more members of the ANC were arrested and the second reading of the Unlawful Organizations Bill was rushed through parliament.

In terms of the Unlawful Organizations Act the ANC



**Oliver Tambo of the ANC: Escaped to Bechuanaland.**

barrier to this location, the police shot and killed a baby held by its mother. In Durban the police shot three Africans. At Hermanus, a seaside resort for British millionaires, batons were drawn by the police in attacks on resisters.

On April 4 the 'day of the lash' dawned in Cape Town, when police attacked Africans at will in the streets of Pine-lands, Cape Town, Claremont and Woodstock in a 'punitive expedition'. The police opened fire on a crowd in Nyanga and ran amok among Africans in the streets of the '100 per cent British' city of Durban, Natal.

On April 7 a dawn raid on Nyanga, which the press called 'the last pocket of resistance' caused the arrest of 1,525 and the detention of 162.

On April 6 the passes were officially re-introduced and 300 were arrested in dawn raids in Natal and elsewhere. Two days later, in an atmosphere of crisis and fear among

**At Langa the police and army raked the African quarters, trying to drive the strikers back to work.**



Suppression of Communism Act.

In the midst of all this British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan welcomed Verwoerd's decision to attend the next Commonwealth meeting.

A week after 'Bloody Monday' a strike shook many cities. 90 per cent of Cape Town's non-European workers were reported to have come out on this 'day of mourning' strike.

### Side-tracked

Two days later 30,000 people, mainly from Langa, marched into the centre of Cape Town to demand the release of arrested leaders. The demonstration, nominally led by a young PAC student, was side-tracked by the liberals into a **negotiating meeting**, which the **police exploited to the full by waylaying the scattered marchers returning from the centre back to Langa.**

and PAC were banned. The neo-liberal weekly 'New Age' was banned, as well as the pro-Unity Movement weekly, 'Torch'.

In the following six weeks, up to May 16, more than 16,000 people were arrested. Erasmus declared that penalties for 'agitators' would be increased ten-fold.

On April 1 a further 31 districts were covered by the emergency and 40 army auxiliary units and 18 commando volunteer units (fascist-type vigilantes) were ordered to stand by for mobilization. The previous day Soames, British War Minister, told the House of Commons that Britain had not sent Saracens to South Africa 'during the last three years'. What Britain had sent was, however, sufficient for its South African hirelings.

Despite these measures non-European resistance continued, especially at Nyanga. At the

the 'Herrenvolk', Verwoerd was shot in the face in an unsuccessful assassination attempt by a British liberal and wealthy farmer of the Witwatersrand Agricultural Society's Cattle Committee (at his trial he pleaded insanity and, after commitment, took his life).

### Terror

The assassination attempt intensified the reign of terror against the non-Europeans.

On April 19, 200 were arrested during an abortive, belated and adventurist 'one-week strike' called by the banned ANC. By this time banned persons like Dr Dadoo had arrived in London via Nairobi, and Oliver Tambo, of the ANC, had reached Bechuanaland.

This was a continuation of the escape abroad of politically-active opponents of the



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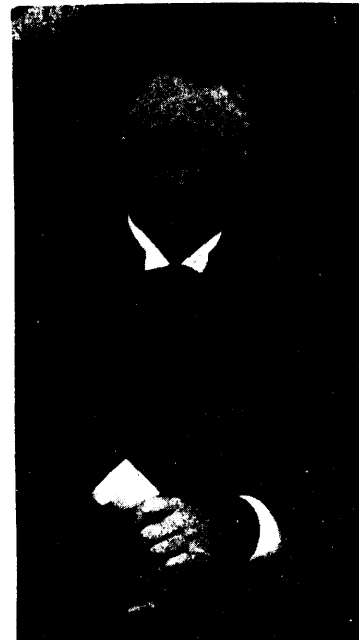
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regime and the beginning of a mass exodus of leading political anti-apartheid figures.

By May 6 the government announced that 1,600 were detained for political reasons in the various jails and concentration camps.

The reign of terror drew the liberals in its wake. They tried to 'soften up' the resistance of the people at Nyanga, Windermere, Retreat and elsewhere with soup, blankets and other forms of political charity. They made every attempt to persuade the regime to 'gain the confidence' of the Africans ('Pan Africanist Venture in Retrospect' September 1960, Queenstown.)

They called for minor concessions, while leaving the entire structure of South African society intact.

Thus H. F. Oppenheimer, the 'financial king of Africa', (with vast interests in South Africa, Zambia, etc.) called for concessions to 'intelligent and educated Africans' ('Cape Times', June 2, 1960.)

The 'Cape Times' newspaper endorsed Oppenheimer's call for concessions to what it had previously called 'a socially ambitious middle class' (January 29, 1959), recognizing full well the basic character of the PAC and ANC leadership.

The pro-Nationalist Party

South African Bureau of Race Relations called for 'a more realistic approach'. A Bloemfontein professor said that 'highly-qualified' Africans 'should be exempted from the many pin-pricks [!] to which the average non-white is subjected'. ('Cape Times', May 23, 1960.)

## 'Change'

The chairman of the General Mining and Finance Corporation called for 'a change of policy' ('Cape Argus', June 21, 1960), as did the Federated Chamber of Industries of Cape Town, the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce and Industries and the South African Association of Chambers of Commerce, all of which had always worked apartheid and intended no basic change in the system which buttered their bread.

The Anglican Church held out its hand once more to the Dutch Reformed Church.

The Bishop in Cape Town, Joost de Blank said he would co-operate with the Dutch Reformed Church as long as it recognized 'that all men are equal in the eyes of God' ('Daily Telegraph', London, April 18, 1960.)

Verwoerd, of course was not God, as de Blank, another Anglican angel of the Anti-Apartheid Committee, knew full well.

The Archbishop of Canterbury appealed to the South African government:

'If only they could do something, however small, to relieve the consciences of their friends inside South Africa, and outside it in many countries, they would open the way towards reconciliation which seems at present totally blocked.' (Geoffrey Fisher, May 10, 1960.)

But the liberal enemies of the non-European oppressed were asking the government to concede 'too much too soon' and the oppressed to accept 'too little too late', especially after everything that had led to the massacre at Sharpeville and its grim aftermath.

An Afrikaans professor, P. V. P. Pistorius, had put the insoluble dilemma of the South African ruling class more bluntly and directly some time before Sharpeville, when he had warned the government that unless there were 'controlled outlets' (for the non-European aspirant middle class), 'the hermetically sealed boiler must eventually explode'. ('Torch', December 15, 1959.)

The Sharpeville struggle showed that 'outlet' or not, the boiler will explode and that this 'explosion' will be none other than a social revolution against both Boer and Liberal apartheid, led by the non-European working class.

different from that in Britain, western Europe or the United States—about 70 years, or double the life-span of the Africans.

The average yearly income of a 'European' in South Africa, Rhodesia and East Africa (Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania) is about £500, according to United States Statistical Year Books. This is from 50 to 20 times higher than an African's average annual income.

The Tanzanian figure quoted is abysmally low, compared with average incomes in Europe, the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, etc., and of 'Europeans' in Africa.

But even this figure is deceptive, because it includes the income of 'Europeans' in Tanzania.

In fact the income of the British 'settler' still in Tanzania, of British, South African, Italian, US, and West German companies, is some 40 per cent of the total national income (in the order of £300 million).

The 'Africans' outnumber the 'Europeans' by 500 to one (over ten million compared with some 20,000 'whites'), but earn only about 60 per cent of the national income.

The average 'European' capitalist and 'worker' takes a share of the national wealth which reduces the average actual 'African' annual income to £15. And this income is typical of nearly all Africa.

This income includes both monetary and subsistence incomes. It is an indication of the sub-wages and super-exploitation of the African workers and peasants.

The high income of the 'Europeans' is an indication of the same thing.

The one rests on the other. Wages and profits are inversely related to each other generally.

Africa is no exception; indeed it is, if anything, a standard rule.

The national per capita income is one of the vital statistics which find expression in other so-called vital statistics, chief of which is the death-rate and life-span.

The short life-span of Africans, in their vast majority is a grim result of their low, starvation wages.

But why are wages low, why,



African miners must wait as long as two days to be fingerprinted in order to work in white areas in South Africa.

in particular, as low as is common in Africa?

Is it due to lower productivity?

The answer to this question, which is so often given in the affirmative by bourgeois and 'socialist' economists, has many times been given by anti-imperialist Marxists.

A study of Chilean and United States copper miners' wages, for example, showed, in the 1950s, that the productivity was the same in the mines of both countries, but that US workers earned some 12 times more than the 'Latin' American workers.

At the same time, because of this, profits were incomparably higher in Chile than in the USA.

Similar studies have been made, for some time, by anti-apartheid and anti-imperialist (not a usual combination) economists for the coal mines of South Africa.

These mines are not less modern, to say the least, than the coal mines in Britain.

The output per African miner is higher than that of the British miner, in fact.

But the former's wages is a twelfth of the wage of his fellow-worker in Britain.

Here is a case where higher productivity goes together with lower wages and lower produc-

tivity with higher wages.

Needless to say, as the National Coal Board in Britain knows well enough, profits are much higher in the Transvaal and Natal than in the British coalfields.

In the major case of gold-mining, productivity could scarcely be higher than it is in South Africa.

Yet the 400,000 African miners earn in wages, food and 'accommodation' (in virtual concentration camps) a twelfth of that earned by gold miners in the advanced capitalist countries, quite apart from and in addition to their Nazi-type regimentation and lack of freedom and rights under apartheid.

The story of productivity related to wages can be taken further, from mining to the giant plantations which cover much of the economy of Africa producing coffee, tea, cotton, sisal, cocoa and other raw material crops from the land.

The answer given by these and a mass of correlated facts is always the same: the cause of sub-wages in Africa is not low productivity.

The cause, as we shall repeatedly see, is super-exploitation. And the basis of this lies in the property relations in Africa.



Starvation wages in Africa cause the deaths of one in three African babies before they are a year old.

# Super-exploitation low wages and early death

THE CLASS struggle in Africa is a matter of life and death. The death rate is high and the average expectancy of life low.

United Nations Demographic Statistical Year Books show that the life-span of 99 per cent of Africans is below 35 almost everywhere, as low as 27 in some countries.

The 1964 Tanzanian Five-Year Plan had as one of its objectives the raising of the average age of death from 35 in 1964 to 50 by 1980.

This objective has had as little success as the twin aim of raising average income per head from £24 to about £40 (!) by 1980.

A third of African babies die before they are a year old.

Adults die so young that one half of the population, in almost every country in Africa, consists of children.

The population of working age, where child-labour is not used, as it often is, is usually taken by UN, International Bank for Development, 'Aid'

Programmes and so on to be about 50 per cent of the total population.

This is one 'economic' measure of the high mortality rate and short life-span of Africans in Africa.

Not everyone in Africa is an 'African', according to the colonialist-induced racial classifications used and adopted still by most 'independent' states.

Apart from the 'Asians', most of whom are poor, there are nearly five million so-called 'whites' or 'Europeans' in Africa.

★

They are mostly in South Africa, but there are also considerable numbers in Rhodesia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Ethiopia, West Africa and, despite the Algerian war of independence of the 1950s, also in North Africa.

For them the statistics are as different from those for 'Africans' as those of Europe and the USA differ from the figures for Africa (and Asia and 'Latin' America).

The average life-span of a 'European' in Africa is not

# As Unemployment Jumps To 8.8% Quebec Workers Face New Attacks

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MONTREAL—Quebec workers received a preview of the harsh winter months facing them last week as the release of official government statistics on unemployment provoked a storm of reaction from all segments of Canadian society.

The statistics revealed the grim situation that existed in December all across Canada. In Quebec the unemployment rate for the non-agricultural labor force was 8.8%, the highest rate for the month of December for any year with the exception of two years since 1950. The previous highs were in 1958 when the rate was 8.9% and in 1960 when the rate was

9.9%.

The unemployment rate for youths (14-19 years of age) was around 15% for the month of December, 1970. It must be remembered of course that December is a relatively good month in any given year and that seasonally high unemployment rates are reached generally in February or March when the unemployment rate is on the average 2-3% higher than in December.

This means that the overall unemployment rate in Quebec can be expected to reach at least 11-12% before this year's winter is over.

## Rail Workers Prepare Strike In Canada

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MONTREAL, P.Q.—Railway workers here are preparing to strike. There have only been two strikes in the history of the railway union's struggles. Each time the government has intervened.

Over 55,000 non-operating employees along with the 10,000 other shopcraft employees, the 14,000 conductors, trainmen and switchmen, the 4,300 engineers and 2,500 firemen are holding out for a 25 percent wage increase over 2 years.

Last December the wage claim of the 12,000 car men, members of the shopcraft employees union was settled. Their original demand for a 17 percent increase over one year was sold out by the union leaders who settled for a 15 percent increase over two years, with extra raises for specially skilled workers. This contract was accepted by the union's elected representatives. The rank and file do not vote on contracts.

Another big question which did not affect the car men but which affects the less skilled members of the non-operating union, is that of job security. The other important issue is pensions.

### EQUAL

The workers are demanding equal representation on the railway's pension and administration board with a view to raising pension benefits.

The last major point which is being fought by the bosses is that of sick leave. Workers are demanding 18 days of cumulative paid sick leave. The company negotiator has already stated that there is no way the bosses will give in on this question.

The rank and filers are becoming very militant and the union leaders are more and more edgy. The sellout of the car men's union has put them in a difficult position. If the non-ops contract gets a larger increase than that of the car men, then the union bureaucrats will be faced with a wildcat strike. Since the rank and file of the non-ops have no intention of being stuck with the car men's settlement, a strike appears inevitable.

### FIRM

The union leaders such as Richard Smith, chief negotiator for the non-ops, have assured rank and file workers that in no way will they settle for as little as the car men got. The only way the union bureaucrats are going to get out of this one is if the government intervenes. Then they can go back to the rank and file with the excuse for the sellout.

Rank and file must stand firm in all of their demands. They must beware of sellouts by the union bureaucrats and they must also fight against any government intervention.

### PLEA

Official government circles have tried to play down these statistics. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics (DBS) commented that these were normal winter increases in unemployment. The Trudeau government is now seeking to hide the fact that it has been trying for the past two years to increase unemployment in its attempt to fight inflation.

Finance Minister Benson emphasized various government programs designed to increase employment, without mentioning that these programs are directed at regions in Canada where the unemployment rates are chronically around 20% or more. Quebec Labor Minister Mr. Cournoyer could offer nothing but a plea to the Federal Government to do something to ameliorate a situation that was encouraging "revolution"

## Minneapolis Strike Leader Speaks Out On Railroads

The following is an interview with Minneapolis railroad leader Orrie Norton, by Bulletin reporter B. Wills.

During the brief national strike of railroad workers, the one broken by the Nixon administration and Congress on December 10, 1970, Norton was called out of retirement by his local and made chairman of its strike committee.

**BULLETIN:** You no doubt saw the January 14 AP dispatch in the Minneapolis Tribune concerning the proposal by the United Transportation Union (UTU) that the railroads be nationalized "if current labor disputes are not settled by March 1." Charles Luna, president of the UTU, reported the unanimous determination of 60 UTU leaders meeting in Cleveland to urge Congress to nationalize the railroads if the "federal courts and Congress continue to deprive railroad employees of their right to exercise their economic strength."

**NORTON:** First your readers should know that the UTU with 280,000 members is the largest railroad union in the nation. Dissatisfaction of the men with their lousy conditions and wages forced a merger in 1969-70 of four previously independent rail unions into the UTU: my own union, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and Enginemen, the Order of Railway Conductors and the Brakemen's union. Secondly there is right now an unbelievable tension and anger among the entire rank and file throughout the country. Their rage is directed against the sellout and do-nothing policies of the national leadership of the UTU.

**BULLETIN:** Could you give any examples of what you mean by the "do nothing" policies of the leadership?

**NORTON:** The list is much too long to enumerate. Here are just a few things the bureaucrats do nothing about. Under the terms of the National Railway Labor Act passed by Congress in 1924, we have not been and still are not free men. This slave labor legislation, amended a few times since, was adopted to cripple the strength of the railway employees, who by their power during the national strike of car men in 1922 had frightened the American capitalists out of their wits.

This law has so weakened the unions that it takes seven years just to get an ordinary grievance on the docket at the Railway Labor Board in Chicago. In



Pierrette Fournier (left) is a founder of a center for unemployed in Sherbrooke. Unemployment is soaring as government launches new attacks on working class.

and "those who advocate a violent overthrow of established government."

Parliament is "debating" the crisis this week but the Federal Government's position is clear. Nothing new is being done. Benson said the government could not afford to spend more right now and that the country must be patient because it will take some time before existing policies take effect. He of course was referring to government employment policies. However, the major policy over the past two years has been one of encouraging unemployment. Must we then wait until this policy takes effect and pushes unemployment even higher?

Even while the government tries to play down the effects of its policies, Air Canada, a government Crown Corporation, announced it was laying off 450 employees because of financial restraints. There is no way the government can hide the mounting crisis in the Canadian economy.

Now more than ever in Quebec the political nature of working class oppression is evident. The economic crisis comes at a time when the government is hurrying to try Quebec labor leader M. Chartrand for alleged sedition and membership in the F.L.Q. The coming months should see a marked radicalization and increasing militancy of the Quebec working class.

other words, grievance procedure is a joke. Here is another example of the anti-labor nature of the Railway Act. The engine men don't enjoy an 8-hour day, as does the rest of the working class. They have to put in eight and one half hours each day at straight time.

But it is even worse for the road men, like the conductors and brakemen. Their overtime does not begin until they have put in ten hours a day. This kind of blatant inequality is reinforced by a situation that makes it all but impossible for us to strike, as you know from December 10th.

**BULLETIN:** It is obvious that the employers have in the Railway Act a living model for paralyzing the rest of the trade union movement in the United States if they are successful in getting anti-labor legislation through Congress this year.

**NORTON:** Right. You know because we were not allowed to strike when our contracts terminated in September, 1969, negotiations for a new contract between the UTU and the carriers dragged on for over an entire year. During that time the companies were arrogant in their refusal to make us even a living wage offer. They knew the government was behind them.

Besides their indifference to the effects of the sky-rocketing inflation that has made the skilled railway workers among the most impoverished wage earners in this nation, the carriers continue to spread their lies about "featherbedding" and are ruthlessly throwing new thousands on the unemployed scrapheap each year.

When over 14 months of negotiations for a new contract had finally passed and the employers were presumably free to strike under the terms of the Railway Act, Nixon and his corporation-controlled Congress immediately invoked naked class legislation and forced us all back to work.

**BULLETIN:** Were the men willing to defy the capitalists' representatives in Washington?

**NORTON:** That is just the point of the anger of the rank and file against the treacherous leadership of the UTU. Despite the overwhelming confidence in their strength and the grim determination of the railway men to have it out with the White House and the rail bosses, Luna simply caved in, ignored the temper of the men and ordered them to obey Congress. The next day C.L. Dennis, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks (BRAC), in face of the

hundreds of telegrams by his rank and file urging him to hold firm, also betrayed his men too by demanding that they return to their jobs.

**BULLETIN:** Do you think then that the angry mood of the ranks has compelled the UTU leadership to propose nationalization?

**NORTON:** Well, the men have seen that the teamsters by holding tough were able to win a \$1.65 an hour increase. They also saw that the militant airline clerks in BRAC by a wonderful display of solidarity in their bitter five months' strike against Northwest Airlines successfully defied the repeated efforts of Dennis to sabotage their struggle and finally prevented this same bureaucrat, who double-crossed the railway clerks on December 10th, from shoving a rotten contract down their throats.

These actions have only buoyed up the spirit of the men in the rail yards. Dissatisfaction with their national chiefs is so rampant that for safety's sake don't mention Luna's name to the guys without first making clear that you don't speak as any supporter of his.

**BULLETIN:** What do you think of Luna's nationalization proposal?

**NORTON:** I haven't seen the proposal itself yet. I agree with the demand for nationalization, but you can be sure that Luna and his piecarks, even if they are sincere, do not intend to nationalize the carriers without compensation nor will they demand workers' control of the railway industry.

Their plan probably calls for full compensation including paying premiums and inflated prices for obsolete or worn-out equipment and poor right-of-ways. Over the years the railroad magnates have sucked the profits made out of the underpaid men and instead of keeping the equipment in good repair or purchasing new ones, have invested the capital in other more lucrative fields. This way they can show a loss on their books. It's an old-time trick that fools none of the men in the industry.

**BULLETIN:** You have joined the growing list of trade unionists that see the attack on Juan Farinas as a blow really aimed at the union movement itself.

**NORTON:** Of course I support his defense. I do so in the same spirit and with the same determination that the following slogan used to appear on the masthead of the Northwest Organizer, the weekly newspaper of the Minneapolis Teamsters' Local 544 in the 1930s: "An injury to one is an injury to all."

### MUST READING!

Leon Trotsky On  
Labor Party

20¢

Labor Publications, Inc. 6th Floor,  
135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011



# CWA Settlement Threatens To Destroy Union



Striking telephone workers picket in New York City. The CWA now faces a million dollar fine. The union bureaucrats ended the strike, and will ask a "reduction" in fine.

NEW YORK, Jan. 25—Today striking members of Communication Workers of America, Local 1101, who began a wildcat strike here two weeks ago, returned to work. The militant ranks went back only because of the tremendous pressure from the company, the government and their union leadership.

The International through its president Joseph Beirne, and its vice president, Morton Bahr, have continually and consciously sought to sabotage this strike. Together with the leadership of Local 1101 they have forced a settlement which can only open the door to the destruction of the union.

The strike, which involved all 27 New York State CWA locals and almost 50,000 members, centered around the company's

preferential treatment of 600 out-of-town CWA repairmen brought in to augment the New York City repairmen. Local 1101 members demanded overtime equal to that given the out-of-town repairmen, that the out-of-towners be sent home and that 1101 members be upgraded for these repair jobs. The company refused to comply.

The international made the original agreement with the New York Telephone Company to bring the repairmen in. After closed room talks with company president

Ellinghaus, it has called off the statewide strike and agreed to put the whole matter into binding arbitration. They hope that the arbitration will result in a reduction of the staggering fines.

The fines were first imposed January 11, the first day of the strike, by Federal District Court Judge John Cannella on Local 1101, on Howard Banker, president of the local, and the international. They were imposed for contempt of a court order of last June prohibiting job actions against the company.

The fines escalated—doubling each day, at first, then increasing by \$100,000 for each day of the strike. The fines now total over one and a half million dollars, payable as damages to the New York Telephone Company.

## BLACKMAIL

The company has begun collecting by putting liens on union dues checkoffs and on all union bank accounts. This is a sum that the company and the court know the union can never pay. Now that the bureaucrats have agreed to binding arbitration, it allows the company and the court to hold this impossible fine over the union's head as blackmail.

The whole CWA leadership, from Beirne to Banker, in begging for a reduction of the fines against the union, are saying in effect that the bosses have the right to fine unions for striking. They refuse to fight against the virtual destruction of the unions and it is clear that this is what the company and the government have in mind.

But it also goes further than just Local 1101. The action against this union lays bare the plans the employers and the government are making for the entire union movement.

What is at stake here is the very existence of the labor movement and the right to strike. But this attack on the working class must only backfire on the capitalist class.

## IMPETUS

In 1905 in Britain the Taff Vale judgement was enacted against the railroad unions. Under the Combinations Laws, the railroad unions were fined hundreds of thousands of dollars, posing the destruction of the growing trade union movement. It was this direct threat that gave the British working class the impetus for the construction of the Labour Party as a political defense a-

on campus are seeking to mobilize support.

On January 4, ten youth were arrested during a demonstration sponsored by SDS to protest the recent university parking lot increases. Six others were arrested later. Their trial on charges of disturbing the peace has just begun in Hennepin County Municipal Court.

The university has made it clear that they want these youth prosecuted fully and that they intend to use the incident to drive SDS off the campus. The vicious sentences being meted out to the Minnesota 8 in St. Paul shows that Nixon and his courts mean business.

It is no accident that at the same time three right-wing groups on campus, Minnesota Majority, the Conservative Baptist Student Union and Young Americans for Freedom, are organizing a petition campaign to recall Rick Macpherson, president of the Minnesota Student Association. Macpherson recently traveled to North Vietnam as one of sixteen American representatives in an NSA sponsored trip to draw up a "peace treaty" for ending the war.

This campaign is aimed at pulling together and inspiring all the reactionary scum on campus. In a leaflet circulated by the YAF they assert: "We feel strongly that if our campus administrators do not or cannot maintain order, that responsible students and organizations will be forced to come together to act in their own defense. If this proves necessary in individual situations, we support student action required to force our administrators to maintain order..."

What precisely they mean by this is being shown by the vandalism directed against socialists by fascist thugs at Stony Brook campus on Long Island.

SDS is trying to run away from facing up to the implications of the arrests, just as it has backed away from the defense of Juan Farinas.

The "recall Macpherson" campaign at the U. of M. is a clear warning as much as the attacks on SDS. If the Administration succeeds with its attack on SDS, no left-wing organization on campus will be safe from attack.

We must go on the offensive against these attacks and expose and smash such groups as YAF. It is necessary to build a united political defense campaign of all the victims of repression. It is with this understanding that the Juan Farinas Defense Committee is building for its rally January 29 in Minneapolis.

against the attacks of the capitalists and their government.

The 1101 strike demonstrates how in fighting the workers, the government and bosses work hand in hand to destroy the unions. In fighting the working class the capitalists are organized politically as a class.

## RIGHTS

The very defense of the basic rights and gains won by the union movement throughout history can only be defended and taken forward through a political struggle, through the fight for a labor party.

The labor movement must take up this fight now. It must make sure that not a single penny is paid to the New York Telephone Company in the form of fines and must prepare action unless the fines are revoked and the union's demands met.

## AFSCME Strike Shuts Down University Of Michigan

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT—2700 workers of Local 1582, AFSCME, struck the University of Michigan. The workers involved are employed in food service, janitorial and ground maintenance.

The strike centers on the question of wages. The pay scale currently runs from \$1.50 to \$2.75 per hour. Janitors at nearby Wayne State make a dollar an hour more. The union is demanding a 60¢ an hour increase over a two year period. The university has offered 60¢ over a three year period.

The strikers are solid in their determination. They also have widespread student support. They are strengthened by the fact that the University of Michigan cannot operate without these services beyond a few days.

The greatest danger to the strike at this point is the union leadership. The leaders have called off the strike and ordered the workers back on their jobs. The leadership has agreed to put the demands in the hands of a state mediator. This capitulation came with the threat of an injunction.

The ranks must now fight to maintain their strike until their demands are met.

## U. Of Minn. Launches Witchhunt To Drive Radicals Off Campus

BY BOB JOHNSON

MINNEAPOLIS—The University of Minnesota administration has launched a campaign to drive student protesters off the campus. At the same time, right-wing forces

### Detroit Rubber Workers Protest Local Settlement

DETROIT—Local 101 of the United Rubber Workers at UniRoyal here voted on January 17 to return to work after a ten day strike. After the vote, many workers expressed dissatisfaction with the manner in which the leadership had conducted the strike.

The strike was over local issues. The national agreement was ratified in August.

The timing of the strike was inopportune from the workers' point of view. January and February are traditionally months when there is a slowdown in the rubber industry and workers are laid off.

Despite this, the workers struck over parking facilities, off-standard jobs (causing loss of pay under piecework), and other inequities. UniRoyal utilized an immense overstock of tires to make the workers accept a bad agreement.

At the strike vote meeting, January 10, many workers said that the union leadership had not been negotiating with the company seriously over local questions since the ratification of the national agreement in August. The leadership allowed management to drag the local questions into the layoff period. When the leadership was asked in the meeting why this was allowed to happen, they had no explanation.

## PROTEST

At numerous points in the meeting, and in discussions with the workers, there was noted protest against the leadership's maneuvering. One young worker said: "Some people think there is a kick back between management and local officials. The president had a way with words. You listen closely to what he is saying when he has to get down to issues, and he is running around in circles. What the workers really need is young people in the leadership. Now, I'm going to run for committeeman. If I were to get to be secretary, and I were for the workers, they would railroad me out of there somehow."

## Nationalists Fail In Attempt To Break Chicago Teachers Strike



Chicago teachers struck last week for wage increase against rising inflation.

tion of wages, accepting an 8% increase the first year. It completely dropped the health and welfare proposal as well as the demands for smaller class size.

## NATIONALISTS

Another obstacle to the success of the strike was the separatist propaganda campaign of Jesse Jackson's "Operation Breadbasket." In collusion with the needs of the employers and the government, "Operation Breadbasket" called on black teachers to boycott the strike.

These reactionary black nationalists pose a serious threat not only to this particular strike, but to the working class as a whole. However, despite all the efforts of the nationalists during this strike, the overwhelming majority of black teachers joined their fellow teachers and went on strike.

The City College Teachers Union is also involved in an extremely bitter strike with the Cook County College System. The teachers went out on strike for eight days. During this time the City College Administration refused to make any new contract offers. John Desmond, the president of the union, has charged that there have been physical attacks on several picketers. One picketer was shoved to the ground and kicked in the head.

All along the Administration has used various means to try to break the strike and ultimately the union. After eight days the Administration, unable to otherwise break the strike, got a court injunction.

The union agreed to go back for three days if the City College Administration would make a new offer. However, the Administration had no plans to make any new offers, they were just trying to break the strike and the union.

The rank and file replied to this crude maneuver by voting unanimously to go back on strike.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

CHICAGO—Public school teachers went on strike here last week for four days. At the center of this strike was the fight for a decent wage increase.

The cost of living has risen by 12% in Chicago since the last teachers' contract. Because of militant pressure from the ranks, a 12% wage hike was originally included in the union's demands.

The leadership capitulated on the ques-

## A Political Review

# Seale: From Malcolm X To Intercommunalism

REVIEWED BY PAT CONNOLLY

**SEIZE THE TIME: The Story of the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton.** By Bobby Seale. Vintage Books, 429 pages, \$1.95.

Bobby Seale's book, *Seize The Time: The Story of the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton*, has to be read within the context of the latest developments in the class struggle.

The book opens with Seale's reaction to the assassination of Malcolm X in 1965. He describes running down the street to his mother's house, getting loose bricks and breaking them in half to throw at cop cars. "I thought that was all I could do. I was ready to die that day." He vowed to make himself into another Malcolm X and said "if they want to kill me, they'll have to kill me."

*Seize The Time* records the origins and the formation of the Black Panther Party in 1967 and its development up until 1969. By 1969 in fact the ruling class was trying to kill Seale by framing him on a murder charge in Connecticut. Today the Panthers are subjected to countless, vicious armed attacks by the police all across the country, such as those in New Orleans, Philadelphia and Chicago. Their leaders are on trial facing prison or death, after racist witchhunts.

*Seize The Time* is a recording of these developments which now go way beyond Malcolm X, developments within the American working class which reflect the breaking up of capitalism, and the preparation for massive revolutionary convulsions in which capitalism will be overthrown.

### MAINSRING

In November of 1970 Huey P. Newton spoke at New York City Community College in Brooklyn before an audience of 4,000 predominantly black youth. The central theme of his talk was the question of dialectical materialism. A speech, reprinted in the current (Jan. 23) issue of *The Black Panther* newspaper, given by Newton at Boston College, again raises the question of Marxist philosophy and dialectical materialism.

These speeches represent a serious grappling with theoretical questions in a way which has never before been posed on this level from out of the American working class.

Dialectical materialism, as Trotsky put it, is the mainspring in the development of a revolutionary party. That this question should now be raised by Newton in speech after speech requires us to study how he has come to this question and what it means for the development of a mass revolutionary party to lead the working class to socialism. *Seize The Time* must be read by every revolutionary to learn the history of the Panthers and how they developed to the level of raising this most central question of all.

The Black Panther Party was formed out of a break with cultural nationalism, recognizing, as Seale put it, that power comes out of the barrel of a gun, not out of the sleeves of a dashiki. They combined Mao, Malcolm X, Che and Fanon eclectically to develop their ten point program and the concept of armed self defense. They sold Mao's "Red Book" at a profit to students, using the money to buy guns to patrol the cops and recruit other "brothers off the block," and teach the "Red Book" to them.

The Ten Point Program of the Black Panther Party was described by Newton recently as "A Ten Point Program that is not revolutionary in itself, nor is it reformist. It's a survival program."

"But until such time as we can achieve that total transformation (of society) we must exist. In order to exist, we must survive, so therefore we need a survival kit. The Ten Point Program is a survival kit, brothers and sisters....We must not take our survival program as an answer to the

problem. We don't even claim it to be a revolutionary program. Because revolutions are made of sterner stuff."

Today the Black Panther Party finds itself under the most severe attack by the capitalist class and its state, facing witch-hunts, prison, and murder. Today they look to theory as a way of surviving. Armed self other community programs are seen as survival programs which cannot answer the problem.

The turn to dialectical materialism as a philosophical weapon in the class struggle, as a survival issue, is a new development that is central. Dialectical materialism is the question of the survival of the working class, its ability to completely transform society. This is the most advanced weapon of the working class. It is the "sterner stuff" of which revolutions are made. Newton recognizes this in the October Revolution of 1917. "In 1917, an event occurred in the Soviet Union that was called a revolution, two classes had a contradiction and the whole country was transformed."

### DEVELOPMENT

In *Seize The Time*, Seale explains the development of the Black Panther Party from black nationalists to revolutionary nationalists to internationalists. Newton takes this further with the explanation of "Intercommunalism":

"We found that because everything is in a constant state of transformation, and that because of the development of technology, because of the development of the mass media, because of the fire power of imperialism, because the United States is not a nation but an empire, nationhood does not exist because they do not have the criteria for nationhood."

In other words, all nations have been transformed into communities, because U.S. imperialism dominates every other country, its institutions and economy, destroying national boundaries. This is "reactionary intercommunalism." Revolutionaries seek to have no state or what Newton calls revolutionary intercommunalism where national boundaries are broken down.

What is not seen here is precisely one of the central contradictions of capitalism—that the increasing monopolization of capitalism conflicts with the nation state, producing danger of wars between imperialist powers, such as the Second World War, and the danger of a third world war. What is also missed is the battle in each capitalist country to drive down the standards and wages of the working class in order to compete for profits with other capitalist nations.

### INTERCOMMUNALISM

This conception of intercommunalism is closely linked with Mao's theory of the city and the country. The advanced capitalist countries, like the U.S. are the "cities," and the other countries, particularly the colonial and underdeveloped countries, are the "countryside." The country can strangle the city, through cutting off raw materials, and through guerrilla warfare within the underdeveloped countries.

Essentially this theory sees the peasantry as the revolutionary class which is capable of overthrowing world capitalism. It sees no role whatsoever for the organized industrial working class. In the U.S., the Panthers see the lumpen proletariat as playing this role. They state that the industrial working class "does not carry the potentialities for revolution," but that the "left wing" of the proletariat, the lumpen, carry this potentiality.

The question here is why is the working class the revolutionary force. Newton points out that it is not simply a question of who is the majority and who the minority. He uses circular and inconsistent reasoning to state that the working class in Russia was a minority which led the revolution, therefore the lumpen proletariat minority today can carry out the revolution.

But then he goes on to assert that the lumpen will become the vast majority as the working class is lumpenized—as vast numbers of workers are thrown into unem-

ployment because capitalism through the development of technology no longer needs them.

### LUMPEN

He does not see the prospect of the working class fighting back against mass unemployment and fascism, he sees millions of workers being laid off and driven back into the lumpen proletariat without any kind of fight. The employing class of each country must attack its own working class to maintain profits. It launches campaigns of terror and repression to divide the working class, isolate militants and politically dominate the working class.

Behind the theory of the lumpen as the progressive class in the U.S. and behind the theory of intercommunalism lies the conception that the working class is not a revolutionary class, that some other social force can carry out revolutionary overthrow.

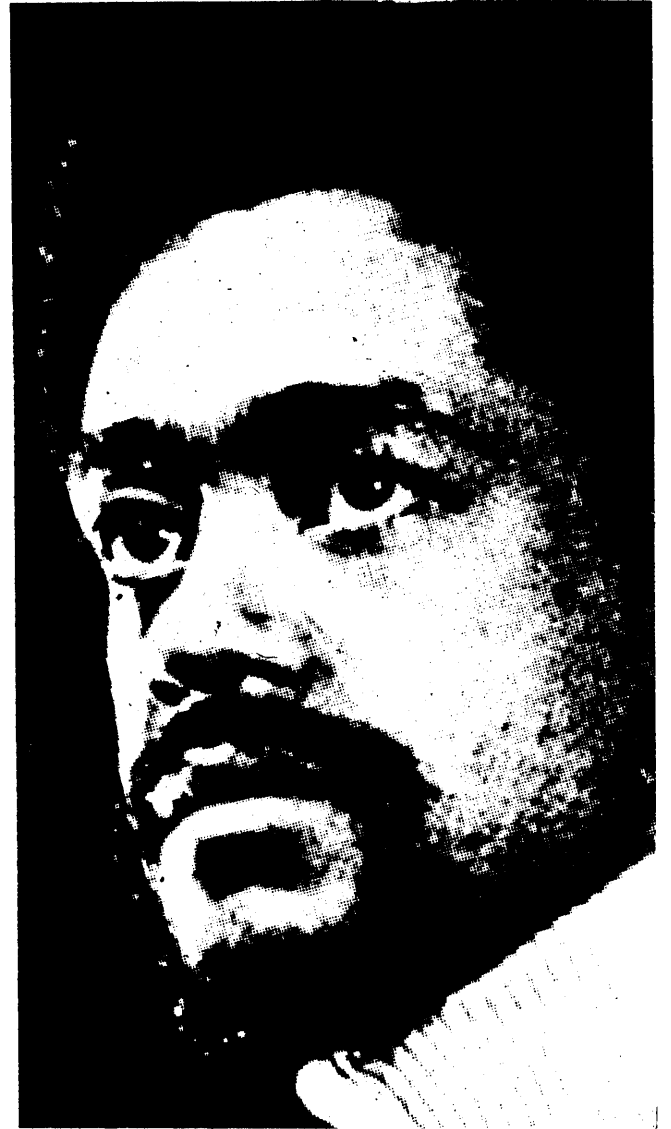
This theory is based on impressionism and empiricism. It sees the boom period of capitalism and the relative quiescence of the working class. It looks to other forces, such as students and alienated intellectuals, or the peasantry through guerrilla warfare or the lumpen to lead revolution.

But the revolutionary character of the working class is based upon its objective relationship to the means of production, which as the capitalist crisis deepens makes it that force which with Marxist leadership, can overturn capitalism and establish socialism.

This concept of intercommunalism represents both the development of the Black Panthers and the extent to which they have not changed. While, as Seale's book emphasizes, the Panthers always were critical of the cultural nationalists and were never "racist" in the sense that many of the cultural nationalists were and are, the Panthers were and are nationalist in a fundamental sense.

This is expressed particularly in their original ten point program. For instance Point Ten states: "We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny."

This is a clear statement of blacks as a nation and, as with the rest of the program, it is aimed at blacks as blacks. In actuality over the years the Panthers have turned more and more to those aspects of their outlook which emphasize class questions, of their repression and how to fight back against it, but in such a way as to not break fully from this original con-



ception. So when this program is referred to by Newton as a "survival kit" which is reformist but necessary, he is revealing both the Panthers' evolution beyond the limits of these ten points as well as their refusal to break with this outlook.

With intercommunalism they seek to pose questions in an international class way while at the same time maintaining a nationalist community outlook. By simply denying the reality of nations they then propose a relationship between "communities." But since nations and nationalism do in fact exist the result really is to allow nationalism in through the back door of "communalism."

What is it that holds a "community" together? Race? National background as in the case of Puerto Ricans or Mexicans? The concept of community denies class differences and the primacy of class. This means that while the popular front of blocs with the liberal capitalists is attacked on the top it is constantly being re-formed from below on the community level.

### STALINISM

As Bobby Seale's book explains from the early days the Panthers were influenced by the "Red Book." To some extent at the beginning they simply sold the books to students to raise money for guns, but they came to read and re-read the book and make it the basis of their political education. But Maoism is a form of Stalinism and it is through Maoism that the Panthers acquired certain Stalinist conceptions which actually reinforced their nationalism.

In the current issue of *The Black Panther* Eldridge Cleaver correctly attacks the Communist Party for the whole liberal way it is running the Angela Davis Defense work, using Davis to obscure the Seale Trial and its revolutionary political meaning. In the past Newton has attacked the CP for its collaboration with Roosevelt in the 1930's.

These policies of the American Communist Party are the result of the capitulation of that party to Stalinism. The only alternative to Stalinism is Trotskyism which, based on Lenin, tears to shreds the class collaborationist policies of popular fronts with the liberals and with bourgeois ideology either on the top or on the grass roots "community" level. We recognize only one "community" that of all workers in all countries.

The fight now is for the conscious leadership of the working class, for the fight to take the power and transform society. This is the meaning of the fight for the building of a mass party of the working class based on the trade unions, breaking the masses of workers away from the capitalist parties and preparing them politically for the seizure of power.



# Interview: Unemployment, Discontent In San Jose

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN JOSE—Last fall unemployed workers here organized a demonstration against Nixon during the election campaign. At this demonstration hundreds of workers, unemployed and youth, showed their hatred of Nixon and their determination to fight against the attacks on their living standards.

With the unemployment rate in California spiralling in many localities above the national rate of 6%, workers here in San Jose are feeling more sharply than ever the deepening of the economic crisis.

Such a worker is Bill R., an unemployed 26 year old technician, laid off in San Carlos and unable to find work in San Jose. He expressed the growing local discontent in this interview taped recently in San Jose.

**Q. Where were you working and how long have you been unemployed?**

A. I've been out of work now since the end of July. At the time I was employed as a digital electronics technician working on water system projects in San Carlos, California.

**Q. Why were you laid off?**

A. The company I worked for had a contract with the California Water Project to build a system to take water to Southern California. They had greatly underbid, assuming that winning the bid for one pumping station meant winning all of the available twenty-two stations. But the state, after

the bids were in, decided that one company would receive only the contract for one pumping station.

They almost took a loss to get the "cost-plus-ten," and of course, the "cost-plus-ten" for one pumping station did them absolutely no good, so they had to cut back. About six assembly girls and two other technicians that I know of were laid off along with myself. I'd say the rate of unemployment at that particular time in the company reached 30%.

**Q. How has unemployment affected your living conditions?**

A. Well, with the money I'd saved while working and with my Veteran's checks my actual conditions did not change that much. I'm single, I don't have a family or responsibilities along those lines, and I live quite simply. But had I had a family there would have been no way out, because being laid off after having worked in California for only three months, I was not eligible for unemployment insurance until the next year, because they measure these things against the previous half year.



So that means I have to wait till February before I can draw any unemployment, when I needed it in August of the preceding year. The other two guys laid off with me were able to draw unemployment insurance for themselves, and their families, or they would have been faced with a much more serious problem than mine.

**Q. What effect did the layoffs have on the remaining employees?**

A. The incentive to continue working was then the fear of losing your job. Everyone was afraid that they would be next, so they figured if they worked a bit harder the supervisor wouldn't lay them off. But in actuality the supervisor was being completely impersonal and was choosing those workers that were costing the company the most, the higher dollar earners.

**Q. I understand that many workers in your field are not organized into unions. Do you feel that if they were organized they could better protect themselves?**

A. I definitely think it could, even though in my particular profession I find that technicians are tremendously conservative and wary of such moves.

But if the economic problems get worse, I think the formation of technicians into unions will become much more necessary. As unemployment checks run out, these people will have to become politically active through unions—there's no question about it, I couldn't see any other way.

**Q. What do you think lies at the root of the economic problems like unemployment and inflation here in Santa Clara Valley and throughout the nation?**

A. I think that the particular practice of maintaining profits no matter what the costs seems to be crucial here. If the employee receives an 8% raise, the company will demand a 12% profit to make up the difference, where as the year before the profit rate was 8 to 10%.

**Q. What do you think of the formation of a labor party based on the trade unions that would work to carry this fight forward against wage and hiring freezes, strike-breaking legislation, unemployment and so on?**

A. This could be the answer to the political repression put on workers now. Today when a worker votes, it doesn't change anything. The people who control the system will do the same thing no matter who he votes for. I think frustrations along these lines along with deepening economic problems can lead the worker to a third party. When economic motivation is the common denominator between the third party and the worker then he will favor it.

I used to hear jokes from the guys I worked with about "when the depression comes..." but inside they have fears which make them intuitively aware that if another depression comes it will be much worse because there is so much more to fall and a longer distance to fall today than in the 30s.

**Q. Governor Reagan has instituted extensive welfare and state hiring cutbacks. What sort of effect do you think this has on the unemployed, aged, sick, or disabled?**

A. When I thought back on the costs of the water project and then on the extent of the Medi-Cal program costs there was no comparison; the project was so much more expensive and debt-ridden and went to benefit whom?—the large landowners and companies in the valley. The state is paying out more money for those kind of people while those who are unemployed, sick or old or disabled are bearing the burden. To the state things like this are settled by considering economic priorities.

## SF Teachers Demonstrate Against Job Cuts

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—The beginning of a new upsurge in the class struggle started here last week. Six hundred San Francisco teachers marched in front of the Board of Education last Thursday to protest the elimination of 46 teaching positions.



San Francisco city workers demonstrate against Reagan's plans for wage slashing.

The San Francisco Chronicle reported that "The financial crisis facing San Francisco's public schools is worse than during the thirties."

The School Board faces a deficit of at least six and one half million dollars, which can only be made up for by additional layoffs and the elimination of experimental programs.

Clerks in many schools are now being asked to work reduced hours at reduced pay. Last March teachers closed down the schools in order not to cross the picket lines of other city workers. As the rest of city workers (clerks, librarians, social workers) again prepare to strike against the measly 3.25% wage offer, teachers are not only posed with solidarity with other city workers, but with strike action to defend their own jobs.

### ALIOTO

Mayor Alioto has frozen hundreds of city jobs by not hiring replacement workers. Layoffs of other city workers are now threatened. Immediately threatened are the workers employed by the Community Mental Health centers. Not only are there thousands of temporary city employees who can be laid off at will (many of these workers are temporary because civil service has simply refused to give them an exam) but also the so called "permanent" workers who have been secure in the past, will discover that there are regulations in the civil service rule book which permit their layoff as well.

Bus drivers are now being blamed for the large deficit in the Muni-bus system. With the opening up of Bay Area Rapid Transit, a largely automated subway system in the near future, hundreds of bus drivers will

also be facing layoffs unless there is a fight to defend their jobs.

### DEMONSTRATION

Locals 400, 250 and 66A are calling for a mass demonstration of city workers in front of City Hall on February 1. At that time the board of supervisors will be considering wage increases for city workers. The labor bureaucracy is calling this demonstration in the hopes of getting a compromise, pressuring the politicians.

The February 1 demonstration must be the opening of a campaign for a general city workers strike with the demands for a 10% wage increase, elimination of the wage slash new clerks were forced to take last year; a dental and medical plan paid for by the city; and a contract which guarantees no layoffs.

## COPS INTERROGATE YOUTH IN SAN JOSE SCHOOLS

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN JOSE—The latest vicious attack on Black and Chicano working class youth and their parents has surfaced here this week.

It was learned by this reporter that for the last several weeks San Jose police investigators have been interrogating East Side elementary school children. This interrogation has been taking place on school grounds during class time.

The children are usually asked what has been going on in their homes and what their older brothers and fathers do around the house.

This type of tactic recalls those used in Nazi Germany. They must be stopped!

## New Strikes Break Out In Poland As Workers Defy New Regime

BY MELODY FARROW

Polish workers in the city of Szezecin where a central strike committee was formed during the December struggles are on strike again. Initiated by 12,000 shipyard workers the strike has spread to the transportation workers and the railroad workers.

Only one month after Gomulka was forced out of the leadership of the government by the revolutionary action of the workers, the new government headed by Edward Gierek is under attack. The new strikes come shortly after Gierek met with a delegation of workers in Warsaw to discuss their demands.

On January 23, on hearing the news from Szezecin, he was forced to descend from his bureaucratic heights in Warsaw and

flew to Szezecin to meet with party officials. Gierek does not dare confront the workers themselves.

From the beginning of the strikes, the workers have relied only on their own strength and organization. The workers' confidence and distrust of their party leaders has grown by leaps and bounds.

### OVERTHROW

By setting up strike committees, workers' militias, and delegations they have begun to fight for the political overthrow of the bureaucracy. The entire country is virtually posed on the verge of insurrection. The workers are demanding not only higher wages, but the dismissal of those responsible for the economic crisis, freedom of the press, union leaders representative of the workers and liberation of all prisoners arrested in December.

As the Polish workers intensify their struggle, the Stalinist bureaucracy is mo-

ving rapidly to the right. The conciliatory phrases and hypocritical concern for the workers expressed after the December strikes has simply evaporated. The bureaucracy is now revealing its real face.

No sooner were the workers back to work than the government pressed ahead with higher production quotas. Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz has told industrial managers to begin cracking down on the workers. The Szezecin party press Trybuna Ludu denounced: "An atmosphere of anarchy and demagoguery that some would like to create" and called for the "raising of discipline and order in working establishments."

The real voice of the bureaucracy can be summed up in the Gdansk party press statement: "We must ask ourselves if the government can continue to be threatened much longer." They are now preparing for brutal repression of the workers.

We would like to ask the Daily World,

organ of the American Communist Party—when will you break your silence on Poland? How much longer will you continue to pretend that everything is returning to normal?

The truth is clear. The struggle of the Polish workers is for real power to the working class, for socialism. You have taken your stand with the bureaucracy which is more than willing to make deals with every capitalist nation in the world but has nothing but repression for the Polish workers.

### PARTY

Faced with the beginning of an attempt by Gierek to crush their movement, the Polish workers can only take their fight forward by building a revolutionary party based on the principles of the Fourth International to prepare the working class for the establishment of soviets which will sweep the Stalinist bureaucracy into the dustbin.