

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOL.7 NO. 25-185. MARCH 1, 1971 103 TEN CENTS

*Marxism,  
Pragmatism And  
Huey Newton's  
Turn Toward  
Dialectics*

**As Nixon Attacks Construction Unions—**

# 140,000 WORKERS MARCH IN ENGLAND



Victor Feather, head of the Trades Union Council (British equivalent of AFL-CIO) addresses 140,000 workers from all over England who marched through London to

Trafalgar Square in largest demonstration in modern British history, against Tory government and its Industrial Relations Bill which is designed to smash the unions.

## STOP PRESS

**STOP PRESS—February 24th—** The New Jersey AFL-CIO executive board today called upon the labor movement in this state to refuse to work on any federal public construction job where the prevailing wage rate is not paid.

Responding to President Nixon's suspension of the Davis-Bacon Act, which provides for such payments, the AFL-CIO board said "Nixon's move against the construction unions is another political payoff to his friends in the union-busting business."

The board also urged "the trade union movement" to call

a nationwide work stoppage, either of all industry or of the construction union, until "this illegal executive order is rescinded and satisfactory assurances given that Davis-Bacon will be enforced."

This proposal of a general strike of labor must now be taken up by all sections of the trade union movement. Such a strike must be directed not only against the anti-union attacks of Nixon, but his war against the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia as well. Rank and file workers must hold these union officials to their threats!



Mike Zagarell, spokesman for Stalinists.

# STALINISTS SABOTAGE ANTIWAR STRUGGLE

There is a very grave danger that the sellout peaceful co-existence deal being pushed by the Stalinists, despite being roundly defeated at the recent SMC conference, will politically dominate the upcoming April 24 demonstration.

This policy centers around the proposal to "Set the Date" for withdrawal rather than immediate withdrawal and a negotiated bourgeois coalition government rather than victory to the NLF.

The die was cast at the SMC conference. The SWP-YSA forces while unable to openly endorse these proposals which they know full well add up to a bitter Stalinist betrayal of the working people, refused at the same time to fight them. Instead their only criticism of the Stalinists was over the possibility of violence at their demonstrations.

During the conference, despite the provocative act of Mike Zagerell's distribution of his Moscow Trial-inspired pamphlet "Trotskyism: The Inside Job," the YSA-SWP were in constant negotiations

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## EDITORIAL

**Stop Nixon's Wage Freeze!**

With the full complicity of the Democratic and Republican Parties, the attack on the U.S. labor movement by Nixon and Secretary of Labor Hodgson is moving ahead. The aim of this attack is to smash the offensive of the working class as it fights to defend its wages, conditions, and jobs.

While Nixon's immediate target is the Building Trades unions, the real aim is to impose a wage freeze on the entire trade union movement. Nixon's attack on the construction workers is just the first battle in a far bigger war. But that is what makes this first battle a life and death question for ALL workers.

Last week, Nixon took the first step toward a wage freeze in the construction industry when he suspended the provisions of the Davis-Bacon Act which required that union wages be paid on all federal and federally assisted construction projects. This open unionbusting action means that the government will start bringing in scab contractors.

Senator Jacob Javits, the "dove" that the Socialist Workers Party is now hoping will accept a speaking invitation at the April 24 anti-war protest, says that Nixon did not go far enough in his unionbusting. Javits says that since we are at war, we need a wage freeze like we had in World War II. But Nixon is only biding his time. He has been granted an extension of the "emergency" powers by Congress under which he can at any time impose a wage freeze.

Nixon would like the "cooperation" of the union leaders. His hope is to get them to participate in the setting up of a tri-partite "wage-price review board" whose third party would be an "impartial" person. This type of board is to be the model not only in construction, but for all of industry, according to the Nixon "stabilization" plan.

The Building Trades leaders' refusal to "voluntarily" accept the Nixon plan does not mean these leaders want to fight. In effect they are asking Nixon to come in directly with the threat of a Congressionally authorized "temporary wage freeze" so that they may then go to the workers and plead for acceptance of the "wage-price review board" as a "lesser evil."

Either way the outcome is the same for the workers—a slashing of their standard of living as inflation continues and recession means working even less hours.

The "hard hat" Building Trades leaders who are trying desperately to avoid a rapid termination of their long honeymoon with Nixon and Agnew, are joined in their treachery by George Meany. Both Meany and the Building Trades leaders have made clear that they are ready to go along with wage controls just as long as they are not limited to any "single" industry.

The fight against Nixon now requires a fight by rank and file construction workers against the union bureaucrats and a sharp break with the methods of the bureaucracy which have set up the construction workers for these attacks.

Nixon's wage freeze is now the reward for the political support given to Nixon, Agnew, Rockefeller and the open union-hater, New York Senator James Buckley. Nixon's wage freeze is now the "reward" for the flag-waving patriotism and praise for the "establishment" that has been led by fakers such as New York's Building Trades leader Peter Brennan.

By asking for mandatory quotas for hiring Black workers in construction, Nixon is now cleverly using the rotten, racist discriminatory hiring practices of the Building Trades unions as a means for drumming up support among Blacks for his attack on the unions. The refusal of the Building Trades leaders to ban discrimination in the construction industry, their refusal to fight for a 30 hour week and the expansion of jobs for ALL construction workers, white AND Black, is now seized on by Nixon to smash the unions.

The answer of the construction workers and all trade unionists must be a complete break with the Nixons, Agnews, Rockefellers, and Buckleys.

Their answer must be a complete break with "liberal" Democrats now being supported by the Stalinist Communist Party. These "liberals" such as Lindsay, Javits, John Kenneth Galbraith to name a few, are vehemently in favor of a wage freeze.

The answer of ALL workers must be the fight for an independent labor party based on the power of the unions.

The answer of the labor movement must be a complete break with racism which is a tool of the employers, and a fight for jobs for all based on the 30 hour week at forty hours pay.

The answer of the construction workers and the entire labor movement must be to take the lead from the British labor movement which last week led a march of 140,000 workers through the streets of London, demanding no laws against the unions and "Tories Out."

The answer of U.S. workers must be to organize mass demonstrations and raise the call for a general strike against any form of wage freezing or "wage-price review boards." The time to stop Nixon's wage freeze is NOW.

**What The Editors Think...**

Continued from page 1

with Zagarell. Now that the conference is over and the YSA-SWP have had their April 24 date confirmed these negotiations will be intensified for the purpose of bringing the Stalinists into the April 24 demonstration.

The difficulty is that even without the direct participation of the Stalinists, the liberals like McGovern and Chisholm and Dellums will give to the April 24 demonstration that political line. The Stalinists will only act to reinforce and give a more conscious political expression to it. The result will be that the YSA-SWP, which claims to be Trotskyist, will have devoted their efforts to build a demonstration politically dominated by Stalinism's bourgeois policies.

This comes precisely at the moment when in Laos the workers and peasants are delivering shattering blows to the puppet troops of the South Vietnamese and at the same time we have a massive outpouring of workers in England against the attempts of the British ruling class to smash the trade unions. At this point when the ruling class is in desperate shape under the hammer blows of the international working class the ruling class brings in the Stalinists to soften the blows, to politically break the movement forward of workers.

This takes the pernicious form of taking advantage of the hostility of masses of youth to the Vietnamese war by proposing that the danger of invasion of the North and World War III is so imminent that we must bury all class differences and form a bourgeois liberal alliance begging for a deal. It is of course true that there exists a great danger of invasion and of a world war but this danger occurs precisely at a time of weakness of capitalism before the movement of the workers. What is needed is to take this movement of the class forward forcing upon the imperialists a defeat. To break this movement now will simply open the gates to invasion of the North and further attacks on the workers.

The British workers have shown the way with their massive movement against Heath—a prime supporter of Nixon's War. Those who asked us in Washington where this movement of workers was and how could we ever expect a general strike of labor had better look in the direction of London. England, too, was not a country for massive labor demonstrations. That was something only for France. But now the British workers fight in the French way. Soon the American workers will fight in the British way.

To allow the Stalinists to combine with liberal Democrats and turn the anti-war movement among the students and workers back into the camp of those who perpetrate the war and the attack on workers every-

where is to open up American workers to similar attacks. Now Nixon moves with his wage freeze against construction workers. Now Stalinist-supported Mayor Gibson seeks to break the strike of the Newark teachers.

The attempt of the Labor Committee to confuse and divert the central struggle in the SMC conference was a direct aid to the Stalinists and a reflection of the fact that this leech group plays a right wing role in relation to the YSA-SWP. By refusing to take up at the conference the question of the war itself, they are con-



Zagarell (above) wrote "Trotskyism, the Inside Job" reviving Moscow Trials lies.

tributing to its perpetuation by Nixon. By proposing in its stead an alliance of students with the labor bureaucracy in Newark and in Baltimore they propose the defeat of workers in the current struggles over wages and the support of the forces within labor that aid Nixon and the capitalist class. By refusing to take up the struggle against the Stalinists they are contributing to the development of Stalinism in the United States.

Their distribution of a reprint of the Militant of 1932 was an act of complete charlatanism. The Labor Committee does not even formally support the Fourth International nor is it for the construction of Leninist parties. It is opposed to Bolshevism, to Leninism and to Trotskyism. It represents a right wing split-off from Pabloism and is one extreme expression of the liquidationism inherent in Pabloism.

That the Workers League emerged with the second largest body of votes at the SMC conference places upon us a tremendous responsibility. This requires that we take forward in the universities and in the unions the struggle against Stalinism which means at the same time the struggle to develop a leadership to independently mobilize the working people politically against capitalism.

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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.



# SMC: Danger Of Stalinism As War Deepens

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

WASHINGTON, D.C., Feb. 21—The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam held a national student conference attended by about 1,500 here this weekend supported by the Socialist Workers Party-Young Socialist Alliance.

About twenty-one proposals were put before the conference as it opened, with a speaker for each. But the three actual major proposals were: the SWP-YSA proposal for a mass demonstration in Washington April 24; the three proposals for the "Peoples Peace Treaty" including the "Peoples Coalition" and the "March-Emergency Action"; and the proposal submitted by the Workers League for a national student strike aimed toward a general strike of labor to stop the war.

The proposal for the April 24 demonstration called for another protest march, dominated by such liberals as Kennedy, Javits, Lindsay, Cooper, McGovern, Church and Muskie. This is essentially a proposal for a Popular Front of the working class and the liberal bourgeoisie which led the working class to defeat in the 1930s by Stalinism.

The Peoples Peace Treaty, the Peoples Coalition and the Young Workers Liberation League proposal for March emergency action all emanated from the Stalinists and openly mean the betrayal and defeat of the Vietnamese Revolution.

## STALINISM

Pat Connolly introduced the Workers League resolution for a national student strike and the fight for a general strike of labor by saying:

"This perspective reflects the central question, not only at this conference, but in the working class movement as a whole, and that is the question of Stalinism or Trotskyism.

"Stalinism with its perspective of peaceful co-existence with capitalism, means the defeat of the working class, the tying of the working class to the bourgeoisie."

The SWP-YSA rather than taking up the fight against Stalinism and the proposals for the betrayal of the Vietnamese Revolution, counterposed to it a protest march tying the working class to the liberal bourgeoisie, and thus maintaining a complete bloc with the Stalinists.

They attacked the Stalinists' proposals only on the level that civil disobedience in Washington would not attract the masses of the middle class, and that it would be adventurous.

Against this the Workers League raised the historical and theoretical question of Stalinism and its history of betrayals of the working class.

Workers League speaker Pat Connolly said:

"It is no accident that while the YSA refuses to take up the question of Stalinism, the YWLL is passing out a free pamphlet by Mike Zagarell called "Trotskyism—The Inside Job." This pamphlet revives all the slanders and lies of Stalinism against Trotskyism. They are forced into this slander by their own history, the history of Stalinism. It is no accident that the French Minister of Defense who signed the order for French troops to go to Indochina was a member of the French CP. Now they fight openly for the betrayal of the revolution."

The presentation of the proposals was followed the first day by workshops.

On the second and final day of the conference there was a concerted effort to stampede the meeting into the peace treaty proposals, as the Stalinists used the threatened invasion of North Vietnam and a "Third World War" to push for the peace treaty proposals, for emergency protest action and civil disobedience.

Mike Zagarell of the Communist Party and YWLL revealed the complete bankruptcy of this perspective and the counterrevolutionary policies of Stalinism when he spoke:

"U.S. imperialism has no intention of withdrawing. It can only be done by the U.S. setting a date of final withdrawal. If you can't set a date they won't get out. It's ridiculous to talk about immediate withdrawal."

## ZAGARELL

To Zagarell it is not simply "ridiculous," it is frightening. The movement of the working class, in the U.S., in Britain, and in Indochina has thrown the Stalinists into a mortal panic. At the same time as Zagarell was speaking, South Vietnamese puppet troops were being routed in Laos, British workers were marching in the tens of thousands against the Tories.

Labor Committee in its completely unprincipled fashion sought to "embarrass" and "disrupt" the YSA by constant procedural maneuvers and organizational attacks. It reprinted a page from the 1932 August issue of the Militant, with the headline "Left Opposition Alone Raises the Voice of Lenin at Congress Against War," presumably to show how far the SWP has retreated from Marxism.

But the Labor Committee refused to take a side on the question of Stalinism and Trotskyism on the floor of the conference. They proceeded at this conference only to divert discussion from the main question and to objectively aid Stalinism.

Workers League speaker Dennis O'Casey said in the discussion on the



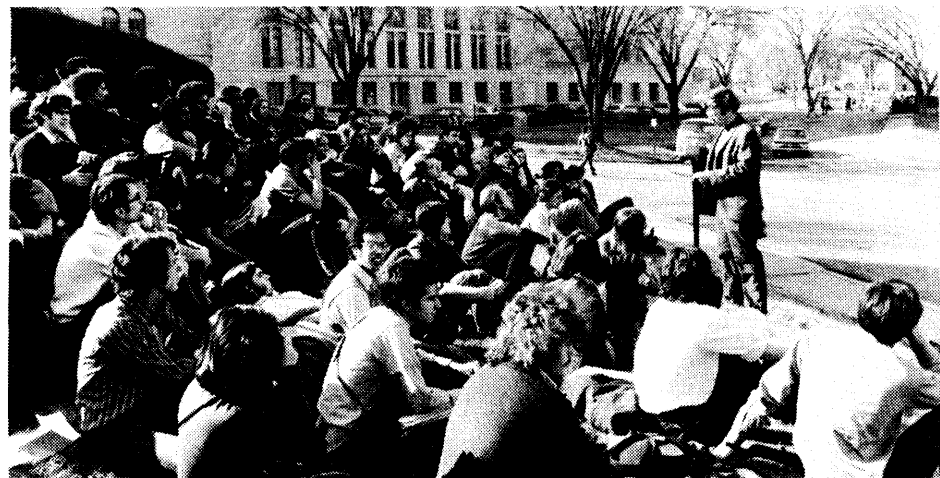
Pat Connolly, speaking for Workers League proposal for national student strike and for general strike of labor to stop the war, raises history of Stalinist betrayals.

proposals: "Only the Workers League is fighting for a Leninist perspective in the fight against the war, for the independent mobilization of the working class and a revolutionary struggle against capitalism." He then attacked Stalinism and the SWP-YSA's capitulation to it. At this point he requested an extension to finish his remarks. The request for additional time was voted down by a combination of the Stalinists and the SWP-YSA, the same combination which later voted an extension to Mike Zagarell, the author of "Trotskyism—The Inside Job."

## BLOC

The YSA again demonstrated its willingness not only to bow down to Stalinism but to bloc with Stalinism against Trotskyism and against the independent mobilization of the working class.

Another speaker from the CP attempted to answer the Workers League by saying that "old Lenin died fifty years ago" and "people get up here and blabber about Lenin." This went by without comment or fight by the YSA.



Workers League caucus meets during break. The Workers League proposal received second largest number of votes, posing deepened fight to build revolutionary leadership.

A straw vote was taken in which all proposals were eliminated except the major ones—the April 24, the Workers League proposal, Peoples Peace Treaty, Peoples Coalition, the Labor Committee and an anti-draft proposal. The floor was then opened to speakers on these proposals.

In the face of the attacks on Lenin, Stalinist slanders of Trotskyism, and the policy of open betrayal of the Vietnamese Revolution, the spokesman for the SWP-YSA-SMC proposal raised not one word about Stalinism and Trotskyism or the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution, confining the topic to the relative merits of "mass legal action" on April 24 as opposed to civil disobedience of the Peoples Peace Treaty proposals.

Pat Connolly in her concluding remarks before the vote said:

"Yes, Lenin has been dead fifty years, and it has been thirty years since Trotsky was murdered by Stalin's agents. Yes, we stand with Lenin, fifty years dead, and with the Communist International and Trotsky, that the fight against imperialism is a class fight, to bring forward the working class in a conscious battle to take the power and smash capitalism and its imperialist wars."

## BASIS

The proposal for an April 24 demonstration in Washington was passed by the conference. The Peoples Peace Treaty proposals of the Stalinists were voted down. But because of the complete political paralysis and capitulation of the SWP-YSA before Stalinism, the basis has been laid for April 24 to be politically dominated by the Stalinists.

The fight against imperialist war can only be a class fight to mobilize the working class in revolutionary struggle against capitalism. This is the only alternative to Stalinism's betrayals. This is the meaning of the proposal put forward and fought for by the Workers League.

## Bulletin To Go 16 Pages To Meet Crisis Of Leadership

BY THE EDITOR

The Political Committee of the Workers League is pleased to announce the expansion of the Bulletin to sixteen pages beginning on April 5.

The Bulletin is being expanded precisely as the class struggle is deepening internationally and the construction of a revolutionary leadership in the working class becomes the central and most urgent task.

In the fall of 1969 the Workers League launched the Bulletin as a weekly paper. The weekly Bulletin was launched in preparation for 1970, the year of Lenin and Trotsky, and the opening of an epoch of revolutionary struggles.

## STRUGGLES

These struggles are today very much on the agenda as the capitalist class prepares for civil war, as the workers and peasants in Southeast Asia drive back US imperialism, as the working class in Britain threatens to bring down the Tory government, as the workers in Poland battle the Stalinist bureaucracy and as the working class in the US challenges Nixon's plans to drive back its wages and conditions to the level of the 1930s.

This developing crisis only poses sharply the struggle for leadership and the fight against the counterrevolutionary policies of Stalinism which in the US and internationally seek to break the offensive of the working class and deliver it into the hands of capitalism. There can be no successful struggle against capitalism without the destruction of Stalinism and its revisionist allies.

At the center of the fight for Trotskyism must be the struggle against the revisionists

in the Socialist Workers Party who behind the cover of Trotskyism capitulate to Stalinism.

## MANDEL

It is with this understanding that we will present in the first issue of the 16 page Bulletin, a series by Dennis O'Casey on "Ernest Mandel and the Fraud of Neo-capitalism." In this series O'Casey exposes the methodological roots of Mandel's theories and his complete rejection of every tenet of Marxism.

This will be followed by a series by L'il Joe on "The Black Panther Party—Its Evolution and Essence." Understanding the historic importance of Newton's call for a turn to dialectics, this series will deal with the history of the Panther Party in the context of the historical development of the American working class.

In addition to deepening our theoretical material, the 16 page Bulletin will contain two full pages of West Coast News, expanded national and international news as well as feature material on culture, films, art, the mass media and science. The Bulletin will also improve technically.

## DRIVE

In preparation for the expansion of the Bulletin, we are launching a campaign to increase circulation. We are opening a subscription drive on March 15 to go through May 15 to win 2,000 new and renewed subscribers. With an increase of 1,000 in sales this will enable us to reach a circulation goal of 10,000 paid circulation by the end of September.

We call upon all our readers and supporters to build the circulation of the Bulletin in every shop, school and community, to begin getting subscriptions from your friends and fellow workers and students.



Tens of thousands of workers mass at Speakers Corner in London before march. The fight against Industrial Relations Bill means the fight to bring down the Tories.

# British Workers Demand 'Tories Out'

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Close to 140,000 British workers marched into London's Trafalgar Square last Sunday in an historic demonstration against the Tory government and its plans to crush the unions through the Industrial Relations Bill.

Thousands of postal workers who have been on strike for almost six weeks now led the march which went seven miles from Speakers Corner to Trafalgar Square and stopped all activity in the heart of London. The line of march included miners, telephone operators, printers, steelworkers, textile workers, actors.

Victor Feather, head of the Trades Union Congress (like to the AFL-CIO) said:

"There has never been a demonstration bigger than this, in Trafalgar Square, in London, or in this country, in 150 years of recorded history. It is even bigger than the Hyde Park demonstrations before the 1926 General Strike, that was about 100,000 strong."

It is the spectre of 1926 that is now haunting the employers and the Tories.

And as Heath the Prime Minister of England, put it in his speech to the United Nations this winter, this is a period of civil war.

The employers and the Tories are determined to defeat the working class, to drive back its living standards to save capitalism. In order to do this the government must first of all attack the fighting capacity of the trade unions. This is the purpose of the Industrial Relations Bill. This bill would place the unions under complete control of the state, legalize the open shop, fine and outlaw any unions that go out on strike.

The postal workers' strike and this demonstration show that the British working class is going to fight every plan the Tories have to attack the unions.

This demonstration called by the TUC

to protest the Bill soon turned into a demonstration against the government. The trade union leaders who spoke at the rally were continually interrupted by the ranks shouting "General Strike" and "Tories Out."

The real movement of the workers now comes into sharp conflict with the trade union bureaucracy and its Stalinist supporters. The leadership of the TUC has in the past refused to take up the struggle against the Industrial Relations Bill. The Stalinists and the so-called lefts in the trade union leadership have sought to restrict the movement to protest actions and token strikes.

The bankruptcy of this position was exposed by Hugh Scanlon, head of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, who said:

"The time for political action is over. Have we not the right to demand that the trade union movement use its full economic and industrial strength to win this battle for us all?"

"This is the only weapon we have left. I know that each union will make up its

own mind about industrial action. ..."

But the question must not be simply one of each union making up its mind about action but the ranks demanding that the TUC call a general strike of the entire British working class to defeat the anti-union laws and to force the resignation of the Tory government. It is precisely "political action" that must be at the center of this battle, that is the struggle of the working class for power.

The London Times the day after the demonstration revealed the situation when it said that the Tories would surely go ahead and pass the bill. It is clear that the attacks on the unions can only be defeated by bringing the Tories down, by mobilizing the power of the working class in a general strike to force the Tories to step down.

## REVOLUTIONARY

The British Trotskyists in the Socialist Labor League, the Young Socialists and the All Trades Union Alliance have fought throughout the struggle against these attacks to spell out what the Tory threat means for the workers in the Charter of Basic Rights and have fought for the policy of an all out general strike to force the Tories to resign.

The building of the revolutionary leadership now is the critical question in this struggle.

The British working class has taken a lead internationally in the struggle against capitalism. The struggles of the British and American workers are inextricably linked. This was posed sharply with the fall of Rolls Royce and the bankruptcy of Lockheed.

The demonstration in London last Sunday now lays the basis for the general strike and the defeat of the Tories. Just as in England the struggle cannot go forward without a struggle against the government, the American workers cannot fight Nixon's wage freeze and anti-union laws without challenging the government politically with the fight for a labor party.

# Nixon Announces Slash In Medical Care Programs

BY MELODY FARROW

Nixon's new "national health strategy" is a vicious attack on any form of free medical care and on even the most minimal protection that workers have won in health care in the past.

Nixon's real purpose is not to improve health care at all but to stop inflation by spending less federal money on health care at the expense of workers, the poor and elderly. His real intentions are covered over with some supposedly impressive innovations.

Nixon stated openly that "the toughest question we face, then, is not how much we spend but how we should spend it." He said there would be no new funds and attacked the Medicare and Medicaid plans for being responsible for inflation by creating demand but no additional resources.

The conception behind Nixon's health insurance plan is that workers must pay for coverage—as much as 35% and 25% by 1976. It is calculated that the insurance companies who will sell the premiums will make \$20 billion a year on this deal. Health Maintenance Organizations will be set up all over the country to provide for "preventive medicine."

The preventive medicine idea is played up to hide the real problem—the tremendous costs that workers face when they are seriously ill or hospitalized. Even a real program of preventive medicine would require billions of dollars for new facilities, research and the training of medical personnel.

The other part of Nixon's strategy is the family health insurance plan. This will completely replace Medicaid for low income groups but will put practically nothing in its place. All it will do is provide for check ups for children, maternity care, and a special \$50,000 coverage for "catastrophic illnesses" which applies to only a minority of special

cases.

To be eligible for this plan a family of four must make \$5,000 or less. The catastrophic illness clause is the window dressing for a program which will leave the poorest people without medical care. A family of four with an income of \$5,000 can barely feed, house and clothe itself much less pay for medical expenses!

But Nixon is not finished. He also proposes to attack Medicare benefits for the elderly. Instead of receiving sixty paid days in a hospital, they must now pay \$15 a day after only twelve days of free coverage.

This is Nixon's "revolution." Under the cover of reorganization he intends to eliminate every essential service that workers now have. Nixon's revolution is

# Nationalists Break Up Angela Davis Meeting

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. LOUIS—A mass rally in defense of Angela Davis and all political prisoners was disrupted February 15 by the political sabotage of Black cultural nationalists.

Although an overflow crowd of almost 3,000 filled Sheldon Memorial Auditorium here, the Communist Party's popular front tactics backfired when Black separatist elements turned on them and began violent denunciations of "hunky devils."

The defense guard for the meeting was composed exclusively of members of the Black Patriot Party who used paramilitary antics and harassment tactics. Some speakers had great difficulty even getting past the guards to the speakers platform.

Jim Hays spoke for the Juan Farinas Defense Committee explaining the connection between political repression and the struggles of the working class and the GIs. Just as Hays was starting to speak of the need for a general strike and the mobilization of the working class against war, racism and repression, a black separatist jumped on the stage and grabbed the microphone from him.

unemployment, attacks on welfare, jobs, health care and poverty programs.

We say workers have a right to the best medical care and should not pay a penny for it. Kennedy's alternative, supported by the labor movement, for compulsory national health insurance, provides more coverage but is based on the assumption that health care must be paid for by the working class.

Medicare and Medicaid were never anything but drops in the bucket. Now Nixon has cut back even on these programs. There is only one clear answer to Nixon's attacks: socialized medicine. If the capitalists cannot provide health care then the unions must demand that basic industries be nationalized and the wealth used to provide for the very basic needs of the working class.

Hays was not allowed to continue speaking, and Charlene Mitchell of the Communist Party began her main address when order was restored to the meeting.

Mitchell refused to support the Ruchell Magee case and ended up with reformist proposals to sign petitions for a fair trial and to send letters to the Marin County Court.

Just as the question and answer period was beginning, a member of the Black Patriot Party rushed on the stage and took the mike away from Mitchell. He then went into a long "Black awareness" speech about "Black control" in which he implied that Angela Davis and Charlene Mitchell were controlled by the "white hunky serpents" who are the enemy. Blacks thus should not take sides in the "white folks" conflicts between communism and capitalism. He demagogically denounced the CP's reformist letter-writing campaign, but ended up with chants of "What's your religion?"

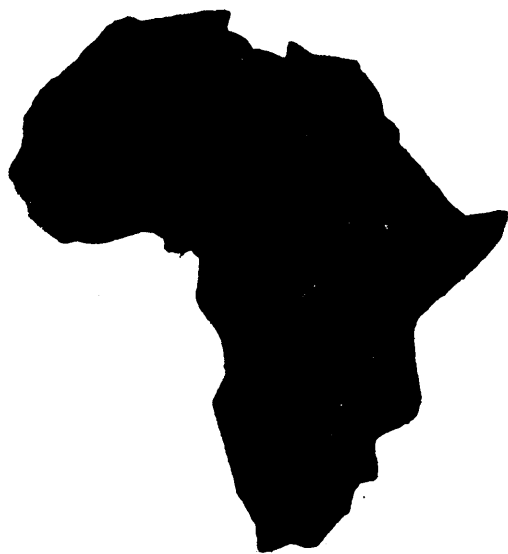
Although Charlene Mitchell then tried to respond, the meeting for all intents and purposes broke up at that point. It is

clear though that the Stalinist Popular Front perspective opens the door to forces such as Black nationalism.

The dangers of Black nationalism and its anti-working class character were further revealed the next day when twenty armed goons from the East St. Louis "Black United Front" chased Black and white trade unionists away from their construction jobs at a housing project building site. These forces thus played along with Nixon's reactionary campaign to smash the construction unions and reduce the wages of all workers.

This is manifested in the Governor of Illinois' "Ogilvie Plan" under which hundreds of Black apprentices were trained in order to provide non-union labor for construction. The workers of the United Black Workers Association must demand that Governor Ogilvie provide them with jobs, jobs for all, rather than try to raise demands that "All white workers must be fired." The construction unions must fight for more jobs for all rather than refuse to issue union cards to these Black apprentices.

# CLASS STRUGGLES IN AFRICA



by N. MAKANDA

SHORTLY BEFORE independence in 1960 Shell-BP the Anglo-Dutch oil company were conducting intensive explorations in Nigeria and within two years on- and off-shore licences were granted to Shell together with the American company Gulf, the Italian combine AGIP and several other oil giants.

Though Nigeria has become tenth in the world oil league this natural wealth and the refinery built at Port Harcourt to exploit it has meant little to the Nigerian masses.

The mining of the oil has not led to any further secondary industry. The production and the marketing of petroleum and the fat returns these bring remain the strict preserve of the imperialist countries.

The oil interests of the monopolies were concentrated around the River States, of which the Eastern Region was highly important.

It was in this region that Biafra was set up, under Ojukwu, in 1967, as the political and military vehicle with which imperialism attempted to dismember Nigeria, and create a pliable, tractable, directly controlled 'oil sheikdom' in West Africa.

## Spectrum

The oil companies operating in the mid-West and in the Eastern Region represented a wide spectrum of imperialist countries.

Among these were the European Economic Community (EEC) states. Belgium, for example, was one of the earliest backers of 'Biafra'. The Belgian Socialist Party backed Biafra at the 'European Parliament' at Strasbourg in the middle of the Biafran invasion of Nigeria.

The EEC's share of Nigerian exports was 40 per cent (1969) and it captured 26 per cent of the total imports to the semi-colony.

It was, in fact, almost as powerful as the old colonial master, Britain, in the trade field.

Among the EEC countries, France was the most rapidly expanding imperialist power.

She was the biggest single importer of ground-nuts, with Italy second.

Together with Holland, these three imperialist states imported over 50 per cent of the ground-nut crop of Nigeria during the civil war years.

By agreement with Nigeria, as a subservient member of the Commonwealth, these ground-nut imports were duty-free.

West Germany imported 14 per cent of the cocoa crop, which is second only to oil as the most valuable export.

Among the ten major oil companies in Nigeria the EEC was represented by Holland (via Shell-BP, who take 24 per cent of Nigerian oil exports), Italy (via AGIP), France (via SAFRAP, a subsidiary of ERAP, the French 'state-owned' Entreprises de Recherches et d'Activites Pétroliers).

ERAP had been formed in 1966 by a merger of two major companies under the chairmanship of a former Gaullist cabinet minister, M Pierre Guillaumat.

SAFRAP has concessions in the mid-West and in the ex-Biafran region and is one of three companies actually producing oil in Nigeria.

## Pipe-line

Its oil pipe-line was joined to Shell-BP's from the mid-West to Bonny and Port Harcourt and its production was about equal to that of the American company, Gulf.

Total French investment in oil in Nigeria was about £30 million at the outbreak of the war and 3 per cent of France's oil imports came from these investments.

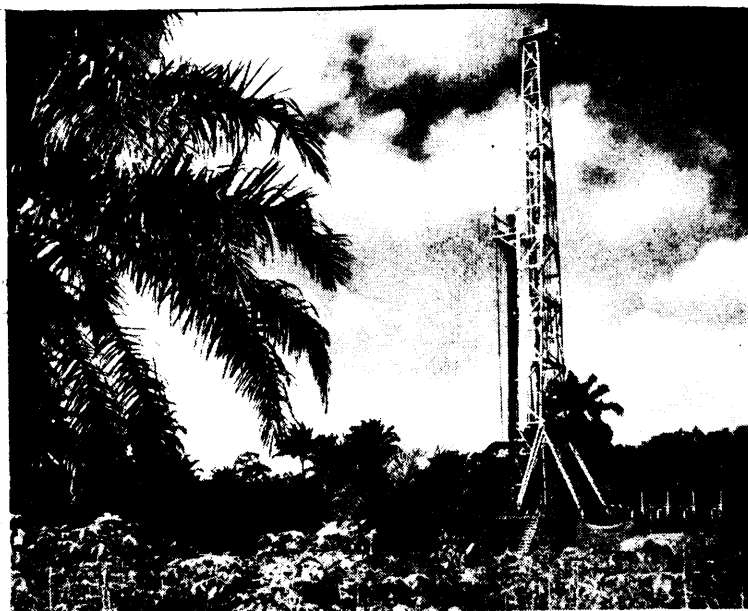
Closely linked to its oil interests were France's other Nigerian enterprises. At Port Harcourt the largest French 'industrial' investment was by Michelin tyres, which began operations two years after independence.

Michelin's rubber came from plantations in Nigeria, worked by cheap labour.

Other French interests in Nigeria included Total Oil Products, a subsidiary of Compagnie Française des Pétroles, Dumaz bridge constructors, Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale (CFAO), the Societe Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain (SCAO) and Union Maritime et Commerciale (Umarco).

French banking interests in-

## Imperialist interests in NIGERIA



Oil field in the River States region—the goal of Dutch imperialism in Biafra.

clude the Banque Internationale pour l'Afrique Occidentale (BIAO), formed in 1959 on the eve of independence, the British and French Bank (in which the Banque de Paris has the major control and which in turn controls the United Bank for Africa formed a year after independence).

On a number of occasions the Federal government has accused the French Rothschild Bank of making a £6 million deal with Biafra, granting Rothschild's a concession for the exploitation of all the mineral resources of an 'independent' secessionist Biafra.

Uranium, the military raw material for atomic war was one of the minerals to be prospected for.

Because of its interest in rivalling British imperialism in West Africa, France saw in Biafra the means for extending its own empire into 'British

territory.

French imperialism was a major, if not the major, power which created and used Biafra.

This French attitude was not 'official'.

France, like Britain, had extensive interests in Federal Nigeria but, like Britain, the real French attitude was in favour of the secession and the extension of the old British policy of re-tribalization to the point of forming a separate 'state'.

The French imperialists were less hypocritical than the British.

## Puppet

Their African puppet governments in West Africa, like Gabon and Ivory Coast, were pro-Biafra, simply because they reflected the real stand of their imperialist master.

For the same reason, Zambia and Tanzania recognized Biafra, their governments bent under the massive pressure of British-South African mining and banking interests (Anglo-American Corporation in copper in Zambia and diamonds in Tanzania; and Barclays Bank and Standard Bank, despite their 'nationalization', in Tanzania).

The French, especially, armed Biafra after the defeats before August 1968.

French mercenaries, who had fought for the Tshombe regime in the Congo, played a large role in the Biafran army and air-force.

These mercenaries, together with the American, Portuguese and South African mercenaries, all with long experience of Congo fighting, used the Red Cross for flying arms into Biafra.

The Red Cross, like the World Church Council, played a military role, on the side of Biafra, a role which was consistently backed and covered by the Wilson government.

With this support Biafra was trumped up and dragged into war. One reporter wrote:

'French officials believe that Col. Ojukwu could pursue guerrilla warfare to a successful conclusion, that is to a point where the Federal government will be obliged to grant "something like his present demands".' ('The War and the World', West Africa, October 19, 1968.)

The French Foreign Minister, Debré, glorified the imperialist-created 'struggle of Biafra' as 'the martyrdom of the Ibo people', while Lagos workers condemned de Gaulle as 'the oil pirate'.

## Broadcasts

French TV gave special time to broadcasts by Ojukwu, and Sartre and other 'leftists' backed the imperialist line by calling, in December 1968, for a separate Biafra, with 'her own army'.

In September 1968 de Gaulle himself said in a press statement:

'In effect, why should the Ibos, who are mostly Christian, who inhabit southern areas, who have their own language, be subordinate to another ethnic group in the federation?



... for France the decision which has not been taken [i.e. of recognition] cannot be excluded in the future.' (West Africa, September 14, 1968.)

De Gaulle used the idea of a partition for Rhodesia as well, here he proposed separate 'white' and 'black' states, i.e. white - domination over black 'Bantustans'.

For French imperialism an independent Biafra was no more than an apartheid-type Bantustan of cheap labour regimented for the oil and other monopolies by African nationalist Quislings like Ojukwu, the darling, from right to left, of French imperialism.



Biafran leader Ojukwu, 'darling of French imperialism', and also of Sartre (below) and other French leftists.



**THE BRITISH capitalist press and its anarchist, state capitalist, Communist Party and Pabloite hangers-on—at least on 'Biafra'—raised a great hue and cry about the impending massacre of Ibos after the war.**

When this failed to take place—not without trying by the pogromists of international capital—the genocidal threat was replaced by one of rape and looting.

When this too failed to take place to the sufficient satisfaction of the pro-Biafra lobby, it fell back on starvation, then silence.

Suddenly, towards the end of January, silence descended on Britain, as if 'Biafra' had never been created by imperialism.

The silence lasted long enough to blot out the recollection of the 'genocide' propaganda when it had palpably failed the test of even the most imaginative journalism.

It lasted long enough, too, to give the government a chance to announce its 'massive aid' of £5 million to Nigeria in the House of Commons in early February.

The fact of the matter is that this aid is what Britain gets out of Nigeria in one week, for years and decades, and not merely for February 1970.

What Britain has now 'given' Nigeria is chicken-feed to the continuous, massive aid which Nigeria has steadily and systematically been forced by British economic and political influence to give, free, gratis and for nothing, to Britain, week after week, year after year, until the starvation produced by this blood-sucking has to be hidden, or blamed on someone else, preferably the Nigerian victims themselves.

From the point of view of a topical Leninist stand on imperialism, the 'genocide' and subsequent 'starvation' campaigns in Britain were nothing short of diabolical.

Nor is this the first time that the 'humanitarian' or 'philanthropic' movement in Britain was a diabolical one.

It happened, too during the early 19th century, when the 'abolition' of slavery question was used by the missionaries and the rest of the post-Wilberforce 'philanthropes' to mask the most widespread and murderous military invasions of Africa and Asia that British colonialism had up to that time undertaken.

The real story of British 'aid' is reflected in the figures.

Statistics produced by British experts show that the repayments of interest on loans by Nigeria and other semi-colonies is greater than the amortization

of capital. The figures are (in thousands of £s):

Country	1968		1969		1970 (expected)	
	Capital repayments.	Interest repayments.	Capital repayments.	Interest repayments.	Capital repayments.	Interest repayments.
Nigeria	239	355	245	341	254	328
Ghana	1,253	1,633	1,537	1,693	1,714	1,813
<b>TOTAL PROFIT IN 3 YEARS TO BRITAIN: £6.2 MILLION</b>						

So the Nigerian worker and peasant makes a substantial contribution to the 'British tax-payer', as a result of 'aid' by Britain.

The real position is much worse than the figures suggest. For it is not only the interest repayments which accrue to Britain, but also the employment of the capital to finance British contractors and other firms which super-exploit Nigerian labour in executing 'aid' programmes.

These contracts are often part of the aid agreements themselves. So Britain gets not only profits through interest-charges, but also through the

capital loans. The latter pay not only Nigerian 'wage-bills', upon which massive super-profits are made, but also for the purchase of British construction and other machinery, as well as finished consumable commodities for the labour forces employed.

In 1966 total 'aid', including grants totalled £6.3 million for Nigeria, as part of about £9 million for British West Africa.

In 1967 the figures were £3.2 million and £5 million respectively. These included about 12 per cent in the form of grants. These were by no means free gifts, for they came back to Britain by being used to finance British contractors, not to mention 'technical assistance', which in 1966 came to £1.55 million and in 1967 to £1.81 million.

This 'assistance' in turn included 'loans towards compensation of officers serving on the Nigeria Special List "B"'.

That is, Britain 'gave' or 'lent' money to Nigeria to enable her to pay compensation to British officers serving in Nigeria (education, agriculture, etc.).

These expatriates returned the money to British banks. Having thus recouped the grants or loans, Britain then proceeds to make Nigeria repay money she never received at all!

Almost every week the British Ministry of Overseas Development advertises in the 'Times Educational Supplement' and other papers for teaching and other jobs in Nigeria.

The MOD, the euphemistic form of the Colonial Office, dominates recruitment overseas for Nigeria, Kenya, Zambia, Uganda, and a number of other 'independent' African states.

Recruitment is confined to British nationals. The selection bodies rarely take a 'coloured' Briton.

The 'independent' states have no say in recruitment.

A case is known where Nyerere's Tanzanian government was prepared, in writing, to accept a teacher, but the British MOD rejected him and the Tanzanians could do nothing further in the matter.

Such is the 'independence' of the most 'radical bourgeois', as the Pabloite 'Intercontinental' calls Nyerere's servile, semi-colonial regime (see last issue of 'Class Struggles in Africa').

The teachers and other experts sent by Eland House to Nigeria, among other semi-

colonies, are mere colonial indoctrinators objectively.

The bulk of British 'technical assistance' goes not to Nigeria, but to supplement the heavy basic salaries of these experts paid by the Nigerian state.

These supplements in relation to the total value of 'technical assistance' are shown in the following table:

Country	Technical Assistance. (in thousands of £s)	Amount of Technical Assistance spent on 'experts' and 'volunteers'
Nigeria	£1,811	£1,266
Ghana	£464	£291
Sierra Leone	£332	£150
Gambia	£296	£243

The MOD structure is closely related to mining and agricultural imperialist interests in West Africa ('West Africa', September 14, 1968, p. 1077).

Among these is the British Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC), itself one of the major direct investors in Nigeria. The CDC is closely related historically with the Department of Technical Co-operation and the MOD.

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Its annual report for 1967 showed that it had no less than £1.4 million invested in Eastern Nigeria (claimed by 'Biafra') before the Biafran war.

The head office of the CDC's Finance Company (DFC) was in Enugu and the CDC and the Eastern Region government, headed by Ojukwu after the Ironsi coup, had an equal share in the DFC.

The 'Biafran' interests of the CDC included the Cross River Rubber Estates north of Calabar.

Before the war it was planning 30 projects and had begun 15.

★

The CDC-connected Nigerian Housing Development Society, centred in Lagos, had nearly £1 million invested in mortgages in the Eastern Region before the war. The CDC was associated with the Federal and Eastern Region governments in the Nkalagus cement factory owned by Nigercem, and the Textile Printers of Nigeria, which operated also in the Eastern Region.

The Dunlop Nigerian Industries was backed by CDC capital.

It made a profit which rose from £N300,000 in 1966 to £N332,000 in 1967. Associated with it was the Dunlop Plantation Company, with its plantations near the Cameroons border in Nigeria.

Through these associations the CDC had a heavy hand in the economy of 'Biafra'.

The overall hand of British imperialism in 'Biafra' was not only the CDC but Standard and Barclays Bank and Shell-BP in Port Harcourt, the United Africa Company in Port Harcourt and the Eastern Region, the United Trading Company and Unilever.

These interests formed the economic basis for the 'Biafran' lobby and campaign in Britain, from the Tory right wing down to the International Socialists, the CP, the Pabloites and the rest of the social-chauvinist Labour 'left'.

★

**ALTHOUGH FRANCE is the major Common Market exploiter in Nigeria, a number of other European imperialist states are also active there.**

Their influence is considerable, even though not sufficient to induce the now 'exiled' Ojukwu to favour a similar association to that he had with France.



Nyerere: His servile, semi-colonial regime is described as 'radical bourgeois' by the Pabloites.

In fact he wanted 'Biafra' to become a member of the 'French Community' in Africa.

For their part, the French wanted to set up a small, readily manipulated puppet state in the oil-rich Eastern region.

West Germany repeatedly expressed unofficial support for 'Biafra'.

Speaking during the war as president of the old colonialist German-Africa Society (brain-child of Carl Peters, the German Cecil Rhodes), the president of the West German parliament, Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier, called upon U Thant to get the United Nations to intervene in the war on Biafra's behalf.

The opinions of the West German ruling class permeated the ranks of the anarchists and certain student groups, who devoted more time to 'relief activity' for 'Biafra' than to the American war in Vietnam.

Radio Nigeria, during November 1968, contantly accused the Bonn regime of giving clandestine, but large-scale military aid to 'Biafra'.

While the organizer of the arms airlift from Lisbon to 'Biafra' was a Captain Wharton, an American, the leader of the white mercenaries was a German, Steiner.

Steiner had previously fought in the French Foreign Legion against Algeria's struggle for



French foreign minister Debré glorified the Biafran war as the 'martyrdom of the Ibo people'.



The Biafra-Nigeria war: Imperialism attempt to create a pliable oil sheikdom in West Africa.



Cocoa: Nigeria's second most valuable export. 14 per cent goes to West Germany.

independence.

He had been a leader of the fascist OAS in Algeria and had 'combat experience' in Vietnam.

He brought the full weight of his knowledge to bear in the war to partition Nigeria and was silently blessed by German capital.

Holland, despite an official neutralist position, had deep interests through Shell in the breakaway of 'Biafra'.

A separate semi-colonial government would be useful to Holland's oil interests which could get a greater grip on the extremely rich oil fields of the River States region.

In September 1968 the Dutch government was labelled in Nigeria, with West Germany, as being pro-'Biafra' in practice.

Italy, through the 'nationalized' AGIP oil company, and its associates, was engaged throughout most of the war in the 'Biafran'-held area in oil-operations.

The 'neutralist' position of the Italian government paid off when Port Harcourt was re-taken by Federal troops, enabling AGIP to claim that it was 'not involved'.

The pro-'Biafran' line of the Italian Centre-Left and later Democratic-Christian governments of 1968 and 1969 did not waver even after the killing of Italian oilmen by 'Biafran' troops in 1969.

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On the contrary, the pro-'Biafran' campaign, led by the Vatican itself, remained very much a part of the practical

military aid given by Italian imperialism to 'Biafra'.

Italy's investment interests in the Eastern Region lay behind the extensive Catholic Aid programmes for Ojukwu.

These church organizations, working together with Red Cross agencies, assiduously spread the legend of 'genocide', continuing to do so throughout the war, despite the testimony to the contrary of United Nations and Organization of African Unity observer-teams which Gowan and Ojukwu permitted to enter Nigeria, both equally wishing to impress their respective imperialist masters.

The Red Cross, missionaries and foreign 'Save Biafra' campaigns were known in Africa to have given steady military and economic backing to the Ojukwu secessionist regime under cover of 'relief work'.

Red Cross and other aid, particularly that of Catholic Aid bodies, went largely to Ojukwu's army, rather than to civilians.

This helped the 'Biafran' army to recover again and again after military defeats by the Federal army, and in the consequent prolongation of the war and the resulting increased death-toll.

The Vatican's stand was endorsed by the Archbishop Cardinal John Heenan, in the first sermon preached by a Catholic Cardinal at Westminster Abbey since the Reformation.

Heenan came out totally on the side of 'Biafra', complaining that there was too much concern for what America was doing in Vietnam and too little about the 'massacres' in 'Biafra' by Nigerian troops.

He quoted the pro-French Ivory Coast President, Houphouet-Boigny, that more people had been killed in the Nigerian war than in three years in Vietnam.

The same line was pursued by the Pope when 'peace broke out' in January, 1970: the end of the war, said the Pope, was a 'disaster'.

### Disaster

For the Catholic Church the war against 'Biafra' was a disaster; peace was a disaster. What the Pope will say when there is a revolution can hardly be imagined.

Following the Catholic lead a British mission in Ghana held a political memorial service for the '30,000 civilians murdered during the pogrom of 1966 in Northern Nigeria', saying nothing about British responsibility for this pogrom nor of the massacre of Hausa by Ibos under British rule in Kano in May 1953 and backed the Biafran Union in Ghana.

In Ireland expatriate missionaries organized pro-Biafran appeals, slavishly followed by the anarchists, Socialist Internationalists and others in England, who got their 'line' equally from the 'Save Biafra' movement in Britain.

The Vatican was the main inspirer and driving force of Vietnam Solidarity Campaign movement.

It was carried out by the 'Friends of Biafra', consisting largely of British expatriate Colonial service officers from the Eastern Region who had served the former Colonial Office Department of Technical Co-operation and Ministry of Overseas Development in London.

It was extended by the 'Biafra Association', also consisting mainly of expatriate colonial officers from the Eastern Region.

The World Council of Churches organized 'relief flights in 'Biafra'—a valuable form of military and technical aid for the secessionist agents the entire world-wide 'Save Biafra' movement.

This was supported by the International Committee of the ex-Bertrand Russell Committee of 100, with its links with the



A German mercenary in Biafra. European mercenaries, especially the French, played a large role in the Biafran army and air-force.

of imperialism.

The Nigerian government itself was driven to state of the World Council and Oxfam:

'It doubted the sincerity and motivation of those who made it [a cease-fire appeal at the time of heavy Biafran losses]. It accused the humanitarian organizations of helping the secession leaders and of a "blackmail approach"'. ('Date-line Africa', West Africa, London, December 7, 1968. p. 1457.)

In 1968, after Radio Nigeria had accused Robert Kennedy and the Catholic World Organization of being supporters of 'Biafra', strong demonstrations against the Catholic Church took place in Lagos and elsewhere in Nigeria.

The Catholic Archbishop of Lagos, John Aggey, had to go to Rome to plead with the Pope to moderate the pro-Biafran campaign.

The 'relief' organization, Caritas, was accused in Nigeria of having given money for arms purchases by 'Biafra', via Portugal and France.

Although Caritas denied the charge, it was widely believed in Africa to be as true as the clear pro-Biafran stand of the Vatican itself, which shielded Caritas from the charge of using the invention of 'genocide' in order to supply 'Biafra' with arms.

The imperialist Vatican, conscious of its duty to world capitalist interests in Africa, has never wavered in its stand on the Nigerian war.

It was the conscious expression of world imperialism and of Italian imperialism in particular.

IT IS NO accident that the question of Nigeria was reported to be one of the main topics of discussion between Wilson and Nixon in the US and also between Wilson and Trudeau in Canada during Wilson's visit to North America at the end of January.

For Nigeria is one of the biggest single areas of imperialist interests and investment in Africa.

Its 'security'—intervening to prevent a collapse of the Gowan state and the rise of a revolutionary movement—is, therefore, a 'top priority' for imperialism.

From this point of view the question of imperialist economic interests in Nigeria is inseparably connected with the question of the class struggle against imperialism and its Nigerian agents.

With the collapse of the 'Biafran' venture, the present situation for imperialism is one

rule and formed the substratum of deaths during the 'Biafran' war.

The basic cause of this starvation has always been the super-exploitation of the toilers by British and other imperialist capital.

Mention has already been made in this column of French, Dutch, German and Italian capital in Nigeria. To these European Economic Community states operating in Nigeria have to be added the role of other West European powers. Among these is Portugal, which was an open military and 'relief' supporter of the Ojukwu regime.

### Portugal

PORTUGAL'S interests in the war were related to her own weak international imperialist position, which made it necessary for her to try to get in wherever she could, and to the anti-Portuguese struggle in Angola and Portuguese West Africa.

Ojukwu, whom sections of the 'left' hailed as a progressive and who Mao Tse-tung 'backed', openly glorified the Portuguese colonialists.

When Portuguese dictator Salazar was lying seriously ill in Lisbon, before his replacement as head of the Portuguese fascist and imperialist state, Ojukwu sent Salazar his personal good wishes 'for a speedy recovery'.

At the same time Ojukwu thanked Mao Tse-tung for his support, an act which could not cancel his overt support for the Portuguese regime which thousands of African guerrillas are fighting today and which crushes down millions in its African colonies of Guinea, Angola and Mozambique.

### Sweden

SWEDEN, one of the first slavers on the West African coast (they built slave-forts, the ruins of some of which still stand), was condemned during the war by Colonel Adekunle (whom Gowon later removed from his command of the Third Division which finalized the war), 'of not being neutral' ('West Africa', November 2, 1968).

This was at a time when Canada and Sweden, on the International Observers' Commission, were taking up a pro-Biafran line of 'genocide', which was the stock-in-trade of their propaganda.

Adekunle and Kaduna radio accused the Canadians of reporting a 'massacre' of which the Commission itself said 'that people there did not know of such a thing happening' (ibid) and of hiding their own racial oppression of the 'Red Indians'.

### South Africa and Smith

APART FROM the EEC group, the Smith regime of Rhodesia and the South African apartheid government openly and systematically supported 'Biafra'.

The four DC-4 planes, three DC-3s and a Constellation used to lift arms from Gabon to 'Biafra' were flown by 18 Rhodesian and South African mercenary pilots, plus some French crews.

The South African Broadcasting Corporation repeatedly gave open moral and political support to 'Biafra' and backed Ojukwu's demand for 'independence'.

In the same way the South African regime had helped Tshombe's breakaway Katanga regime in the days of Lumumba.

Ojukwu officially thanked the South African state for its

of re-grouping itself for a fresh assault upon the Nigerian workers and peasants.

It prepares for this task by reinforcing the already formidable interests through the medium of new 'aid' projects, using 'looting' and starvation in the Eastern region as a propaganda pretext.

By means of this demagoguery imperialism, led by the Catholic Church under the Vatican, covers up the fact of its own age-old looting of Nigeria and of its systematic starvation of the toilers of that country (hence the 'problem' of Wilson's talk with the Catholic Trudeau and Nigerian accusations against Catholic propaganda by BBC and World Church Council leaders).

This starvation has always existed under direct British

support, while the Communist Party of Great Britain supported both 'Biafra' and the South African Communist Party 'anti-apartheid' groups in Britain.

South African capital is heavily committed to many 'independent' African states, including Zambia, Tanzania, Kenya and Nigeria.

**'Intercontinental'**

DESPITE the open support given by the South African, Rhodesian, Portuguese, French and Vatican imperialists to

'Biafra', and the fact that the real British and US ideological and under-cover material and open ideological support was for 'Biafra', I. B. Tabata, writing in the March 1969 issue of APDUSA (African Peoples' Democratic Union of Southern Africa), centred in Lusaka, Zambia, 'critically' backs the 'Biafran' demand for secession as a just self-determination demand.

'Intercontinental Press' of January 26, 1970, reproduces this article, following one by Les Evans which dances about

on eggs after the collapse of 'Biafra', but reveals the basic pro-'Biafran' line of these Pabloites during the war.

The ending of the war made Tabata's propositions as untenable as the causes and course of the war had before.

But this does not get away from the simple fact that on the 'Biafran' question he stood on the same side as the apartheid regime which APDUSA is supposed to be opposing.

This collapse before imperialist propaganda is a direct product of supporting the 'pro-

gressive national bourgeoisie' ('Intercontinental Press' talks of Nyerere's regime in Tanzania as 'one of the most radical of the national bourgeois regimes'), the Ben Bellas, Nyereres, Nkrumahs — and Kaundas.

The trouble is that Kaunda is the political agent of capital which is 99 per cent British-South African, that Zambia is in the imperialist-agency, the OAU, that Lusaka is in Zambia and that Tabata is in Lusaka.

It is a long way from 'Biafra' to Lusaka, but there is a way.



NASSER

# Nasser's financial link with imperialism

THE WRETCHED ROLE of the late Gamal Abdel Nasser in the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist war in Jordan was a surprise only to those who have illusions in the colonial bourgeoisie.

These illusions are usually due either to being colonial victims of the deception spread by or about this bourgeoisie, or else through a patronizing 'metropolitan' attitude towards the colonial agents of imperialism.

Pabloite revisionists spread such illusions in Ben Bella in Algeria and Mrs Bandaranaike in Ceylon, and Nasser's earlier 'militancy' made him a candidate for their patronization.

Not only have the experiences of the Egyptian fellahin and city workers, the socialists in Nasser's prisons, as well as the strikers executed by his Free Officers' Movement two weeks after it overthrew King Farouk in 1952, taught many Egyptian workers and peasants what Nasserism really is, but there is also considerable literature on the subject.

This 'subject' is not Nasser the man, but Nasserism as the policy of a class.

There never has been any question of 'neutrality' by revolutionaries regarding Israel's recognition and existence.

It was the duty of the working class everywhere to support Nasser against Israel, just as it was its duty to support the feudal, reactionary, corrupt King Farouk in 1948 against 'modern', colonialist Israel.

This support was unconditional and was given no matter what Nasser did to communists, workers or peasants inside Egypt.

Lenin supported Kemal 'Ataturk' in Turkey's struggle against imperialism after the First World War and at the same time condemned the Ataturk regime for its merciless persecution of the young communist movement inside Turkey.

But unconditional does not mean uncritical support.

On the contrary, as the lessons of the struggle in China against Chiang Kai-shek and against Japan have shown, it is necessary to maintain the organizational, political and ideological independence of the working class, its unions and its revolutionary party from the party of the colonial bourgeoisie.

There can be no Popular Front with this bourgeoisie. The joint fight against the imperialist enemy is on the battlefield and support for this bourgeoisie means full military backing, including co-ordination and, if necessary, working under the military command of the bourgeoisie.

Just as the failure of Farouk to cope with Israel in 1948 led to his downfall at the hands of Neguib and Nasser in 1952, so the failure of the Nasser regime to deal with Israel militarily in 1956, 1967 and now again, has, step by step, jeopardized his own regime in the eyes of the Egyptian workers and peasants and also in the eyes of opposition elements among the students and his own bourgeois group.

The Nasser regime was always tied hand and foot by the powerful Misr financial group which was associated with the



FAROUK

Saadist Party in Farouk times.

This group, representing the small industrial class in Egypt at the beginning was intimately bound up both with the old feudal aristocracy, which still owns 50 per cent of the land in Egypt that can be cultivated, and with imperialist monopoly capital, which continues to dominate the Egyptian economy.

During the time of both the unofficial, but *de facto* British 'protection' of Egypt, from the time of Lord Cromer, and of the official occupation, British imperialism bled Egypt dry.

British imperialism converted Egypt into a one-crop exporter.

Cotton replaced food. Lancashire and other textile areas in England lived off the sweat of the Egyptian cotton-producing fellahin.

On the other hand British industry saw to it that no industry of significance grew up in Egypt.

The consequence of this policy was that Egypt, despite its population superiority over Israel (about ten to one), could not match Israel industrially, despite considerable industrialization after the struggle of the Egyptian people forced the British out of the country and its troops out of the Canal Zone.

Nasserism could not overcome this basic weakness in the country's war potential, because of its own association with the Misr group and the latter's subservience to imperialist finance capital.

It was this subservience which forced on Egypt a policy of industrial starvation.

THE FAROUK monarchy fell in 1952, as a delayed action effect of the failure of the feudal regime to cope with Israel in the war between Zionism and the Arab states in 1948.

This war resulted in the partition of Palestine by the United Nations, the dispossession and expulsion from their land of some one million Palestinians and the creation of Israel as an exclusive racial state.

Although the Egyptian government was monarchic and feudal, the war was a 'just war' on Egypt's side. Egypt was a semi-colony of mainly British imperialism.

For all practical purposes, although nominally independent since 1922, Egypt was more like a British colony because of the British occupation and ownership of the Suez Canal.

The struggle against Israel was also a struggle against British domination and, as such, part of the anti-imperialist struggle.

On Israel's side the war was wholly 'unjust' and revolutionary defeatism the only policy to adopt inside Israel and the war-machine.

It was during the 1948 war that the Free Officers, in which Nasser was a main figure, began to organize the coup which ousted Farouk in 1952, and replaced the feudal regime with a military national bourgeois government.

Its first act, the payment of compensation to the Suez Canal Company, re-established the old financial links between the ruling circles of Egypt and imperialism.

The acceptance by Nasser of US 'aid' (investment) to the tune of over £E1,000m further deepened the dependence of the Egyptian national bourgeoisie upon imperialism.

This financial tie-up with imperialism at once ruled out any real solution to the burning, agrarian problem.

The old feudal lords had been inextricably connected with monopoly finance capital abroad ever since the building of the Canal by Ferdinand de Lesseps in the 1860s.

The national bourgeoisie arose largely out of this feudal class and the compensation paid, plus loans from the US, W Germany, Italy, etc., re-established the links with foreign capital. The same capital which had dominated agriculture in the interests of cotton production for the imperialist manufacturers.

**Renewed**

The renewed links with imperialism thus struck at the

roots of any agrarian reform programme.

In the year of the anti-monarchy coup by the Free Officers a land reform law was passed. Its extremely limited nature was shown by the fact that it restricted land holdings to 200 feddans (about 200 acres).

This preserved most of the old feudal estates, because a 200-feddan farm was worth over £100,000 and represented considerable value.

Moreover, those who had land removed were compensated and this imposed a further drain on the peasants who had to pay for the compensation with their taxes.

In theory the redistributed land was parcelled out in two to five feddan lots to landless peasants, but in practice this led to illicit land-speculation which the government had to declare a further 'problem'.

This speculation was the result of the law, which did not distribute the land free to the peasants, but made it purchaseable. The peasants could not afford to buy even the bare minimum, two-feddan farms.

Moreover, the peasants who did get land were drawn into the mono-culture of cotton—the one-crop primary industry of Egypt when it was a direct colony of Britain.

So the essential semi-colonial nature of Egypt—as a primary producer of cotton for imperialism—was preserved by the first land law of the Nasser regime.

The peasants producing cotton were paid a small fraction of the world market price and this constituted the means of their super-exploitation.

This had the added advan-

tage to the imperialists that they were not responsible for the upkeep of their labour force.

In 1952 there remained two million fellahin families with less than one feddan of land, i.e. less than half of what was needed for physical survival. Seventy-two per cent of all land proprietors owned only 15 per cent of the cultivable land and 1.5 million families were entirely landless.

This was the condition of landlessness, total and relative, among 60 per cent of the Egyptian rural population.

At the other pole of rural society stood some 300 great landowners who owned 600,000 feddan, an average of 2,000 feddan each, including 178,000 feddan in the hands of the Farouk family alone.

Only the latter were at first redistributed by the 1952 law and the destruction of the remaining big holdings led to such speculation that it became a scandal.

Instead, of land redistribution the regime resorted to rent reform. The effect of this may be judged from the fact that five years after the 1952 law the majority of tenant peasants were paying out 50 per cent of their receipts from production in rent alone—i.e. half their starvation income.

Among the poor peasants were the farm workers and in 1952 their yearly wage was, on average, not much above £32.

The per capita annual income was what it had been in 1900, at the height of the British 'devilizing influence' on Egyptian agriculture.

Such was the problem created by British rule for Nasser, and which his class was unable to solve.

**Fourth International**  
A JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL MARXISM PUBLISHED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL  
Volume 6 No. 3 Price 5 Shillings Summer 1970

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## Quebec NDP to Liquidate Into Parti Quebecois

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

A nine page "Manifesto for a New Alliance" is being proposed by the Executive of the Quebec New Democratic Party (NDP). The proposal, if accepted by the general assembly of the upcoming Quebec NDP congress would lead to the dissolution of the NDP in Quebec.

The manifesto calls for the Canadian NDP to "recognize Quebec's full right to self-determination, including the right to secession if this is the desire expressed by the population of Quebec."

The manifesto states that "the movement towards the political sovereignty of Quebec is irreversible." Laurier-Lapierre, vice-president of the Quebec NDP, suggested that those who want socialism in Quebec should join the Parti Quebecois and make it a true socialist movement. The manifesto predicts that "Quebec nationalism will become explicitly socialist." Furthermore it states that the Parti Quebecois is an "authentically Quebecois and profoundly popular party" because it reflects the national sentiment of the French Canadians.

With regards to the relationship of the NDP to Quebec politics, the manifesto states that Quebec "has the sovereign right to determine her own future and no national (Canadian) party should have a say in this." Therefore the NDP should disappear. It proposes that during a transitional period, the party would play a transitory role on the federal level, setting up consultations towards the eventual establishment of a "new Canadian alliance which would take account of the sacred and historic rights of the French Canadian nation."

The manifesto of the Quebec NDP advocates the complete liquidation of the NDP into the Parti Quebecois (PQ), a petit-bourgeois nationalist party. Although acknowledging the nature of the Parti Quebecois (that it is not socialist), the authors of the manifesto assert that "certain of its positions in the field of state control go at least as far as the positions of the Canadian NDP." The excuse given for the dissolution of the Quebec wing of the party is that it does not constitute any force in Quebec politics and that "to all practical ends, it has completely disappeared in any case."

The entire manifesto centers mainly on the NDP's former position (with regards to Quebec) of federalism with special status, changing it now to one of sovereignty, changing it now to one of sovereignty-association as proposed by

the separatist party, the Parti Quebecois. The manifesto states that the "socialism of the Quebec nationalists is not expressed in the same manner as that of the English-speaking left" but that "Quebec nationalism will become explicitly socialist."

This interpretation of Quebec nationalism is not new. It has been used by many opportunist socialist groups (notably the LSO-LSA, the Canadian section of the United Secretariat) in order to justify the abandonment of the struggle for socialism. These forces act on their impressions of the situation in Quebec in order to adapt to the nationalist struggle. This has meant, especially in the case of the LSA-LSO, that the primary struggle in Quebec is not a class struggle but a struggle for the right of the Quebec nation to self-determination.

But the primary struggle in Quebec, as in the rest of Canada, is not a national struggle but a class struggle. The oppression of the English and French speaking workers alike by the capitalist class must be seen as the primary fight in Quebec. The struggles of the various nationalist groups are only serving to obscure this real question.

The only way to guarantee freedom of French-speaking workers from oppression, both linguistic and economic, is through an all out struggle for socialism in Quebec and in all of Canada.

The NDP, by ending its independent existence in Quebec and by adapting opportunistically to the Parti Quebecois, makes very clear the role of social democracy. As the crisis in Quebec sharpens with police terror against socialists, militant workers and youth, with wage freezes and staggering unemployment, the NDP looks towards alliances with the section of the bourgeoisie in the form of the P.Q.

The betrayal of the working class by the NDP leadership at this time is a warning for the future. The task now is to fight for a new leadership in the NDP, based on a program to unite the working class and lead it not into the hands of petit-bourgeois nationalists, but forward, independently, to smash capitalism.

## Labor Leaders Aid Trudeau's Vicious War on Lapalme Workers

BY SIMON NELSON

MONTREAL—"I could have gotten a job driving for the post office easily. But Kierans and his gang asked us to abandon our union, to desert the old guys with twenty, twenty-five years service, to help throw them on the street. What they're asking just isn't human. We're all in this together and we're going to see it to the end," said a striking Lapalme worker.

"Eat shit," was Prime Minister Trudeau's answer to the Lapalme workers.

In the recent history of class struggle in Canada, one of the longest, most bitter, most vicious, and most important struggles has been the fight of 450 "gars de Lapalme" (the lads of the Lapalme) in their strike against the Federal government.

The issues in this strike, indeed even the personal reactions of people like Trudeau, are extremely important in the way they illustrate so vividly from day to day the mounting crisis of Canadian and world capitalism. The viciousness with which the government, the boss in this strike, fought the Lapalme workers must be seen not as a measure of their confidence but of their great fear of the working class.

In Montreal the nail delivery truck drivers were hired by a private firm which got the mail delivery contract through

no point did the CNTU make any move to call out any of its other Montreal locals on either a city-wide general strike or a mass labor demonstration to protest the attack on the Lapalme workers.

Instead, the CNTU bureaucrats talked of publishing a pamphlet about the strike and of trying to reopen negotiations with a government that had already hired scabs. For several months, the issue seemed to disappear from the press and the media. However, the Lapalme workers continued to fight. Everyday they met and went down to Ottawa to march around Parliament Hill to protest the government's actions. At several points, Kierans, then later the new Postmaster-General Cote and even Prime Minister Trudeau himself offered to hire some of the workers back if they agreed to break up their union. Each time the entire membership flatly rejected the



Police escort scabs through Lapalme workers picket line at Montreal post office.

political patronage from the Federal government. When the contract switched firms the same truck drivers would go from one firm to another, with their jobs guaranteed to them. The drivers had built up, through several bitter struggles, a militant union under Frank DiTerlizzi, their leader.

The last firm to get the contract was the G. Lapalme Company. When their contract expired in the spring of 1970, the government under the then Postmaster-General Eric Kierans, decided to split the contract among three firms. This meant that the workers would get no guarantee of job security, their union would be busted, and their seniority rights would be taken from them.

The Lapalme workers struck. A mediator was called in. His basic recommendation was to incorporate the service into the post office. But, again, they would have to give up their union, because it was affiliated with the CNTU (Confederation of National Trade Unions), a militant Quebec union federation. The government has an unofficial policy of not allowing the CNTU to represent anyone in the Federal civil service. Also, the Lapalme workers would lose their seniority rights.

The Lapalme workers rejected the offer. As their strike continued, the government hired scabs. By this point there was a virtual war going on between the strikers and the cops with one striker shot and wounded. Regularly mail-delivery trucks had their tires slashed and their windows broken. As the strike continued the role of the union bureaucrats became bitterly apparent to the Lapalme workers.

At the start of the strike the other Montreal and Canadian postal unions offered complete support to DiTerlizzi and the Lapalme workers. But when the 450 scabs were hired these same bureaucrats did not hesitate very long in signing the scabs up to their union. The Lapalme workers' own union, the CNTU, which they fought for throughout the strike, did very little if anything to help their fight. At

government's attempt to split them.

As the months passed, their anger at both the government and the inactivity of their own union kept growing. After nearly a year on strike, they had gained nothing. Last week, this growing anger and frustration led the Lapalme workers to occupy the CNTU Montreal headquarters. They have now occupied it for over a week demanding more militant support and a guarantee that the CNTU will continue giving them strike pay as long as the strike goes on.

The CNTU has responded with a plea for negotiations with the Federal government. The government, although accepting the CNTU's offer, seemed quite determined not to move from its past position. Indeed a week before the workers occupied the CNTU headquarters, Trudeau shouted in French to the Lapalme workers as they were demonstrating on Parliament Hill: "Eat shit!"

The contempt, the arrogance, and what is even more significant, the fear which Trudeau and the capitalist class he represents, displays towards the workers in this fight is of the greatest importance. Trudeau, with his insults to striking workers, like Heath who talks of civil war at the U.N., and Nixon who has stoned thrown at him at San Jose, all of these represent a class caught in deep crisis. And in such a crisis, they prepare to fight back to destroy precisely the kind of united opposition that the Lapalme workers have shown.

In the capitalists' plans to smash the workers' rights and unions, the trade union bureaucrats play a key role. Their betrayal of the Lapalme workers now is merely a dress rehearsal for future betrayals on a massive scale.

There can only be one answer to the vicious scabbing and unionbusting of the Trudeau government—a general strike in Montreal to get all Lapalme drivers back their jobs with their union and their seniority rights intact and to bring down this government and replace it with an NDP government based on socialist policies.

## Rally Against Laos Invasion

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MONTREAL, Feb. 12—About 200 people gathered outside the American Consulate here to protest against the U.S. invasion of Laos. The demonstration was called by the Canadian Communist Party. The demonstrators consisted mainly of students.

The Stalinists and Maoist groups present obscured the class nature of the American aggression in Indochina by shouting "Escalate People's War" and "Nixon Assassin."

The Workers League carried placards which showed the class nature of the American involvement in Vietnam, Cambodia, and now in Laos. These signs denounced the U.S. penetration into Laos and America's war on the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia. One of the signs read "Capitalism out of Indochina, More Jobs, More Wages for Workers."

The difference between this class approach to the war, relating it to the class struggles in Canada, and the popular front approach of the Stalinists and Maoists became clear when both tendencies objected to the WL sign. One CP member said that the NLF was a bloc between workers and capitalists in Vietnam and, therefore, that it is wrong to fight against capitalism in Indochina.

The Stalinists refuse to pose this war as a class war and refuse to mobilize the working class in Canada independently against capitalism and in defense of the Vietnamese revolution. The Stalinists build a people's front, a bloc of four classes in Indochina and bloc with the liberal capitalists in Canada.

The Stalinists attempt to contain and destroy the determination of the workers and youth to fight against the war.

## REVIEW: MARXISM &amp; AMERICAN PRAGMATISM

# The Panthers and Marxist Theory

BY ELLIOT KAY

**MARXISM AND AMERICAN PRAGMATISM** by Tim Wohlforth. Labor Publications, 48 pages. 50 cents.

Capitalism has hit the deepest crisis it has yet faced. This situation poses the whole question of fascism more sharply than ever as expressed through the tremendous repression unleashed by the government against all workers, students, youth and revolutionaries. Yet at the same time, the working class is moving forward in its fight to maintain a decent living wage, in spite of every effort of the ruling class to beat them down.

It is in this period that the publication of the pamphlet, "Marxism and American Pragmatism" is so important. The task of building the revolutionary party is of primary importance, but the party can only be built through the struggle to understand and develop dialectical materialism.

This pamphlet is a major contribution to that development in that it probes the social, philosophical and material roots of the philosophy of capitalism, pragmatism, in order to wage a real fight against it as well as develop dialectical materialism. In this way it brings forward the fight that Trotsky began in 1940 to build the revolutionary party in the U.S.A.

**THEORY**

Trotsky's whole fight was a struggle against the tendencies that wanted to revise Marxism within the party. He waged the struggle consistently on the basis of theory exposing the opposition as pragmatists who were openly hostile to theory. Trotsky not only exposed the opposition but it was only through this struggle against pragmatism that the party was able to take a leap forward theoretically.

During the course of this struggle it was Trotsky who said that as capitalism goes deeper and deeper into crisis its philosophy too will become increasingly bankrupt and certain layers of the working class will begin to tackle questions of theory. This is the meaning of the Panthers' call for dialectical materialism. The Panthers reflect the most advanced layers of the working class grappling with these questions of theory, precisely because pragmatism has ceased to work. In other words they arrive at the decision to take up theory in a pragmatic way.

**NEWTON**

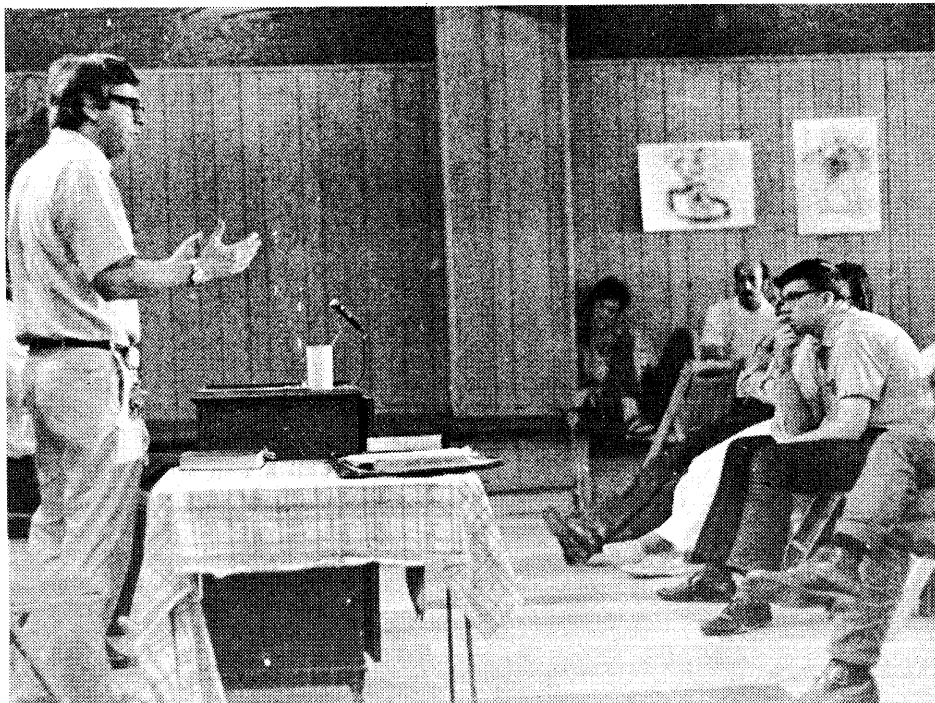
The overall importance of Huey Newton's recent speeches lies precisely in that he raises the question of philosophical method at the moment when the international crisis of capital and the movement forward of the working class demands a theoretical development as central to constructing the new leadership of the working class decisive to the very fate of mankind. What is required now is a discussion of these questions and this pamphlet is precisely a contribution to such a discussion.

The philosophical difficulty which Newton falls into—which is related to deep political problems of perspective—is his tendency to base himself more on Kant than on Marx's development of Hegel's dialectic. He sees man's thought, theory, rationale, as a separate entity from the material world, and that Marxism "integrates" these two entities. In actuality, Newton agrees with Kant, not Marx philosophically.

**KANT**

Here is how Lenin describes Kant's philosophy in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*:

"The principal feature of the philosophy of Kant is an attempted reconciliation of materialism and idealism, a compromise between the claims of both, a fusion of heterogeneous and contrary philosophic tendencies in one system. When Kant admits that something outside of us—a thing-in-itself—corresponds to our perceptions he seems to be a materialist. When, however, he declares this thing-in-itself unknowable, transcendent, 'trans-intelligible,' he appears to be an idealist. Regarding experience as the only source



New Bulletin pamphlet, *Marxism and American Pragmatism*, is based on lectures given by Tim Wohlforth at Workers League Catskill School (above), fall of 1970.

of our knowledge, Kant seems to be turning towards sensationalism, under special conditions towards materialism, recognizing the apriority of space, time and causality, etc., Kant seems to be turning towards idealism."

Kant's dualist system, because it does not see theory as rooted in material reality, lays the basis for pragmatism. Pragmatists are hostile to abstract thought because they see it as scholasticism (a process in which ideas develop independently of the material world through logic alone like medieval metaphysics).

Kant, when he says that all of the basic conceptions of man's thoughts are a priori, agrees totally with this hostility to theory.

In this sense Kant and pragmatism represent a step backward in the development of philosophy. He is making a compromise with the idealism of religions and feudal metaphysics which the original bourgeois empiricism fought.

It is on this essential question that our new pamphlet, "Marxism and American Pragmatism" is invaluable. The central question is the relationship between the study of philosophy and the construction of the revolutionary party. Or more simply, the relationship between theory, man's thought and material reality.

Man's thought is not separate from material reality, but theory is and must be understood as a reflection of reality and therefore part of reality.

It is this that Newton fails to understand. This is why he can state certain formal conceptions of Marxism but in his practice, in the day to day building of the party he moves forward pragmatically.

It is with this method that he can put forward theories like the "Lumpen theory" and "Intercommunalism" which are completely contrary to Marx's analysis of capitalism.

**HISTORY**

This is not merely a programmatic difference with Marx as Newton puts forward when he says, "We are not mechanical Marxists and we're not historical materialists." In other words, we must not simply apply Lenin's formulas for Russia of 1917 to the United States of 1971. This is true, but Newton uses this as an excuse to completely disregard any study of history.

There is actually no difference between historical materialism and dialectical materialism as Newton puts forward. To understand something fully is to understand its history. Because Newton does not see theory as part of material reality and therefore finds it irrelevant to study history, as part of that material reality, he cannot understand theory today. Therefore, he misses a basic understanding of the nature of capitalism and the revolutionary role of the proletariat.

As the pamphlet points out time and again, it is only through the study of history that we are able to understand today, that not only is capitalism in such a deep crisis that it is unable to develop any further (which Newton denies) but, at the same time, the working class, because of its role in capitalist society, must objectively move forward against the decaying system. After twenty years of

post-war boom, where the capitalists made one concession after another to the workers, the working class will be damned to give up their jobs and standards of living without a fight.

Not only does Newton miss a basic understanding of capitalism, but because he does not see dialectical materialism as rooted in material reality, he cannot understand that dialectical materialism itself develops historically. As history develops and capitalism has decayed, we can see a development of theory reflective of these changes and at the same time causing these changes.

This is the significance of the development of theory from Marx, to Lenin, to Trotsky.

Lenin presents a further development of dialectics than Marx, and Trotsky a further development than Lenin. The reason is that as history developed their theory reflected the deepening crisis in capitalism and sharpening of the class struggle as well as contributed to the sharpening of these contradictions.

**STALIN**

On the other hand, Stalin represents an attempt to turn this development around. His degeneration of theory was reflective of the degeneration of the Soviet state and at the same time contributed to that degeneration.

It is precisely their theoretical weaknesses that forces the Panthers to leave

their own defense cases in essentially Stalinist hands. Yet, at the same time, they criticize the Communist Party for its blocs with the church and bourgeois liberals. If the Panthers do not examine the whole history of Stalinism and its betrayals of the working class and the theoretical basis for those betrayals, they will not only be unable to fight them, but will find themselves participating in these betrayals.

The Panthers in order to move forward must take up the main lesson of Trotsky's fight against revisionism in 1940. It is not enough, as the opposition did, to maintain an orthodox belief in Marxism, but at the same time abstain from a struggle to develop dialectics in the course of the construction of the party.

**SWP**

The Socialist Workers Party failed to take up the struggle and today ends up criticizing the Panthers as ultra-left for formally breaking with Black nationalism and calling for dialectical materialism. Although the SWP's neo-capitalist theories are not that different from the conclusions the Panthers draw, they must attack them.

Just as the Panthers reflect the movement forward of the working class, the SWP reflects the capitulation to the pressure of the bourgeoisie on the party. Based on the SWP's history since 1940, we know they are retreating further and further from the struggling with questions of theory, while the Panthers are just beginning to grapple with these same questions.

The SWP, in capitulating to these bourgeois pressures by running away from theory, tries to clear out of the way of the struggle. But in actuality they cannot: they must attack and retard the movement of the working class.

They do this by maintaining a pragmatic view of the surface of events, and choosing parts of Marxist theory that fit into their impression.

This is how they betray the workers in Newark with their refusal to fight white and Black racism. This is how they betray the anti-war movement by forming unprincipled blocs with the Stalinists. This is how they seek to hold back the movement of the city workers by refusing to support the New York City police strike. Through every opportunist method they can find the SWP today seeks to hold back and betray the independent movement of the working class.

This is what the pamphlet poses to the Panthers and every serious revolutionary. We must take forward Trotsky's fight against pragmatism for the development of dialectical materialism and therefore the development of the party.

This pamphlet is a major contribution to that struggle and must be read by all.

## Newton Speaks in Chicago-- Attacks CP as Reactionary



BY BOB JOHNSON

CHICAGO, Feb. 21—Huey Newton, speaking here before an enthusiastic audience of 5,000 youth predominantly Black, denounced the Communist Party U.S.A. as not being communist, as revisionist, racist and reactionary.

He attacked the way the CP is running the Angela Davis defense and said that the defense of all political prisoners was inseparable from the struggle against capitalism and the liberation of all who are exploited.

Newton told the youth in the audience that what was needed for them to free Bobby Seale and all political prisoners, was for them to free themselves, to develop consciousness of the objective situation and to become revolutionaries.

But while he posed the central question of the development of revolutionary consciousness, Newton was unable to put forward any strategy for developing that consciousness.

Newton proposed the building and running of shoe factories and other reformist activities as a survival program. But what is required is a program that will lead the working class to power.

The day before Newton was prevented from speaking in Madison because the University would not allow the Panthers to control the meeting and to organize their own security. Instead they sent over university cops to "keep order."

A member of the Panthers who explained that Newton could not speak under such circumstances pointed out correctly that these cops would "give their mother's right arm to see Huey dead." The security in Chicago, on the other hand, was carefully prepared. Everyone had to pass by an electronic scanning device to detect metal objects, and Panthers patrolled the balcony with two way radios to overlook the audience.

It was six years to the day since Malcolm X was assassinated and the Panthers had learned the lesson of his death.



# 'The Confession' Exposes Stalinism

BY LOU BELKIN

On November 20, 1952, fourteen leading members of the Czech Communist Party were tried for conspiracy. The indictment read out by presiding judge, Dr. J. Urvalek, charged the accused:

"Trotskyite, Titoite, Zionist and bourgeois-nationalist traitors created in the service of U.S. imperialists and under the direction of Western espionage agencies, an anti-State conspiratorial center, undermined the people's democratic regime, frustrated the building of socialism, weakened the unity of the Czechoslovak people and the Republic's defensive capacity in order to tear the country away from its close alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union, to restore capitalism."

Eleven were hung; three lived. The proceedings known as the Slansky Trials are the subject of the film *The L'Aveu (The Confession)*.

Costa-Gavras, the director of *Z*, a vastly popular liberal film about the coup in Greece in 1967, has turned this time to the Slansky Trials in Czechoslovakia. In this film Costa-Gavras collaborates once again with scenarist Jorge Semprun and cinematographer Raoul Coutard. He seeks in *L'Aveu* to present a factual descriptive account of the surveillance, arrest, harassment, persecution, torture and trial of Arthur London, former Czech Deputy Foreign Minister in the Clement Gottwald regime. Another of London's co-defendants was Rudolph Slansky, former Vice-Premier and former Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Czech Communist Party. It was Slansky who was considered the "leader" of the so-called "Center" conspiracy.

Much of the film focuses upon the excruciating methods used by London's interrogators to break his resistance and will, after a period of some eighteen months. After being removed from his car, he is blindfolded and led down a myriad of halls and caverns, in and out of cells, constantly bumping his head on low stone ceilings. Finally he is stripped, given the number 3225, and thrown head first into his cell.

His cell is a crude ten by fourteen foot enclosure with no toilet, simply a drainage sewer and an oaken bedboard. He is compelled to march across, around in circles, in triangles, day after day, night after night, week after week. He sleeps only intermittently. His gruel is thrust at him and removed before two mouthfuls are consumed. He is ordered to lie on his back and is awakened at intervals, whereupon he must recite his name and serial number. Then he is ordered back to sleep.

His first interrogator explains that "Although you are a traitor and a Zionist-Trotskyist, we will spare your life. But at any time we might kill you." At one point he is led out into a courtyard and nearly hung. The director depicts in a matter of fact manner the monumental tension and ordeal, the softening-up process. Lack of sleep, swollen feet, bleeding gums and constant chill reinforced with pailfuls of ice water finally break London down.

At first he resists giving any information, believing that the party knows he is right and that there has been some mistake. London's convictions about the party and about socialism, his duty and loyalty, provide him with strength. As he stated during the time of his confession: "I would have admitted whatever they wanted; but when I was taken before my inquisitors, I had a strong feeling that I must live up to the ideals that had caused me to join the party."

The inquisitors acted under orders from the "Teachers," the Soviet secret police under Beria. They had considerable training during the Moscow Trials. Utilizing anti-Semitism and formal appeals to his duty as a Marxist they forced him to confess things which never took place.

Masquerading as Marxists and utilizing the fact that he had not slept nor eaten sufficiently, they cajoled him into making the most bizarre statements, purely by inference, and then into signing them. London resisted the whole process for more than one year. Eugene Loebel, one of his co-defendants, resisted for nearly three years. This resistance is a testament to their devotion to the traditions of the October Revolution. London realizes though only in an embryonic form, that the bureaucracy which he had thought was beyond criticism had erred. He was being tried, along with thirteen others unjustly. He attempts to grapple with this problem.

But the film never comes to the heart of the problem. While it serves to dissect the victim of Stalinist repression, it is

never Stalinism that is called into question. In that sense *L'Aveu* is a three-dimensional object with a life of its own. It is a "how," but not a "why." In both London and Loebel's books there is an attempt to come to grips with Stalinism. Yet the film ignores this central question.

We must feel sympathy with London who is visually and aurally depicted as the tormented. All the dialogue is from his book. The courtroom scenes, the judges, lawyers, guards, interrogators, witnesses are all quite accurately portrayed. The defendants have memorized all the answers like automatons and recite them. But this quality only adds to the film's clinical approach. This film is more a psychological analysis of why these defendants recanted than an overt political statement.

The fact that at one point Costa-Gavras allows London, played by Yves Montand, one drug-induced montage of October, dissolved into Germany's invasion of Russia, dissolved into Stalin planting trees is symptomatic. There is no continuity at work here. The degeneration of the Bolshevik Party, the growth of Stalinism are mere incidents or not depicted. London as he dreams even wonders how Stalin, standing there planting trees, cannot know of the methods of the interrogators, of the "Teachers."

Interspersed with the torture, the confessions and the trial are scenes of London in France, relating the events and the publishing of his book about the trial to a group of friends. He was, along with the others, exonerated in 1956 and finally released in 1963. In a sense such flash-forwards are diverting but tell us little. London's wife, played by Simone Signoret, remains the repatriated Frenchwoman, the victim of Nazi camps, and now herself the victim of the bureaucracy.

While cameraman Coutard is recruited to man one of the vintage 1935 Hollywood quarter-ton Vinsons at the opening of the trial on November 20, 1952, loudspeakers are blaring out the memorized confessions in the factory in which Mrs. London, now fallen from grace, is employed. Of course she believes everything. "After all," she recounts, "the Party, Stalin, is never wrong. He (her husband) lied to me all these years."

London confesses to betraying the International Brigade in Spain to Trotsky while simultaneously fanning the flames of Zionism. While Mrs. London listens, her husband recounts his "dealings with U.S. and British imperialism" through collaboration with Noel Field, an American Unitarian who fled to Spain and wound up helping Eastern European prisoners of war. At the film's end London returns to Czechoslovakia on the first day of the Soviet invasion and watches as the Czech youth scribble on all available wall space—"Wake up Lenin—they have gone mad."

Two important points must conclude this

review. First, this film, despite its detachment from history, is political dynamite for world Stalinism. It is not accidental that the British, French and American Communist Party leaders have sharply advised their members to avoid this film.

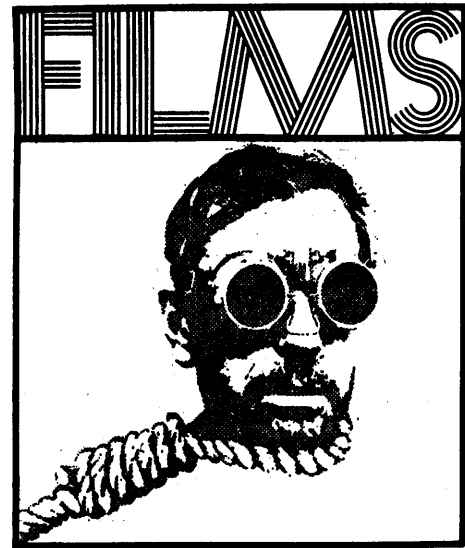
The mass opposition to the Soviet bureaucracy is now sharply reflected in Poland. Once again world Stalinism is in deep crisis. As the persecuted Soviet writer Ginsberg has put it:

"Yes, the persecutions are terrible, but it shows above all the complete capitulation ideologically of the bureaucracy in the face of its opponents. And its opponents are growing."

Secondly, the cinematography of Raoul Coutard is superlative. This time he uses drab mauve and purple-azure tinted interiors, lit with a kind of Kafkaesque quality reflecting the feelings and tensions of London himself.

The editing by Françoise Bonnot is controlled and flowing.

Lastly special merit must be given to Yves Montand and Simone Signoret who play Arthur and Lise London. In an interview in the *New York Times*, Montand and Signoret, sympathizers of the French Communist Party for more than thirty years, revealed how Montand lost twenty-four pounds during the film and refused



to eat and sleep. He tried, as he put it, "to relive Arthur London in that prison in Prague." Montand also added: "I would have preferred not to make this film. I could not have voiced leftist, progressive ideas—call them what you will—and remain silent in the face of the flagrant, ignoble things that took place in Czechoslovakia...after fifty years people in countries voting socialist are still living under a Stalinist dictatorship. What we've got is a caricature of socialism, and not socialism at all."

This film is an important document.

## Nationwide Can Strike Marks First Step In Steel Struggle

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

Over 36,000 members of the United Steelworkers are continuing their nationwide strike action against three of the four major can manufacturers. The strike began on February 14.

A tentative agreement with National Can has kept some 4,000 workers on the job while American Can, Continental Can and Crown Cork and Seal Company remain shut down.

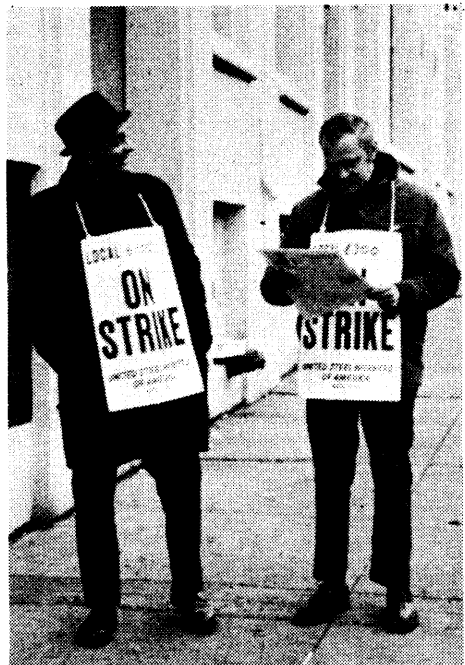
The National Can agreement which is tentative is reported to include a wage increase of \$1 per hour over three years for the lowest paid workers, a cost of living clause and pension improvements.

But the importance of this strike is its relationship to the upcoming contract talks in basic steel. The basic steel pact with eleven major steel producers expires on July 31.

Every retreat by the international leadership of the Steelworkers on the can contracts on the issue of wages, cost of living and the shorter work week will be used by these same leaders to retreat in the basic steel fight.

Any retreat in canning will also weaken the fight for decent contracts in the aluminum and copper mining industries, which come up in the period of March through May of this year.

What is now essential is that rank and file Steelworkers take up a fight to force their leaders to mobilize the union's entire resources for a decisive victory in the can strike.



Striking steel workers read Bulletin on the picket line at Canco in Jersey City.

## Cooper Union Students Fight Trustees' Cutbacks



Cooper Union trustees "explain" massive slashes in school budget at student meeting.

BY A COOPER UNION STUDENT  
NEW YORK—As drastic cutbacks are made on campuses across the country, the Board of Trustees of Cooper Union, a private tuition-free institution, has launched a vicious attack on the students and faculty of the school.

Last week a report was submitted to the school. Essentially it proposed to lay off 40% of the faculty, to cutback 40% on admissions, to double the student fee, and to sell the Green Camp, a 1,000-acre educational and recreational facility.

This report came not as a suggestion but as a policy statement of the Board of Trustees.

As a response to these attacks, however, the student leadership has formed a "Save Green Camp" committee. It refuses to take up the question of the entire report and the meaning of the report in this period.

At a meeting last Monday attended by three trustees of the school, including Guarantee Trust Company, the "Save Green Camp" committee attempted to limit discussion to the role of Green Camp and

refused to take up a fight against the trustees on the entire report. This report not only poses major cutbacks, but means the eventual closing of Cooper Union.

At this meeting a spokesman of the Workers League Club pointed out that the educational cutbacks are being imposed at colleges and schools across the country because of the severe crisis in the capitalist system. The cutbacks in education are part of the whole attack now being waged by the capitalists on the working class.

The trustees represent the capitalist class and are carrying out these attacks. One trustee responded to this by saying that such remarks were "impertinent" and "absurd."

Students must answer these attacks politically. Students can only do this by basing themselves on the strength and independent movement of the working class. What this means in this period is the mass mobilization of students against the capitalists and their policies of war, inflation and unemployment which is the cause of education cutbacks.

The students at Cooper Union must see these cutbacks as a political attack and must demand that the trustees not only rescind the entire report, but expand Cooper Union. Make the capitalists pay for their crisis!

March on Wall Street to demand an end to these attacks!





# Massive Budget Cutbacks Threaten San Jose College

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN JOSE—Governor Ronald Reagan's proposed budget for the California educational system has revealed itself here as part of an overt attack on students and government employees throughout the state.

The proposed cutbacks at San Jose College typify the dilemma faced by each of the other eighteen state colleges in California. Their impact here means the elimination of sixty-seven teaching positions and the subsequent cancellation of up to 1,000 classes.

In addition to this, the faculty can expect no salary increase for the second consecutive year, and new teachers and

campus workers are faced with a state hiring freeze.

Thus, the total number of full-time faculty positions would be 124 fewer than deemed necessary to cope with the expected 9% enrollment increase of the coming school year, and an intense speed-up will necessarily result.

The cutbacks also have a wide range of implications for the student, who will be faced with an increasingly limited number of openings for admission, overcrowded classrooms, closed classes, and higher fees. The budget proposal of a \$1,110 tuition for foreign students with no deferrals or waivers is a critical blow to this section of students, who were paying only \$255 as recently as late 1969.

## IAM Calls For Action To Stop Layoffs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—Two weeks ago 6,500 Lockheed employees received severance notices.

In response labor both here and in Britain mounted and planned actions, demanding of their respective governments that something be done to save the bankrupt Rolls Royce company and the jobs of several thousand Lockheed employees and up to 20,000 Rolls Royce workers.

In London, more than 1,000 Rolls Royce workers staged a march and rally, raising demands for action from the Tory government. Jack Service, general secretary of Britain's Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, said this group and the American International Association of Machinists have planned a "summit conference" to be held in Britain this week.

Both organizations have already issued statements demanding "action" to save Rolls Royce's RB 211 engine building project for the Lockheed L-1011 airliner.

As the crisis of capitalism bears down hard on Lockheed, the ones who really suffer are their workers. 15,000 workers are involved in the Trijet project. The 6,500 employees already laid off have added a new burden to the worsening unemployment market in Los Angeles which is already over the 7% mark. An "experimental" facility of Lockheed's in the predominantly-Black Watts area—where more than 20% are unemployed—is in danger of being closed.

The labor movement in Britain has already showed the way. The united action "planning" of the CSEU and IAM is only a start. The rank and file of both unions must take up the demand for nationalization of these bankrupt companies without compensation and under workers' control.

## Plan Rally Against Budget Cuts

BY MICHAEL THOMPSON

SAN FRANCISCO—Opportunities Program instituted at the various State Colleges after the Watts rebellion is presently being cut off.

At San Francisco State College the recent budget cuts will mean that working class youth will not be able to attend college. At the same time economic assistance is being cut off, Reagan is planning to increase tuition. The State government is also closing down the city colleges.

The recent closing of Merritt College and the huge budget cuts imposed on San Mateo City College makes these attacks crystal clear.

Teachers and other state workers are faced with taking both a wage cut and

the additional workload because of Reagan's budget cuts.

At San Francisco State two buildings now under construction will go vacant because of lack of funds for desks and materials.

The attacks on the youth and state workers are class attacks. Reagan and Nixon seek to beat back the working class into conditions worse than the 1930's. Students, who have in the past felt they could stay out of the way, are under attack along with the trade unions. The budget cuts in education, welfare and wages are all part of the same war plan of the capitalists.

Students must fight together with the state workers and build a contingent in support of the March 2 rally in Sacramento against these cuts.

## Students Strike At Stanford

BY JILL ROSSI

PALO ALTO—Students demonstrated here at Stanford against the invasion of Laos. On February 9 the Venceremos group held a meeting of about 150 students and voted to strike to end U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia, to end Stanford's role in the war, and to free all political prisoners.

On February 10 the Computer Center at Stanford was taken over by about 300 students. The police declared an illegal assembly but the Venceremos declared it legal. Three students were arrested.

At a meeting of the strikers that night members of the Free Campus Movement were discovered taking pictures. One member was beaten and taken off by ambulance. Later two other "photographers" were injured by rifle shot. Even though no suspects were found the administration is prepared to strike back at all students who protest in any way.

In fact two days later Bruce Franklin, a leading member of Venceremos and Assistant Professor at Stanford, was sus-

pending for his activities at the January 18 speech of Henry Cabot Lodge. Franklin demanded that Lodge answer to the massacres of imperialism. A worker at Stanford, John Keilch, was also suspended from his job for speaking at the Lodge meeting.

It is in the face of these attacks that the bankruptcy of the present student leadership is exposed. At a time when protest politics can only lead to the defeat and dispersion of the struggle against the war and repression, groups such as the Venceremos propose more protest. Franklin was quoted as saying that it would be "pretentious" for students to turn to the working class.

But this is the only way forward. Stanford together with campuses across the country must be shut down. Students must turn to the labor movement to fight for a general strike to stop the war and beat back Nixon's policies of war, inflation, unemployment and repression.

### ELIMINATION

Almost a thousand minority students are confronted with the virtual elimination of the Educational Opportunity Program, as the budget proposes the trimming of the EOP allocations from a current \$245,000 to \$43,000. Furthermore, all students will be subject to increased pressures due to the almost complete rejection of the \$18 million building fund request, and badly needed construction and refurbishing will be indefinitely forestalled.

SJSC President John H. Bunzel accurately termed the budget which contained these proposals as "bare bones," adding in an address here last week that "I am not sure there are enough bones to hold up the animal."

Bunzel expressed the widespread outrage at a budget which is unquestionably an open act of aggression on the workers and students here and throughout the state.

### FOUGHT

A unified struggle by all trade unions, government employees, and youth is the only way the cutbacks and the subsequent layoffs, speedup, and hiring freezes can be fought. A statewide strike of all government employees must be prepared.

In reply to Chancellor Glenn S. Dumke's warning that "We must come to the open and frank confrontation with the situation that, from here on out, we are not going to be able to accept all qualified students who apply to state colleges," students must call for free admission for all qualified students in addition to the demands for no cutbacks, speed-ups or layoffs.

## Victor Perlo Pushes Peace Treaty Betrayal At New School Meeting

BY ALEX STEINER

NEW YORK—Last Thursday, a forum was presented at the New School for Social Research here at which Victor Perlo, a leading member of the Communist Party, spoke about the war in Indochina and in behalf of the "People's Peace Treaty."

A presentation was also given on the People's Peace Treaty by Doug Hofstadter, a member of the National Student Association who had recently returned from a trip to North and South Vietnam.

Mr. Perlo began his remarks by presenting an economic analysis of the war

which put the blame for the war on the shoulders of a few monopolists connected with the "military-industrial complex" and a few Pentagon warmongers. By presenting a one-sided, mechanical explanation for the war Mr. Perlo perpetuated the illusion that the war is not being carried on by the capitalist class as a whole in the service of vital political interests and not merely for a short-range, and therefore expendable, economic goal.

### "ANTI-MONOPOLY"

This kind of analysis is in line with the Stalinists' current campaign for an "anti-monopoly coalition" which would be used to tie the working class to the liberal bourgeoisie and lead the working class to defeat as the Popular Front did in the 1930s.

Mr. Perlo, as a spokesman for the international policies of Stalinism, offered an apology for every bourgeois nationalist regime in the "third world," characterizing such regimes as Algeria, Egypt and the Sudan as "anti-imperialist" and having taken "irreversible steps towards the building of socialism" with the help of the USSR.

The leadership of all these regimes are national servants of imperialism, which the Soviet Union props up through economic and military aid and by giving them a "left" cover. (Ironically, it was just reported in the Times last week that the "anti-imperialist" government of Sudan was rounding up members of the Communist Party and throwing them into jail.)

Mr. Perlo also spoke about the dramatic rebirth of the Communist Party and "other revolutionary groups" from the period of McCarthyite witchhunting.

The central point of the presentation by Mr. Perlo and Mr. Hofstadter was the People's Peace Treaty.

### DISCUSSION

When discussion was opened from the floor, several members of the Workers League pointed out the counterrevolutionary nature of the People's Peace Treaty and how it fits in with the Stalinists' counterrevolutionary international policy of "peaceful co-existence." As an alter-

native to this the Workers League fought for class action against the war beginning with a strike at the New School which would work toward a nationwide student strike having as its orientation the building of a general strike by the labor movement against the war.

An attempt was made by the chairman and certain members of the audience to limit discussion in order to suppress the central political questions which were raised by the Workers League. When the Workers League motion finally came to a vote, it received significant support losing by only a few votes. No alternative proposal was adopted.

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