



BLACK SPARK EDITION



The articles appearing in this issue attempt to elucidate some of the problems facing mankind, and to project World Revolution as their solution. We believe that it is imperative for Black people, particularly those in the advanced countries, to come to grips with these problems, for, if these problems that are afflicting mankind at large are not resolved in the favour of humanity, our welfare will be seriously threatened.

Black people are a distinct minority in the countries of the predominantly white Western and Eastern European world. This Black minority is being slowly enlarged by the continuous trickle from the predominantly black undeveloped countries rightly seeking better economic and other opportunities in these developed countries, particularly Canada, the United States and Britain which have enormous exploitative interests in the black undeveloped countries of the Caribbean, Asia, Africa and Latin America. The implication of the foregoing is that this settled and growing black population is the plenipotentiary representative of the black undeveloped countries in the developed countries, and their scientific and dialectical orientation and participation on the side of the undeveloped countries in the struggle against their domination and exploitation by the developed countries is crucial. Hence on this Second Anniversary of the February II, Sir George Williams University-Anderson incident - a Black spark of World Revolution - we can utilise this milestone to situate it as having been one of the high peaks of the dynamics of the National Question here in North America in which the just position adopted by the Black participants against social and economic subjugation, is the one that Black people of the undeveloped countries expect of black people in the developed countries especially when the former find themselves under imperialist seige.

The armed invasion of Sir George Williams University by Montreal's Riot Police, to terminate the Black student occupation of the Computer Centre, helped to eliminate the fetishistic belief that education is non-political and free of class-imperatives; and it confirmed the thesis of Aristotle - the darling political philosopher of the Western world - that Education is Politics.

Now since Education is Politics and Politics is the concentrated expression of Economics and the relations between classes, both national and international, we can now see that whether the participants willed it or not, the SGWU-Anderson Affair was analagous to any one of those incidents in consequence of which political crises are precipitated, as indeed they were catalysed in the Caribbean and exacerbated in the sphere of Canada-Caribbean relations. But since without a Revolutionary Theory there can be no Revolutionary practice, it behoves black people in particular to understand, as they do, that student actions, like cultural autonomous posturings, and the now extra-ordinary reliance on the lumpen-prole-

tariat, and other such corner - political assumptions, if persisted in, is isolation from real life, through deliberate and conscious political decisions, all will eventually lead to political demoralization. This struggle in which race and class factors are intertwined, is a complex and many-sided one that demands political astuteness and judiciousness and a positive national view of history. Cynicism has no place in this struggle. None of the great Marxists ever wrote in any way that could lead one to believe that they would not have understood the Race Question. Marx, writing over one one hundred years ago, acknowledged that in the United States "**... every independent movement of the workers was paralysed so long as slavery disfigured . . . the Republic . . .**", and oriented the working-class and its spokesmen to the harsh fact, that

"... labour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

Lenin, writing over fifty years later, also recognised that in the economic, political and social spheres, "all along the line", there are "... differences in the objective situation," i.e. there is "dualism" in the objective world; and as if he had had the Race Question particularly in mind he observed that,

"... **Intellectually** or spiritually . . . workers of the oppressing nations are taught at school, and in everyday life, to regard workers of the oppressed nations with disdain and contempt."

Following the tradition of scientific socialism it would be Marxist-oriented Black people like George Padmore, WEB DuBois, CLR James and Kwame Nkrumah, in their International African Service Bureau and other black organisations, who would dialectically combine the race and the class question in the first half of the century and apply it in mass anti-colonial action particularly in Ghana, in Africa, while simultaneously educating, agitating and propagandizing people in the oppressing countries.

The Black people in Canada, the United States and Britain in particular, have crucial roles to play in the deadly struggle going on in the world. This does not however exonerate all other peoples, especially the class-conscious French-speaking people on this continent from intervening on the side of black and oppressed people in their struggle for a new society. And in these gloomy economic times it is now, more than ever, necessary for Black people in particular, to begin to scientifically prepare a way out of the threatening mess being perpetrated from above. Our own survival may depend on such a preparation.

C.I.S.B.

free

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Press

CANADA IN THE CARIBBEAN

by C. I. S. B.

Between 1789 and 1871 Western Europe crystallised into relatively settled bourgeois national capitalist states. On the other hand the Caribbean, Africa and Asia were all subjugated, oppressed and exploited by colonialism and nascent imperialism.

Canada officially became a nation in 1867, and fifty years later was staking "... a claim to the Caribbean colonies. ..." But being herself economically controlled by British and American capital, Canada could not consummate that claim to the Caribbean and had to settle for integration as a national state capital within the continental ambit of surplus capital exportation. Today, Canada is an important adjunct of one of the two most gigantic concentrations of national state capitals in the world which are attempting to "... force into their orbit by force, or fraud of cajolment, all national units." And Canada is now openly entering the Caribbean arena as a political ally and economic extension of the United States to help retain in the Anglo-American orbit, the English-speaking Caribbean, and using "cajolment" and "fraud" to achieve this end.

In a paper prepared by a Canadian capitalist in 1966 and entitled "A Proposal for a New Canadian-West Indies Relationship" the imperialist attitude toward the seeking and safe-guarding of profit in the Caribbean was stated in the following preamble that ever "... since the mid-fifties, when Canada took the lead in the Suez solution, our reputation as a 'do-something nation' in foreign affairs has been eroding. ...", and to halt this erosion, it would be "... immeasurably better if Canada could once again emerge in the world spotlight as a nation with initiative and imagination - one which uses its resources to make the greatest impact... and reap the admiration of our neighbours and allies." Then coming closer to his point, the businessman urged Canadian capitalists to "... choose an area of concentration - an area which, by its nature, geography and size, presents a manageable problem for Canada." Continuing, the tycoon then pointedly suggested that Canadian investors did not have to "... look far afield for such an opportunity ...", for on Canada's doorstep lay an "... area which historically and by common parentage is within Canada's orbit." This is very similar to the imperialist pronouncement by old American President John Quincy Adams who had mused that Cuba was like a ripe apple in the gravitational orbit of North American imperialism, and when ripe must fall into his country's lap. The Canadian agent of capital then articulated concrete proposals to realise his exploitation ambitions thus:

"I will indicate how it is possible to serve the interests of

both West Indians and Canadians, if Canada, assuming the role of senior partner to these newly independent islands, invited them to join us in a monetary union, customs union and allows us to provide for their defence and external affairs representation." (Emphasis supplied)

The profit-seeking author then proceeded to underscore the economic point he was advancing by alluding to a concrete imperial example: that of France and her colonies. He noted that:

"... the French islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe are not colonies. They are part of France. They are entitled to whatever benefits any equivalent community in France would receive. ... social welfare and capital investment with the result that tens of thousands of housing units have been built. ... schools, airports, highways are being built. ... If a town. ... needs water, sewerage, electricity, roads or public service (like airlines) it has access to capital. If I were to build a hotel I could receive 90% of the financing and pay half the rate of interest, because of the French Government's support of the enterprise" (emphasis supplied)

We can note that the Canadian businessman was pointing out to the Canadian Government the need to support and guarantee the interests of potential investors like himself in the Caribbean; and that his Proposals were specifically geared to the colonial territories of the Eastern Caribbean, for he said: for "... the purpose of this study I am not including Jamaica, Trinidad, Bermuda, the Bahamas and British Guiana (Guyana). Jamaica and Trinidad are now independent Commonwealth nations. ... (they) deserve and receive assistance from the Government of Canada, (and) also represent important areas of Canadian private investment," and which investment must obviously be protected at all costs, and if necessary by blood and iron.

Economically, metropolitan branch plant economic units dominate Caribbean economics in the form of "... oil refineries, car and television assembly plants. ... fertilizer (and) petrochemical (plants) and. ... traditional sugar and rum manufacturing industries. ..." (Maclean's, Feb. 1967). And Canada alone, apart from the United States and Britain, according to the 13-9-69 *Gazette* article, *Mini-Islands of Caribbean lure Developers* has investments "... close to \$880,000,000 in the area - much of it in heavy industry such as bauxite and cement production as well as hotel and homesite developments." That same *Gazette* also reported that a "... leader in diverse Caribbean holdings especially in the most easterly islands has

been Maigot Investment of Montreal. ...", which "... reported more than \$1,000,000 in sales of Caribbean properties during the winter of 1968-69 and have projected sales of over \$2 million during the next year." This selling-out of the Caribbean territories is being facilitated by the local Caribbean Governments themselves. For example, the *Barbados Advocate* of Feb. 16-65 reported that the then Financial Secretary of Montserrat advocated the abolition of income tax in Montserrat in order to "... accelerate development. ... particularly. ... real estate, housing projects and. ... encourage investment. ..." This official further declared that "real estate projects are developing in the island very fast now, and not only homes are being built, but families are moving in them, mostly from the United States and Canada."

It is always being touted that the North American Empire was, and is propped up by a policy of economically inspired militarism abroad and racism and exploitation at home. This policy is not usually attributed to Canada, and the myth makes the rounds that Canada is a benevolent and friendly neighbour with no imperialist ambitions, and that her attitudes to Black people are not like those of the United States. The tycoon with the massive investments in the Caribbean articulated these sentiments in his Proposal, thus:

"... Canadians are not identified with colonialism nor racial discrimination and over the years, by and large Canadians have behaved reasonably well with respect to West Indians. ... if we really wanted to we could train a number of West Indians, providing interesting career opportunities for them and proclaim to the rest of the world a lack of racial bias and perhaps increase Canada's qualifications as an 'honest broker' in the many and certain problem areas of the future." (emphasis supplied)

But militarism and racism are very much inherent in Canada's attitudes towards the Black world and its poor black inhabitants - the SGWU - Anderson Affair 1968-71, attests to this attitude internally; and militarist, because that is what imperialism leads to in defence of exploitative economic objectives. Lest it is thought extreme to attribute imperialist tendencies to Canada, it is the same term that Nicholas Steed in Feb. 1967 *Maclean's* used when he compared the "... Canadian ladies of the Canadian Club of Kingston. ...", Jamaica, with the "... sprawling shanty ghetto of tens of thousands of blacks in (West Kingston) groping in vain to adjust to an alien urban poverty." Steed, himself, Canadian, asked:

"... was this really Canada's role in the Caribbean - a sort of mini-imperialism with a parsimonious Victorian charity thrown in to assuage the conscience" (emphasis supplied)

The May 19, 1969 *Financial Times* of Canada, in an article "Canadian Investment Close to \$300 million" noted that more than "... half of the \$550 million of Canadian investment in the Commonwealth Caribbean is found in Jamaica," with Alcan Aluminum Lts having more than \$200 million invested there, in addition to "an extrusion plant" with production aimed at "... a wide range of architectural, furniture, construction and transport industry uses." The article further pointed out that Alcan "... mines bauxite and extracts alumina" in Jamaica and the Alumina is then "... shipped to its subsidiary Aluminum Company of Canada's Smelter in Kitimat, British Columbia and to plants in the United States and Europe for processing aluminum." Together with Alcan the article named other Companies in bauxite processing viz: "a consortium of the United States, Kaiser, Reynolds and Anaconda. ... Alcan Aluminum Co. of America and the Reverre group." Canadian manufacturing investments in Jamaica were revealed to include (1) Distillers Corp. Seagrams Ltd. (2) Federal Pacific Electric Caribbean Ltd., (3) Bata Shoes, (4) Waterman Leather Products, (5) Trueform Industries (6) Jamaica Fibre Glass, and (7) Polly Cello Processing Co., and not to mention Canadian Banks which "dominate Commercial Banking. ...", and branches "... of about ten Canadian Life Insurance Companies, and with all these investments recently complemented by "... Air Canada's acquisition of 40% of Air Jamaica, the country's national airline, and also". ... Canadian Government financing of a school construction program (for which) a wide range of institutional equipment, audio-visual aids and teachers must be imported". These are indeed formidable and profitable areas of Canadian exploitative investment in Jamaica, and of great significance to Canada's economy, hence these investments must be potentially backed by military investments in the area and by the spasmodic presence of military units to tell the "native" not to budge. And it was with the immediately foregoing in mind that the Canadian Marigot Investor, whose interests also "include a number of manufacturing, investment, franchising and retailing subsidiaries from Antigua to Trinidad. ...", and substantial holdings in the West Indies Stock Exchange (*Caribbean Horizons*, April 1968), no doubt based his argument for Canada assuming the External Affairs and Defence responsibilities of the Eastern Caribbean. The

business-oriented paper *En Ville* of May 28, 1966 reported that the Marigot Investor met "... with various Federal Cabinet ministers in Ottawa. ... pleading (his) case. ..." just before the Canada-West Indies Conference, July 6, and 8, 1966, after having prefaced his plea with a meeting with Caribbean leaders. He could then report on his latter meeting that: "I have had contact with most of the key people in most of the Governments. I believe they would welcome negotiations which would recognize their legitimate aims." So that the subtle and pious proposals of the Proposal continued:

"The case for assuming defence suggests rather interesting possibilities which had best be looked at along with Canada's current Defence policy.

... The experts agree that more than 90% of the situations requiring military force in which Canada maybe asked to participate will be in the tropical or semi-tropical part of the world. ... between 20 degrees North and 20 degrees South of the Equator. This must have a very important bearing on the training of our Mobile Command."

And in order, therefore to be familiar with the terrain and environment in which this Mobile Command may have to be used, it becomes very necessary to train in relevant areas, and during such training period the local military and police will participate and ultimately assimilate the techniques to repress their own people if need be. Hence,

"If the Mobile Command is to exercise and train in the environment which approximates that for which the force is designed, then these little islands offer every conceivable tropical variety in which to train... Our military training exercises could easily be designed to accomplish the training mission and at the same time provide badly needed services to these islands. ..."

We also know from the *Proposal* that the "... Minister of National Defence (had) authorised the formation of a Mobile Command. ... to be a fully integrated force able to respond to a United Nations Commonwealth or other needs pretty nearly anywhere in the world."

The Canadian military has been continually in Jamaica since 1969, and we are not unmindful of the reactionary collaborationist role with imperialism that the present English-speaking Governments have adopted. Along with the foreign political and economic domination of their respective economies, aided and abetted by local parasitic intermediaries, grow the unemployment rate and "the mass of misery, oppression. ... degradation

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CANADA, THE COMMONWEALTH AND RACISM

by Carl Parris and George Archer

This article is an attempt to understand the recent Commonwealth Conference which took place in Singapore. Since the paper in which it appears is Canadian based and since the article undoubtedly will fall into the hands of young and old Europeans living in Canada, the article will focus in part on the Canadian position at the Conference. We will argue that to fully understand Canada's role, one has to see it from the broader perspective of Canada's usual position on African affairs.

In addition and more importantly because this edition of this paper is geared also to Black people, the article attempts to come to grips with the African position at the Conference.

In short, we are asking the following questions, (a) what were the main issues at the Conference, (b) what were the main positions taken, (c) what was the outcome. Our main thesis is that the failure of the Commonwealth Conference to achieve any significant results re the eradication of racialism from the Continent stems from the fact that Blacks once again allowed whites to define the issues.

We contend that the main issue at the Conference was the continuation of European exploitation of Africans. Had the Blacks clearly perceived this they would not have found themselves agreeing to set up a Committee to study maritime trade routes. Let us now look at the issues.

Shortly after the Conservative Government won the General Elections in Britain in 1970, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the new foreign secretary informed the world that Britain would reverse its Arms Embargo Policy toward South Africa. This position was further emphasized when Sir Alec assured the South African foreign Minister Dr Muller that orders for weapons designed for external defense would in future be accepted by Britain. When queried by opposition leaders as to whether this new British position was not a contravention of United Nations resolutions forbidding the sale of arms to South Africa, Sir Alec (the foreign minister) interestingly enough replied that "it was the policy of all British Governments to sell arms to any country unless that country was a declared enemy"; and furthermore he argued that "the sale of arms, such as those intended, was not a breach of the Security Council resolutions. The resolutions were not mandatory. They were recommendations; and that Britain in its vote at the United Nations had made a specific reservation - that Britain would feel free to supply arms for external defense to South Africa."

Let us pause a while at this point to make it clear to our readers, that although so far in the article, it would appear as though there was a fundamental disagreement between the British over British policy to South Africa, this in fact was more apparent than real, for as Sir Alec himself pointed out, "Both parties (opposition and government) reject an embargo on trade. Under Wilson's government, trade with South Africa increased."

"There are L1,000 million (pounds) investments by this country in South Africa and L300 million (pounds) trade each way. Does that not strengthen South Africa?" "Wilson", he continued, "authorized the Atomic Energy Authority to place a plant in Southwest Africa for the manufacture of uranium. Did he tell the United Nations? Furthermore, Home argued, "In this matter of arms sales to South Africa, the decision must be the decision of the British Government and nobody else can make it for us."

If we could just pull together what we have so far, it should be obvious that the whole trend of the debate can be summed up very neatly. - It is not that we (the British) do not disapprove of apartheid, but there are more important things to us than a few million blacks being discriminated against. We have investments to protect. Doesn't the whole thing remind the reader of the arguments heard around the time of the Sir George Williams Affair? - "It isn't that we don't feel that you were discriminated against, but the computer...".

Now, what were the complications of this whole arms debate for Africans when the Commonwealth Conference opened?

Abdul Minty in an article in *Race Today* point out, "In the context of South Africa, it is meaningless to attempt distinctions between weapons designed for external defense and those used for internal suppression: The Buccaneer Aircraft, more of which South Africa is anxious to buy is ideal for counter-insurgency action. Furthermore, the external defense of South Africa involves deploying armed forces in Rhodesia against African guerillas, providing reinforcements for the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique, and securing South African Control over Southwest Africa as an occupying power in defiance of the United Nations. Sophisticated aircraft and naval weapons can easily be used against countries such as Zambia and Tanzania, whose leaders have been quick to remind Britain that they fall in the category of "external defence from South Africa's viewpoint".

In essence therefore, the lines at Singapore should have been clearly drawn. The Blacks having dismissed the untenable distinction between arms for internal use as against arms for external use, were interested in eradicating racialism and colonialism from the African Continent. Whereas the British and their allies were interested in preserving Britain's right to sell arms to South Africa and thus protect her and their investments.

It would appear that Nyerere of Tanzania realized this, for in an article which appeared in the *London Times*, he remarked, "Britain is concerned about what she regards as a Communist threat to her security. Africa is concerned with the existing racialism and colonialism in Southern Africa. What this means is that just as Britain is concerned to guard her freedom, so Africa is equally concerned to guard hers. If Britain refuses to sell arms to

South Africa, to whom will South Africa turn? To France?" "I would hate", Nyerere continued, "to believe that this possibility is what the issue is all about. For that would mean, we are not talking about problems of defence, but about the making of profit out of selling arms to racialism."

If as it would seem from Nyerere's remarks, the Blacks clearly saw the fundamental differences between themselves and Britain. How can we explain what transpired at Singapore?

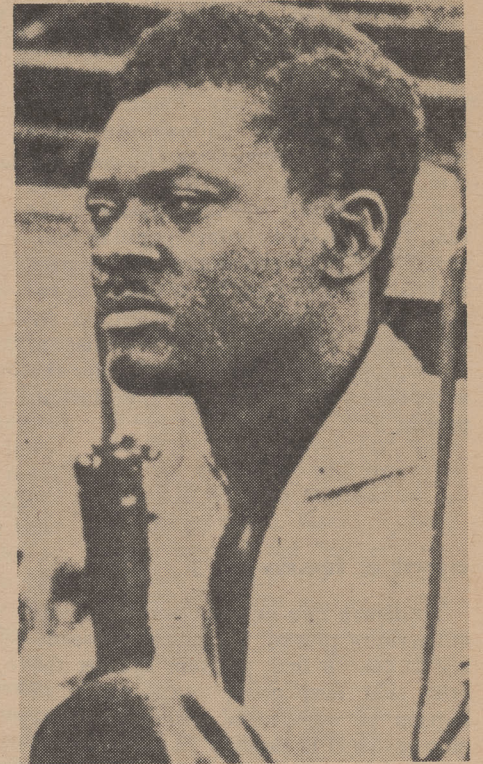
Newspapers in Britain and Canada were predicting the break-up of the Commonwealth, and Nigeria in the event, was expected to announce its withdrawal and follow this by changing her International Banking arrangements with Britain. Zambia, Britain's next biggest African market, was expected to announce plans for moving its L250 million (pounds) out of the Sterling Area, refuse to consider further contracts with British firms, and deliberately alter its trading pattern which largely favours Britain.

After meeting at Dar Es Salaam in Tanzania, the Black leaders proposed at the Conference, that all Commonwealth members should sign a declaration committing the Commonwealth to fight racial discrimination, poverty, ignorance and disease. Clearly Armed at South Africa, the African position stated, "we recognize racial discrimination as an unmitigated evil of society, and racial prejudice as a dangerous sickness threatening the healthy development of the human race... we therefore seek every means of combating these scourges. We shall deny all regimes which practice them, and any assistance which can consolidate or strengthen them."

The Blacks hoped that if the declaration was accepted in its entirety, it would be extremely difficult for Britain to justify arms sale to South Africa and Prime Minister Heath, they thought, could hardly refuse to sign a declaration which condemned racial discrimination since he has consistently repeated his disapproval of South African Apartheid.

It is at this point that the authors fail to understand the reasoning of the Black Leaders at the Conference. Given the fact that the two sides were interested in different things, one in eradicating racism, the other in preserving its material interests under the guise of keeping the Soviets out of the Indian Ocean, it was obvious that the declaration could not have been accepted.

This causes these writers to seriously call into question the intelligence of our leaders, for if it is recalled, as Fanon points out, "that Europe has stuffed herself inordinately with the gold and raw materials of the Colonial Countries: Latin America, China and Africa... the wealth which smothers Europe is that which was stolen from the under-developed peoples," then it cannot be understood why Black leaders of the 70's should continue to believe that their interests and that of their former masters coincide.



Immortal Lumba

The authors offer as a possible answer the apparent fact that Black people today still somehow believe in the life after death, in the intrinsic goodness of exploiters, for how else could they have been taken in by the British and Canadian Prime Ministers, and it is to the latter's much vaunted role that we now turn.

Here, as in the case of the British, we see lurking behind the Canadian position, the fact that Canada also has tremendous investments in South Africa. Sun Life Assurance Company of Montreal alone has \$75 million invested in South Africa. Canada exported \$78,513,075 to South Africa in 1969, mainly in aluminum, cars and trucks, and wood and paper products. She has permitted South Africa to retain its preferential trade tariffs, despite South Africa's expulsion from the Commonwealth in 1961. Also, with the encouragement of the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, \$100,000,000 of Canadian capital has been invested in the South African economy. W.A. Wilson in an article in the *Montreal Star* of January 30th, states very clearly that it was the Canadian Prime Minister who forced the Africans to back down on the "Declaration of Principles", which Kaunda had tabled, so that whereas the Declaration had originally demanded that "all Commonwealth States deny any assistance to regimes which practice racial discrimination", the final declaration left the matter of assistance to such repugnant regimes up to each individual country. In fact the *Montreal Star* article stated that Trudeau persuaded the African States that the Declaration with the above mentioned amendment was still meaningful. Having fooled the Blacks, Trudeau skipped away to dinner in Jakarta with president Suharto. What can we make of Canada's role at Singapore?

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... and the inevitable revolt of the Caribbean people which threatens the foreign economic investments; and realising that they are now inextricably caught up in the web of contradictions spun out by

their internal and external political and economic policies, the little Caribbean potentates see their class fortunes tied up with increasing military and repressive security efficiency, both internal and external. And they intend to continue governing with the support of Canada and the United States. The spasmodic Canadian military operations in the

Caribbean, including the Canadian navy's participation with NATO forces in target practice on Culebra Island off Puerto Rico, are therefore not being undertaken for amusement. In Vietnam following the defeat of the French, analogous military operations were undertaken by a few American military "advisers," beginning as a trickle but which ended

up as a mighty flood. The Slave Trade began the same way. America was now in Vietnam to protect "valuable deposits of tin and prodigious supplies of rubber and rice", and with an eye on the huge rice surpluses in Thailand and Burma, and rubber, ore and tin in Indonesia and Malaysia. The English-speaking Caribbean may not be that wealthy but in

terms of International power-politics and economics, the area is also strategic. Canada's involvement in the Caribbean is therefore not altruistic, but economic, and not necessarily in the best interests of the Caribbean people, and her role is therefore not compatible with the building of a Just Society at home and abroad.

In November 1970, we warned that Jean-Claude Duvalier would eventually be designated to replace his despotic father; we did not think that this manoeuvre would be executed so rapidly. The effrontery of this manoeuvre is in the best Duvalierist tradition.

In 1961, three years before his pseudo-constitutional mandate expired, Duvalier had himself re-elected for another period of six years. Then, in 1963, fearing that his pseudo-mandate would trigger an offensive from the Opposition, Duvalier anticipated the events and had himself elected President for life "by overwhelming popular consent." Today by presenting the country with a *fait accompli* he is trying to resolve the crisis of his succession by initiating his son in the exercise of power, and thus paving the way for the acceptance of this fact by the Haitian people.

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Trudeau's role in the Conference was masterfully played. He began by seeming to take a firm position against the arms sale, even going to the extent of hinting at withdrawal from the Commonwealth if it became "a white man's club". After securing Kaunda's and Nyerere's promises to attend, he effectively neutralised India and Pakistan by showing that the alternative to a strong South African navy would be the presence of either U.S. or British forces in the Indian Ocean, a possibility distinctly unappetizing to India. During the no position, but evaded the real issue by raising the spectre of a breakup of the Commonwealth and of a future race conflict in Southern Africa (neglecting to recognize of course that it has been going on since 1600). Once again Canada backed no one overtly, but worked to tone down the African position - to solve the crisis not by a firm honest stand on the substantive issue but by suggesting an impotent committee to discuss an irrelevant issue.

This was not Canada's only triumph. She also succeeded in persuading the other Commonwealth leaders to set up a Committee to study the problem of the security of Maritime Trade routes in the South Atlantic and Indian oceans. In short, as can be seen, the issue at Singapore now for Blacks as defined by whites was "the study of trade routes". In fact to add insult to injury Canada and Britain calmly told the Blacks to sit down and do their homework before coming to a Conference. The London Times of Feb. 5, 1971 said that the British Prime Minister lectured the Commonwealth leaders on their failure to read the Simonstown Agreement.

Let us now look a bit more closely at how Canada and Britain sidetracked the main issue. First of all it must be pointed out that Canada's position was in keeping with her usual position on African Affairs. At Singapore since she was instrumental in the formation of the eight member Committee, and "thought" that it was a meaningful Committee, she was offered the chairmanship. This she politely refused, but was roped into the Committee nevertheless.

Let us now put this decision in its broader perspective. In 1965 at the twentieth session of the General Assembly, the African States successfully guided through the assembly, Resolution 2054 which among other things requested that to the existing membership of the Special Committee on the policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, there be added six new members chosen according to (a) primary responsibility in world trade (b) primary responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace

DUVALIERISM AND HAITI: A REPLY

The periodical change-over of government, as a result of widely claimed "free and democratic elections" has long been one of the favorite ideological manoeuvres of oppressing classes with the purpose of soothing the masses with the illusion that they play an active role in a country's affairs. Though Haiti was never a model of liberal democracy, election masquerades still were part of the system. . . . Following the U.S. Occupation, the exploitation under the caption: **Investment Guaranteed Agreement**

and security, (c) equitable geographical distribution. Altogether nineteen states were asked to consider membership, fifteen including the United States, Britain and France declined. Canada refused to reply. The idea was dropped.

In the 1966 special meeting of the Commonwealth, Prime Ministers in Lagos, Nigeria, called to discuss measures to be taken against the regime of Ian Smith in Rhodesia, Britain and Canada did the same as they did at Singapore. A Committee was set up which would act as a watch dog in the manner in which sanctions were being applied to Rhodesia.

At the end of the Conference, Prime Minister Wilson told newspaper men that the Committee was just a Committee, that it was of no real significance. He was right. As these authors know, that Committee meets every month. Ian Smith's regime is still there.

It is against this historical information that the title of this article becomes significant. For it is with a sense of "déjà vu" that one greets the new Committee set up at Singapore. Will somebody explain what is the relevance of studying the topic of maritime trade routes to the question which confronts every Black man and woman in this century, the question of Racism and Apartheid in South Africa and throughout the Capitalist world.

Must Blacks always have issues defined for them and thus be diverted from the real tasks which confront them?

Let us finally look at one more aspect of the Conference. Prime Minister Heath had based his argument for selling arms to South Africa on a clear interpretation of the Simonstown Agreement which Britain had entered into with South Africa in 1955. Prime Minister Heath had berated the Commonwealth leaders for not reading the Agreement. It is very interesting to find that in the London Times of Feb. 5, Mr. Denis Healy, the Labour Party's shadow foreign secretary argues that, "the argument on which Heath has based so much of his case for selling arms to South Africa is contrary to the advice he has been receiving from his own Attorney General over the last six months. Britain has no obligations to supply South Africa with such arms as she may require for the Maritime Defence of the Cape route. Mr. Heath lectured the Prime Ministers in Singapore on their failure to read the Simonstown Agreement. It is now clear that either he himself had not read his homework or he was deliberately seeking to mislead the public, the Commonwealth and the world".

In fact if Denis Healy is correct then the British Prime Minister and his allies, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, not only succeeded in steering the Conference away from the main issues but in making Blacks look stupid in the eyes of the world.

tative classes and the representatives of U.S. financial and strategic interests introduced a system to renew governments "democratically". As soon as the exploiting classes became dissatisfied with the government, a member of the Army's High Command would depose that government and install a Junta to rule the country until a new President was elected. An election campaign was then proclaimed during which various strata of the population, headed by their corrupt political bosses, came into vicious and sometimes bloody conflict. In the meantime, the representatives of the oppressing classes and of American interests would consult with the Junta on the best candidate for the President's seat. This candidate would usually receive the blessing of the higher religious hierarchy and having thus been selected and sanctified, he would without fail win these "very free" elections.

With the advent of Duvalier, these "Free and Democratic" elections came to an end. Following his assumption of power the economic situation deteriorated; poverty became so widespread that the pressure on the middle and working-classes created explosive antagonistic relations in the political and social fabric of the nation. Externally,

When Duvalier got into power, the Left first put their efforts into the organization and animation of a large mass organisation until it was forced to go underground by the repressive state apparatus.

From 1966 to 1968 under severe social conditions, the militants achieved considerable progress in the preparation for armed struggle. Duvalier gathered his army, police, militia, and the C.I.A. Special Forces for a vast operation against the politico-military bases of the Left. The revolutionaries defended themselves with courage and counterattacks. On many occasions, violent and bloody clashes resulted between Duvalier's troops and the Left commandos. However the objective conditions were favorable to Duvalier. Some of the Left bases were destroyed and, in that situation, the survivors chose to retreat in order to regroup. Thus, the only organised political force opposed to Duvalier inside the country finds itself still unable to counter adequately Duvalier's state power.

However ridiculous and misguided it may seem at first sight, the designation by Duvalier of his son Jean-Claude as his successor constitutes in fact a treacherous political manoeuvre which must not be underestimated. The purpose of "Operation Jean-Claude" is to strengthen the chains holding the Haitian people in misery and oppression. Let no one be naive enough to be fooled by the apparent innocence of Jean-Claude. Just remember that when Kerekou elected Duvalier in 1957, the "shy country doctor" was believed to be the puppet of strongman Kerekou. Fourteen years later, Duvalier still holds power; he



The "Marron" (Freeman) calls the slaves to revolt in this dramatic monument to Haitian Independence set in a central square of Port au Prince opposite the National Palace. The slaves' revolt was a natural consequence of the French Revolution, with its philosophy of freedom for all.

the rise of national liberation movements in the Third World and, even closer, the triumph of the Cuban Revolution, further stimulated the political struggle in Haiti. To counter popular dissatisfaction, the traditional methods of government were not sufficient anymore; other methods were found: blind and bloody repression and generalized terror organised in the Ton-Ton Macoutes.

In the beginning, the exploiting classes and American imperialism were somewhat baffled by Duvalier's crude and drastic methods. They thought it possible to get rid of him by their traditional means and replace him with a more sophisticated puppet. However, they did not take into account the fierce determination of Duvalier and his para-military caste.

The Haitian Left is the only political group radically opposed to Duvalier and the class-interests he protects. Since 1957, the Left has carried on a persistent, multifarious and heroic struggle against Duvalier and it continues to do so. The Left has been the only one to succeed in these terrible repressive conditions in maintaining an underground organizational infrastructure in Haiti.

has been so skillful in using the political and historical conjuncture that he is now considered as a brilliant political strategist.

This same objective situation, which facilitated Duvalier, may eventually aid his son. Duvalier, as he is hoping, has enough time to consolidate his son's power and if young Jean-Claude shows indications that he is capable of keeping this power, then it is probable that Duvalier and his class allies will continue to dominate the will of the Haitian people, but not for long.

The recent events in Haiti may signal the beginning of the end for Duvalier. This could awaken the sleeping consciences of Haitian patriots summoning them to their revolutionary obligation. Now, more than ever, the situation is clear: the only possible road to liberation for the Haitian people is armed struggle, and to remain inert is a criminal act of complicity with the enemy. All progressive forces must now unite in a common front towards National Liberation. As for patriots outside the Country, their immediate task must be to educate, agitate and propagandise among sympathetic foreigners, in the struggle against Duvalier and his class allies.

Lambi



EASTERN CARIBBEAN INDEPENDENCE NOW

by A. ROBERTS

The political situation in the contemporary English-speaking Caribbean is that Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados and Guyana are politically independent, while, Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Dominica, Montserrat, Antigua, Barbuda, St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla, the "British" Virgin Islands, the Bahamas, Bermuda and "British" Honduras are still under British colonial control. And until this unequal political situation is made equal across the area, it will be always that more advantageous for imperialism to keep the area divided.

Political independence is the vital prerequisite for the economic and human development of all people, for it is only through this inalienable Right to Self-Determination to conduct one's own internal and external political and economic affairs that one can hope to be free. But a reactionary political game is being played with the lives of the people of the "small" territories, and at a time when the Black undeveloped world is shaking off centuries-old colonial domination and exploitation. And the black political representatives in the Eastern Caribbean, instead of joining the world-wide struggle against imperialism by opting for their political Right to Self-Determination, instead opted in 1967 for extended colonial rule by agreeing to "Associate Status" with Britain - a status which does not change their colonially dependent political relationship with Britain.

Britain has no immediate intention, if any at all, of relinquishing her political control over the Eastern Caribbean and recognising the Right to Self-Determination of Each and Every individual territory therein. Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados and Guyana do not also intend to recognise this same Right to Self-Determination of their "smaller" neighbours, this same right that they fought to win from Britain. Instead of calling for the independence of each and every territory, the politically independent Caribbean territories at the initiation of Trinidad in 1965 urged on Britain the Associate Status idea for the "political headache" - the Eastern Caribbean, and making political independence of a unit territory conditional on political integration of the whole Eastern Caribbean and/or in association with one of the independent territories. So that in the Draft Constitutions of the Eastern Caribbean territories there was a paragraph that stipulated the only way that an individual territory would be able to obtain its independence is if that terri-

tory

"... either by itself or together with other territories joins with an independent country in the Caribbean, whether by writing in federation with that country or in some other forms of constitutional association. . . under which that country would be responsible for the defense and external relations of (that territory)."

Now this is exactly the British Government's position, yet Williams would now demagogically state in his Party Organ of Sept. 25, 1970, as he faced the political crisis of his life, that

"Politically, the Caribbean must be fully independent. It must shed the remnants of colonialism still existing and the bastard compromise of Associate Statehood foisted u-

the United Kingdom, has repeatedly refused to grant the kind of financial assistance necessary to satisfy the notion held by Williams, Barrow, Shearer, Burnham and the British Colonial Commonwealth Office that ". . . political independence must carry an assurance of financial independence," although in 1962, the then Conservative Party Secretary of State made it clear to the Eastern Caribbean in the **Federal Negotiation 1962-65** (Barbados, 1965) P. 6, that:

"... the British Government in view of their many heavy commitments in other areas of the world where needs are in many cases even greater are unlikely to assist the West Indies. . . on a greater scale. . . It will therefore be necessary to attract to it, aid from elsewhere."

It should now be fairly clear as to what is happening viz: that the "small" territories are the political footballs being kicked from pillar to post by Britain, Trinidad, Barbados, Guyana and Jamaica which all supported the British invasion of Eastern Caribbean Anguilla in its bid for Self-Determination of its own affairs.

The only logical conclusion to this political confusion in the Eastern Caribbean is that each individual unit territory acquire its Political Independence, NOW, and not that this constitutional status be contingent on their coming together. Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados and Guyana did not come together before separately attaining their political independence, so that the people of Trinidad, Jamaica, Barbados and Guyana must call on their Governments to renounce their colonial attitudes toward their Eastern Caribbean, neighbours, and call for Each and Every unit's Political Independence. The black political representatives and the emerging political aspirants in the Eastern Caribbean are also accomplices of British Colonialism for not placing the immediate Political Independence of their respective territories on their political and economic agenda, and they must replace their faith in British, American and Canadian Labour, Liberal and New Democratic politicians with faith in the Caribbean people, the resources at hand and world trade. Political Independence will not be an immediate panacea, but it is the necessary first step in the economic and cultural liberation of the Eastern Caribbean people.

However the Issue of Independence of the Eastern Caribbean must never be submitted to any Referendum of Plediscite, as indirectly hinted at in

the Eastern Caribbean Constitutions, as this will be a most vile and immoral violation of the Right to Self-Determination. The British Canadian, American, Jamaican, Trinidadian, and Guyanese people were never called upon, and rightly so, to decide whether they wanted to rule themselves or be ruled by a foreign power. Why should the Eastern Caribbean people be so called upon? The UN has since 1960 demanded, through its historic Resolution 1514, that colonial powers, including Britain recognise the independence of their colonial possessions. The UN Decolonization Committee has vigorously cited a key paragraph in Resolution 1514, in response to continuous violation of Resolution 1514 by colonial powers like Britain, to the effect that

"... immediate steps must be taken to transfer all powers to. . . non self-governing territories, without reservations. . ."

Again as Resolution 1514 makes clear

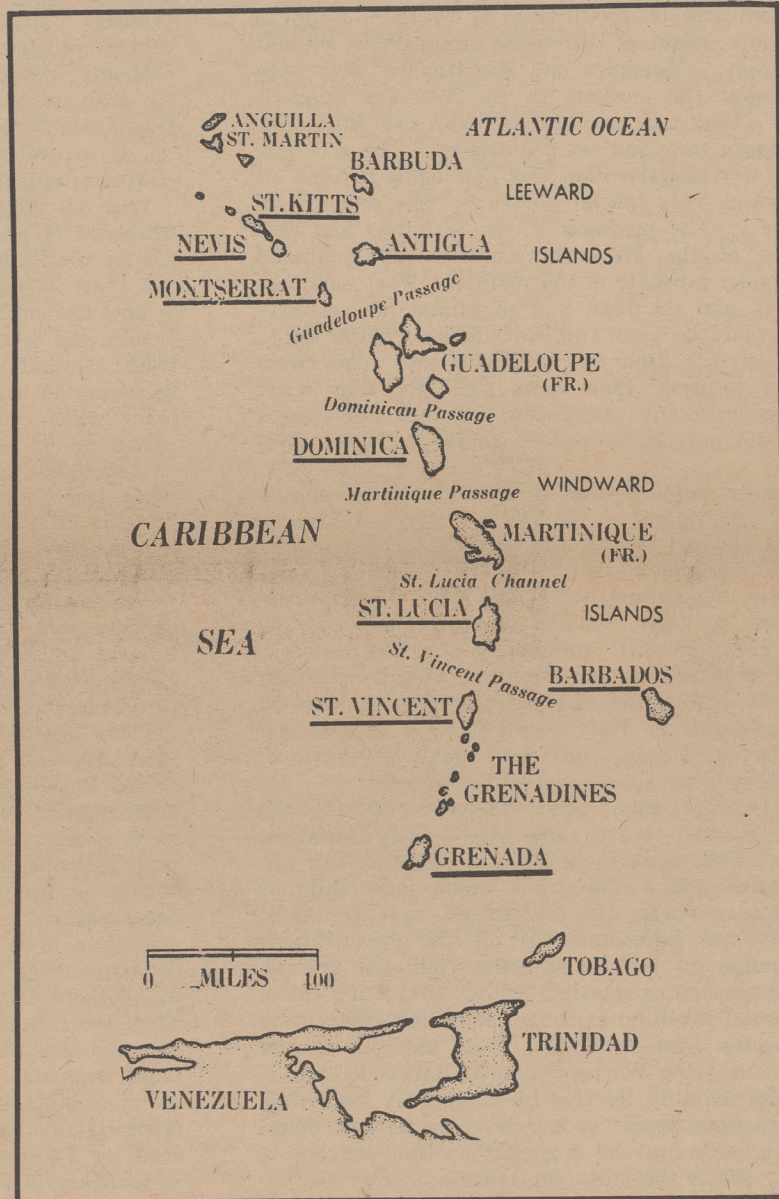
"... the lack of political, economic, social or educational readiness could never be a pretext for forestalling independence. . . Colonial powers must grant independence without any ambiguous manoeuvres, and that they have no right to impose any limitations or conditions upon independence. . ."

In the realm of Defence capabilities, the 1965 Barbados' Government position is tenable, in that the supposed inability ". . . to maintain an Army, Navy or Air Force cannot in any way weaken a people's resolve to manage their own affairs. . . The test . . . is not therefore a country's ability to defend itself against attack since no country on earth could so qualify in the age of nuclear warfare".

Or the question of size, the UN Decolonisation Committee unambiguously states, that

"... all colonial territories whatever their size must be granted independence and the Right to Self-Determination."

It is as C.L.R. James says: ". . . it is not the size, it is not strength, it is not power; it is what you do with what you have that matters". The working existence of Cuba proves this. It is therefore Eastern Caribbean Political Independence Now for each and every unit, or Colonialism, which will also facilitate authentic Regional Unity of the whole Caribbean, since Political and Economic integration cannot succeed if imposed on unequal political premises. The Right to Self-Determination of the Eastern Caribbean is Now, not later.



The following will indicate that collusion of the independent Caribbean countries with Britain to keep the Eastern Caribbean colonially enslaved is more than conjecture. In 1969 a St. Vincent and Grenada delegation went to Trinidad to discuss the possibilities of attaining independence in accord with the conditions outlined in the Constitutional paragraph cited above, and the ruling Party Organ, the **Nation** of July 11, 1969 reported: that **"Dr. Williams. . . reported. . . that Trinidad and Tobago would extend Associate Statehood to Grenada and St. Vincent, if all other constitutional arrangements for them proved satisfactory. . . (and) that the two islands must first join in a Federation with the other Associated States"**.

pon them. . ."

This is the colonial buck-passing that Trinidad in particular, under Williams, has been indulging in ever since he left the truncated Federation in 1962, while at the same time calling for unitary association with any of the other territories. When Grenada took up the Unitary State proposition with Trinidad, Williams subsequently turned around, after a lot of window-dressing discussions, to announce that Trinidad was not prepared to associate with any of the territories until ". . . the United Kingdom (which) has the responsibility of making such economic assistance available. . . as would be required to bring up (a territory's) infrastructure to the level of Trinidad and Tobago. . .", meets its responsibility. On the other hand,

STATE CAPITALIST POLAND AND WORLD REVOLUTION

by C.L.R. James

Marx removed political economy from intellectual theorizing and made it a weapon of the class struggle. He placed it in the very heart of the capitalist system, in the process of production itself. For him the fundamental antagonism of society was the contradiction between the development of the productive forces and the social relations of production.

Marx established that as long as the proletariat did not rule production, production knew and could know no other method of progress but the increase of constant capital, machinery, mechanization, at the expense of variable, living labour. The only revolution which could save society was the proletarian revolution in the process of production.

Further he showed that this system not only created the violent clash in social relations. Inevitably the rate of profit would fall and (theoretically) at a certain stage the economy would not be able to expand any further because it would lack sufficient surplus value.

In his strictly logical theory Marx expressly excluded any idea that the system would collapse because goods could not be sold. In his analysis of collapse he made it absolutely clear that the capitalist could sell all the goods he produced. This would not alter the conditions of the workers in the factory. It is possible to keep silent about this, but to deny it — that is impossible. All Marx's theories of crisis, overproduction, commercial crisis, etc., to which he paid careful attention, all are based on this foundation of relations in production.

All his opponents, however differentiated among themselves, are united in this, that they see the solution of the crisis of capitalism in every conceivable place except the reorganization of the productive process by labour itself. From Section 1, Chapter 1, Vol. 1 of *Capital*, this is precisely what Marx opposed. The very categories he used, and the content he gave to them as categories of exploitation, were derived from his analysis of the mode of labour, and without it he could not have succeeded in defeating all his opponents.

It is obvious, therefore, that the Marxian theory from its very elements is an invincible weapon against the capitalist class or a usurping bureaucracy, whether the property is private property or state-property. It is equally obvious that a bureaucracy, caught in the throes of economic crisis and in the name of Marxism exploiting millions of workers, has a deadly enemy in this theory. If the Marxism categories apply to any country, then it is a simple matter to say that that country is a form of state capitalism.

The theory of the Bureaucratic Administration Plan denies that the economic manifestation of the new society is the qualitatively increased productivity of labour. It substitutes instead as criterion the quantitative accumulation of goods, or growth of "the socialist sector". i.e. state-property. It sees the problems of production exclusively as a problem of relations between means of production and means of consumption, a relation which it claims to control. This can be modified to the eventual advantage of the proletariat solely by increase of capital. The inequalities and sufferings of the workers are therefore, due to lack of consumption goods, the result of the need for accumulation.

The creative achievements of the Workers Councils in Hungary were overshadowed by the military struggle. Furthermore the foundations they laid so clearly are still mysterious to the majority of intellectuals and revolutionaries. For decades now these have been preoccupied almost exclusively with politics, by which they mean the Party, and economics, by which they mean the Plan. However, what the Hungarian Revolution did and aimed to do can be better understood by events in Poland.

Long before October, 1956, though seething against subjugation of their country, Polish workers had recognized the fundamental question which faced them: the total reorganization of society. Everyone in Poland knew that the state capitalist system of the Party

and the Plan had collapsed as an economic system. The question was what was to take its place. The workers began to answer this question by their revolt in Poznan in June 1956. Ever after, two conceptions of society have faced each other in Poland: on the one hand, bureaucratic state capitalist society of the Party and the Plan; and on the other hand, the workers in the plant, making no theories but demonstrating in practice what a socialist society and a workers' government could and should be.

Prior to the October Revolution, the workers at the Zeran auto plant outside Warsaw submitted to the government a plan to establish workers' control and scheduling of production by Workers Councils as the only means of increasing productivity without bureaucracy. Managers and statisticians alike were to do what the workers in the Workers Councils wanted. They had no illusions about the difficulties of the tasks they had set themselves. The economy of the Party and the Plan was now being derided all over Poland by a special phrase — "the economy of nonsense". The boldness of the activities and perspectives of the Workers Councils was combined with a sober estimate of the realities. They saw that the Party and the Plan had so ruined the economy that it would be some two years before Poland would be able to lift itself out of the crisis. They were prepared to draw their belts tight for that time. They rejected any concessions of increased wages that would only be passed on to the country in inflation.

The most popular man in Poland after Gomulka was a Polish worker at the Zeran factory. His name was Gozdziak and he was the Secretary of the section of the Communist Party of the Zeran factory. Long before the revolution burst out, this worker, little more than 25 years old, had created squads of rank and file Communist workers, young like himself, whose first task was to go around, sharpen the vision and awaken the fighting spirit of workers all over the country. They began secretly at first and then functioned more and more openly as the revolution grew. They were known as the Gozdziaki.

Soon squads from other factories besides the Zeran embarked on the same task. They threw out the old bureaucrats, soaked to the marrow with bureaucratic laziness. The trade union leadership, as workers everywhere will understand, was the most fossilized and bureaucratic of all the organizations which made up the Polish state capitalist system.

But it was not a question merely of getting rid of bureaucrats, labor bureaucrats, and their persecution of the ranks. The economic life of the country had to go on, and the Workers Councils proceeded to assume responsibility for this by completely discarding the State Plan except as a general guide, and themselves carrying out the negotiations from factory to factory. While the state capitalist economy was being turned upside down in a desperate search for means to make it viable, and theoretical men of good-will broke, as they still continue to break their heads in the search for plan without bureaucracy, the Polish workers simply took over the plants where they had worked all their lives. That always will be

the only way to organize a national economy.

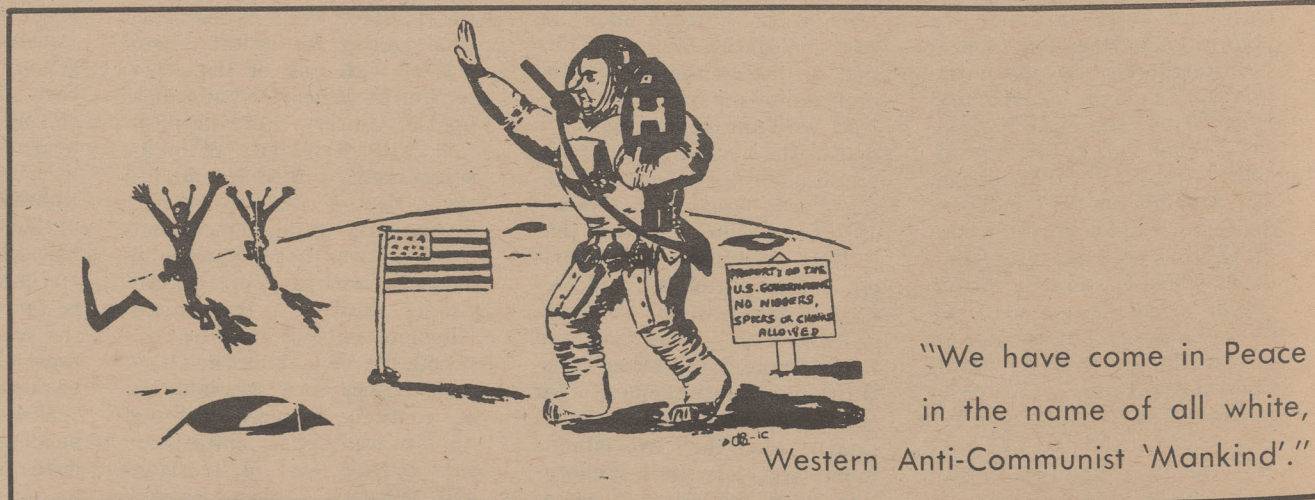
It was such councils of Polish workers which organized the Poznan revolt. It was these same Workers Councils which mobilized themselves in the plants over the October, 1956 weekend, and stood ready with arms in hand to support Gomulka and the Central Committee of the Polish Party in their defiance of foreign domination.

Gomulka came to power. All visitors were reporting an absence of fear among the Polish people, the lively discussions going on, and the readiness on the part of all to discuss freely with foreigners. That all this existed was due to the power which the Workers Councils exercised inside the plant. The central problem, however, remained. How was the economy, reduced to such chaos by the Party and the Plan, to be put on its feet again? Gomulka faced the insoluble problem which leads inevitably either to the instituting of a Government of Workers Councils or barbarism.

With all the good-will in the world and despite the dismissal of bureaucrats, Poland remained a country run by the Party but this time without any Plan, and the Plan is inseparable from the elite Party. That is how the contemporary Polish State was built, and slowly, the whole bureaucratic formation re-asserted itself. Gomulka stood half-way, with a working-class in action in many spheres, but above it, a bureaucracy which was recovering its strength and determined to re-assert itself, whether under Gomulka or any other leader. This was of extreme importance, for the Polish Communist Party, under the pressure of the people and the workers, did try to reform itself. It failed, as all reforms of totalitarian states are bound to fail.

That was the Poland of Gomulka until his overthrow in December, 1970; it is Gerek's Poland today: back to state capitalism or forward to the revolution of the Polish workers for socialism — that is to say, the Government of Workers Councils.

There are some (and they even call themselves Marxists) who admit the creative power of the Hungarian Revolution, but prophesied for it, failure and degeneration, even if it had not been crushed by foreign tanks. The road that Poland is travelling so rapidly should instruct them that it is the half-hearted attack on the Party and the Plan which produces degeneration. Their total destruction is the only guarantee of a future. Workers Councils in every department of the national activity, a Government of Workers Councils, are not ends in themselves. They are means to an end. They will result in one procedure in one country, and other procedures in other countries. They neither automatically reject, nor automatically include democratic elections on a territorial or industrial basis, or both combined, or each for a period of trial. They would be one thing in Hungary, something else in the United States, and something else again in Britain or Japan. But under all circumstances they would be the political form in which the great masses of the people would be able to bring their energies to fulfill their destiny, in accordance with their economic structure, their past history, and their consciousness of themselves.



"There never did, there never will and there never can exist a parliament, or any description of men, or any generation of men, in any country, possessed of the right or the power of binding and controlling posterity to the end of time, or of commanding for ever how the world shall be governed, or who shall govern it; and therefore, all such clauses, acts or declarations, by which the makers of them attempt to do what they have neither the right nor the power to do, nor the power to execute, are in themselves null and void."

"It has been thought a considerable advance toward

establishing the principles of freedom, to say, that government is a compact between those who govern and those who are governed : but this cannot be true, because it is putting the effect before the cause; for as man must have existed before governments, there necessarily was a time when governments did not exist, and consequently there could originally exist no governors to form such a compact with.

"The fact therefore must be, that the individuals themselves, each in his own personal and sovereign right, entered into a compact with each other to produce a government."

Tom Paine, The Rights of Man



Free Angela Now

MARXISM AND THE RACE QUESTION

The proletariat, as we know, must lead the struggles of all the oppressed and all those who are persecuted by capitalism. But this has been interpreted in the past - and by some very good socialists too - in the following sense: "The independent struggles of the Black people have not got much more than an episodic value, and as a matter of fact, can constitute a great danger not only to the Blacks themselves, but to the organized labor movement. The real leadership of the Black struggle must rest in the hands of organized labor and of the Marxist party. Without that the Black struggle is not only weak, but is likely to cause difficulties for the Blacks and dangers to organized labor." This, as I say, is the position held by many socialists in the past. Some great socialists in the United States have been associated with this attitude.

We, on the other hand, say something entirely different.

We say, number one, that the Black struggle, the independent Black struggle, has a vitality and a validity of its own; that it has deep historic roots in the past of America and in present struggles; it has an organic political perspective, along which it is travelling, to one degree or another, and everything shows that at the present time it is travelling with great speed and vigor.

We say, number two, that this independent Black movement is able to intervene with terrific force upon the general social and political life of the nation, despite the fact that it is waged under the banner of democratic rights, and is not led necessarily either by the organized labor movement or the Marxist Party.

We say, number three, and this is the most important, that it is able to exercise a powerful influence upon the revolutionary proletariat, that it has got a great contribution to make to the development of the proletariat in the United States, and that it is in itself a constituent part of the struggle for socialism.

In this way we challenge directly any attempt to subordinate or to push to the

rear the social and political significance of the independent Black struggle for democratic rights. That is our position. It was the position of Lenin thirty years ago. It was the position of Trotsky which he fought for during many years. It has been concretized by the general class-struggle in the United States, and the tremendous struggles of the Black people. It has been sharpened and refined by political controversy in our movement, and best of all, it has had the benefit of three or four years of practical application in the Black struggle and in the class-struggle . . . The Black people, on the basis of their own experiences, approach the conclusions of Marxism . . . Those who believed that the Black question is in reality, purely and simply, or to a decisive extent, merely a class question, pointed with glee to the tremendous growth of the Black personnel in the organized labor movement. It grew in a few years from three hundred thousand to one million; it is now one and a half million. But to their surprise, instead of this lessening and weakening the struggle of the independent Black movement, the more the Blacks went into the labor movement, the more capitalism incorporated them into industry, the more they were accepted in the union movement. It is during that period, since 1940, that the independent mass movement has broken out with a force greater than it has ever shown before.

That is the problem that we have to face, that we have to grasp. We cannot move forward and we cannot explain ourselves unless we have it clearly. And I know there is difficulty with it.

Now Lenin has handled this problem. He says that the dialectic of history is such that small independent nations and nationalities, which are powerless - get the word, please - powerless, in the struggle against imperialism, nevertheless can act as one of the ferments, one of the bacilli, which can bring on to the scene the real power against imperialism - the socialist proletariat.

Let me repeat it please. Small groups, nations, nationalities, themselves powerless against imperialism, nevertheless can act as one of the ferments, one of the bacilli which will bring on to the scene the real fundamental force against capitalism - the socialist proletariat.

In other words, as so often happens from the Marxist point of view, from the point of view of the dialectic, this question of the leadership is very complicated.

What Lenin is saying is that although the fundamental force is the proletariat, although these groups are powerless, although the proletariat has got to lead them, it does not by any means follow that they cannot do anything until the proletariat actually comes forward to lead them. He says exactly the opposite is the case.

They, by their own agitation, resistance, and the political developments that they can initiate, can be the means whereby the proletariat is brought on to the scene.

Not always, and every time, not the sole means, but one of the means. That is what we have to get clear.

Now it is very well to see it from the point of view of Marxism which developed these ideas upon the basis of European and Oriental experiences. Lenin and Trotsky applied this principle to the Black question in the United States. What we have to do is to make it concrete, and one of the best means of doing so is to dig into the history of the Black people in the United States, and to see the relationship that has developed between them and revolutionary elements in past revolutionary struggles.

Today the Blacks in the United States are organized as never before. There are all sorts of Black groups and organizations - the churches in particular - every single one of which is dominated by the idea that each organization must in some manner or another contribute to the emancipation of the Blacks from capitalist humiliation and from capitalist oppression. So that the independent Black movement that we see today and which we see growing before our eyes - is nothing strange. It is nothing new. It is something that has always appeared in the American movement at the first sign of social crisis.

The actual concrete facts before us show us, and anyone who wants to see, this important conclusion, that the Black movement logically and historically and concretely is headed for the proletariat. That is the road it has always taken in the past, the road to revolutionary forces. We can look upon this Black movement for what it has been and what it has been able to do, and are able to know as Marxists by our theory and our examination of American history that it is headed for the proletarian movement, that it must go there. There is nowhere else for it to go.

And further we can see that it if doesn't go there, the difficulties that the Blacks have suffered in the past WHEN THEY WERE DESERTED BY THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES, WILL BE TEN, ONE HUNDRED, TEN THOUSAND TIMES AS GREAT AS IN THE PAST. The independent black movement, which is boiling and moving, must find its way to the proletariat. If the proletariat is not able to support it, the repression of past times when the revolutionary forces failed the blacks will be infinitely, I repeat, infinitely, more terrible today.

We have to draw and emphasize again and again this important question: If the proletariat is defeated, then there will fall upon the black

people in the United States such a repression, such a persecution, comparable to nothing that they have seen in the past. We have seen in Germany and elsewhere the Barbarism that capitalism is capable of in its death agony. The black people in the United States offer a similar opportunity to the American Bourgeoisie. The American bourgeoisie have shown their understanding of the opportunity the Black question gives them to disrupt and to attempt to corrupt and destroy the labor movement.

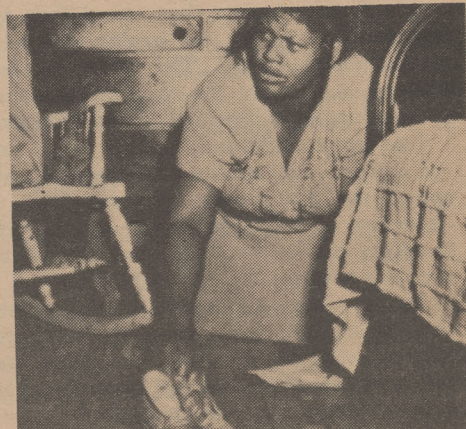
But the development of capitalism itself has not only given the independent Black movement this fundamental and sharp relation with the proletariat. It has created Black proletarians and placed them as proletarians in what were once the most oppressed and exploited masses. But in auto, steel, and coal, for example, these proletarians have now become the vanguard of the workers' struggle and have brought a substantial number of Blacks to a position of primacy in the struggle against capitalism. The backwardness and humiliation of the Blacks that shoved them into these industries, is the very thing which today is bringing them forward, and they are in the very vanguard of the proletarian movement from the very nature of the proletarian struggle itself.

But let us not forget that in the Black people, there sleeps and are now awakening, passions of a violence exceeding perhaps, as far as these things can be compared, anything among the tremendous forces that capitalism has created. Anyone who knows them, who knows their history, is able to talk to them intimately, watches them at their own theatres, watches them at their dances, watches them in their churches, reads their press with a discerning eye, must recognize that although their social force may not be able to compare with the social force of a corresponding number of organized workers, the hatred of bourgeois society and the readiness to destroy it when the opportunity should present itself, rests among them to a degree greater than in any other section of the population in the United States.

by C.L.R. James 1947



Josiah Henson was born a slave in Kentucky in 1789. His life and work epitomised the struggles of Black people on this continent. He escaped to Canada at the age of 40.



WHY THE PROLETARIAT?

Modern industry has converted the little workshop of the patriarchal master into the great factory of the industrial capitalist. Masses of labourers, crowded into the factory, are organised like soldiers. As privates of the industrial army they are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants. Not only are they slaves of the bourgeois class, and of the bourgeois State; they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the over-looker, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself. The more openly this despotism proclaims gain to be its end and aim, the more petty, the more hateful and the more embittering it is.

No sooner is the exploitation of the labour by the manufacturer, so far, at an end, then he receives his wages in cash, than he is set upon by the other portions of the bourgeoisie, the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawnbroker, etc.

The lower strata of the middle class — the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants — all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which Modern Industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialised skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population.

But with the development of industry, the proletariat not only increases in number, it becomes concentrated in greater masses. Its strength grows, and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalised, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labour, and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level.

This organization of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. It compels legislative recognition of particular interests of the workers, by taking advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie itself.

Altogether collisions between the classes of the old society further, in many ways, the course of development of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie finds itself involved in a constant battle. At first with the aristocracy; later on, with those portions of the bourgeoisie itself, whose interests have become antagonistic to the progress of industry; at all times, with the bourgeoisie of foreign countries. In all these battles it sees itself compelled to appeal to the proletariat, to ask for its help, and thus, to drag it into the political arena. The bourgeoisie itself, therefore, supplies the proletariat with its own elements of political and general education, in other words, it furnishes the proletariat with weapons for fighting the bourgeoisie.

Further, as we have already seen, entire sections of the ruling classes are, by the advance of industry, precipitated into the proletariat, or are at least threatened in their conditions of existence. These also supply with fresh elements of enlightenment and progress.

Finally, in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent, glaring character, that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift, and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole.

Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of Modern Industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product.

The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheels of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so, only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat, they thus defend not their present, but their future interests, they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat.

BOURGEOIS STULTIFICATION OF WORKERS

"The division of labour. . . as one of the chief forces of history. . . manifests itself also in the ruling class as the division of mental and manual labour, so that inside this class one part appears as the thinkers of the class — its active, conceptive ideologists, who make the perfecting of the illusion of the class about itself their chief source of livelihood. . . The ideas of the ruling class are in every approach the ruling ideas : i.e. the class, which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of material production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence the relationships which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of its dominance."

Karl Marx.

The worker today is so trained and limited, wearied and stunted in his development by the capitalist productive system that all he can think of when he leaves work is amusement, relaxation by superficial and idiotic newspapers; silly films; routine comic strips; books about the most sensual love, i.e., the animal aspects of love; murder, either plain or disguised as adventure; commonplace songs; by all of which the capitalists not only make profit, but further deaden and reduce the worker's capacity for human life. Now and then a man of genius and a few men of talent can stamp this collection of nonsense with some artistic creativity, but the aim of it all is to maintain the consciousness of the great majority at the lowest possible level, corresponding to the stultification in the labour process. To such a pitch has this wholesale degradation of human life been carried that to fight consistently against it would demand an effort beyond the powers of the ordinary man. He simply accepts it and the capitalists either tell him that this is life, the more the better, or, when challenged, say that this is all the majority of men are fit for.

The families of capitalist, sections of the middle class, all those who can live a more human life, can produce for themselves or at least support a few high-class newspapers, special music, special literature and other



WOMAN

"The change in a historical epoch can always be determined by the progress of women towards freedom, because in the relation of woman to man, of the weak to the strong, is the victory of human nature over the brutality, most evident. The degree of emancipation of women is the natural measure of general emancipation."

Charles Fourier

"In the approach to woman as the spoil and handmaid of communal lust is expressed the infinite degradation in which man exists for himself... The direct, natural, and necessary relation of person to person is the relation of man to woman."

Karl Marx

"Dat man ober dar say dat women needs to be helped into carriages, and lifted ober ditches, and to have the best places every whar. Nobody eber help me into carriages, or ober mud puddles, or gives me any best place, and ain't I a woman? Look at me! Look

at my arm!" And she bared her right arm to the shoulder, showing her tremendous muscular power. "I have plowed, and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could have head me, and ain't I a woman? I could work as much... and bear de lash as well, and ain't I a woman? I have borne thirteen children and seen dem most all sold off into slavery, and when I cried out with a mother's grief, none but Jesus heard, and ain't I a woman?... If de fust woman God ever made was strong enough to turn the world upside down, all lone, dese togedder ought to be able to turn it back and get it right side up again, and now dey is asking to do it, de men better let 'em."

Sojourner Truth

Looking out at life from behind bars: that in summation is Black Womanhood.

There is no question today that the resources which initiated and established modern industrial

Capitalism were the Atlantic Slave Trade and the enslavement of blacks in the Americas. Neither is there, any doubt that these same blacks are the architects of social change and a new humanity.

Among these architects there has always existed women like Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth and Mammy Pleasants, who played valiant and heroic roles in this struggle to end the oppression of their people. Black women have always performed the tasks that has to be performed, and for the most part have always remained an unknown quantity, who have strived, suffered, and endured without notice and without mention.

In the case of black women, the usual sentimental, delicate, lady-like and feminine protections have never existed. They were mercilessly plowed into slavery and found to be as efficient and as profitable economically as the men. Moreover,

because of their children, they had no value, no breeding. They were domestics in white society, black society, they were for children of both society, up to the children with them. They have reared children almost since they have carried the burdens of the black and white pointed the way to the independence of the world. that society in men in particular look at black in mind a few include: What a woman to children of her watch that socialize and sell

WHY THE WORKING CLASS?

ways of employing their leisure time and developing themselves. But an artist, a professional man, like an architect or an engineer, is interested in his work as work; he often spends his leisure time on his work; he does not believe nor do others believe that his sole purpose in life is to do four hours work a day instead of six, or to get so much more per hour. If he has a really good job, he doesn't want to do as little of it as possible, for more money. That is the mentality that is carefully inculcated into the worker from his earliest school days (education), his whole life is shaped according to these principles, the amusement and relaxation the capitalists give him are aimed to strengthen this view of life.

Periodically, however, the workers break out. But only to fall back into it. For it will last as long as capitalism lasts. That is the nature of the beast.

C.L.R. James

THE SILENCE OF THE WORKERS

No one knows how deeply the working-class feels oppressed, exploited, frustrated and dominated. No one knows about it normally; neither the union leadership, nor the workers themselves. We do not know about it because there are no words to convey and to make clear how we feel. We have no words to speak about our oppression, our distress, our bitterness and our revolt against the exhaustion, the stupidity, the monotony, the lack of meaning of our work, and of our life; against the contempt in which our work is held; against the despotic hierarchy of the factory, against a society in which we remain the underdogs and in which goods and enjoyments that are considered normal by the other classes are denied to us and are parcelled out to us only reluctantly, as though we were asking for a privilege. We have no words to say what it is and how it feels to be workers, to be held in subjection, to be ordered around by people who have more and who pretend to know more and who compel us to work according to rules they set and for purposes that are theirs not ours. And we have no words to say all this because **the ruling classes have monopolized not only the power of decision-making and of material wealth; they have monopolized culture and language.** They are not only taking away from us our strength, our health, our labour and the meaning of work, they also take away from us the means to communicate; including the words, the language we speak. There is no language available that could say how we feel, because we are never given a chance to say things and to be heard. There are no papers, no movies, no books about factory work and life. **The work and life in the factories - and also in the huge offices - is something this society doesn't want to hear about.** For decades the ruling class has sentenced the working-class to live in terrifying silence. They have sentenced the working-class to be prisoners not only of rules and laws that cannot be

discussed or questioned, but also to be prisoners of an estranged language, of a language which is pervaded with values and with an ideology in which there is no room for what we feel and crave for.

It is because the working-class is silenced that explosions of discontent always come as a surprise and always are violent.

Andre Gorz
October 30, 1970.

THE PROBLEM TODAY

What makes any human being into the social category we call a worker. What does so is work itself, the labor process.

How can workers reorganize their daily work in such a manner as to make it human, that is to say, a socialist procedure? Reorganization of labor is the obvious next stage of socialist progress. There are debates and necessary debates about the exact methods of planning. These will always be necessary. But it is today understood, even by the capitalists themselves, that the best way to develop the economy is to bring the whole under some central direction. A genuine socialist government anywhere will not argue about the necessity of viewing the economy as a whole and planning it in the public interest. So, stage by stage, the socialist society establishes its premises in the consciousness of the world at large.

What is troubling the international working-class is this: In that nationalization, that so-called socialization, where and how is the situation of the workers in the labor process organically improved? But the main obstacle to the development of socialist consciousness is that **nowhere has the working-class or its supporters worked out, in life or in theory, any procedure where the labor process can be altered in such a manner that the workers will feel that the old capitalist slavery has been left behind for something new, for socialism, a new society. That is the problem.**

We have here to go back to what socialism is and what it is not. When Marx was laying the foundations of his theory over a hundred years ago, he and Engels did a profound analysis of work. His analysis has never been approached, far less surpassed or even developed. We know part of it popularly today as the alienation of labor. Marx's great point was that capitalist production of its very nature destroyed the human capacities and potentialities of the worker. One sharp basis of his conception of a new society was that work, the capacity to plan and work to a plan, was what distinguished human beings from animals. But under the domination of capital, man was made to labor as an animal. The necessity and possible benefits of this type of labor were the means of eating well and sleeping comfortably with his wife. Thus, says Marx, capitalist production made his specifically human qualities of being able to think and plan his work into an animalistic quality, and elevated to a special importance the characteristics he shared with animals.

"Be his payment high or low" is one of the greatest phrases of Marx about the degradation of the worker under capitalist production. A socialist society does not have as its first aim giving workers higher pay. It does not primarily aim at making the working day six hours or four hours, or giving the worker six weeks paid holidays instead of two. The American worker has the highest standard of life in the world. This has not made him into a lover of capitalism. What Marx aims at is not merely a decent living wage for all. It seeks above all to **get rid of the wearisome, dull, grinding labor lay after day, year after year, crushing the human personality, with no prospect of developing the human interests, needs and capacities of man as a human being with aspiration to live and develop a fully human life.**

The problem, and it is the last and final problem, is: how to do that. Marx's theory was based upon a very profound and elevated conception (with its foundations in the history of human society) of the development of man. He took the necessity of this development for granted. Man's part of this inevitable development was that he himself had to work out the adaptation of his discoveries in science and engineering into a truly human development of human personality at work.

The proletariat cannot be abolished without philosophy being made a reality. As philosophy finds its material weapon in the proletariat, so the proletariat must find its spiritual weapon in Philosophy. And once the lightning of thought has squarely struck this ingenious soil of the people, their emancipation... will be accomplished.

C.L.R. James



MANHOOD

by ANNE COOLS

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ren into slavery? As black women so diligently assisted white America to raise its young, who assisted black women to raise theirs? After the profound agony and dual labour involved in raising black children, what does it mean to her to watch those children become addicted to dope, locked away in jails or slaughtered in Vietnam?

What nature of humanity are black women who have toiled and suffered **as few have done?**

Black women have always played a decisive role, and at this time in history it becomes abundantly clear to watchful observers that they have a task before them that is nothing short of mammoth; **a task that only they can perform.** And this fact is based not on the biology of women, but rather on their historical experience.

The task is mainly threefold:

(1) To extricate the revolutionary movement from the garbage, the corruption, the degradation,

the demoralization, that circle of social rot and decay which presently surrounds it.

(2) To extricate the revolutionary movement and black people from the grips of the social decay and degeneration of a collapsing bourgeois society which is America.

(3) To return to the revolutionary movement a purity of form and content to return it to an ever forward, upward and onward movement towards the liberation of Black people and of humanity.

The tasks of the revolutionary black women at this period of history, which is a point Karl Marx describes as **the choice between Socialism and Barbarism** are to inject fresh and profound ideas, to combine revolutionary practice with a revolutionary theory, to unite mental and manual labor, to direct our populations towards the real forces of change in society, i.e. the

proletariat. In short to pose solutions and paths out for populations that are aware, conscious and angry, and seeking a way of life that Capitalism cannot comprehend, - to show the way to the New Society.

It is my contention that slavery among the slaves is over, once and for all, and that now, the women must unlock and unleash all their energies and resources to the tremendous problems which now confront us as a people, **whose very existence is threatened** unless there is meaningful social, political and revolutionary change.

By so doing women will give some real meaning and content to the term manhood and to the existence of mankind. Black women, the slaves of slaves can have no peace, no rest until they have evolved new social structures **within which men can be Men, women can be Women, and their children, free-thinking total creative human beings.**

WESTERN POLITICAL THEORY AND THE RIGHT OF REBELLION

by Fidel Castro

The right of rebellion against tyranny, Honorable Magistrates, has been recognized from the most ancient times to the present day by men of all creeds, ideas, and doctrines. In the theocratic monarchies of remote antiquity, in China, it was in effect a constitutional principle that when a King governed rudely and despotically he could be deposed and replaced by a virtuous prince.

The philosophers of ancient India upheld the principle of active resistance to arbitrary authority. They justified revolution and very often put their theories into practice. One of their spiritual leaders used to say that,

"An opinion held by the majority is stronger than the king himself. A rope weaved of many strands is strong enough to drag a lion."

The city states of Greece and republican Rome not only admitted but defended the meting-out of violent death to tyrants. In the Middle Ages, John of Salisbury in his **Book of the Statesman** says that when a prince does not govern according to law, and degenerates into a tyrant, violent overthrow is legitimate and justifiable. He recommends for tyrants the dagger rather than poison. Saint Thomas Aquinas, in the **Summa Theologica**, rejects the doctrine of tyrannicide, and yet upholds the thesis that tyrants should be overthrown by the people.

Martin Luther proclaimed that when a government degenerates into a tyranny violating the laws, the subjects are released from their obligation to obey. His disciple, Philippe Melancthon, upholds the right of resistance when governments become despotic. Calvin, the most outstanding thinker of the Reformation, with regard to political ideas, postulates that people are entitled to take up arms to oppose any usurpation.

No less a man than Juan Mariana, a Spanish Jesuit during the reign of Philip II, asserts in his book, **De Rege et Regis Institutione**, that when a governor usurps power, or even if he were elected, when he governs in a tyrannical manner, it is licit for a private citizen to exercise tyrannicide, either directly or through subterfuge, with the least possible disturbance.

The French writer, Francois Hotman, maintained that between the government and its subjects there is a bond or contract, and that the people may rise in rebellion against the tyranny of governments when the latter violate said agreement.

During the same historical era, a widely read booklet appeared under the title **Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos** and over the pseudonym, Stephanus Junius Brutus. It openly proclaimed that resistance to governments is legitimate when rulers oppress the people and that it is the duty of honorable judges to lead the struggle.

The Scottish reformers, John Knox and John Poynt, upheld the same point of view. And, in the most important book of that movement, George Buchanan stated that if a government achieves power without taking into account the consent of the people, or if a government rules their destiny in an unjust and arbitrary fashion, then that government becomes a tyranny and can be divested of power or in a final recourse, can have its leaders executed.

John Althus, a German jurist of the early Seventeenth Century states, in his **Treatise on Politics**, that sovereignty, as the supreme authority of the State, is born from the voluntary concurrence of all its members; that governmental authority stems from the people and that its unjust, illegal or tyrannical function exempts them from the duty of obedience and justifies their resistance of rebellion. Thus far, Honorable Magistrates, I have mentioned examples from antiquity, from the Middle Ages and from the beginnings of the modern age. I selected these examples from writers of all creeds. Moreover, as you can see, the right to

of 1789. These great events ushered in the liberation of the Spanish colonies in the New World - the final link in that chain being broken by Cuba.

The new philosophy nurtured our own political ideas and helped us evolve our Constitution from the Constitution of Guaimaro up to the Constitution of 1940. The latter was influenced by the socialist currents of our time; into it were built the principle of the social function of property and of man's inalienable right to that decorous living which large vested interests have prevented him from realizing fully.

The right of insurrection against tyranny then underwent its final conse-

forced to obey and obeys, it does well; as soon as it can shake off the yoke and shakes it off, it does better, recovering its liberty through use of the very right that had been taken away from it.

"The strongest man is never sufficiently strong to be always the master, but rather tries to convert force into right and tries to convert obedience into duty. Force is a physical power. I do not see what morality can be derived from its use. To cede to force is an act of necessity, not of will. All else is an act of prudence. In what sense can this be a duty?"

"To renounce freedom is to renounce one's status as a man, to renounce one's human rights, including one's duties. There is no possible compensation for renouncing everything. Total renunciation is incompatible with the nature of man and to take away all free will is to take away all moral conduct. In short, it is vain and contradictory to stipulate on one hand an absolute authority and on the other hand an unlimited obedience"

Thomas Paine said that a just man deserves more respect than a crowned rogue. The people's right to rebel has been opposed only by reactionaries like that clergyman of Virginia, Jonathan Boucher, who said that,

"The right to rebel is a censurable doctrine derived from Lucifer, the father of rebellions"

The Declaration of Independence of the Congress of Philadelphia, on the 4th of July, 1776, consecrated this right in a beautiful paragraph which reads:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness, - That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its power in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness"

The famous French Declaration of the Rights of Man willed this principle to the coming generations:

"When the government violates the rights of the people, insurrection is for them the most sacred of rights and the most imperative of duties"

"When a person seizes sovereignty, he should be condemned to death by free men"



Tom Paine

rebellion is at the very roots of Cuba's existence as a nation. By virtue of a rebellion fifty years ago, you are today able to appear in the robes of Cuban magistrates. Would that those garments served the cause of justice!

It is well known that in England during the Eighteenth Century two kings, Charles I and James II, were dethroned for despotism. These acts coincided with the birth of liberal political philosophy and provided the ideological foundation for a new social class, which was then struggling to break the bonds of feudalism.

Against divine right autocracies this new philosophy upheld the principle of the social contract and of the consent of the governed, and constituted the foundation of the American Revolution of 1775 and of the French Revolution

and became a fundamental tenet of political liberty. As far back as 1649 John Milton wrote that political power lies in the people, who can enthroned and dethrone kings and who have the duty of overthrowing tyrants.

John Locke, in his essay on government sustains that when the natural rights of man are violated, the people have the right and the duty of suppressing or changing the government:

"The last recourse against wrongful and unauthorized force is opposition to it."

Jean Jacques Rousseau says with great eloquence in his **Social Contract**:

"While a people sees itself

Cont'd on p. 15

The Athenian Oath

"If any man subvert the democracy of Athens, or hold any magistracy after the democracy has been subverted, he shall be an enemy of the Athenians. Let him be put to death, with impunity, and let his property be confiscated to the public, with the reservation of a tithe to Athene. Let the man who has killed him, and the accomplice privy to the act, be accounted holy and of good religious order. Let all Athenians swear an oath under the sacrifice of full-grown victims in their

respective tribes and demes, to kill him. Let the oath be as follows: 'I will kill with my own hand, if I am able, any man who shall subvert the democracy at Athens, or who shall hold any office in the future after the democracy has been subverted, or shall rise in arms for the purpose of making himself a despot, or shall help the despot to establish himself. And if any one else shall kill him, I shall account the slayer to be holy as respects both gods and demons, as ha-

ving slain an enemy of the Athenians. And I engage, by word, by deed, and by vote, to sell his property and make over one-half of the proceeds to the slayer, without withholding anything. If any man shall perish in slaying, or in trying to slay the despot, I will be kind both to him and to his children, as to Harmodius and Aristogeiton and their descendants. And I hereby dissolve and release all oaths which have been sworn hostile to the Athenian people, either at Athens, or at the camp

(at Samos) or elsewhere.' Let all Athenians swear this as the regular oath immediately before the festival of the Dionysia, with sacrifice and fullgrown victims; invoking upon him who keeps it good things in abundance, but upon who breaks it destruction for himself as well as for his family."

That was the spirit of the men who created and defended the great democracy of Athens. Let all true believers in democracy and equality today strengthen ourselves by studying what they did and how they did it.

art, revolution, and cuba

by Nicolas Guillen

Following an interlude of almost two centuries, the bloody drama in which Bolivar played the principal role is now renewed on the vast stage that is today Latin American. Our enemy, however, is no longer Spanish colonialism, nor does it reside in Madrid or send tyrannical captains-general to rule over our peoples. That enemy, in fact, was vanquished at Ayacucho, Cavite and Santiago. Our enemy is now U.S. imperialism, which resides in Washington and sends captains of business, gentlemen of industry, exploiters and ruffians and colonizers left in the soil of America. However, since the peoples who inhabit America are less and less inclined to stand idly by while their torturers work their will, a clash is inevitable.

For a long time it was believed that to struggle against U.S. power was sheer suicide. The same idea prevailed with regard to the struggle against Spain. Throughout the 19th century, and especially in its second half, the camp of intellectual speculation was split in two irreconcilable groups. For some, the only possible hope was to obtain reforms through negotiation, rather than aspiring to illusory military victories based on popular insurrection. For others, the key to victory was the way of armed struggle. Marti as always - was able to evaluate the situation clearly and, after the signing of the Zanjon Pact, whose darkest recesses he described, thought of nothing but a new war against Spain. The former group held meetings to formulate theories; to legitimize their fears; and to intellectualize, from presumptuous ivory towers and through detailed manifestos, every argument that would serve to discredit a good machete charge. The latter met to conspire. Who, today, would presume to compare Montoro with Marti or Morda Delgado with Juan Gualberto Gomez?

What happened later is well known to all. The first republic did not conform to the ideals of the last war, and on the seat formerly occupied by O'Donnell and Martinez Campos sat such proconsuls as Wood and Sumner-Welles. As in the 19th century, the intelligentsia again split: Let us remember the ABC, whose very language and rhetoric were copied from Ortega and who feared the masses of its time as the so-called liberals of the last century feared freedom. Montoro-Manach found his Marti in Ruben Martinez Villena. Marti's ideas, falsified and limited by that Nazi organization, were brought up to date by a young Marxist, the continuator of Mella, a poet who became a man of action and dealt hard blows at a small, petty bourgeois clique whose leadership never encouraged any profound change that might modify the old structure of the colony or endanger the Yankees' friendship. The ABC died a natural death, as did, in its day, the policy of compromise with Spain sustained by those who called Marti a madman. The majority of those theoreticians and definers were dispersed, and the purest joined the people's cause.

It was not a short road, in either the political or the economic sense, because intervention by imperialism thwarted national initiative and turned the neo-republic into a neo-republic into a neo-colony, most of whose native leaders became as rotten as refrigerated corpses do when ex-

posed to the open air. A feeling of defeat and frustration permeated art and literature - a feeling that was to lose ground



Nicolas Guillen

only when the working-class made up its mind to match its strength with that of imperialism in a new, different, daring battle inspired in Marti's thinking, with Fidel Castro as its prophet and guide.

The North, however, has not resigned itself to losing what it has considered, ever since the beginning of the 19th century, its rightful prey. The great battle against this brutal enemy is waged every day, in a myriad of small combats, in the midst of strict vigilance, in blows and counter-blows - some bloody, others not, but all of them along a front where there is neither sleep nor rest. We must not forget, or we must know - or both things at once - that we are at war with a very powerful foreign power, the most powerful ever in the capitalist world. We must, therefore, remain in a state of constant alert.

This is not the case of a theoretical war or a cold war, a state of temporary irritation between two countries or a conflict that can be settled through a pact or diplomatic compromise, a possible threat or border skirmishes - as in some neighbor countries - or an international dispute arising from the interpretation of more or less tricky treaties. No. It must be said loud and clear: this is, pure and simple, a war. A war of blockade, death and armed invaders protected by planes and artillery; a war of pseudo-diplomatic, pseudo-educated spies; a war which costs millions of dollars a day to the country that declared it;

a war in which the question of two concepts of life is being settled right here in Cuba, in an island in the Caribbean - the socialist and the capitalist concepts of life: the concept of human welfare, distributed and universal, and that of the exploitation of man by man, as if the world had not lived through entire centuries of struggle for freedom.

Now then, this state of war must be met with a war mentality. We, the writers and artists of Cuba, cannot shut our eyes to this war. Imagine a soldier in a country which has been invaded who, in the midst of battle, decides to use his rifle to hunt ducks. An excellent shot, his weapons in perfect condition, with plenty of ammunition, and ducks everywhere. But he has been put there not to hunt ducks, but to defend his country from those who are trying to take it from him. His combat efficiency will, of course, be nonexistent, and naturally, his example - his bad example - is bound to lead him before a firing squad.

Cuban writers and artists have the same responsibilities as our soldiers, with respect to the defense of the nation. Sometimes we have even greater means at our disposal, because, besides our usual arms, which we use in creation, we can use firearms whose efficiency is universally recognized. Don't we consider ourselves an armed people, as Camilo said - a people willing to die in the struggle ever onward to victory? It is true that sometimes vigilance slackens and sleep temporarily overwhelms us. But when this is the case we have to pinch ourselves until we draw blood, tape our eyelids open, learn how to see in the dark to discover those who sneak toward us at night and sharpen our sense of smell until we can detect them by their odor.

Havana 1969



**Lt. Rafique Shah and
Lt. Rex Lasalle**

Arising out of the capitalist exploitative economic relations in Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica and the rest of the Caribbean, and with these relations spear-headed by American, Canadian, British and West German imperialists, the objective conditions for revolutionary change reveal themselves with ever increasing clarity to one and all. And which economic and property relations have intensified and become more invisibly dominant and subtly oppressive since the coming to power of egotistic and cynical politicians like intellectually corrupt Eric Williams, author of *From Columbus to Castro* (June, 1970), Errol Barrow of Barbados, Forbes Burnham of Guyana, and labour-leaders now turned into their opposite, like Shearer of Jamaica, Bird of Antigua, Derek Knight and Gairy of Grenada, Bradshaw of St. Kitts, lawyer-politicians Compton (advocate of a "benevolent" dictatorship like that of Duvalier's Haiti) and Cato, and LeBlanc and Bramble of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica and Montserrat respectively. All these leaders have for the part few years been steadily inching towards totalitarian methods of rule with a view to consolidating their local and foreign-dominated class-rule; and the Public Order Acts now in *defacto*, and *de jure* existence in Trinidad, ninety-eight per cent (98%) literate Barbados, and St. Vincent, and those lying in the drawers of the Attorney-Generals' offices of the other territories, together with these leaders' hostility to black people, workers, full employment, proper health, housing, education, social and cultural development, progressive information, democracy, freedom of movement, expression, human dignity, etc., all attest to the totalitarian trend in the Caribbean.

Eric Williams in a fit of demagogic tantrum when his cabal was under siege in 1970 again epitomised the fundamentally reactionary and anti-democratic nature of the Caribbean regimes, when, in order to prove that he was amenable to progress, projected the establishment of diplomatic relations with two of the most barbarous regimes in Latin America, viz: Duvalier's Haiti and Balaguer's Dominican Republic, and with missions to the dictatorship of Columbia, and an opportunistic one to Cuba thrown in for good measure. (*The Nation* 23/1/70)

However, the revolutionary dress-rehearsal that took place in Trinidad and Tobago, through February and April, 1970, underlined an unalterable

fact of history; viz that:

"... the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought not in men's brains... but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. Not in the philosophy, but in the economics of each particular epoch."

And this postulation is an indictment of Williams' self-centred individualist and pompous elitist boast recorded in his Autobiography that as

"... the philosopher of West Indian nationalism... my emergence as an intellectual spokesman of the Caribbean peoples... in 1940 (was as)... a West Indian who had more direct and closer contact, historically and actually with the Caribbean area as a whole than any other... I had emerged as one of the best known spokesmen of colonial peoples everywhere and the champion of colonial nationalism..." (Inward Hunger, pp. 68, 93)

Following these myopic and rhetorical outbursts, the "T"-specialist Doctor of Philosophy lapsed into INCREDIBLE INFANTILISM as the country became more and more unmanageable by the all-knowing one. On the eve of Trinidad and Tobago's independence, the Prime Minister with obvious gloating self-importance, set himself the inopportune scholastic goal, thus:

"... Impending independence poses a challenge - should I allow the country to achieve its independence without a history of its own? If there was to be one, and one quickly, I alone could write it... The result was... The history of Trinidad and Tobago... I had proved that a prime minister could write a book whilst he was in office..." (Ibid. pp. 327-328)

The intellectual spokesman of the Caribbean peoples', therefore, on the eve of independence laboured intensively to produce a mouse, while the elephantine problems of the territory ran and continue to run riot. So that the solutions to the territory's problems were and are not to be sought in public practical mass independent self-activity, but in the "evacuating" and "whimsical motions" of this Caribbean Proudhon intellectual's head. But yet Williams continues to whine and whine that:

"... Independence did not bring us a clean state. Apart from the deteriorating terms of trade, we found ourselves with a particular economy... Our economy was (and still is) essentially in foreign hands. The capital coming from outside, the profits being repatriated outside. This was (and still is) essentially true of the oil and sugar industries and the banks. The... steps taken to encourage industrial development and attract foreign capital for investment... tended to strengthen foreign control of the economy; whilst the incentives offered... especially income tax remission and duty-free imports of machinery and raw materials, tended to reduce the government's share." (Ibid. p. 338)

Moreover, on top of these conditions, Williams sold out Trinidad and Tobago to the Americans. He announced this sell-out to the public in a speech, Jan. 23/63, marking the Seventh Anniversary Celebration of the ruling regime and reported in the *Nation* of May 7/65 p.7, Williams announced that the Trinidad and Tobago

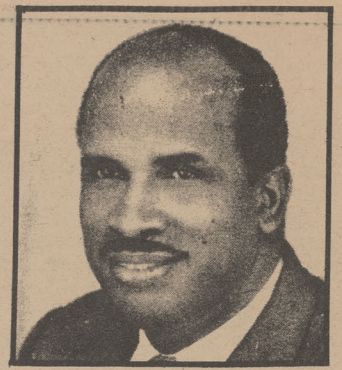
"... Cabinet had just authorized the Prime Minister to exchange letters constituting our agreement with the United States Ambassador... representing the United States, guaranteeing American investment in this country against expropriation."

(Emphasis supplied)

Horrors of horrors! Hence the crashing from precipice to precipice in Trinidad and Tobago.

It was henceforth this babbling, this total divorce between theory and practice; the conception that the masses are to be whipped up to give the leader power and authority; the conception of Parliament as a Caribbean Commission writ - large wherein the researcher reveals and educates the initiate in the art of juggling historical information to prove why most things could never change - it was all this mess from September 1956 to December 1969 that reluctantly brought out Trinidad and Tobago's African and Indian dispossessed masses into the streets in February 1970, protesting their race and class exploitation at home, together with that of their international black brothers and sisters, and particularly those who were allegedly set upon by Canada's Montreal notorious riot police at Sir George Williams University.

This momentous mobile Trinidad and Tobago Street Parliament was however dictatorially set upon by Williams' Cabal on the evening of April 21/70, the eve of the tenth anniversary of Trinidad and Tobago's people historic march on the United States Imperialist Naval Base at Chaguaramas, on April 22/60; and which imperialist arsenal the then four-year old Government had pledged to recover through Williams' declaration that: **either he will break Chaguaramas, to wit, United States imperialism, or Chaguaramas will break him.**



George Weekes, OWTV



all power to the caribbean people

Caribbean International Service Bureau

Ten years later, and after that historic utterance and march to independence, Williams, his Party and Party Organ - all have been irretrievably broken and silenced by American imperialism, and reduced to satellitism. Hence, another of Williams' early boast while in the wilderness and relative safety of the research rooms of the Anglo-American Commission, that:

"... there were West Indians galore ready to be colonial stooges. I was not one of them... I was always on the warpath to defend my academic freedom and constitutional rights..." (Ibid. p.83)

Practice has now turned this empty boast to ashes in his mouth. Hence, consistent with this national betrayal and subsequent class-collaboration with state monopoly capitalism and imperialism, Williams and Party as the national aristocratic intermediaries of imperialism, pushed the dispossessed people of Trinidad and Tobago into revolutionary opposition to continuing social and economic undevelopment, demagoguery, the politics of dependence on personalities and intellectual one-upmanship. And so, true to their newly adopted class-interests, Williams and Party, set the coercive arms of state power - especially the Police Force, that was equipped with arms from the Venezuelan dictatorship during the crisis - into repressive motion by the mere stroke of a pen, when he sanctioned the Emergency (Public Safety, Public Order and Defence)

Cont'd on p. 13



STUDENTS AND COMPUTERS

Tim Hector

There are those rare times in society or in an institution when after a slow and unnoticed process, there is a terrific explosion. Such a violent occurrence is usually most frightening to those who see only the meteoric flares rising into the sky, but do not see the subsoil from which the flares spring. Such people on such occasions are quick to condemn, nay, to ridicule.

But as always in history, explosions in society or in an institution are invariably the result of human grievances to which the society or institution has refused redress. And so there is the dictum of history, so often repeated in man's long sojourn beneath the stars, that when peaceful revolution has been found to be impossible, violent revolution becomes inevitable, if not automatic.

It is in the light of that rule that the events at Sir George Williams University must be judged.

Let it be understood and never forgotten that at Sir George there was no riot by black savages, no damage spree by a lunatic fringe, and

no rampage by irresponsible black students. The international Press, owned by its particular owners, will have us so believe. They fly brazenly in the face of facts. We will not.

From since April 28, 1968, Black, Chinese and White students at the university complained to the highest officials that Black students were being discriminated against by Professor Perry Anderson. The students met the authorities not less than twice a month to discuss the situation. They met peacefully in the spirit of peaceful negotiations. They threatened nothing. Yet they were frustrated at every turn. When an official made certain false allegations against them, and they merely questioned the official in his office, they were charged with "kidnapping" the official for so doing.

All the students requested was an impartial hearing of their allegations against the Professor. If they were promised a hearing it was not to be impartial. When an impartial Committee was arrived at, there was no hearing. And so on, day after day, month after month.

The students had to take action. They were forced to take action. They did so. But most important of all, is that a Dean admitted after the computers were damaged, "that they did not take the Black students seriously." Only after property is damaged, are (black) human

ility against the offending students.

But men around the world are not shocked that Black students were the objects of racism by a learned Professor. Men around the world are not shocked that these Black students were ground into the dust by the intellect-



Wrecked Control Data Installation

beings taken seriously. So it would seem. And properly is the cornerstone of the system.

Even more profound a point was raised by the students at Sir George. Men around the world cried out in anguish when it was announced that a computer was damaged. The loss calculated in staggering figures. The condition of the computer and its cost was widely known, and was the cause of much sympathy, and in the converse much hos-

pital elite of the world - the university Deans and Administrators - who refused to grant even so much as an impartial investigation into serious charges of racial discrimination in a "free" university.

Men around the world are not shocked that a most distinguished Dean of Science could tell students that each man is entitled to his prejudices, implying in the circumstances that discrimination by Professor Ander-

son, was in the scheme of things, natural. For, said he, there were many worse than Anderson in the University.

It is no surprise that the computer was wrecked in the light of these facts. And note well the damage was done only when the University first resorted to violence, by way of the riot squad. Where there are no riots, riot squads provoked a riot.

The West Indian students at Sir George not only brought attention to their own plight, they brought attention to the plight of man. Man the creator of technology is now subordinate to his own creations. Computers are inviolable, but the rights of men, black men in particular, can be violated without a murmur.

For the damage done to the computers the students will be tried and punished but for the damage done to the human personality by the Professor, and the University they will not even be tried partially, or impartially.

These are the horrible standards of the civilisation in which we live, or rather, in which we die.

Nevertheless one thing is clear from the Sir George explosion. And it is this. Black people, at this point in time, are not prepared to have their humanity denied and challenged, and not have that denial and challenge taken seriously. When they are not taken seriously they will destroy sacred cows (computers) and shake the very pillars of the universe.

In so doing they will ensure the triumph of humanity eventually, at which time man will reign supreme and not property.

Cont'd from p. 12

Regulations which he had had hanging over the heads of the people for a long time now, thereby appealing to the most primeval instincts of Party Sympathisers and other hostile elements. And it took the Revolutionary Soldierry in the other arm of State power - the Army - to forestall a bloody repression of the people.

The struggle for national liberation, and the human and economic development of the whole Caribbean was, therefore, given a new lease of revolutionary life, with the initiation of a new stage of struggle, in which Revolutionary Army contingents together with the urban and rural unemployed, students, intellectuals, women and representatives of the working-class, opposed the insolent house-slave leaders and Government in Trinidad and Tobago in 1970.

Having been physically shackled by the chains of direct slavery and then mentally enslaved by colonial education following emancipation, the Caribbean peoples now under the indirect slavery of imperialism, are groping their way out of these prisons bequeathed to these Caribbean hirelings of imperialism, who are attempting to substitute their fetishes of Parliamentarism or talking-shoppism, Co-operative capitalist and other such advocated Parallel institutions, 51% tinkering-and-tampering, and their class-conceptions of Freedom and Democracy, for the

basic needs of the Caribbean people viz: adequate Food, Clothing, Education, Health, Shelter, Leisure and independent self-activity, all which can only be guaranteed to the population through local Popular control, and the Productive development of the natural resources of the area that include a creative People, Land, Oil, Pitch, Bauxite, Minerals, Sugar, Bananas, Ground Provisions, Rice, Citrus, Timber, Cocoa, Nutmegs, Spices, Arrowroot, Cotton, Pumice, abundant and fertile Fishing Banks, Lovely Beaches and other unknown resources.

The Caribbean Governments also have added reasons for their tenacious retention and consolidation of their political power and privileges, notably, the despicable Agreements guaranteeing U.S. Investments against expropriation. The **Vincentian** of Oct. 19/68, a weekly organ in the Caribbean island of St. Vincent reported under the caption: **Investment Guaranteed Agreement.**

"Antigua and Dominica have signed Investment Guarantee Agreements with the United States following similar accords with Barbados and the other Associated States except St. Kitts. The Guarantee protects new United States investment against the specific risk of appropriations, convertibility and losses due to civil disturbances".

So that the conscious and deliberate principle of managing the foreign-dominated economies for the international bourgeoisie, and collecting fi-

nancial, consumption luxury goods and other lucrative dividends for doing so, the present Caribbean political scabs thereby must perform the functions of political superintendents, overseers foremen, and political policement in order to manage the Caribbean masses and the economy for their foreign bosses. Hence the internal witch-hunts, banning of books and people, floggings, harsh Press Laws, opening of mails, and the new management instructions being administered to the territories' Police Forces at the behest of the United States Aid and other imperialist Information Offices, all of which are transforming these islands into isolated and insular Ghettos from which tremendous mass political explosions will emanate.

Recognising, therefore, that ensuing struggles will assume national proportions, and taking into account the law of uneven development, we nevertheless recognise the necessity for international solidarity, and herein call on our international revolutionary and other comrades, especially Black North Americans (Canadian and American) who have a special responsibility to the undeveloped countries, to their brothers in the imperialist Armed forces to refuse to fight against their brothers in these undeveloped countries, and if they must fight, then to turn their weapons of war over to those who are also struggling against imperialist domination in these countries. We also call on Black North American revolutionaries not to become accomplices of imperialism through heady infatuations which can lead to the endorsement of

reactionary capitalist-oriented regimes like Guyana, dominated by Alcan, Reynolds Metals, Bookers, etc., and through intermediaries like opportunist black Machiavellian Forbes Burnham.

Further, but immediately, we call on Black North Americans to express their solidarity, and aid in working for the immediate and unconditional release of the Revolutionary Soldierry of Trinidad and Tobago, including Lieutenants Rex LaSalle, Raffeeek Shah, Mike Baize and Brizan who are at present being steam-rollered by the ruling regime in Trinidad and Tobago.

In the words of C.L.R. James, one of the first to be put under house-arrest in Trinidad and Tobago a few years ago, all those who have caused unlimited mischief in the Caribbean for the past thirty-two (32) years, ". . . unprecedented in history, all must go . . . From Georgetown to Kingston. Government and Opposition, all must go . . . all these leaders are now nothing but obstacles in the way of the development of a West Indian nation and the immense possibilities open to it." Not then, the PERSON out. But an independent self-active Organisation, Programme and Policy out. Hence, the WAY OUT, which is hard.

Finally, we call on all international revolutionaries to agitate and propagandize for the independent political liberation of the Eastern Caribbean, Puerto Rico, the Dutch and French-speaking Caribbean, Bermuda, the Bahamas and English-speaking Honduras which borders Guatemala. ALL POWER THE CARIBBEAN PEOPLE, AND ALL OTHER PEOPLES.

FIDEL

AND THE CUBAN RACE QUESTION

by René Depestre

No revolutionary doubts that Cuban History must be revised and rewritten according to scientific criteria in order to remove the falsifications and racist myths put into circulation by historians serving bourgeois interests. This task cannot be terminated in 5 or even 10 years and is a long-term project. It not only applies to Cuba but to former and existing colonies in Asia, Africa and Latin America which find themselves confronted by the same need. In this particular field, as in historical research, the teaching of History and in all other fields of creative thought, the Revolution has opened up now and immense possibilities in Cuba. Marxism has here found all its prestige and methodological efficiency in revolutionary action and allows all Cubans to change not only their false notions concerning the island's historical development but to change this very national history into its real, practical and daily course.

On March 22, 1959, Fidel Castro spoke about the subject of racial discrimination in Cuba. He indicated clearly and unambiguously the policy that the government had decided to follow in order to solve the problem. His words, so to speak, were operating within the revolutionary process itself as a second revolution. This attacked the obscure and distant realms of conscience where are hidden animal reflexes, prejudice, complexes, alienation and the other ideological miseries of Man. This involved a type of "agrarian reform" as radical as the proper one, but much more difficult to achieve because its field of action is found within the human heart with its unreason and base passions. Doubtless, for the first time in Cuba's history, a politician was daring to call things by their name, without any demagoguery. It is true that other white revolutionaries before Castro (notably Martí) had condemned this discrimination and had called on practitioners to revise their false ideas concerning their dark-skinned compatriots, but their criticisms were abstracts, speculative and Hegelian without being articulated in the class-struggle and a concrete, historical initiative to transform the means of production and the material conditions of existence. As for Castro, he mainly spoke about a victorious Revolution which, with the full support of the masses, was in the process of overthrowing the alienating structures of Cuban life. He not only asked white patriots to renounce their erroneous opinions about the blacks but to modify their concrete relations with them especially in the decisive field of work. For the first time in this American continent that is peopled by different races, the racial problem was being put in material and active terms and as revolutionary praxis. The fetishism of colour was being interpreted, not as a phenomenon independent of the class-struggle or as a category of alienation and mystification, but as the ideological expression of a historic chapter in this struggle, a step that the Revolution would now take further.

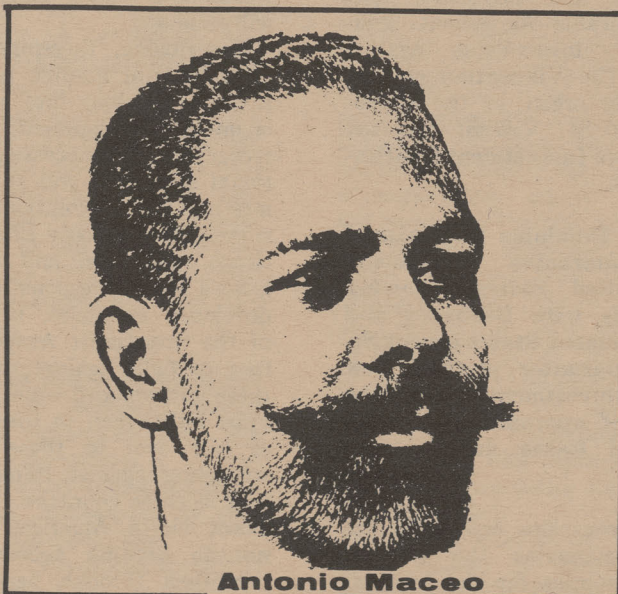
Castro recalled that "the mentality of the people was still conditioned by the numerous prejudices and beliefs of the past". He then underlined that "if the people wish to go forward they will have to recognize that fact". After enumerating and analysing the numerous battles that they had fought to achieve their final liberation, he pronounced the following unforgettable words: "One of the battles which must be increasingly emphasized each day - what I may call the 4th Battle - is that which will end racial discrimination at work. The worst of these forms is the one limiting the right of the Black to earn his living. It must be admitted that this shameful habit existed in our country. Everyone knows that I am not a demagogue and that I hate demagoguery; everyone knows that I never tackle a question if I cannot master it and that I never face a problem without absolute honesty. We can distinguish between two forms of discrimination: that practised in pleasure and recreational resorts; that practised at work. We must firstly combat the latter because it is cruel to forbid the Black entry into enterprises, offices, the professions, etc. This also limits him from facing up to his needs. We are thus committing the crime of precisely refusing the possibility of work to the poorest sector of the population.

While colonial society made the Black work like a slave and demanded more from him than anyone else and gave him no remuneration, our present society (which some wish to call 'democratic') refuses to allow him to earn his living. While the colonizer made him die through overwork and blows, we want our black brother to die of hunger!

"There should be no need to draft a law fixing a right especially for the Black, because he is a human being and a member of society. Nor should it be necessary to legislate against an absurd prejudice. What is needed is to curse and publicly condemn those men who, through past vices and old prejudices, have no scruple in discriminating against and maltreating Cubans because of their lighter or darker skin. After all, we all have skin that is more or less light or dark, meaning that he of lighter skin is descended from the Spaniards who themselves were colonized by the African Moors, and that he of darker skin is of direct African origin. Moreover, nobody can consider himself to be of pure race, much less of superior race. As it is unnecessary to promulgate a law to launch a campaign inviting Cubans to consume national products, the same applies to the subject of discrimination at work. We are going to launch a campaign to put an end to this odious and repugnant system and the cry will be 'The possibility of work for all, without sexual or racial discrimination.' Discrimination must cease. Blacks and Whites must agree to this and take joint action. Thus, little, by little, we shall achieve the construction of a new Nation".

The right to work establishes racial equality and democracy on real and solid bases and its consecration, which was completely ignored by the previous regime, goes far beyond a simple moral or philosophical campaign. The very roots of the evil have been attacked by overthrowing the social situation that engendered it. However, one would have lost sight of the dialectic complexity of the racial problem if one only awaited its disappearance with the establishment of the right to work and the admission of Blacks to offices, the professions and political and administrative posts, provided that they were technically competent and devoted to the Revolution. Racism is a form of mystified conscience and we know that all forms of conscience enjoy a "relative autonomy" and can outlive the social process that produced them. If racism is not fought on the spiritual, psychological and moral level, it can stagnate and continue to exert an unfortunate influence or the new social conditions and relationships brought about by the Revolution. Doubtlessly in order to avoid this, Castro (in the same speech) tackled the educative and affective aspect of the problem and nobly and clearly defined his Government's attitude:

"There is segregation in recreational centres. Why? Because the Black and the White have been educated separately, but in the national schools they are not so, and are learning to live as brothers. If they are to-



gether at school, they can be so in the centres and everywhere else. But when they are educated separately - as the aristocracy has always done - it is logical that, later on, they cannot frequent the same centres. What is to be done? We must raise the level of our national schools and give them all the credits they need. We must not only give them buildings but also guarantee the children their breakfast and lunch and, if necessary, their dinner as well. Recreational centres must be created in the schools so that Blacks and Whites can play together. 'Clubs' (a new name is needed) must also be established and beaches (which we are going to arrange) so that they can amuse themselves, play, enjoy the benefits of nature and be given the joy due to all children. This must be done in such a way that they will later be able to earn their living together at the same workplace".

The speech was very well received by the majority of white revolutionaries. On the other hand, the whole of the white bourgeoisie, the majority of the white petite-bourgeoisie (and well-off Mulattos), even those who would then have given their lives for the Revolution, were as panic-stricken as if the Prime Minister had announced that the island was to be atomically bombarded the next morning. In Havana's good quarters, in Santa-Clara, Camaguey, Santiago, etc., confusion was general and the counter-revolution became scaring. It was rumoured that Castro had invited coloured men to invade the aristocratic sanctuaries of the country in order to dance with, and marry, the vestal virgins who, up to then, had been protected from the terrible radiation emanating from dark skin! This biological peril, this sexual cataclysm, was not only threatening White skin, but also religion, the family, private property and those marvellous shares! That sinister mythology, elaborated at the time of slavery, floated back to the surface with its imaginary cortège of bad instincts, lubricity, rape, moral sanies, physical filth, pillage and massacre at the end of those famous black weapons which temperamentally, only incline themselves before the island's haughty palm-trees! Negrophobia was in eruption and threw up its immoral lava and inferior examples! Respectable white women went around repeating the fact that Blacks had become insupportable since the speech. To lower the racist temperature, Castro gave a televised press conference on March 25, 1959. He stated that the Revolution did not claim to exercise constraint and that people could dance with whom they wished. That night, he pilloried "those who call themselves Christians and are racists; those who claim José Martí and are racists: those who call themselves cultivated and are racists". He could well have added "Those who believe themselves revolutionaries and are racists"! He quoted Martí's famous: "Cuban means more than black or white". He spoke of the Black revolutionary, Mestre, who behaved like a hero during the attempted Moncada insurrection and the great military talent of the Black Major Juan Almeida which, during the battle of Uxero, allowed the Maestra struggle to take another decisive step forward. He invited journalists and writers not to meditate upon "the immortality of crabs" but to contribute to the people's democratic education by showing them that discrimination has no scientific basis and by developing the contribution of both races to Cuban culture.

A study of the old ideological values and the effective struggle against them, in an attempt to secure their total elimination, has to be undertaken on the basis of a dynamic dialectical analysis, and not from the point of view of machinistic norms found outside the contradictions of the moving history of men. If one is armed with creative Marxism, is attached to reality and is not static before "an Afro-Cuban" mirror, one will not be surprised to see this phenomenon after seven years of social revolution. A majority of these racists are, naturally, counter-revolutionaries, but that is not always true. It is possible to find revolutionaries who have still not succeeded in eliminating the racial reflex which consists of rubbing the back of the left hand with the index finger as a pejorative allusion to the colour of a man's skin; there are still Whites who think Blacks are "unbearable"; there are those who say "Now they are being seen everywhere". In the eyes of these neo-racists a mixed couple is a couple which "burns kerosene"; a white man who goes out with a Black woman is an "administrador de ferreteria" or a perfidious allusion is made about her curly hair.

Stories of this kind are not rare and the petit bourgeois against whom, Castro advocated a new "Moncada action", does not easily give up his outdated attitudes.

The foregoing is a very broad outline of the situation that the Revolution under Castro was called upon to change from top to bottom. Is there any ambiguity between what we had the right to expect of him and what he has actually achieved during the last ten years?

What was the Commune, that sphinx so tantalizing to the bourgeois mind?

"The proletarians of Paris", said the Central Committee in its manifesto of the 18th March, "amidst the failures and treasons of the ruling classes, have understood that the hour has struck for them to save the situation by taking into their own hands the direction of public affairs. . . They have understood that it is their imperious duty and their absolute right to render themselves masters of their own destinies, by seizing upon the governmen-

ment abject subservience to all succeeding governments to which, in turn, they had taken, and broken, the oaths of allegiance. Like the rest of public servants, magistrates and judges were to be elective, responsible and revocable.

The Paris Commune was, of course, to serve as a model to all the great industrial centres of France. The communal regime once established in Paris, and the secondary centres, the old centralized Government would in the provinces, too, have to give way to the self-government of the producers. In a rough sketch of national organiza-

tion no longer as a check upon the, now superseded, State power. . . The Commune made that catchword of bourgeois revolutions, cheap government, a reality, by destroying the two greatest sources of expenditure - the standing army and State functionarism. Its very existence presupposed the non-existence of monarchy, which, in Europe at least, was the normal incumbrance and indispensable cloak of class-rule. It supplied the Republic with the basis of really democratic institutions. But neither cheap Government nor the "True Republic" was its ultimate aim; they were its mere concomitants. . . It was a thoroughly expansive political form while all previous forms of government had been emphatically repressive. Its true secret was this. It was essentially a working-class government the produce of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, **the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economic emancipation of labour.**

Except on this last condition, the Communal Constitution would have been an impossibility and a delusion. The political rule of the producer cannot coexist with the perpetuation of his social slavery. The Commune was therefore to serve as a lever for uprooting the economical foundations upon which rests the existence of classes, and therefore of class-rule. With labour emancipated, every man becomes a working-man, and productive labour ceases to be a class-attribute. . .

It aimed at the expropriation of the expropriators. It wanted to make individual property a truth by transforming the means of production, land and capital, now chiefly the means of enslaving and exploiting labour, into mere

instruments of free and associated labour. . . If co-operative production is not to remain a sham and a snare; if it is to supersede the Capitalist system; if united co-operative societies are to regulate national production upon a common plan, thus taking it under their own control; and putting an end to the constant anarchy and periodical convulsions which are the fatality of Capitalist production, - what else would this be but the New Society.

When the Paris Commune took the management of the revolution in its own hands; when plain working-men for the first time dared to infringe upon the Governmental privilege of their "natural superiors", and, under circumstances of unexampled difficulty, performed their work modestly, conscientiously, and efficiently, - performed it at salaries, the highest of which barely amounted to one-fifth of what, according to high scientific authority, was the minimum required for a secretary to a certain metropolitan school board. . .

This was the first revolution in which the working-class was openly acknowledged as the only class capable of social initiative, even by the great bulk of the Paris middle class shopkeepers, tradesmen, merchants - the wealthy capitalists alone excepted. . . If the Commune was thus the true representative of all the healthy elements of French society, and therefore the truly national Government, as the bold champion of the emancipation of labour, emphatically international. . . The great social measure of the Commune was its own working existence. Its special measures could but betoken the tendency of a government of the people by the people.

THE PARIS COMMUNE 1871-1971

Karl Marx

tal power".

The first decree of the Commune, therefore, was the suppression of the standing army, and the substitution for it of the armed people.

The Commune was formed of the municipal councillors, chosen by universal suffrage in the various wards of the town, responsible and revocable at short terms. The majority of its members were naturally working-men, or acknowledged representatives of the working-class. The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time. Instead of continuing to be the agent of the Central Government, the police was at once stripped of its political attributes, and turned into the responsible and at all times revocable agent of the Commune. So were the officials of all other branches of the Administration. From the members of the Commune downwards, the public service had to be done at workmen's wages. The vested interests and the representation allowances of the high dignitaries of State disappeared along with the high dignitaries themselves. Public functions ceased to be the private property of the tools of the Central Government. Not only municipal administration, but the whole initiative hitherto exercised by the State was laid into the hands of the Commune.

Having once got rid of the standing army and the police, the physical force elements of the old Government, the Commune was anxious to break the spiritual force of repression, the "Parson-power", by the disestablishment and disendowment of all churches as proprietary bodies. The priests were sent back to the recesses of private life, there to feed upon the alms of the faithful in imitation of their predecessors, the Apostles. The whole of the educational institutions were opened to the people gratuitously, and at the same time cleared of all interference of Church and State. Thus, not only was education made accessible to all, but science itself freed from the fetters which class-prejudice and governmental force had imposed upon it.

The judicial functionaries were to be divested of that sham independence which had but served to mask their

tion which the Commune had no time to develop, it stated clearly that the Commune was to be the political form of even the smallest country hamlet, and that in the rural districts the standing army was to be replaced by a national militia, with an extremely short term of service. The rural communes of every district were to administer their common affairs by an assembly of delegates in the central town, and these district assemblies were again to send deputies to the National Delegation in Paris, each delegate to be at any time revocable and bound by the mandat impératif (formal instructions) of his constituents. The few but important functions which still would remain for a central government were not to be suppressed, as had been intentionally mis-stated, but were to be discharged by Communal, and therefore strictly responsible agents. The unity of the nation was not to be broken, but, on the contrary, to be organized by the Communal Constitution and to become a reality by the destruction of the State power which claimed to be the embodiment of that unity independent of, and superior to, the nation itself, from which it was but a parasitic excrescence. While the merely repressive organs of the old governmental power were to be amputated, its legitimate functions were to be wrested from an authority usurping pre-eminence over society itself, and restored to the responsible agents of society. Instead of deciding once in three or six years which member of the ruling-class was to misrepresent the people in Parliament, universal suffrage was to serve the people, constituted in Communes, as individual suffrage serves every other employer in the search for the workmen and managers in his business.

The Communal Constitution would have restored to the social body of all, the forces hitherto absorbed by the State parasite feeding upon, and clogging the free movement of, society. . . The Communal Constitution brought the rural producers under the intellectual lead of the central towns of their districts, and these secured to them, in the working men, the natural trustees of their interests. The very existence of the Commune involved, as a matter of course, local municipal liberty, but

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But there is one argument that aids us more than all the others. We are Cubans and to be Cuban implies a duty. Not to fulfill that duty is a crime, is treason.

We are proud of the history of our country. We learned history in school and we have grown up hearing of liberty, justice and human rights. We were taught to venerate the glorious example of our heroes and our martyrs. Cespedes, Agramonte, Maceo, Gomez and Marti were the first names engraved in our minds. We were taught that the titan Maceo had said that liberty is not begged but is won with the blade of a machete. We were taught that for the guidance of Cuba's free citizens the **Apostol** wrote in his **Book of Gold**:

"The man who conforms by obeying unjust laws and permits anybody to trample the country in which he was born, the man who so mistreats his country, is not an honorable man."

"In the world there must be a certain degree of decorum just as there must be a cer-

tain amount of light. When there are many men without decorum, there are always others who bear in themselves the dignity of many men. These are the men who rebel with great force against those who steal the people's freedom - that is to say, against those who steal human dignity itself"

We were taught that the 10th of October and the 24th of February are glorious anniversaries of national rejoicing because they mark days in which Cubans rebelled against the yoke of infamous tyrannies.

We were taught to cherish and defend the beloved flag of the single star. We sang every afternoon a hymn whose verses say that to live in chains is to live in opprobrium... that to die for the country is to live.

All this we learned and will never forget, even though today in our land there is murder and prison for the men who practice the ideas taught to them since the cradle. We were born in a free country which was our heritage from our forefathers. The island would sink into the sea before we would consent to be slaves of anybody.

Cuba 1953

THE WAY OUT: WORLD REVOLUTION

This is an analysis.

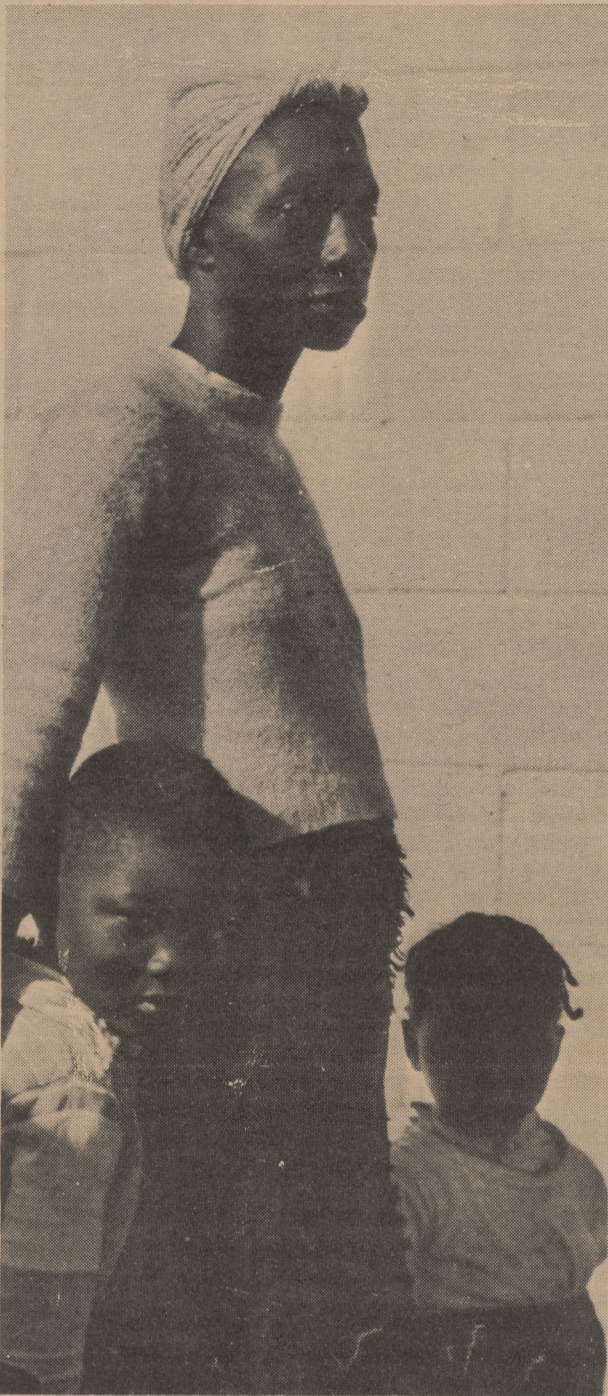
Three things are requisite for Marxists to understand:

The national state must be destroyed and the only way in which that can be done is the break-up of all bourgeois institutions and their replacement by socialist institutions.

The French Revolution of 1968 showed that the mass of the population was ready to take over society and to form new institutions. The late De Gaulle recognised that, and that was the basis of his insistence on "participation". The decay of France's bourgeois institutions was proved not only by the tremendous outburst of the great body of the nation - an outburst comprehensive as no previous revolutionary outburst had been, but also by the fact that the bourgeoisie and the middle classes were quite powerless before the strength and the desire to break up the old state. They had very little to say and, so far as could have been judged, were paralysed by the decay and rottenness of the capitalistic regime and the power and range of the revolt against it.

The first concrete enemy is the bourgeois national state. It is absolutely impossible for a national state of any kind at this stage of the twentieth century to develop and even to maintain itself even the most revolutionary and proletarian of governments. Therefore, Marxists must know and seek every possible means of making it clear that the national quality of the state must be destroyed; that is to say, the revolution has got to be an international socialist revolution: to put it crudely: appeal to masses of the people in all countries to make their own, the fate of World Revolution. This appeal is not now being made by any section of revolutionary leadership, the world over. The national state cannot function today. And not to know that, not to make that clear means the destruction of the revolution.

The safety of any revolution, its completion, its ability to fight against the enormous pressures which will be placed upon it, the questions of food, finance, and possible military intervention of the counter-revolution of a certain kind, these are not questions removed from the day-to-day struggle. From the very beginning it has to be made clear that the economic relations, political relations, the safeguarding of any revolution against daily and political life now depends on the transformation of the bourgeois institutions into socialist institutions, the unleashing of the strength of



the working-class first of all. **We do not make the revolution to achieve the socialist society. The socialist society makes the revolution.** Today there is no period of transition from one regime to another. The establishment of the socialist regime, the power of the working-class and those substantial elements in the nation who are ready to go with it, that is not something which one must look for to be achieved in the future. That is absolutely necessary now, not only for the socialist society but to maintain the ordinary necessities of life and to defend the elementary rights of all society.

What are the new socialist institutions? Marxists do not know, nobody knows. The working-class and the general mass of the population are creating them in action. Marxists are to be aware of that and to let the working-class know that they alone can create the new institutions.

The highest revolutionary peak so far reached is the instinctive action of the working-class in the Hungarian Revolution.

Vanguard Party, Social Democratic Party, Trade Union Leadership, are all bourgeois institutions. The revolution which was begun in France of 1968 and which we shall see continuing everywhere over the next period will save itself delay and temporary defeats if only from the very beginning it recognises that all negotiations and arrangements about wages or anything else that the revolution has to undertake, are to be undertaken by its own independent organisations. It may take some time before the 1968 French Revolution establishes this. But outside of France we can learn this. **None of the regular institutions must be allowed to enter into negotiations on behalf of any section of the revolution.** Over the next period new upheavals must understand this form the very beginning. **Students will represent students and discuss with university staffs. Workers will represent workers, peasants will represent peasants, Blacks will represent Blacks, women will represent women. No kind of established organisation which has been functioning in the bourgeois regime is to be accepted as a representative.** This will be difficult to establish, particularly in regard to the trade union leadership especially where it represents a majority of the organised workers. But that for the revolution of 1968 was the key point at issue. No question of anarchism arises here. The very structure of modern society prepares the working-class and sections of society to undertake immediately the creation of socialist institutions.

We must point out the stages of the Marxist movement. Marx put forward the basic ideas in the **Communist Manifesto** after profound studies in philosophy, economics and revolutionary history, and the watching of a movement of the workers in some insignificant part of France. Then followed the Commune in 1871. It was the Commune in 1871 which gave to Lenin and the Bolsheviks indications as to be able to understand what took place in 1905. 1905 was the dress-rehearsal for 1917. We have to be able first **for our own benefit** to understand what has taken place between 1917 and 1968. We need not go preaching this to the working-class but Marxists have to be quite clear as to the stage of development so as to be able to recognise, welcome and intensify the advances that are taking place instinctively in the nation and **in the world at large.** This work has to be done. The greatest mistake would be not to do it at all. Equally mischievous would be the idea that it can be done apart from the concrete struggles that are taking place everywhere. The World Revolution has entered in what could be a decisive and final stage.

ANGUILLA! ANGUILLA! ANGUILLA!



Shame, Shame.

What a hideous act of Colonialism against the people of Anguilla by the British Army.

The majority in neglected Anguilla decided to be free of domination, but they were wrong.

A minority in Rhodesia who number 1/4 of a million whites govern a black population of 4 million, but they are right. They execute blacks in spite of Royal Pardons.

Who is our Judge? Old, Old Britain.

Shall we ever be free? No Brothers. Not as long as the Colonial Army exists. For might is right and WHITE is right.

No Self-determination for us, but perpetual Colonialism called by the new name Statehood, with all the Stooges that go with it.

How could I be silent when my dream world of Freedom is falling apart. Is there any more Justice left on earth? Not in the Colonies.

Whom are we to approach?

Our Judge has become an AGRESSOR. Is there any hope for us Blacks?

by Facing Reality