

around again. But don't let this Royal con trick or the national mourning deceive you. Rhodesia is the most disgusting sell-out since Czechoslovakia. The failure of the Left to expose the deception of sanctions is just one more failure to add to its long list. We should and we must all feel a deep sense of guilt about Rhodesia. It is *our* problem: they are our kith and kin. Not only the dirty white traitor Smith and his gang but the four million Africans who so naively put their faith in us to do something about it. We did nothing and now all that is left is armed revolution. There is no other way. In this article a young Rhodesian African writes about his country today.

Another Black Man's Hell

The white Rhodesian population, headed by Ian Smith (a Scotsman), decided by an overwhelming majority on 20th June, 1969, to implement a new, more racist, constitution. With N. Sithole and J. Nkomo, the African leaders, in prison or restriction — together with thousands of their followers — the 220,000 Europeans, mostly of British stock, have decided that the 5 million black people there should never be free to rule themselves.

Smith and his white brothers in Rhodesia believe they are fighting against Communism and the survival of their Christian civilization. They have a duty to protect the factories, companies and other financial institutions which are owned by British people here, the Americans and the white South Africans. To them Christianity and civilization mean the maintenance of the existing political and economic system. Such a system of necessity means the exploitation and oppression of the larger part of the population by all possible methods, and the black people were found to be easy victims.

The Africans were taught, in the name of Christianity, to be content with what they had; to be content with poverty and starvation; that violence against authority was evil. They were taught, according to the scriptures, that the poor and the oppressed were blessed, for they would enter the kingdom of heaven. The black people were told that it was evil for Christians to take part in politics. They were often told 'What shall it profit a man if he gains the whole world and suffers the loss of his own soul.' This was a direct attack against the African nationalists who agitated for the liberation of their people.

Thus Christianity was an important tool

which was used by the white minority, was followed by other intermittent clashes between the government forces and the national activists.

Guerilla activities, however, are not given any publicity by Smith's Information Department which can gather information in the territory without much difficulty. This makes many people feel that the politically conscious black man in Rhodesia is not active. But the truth cannot be suppressed forever.

The guerilla movement is now past the stage of establishing itself within the territory. For the first time the Rhodesian authorities have officially accepted the fact that guerillas are now being trained inside the territory. Freedom fighters are being tried in court and they have admitted training inside the country near Salisbury (Rhodesia Herald, 1st May, 1969). This is a healthy development in the guerilla movement which should be applauded and encouraged by all lovers of freedom the world over.

Now that it is clear that the British government can do nothing more, the British Left and all those who still have consciences and who think the black man should be given a chance to determine his own destiny in Rhodesia must take it into their own hands.

The British people should contribute positively and materially to the struggle. Since the British still acknowledge that Rhodesia is their problem, they should help the Africans to free themselves. The British Left should join the Socialist world and the 'Friends of Zimbabwe Movement' and show their solidarity in a practical way.

What the people of Zimbabwe need most at this hour are arms, medical aid, and training. Training camps should be set up in this country to turn out guerillas who will go and train others, or fight in Rhodesia. Committees should be set up to collect funds for medical aid, arms, and the maintenance of the guerilla camps in this country and elsewhere.

Remember, that a friend in need is a friend indeed. Why shouldn't the British Left show its solidarity in a material way to the Zimbabwe comrades? This is the time when the Zimbabwe people most need help from their comrades outside. The defeat of the Zimbabwe revolutionaries would be a defeat for the British Left just as an attack on the Smith regime is an attack on the Bright Right. Imperialism has an international personality and the attack must of necessity assume an international character.

Some sinister or dubious organizations in the West have given aid to liberation movements in the past. For example, in the early

TUNISIA

Since it gained independence in 1956, Tunisia has often been regarded in the west as a liberal democratic state. It receives substantial aid from the US and its army is advised by a group of US experts'. Its greatest claim to western support is, however, its position on Palestine: alone of the reactionary Arab leaders Bourguiba, Tunisia's president, has come out openly for recognition of a state of Israel. Where others, such as the leaders of Jordan and Lebanon, have tacitly accepted the permanence of Zionism, Bourguiba has revealed his position quite openly.

This internationally pro-imperialist stance is a result of the class nature of the Tunisian state. Bourbuiba's seizure of power was effected after a ruthless war waged against the socialist forces, led by Saleh Ben Youssef, who was shot down in a Frankfurt hotel in 1955. Most of his partisans were eliminated by 1957 and for years the political situation within Tunisia was quiet. As a new bourgeois elite captured the state machine, the unions were taken over and militant unionists purged. Similarly, the student union, UGET, was integrated into the Tunisian state. In 1963 the Communist Party was banned after a Muslim fanatic group tried to shoot the President; they still continue underground work, and sent a delegation to the recent Moscow Conference. In 1963 another group of anti-imperialist students founded a magazine *Perspectives* in France and the radicalisation of the student body began. The first major confrontation came in June 1966 when many students were imprisoned, but the decisive conflict came in June 1967 when students demonstrating against British and American support for Israel were framed and sentenced for anti-government activity. The leader of this was Ben Jennet, a theology student, who came from a peasant family in southern Tunisia and had been active as a socialist militant in the UGET opposition.

In March 1968 a strike at Tunis university was followed by the arrest of hundreds of students, who were then tortured and isolated in prison for some months. Two show trials then took place, in which the defendants were framed and accused of a plot to overthrow the state. One group, tried in September 1968, were charged with belonging to the *Perspectives* group and being in touch with the Chinese embassy — who gave them a type-writer, it was alleged. A second group, tried in February 1969, were charged with belonging to the Tunisian branch of the Ba'ath party.

bourgeoisie to demand the efficient use of police and troops, a parasitic workforce, to smother the revolutionary centres.

In Spain the terror is real. It is *there* in front of you ever since the military used the phrase "there are no non-combatants". The University Faculties have had to put aside lecture halls as barracks for the *Armed Police*. Around 150 police are in permanent occupation inside the Economics Faculty, 100 in the Philosophy Faculty, 100 in the Medicine Faculty etc. etc... Water cannons stand focussed 15 years away from the entrances of the Faculties. The police break up classes, seminars, and specialised meetings: they disrupt the library. This militarisation has led to such a state of terror, that many students are too frightened by the indiscriminate use of official violence to go to class.

The struggle against the police within the building themselves has led to the following being classed as "crimes": Forming groups of more than five, putting notices or posters up, looking at the police, standing near the lecture halls used by the police, all kinds of union or academic meetings. In April a student whistled at some police in the Economics Faculty. The police then launched an indiscriminate attack on all the students and attacked the lecture halls, the bar and the lavatories — particularly the "Ladies". Three days later a student shouted "Get Out" at the police; the exits were reinforced; and all the students in the building were arrested.

The result of this has been the relative paralysis of student agitation within the university buildings, and the intensification of attempts to forge unity with the commissions of young workers, with those who are active in the streets. On March 25th six Molotov cocktails exploded in Madrid banks. There were several big fires — but not one of the 200 commandos who carried out the raids was caught. On the other hand, pacific demonstrations are the best way to make the police's repressive work easy. The failure of the May 1st demonstration was partly due to this.

In 1968 the workers were very active; the University was in the hands of the students. The bourgeoisie were terrified by the French May. They passed a new law on banditry and terrorism; and when student-worker commandos demonstrated after the police killed a student, the state of emergency was declared to "clean up" the situation (January 1969).

This has involved the militarisation of the University, mass arrests of militants, and detentions and assassinations in the Basque