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# The Red Mole

## TO THE BUTCHER OF AMMAN:

Your friends, the imperialists,  
may support you to

the last drop of Arab oil,

but your enemies,

the Palestinian Arab masses,

**WILL NEVER SURRENDER**

**SOLIDARITY  
WITH  
THE FEDAYEEN**



# THE MIDDLE EAST

The following statement was issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on 20th September.

**SOLIDARITY WITH THE FEDAYEEN!**  
At the present moment, a battle is raging in Jordan between the armed forces of the Hashemite monarchy and the Palestinian guerrillas. The guerrillas are fighting alone. Not one of the demagogic Arab regimes, so prodigal in verbal assurances of solidarity, has offered material aid. The outcome of this struggle, still hanging in the balance, will prove decisive for the next stage of the Arab revolution.

A victory for the fedayeen would touch off a revolutionary rise of unprecedented proportions in the Middle East, changing the balance of social forces there in an even more spectacular way than did the nationalisation of the Suez Canal or the revolution in Iraq in 1958.

A defeat would certainly signal the physical liquidation of the Palestinian fighters in Lebanon. It would considerably strengthen the imperialist grip in the area, increase the weight of the Zionist state, and gravely injure the whole revolutionary national Arab movement, particularly the vanguard in Dhofar and South Yemen.

The bloody confrontation of September 1970 is the logical and calculated outcome of the Rogers plan, which is in reality a Nixon-Kosygin plan. All the

participants in these transactions were fully aware that the major obstacle to their aim of liquidating the Palestinian problem was the Palestinian people themselves. The famous United Nations resolution of November 22, 1967, which shamelessly brushed aside the national rights of this martyred people, constitutes the keystone. And the delayed outcome in 1970 of the 1967 resolution is explained in good part by the frantic search by all those involved to strangle the Palestinian revolutionary process in the most expedient way, whether by piecemeal methods or by armed violence.

Thus the fedayeen today face a united front of world imperialism, the Soviet bureaucracy, and Arab reaction (including the radical petty bourgeoisie, whether through affinity with the current regimes or through congenital cowardice). Not least of the paradoxes is that the dyed-in-the-wool enemies of Arab emancipation—the Zionist authorities and American imperialism—are trying to use the Arabs themselves to carry out their dirty work. The Nasser regime, playing along with this game, will never be able to live down its infamous treachery. In the wings stand the White House and the Pentagon, readying U.S. troops to intervene should Hussein and his generals prove incapable of drowning the fedayeen in blood.

In the general context of the Middle

East and even the Arab world as a whole, the fedayeen unquestionably constitute a redoubtable enemy. Not for Israel on the military level, since, despite what has been said, the Palestinian guerrilla forces remain very weak (except in Gaza)—but politically; and not only for Israel but for the Arab regimes, for world imperialism and for the Soviet bureaucracy.

The Palestinian resistance is undermining the very foundations of the bourgeois state in Jordan, rallying to its side the best elements of the Arab youth. This threatens in the long run to upset the precarious and unstable equilibrium of the region, opening the dikes to the rising tide of the Arab revolution. This is the peril which the enemies of the revolution seek at all costs to eliminate. Hence the determination of the Arab reaction to liquidate the fedayeen.

It is significant in this respect that the head-on assault was preceded by police measures in the United Arab Republic, particularly against the most advanced wing of the Palestinian resistance.

This same process explains the common interest which all the forces hostile to the broadening revolutionary perspectives in the Levant have in supporting Operation Liquidation. Hence the silent complicity of the whole ensemble of Arab states and bureaucratised states. Aware of the dialectical interdependence

of the various sectors of the world revolution, the leaders of the Kremlin are acting with a sure instinct to preserve their privileged caste interests.

Unquestionably, the only hope the Palestinians have for victory in the final analysis lies along the road of mobilising the Arab masses and gaining broad international support, whatever the immediate consequences of the current fighting.

The life-and-death struggle developing today constitutes the most glaring proof of the failure of the policy of "neutrality" in Arab "domestic affairs". The Arab regimes have flagrantly disregarded the most elementary principles of solidarity in order to silence the Palestinians. Today it can be seen what it has cost the liberation movement because the most outstanding leaders sought to avoid combatting the hold of Nasserism on the Arab population and for having given up organising the popular masses of the region. The lesson will not be lost, just as the June 1967 defeat buried Shukairy and his racist ideology.

At the present time the primary task of all the revolutionists in the Middle East and throughout the world is to unconditionally defend the Palestinian resistance, the vanguard of the Arab revolution, against all its enemies, above all the main enemy, U.S. imperialism.

## THE DEATH OF NASSER

Gamal Abdul Nasser, the undisputed leader and most articulate spokesman of the Arab petty bourgeoisie, could not have died at a more inopportune moment as far as imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy are concerned. Only a few hours before his death he had been photographed supervising the handshake between Arafat and Hussein, which symbolised the "cease-fire" in Jordan. Without doubt the imperialists had hoped that this was only a trailer for the more important handshakes which lay ahead.

Nasser was the only remaining leader in the Arab world with a genuinely anti-imperialist past and it was precisely this that made him a key figure as far as the Rogers-Nixon-Kosygin Plan was concerned: he was the only man who could be relied on to appease the resistance of the Arab masses. In the months to come his presence would have been vitally necessary.

Nasser's heyday was the nationalisation of the Suez Canal ("Let the imperialists choke in their rage," he had declared) and its aftermath. For resisting British and French imperialism, he had become a hero in the eyes of millions of people in the Middle East and in the Tricontinent. Not only had he struggled against imperialism, but he had also played an important role in ridding Egypt of Farouk's despotism. However, he was first and foremost a spokesman of the upper layers of the Egyptian petty bourgeoisie and the regime established after the overthrow of Farouk had a clear right-Bonapartist flavour. From the very beginning the young army officers who had assumed power had no time for the workers. Even a pro-Nasser writer admitted that: "On 12 August 1952, the workers in one of Egypt's largest spinning mills at Kafr el-Dawar near Alexandria rioted and seized control of the factory. Fearing that this action might lead to workers' uprisings throughout the

country, the junta promptly sent in troops to take back control of the mill, arrested some 200 workers and, after a brief court martial, hanged two of the leading agitators..." (*Nasser's Egypt*, Penguin, p. 45).

Owing to the complete and abject capitulation of the Stalinist parties in the Middle East, "Nasserism" was able to retain its grip on the Arab masses and Nasser his popularity. This popularity was damaged but not irreparably after the 1967 war. With the death of Nasser, we have the last of the heroes of "neutrality" departing from the stage of history. No matter what the result of the faction fight in Egypt between "right" (Zakaria Moayed) and "left" (Saadat, Ali Sabry) turns out to be, of one thing we can be sure. The death of Nasser came at a critical juncture. At a time when "Nasserism" as an ideology had been immeasurably damaged by the impact of June 1967 and its consequences and when Arab commandos were, for the first time, publicly denouncing Nasser. The political complexion of the Middle East today reveals clearly that it is the beginning of the end for the petty bourgeois regimes and the mystifying role which they have played. The death of Nasser will heighten this process and will make it much more difficult for the Arab governments to force a settlement dictated by imperialism down the throats of the Arab masses.

A new road is opening up in the Middle East. It is both long and dusty, but there are no short cuts and it leads to only one destination: a Socialist Middle East. What is more important is that there exist elements today who have already started on the long journey ahead. The man who could have delayed this journey by conjuring up mirages and sometimes even transplanted oases, no longer exists. There is no one to fill his place.



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# The state of the British economy

"The crisis of British capitalism" is a well-worn concept—but let us examine it again in the light of the present economic situation. The basis of the concept is that British imperialism has been increasingly subject to competition from rival imperialisms and has not been able to fully hold its own. The normal response of the individual capitalist to competition is to try to step up his individual rate of capital accumulation—to grow faster and produce cheaper than his rivals. To do this he must attempt to maximise his profits and this in turn entails attempting to jack up the rate of exploitation. The same logic that can be applied to the individual capitalist can be applied to a capitalist nation as a whole. Its ability to compete in world markets will depend to a very great extent (though not solely) on the rate of growth of the country concerned and this in turn depends on the rate of capital accumulation. The next step in the logical chain is also the same—this entails a high rate of exploitation. The bourgeois economists say that in Britain too high a proportion of the "National Income" is consumed; that there is "too little saving" and consequently inadequate investment. This amounts to the same thing.

## Reasons for the Crisis

To a very great extent the reasons for Britain falling behind in the world capitalist economy are beyond any possible control. It is not possible to shift large supplies of labour power out of peasant agriculture into the much higher productivity sector in industry because, of course, Britain does not have a peasant agricultural sector to run down. Thus from 1958 to 1968 British agriculture was run down from 5% to 4% of the labour force—Italian agriculture, by contrast, was run down from 35% to 24% and French agriculture from 24% to 16%. This reflects the law of uneven development. "To a considerable extent conditions beyond the control of the United Kingdom were responsible for higher growth rates in other countries." (E. F. Denison, "Economic Growth" in *Britain's Economic Prospects*—R. Caves, ed.). Then it clearly becomes more important for the bourgeoisie to do all they can about things that they can control—or that they think they might be able to control. One such variable has already been mentioned: the rate of exploitation and the rate of investment (of constant capital).

...statisticians have been claiming for a long time that the division of the national income between wages and profits is fairly constant (i.e. there is a constant rate of exploitation over time). In order to step up the rate of investment it would be necessary to increase the share of profits in the National Income. It is clearly important then, when exactly the reverse process appears to be occurring—namely that a very high degree of militancy on the part of the working class is pushing in precisely the

opposite direction towards a reduction in the rate of exploitation and consequently a reduction in the rate of profit—this, moreover, at what is anyway an extremely unfavourable time for the British bourgeoisie: in a recession that was designed precisely to slow down the rate of increase of wages.

## Record Unemployment

The reason for the record unemployment level at present in the economy is basically two-fold: (1) First of all, unemployed people—and those with less income generally—buy less of everything, including less imports, and thus high unemployment is supposed to cure a Balance of Payments deficit. In 1969 this policy seemed to have worked. But there was a particularly buoyant level of world trade. In 1970, although the Dock Strike makes it difficult to say for certain, it seems that the Balance of Payments is back at its 1964 level; with this difference: that in 1964 there was a boom and people and firms would be expected to buy imports. In 1970 there are over 600,000 unemployed. (2) The second rationale of high unemployment is to keep down the rate of increase of wages. The reason why unemployment might be expected to do this is two-fold. Unemployment weakens the power of the unions: clearly there is not enough unemployment for this. Unemployment also occurs when firms are laying off workers—obviously—and contracting output. Wages rise rapidly when employers try to get hold of more labour at low unemployment levels in order to expand output, i.e. they bid up wages themselves.

Thus the policy of inducing a high level of unemployment to save British capitalism's economic ills has apparently failed. It has failed in the face of a rising militancy on the part of the workers. This militancy seems, from a study of the strike statistics, to be almost solely on an economic level.

As has been pointed out many times in the *Financial Press*, this militancy is at the shop-floor level and is pushing along the trade union bureaucracy in front of it. It is showing a contempt for established negotiating procedures which led the *Times Business News* to comment: "Repeatedly in the past couple of years managements have discovered—more managements than ever before and some without previous experience of industrial action—that to insist on correct procedures when the fat is in the fire generally makes the fire worse." (Thursday July 9). It is also a fairly general militancy that seems to be spreading—not long ago the press was agog at Lord Robens' triumph in the mines and at the falling number of strikes in that industry; thus it was full of praise for his book *Human Engineering*. Now Lord Robens is faced with a strike in the mines and a claim for 33<sup>1</sup>/<sub>3</sub>%. He himself appears to want to give in to the

miners to a certain extent.

What is the reason for this so-called "Wage Inflation"? A number of theories have been advanced and they bear importantly on what will happen in the future. The most important are that this militancy represents the "pent-up" aspirations of the working class after several years of Incomes Policy and that this militancy reflects the disappearance of the so-called "money illusion". (That is, feeling better off with greater money-wages and failing to see that prices have risen to offset this). The first theory—that this militancy reflects the dammed-up aspirations of the working class would seem to be backed up by the fact that the only other successful post-war freeze—that of Cripps under Attlee's government—was also followed by booming wage rates. This may tend to suggest that the present situation will eventually abate—something which the forecasters of the London Business School have suggested, although they admit that they are only guessing. At any event, the Incomes Policy which has just broken down was far longer lasting and therefore one might expect a bigger "backlog" of demands coming through than was the case after 1951. But the fact remains that this phenomenon might die a natural death; no one really knows. The other theory is that people have got wise to the fact that it is no use accepting a 3% rise per annum if prices rise at 3%. They therefore put in for more than 3%. Current demands, which have often been fairly well met, are in the order of 20-30%. This theory allows for no natural death to the phenomenon; it really boils down to the fact that the working class are asking for what British capitalism cannot afford to give, and will continue to do so.

Given this situation, whatever its cause, why has the crisis not manifested itself more dramatically? The reason is that "inflation", as the bourgeois economists call it, is at present a world-wide phenomenon. In fact British wage rates are not increasing as rapidly as in many other countries. Nevertheless a number of circumstances combine to make the problem particularly telling for Britain. In particular, output and productivity are not expanding so rapidly in Britain as abroad. Rising productivity, by cheapening the value of labour power, tends to bring about an increase in the rate of profit. Consequently it offsets rising wage costs to a certain extent. Furthermore, in countries like Germany one would expect rapidly rising wage rates because of the tightness of the labour market; in boom conditions the number of vacancies greatly exceeds the number of unemployed and consequently employers themselves are bidding up wages. Now, it may be that the countries in the world that are in boom at the present, like Germany and Japan, will eventually go into recession and wage rates will cease to climb. This might leave Britain isolated and the crunch would then have to come. To

repeat: the fact that other countries have rising wage rates has let Britain off the hook to a certain extent, but not completely. In some way or other, both in the short and long run, the British bourgeoisie have to raise the rate of investment.

How might they achieve such an objective? There are a number of ways, in fact. One would be to avoid a direct confrontation with the workers by cutting government expenditure (on the social services for instance) and using the savings thus gained to cut taxes on profits and other property incomes, thus improving the rate of profit after tax. This would be an attack on the workers' standard of living designed to give the bourgeoisie the wherewithal to spend on investment. But this on its own might not be enough because such attacks on the workers' living standards might well be countered by putting in for higher wage claims, thus putting the problem back to Square 1. The other solution implies a direct attack on the workers themselves. The more aggressive sectors of the *Financial Press* (who, of course, are not in office and are thus in the manner of backseat drivers) have no doubt what they want: they want wages to be frozen, the workers' militancy smashed and also a round of large price increases. To this end Michael Shanks called in the *Times Business News* before the Election for "A Swing from Wages to Profits" and the *Economist* advocated financing the port employers to help them smash the dockers. What of devaluation? Certainly this might help the trade position to a certain extent, but the last devaluation seemed to make little long-run impact. It is also a measure that will not affect the underlying trends. It is not a cure—more of a temporary pain reliever. Moreover, once Britain enters the Common Market (if it does, that is) it will lose that option. Devaluation of the franc and revaluation of the mark played havoc with much of the carefully-laid plans of the Treaty of Rome and the European bourgeoisie will not want to allow Britain the right to continually take this option. It is interesting that Nicholas Kaldar, an economic adviser of the former Labour Government should be so alarmed at the prospect of Britain not being allowed to manipulate its exchange rate.

To try to work out what is going to happen is thus very complex and not a little in the manner of tea-leaf gazing. This article has attempted to bring out the main features of the present situation and it has been pointed out that all might not be black for the British bourgeoisie. But big class conflicts are certainly a very real possibility and this is all the more alarming when one considers that the present militancy does appear to have very little perspective other than an economic one. At the present, the level of combativity of the working class is very high, but if its economism is not transcended, there may be some big defeats in store.

Brian Davey

## CADE'S COLUMN

### LOST WAGE PACKETS

After five years of resistance, in the shape of two major strikes, countless token strikes, overtime bans and refusals to operate new berths, the port employers have achieved their cherished aim: complete rationalisation of the Docks Industry.

On Monday 21st Sept. Phase II of the "Devlin Scheme" went into operation with the rapturous blessings of both the dockers' unions, T&GWU and NASD.

The scheme provides that 70% of the work-force receive £36 a week, 30% receive £28-10s together with an extra week's annual holiday, improved sick pay and pensions and a 5-hour reduction in the working week.

The employers receive a two-shift 14-hour day with the probability of an extension to three-shift round-the-clock working, complete mobility of labour, vast reductions in gang-manning scales and the abolition of the need for enhanced overtime payments.

The national dock labour force has been

wasting away over the years: in 1948 the National Register was 81,000 strong, by 1966 it had dropped to 62,100; at present it is approx. 40,000!

Last year the P.O. made an extra £1,000,000, increasing their profit from £8,000,000 to £9,000,000. Hays Wharf made a modest £300,000 gain while sacking 300 of their dockers! Well done Port Employers—Well done Unions!

### SWEET CHARITY

Trade-Union-basher Heath and his fellow cesspool skin-diving team continue to bleat about the need to discipline the unions. The oft-repeated threat is to suspend strikers' families from their rightful Social Security benefits.

The facts should be made clear, for too many workers regard what is theirs by right as sweet charity bestowed on them by their loving Govt.

For each week a man works he contributes 17/8 in Social Security payments, the employer contributes £3.6.11. from the profits the worker has produced for the same purpose. That is

£4.4.7 a week, 52 weeks of the year credited to each male worker's Social Security.

In a year the worker contributes directly and indirectly £219.18.4 to the Government's Social Security fund. A worker in dispute receives no social security benefits. A worker's wife and children receive a meagre pittance! A wife and three kids are allowed approx. £11 a week which includes payment of rent. Should the worker be on strike 6 weeks, his family receive about £66. Some workers, like the Pilkington men and the teachers, had contributed over 20 years without striking. It would be more to the point if workers received their full rightful benefits in a strike.

### FEED THE HUNGRY

Seven in ten school-children are on the verge of malnutrition, not in Africa or Latin America, but in the technological "Land of Dope and Tory", 20th Century Britain.

A recent survey conducted by Dr. Ben Lynch, nutrition expert into children's health, discovered 32% of all school children are well below

the Ministry of Health's recommended food intake level, and a further 57% are unsatisfactory. This in the "Welfare State"!

School meals recently increased from 1/6 to 1/9 and pretty soon they will be 2/-, all in the interest of the national well-being.

Eight million women, a large proportion married with children, are forced to work to supplement their husband's starvation wages. They cannot afford the time to attend to the children's day-time needs. The schools are overcrowded and under-staffed. In some cases a family with three school children has to pay over £1 a week in fares to school; this cost added to uniforms, sports gear, outings, etc. is slightly bending the principal of free education.

Denis Healey, Labour's ex-bellacose Minister of Defence, is now opposed to selling arms to "Nazi" South Africa.

During the 1967 devaluation crisis he proposed that the sale of arms to South Africa would be a valuable help to the economy.

### NJACWER LIVES!?

The Equal Pay movement has lost momentum since the May Rally of last year and the introduction of the Equal Pay Bill, which many women still believe will bring them equal pay and treatment, albeit not until 1976. (Any careful reading of the Bill will show a multitude of escape-routes for employers from even the very limited field which it covers.)

The only national trade-union-based organisation working in this field went into a decline at the same time as did the movement. This organisation, the National Joint Action Committee for Women's Equal Rights (NJACWER), was set up in late 1968 following the Ford sewing machinists' strike, with the aim of

ganda, and some support of women involved in local wage and union recognition disputes. Increasing tendencies by the "leadership" to clamp down on signs of life from the active membership culminated in the farce of Chris Norwood's instatement as Secretary in October 1969: a tour de force in bureaucratic manoeuvring, followed by almost total rigor mortis. The downswing in the movement was thus reinforced by inactivity from the only organisation that had been able to reach working women on a national level.

The NJACWER General Meeting held on 20th September hopefully marked a fresh start for the organisation, following the resignations of the former Secretary and Chairman. Delegates

should now be left behind, and a working party more representative of the membership was elected. The meeting voted to concentrate the organisation's at present limited forces on matters particularly affecting working-class women: the fight for the early implementation of Equal Pay for work of equal value (which the Act does not give), and the campaign for equal opportunities—including training—for women, together with a campaign for child-care facilities. Despite suggestions from the former bureaucracy that the best means of doing this was to "pressurise people who matter," Tory M.P.s to be exact, the mood of the meeting was for action among women on the shop-floor, through the movement's activists. The meeting also voted general support

year. An attempt to begin a link-up of the two wings of the Women's movement was made in an agreement to send an observer to WNCC meetings (Women's Lib. movement) and to invite similar observers.

Many women in the Liberation movement are beginning to recognise the need to move into solidarity with the working-class struggle if the social revolution for which they are fighting is to become a reality. As much support as possible is needed for women workers struggling for economic and social equality, particularly at a time when the majority of women are still not unionised and most of the union bureaucrats seem to have lost interest in the question. NJACWER, for all its deficiencies, may be a practical means of contributing to the struggle

# LETTERS

## ON GRAPES

To the Editor.

I have been working with the United Farm Workers Organising Committee for four years (on the California Grape Strike)—for the past year acting as their representative in the U.K.—and, having received a great deal of help from the TGWU. I was very surprised to read your attack on them in Cade's Column of your September 15th issue. I feel that you must have received some very misleading information and would like to set the record straight.

You say of the T&G that "they were not prepared to back any militant action by dockers or market workers" when, in fact, the Union went out of its way to make it clear that any dispute arising from such action would get full backing.

Subsequently, official negotiations took place between T&G officers and employers in Covent Garden and Birmingham markets and also shipping lines, getting them to agree to stop the importation of scab grapes, for which the U.K. had been an important market. This really hurt the growers.

As you rightly point out, many rank-and-file members also did a great deal to help us, and I know of no disciplinary action taken by the T&G against any of them.

Cesar Chavez has written to the T&G thanking the Union for its assistance which was a vital factor in bringing the 5-year strike to its victorious conclusion.

My personal opinion is that the TGWU, in this situation, took the right action, both for us and for their own members. Had the leadership issued official instructions to black the grapes in the first place, the importers could have taken legal action and obtained substantial damages from the Union. I'm sure you'll agree that this would hardly have benefited the working class. Also, I feel that it is better for a union to support shop floor action rather than issue bureaucratic directives to the membership from above, which might only have modest support.

I would agree that there is a lot to criticise in trade unions today, but I also think that positive factors should be pointed out, supported and encouraged whenever possible and, in this context, I feel that credit should be given to the TGWU for the help which it has given us.

Fraternally,  
Donna Haber, U.K. Representative, United Farm Workers Organising Committee,  
17 Fife Terrace, London N.1.

### JACK CADE REPLIES:

Elaine Elinson, official of the Farm Workers Organising Committee, can bear out all facts regarding the grape strike in the last Cade's Column. At no time during the dispute did the T&G advise its members to "black" the scab grapes. It is true that during the dispute individual members in their rank-and-file capacity afforded Elaine Elinson all possible assistance, the most active of these being Brian Nicholson, Frank Shilling, Terry Barrett, and Alan Sutton. It is an undoubted fact that when the men at Tilbury employed on the Johnson line refused to handle scab grapes, the two District Officers in the area, Bros. H. Freeman and Bert Saunders, issued instructions for them to work the cargo. Donna Haber is certainly misinformed when she implies that the port employers would have taken legal action against dockers in dispute. Fortunately, Cde. Haber, we do not have the Taft-Hartley Act or the Secondary Boycott Laws on statute in this country. Wishing you success in all your future militant actions against the United States fruit interests.

## ON ZIONISM

In the April 15th issue of The Red Mole we published N. Weinstock's theses on Zionism. An Israeli reader from Kibbutz Sasa, Avraham C. Ben-Yosef, has replied at length. As his rebuttal covers six pages of closely printed foolscap, not to mention an additional letter on hired labour in the kibbutz, we cannot publish the full text of his comments. Comr. Weinstock has tried to give a fair summary of the main points made by our reader in his answer but we are publishing the concluding paragraphs of his letter in order to convey the essence of his argumentation.

"I conclude, then, that by and large, your and the New Left, etc. and pro-Palestinian theses in general make an atrocious muddle of what could be a good job of striking clarity in condemning the Israeli government of making a dreadful murderous mess of a fine Middle Eastern national Zionist movement even more applicable to the uniquely sadly placed landless Jews than

it certainly is to the Palestinians themselves. In common fairness—and I do always strive for that—I must admit that the lamentably mistaken Israeli Jews as a whole have indeed had two saving points in their favour: they originally meant to settle in peacefully in their oldtime homeland with the Arab latecomers who had nothing to fear logically, for they could always outnumber them in the end, but the selfish Arab leaders used force first and started the whole violent dispute; and the minority Jews in the area have very naturally in consequence been frightened and have lost their heads, shortsightedly training themselves to rely entirely on force (thus learning the worst side of the Arab example), and feeling themselves too driven to the wall—either of the desert or the sea—to behave decently and prevent their own rapacious elements coming to the fore. So first the Arabs spoil matters, by opposing the rational and always restricted Jewish return, instead of humanely welcoming back their persecuted wandering brothers (and discreetly making sure, as they could well have done, that the latter would never dominate more than a small, certainly permissible area of their own). And afterwards, apart from praiseworthy but always completely overweighted minority efforts, the Jews, instead of persistently using their more developed Western political potentialities, grew more and more recalcitrant and forcingly unyielding. The two sides interacted more and more fatally. The psychology of the matter is basically simple in the extreme, each people offending the other's national pride more and more until the clash has now become totally fatal and absolutely irreparable by their own nullified efforts. Up to now, the Great Powers, for their own interests, have merely stirred up the strife more and more too. But at last, world peace being obviously finally threatened, I think they will have to impose a Middle Eastern peace, and by depriving the Israelis of their 1967 vainglorious conquests, save a sufficiently independent small Israel and at the same time necessarily also restore the Palestinians to their reasonable birthright thereby. If the Israelis are saved—and, in spite of their terrible misdeeds, brought about, after all, largely by fear, I do not think sane humans need say they must be delivered up to probably unrestrained Arab revenge—the Palestinians must avoidably be saved too; the saving of the misguided Israelis can, in fact, only be done by the saving of the unfortunate Palestinians, and in no other way. At the same time, as Nasser nowadays says, the whole general quarrel with the Arabs can gradually be settled under international auspices; he, of course, quite rightly insists that no progress can be made at all without settling the refugee problem first, and at any rate partially in Israel. How to do it without destroying Israel, he does not seem to have worried about sufficiently. But others must bring him that worry. Dr. Goldmann might have done. Mr. Weinstock, I am afraid not. He surely means well, but I do hope that at least he will sort out his theses better yet. With Russian-sanctioned U.N. armies, there is still a way through. Otherwise, I admit that Israel will disappear from the map after further unlimited bloodshed, a fate brought on inevitably by crass fear involving crass folly. I reiterate finally that no charge can reasonably be brought against Jewish Zionism as such. Its founder always intended it to be gentle; he was ready to accept even historically unattractive Uganda if political difficulties were too great. No: the charge of all of us must be against an Israeli government, consistently misguiding its people in an admittedly frightened but childish lack of psychological understanding, and inept incompetence."

### NATHAN WEINSTOCK REPLIES:

The main points made by Ben-Yosef are the following: (1) I could secure a much better case by attacking the Israeli government instead of Zionism; (2) In view of Arab terrorist inability to prevent intensive bloodshed among Arabs themselves in Jordan, an Arab takeover of Israel could imply a second holocaust for the Jewish people; (3) Zionism never meant displacing a single Arab from Palestine. Nowhere does military force appear in original Zionist writings; (4) The root of the present situation can be traced back to 1947-1948 when the Arabs rejected the U.N. partition plan and invaded Israel while the victorious Israeli government made the fatal mistakes of refusing to let the original refugees back and allying itself with modern American dollar-imperialism; (5) The only way to stop the bloodshed is the installation of a huge international army in the occupied territories and on both sides of the pre-1967-war frontiers; (6) In spite of managerial distortion, the Hisdadrut still constitutes a very serious check on capitalist development; (7) The overall average of hired labour in the kibbutzim does not exceed 20%; true, hired labour amounts to 50% of the kibbutz industry (more than 1/3

of kibbutz income), but this is mainly the case of a few large industries so that 80% of the kibbutzniks are operating pure socialism devoid of exploitation.

(1) The first argument is obviously the main one: our reader agrees that Israeli policies are wrong but in his opinion this has nothing to do with the social and political structure of the Zionist State as such. We hold, on the other hand, that the Palestinian problem is essentially the problem of the colonial-type relationship between Jews and Arabs as embodied in the legal (Laws of Return and on Nationality), economical, social (discrimination), and political (no self-determination for Palestinians) framework of the Zionist state. Therefore, we think that even in the event of some sort of permanent ceasefire between Israelis and Palestinians or Arabs, nothing could actually be settled if things were to remain as they are. In this connection, Israel can be compared to Northern Ireland: the colonial essence of the State must be uprooted in order to solve the problem. And by Zionism we mean just these elements of the social and political make-up of the country and its ideology and not the mere matter of some more thousands of Jews immigrating to the Holy Land. Furthermore, the Zionist structure of the State implied from the very outset its dependence on Imperialism. So, Zionism, as we see it, is the essence of the problem. Therefore we advocate the de-Zionisation of Israel, which means the destruction of the quasi-colonial framework.

(2) This brings us to the second point: the danger of a mass pogrom on the Israelis. There is a very simple way of averting this danger: the mass participation of class-conscious Israelis in the anti-Zionist struggle, which is in fact necessary anyhow in order to de-Zionise Israel since the destruction of the capitalist structure and the forceful removal of the bourgeoisie and the labour bureaucracy cannot be effectuated without moving a large sector of the Israeli proletariat on the scene (you can't liberate people in spite of themselves). The workers' struggle during the past years and recently in Ashkelon which took the radical form of spontaneous workers' committees has proved that it is possible.

(3) Here I cannot but express wonder at our reader's assumption! From the outset, Arab fellaheen in Palestine struggled against Jewish colonists who were occupying the land which formerly belonged to them. The left-wing Zionist policy of not exploiting the natives actually aggravated the situation because it implied that the tenants had to leave the land purchased by the Jewish National Fund. The resistance of the fellaheen to Jewish colonisation (in contradistinction to the effendis who fed on land speculation) was the main motive for the successive Jewish military units in Palestine from Bar-Giora and Hashomer before 1914 to the post-World War I Hagana and the present Tsahal (army). This was Zionism in practice. As for the ideologists, not all grasped the implications of Zionism, but they all understood that their programme could only be accomplished with foreign military support (be it the Kaiser, the Sultan of the British Mandate). After all, settling Jews in Palestine in the teeth of the natives' resistance is what Zionism is about, isn't it?

(4) The 1948 war was a distorted expression of the basic antagonism between Zionist colonisation and the Arab masses. But Arab opposition never ceased from the beginning of the century and actually culminated in the Palestinian revolt of 1936-39 crushed by British imperialism helped by the Zionist militias. The plight of the refugees was a large-scale and violent version of the piecemeal evacuation of Arab tenants inherent in Zionist land policy.

(5) Great-power intervention in the Middle East is motivated by the fear of revolutionary developments in the area. This underscores the fact that the importance of the Palestinian resistance is mainly political (radicalisation of the masses) and not military (they are but a minor threat to Israeli security). Therefore, revolutionaries must opposing the stationing of foreign troops in the area just as they understand that British soldiers in Ulster are there to bolster the colonial set-up and not to "protect" the population.

(6) The Hisdadrut is not a trade union at all: it is a gigantic apparatus that serves to integrate the Israeli working class in the capitalist economy. All important Israeli strikes have been called in spite of vigorous Hisdadrut opposition. It is not merely a matter of the labour bureaucracy being conservative: the leadership of the Hisdadrut has been part of the industrial-State apparatus from the very inception of the Zionist state, i.e. long before 1948. The establishment of a real trade union would therefore be a great step forward for the Israeli proletariat. The violence of the strikers' assaults against the Hisdadrut offices during street demonstrations indicates that they are slowly becoming aware of this.

(7) I have no quarrel with the reader's figure regarding kibbutz industry. The fact that half of the kibbutz industrial labour is hired labour suffices to make my point that in view of the growing role of manufacture in the kibbutzim, the capitalist system is slowly swallowing up the kibbutz economy.

Finally, the long excerpt of Ben-Yosef's letter published above is perhaps especially remarkable for the absence of any reference to a solution through mass mobilisation: our reader sees peace as the result of Mrs. Meir's exertions or Mr. Nasser's efforts, perhaps even as a consequence of Mr. Brezhnev's policy. Surely for socialists labour action is the main road towards solving any problem, or what is Socialism about anyway? So the first step forward consists in setting up a united Arab-Israeli front against Zionism, imperialism and Arab reaction.

Nathan Weinstock

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# WOMEN'S LIBERATION

## WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

Jo O'Brien, who is an editor of *Socialist Woman*, has just returned from a lecture tour in the U.S.A.

On Wednesday August 26th thousands of women demonstrated throughout America. They demonstrated around specific issues, but there is no doubt that their demands—equal opportunity for jobs and education; free abortion on demand; and free 24-hour child-care facilities, community controlled—were demands put forward with the concept of Women's Liberation in mind, not women's rights. The chant, the slogan, the roar on that day was "Women's Liberation".

To develop liberation it is necessary to have rights and equality first, but the dynamic of the Women's Movement is the understanding that women will find no satisfaction in sharing the position of men under Capitalism. Women are struggling for equality only because it is the first step to liberation. The Liberation Movement contains the assumption that women need to transcend their present condition under Capitalism. What is now developing is the understanding that to do this they have to transcend Capitalism.

### Capitalism and the Family

There is an absolutely logical relationship between Women's Liberation and Revolutionary Socialism. To understand this relationship we first have to recognise that the Women's Movement is basically a reaction against the Capitalist social structure which is based on socially enforced sexual exclusiveness and monogamy. Women are challenging their social role under Capitalism because safe female contraception has introduced a new contradiction. Contraception would appear to release women from the need to be sexually faithful, sexually abstemious before marriage, and to release them from the automatic acceptance of monogamy. Women in large numbers are attempting to live for the first time by values other than those which have been perpetuated by the Capitalist State and Church to justify monogamy and sexual exclusiveness. But women are not in fact released by contraception. Sexual exclusiveness and monogamy were instituted to perpetuate a specific mode of production and this mode of production is still absolutely intact in most parts of the world. Whilst ever this mode of production is unchanged, the present role of the Family will exist and the oppression of women will continue.

The important point is that women are led to an understanding of this by their definition of what they want. Women experience their oppression to a large extent through the Family. They want to be free of the restrictions imposed upon them by their role in the Family. This

leads them to a study of its nature and the reason for its existence. They find that their oppression is directly related to Capitalist economic organisation. They discover that the sexual faithfulness of women was instituted by Capitalists to ensure that they could pass on their property to their children. They realise that the Family was instituted to end communal responsibility for the individual, and as the means of the division of labour between male and female through which the Capitalist production operates. Women are therefore moving to an understanding of the need for social change, because they are seeking not only equality but Freedom—and their definition of what they want poses the question, "Freedom from what?"

### Social Revolution

The Women's Liberation Movement lays bare the distortion of human relations by Capitalism, particularly the most fundamental kind of human relations—male/female ones. It moves logically against Capitalist economics because it challenges the validity of the socially enforced Family unit, which exists as the only form of social organisation in our society and exists because of Capitalism. The Women's Movement strikes right at the heart of our social organisation. Because its concern is Liberation, its demands have revolutionary implications. Free abortion on demand and free community-controlled child-care centres are typical examples. They imply State provision for personal needs; social responsibility for personal welfare; the control of a person's life by that person rather than values imposed by Church or State; and the destruction of the role of the Family in relation to production. These demands were not put forward by the American Women's Liberation Movement because the majority of the women in the Movement are conscious Socialists. They were adopted because they express the needs of all women today. They show that women are conscious of what they need to radically alter their social condition, and that the thing they need is a socialist philosophy as opposed to a Capitalistic one. Their demands are not for social revolution—but they imply social revolution. Free abortion and free child care are realisable demands. But they will only be realised with a significant change in the structure of Capitalist society, and when they are realised they will bring about a significant alteration in our social organisation. Thousands of women fighting for these demands means thousands of women consciously fighting for social reorganisation and liberation from their present condition. And the more that women unconsciously fight for socialism, the more conscious they will become of its relevance to them.

### Alienation

Central to the Liberation Movement is a conscious disgust at the quality of life in our society. Women in America are learning Karate,

not as a symbol of self-protection against the male oppressor but as a means of coping with the violent abuse and degradation of the female sex by the male sex which is only one aspect of the absolute sense of alienation felt by the majority of people in that country. The men who approached me in the streets of New York, as they approach all women in the streets of New York, with words that were unbelievably loathsome and cruel, were expressing the savagery of an alienation that a Londoner, for example, could not comprehend. Women, who are so easily reviled, beaten, raped and murdered, have had the stink of alienation in their nostrils for long enough. It is very significant that a search for Liberation has been motivated not only by economic need, but also by disgust at the quality of human life and relations under Capitalism. The mass of women inside the Movement may not think in terms of "alienation", but they are the victims of it and they are arming against it.

If revolutionary socialist parties ignore this massive rejection of Capitalism by women, and fail to point out to them in a relevant way that it is Capitalism they are rejecting, then there will be important and tragic consequences.

### The Role of Revolutionaries

Women have defined themselves what they want and have defined the road that they will take. They are at the beginning of the road that ultimately leads to revolutionary socialism, but their movement along this road could be greatly helped by revolutionary parties recognising female oppression and indicating their support for the Women's Liberation Movement. Women will reach a conscious revolutionary position that much quicker if conscious revolutionaries salute their struggle and point out what both groups have in common. If revolutionary socialist parties turn their backs on women, the point of the overthrow of Capitalism will never be reached. A revolutionary socialist movement which does not identify with the oppression of any and every social group is neither revolutionary nor socialist. If the revolutionary socialist movement lags much longer in identifying with the Liberation movement, the two will move forward but not in concert. Women will not identify with a political movement that does not acknowledge their oppression. It will not deserve their support and it will not get it. There will not, therefore, occur that mutual identification that must occur between numerous social groups and classes, and a revolutionary party, for the successful overthrow of Capitalism. Revolutionaries will have failed.

If revolutionaries are failing to understand the importance of the Women's Liberation movement, it is largely because they do not understand the relationship between Capitalism and the people who live under it. They will have failed to see that nearly all classes, groups and strata of our society, at some time or

another, will find Capitalism unbearable, and that the rejection of the quality of life under Capitalism can be as huge a motivating force as economic stress. Women students, women from the professions, women from the middle and working classes are rejecting Capitalism independent of any class movement because they are sick to the guts of the female role, the female stereotype, socially enforced marriage and numerous other distortions of human life projected by our society. It is simplistic to consider that only the working class will disaffect from Capitalism, and therefore that only workers have revolutionary potential. Racial and religious groupings, age groups, and now a sex, are in the process of disaffecting. And why should we be surprised? We know that every aspect of our life is crippled by this kind of social organisation and it is therefore only logical that more and more sections of the community will seek for an alternative. We are witnessing the growth of human consciousness and understanding, and the translation of this consciousness into action.

### Consciousness-Raising

"Consciousness" is the fundamental link between Women's Liberation and Revolutionary Socialism. It is very significant that the basis of the Liberation Movement everywhere has been the consciousness-raising group. Women began with a recognition that they had to re-think everything they were, and that was a brilliant beginning. They had to penetrate deep into what they had been made, and if they did not like what they had been made then they had to make themselves. They decided that they could alter their own consciousness and with a re-altered consciousness they could change their lives because they could affect the organisation of their society.

When at least 25,000 women demonstrated in the centre of New York, it was a triumph for the concept of consciousness-raising. Women organised the march, led it and addressed it. It was militant but controlled, without demagogues but organised. The women bore with endless patience the abuse of male onlookers and the deliberate disruption by the Press. Their call to the thousands of onlookers was "Women—join us." When I gave them a message of solidarity from the Nottingham Socialist Women's Committee, a roar of triumph came from this mass of women—triumph because they were now sure that their movement was international and strong. On the 26th of August American sisters gave great evidence of their contribution to their own future and to that of others.

A male, French revolutionary, who had previously protested that the Women's Liberation Movement was self-indulgent and a-political, went to watch the demonstration. As thousands of women passed him and showed the meaning of the new female consciousness, he added, "Now I understand."  
Jo O'Brien

# SPARTACUS

## ZIONISTS ATTACK ARAB REVOLUTION SOLIDARITY MARCH

As a result of the recent attack on the Fedayeen in Jordan by the Jordanian military regime, the Spartacus League, together with IMG comrades, decided to hold a demonstration in solidarity with the Fedayeen. The march was planned to start at Speakers Corner. However, the comrades had not long erected their flags and banners (including a Palestinian national flag) when a large group of Zionists, who had been holding a meeting of their own, began to approach. The Zionists, including highly trained paramilitary thugs, immediately began to attack our comrades, who were in a minority. Placards and banners were ripped up and leaflets burnt. Already before the S.L. contingent arrived, a Maoist had been beaten up. The demonstration started out and was extremely militant—it had to be since the Zionists followed us all the way from Speakers Corner to Kensington High Street. They were waiting to have another go at us once the demonstration had dispersed. However, prior plans taking this possibility into account had been laid en route and the demonstration succeeded in dispersing into the Underground very rapidly.

This was the first time that a demonstration by the Left had encountered organised resistance on the part of the Zionists, although this has happened before on the Continent. The lessons of the demonstration were that we must be prepared for this type of eventuality in future. This means that we must make plans in advance

for efficient stewarding and means of dispersal.

### S.L. AT BRIGHTON LOBBY

Spartacus League comrades from Glasgow and London went down to Brighton during the TUC Conference to attend the Youth Lobby. Spartacus League Broadsheets were sold and a leaflet distributed. While not being opposed to the Lobby as such, the leaflet pointed out that the problems of organising young people into the T.U.s had to be tackled politically and not organisationally. It was incorrect to say that young people had somehow a lower consciousness. Their political consciousness was generally higher—involvement in anti-imperialist campaigns, etc.—and this higher consciousness was one of the factors in their being repelled by the bureaucratised nature of the Unions.

### RED EUROPE MOBILISATION

During the course of the following month, Spartacus League meetings will take place throughout the country on Red Europe. A list of dates is included here, and exact times and dates will be in the mid-October *Mole*.

|                  |         |
|------------------|---------|
| Bristol          | 12 Oct. |
| B'ham Aston      | 13 Oct. |
| Leicester/Nott'm | 14 Oct. |
| Coventry (2)     | 15 Oct. |
| Keele, Stafford  | 16 Oct. |
| York, Hull       | 21 Oct. |
| Sheffield        | 22 Oct. |
| Leeds            | 23 Oct. |

|             |        |
|-------------|--------|
| Manchester, |        |
| Lancaster   | 2 Nov. |
| Glasgow     | 3 Nov. |
| Edinburgh,  |        |
| Stirling    | 4 Nov. |

For exact details, write to the Spartacus League, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1, or phone 01-837 6954 and ask for the S.L.

On the weekend of October 30/31/1st Nov. the S.L. will have a national mobilisation in London as a preliminary to Red Europe. During the weekend S.L. members will go to the Cliff/Mandel debate, a Vietnam demonstration and possibly an anti-racist demonstration. Write to the Centre if you would like to participate.

### SPARTACUS LEAGUE SCHOOL ON WORKERS WORK

On 18th/19th September, the Spartacus League held its first cadre school for young militants on the problems Marxists face in relation to the working class and the trade unions. Special emphasis was given to how young Marxists could intervene in the day-to-day struggles of the class. Papers were presented on various subjects including Marxism and the Trade Unions, Workers Control, Trade Unions under Neo-Capitalism, and the present conjuncture of the working class movement. The discussion centred around the experiences of militants in various fields. Comrades from Scotland gave us an analysis confronting young militants in relation to apprentices whilst other comrades gave reports on various aspects of the Spartacus League intervention in the recent dock strike

Various conclusions can be drawn out of the school. The school helped to clarify the problems involved in intervening in the struggle of the working class and helped to clarify the various confusions many comrades have in this field. As the Spartacus League develops, its work in trade unions and in relation to young workers will become increasingly more important. In the coming months we can expect new attacks by the Tory government on militant trade unionists by use of incomes policy, anti-union legislation and productivity deals. At the same time the role of the bureaucratised unions will be especially important. The role of the GMWU at Pilkingtons was exposed in the last issue of *Red Mole*. Now there is news of a fresh struggle about to take place in the ETU against its undemocratic and bureaucratised structure. All these events make it especially important that militants have a clear understanding of these problems. At the same time militants must construct an alternative strategy for fighting the offensive of the government, employers and their lackeys the labour aristocracy (the union bosses and bureaucrats). It is also important to expose those, like Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones, who put on a left face and so confuse the rank and file.

For this reason militants must be able to intervene in the struggles of the class and pose transitional demands, and must be able to counter the fake offers of "workers' participation" with a clearly worked-out and developed programme to be able to pose the question of "workers' control."

# REPRESSION OF THE STUDENT

At the same time as the international press makes a big fuss on the normalisation of relations between the Yugoslav Government and the Vatican and when bourgeois commentators cite the "liberalism" and "tolerance" of the Yugoslav regime as an example, a complete silence is maintained regarding repression against left-wing students.

The "tolerance" of the bureaucracy, in fact, only extends to its critics from the right. For students, who are fighting for the institution of a genuine socialism of workers' control, against social inequality and the bureaucratic control over the political and economic life of the country, a process of repression has started, which constantly gets worse (bureaucratic replacing of the editorial board of the Belgrade students' newspaper, *Student*, judicial proceedings, imprisonings). The Yugoslav student movement like the Polish and the Czechoslovak has played an even more important political role than in the capitalist countries.

In a society where the Communist Party has a monopoly on political life, the student movement is the only force to have put forward an anti-bureaucratic political programme and to have fought for these slogans.

The following demands were advanced by the Belgrade students in June 1968:

- A reduction of social inequality;
- The drawing up of a plan to abolish unemployment;
- Extension of workers' control to society as a whole;
- The democratisation of public life;
- A halt to the breaking up of social property into private property corresponding to the real wishes of the Yugoslav working class.

They prove—let it be said in passing—the impossibility for the tendencies which talk of the restoration of capitalism being already effected, of finding an echo in the vanguard of the Yugoslav working class.

The bureaucracy must at all costs prevent the radical wing of the students joining up with the working class.

In June 1968, Tito, doubtless with the French events in mind, defused the movement by promising to satisfy all the student demands. Today having solved nothing, the bureaucracy embarks on repression. In the crisis which confronts Yugoslavia today and in the face of the growing mobilisation of the working class in defence of its social conquests (more than 2,000 strikes in two years), the bureaucracy must cut off all means of expression to the left-wing students.

It falls on us to make known the fight that our comrades are leading for the institution of a true socialist democracy in Yugoslavia.

## CHRONOLOGY

### 1966:

23 December: violent spontaneous demonstrations against the Vietnam war were the first event which showed the Belgrade students the difference between the professed policy of the Yugoslav Government and its actual practice; the demonstrations were condemned by the League of Communists, which started proceedings against the "ringleaders" in the Faculty of Philosophy, as a result of which Alexander Kron, Assistant Professor of Philosophy, was barred from the Party and Jadran Ferlugai, history teacher, and Alia Hodjic, sociology student, given a serious warning.

### 1967:

An open conflict broke out between the authorities and an important group of intellectuals (essentially teachers in the Philosophy Faculty). The latter were accused of having criticised the market economy and demanding authentic workers' control.

The authorities bring political pressure to bear on the intellectuals involved, the students becoming politicised in the course of the defence professors and students under attack.

### 1967-68:

Students of the Philosophy Faculty organise various actions: against the fascist regime in Greece; in support of the German extra-Parliamentary opposition; on the occasion of the anniversary of the founding of the NLF. The authorities don't react.

### 1968

**March:** At the time of the events in Poland and Czechoslovakia, the Philosophy Faculty students lead a solidarity action with the Professors and students of Warsaw, write petitions and hold meetings in the course of which the situation in Poland is analysed and compared to the Yugoslav situation. Inspired by the Czechoslovakian events, the students advance demands for the democratisation of Yugoslavian society. The harshest reaction comes from the leader of the official student organisation with whom the students enter into open conflict for the first time. The militants of the Philosophy Faculty are widely supported by young intellectuals as well as the student press.

The growing unemployment (10%), enormous social inequality (wages scale of 1:40), economic emigration (1 million), the privatisation of collective property, the penetration of foreign capital, the politics of peaceful coexistence and indiscriminate trade with the whole world, the limits on workers' control as well as the expressive character of the measures taken as a result of demonstrations of discontent, make a wave of dissatisfaction explode which culminates in violent spontaneous demonstrations of several thousand students.

**June:** All the faculties in Belgrade are occupied and a general strike of the students and teachers of the University of Belgrade follows. For a week the strikers hold meetings in permanent session and demand real workers' control and the democratisation of Yugoslavian political life.

The principal demands are the following: abolition of growing unemployment, of economic emigration, of social inequalities, of the privileges of state officials, of corruption, etc; then demands for democratisation of political life especially in the Party, for the realisation of workers' control (which is official policy) at every level, etc.

The strike ends after an address to the nation by Marshal Tito on June 8th.

**August:** The Party Committee by an administrative decision and without consulting the base, dissolves the Philosophy and Sociology groups of the Philosophy Faculty.

The Belgrade students' paper *Student* after three seizures and a final prohibition, maintains the orientation of the June Programme of Action. Violent and pernicious attacks follow in the evening press without any reasoning, as well as in the Party paper *Komunist*.

In the Philosophy Faculty a group of militants propose a new Programme of Action to the Assembly of the student organisation (SSFF) affirming that students have no other interests than "society as a whole". They demand that the SSFF organisation cease being a sterile syndicalist organisation to become a political organisation. After the proposal the Party representative accuses the advocates of this proposal of trying to create a new political opposition party.

### 1969

**Spring:** In the March/April elections, the students of the Philosophy Faculty proposed candidates for the Parliament of the Republic as well as for the Federation. A rigid indirect selection prevented them from officially being candidates, the reasons given among others that they were not Party members (which is in contradiction to the Yugoslav constitution) and that they had been involved in the June '68 events.

After the dissolution of the students' organisation of the Philosophy Faculty (SSFF), the students elected a new SSFF Committee in which the militants of June '68 found themselves again. The new SSFF Committee, supported by the students, delays the institution of the censorship of *Student* and proposes to the Assembly of University Students to organise meetings on June 3rd to commemorate the anniversary of the Programme of Action of June '68. Every faculty approved of this proposal as well as that of electing a group charged with analysing the extent to which the demands

would serve as the starting point for the meetings. In this group are likewise elected militants of the Faculty of Philosophy.

The Party Committee at the University does not approve of the decision and tries to impede the organisation of the meetings by every possible means. Result: from June 2nd all convoked meetings are cancelled, the Philosophy Faculty meeting included.

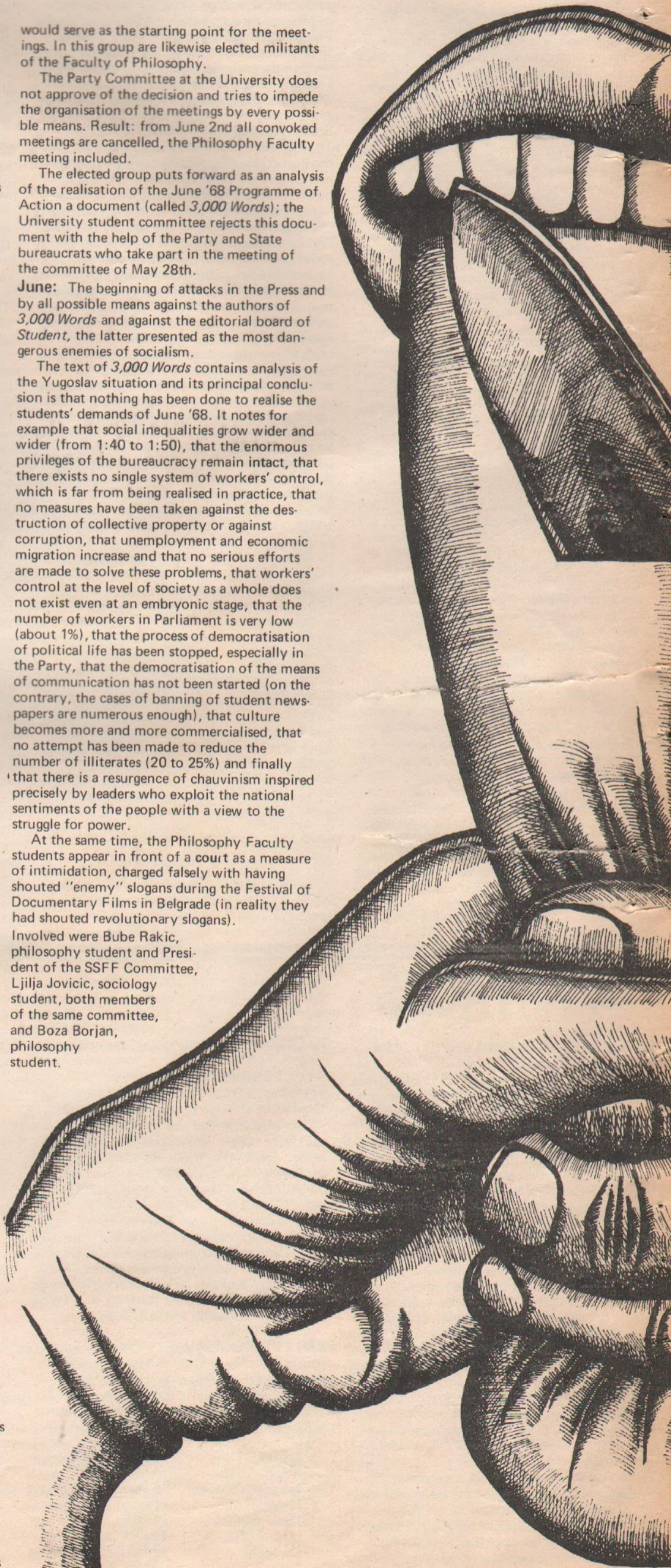
The elected group puts forward as an analysis of the realisation of the June '68 Programme of Action a document (called *3,000 Words*); the University student committee rejects this document with the help of the Party and State bureaucrats who take part in the meeting of the committee of May 28th.

**June:** The beginning of attacks in the Press and by all possible means against the authors of *3,000 Words* and against the editorial board of *Student*, the latter presented as the most dangerous enemies of socialism.

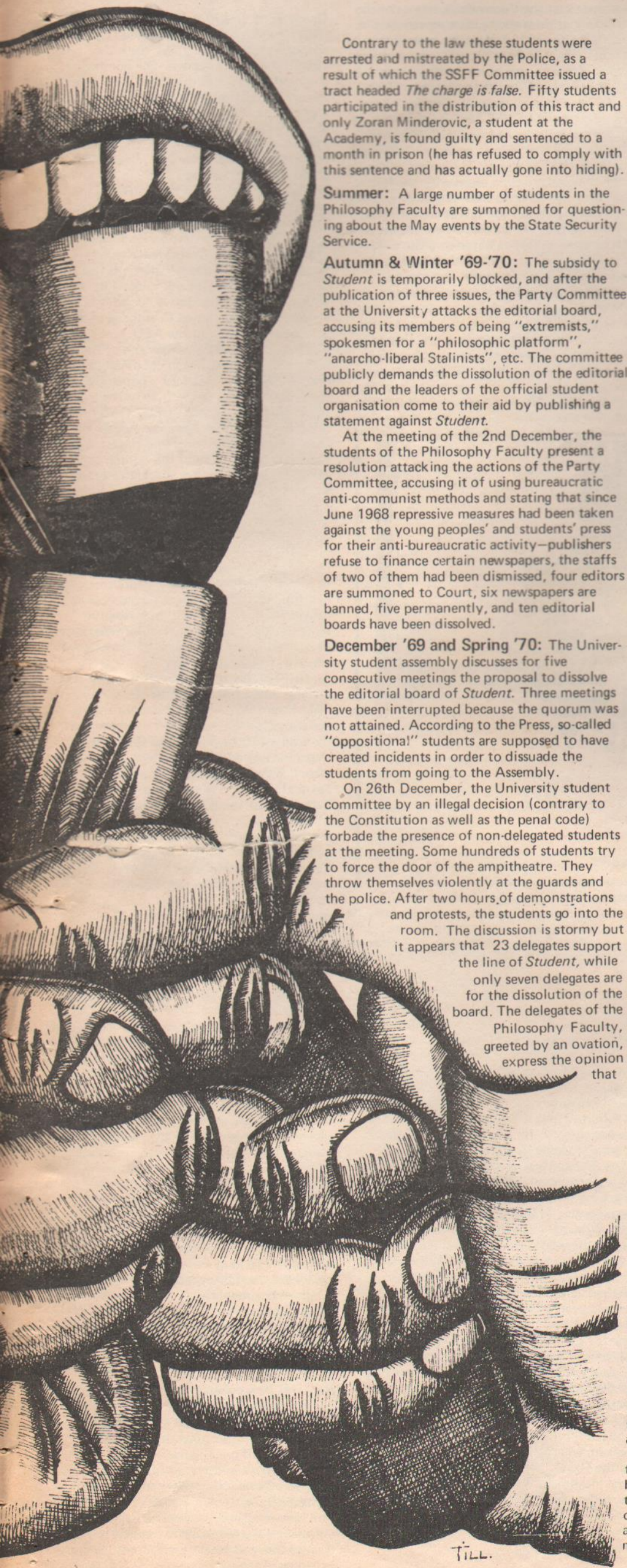
The text of *3,000 Words* contains analysis of the Yugoslav situation and its principal conclusion is that nothing has been done to realise the students' demands of June '68. It notes for example that social inequalities grow wider and wider (from 1:40 to 1:50), that the enormous privileges of the bureaucracy remain intact, that there exists no single system of workers' control, which is far from being realised in practice, that no measures have been taken against the destruction of collective property or against corruption, that unemployment and economic migration increase and that no serious efforts are made to solve these problems, that workers' control at the level of society as a whole does not exist even at an embryonic stage, that the number of workers in Parliament is very low (about 1%), that the process of democratisation of political life has been stopped, especially in the Party, that the democratisation of the means of communication has not been started (on the contrary, the cases of banning of student newspapers are numerous enough), that culture becomes more and more commercialised, that no attempt has been made to reduce the number of illiterates (20 to 25%) and finally that there is a resurgence of chauvinism inspired precisely by leaders who exploit the national sentiments of the people with a view to the struggle for power.

At the same time, the Philosophy Faculty students appear in front of a court as a measure of intimidation, charged falsely with having shouted "enemy" slogans during the Festival of Documentary Films in Belgrade (in reality they had shouted revolutionary slogans).

Involved were Bube Rakic, philosophy student and President of the SSFF Committee, Ljilja Jovicic, sociology student, both members of the same committee, and Boza Borjan, philosophy student.



# OPPOSITION IN YUGOSLAVIA



Contrary to the law these students were arrested and mistreated by the Police, as a result of which the SSFF Committee issued a tract headed *The charge is false*. Fifty students participated in the distribution of this tract and only Zoran Minderovic, a student at the Academy, is found guilty and sentenced to a month in prison (he has refused to comply with this sentence and has actually gone into hiding).

**Summer:** A large number of students in the Philosophy Faculty are summoned for questioning about the May events by the State Security Service.

**Autumn & Winter '69-'70:** The subsidy to *Student* is temporarily blocked, and after the publication of three issues, the Party Committee at the University attacks the editorial board, accusing its members of being "extremists," spokesmen for a "philosophic platform," "anarcho-liberal Stalinists", etc. The committee publicly demands the dissolution of the editorial board and the leaders of the official student organisation come to their aid by publishing a statement against *Student*.

At the meeting of the 2nd December, the students of the Philosophy Faculty present a resolution attacking the actions of the Party Committee, accusing it of using bureaucratic anti-communist methods and stating that since June 1968 repressive measures had been taken against the young peoples' and students' press for their anti-bureaucratic activity—publishers refuse to finance certain newspapers, the staffs of two of them had been dismissed, four editors are summoned to Court, six newspapers are banned, five permanently, and ten editorial boards have been dissolved.

**December '69 and Spring '70:** The University student assembly discusses for five consecutive meetings the proposal to dissolve the editorial board of *Student*. Three meetings have been interrupted because the quorum was not attained. According to the Press, so-called "oppositional" students are supposed to have created incidents in order to dissuade the students from going to the Assembly.

On 26th December, the University student committee by an illegal decision (contrary to the Constitution as well as the penal code) forbade the presence of non-delegated students at the meeting. Some hundreds of students try to force the door of the amphitheatre. They throw themselves violently at the guards and the police. After two hours of demonstrations and protests, the students go into the room. The discussion is stormy but it appears that 23 delegates support the line of *Student*, while only seven delegates are for the dissolution of the board. The delegates of the Philosophy Faculty, greeted by an ovation, express the opinion that

the campaign against *Student* has been fixed up by the forces of the bureaucracy and protest against the transformation of the student organisation into a simple transmission belt for the

C.P., which, according to them, has no right to claim a monopoly of truth for itself.

Since *Student* is accused essentially of criticising everything existing, the delegates explain that criticism in this sense is in fact Marx's own claim and the principle of Marxist thought.

During these meetings the bureaucracy brought into play everything it could to draw away militants from the Philosophy Faculty. (A meeting was organised to contest the legality of the SSFF Committee with fake evidence.)

The Police restarted the action brought against Vlado Mijanovic and his comrades, accused of having published the May tract called *The charge is false*. Dusan Kuzmanovic, Curgus Velimir and Velia Mihajljvic, philosophy students, have been summoned for questioning at the Court.

The last meeting of the student assembly on 10th January 1970 is held in the presence of dozens of guards and police agents. Between the two meetings most of the delegates were replaced by full-timers of the C.P. (the principles of democratic centralism obliged them, according to them, to approve the decisions of the C.P.)

The delegated defenders of *Student* denounce this meeting as packed. Likewise they assert that the bureaucratic intervention of the C.P. had prevented all democratic debate. The Assembly President favoured the adversaries of *Student* by breaking off discussion at a moment when about 40 delegates, defenders of *Student*, demanded to be heard. The chair is immediately abandoned as well as the Motions commission. Nobody can speak any more, not even Alia Hozic, editor-in-chief of *Student*, a sociology student, who had asked to reply to attacks and questions.

159 delegates voted against *Student*, 13 for. There were 15 abstentions, also about 50 delegates refused to vote under these conditions, protesting in this way, but in vain, against the methods used.

Almost at the same time—at the beginning of December—the Philosophy Society of Serbia held a meeting on the subject, *Socialism and Culture*. The situation was distinguished by the bureaucratic offensive against the liberty to be creative. In '69 in Serbia no fewer than 40 works had been banned; this figure was larger than the total number of bans for 20 years after the war. This discussion took place in the presence of hundreds of intellectual workers and had an important echo, provoking a wave of vigorous attacks on the part of the C.P. Towards the end of January '70 at the conclusion of a press campaign directed against students and left intellectuals, a meeting of the Republic Parliament dedicated almost 12 hours to an examination of the situation in the Faculty of Philosophy and Philology. Students and teachers were accused of being "oppositionals", "extremists" and "anti-socialist forces". The full minutes of this meeting has never been made public.

## Spring 1970

A new SSFF Committee is elected, which undertakes a good number of actions. A petition is signed by the students and teachers raised against the brutal torture which L. Packman, the Czechoslovakian Chess master, has suffered. Meetings and demonstrations are organised against the American aggression in Cambodia. (The Press completely ignores these developments in the Far East.) Thousands of leaflets are distributed on this subject, a satirical journal, *Frontisterion*, aimed at the students of the Philosophy Faculty, would have been published and has been forbidden by the censor at the Printing Press. An address to Yugoslavs has been published raising the problem of the growing repression against the student press and against youth, a hunger strike has been organised in support of the Kakany (Bosnia) miners' strike against poverty.

The police went into Philosophy Faculty twice in the course of this strike, searching the building from top to bottom and thus violating the autonomy of the University; in the course of that the dean of the Philosophy Faculty was arrested in his office. The strikers distribute more than 10,000 leaflets to inform the popu-

lation and explain to it the reasons for the hunger strike. The Press stays silent once again.

## Summer 1970

Repression comes down again on the progressive students of the Philosophy Faculty as soon as the vacation begins. Numerous students are found guilty of "publication of false information liable to cause disturbance among the population with the end of undermining confidence in official institutions."

Also the following students are accused:

- Perunovic Slobodan, archaeology student, member of the SSFF Committee.
- Zivojinovic Moma, philosophy student, member of the SSFF Committee.
- Boskovic Dusan, philosophy student, member of the SSFF Committee.
- Vojvodic Vlada, student of medicine.
- Jovicic Ljilja, sociology student, ex-member of the SSFF Committee.
- Pavicevic Radmila, teaching student.
- Moljkovic Ilija, literature graduate, publicist, student in the Philosophy Faculty.
- Nolic Milan, sociology student, ex-member of the SSFF Committee.
- Liht Sonja, sociology student, ex-member of the University students committee and of the Central Committee of Serbian Youth.
- N. Nedeljko (sociology student) and Ecvijevec Slobodan (history student) have been arrested during leaflet distribution and sentenced to a month in prison.
- Dapic Goranko, philosophy student and secretary of the SSFF Committee, arrested on 17th July and imprisoned in inhuman conditions. He is accused of propaganda hostile to the State.
- Bozidar Borjan, philosophy student, has been in prison for two months. He is convicted of having published a strictly philosophical review, *Le Rondo*. He has been transferred because of bad health to the hospital of Zrenjanin Prison (Serbia) where he still is.

Dapic Goranko is provisionally freed after six days in prison while the President of the SSFF Committee, sociology student Vlado Mijanovic, is arrested.

The principal charges levelled against Dapic and Mijanovic can carry as much as twelve years in prison:

- criticism of the Yugoslav electoral system in April 1969;
- distribution of a leaflet headed *The charge is false*, in June '69;
- assertion that none of the demands of June '68 have been realised;
- distribution of the document *3,000 Words* in June 1969;
- assistance in the publication of the paper *Frontisterion* in April 1970;
- accusing the bureaucracy for measures taken against *Student*;
- organisation of meetings against the American aggression in Cambodia and distribution of leaflets calling a meeting on 7th June 1970;
- organisation of the hunger strike on 22nd June and distribution of the strikers' leaflets.

For Dapic:

- insulting the leaders during the Belgrade students assembly on 10th June 1970;
- distribution of leaflets against the repression of the student press;
- "hostile" talk during a meeting in the course of the hunger strike on 24th June 1970.

About 40 students have already been summoned for questioning by the State Security Forces or as witnesses at the Court.

It is probable, from semi-official information; that a trial is in preparation against these militants. It is important that this information is disseminated as widely as possible and that the revolutionary student movement in Western Europe acts in solidarity.

Philippe Sabathe

(This material has been translated from Rouge, the weekly paper of the Communist League in France.)



# THE MINORITY MOVEMENT

## 1.

The National Minority Movement was the largest movement of rank-and-file trade unionists ever to have existed in Britain. Set up by the Communist Party in 1924, it contained many of the most selfless men that British trade unionism has seen. The Minority Movement is important not merely for its size—at one time it had over 950,000 members—but also because most of the problems faced by its members—undemocratic unions, a separation of politics from industrial activity, the problem of political militants in the T.U.s, etc.—are still with us. For anyone struggling to achieve rank-and-file control of the unions, a study of the rise and ultimate defeat of the Minority Movement is of great value. The experience of the Minority Movement also shows clearly that the “moderate” trade unionists who attempted to compromise with capitalism caused poverty and humiliation for hundreds of thousands of working class families, and that the only “realists” in the situation were those who believed that it was necessary to overthrow capitalism by force.

### The State of the Unions in the 1920s

In the early 1920s British trade unionism was in a bad way. In 1921 there were over two million unemployed (15% of the working class) and on the famous “Black Friday” the miners had been forced to accept wage cuts of up to 40%. Union membership had fallen from over 6½ million in 1919-1920 to only just over 4 million in 1924. Even worse was the loss of membership by some of the biggest unions; the Engineers Union had lost nearly half its members between 1920 and 1925 and the National Union of Railwaymen lost 130,000 members in the same period. The social conditions reflected in these figures were terrible. The British ruling class showed its gratitude for the hundreds of thousands of working-class men killed during the First World War by forcing tens of thousands of South Wales miners to emigrate, by calling in troops and police to break strikes, and by cutting unemployment pay and rigidly enforcing the means test. Although to be in work was better than unemployment, nevertheless the employers certainly believed in extracting every ounce of sweat; Aneurin Bevan recalled, for example, that in the labouring gang he worked in in Wales during this period, the men had to work so hard that the blood from their hands ran down the handles of their picks and shovels.

What heightened this tragedy was that none of this suffering had been necessary. In Britain in the period after the end of the First World War a working-class revolution had been within reach. 70,000 troops had been involved in mutinies in South-East England, and demonstrations of 100,000 workers had taken place in Glasgow, while in the great Clyde Strike of 1919 pickets had consisted not of tens or hundreds of men, but of thousands. Even the police went on strike, and from Yorkshire it was reported to the Government that “a minority of very advanced workers” had inflamed “practically the whole body of skilled men, affecting hundreds of thousands of workers”. The ruling class reacted to this situation with its customary viciousness, and in Glasgow, the centre of the unrest, tanks appeared in the streets, machine guns were mounted on the tops of buildings, and literally thousands of troops were sent to the city. Despite this fierce repression, the rebellion swelled until the Prime Minister, Lloyd George, admitted to the leaders of the main unions that the government could no longer control the working class and that if the working class acted against the state, they would overthrow it and set up a workers’ government. If the leaders of the working class had acted decisively in this situation, a socialist revolution in Britain would have been possible. Following closely on the heels of the Russian revolution, this would have ignited a revolutionary wave throughout Europe. Not merely would such a revolution have prevented the terrible suffering of the British working class during the 1920s and 1930s, but an internationally successful socialist revolution would have prevented the emergence of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany, and therefore the Second World War. In Russia it would have meant a victory of the revolutionary wing of Trotsky over the reactionary wing of Stalin. In fact it can be said that rarely has a more important decision been taken than that of the British union leaders in 1919 when they decided

to submit to the government and not to carry out a revolution.

The disastrous effects of this decision followed almost at once; in 1920 the government passed an emergency powers act including vicious anti-strike laws, with three months in prison and fines of £100 for breaking the new regulations. By March 1921 unemployment had reached 1½ million and the militant union structure which had been built up during the War was largely in ruins. When the government took these actions, the union leaders of course “protested” but by then it was too late. They had had their chance to take power in 1919 and had not done so. Having seen that the unions would back down in a crisis, the government had no need to be worried about their strength.

### The Moderate Leaders

It is important to realise that those men who were responsible for causing the poverty of unemployment and the humiliation of the means test for hundreds of thousands of working class families were also the main enemies of the Minority Movement. The most notable of these men was J. H. Thomas—a man much

was simply that the tremendous defeats of the British and world working class movements in the period after 1918 had shown clearly that it was impossible to separate trade unionism and politics. The only way of preventing an almost complete defeat of the trade unions in 1920 and 1921 and the consequent suffering of the working class would have been for the working class to have seized power in 1919. However, such a decision would have been a political and not a trade union decision. The union leaders in 1919 had therefore been faced with the following problem: in order to defend even the most elementary rights to a job it was necessary to take state power, but to take power meant to break down the division between trade unionism and politics which they themselves had always insisted upon. In other words, in order to protect the trade unions it was necessary to act politically. But not to take power is, of course, also a political decision—one that leads to the defeat of the working class. In short, this crisis of 1919 had only two solutions: one was the defeat of the working class and the other was the seizure of power by the working class. The belief that there was some other possibility, which was not political but purely a trade



MOUNTED POLICE CHARGE STRIKERS NEAR THE ELEPHANT AND CASTLE

praised by the press of his time for his “reasonableness”.

J. H. Thomas was the head of the Railwaymen’s Union, and had been one of those leaders to whom Lloyd George had declared that the government and the state would fall if the unions acted against it. The Les Cannon of his day, Thomas ruled the NUR as his own private kingdom. The union constitution put him in his position for life, and using the power of his office, he stamped on any sign of democracy in the union. There were no elections of any importance; the six full-time national officials were not subject to re-election and no lay member could be elected to the executive for more than three years in succession. Together with this lack of democracy at the top went a suppression of democracy at the District level. District Councils could only be formed with the permission of the National Executive, and even then they were to be consultative with “no governing or controlling power over any member, branch or official”. Just to cap it all, local branches could be dissolved by the National Executive at any time if they were considered “unnecessary or undesirable or prejudicial to the interests of the union or its members”. In practice, of course, this meant that any branch openly opposing the right-wing policies of the national executive and of J. H. Thomas would be dissolved. With this type of union structure it was no accident that Thomas was the bitterest opponent of any movement in favour of trade union democracy and the widest possible use of working class power for the achievement of socialism.

It was against this sombre background of working class defeat that the National Minority Movement was founded in 1924.

### Formation of the Minority Movement

The reason for the formation of the Movement

was just a delusion. The attempt of the working class leaders to separate politics and trade unionism led to inevitable defeat for the working class.

The lessons of this crisis were clearly drawn by the Communist Parties. As the President of the Communist International, Zinoviev, stated in 1921, “Neutrality of the trade unions in the political struggle is a fantasy.” An attempt therefore had to be made to wrest control of the unions away from the men who had condemned millions to unemployment by their actions in 1919. In order to try to do this, the RILU (Red International of Labour Unions) was set up. It was this organisation that gave the main impetus for the formation of the Minority Movement.

The first conference of the Movement was held in Farringdon Hall on 23rd-24th August 1924. There were 270 delegates, representing approximately 200,000 workers. The main aim of the Movement was declared to be “...to organise the working masses of Great Britain for the overthrow of capitalism, the emancipation of the workers from oppressors and exploiters, and the establishment of a Socialist Commonwealth”. The methods for achieving this were to be “...wide agitation and propaganda for the principles of the revolutionary class struggle and...to unite the workers in their everyday struggles against the exploiters... with the most immediate aim being to fight against “...the present tendency towards social peace and class collaboration and the delusion of the peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism; and...to maintain the closest relations with the RILU.” The first programme adopted by the movement was an excellent one for the time, calling for a national minimum wage of £4, an all-round wage increase of £1, a 44-hour week, workers’ control of industry and a strengthened TUC Council.

### Growth of the Movement

With a good programme and aided by the economic recovery of 1924, the Minority Movement made rapid progress. The number of conference delegates rose from 271 in 1924, to 547 in 1926, with the number of trade unionists represented rising from 200,000 in 1924 to 957,000 in March 1926. The main strength of the Movement was in mining, engineering and transport. By 1926 over 200 miners’ Minority groups existed; there were 153 in the engineering industry and 126 in the NUR and the TGWU, while five small unions affiliated en bloc. Inside the unions themselves, the Movement built up real strength. In the Mineworkers’ Union, for example, its stubborn resistance to the executive over the 1924 pay negotiations led to the South Wales, Scotland and Lancashire areas all voting against the executive decision to accept a wage deal which failed to make up the previous wage cuts. In the AEU, real support was gained for the £1-a-week rise of the Movement’s programme, which culminated in a narrow defeat for a call for a national strike on the AEU National Committee in March 1926. All in all, it can be said that by 1926 the Minority Movement was a real power in the trade unions and the working class, and that it had in its ranks many of the leading trade unionists in the country. In relatively democratic unions such as the Mineworkers and the AEU, its influence was reflected right up to the national leadership level, while in totally undemocratic ones such as Thomas’s NUR, it provided a militant rank-and-file movement for union democracy and working class policies. In fact, by 1926 the Minority Movement was developing into a movement which could have provided a real basis for a leadership not scared of taking political decisions and capable of preventing any repetition of the betrayal of the working class in 1919.

The leaders of the movement enjoyed great prestige. President and “Elder Statesman” was Tom Mann. He had been a socialist writer and agitator since the 1880s and had been one of the leaders of the great 1889 Dock Strike. Since that time he had been President of the Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Labourers’ Union, General Secretary of the Independent Labour Party and eventually head of the British section of the RILU. Although by the 1920s he could not take part in day-to-day administration, nevertheless his prestige, heightened by the frequency with which he had suffered imprisonment in defence of his principles, was invaluable to the movement. The other major national leaders were Harry Pollitt and J. T. Murphy; and the leader of the key mineworkers’ section was Arthur Horner, who joined the Communist Party in 1920, was co-opted on to the Political Bureau in 1923, played a leading role in launching the miners’ Minority Movement in South Wales alongside Arthur Cook, Noah Ablett and S. O. Davies, and after a chequered career in the Party and the Minority Movement in the 1920s, became President of the South Wales Miners’ Federation in 1936 and General Secretary of the NUM in 1946.

With leaders of a high calibre and a large following in the working class, the Minority Movement presented a real threat to the union leaders and they of course lashed out against it viciously. The methods used by these union leaders show clearly that it is ridiculous to see them as “moderate” men fighting for union rights. In fact they were men whose policies had led to the defeat of the working class in 1919, who repeated this during the General Strike and who were prepared to use any methods in order to defend the right-wing policies of their unions.

We may summarise at this point the position of the trade unions in the spring of 1926. The leadership of the main unions was still on the hands of the right-wing leaders who had been responsible for the defeat of the working class in 1919. On the other hand the militant Minority Movement, grouped around the Communist Party, had grown enormously and now included almost a quarter of all trade unionists. The Movement had good industrial policies and a leadership of great experience. The trial of strength between this revolutionary movement and the official union leadership should have come with the General Strike of 1926. What in fact happened and the reasons for the eventual collapse of the Minority Movement are dealt with in the next issue of the *Mole*.

A. Jones



# ZAMBIA : The politics of "humanism"

Zambia, in comparison to other African states, has one of the most "progressive" governments in the continent. Its self-declared official philosophy is "Humanism". The best way to assess its progressiveness and its relationship to the global struggle against imperialism and capitalism is simply to study what Kaunda and other Zambian leaders have said, and also what has been said about them by their friends and enemies.

According to the authoritative *Jeune Afrique* reference volume on Africa, "Kenneth Kaunda has said that Zambia does not want to follow the western capitalist nor the communist path. He also said that he does not want to replace these systems with state capitalism but rather with "popular capitalism" based mainly on co-operatives. Many industries are already in a state of semi-nationalisation." This philosophy, needless to add, does not envisage the control of the industries by the workers and peasants, in the short or long run.

Apart from "Humanism", the other official phrase which has been used to describe Zambia's system is "African democratic socialism", which is the twelfth aim of the governing United National Independence Party (UNIP) in its pre-independence constitution. Commenting on Zambia's progress towards the "African Democratic Socialism", President Kaunda said, on August 11th 1969, "Our record of achievement stands high and we are determined to raise it even higher."

What is "African Democratic Socialism"—also called "popular capitalism"—and with whom is it popular? It is indeed popular in Zambia, but only among those who directly benefit from it. Who are they?

With several foreign-owned businesses partially nationalised, the Industrial Development Corporation (INDECO) which is in charge of industrial development in Zambia has now enough resources to be an important factor in the politics and economics of the country. It helps African traders and businessmen who face fierce competition from foreign businessmen who take a lot of their profits out of Zambia.

The following was an advertisement in the *Financial Times*, London, on 13th August 1970: "Indeco Ltd., a State Corporation grouping over 80 subsidiary and associate companies, controls a £70,000,000 stake in Zambia's booming economy. In 1969/70 the group profit represented 21.8 per cent of shareholders' equity and 7.7 per cent of group net assets. Indeco's activities, industrial and commercial, extend from textiles to cement and fertiliser, to transport, property and hotels, to wholesale and retail trading, and to finance.

Projects on the drawing board include a car assembly plant, an oil refinery, an iron and steel mill, a glass factory and a plant to manufacture agricultural implements.

"Many Indeco enterprises have been under construction in collaboration with investment partners from Japan, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Tanzania, and the United States of America.

"Indeco's partners among major British companies include Dunlop, ICI, Shell, B.P., Tate & Lyle, United Transport and the Commonwealth Development Corporation.

"Indeco is a young and vigorous organisation, wishing to pursue Zambia's rapid industrialisation. The country's index of industrial produc-

tion has risen from a base of 100 in 1961 to 124.4 in 1964, to 233.4 at the end of 1969, and there exist many openings for profitable investment across the whole manufacturing spectrum. Indeco invites enquiries from potential investors in this rapidly expanding economy. Indeco Limited, P.O. Box 1935, Lusaka, Republic of Zambia. Telephone 74051. Telegrams 'Indeco'."

Through nationalisation, more money comes to the government for the development of the nation. But the political set-up as a whole helps the rich, or favourably placed, Africans to get richer. Many young people in Zambia are known to be shouting "One Zambia—Form Four! One Zambia—Form Four!" instead of the official slogan, "One Zambia—One Nation!" What they mean is that in Zambia if you have not gone through four years of secondary education, you are not likely to get a job, and if you do get one, your wages are hopelessly low in comparison to those of the educated. In fact, if you have not done the General Certificate of Education or Cambridge Certificate, you are generally looked down on.

In other words, "African Democratic Socialism" or "popular capitalism" is very popular with the educated, and the rich Africans. This class includes feudalists and religious leaders. With the extended family system still going strong, most of the close relations of this class also benefit from "popular capitalism".

What Simon Kapewe, the Zambian Vice-President, said about the mentality of this ruling class is relevant here: "...we have to add the most important factor: the type of education which has been left to us. This a wrong, class society education which created the view that you are different from the man working outside. It formed the mentality 'I am superior, I must have a big increment, a good house, a big car.' The essence of that education was that, if you don't dress or live like a European, you are not educated. These status symbols were deeply implanted in middle-class African consciousness and were, therefore, producing people who are now in the civil service, in the industries—everyone wanting to be like the Englishmen who governed." (*New Africa* magazine, volume 10, 1968).

In ten years' time, under "popular capitalism" which is also "humanism" in practice, there will emerge a strong nationalist progressive bourgeoisie which will have become coherent, homogeneous and productive. There will therefore be some contradictions between this Zambian ruling class and the foreign exploiters because of its progressive nationalist nature, but this, of course, is based on the premise that the situation remains static, which is unlikely.

Slogans like "One Zambia—Form Four!" among young people and the ever-increasing number of unofficial strikes in Zambia represent the forces of class struggle today.

In the interests of international capitalism, the West will continue to support Kaunda's leadership. It provides the guarantee for the West's economic interests there. As quoted in *The Guardian* of 10th August 1970, Kaunda himself explained at a reception of Roman Catholic bishops from East and Central Africa:

"The spread of communism by China can only be stopped by the true interpretation of Christian principles where man is regarded as man."

An article entitled "The Goodies and the Baddies" by Colin Legum, who is one of the most well-informed journalists in Britain on British "relations" with the "Third World"

countries, in the *Observer* of 26th July 1970, had something relevant to say on the matter. He pointed out that the British Foreign Minister, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, considered Kaunda, Banda and Kenyatta to be some of the "sensible chaps" in Africa who had not sold out to the Chinese and the Russians. Kaunda was thought to be the man worth going after.

Discussing Zambian politics and the Chou En-Lai visit to Tanzania and Zambia, the *Daily Telegraph* of 17th August 1970 explained in its editorial: "President Kaunda uses a long spoon to sup with the devil and Western fears that Zambia may become dependent on the Chinese, who are to build her new life-line, are almost certainly groundless in the short term. When Kaunda and President Nyerere of Tanzania—both devout Christians, 'sons of the mission' and deeply imbued with Western values—pass away, their countries may indeed look more to the East for succour. But for the time being at least, despite the fracas over Britain's proposal to resume arms sales to South Africa, they seem happy to play China off against Russia and both against the West..." And the *Telegraph* is a very well-informed spokesman of the higher interests of the slowly crumbling remnants of the British empire.

Kaunda's statement as published in the *Africa Digest*, June 1970, of the Africa Bureau, London, might further help us to understand the mind of the Zambian leader. A part of the statement reads:

"Today the forces of non-violence have been silenced completely in South Africa and Rhodesia. They have not even tried in Angola and Mozambique. The Luthulis are no longer there. Young militants are coming up... I see this whole political and economic problem unfolding with real dangers in sight for all of us in Southern Africa. The conflagration that will come out of this is going to envelop the whole of Southern Africa..."

"The Black masses have looked to the West because essentially they have been, and are still, Christian in their outlook. They have looked to Western capitals in vain for help, for salvation. Whereas I was able to go over the Governor's head to speak to the British people and whereas I was able to appeal over the heads of the British Government officials to the British electorate and my voice was listened to with sympathy, no one can do that in South Africa. Britain has lost her chance in Rhodesia. If any African leader raised his voice in Angola or Mozambique or Guinea Bissau that would be the first and last we should hear of him. Is the Western world so blind to all these facts? ... Because Western capitals have been silent or they have raised their voices in some pious manner, completely ineffective and indeed meaningless to the sufferer, the young people who are coming up in non-independent Africa have decided to fight it out..."

"Again the West is completely unable to supply them with the weapons of destruction they need to free themselves. They look round and the only countries which are able to give them are the Eastern bloc ones. And may I say that while I believe that some of these countries are giving their aid genuinely because of their principles there are others who are doing so in order to gain influence in this part of the world. We can't deceive ourselves. We have to be honest and frank. What does this mean? As I have said before, out of every hundred young men and women who go to the Eastern bloc countries,

ninety to ninety-four may come back still very much nationalists, dedicated to the cause for which they stand. At the same time, six to ten may come back confirmed Communists. Thus the very argument these minority regimes are pretending to use to withhold the legitimate rights of the majority of the people is what now they are sadly introducing to this part of the world..."

The Zambian leader has further defined in various speeches and writings his ideology of "Humanism". In his well-known speech of 11th August 1969, Kaunda says that a humanist society is a "man-centred and mutual aid society"—where the individual is the most important factor. He goes on to defend the ideology of property-capital by saying that "even the most ultra-left governments are allowing private enterprise to continue. African humanists therefore can be justly proud of their definition of socialism."

It should be clear that Kaunda is not a true ally in any way of those who believe in "scientific socialism and the class struggle against the exploitation of man by man." The British Foreign Ministry and *The Telegraph*, who are not fools, rightly regard him as "a man worth going after." They know full well that in the long term it is the Kaunda's of this world who will defend capitalism in Africa much more effectively than the Vorsters.

Chen Chimutengwende

## RED CIRCLES/RED MOLE CONTACTS

If you live in or near any of the areas listed below, you can contact these people for any queries about The Red Mole and for information on distributing the paper and sending in local reports. In a number of these areas (asterisked), functioning Red Circles already exist. Others will be added to the list as they are formed. If there is no Red Circle in your area at present, write to us here at 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.

- BELFAST: Alan Morris, c/o 44 Glenroy Cres., Rathcoole, Newtonabbey, Co. Antrim, Northern Ireland.
- \*BIRMINGHAM: Val Graham, 72 Cambridge Road, King's Heath, Birmingham 14.
- \*CARDIFF: Susan Lukes, 92 Llandaff Road, Canton, Cardiff.
- \*COVENTRY: John Presland, 27 Paynes Lane, Coventry, Warwicks.
- \*DERBY: Bruce Bebbington, 41 Leopold St., Derby, DE1 2HE.
- \*EDINBURGH: Brian Gilmore, 17 Hillside St., Edinburgh.
- \*GLASGOW: Ian Stevenson, 3 Doune Gardens, Kelvinbridge, Glasgow.
- HERTFORD: Malcolm Harding, 8 Parker Ave., Bengoe, Hertford.
- \*HULL: Malcolm Ball, Students Union, Hull University, Hull.
- KINGSTON-UPON-THAMES: Robin Bonner, c/o The Red Mole.
- \*LEICESTER: Alan Lenton, 18 West Street, Leicester.
- \*LINCOLN: Dave Thompson, 65 Tower Cres., Lincoln.
- CENTRAL LONDON: Frank Hansen, City Polytechnic, Students Union, Moorgate, E.C.1.
- \*NORTH LONDON: John Weal, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.
- \*SOUTH LONDON: Jim Clough, 2 Almeric Road, London S.W.11.
- \*SOUTH LONDON: Tony Jones, Furzedown College of Education, Welham Road, S.W.17.
- \*WEST LONDON: Tom Mole, 23 Brackley Rd., London W.4.
- LOUGHBOROUGH: Ann Black, 4 Russell St., Loughborough.
- \*MANCHESTER: Steve Cohen, 43 Brantingham Road, Whalley Range, Birmingham 16.
- NORWICH: Paul Franklin, c/o The Red Mole.
- \*NOTTINGHAM: Nick Beeton, 25 Henry Rd., West Bridgford, Nottingham.
- \*OXFORD: Bernard Reaney, 27 Southmoor Road, Oxford.
- POTTERIES: Jason Hill, c/o The Red Mole.
- READING: Nigel Brown, Sibly Hall, Redhatch Drive, Earley, Reading, RG6 2QW.
- \*STAFFORD: Graham Jones, 184a Silkmore Lane, Stafford.
- \*STIRLING: Donald MacDonald, 6 Tarduff Place, Stoneywood, Denny, Stirlingshire.
- \*YORK: Mike Lomax, 25 Nunthorpe Avenue, York.
- \*IRISH RED CIRCLE: Robin Mor, c/o 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.

WEST LONDON: A new Red Circle is to be set up in the Hammersmith/Chiswick area very soon.

All those who wish to participate or are interested please contact Tom Mole, 23 Brackley Road, W.4, or phone 837 6954 (daytime).

WE RECOGNISE OUR OLD FRIEND, OUR OLD MOLE, WHO KNOWS SO WELL HOW TO WORK UNDERGROUND



IN LECUMBERRI PRISON. These photographs were taken January 1, 1970, twenty-three days into a hunger strike called by the Mexican political prisoners to demand that they be brought to trial or released. The same day, visitors to Lecumberry

attacked by common prisoners, armed and incited by prison authorities. At left above is Jose Revueltas, the famous novelist, standing in the corridor outside his cell. At right is a group

## MOLE PROFILE:

# CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN

By D. R. O'Connor Lysaght

"Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien is the golden calf of the Irish Left. This would not be so bad were he not being portrayed as its Moses."

So (or to that effect) wrote the present author just under two years ago, on the eve of Dr. Cruise O'Brien's re-entry into the Irish Labour Party, some months before his nomination and subsequent election to Dail Eireann (the Irish House of Representatives) as a candidate for that party and just under one year before the establishment of dual power in certain areas of Northern Ireland. The Dr.'s actions in the happenings associated with the last event have helped ensure that the golden calf is considerably tarnished and that, outside the ranks of trade union and Labour Party bureaucrats and careerists, there are very few who would now be willing to follow that Moses into the wilderness.

In Britain, however, there is still a certain confused admiration for the man. Just as before, in Ireland, respect for his undoubted intelligence and physical courage and acceptance of the rule-of-thumb principle "My enemy's enemy is my friend" has been translated into a belief that his politics must be correct. The truth is rather different. If the developing Irish revolution has been aborted, Dr. Cruise O'Brien bears a direct share of the responsibility. In the second place, by doing so, he has helped ensure the splitting of the Irish Left, the weakening of support for his own Party, and, it must be added, all this, not, as many both left and right will claim, because he is a dirty red, but for a reason diametrically opposed.

How can it be that this man can effectively fool everyone? The answer is, of course, partly in the readiness of people to be fooled: in the failure of so-called Marxists in Britain, Ireland and elsewhere to examine the credentials of those whom they choose to call "friend". For Dr. Cruise O'Brien did do good work insofar as he was able. His abilities were circumscribed by his life and times.

### Early Life and Background

He was born in 1917 into, perhaps, the most brilliant family groupings of Irish nationalism: the Sheehy Clan. His mother was a Sheehy. Her sister, Hannah, had been married to Francis Skeffington, the prominent pacifist-socialist victim of a lunatic British officer in 1916. Another sister had been married to Thomas Kettle, the nearest thing to a theoretician that the Redmondite gombeen-nationalists had. Their brother was a Redmondite M.P. All three sisters had been amongst the earliest women students at University College, Dublin. Conor's father, Francis Cruise O'Brien, did not reach the prominence of his in-laws, but like them he had had a notable academic career.

The intellectual atmosphere of the circle resembled that of the early British Fabians: high-minded, idealistic and politically stimulated. However, there was one important difference: it was Irish, and Catholic Irish (at least in background). Whereas the Fabians were products of the high noon of the British Empire, ready to defend the system that ensured their dividends and to educate pro-consuls to administer it, the Sheehy's had their class opportunities limited by the Empire, and were, at the least (as with Kettle and Sheehy) striving for a place in the sun; at the most (as with the Skeffingtons) ready to replace the whole system with a more humanitarian one. As a result of this, Conor Cruise O'Brien has learnt to recognise the psychology of anti-colonialism; what he has never understood is what creates it.

For, when he was born, his two most prominent uncles, Kettle and Skeffington, were already dead. He grew up in a family whose effective political leadership was in the hands of his aunt, Mrs. Hannah Sheehy-Skeffington. Her views emphasised the high-thinking and moral tone of the views of the whole family. She was an outspoken and courageous advocate of a variety of causes whose only direct link was her own acceptance of them as good: women's emancipation, Republicanism, Pacifism and Socialism were all given her imprimatur. She did useful work in all these matters, but it was entirely on an individualist and moralist basis. For her, the Republic was a good in itself; women should be free; it was fitting that the workers be fed; war was a bad thing. She was not a Marxist, in any sense of the word; her causes had nothing to do with the objective needs of the working class. They were her

their goodness to the workers, but if the workers did not agree with them, then that was just too bad. It is not surprising that, although she fought a number of elections, she only won a seat once: in the Sinn Fein landslide of the 1920 municipal election.

Naturally the second generation could not be satisfied by this essentially compromising policy. Hannah's son, Owen Sheehy-Skeffington, decided in favour of a closer identification with the working class; he became a Marxist, of sorts, joined the Irish Labour Party (then going through a Left-Republican phase), set up a "Citizens' Action Bureau", and was eventually expelled for over-zealous support for Larkin. His cousin Conor moved in an opposite direction. He also joined the Labour Party, but he did not become a Marxist. Finally, he left it to take a position in the Department of External Affairs; by the end of the 1930s, the last Irish Governmental expression of Fianna Fail Republicanism, the exponent of neutrality even, as over Abyssinia and Spain, against the Catholic Church.

### Catholicism vs. Marxism

At the same time he began to write. What he wrote was wholly in keeping with his career. Under the name of Donat O'Donnell he contributed a number of book reviews, some of which were collected subsequently in a volume, *Maria Cross*, a book notable not merely for its Catholic sympathies but for its readiness to play Catholicism against Marx. He also wrote a Doctor's Thesis, that was expanded subsequently to be published as *Parnell and his Party*. This work's subject is explained by its title; it is a book about oligarchs; the people outside the Council Chamber appear only in its Prologue and its Epilogue. What is more, when its author tries to relate them to his subject, he turns not to Karl Marx but the Italian precursor of Fascist "theory", Vilfredo Pareto.

By 1958, when *Parnell and his Party* was published, Dr. Cruise O'Brien's career had received a new impetus. In 1956 the Republic of Ireland entered UNO. Here it was able to give a positive form to its neutrality, and to do so in a manner that gave it an aura of international importance and benevolence. It was the era of Bandung, when the "non-aligned" nations took their positions above the Cold War, and, at least in theory, as mediators between the two sides therein. As the only neutral white English-speaking country, Ireland was able to appear as a particularly important arbiter in the cause of peace.

### An Irish Nehru

One who adopted the conception of the neutral's role was Conor Cruise O'Brien. His aunt was long dead and he had nothing to continue to tie him to the Irish Republican Movement, now starting a new desperate military campaign. The cause of peace: even more, the cause of Ireland as vanguard of peace, gave him a cause above that of the mere gunmen. In the United Nations he was fighting the battles of all small, exploited countries for a world in which their cases could be discussed reasonably and under rule of law. The cause of peace was the cause of the neo-colonies. Of course, he was not so much wrong as topsy-turvy: the victory of the workers, as vanguard of the world's exploited peoples, will mean the achievement of peace, not the other way around.

But Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien knew nothing of this. The background of world politics were summed up for him as a struggle between "brooders" and "gloaters". The achievement of peace was simply a matter of the UNO General Assembly, in which his own and similar non-aligned countries had a disproportionate vote, imposing its will, presumably through an extension of peace-keeping forces such as had been established after the Suez crisis.

### The Congo Crisis

In 1961, these views received their acid test. Dr. Cruise O'Brien was sent to the Province of Katanga that had recently broken away from the new Congolese Republic, as UNO Agent to end effectively its separation. His failure in this task is told in his book *To Katanga and Back*. The short story of it is that Conor discovered that the world was not as he had thought. Between the clashing interests of imperialism and its exploiters, UNO could not act as Bonaparte. When, through its agent, it tried to do this, the man got run down and trampled on. Finally (and this happened to

isolation, the matter of his private relationships were used as the excuse for hurling him not only from UNO but from the Irish Department of External Affairs.

His reaction to this was minimal. Certainly, he had to recognise that the United Nations Organisation was not the heavenly body that he had imagined. It might also be said that he gained greater sympathy for the struggle of the colonial people against the colonisers. It is difficult to imagine the post-Katanga O'Brien writing the criticism of Red Indian Nationalism that he had written previously. But there was nothing more. Whether or not he re-appraised his position consciously, it is impossible to say. What is certain is that the basis of his political analysis did not alter. When he turned to the anti-colonial struggle, he turned to the formal institutional leaders of neo-colonialism. In Ghana, he supported first Nkrumah and then, because Nkrumah did not act in the manner recognised by west European liberalism, he welcomed the military coup that overthrew him, ignoring totally the decline in economic independence it meant for its country.

### Literary Criticism

His literary productions of this period are easily divided. They are either very good or very bad. The good is mainly his writings on literature (most notably his article on Yeats, "Passion and Cunning" and his study of Camus) and his pamphlet, *Conflicting Concepts of the United Nations* (of his coffee-table production, *United Nations, Sacred Drama*, it is kinder not to write). They are, in short, works which enable him to concentrate on the actions of individuals or elites, and to ignore, as far as possible, the pressures brought upon them from the masses outside or from economic relations. The bad can be summed up as the works in which he goes outside these limits. They include all his writings on Ireland, and also his two plays, *King Herod Explains* and *Murderous Angels*, of which the former is an attack on the rational basis of political action and the latter must be seen in more detail.

It tells of the tragedy of Hammarskjöld and Lumumba; of the clash between the forces of "Peace" and of "Freedom". To prove the reality of this clash, he refers to the fact that it was Princip, the hero of Yugoslav (or at least Serb) freedom who shot the bullet that started the First World War. A paradox, we are meant to feel. But, of course, the paradox is in the author's own mind. To start with, it is oversimplifying to describe Princip as either a "liberator" or the "man who started war". He was a petty-bourgeois Pan-Slav acting against the Austrian political hegemony that was, in his area, merely the expression of world imperialist powers that eventually had to clash. Similarly, though the description of Lumumba is, in the circumstances, just enough, the casting of Hammarskjöld as the personification of "peace" is merely accepting the man's subjective estimate of himself. Because he limits himself to the political predicament (apart, of course, from the European exploiters of Katanga who were rather too obvious to be ignored), because, too, the opponents of the economic system that he ignores are themselves overlooked, except as background, so he portrays his false choice. *Murderous Angels* is a liberal tragedy, rather than a Socialist drama. Its title is symptomatic of its author's continuing identification with the "responsible": the powerful.

### Academic Career

Most of these 1960s writings appeared at a time when Dr. Cruise O'Brien was suffering the effects of his fall from diplomacy. Unable to obtain a job in Ireland, he became Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana. Then, having broken with Nkrumah, he moved to a similar job in New York. Unlike his writings, his actions in these positions are almost wholly to his credit. He stood for academic freedom against Nkrumah. In New York, he was beaten up by the cops on an anti-Vietnam war demonstration. Again, there is nothing surprising in this. The high idealism and elitism of his training were bound to be shown to their best advantage in academic life with its often low standards of morality, where, despite all talk of student power, the issues tend normally to be worked out on an elitist basis, separate from the rest of the population. This last fact, which is the real problem for socialist academics, does not seem to have been noticed by Conor Cruise O'Brien

versities, he might today be serving his causes as a professor: a manner that was almost as suitable for his talents as diplomacy had been. But he was blacklisted, and internationalist though he was, he wanted to be able to live permanently in his native country. In addition, he disliked the way the ideals of the External Affairs Department were degenerating since his fall. At the end of 1968, he thought that he had the answer.

### The Irish Labour Party

The Irish Labour Party was trying hard to renovate itself and to return, at least formally, to the policies of its founders. In doing so, it produced a series of policy documents, most notably on education, welfare and industrial democracy. These policies did not add up to Socialism: indeed, in some matters they represented a decline from the leftism of their predecessors. Nonetheless, they did express a genuine aspiration on the part of a somewhat confused organisation, interpreted by its leadership in its own fashion, replacing right opportunism by left opportunism.

To reinforce (and possibly, save) this leftism, the same leadership had recourse to name-dropping. Anyone who had any sort of political reputation was called upon to run as a Labour Party candidate. This whole business was reduced to its logical absurdity (and in the eyes of most of the electors as well as of more sophisticated observers) when the right-wing ex-President of the National Farmers Association accepted the candidacy for North Co, Tipperary.

Conor Cruise O'Brien was one of the earliest fishes caught by the Labour Party bureaucracy. He was shown the policies and went into raptures over them. At the Party Conference in January 1969, he used socialist rhetoric (he called for the diplomatic recognition of Cuba) to defend the policy document on External Affairs. Many socialists were impressed: many non-socialists, alienated. Many of both kinds used his speech as an excuse to ignore what the actual document said. This was far less controversial: simply a rehash of the ideas of Hammarskjöld and Cruise O'Brien—a "peace" ticket, urging on Ireland the leadership in opposing war, without any sort of reference to class politics, imperialism, or even, except in its original of social idealism, to the other documents.

Despite attacks on the "Cuban Labour" Party, and the complete inability of that body to defend itself credibly, the swing of the pendulum increased its vote (though not its membership in Dail Eireann) and the big names became Deputies. Conor Cruise O'Brien was able to stay in Ireland, and, as Labour's spokesman for External Affairs, to push for the return and extension of the policies of the Department thereof in his day: non-alignment, the leadership of peace initiatives and support of the "brooders" against the "gloaters".

### A Face-Lift for the Labour Party

Immediately, the new-style Labour parliamentarians acquitted themselves well. In Dail Eireann, Labour's Deputies attacked the Government with a greater determination than before. Outside, they showed a new readiness to take to the streets.

But it soon became clear that this was no more than a face-lift. Conor Cruise O'Brien has been, actually, one of the less guilty in these matters, yet he was bad enough. His neglect of the ordinary routine of his constituency is not as obvious as that of his colleagues; he has a good organisation to do his job here. More annoying to workers both inside and outside the Labour Party was the fact that, when Labour (including Deputy Cruise O'Brien) marched, it marched for high-minded internationalist principles rather than for the material problems affecting the worker under Irish capitalism. Labour Deputies have appeared on the streets over South Africa and Vietnam. They are less visible (indeed, invisible) when there are marches over housing or a major strike.

More subtle was Dr. Cruise O'Brien's part in the Coughlan affair. In the most effective blast at the new Labour "Radicalism", the party's Deputy for East Limerick, the City's Mayor, Alderman Stephen Coughlan, defied Socialist principle and policy by (in chronological order) publicly denouncing the actions of half-a-dozen Maoists and welcoming a petition against them drawn up by openly-avowed Fascists, offering to give a civic welcome to the Springbok team, urging the striking cement workers to allow the admission of foreign cement, and praising a

viously, when Limerick had Ireland's one, recent, anti-Jewish pogrom. For all this he was merely reprimanded on two occasions (over the Maoists, after physical violence had been given their shop and over the anti-Semitic issue) and forced not to welcome the Springboks. Deputy Cruise O'Brien played a far more principled role in this matter than some of his colleagues (including some who thought they were "progressives"); with Dr. Noel Browne, he held out for Coughlan's expulsion. The trouble was that his opposition was not a Socialist one: Coughlan was denounced, in turn, for being against "freedom of communication (in the Maoist business), for being ready to accept apartheid and for anti-Semitism. His collusion with Fascists and his attempt to break the cement strike were not mentioned. As a result, the Labour Party rank and file were justifiably confused; the only people who have left permanently have been some bourgeois liberals.

While the Coughlan row proceeded, the Labour Party Conference took place and Deputy Cruise O'Brien took up half-an-hour of the time there having a motion passed demanding the release of Irish clerics held in prison by the Nigerians for their part in the Civil War there.

Taking all these facts into account, it was, perhaps, as satisfactory as it was natural that Dr. Cruise O'Brien should not have made any serious attempt to "educate" the Labour Party rank and file to his "Socialist" views, preferring to keep his talents to the central Administrative Council and to various gatherings of literati.

However, until August 1969, he had not actually done anything qualitatively reactionary. It could be said that he had made mistakes, but they were, at least, errors made in pursuit of aims, either progressive in themselves, or not decisively regressive, or else they were mistakes of omission rather than commission.

### Bogside—the Acid Test

But the Bogside barricades were the beginnings of an acid test for Dr. Cruise O'Brien, his policies and their relevance to the objective needs of the Irish working class. As early as January 1969 he had written (in the *Irish Times*, of course) of his views on Northern Ireland and the civil rights movement. As usual, his analysis was subjective, remarkably vague, and essentially elitist. He had already stated (in his *Irish Times-New Left Review* article in 1966) his rejection of the Republican claim to the Six Counties; for him, the fact that the north-eastern Protestants did not want to be ruled from Dublin was sufficient to justify their regime. Now, he showed himself ready to accept the British presence that Stormont accepted. He proposed that all Irish Republican claims to British Ulster be renounced, that the inhabitants of that area be won to reunify with the rest of Ireland by improved social welfare benefits and that, in the meantime, pressure should be brought to bear on the British Government to grant civil rights reforms. In this way, the claims of "peace" and of "freedom" might be reconciled. The question of imperialism was ignored, the possibility of grass-roots action was avoided and the whole form of the "Northern Irish" state, with its built-in provision for sectarianism was not investigated.

In the country of the blind, the one-eyed man is King. No one else in the leadership of the Irish Labour Party had such a carefully worked-out view of the north-eastern situation. Without any discussion the Cruise O'Brien policies became Labour policies. In August 1969, an Irish Labour deputation went to London to ask for British troops to protect the north-eastern minority. Subsequently they boasted that they had been the only Party to do so. And in the following Spring, Deputy Cruise O'Brien stayed quiet at an Oxford Union debate after a previous speaker had declared: "The only decent thing done by British troops in Ire-

land was to shoot Connolly."

But the worst was not yet. At the end of the following April, several Republican Irish Ministers lost their portfolios under the suspicion of having been involved in running guns to the minority in Northern Ireland. Here was clearly an offence against "peace". What was more, their records in office had not been those of left-wingers, so there was, probably, an offence against "freedom" as well.

Accordingly, Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien saw that the situation needed a demonstration of the full Machiavellianism of Dag Hammarskjöld. He denounced the fallen Ministers as potential "Green Fascists", pointing out, not only their undoubted social conservatism, but also what he termed their "chauvinism" and their "contempt for bourgeois democracy". He praised the right-wing advocate of "Law and Order", the Leader of the Opposition, Liam Cosgrave, who informed on the Ministers concerned, using British sources to do so. At the ITCWU Conference he made an emotive plea for "peace", such as put some of the Union's Northern Officers in an impossible position, against both the British troops and the Paisleyite Pogromists. And overall he urged an "Alliance for Sanity" (as if Fascism were a matter for psychiatry) to ally all believers in the "democratic process" (including Cosgrave and the other heirs of Ireland's one actual Fascist Party) against the gun-runners and their allies. It was pointed out to him that this was merely a revival of the parliamentary "Popular Front" which had failed to stop reaction anywhere it was tried. He pointed out that Hitler and Mussolini had not been opposed in taking power by such bodies and quoted Trotsky on the United Front (of working class bodies) to justify his position.

### The Re-Conquest of Ireland Delayed

What happens next is uncertain. Nonetheless, there are definite trends that one can foresee.

Revolution is less likely now than it was in August 1969; reaction, whether Fascist or less than Fascist, is now operating north and south of the border. The Reconquest of Ireland, in James Connolly's sense, has probably been postponed for a few more years.

In achieving this result, Conor Cruise O'Brien has played an important role. His activities in the recent crisis are amongst those that bring home to one the fact that while the Irish revolutionary left failed at this juncture, its failure was one of youth; the petty-bourgeois politicians' collapse was that of senility. Idealist, elitist and metaphysical, Cruise O'Brien represented the best that could be done with these methods. Seeking absolute good through discussions "at the top" and on a basis that ignores the objective factors of the problems concerned can now be seen to be no longer, if it ever was, the way to achieve the blessings of Socialism.

But there is more to it than this. The methods described above may be futile, but when they are imposed on a grouping that seeks, and is beginning to possess, a mass following in the working class, in a developing revolutionary situation, they can be catastrophic. On the one hand, the Irish Labour Party, the third party in the Republic of Ireland, was encouraged to scab once more on the national struggle. Its nemesis is that its immediate future depends now less on itself than on its opponents.

The whole of Conor Cruise O'Brien's life has led him to approach social problems from the standpoint of authority, albeit benevolent authority. Without this basis he is still operating on the assumption of it and encouraging his colleagues to do so too. If he cannot remain in Paradise, then he will try at least to act on the principles that moved him there. He ignores the fact that both outside the Paradise from which he fell and the Purgatory in which he finds himself is the large mass of ordinary human beings who are determined to get themselves a place in the sun.

## Interview with Democratic Front spokesman

The newspapers in this country are giving the impression that the civil war in Jordan exploded like a bolt from the blue, with no apparent reasons for it except perhaps the hijackings. Unfortunately this impression has been reinforced by the inability of the British revolutionary left to prepare people for this show-down.

This crisis in Jordan was being prepared for a long time by the imperialists and their Arab friends with the active collusion of the Soviet bureaucracy. The main brunt of the counter-revolutionary attack on the fedayeen was borne by the Jordanian "Special Forces" who had been trained in street warfare and indoctrinated by the regime for many months. The hijackings did not "force the hand" of imperialism or constitute an "intolerable provocation" to the regime. They simply gave the imperialists an alibi for military intervention if the regime needed help: as in the Congo and elsewhere, the U.S. Marines would be going in to rescue American citizens. Secondly, the regime used the hijackings to create a split in the Palestinian resistance by putting pressure on Fatah to expel the PLO out of the Palestine Liberation Organisation Central Committee. Hussein calculated, wrongly as it turned out, that with the fedayeen split and weakened this was the ideal moment to try to crush them.

What is clear is that a section of the Palestinian resistance movement had for some time recognised that a showdown with the reactionary regime in Jordan was inevitable and must be prepared for. At least since June this awareness had penetrated deep into the refugee camps. A Red Mole correspondent in Jordan just before the show-down reports the following typical incident in the camp of Zerga. He visited the house of a refugee, one of whose children had been killed in shelling the previous night. When questioned about the killing, the head of the family replied: "Don't think that I am sad or angry. I am not; I am pleased for it shows that we Palestinians are becoming strong, that we are beginning to make Hussein frightened, that they must attack us wildly in attempts to prevent us crushing him." The refugee camps were no longer camps of refugees but bases of armed, mobilised and indomitable freedom fighters.

The determination of the masses to crush the regime which for weeks before the civil war had been shelling their camps, was translated by one of the Palestinian vanguard organisations into a political strategy for destroying the Jordanian state. This political strategy is outlined in an interview given to The Red Mole by a representative of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (not to be confused with the PFLP of George Habbash).

The mobilisation of the masses against the reactionary Jordanian regime had not been part of the strategy of all the Palestinian organisations. In fact a week before the crisis one of the leaders of Fatah stressed, when addressing a conference in Amman, "We wish to restrict the Palestine revolution to one enemy—Israel. We leave the struggle in the other Arab countries to progressive forces there."

The different strategies within the Palestinian movement have figured greatly in the manoeuvrings of Hussein and the heads of other Arab states during the civil war. The fighting, which escalated into a counter-revolutionary war, began when the Jordanian army gunned down a militant from the Democratic Front outside the Post Office in Amman as he was putting up a poster carrying the slogan: "All Power to the Resistance, the masses and the soldiers."

Hussein has put a price on the heads of Hawatmeh, leader of the D.F. and of Habbash of the PFLP. Nasser agreed to Arafat's request to intervene and put pressure on Hussein on condition that Fatah would expel the D.F. and the PFLP from the PLO.

The differences over strategy within the Palestinian resistance reflect class divisions within Palestinian society. Not all Palestinian refugees live in the camps, and the Palestinian bourgeoisie and middle class, of Kuwait and Beirut and Amman, while they support the aim of establishing a Palestinian state, have an even greater determination not to have their economic and

towards compromising with imperialism and Arab reaction at the expense of the impoverished and martyred Palestinian masses. And such impulses will undoubtedly be expressed inside the Resistance Movement itself.

The interview with the Democratic Front is therefore of considerable importance for us, in understanding the class divisions within Palestinian society and the political differences within the Palestinian movement. We must combat all those who denounce the Resistance on the grounds that it is fragmented; it is with such demagoguery that the petty-bourgeois Arab regimes try to crush the left within the resistance movement. In fact in the present situation the fate of the Palestinian movement will be influenced greatly by the degree to which the Marxist wing of the resistance is able to win the support of the masses.

—What was the main lesson of the June war?

It was that an essential condition for the liberation of Palestine is the presence of a Marxist-Leninist Party. The local Communist Parties had failed to constitute such parties and therefore the Democratic Front was created from various leftist and petty-bourgeois forces.

—Has the Democratic Front made a class analysis of Palestinian society?

The force capable of making a scientific study of Palestinian society has not existed in the past. What we could do was to gain a general view of the class structure of Palestinian society.

First of all, there is a feudal class based on the West Bank but extending to the East Bank and to Israel proper. There is also a strong Jordanian feudal class in different localities of Jordan, which is the basic element of support for the regime. This feudal class betrays the Palestinian nation.

There is a comprador bourgeois class, which was formed out of elements within the British administration and the Jordanian bureaucracy. This class has close links with the feudal class. It serves, and is a parasite upon, imperialist interests, persecuting the masses through exploiting their labour.

Thirdly there is a small national bourgeois class on the West and East banks. Generally it is not capable of revolutionary struggle against the Israeli and Jordanian regimes; it wants peaceful conditions for business. Although it lost its connections with the Arab markets after the June war, it makes use of the occupation to do business within Israel and can act as a medium for Israeli goods exported to Jordan. Some social groups within the national bourgeoisie are at present supporting the revolution, but they will not remain with it up to its final goal.

Next there is a large petty-bourgeois class, the Jordanian economy being based on services. The petty bourgeoisie is adversely affected by the occupation and is persecuted by Israel, the feudal and comprador classes. It has been the class that has carried the responsibility for struggling against Israel and the reactionary regimes for twenty years; it has failed in this task. Fatah, Saiqa and the PFLP are expressions of this class and demonstrate its weakness, but they do fight the enemy.

emerging, depending on national industry, but it has not yet reached the stage of development where it has defined interests and ideology and a party which expresses these.

Most of the Palestinians became refugees, forming a class of semi-proletarians: some work in services, some in agricultural work, many unemployed.

Only the poorer classes—peasants, workers and refugees—can be permanently mobilised, organised and armed to struggle to the end for the national-democratic revolution. In addition the petty bourgeoisie can be mobilised. They must be led by a Marxist-Leninist party

—How does the Democratic Front handle the relationship between the resistance movement and the Jordanian regime?

In Jordan there are two powers in contradiction and the Democratic Front sees that it is in the interest of the revolution to deepen the contradiction between the resistance movement and the regime. We have directed our work along three lines: the establishment of militia, of elected people's councils, and of joint Palestinian-Jordanian unions.

Until the Democratic Front existed there was no militia for the resistance movement. We said that this was a necessity and the other organisations agreed. But while we saw the purpose of this militia as being to deepen the contradiction with the regime, the other organisations at earlier stages saw its role as being to prepare for an eventual Israeli invasion of the East Bank; for us the role of the militia was as a most effective weapon for defeating the regime and its value for this purpose has been shown in the clashes with the regime.

The question of elected people's councils is still in debate. Through people's councils the masses can become effectively engaged in production and in political and social life. Due to our propaganda and influence on the bases of the other organisations we have been able to have two experiences of elected people's councils, in the camps of Souf and Gazen in the Jerash area. They started six months ago and through their experiences we have been able to prove to the bases of the other organisations the value of people's councils. In these camps the masses depend not on the political organisations but on the people's council which struggles with the masses and runs their affairs governing their military and social lives.

—What was the attitude of the other organisations to the people's councils?

Both the Fatah and the PFLP leaderships reject the concept. The PFLP actually raised the slogan of "Down with people's councils", arguing that they would be dominated by the right-wing and backward elements in the camps. But we influenced the bases of both these organisations through the local coordinating committees to adopt this form: the Fatah base in that area was progressively orientated. In other camps, villages and cities the idea is still rejected by other organisations.

They were organised by all the resistance organisations and by independent individuals. Eight organisations took part in the elections, making alliances to form unified lists; thus Fatah had one list, while Saiqa, the PFLP, the DPFLP and the Popular Front General Command united to put forward a single list. The election was open to everybody in the camp to vote and the Fatah list gained a majority on the council, the Democratic Front winning three out of the 22 seats. After the election the PFLP leadership instructed its three delegates on the council to withdraw.

The third major form we have worked for to deepen the contradictions of the regime has been unified mass organisations for the Palestinians and Jordanians. We have seen that there are separate unions, cooperatives and committees for Palestinians and Jordanians, while we believe that historical and political factors have unified the Palestinian and Jordanian people and they must therefore have unified institutions.

This deepening of the contradictions has come to a head on the question of the Rogers plan.

—How does the resistance movement aim to defeat this plan?

Fatah doesn't say how it intends to defeat the plan. It simply says, "We are against Rogers" and that if we are attacked we will hit back. But the question is, hit back for what? For revenge? To kill the masses? Or for a political objective? They don't give an answer and are entirely on the defensive. The PFLP wants to crush the regime and seize power. But how to seize power? Their answer is: by conspiring, by lobbying and by having a coup; they want to use the national forces in the army to give power to the PFLP leaders and not to the masses. The Jordanian regime has started a civil war, but the PFLP does not see the fight as a civil war to crush the regime, as a fight at every door by the masses to give the masses power; instead they concentrate on spectacular individual actions like seizing the Intercontinental Hotel as they did in June, surrounding the radio station, hi-jacking planes. Such actions have a very short life and they are no substitute for a revolutionary orientation to the masses. In this situation we have put forward the slogan: "All power to the resistance, the armed masses and the soldiers"; and we work for this slogan not through a deal, but by putting it on every door in Jordan, by working for it in the streets.

—How does the Democratic Front approach the problem of forging links with the international revolutionary forces?

We are not linked with the USSR, China or the Fourth International. The Democratic Front is a Palestinian/Jordanian organisation. We have to correlate with the forces within the Arab world, but the question of whether to build an all-Arab revolutionary party is still a matter of debate within the Democratic Front.

# MOLEHILLS

On Friday, September 19, the backstage staff of the London Coliseum withdrew their labour for the duration of that night's scheduled performance of *Carmen*. The Management were advised that:

1. This was a protest against the forced implementation of a democratically opposed new agreement scheduled for Sept. 28th.
2. A protest against the unreasonable, underhand and inadequate negotiation procedure.
3. A protest against the Managing Director's admitted total lack of concern for the welfare of his backstage staff.

At 9 a.m. the next day, Sept. 20th, the staff reported for work as usual to find the stage-door locked and patrolled by police, and a notice indicating that everyone would be sacked who had not, by 9.30 a.m., given the Management a signed undertaking to work the scheduled new agreement. At once, the staff commenced picketing and the dispute has now entered its fifth day.

On Saturday, Sept. 20th, Bro. George Boyd, NATKE Regional and Negotiating Officer, was contacted and the staff were advised that he had "washed his hands of us" and indeed NATKE was not seen or heard from again until late on Monday Sept. 21st, when they advised the staff to return to work under the same conditions as indicated by the Management—minus the signed undertaking.

Meanwhile, on Saturday afternoon, two Sadlers Wells drivers were sacked personally in the street for supporting the backstage staff in their own time. By Monday, it was evident that two men off sick and two men on holiday (one on his honeymoon) had also been sacked.

The Management has stated that there is nothing to discuss, and so far nothing has been. The Opera performance schedule has been revised and backstage work is being handled by non-union amateurs (the Management and friends, office girls, etc.)

The Sadlers Wells staff have the sympathy and support (as yet non-active) of the other repertory and commercial theatres in the West End. NATKE members appreciate that this dispute is an opportune occasion for a much needed restructuralisation and reorganisation of theatre management and union policies. It seems likely that the Sadlers Wells dispute could affect the theatre industry as a whole.

Roger A. Dade,  
Member of 6-man Staff Committee

Cambridge students may be interested in this passage from *Involuntary Journey to Siberia* by the Soviet oppositionist Amalric, about his own trial—it shows the increasing convergence of latter-day Stalinism and post-liberal capitalism in legal repression, whatever their other differences:

"A court sentence ought not to be an act of vengeance but the expression of a generally acceptable idea of justice. The educational value of a trial lies in convincing the defendant and everyone else that he is being judged in strict accordance with the law and with the ethical standards that mankind has arrived at during its long history; it certainly does not lie in the judge tediously haranguing the court or in his crudely defaming the defendant and witnesses. There is even less educational value in trials staged for avowedly propaganda purposes—as an object lesson to others. This is not a way of enlightening people but only of intimidating them, and it brings nothing but discredit on the courts." —P. 117.

## PIGS BELIEVED IN PAISLEY CASE

When Leicester Black Power militants and Irish immigrants were attacked by police in June at a Paisley rally, Nottingham Red Circle convenor Nick Beeton was arrested and charged with police assault. His appeal was recently heard at Leicester City Quarter Sessions where the police repeated their lies. Nick was asked to pay another £50 costs making his total "fine" over £100 although the legal maximum for this offence is supposed to be £50. Under pretence of "costs" the recorder handed down this further £50 penalty despite the fact that legal aid was supposedly available in this case.

Since the case a police enquiry has whitewashed the role of the police in this affair where black people were beaten for hours in police cells, and, despite medical evidence, the Director of Public Prosecutions has decided to take no action.

Nick needs funds and his address is 25 Henry Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham.

We print below an unabridged version of a letter headed "JUSTICE AND BROTHERHOOD" which was published in the Irish Times of August 15, 1970:

Sir,  
We, the undersigned, having witnessed what appeared in our eyes to be the unwarranted and hurtful coldness displayed by the people of Dublin towards the sailors and marines of the U.S.S. Plymouth Rock do hereby join in a united effort, as residents of Dublin, to heal the wound which our fellow citizens have inflicted upon our American friends.

We were amazed, deeply shocked and felt ashamed to admit that we were associated in any way with Dublin when we saw these young men refused admission to certain of our better dance clubs on the grounds of pure discrimination, as the management admitted, while considerably, less respectable weirdly clothed youths, who likewise were non-members passed freely in.

Two of us, while seated in a restaurant with marines, found we were kept waiting for 45 minutes while other patrons were served in ten or fifteen minutes. We only wanted a snack. This delay could only be described as disgraceful and deliberate.

While in a city lounge with a sailor, one of the gentlemen undersigned called repeatedly to the barman for service but was ignored. The barman was neither deaf or busy but chose to idle by the cash-till until it suited him to serve the two, who were within easy hearing distance of him, and he of them.

We can each recall at least one and in some cases two incidents of a similar nature, to which we were the flabbergasted witnesses. We found it hard to believe that right here in our own capital city, there could be shown to such a quiet and friendly group of servicemen, such hostility, possibly even hatred and certainly resentment. Many of these young men were of Irish parents or grandparents and possibly the reference made in the Irish proclamation to American aid was aimed at their ancestors.

Is this the way in which we treat our friends? Is this a reflection of the warm hearts and open arms of the Irish people when they say: "One hundred thousand welcomes" to our land? We think not, and we fail to see why these servicemen were treated differently from other tourists, Americans included.

We wish to congratulate them on their self-restraint, even when two of their number were shot while walking unarmed through our streets by some cowardly "people".

We wish to congratulate them and further, to salute them for holding their heads high in the face of vicious heckling in the streets, a bomb attack on their ship and numerous threats of physical violence against their persons.

We wish to offer to these sailors and to their country our most humble apologies and we can only hope that at some time in the future, the U.S.S. Plymouth Rock will visit our port again so that we may have a chance to show that we are not a people full of hate, but a kind community who loves every man as his neighbour and has the common decency to return a courtesy with a return of the same thing. On agreement with the above words we sign ourselves:

— "Friends of the U.S.S. Plymouth Rock"  
VINCENT A. CONNELL (and 15 others).

## Javier Varona—Cuban militant (1936-70)

In Havana on the morning of March 1, 1970, the young Cuban lawyer, novelist and teacher of philosophy, Javier Varona, committed suicide. A left-wing militant of the 26th July movement since the early and difficult days of the struggle against the tyranny of Batista, Varona managed to convert himself into a revolutionary with a phenomenal grasp of Marxism-Leninism. As a man of the "Third World" he understood clearly and followed with a passionate interest of a revolutionary scientist the development of the revolutionary struggle in the advanced capitalist countries.

As an intellectual in a socialist country, he spent his last years principally being pre-occupied by the bureaucratic deformation of socialism.

When he died at the age of 34 years old, his intellectual creativity was at its peak. He worked on the problems of the historical necessity of the Cuban revolution, on the history of this revolution, and he developed the concept of the continental revolution and investigated other related topics. For those who knew him, he leaves behind with us a memory of his insatiable curiosity, of his constant radiation of ideas, and of his complete and utter dedication to the cause of the proletarian revolution.

His premature death is a tragic loss for

According to information we have just received from Pakistan, a leading Trotskyist militant and well-known Pakistani student leader, Raja Anwar, has been arrested by the military government of General Yahya Khan. Anwar, who was one of the leaders of the November 1968-March 1969 revolt, is well-known as a Trotskyist of the Fourth International. He has also been very deeply involved in the anti-imperialist movement in Pakistan and was the main organiser of protests against American intervention in Indo-China. He was arrested for making an inflammatory speech at a United Front meeting early this month and has been charged with violating Martial Law Regulation No. 16-A. This arrest constitutes a direct violation of the military regime's own pledges in which it stated that it would not interfere in the pre-election fever which had gripped the country. As Anwar is a candidate to the Provincial Assembly in the forthcoming General Election in December 1970, his arrest constitutes military interference in the electoral process.

The Pakistan High Commission in London was unable to inform *The Red Mole* what M.L. Regulation No. 16-A implied as they did not have a copy of the Regulations under which the country is being governed. One can assume, however, that it forbids criticism of the present regime.

It is extremely important that protests should be sent both individually and by different groups and organisations to: General Yahya Khan, Chief Martial Law Administrator, Rawalpindi, W. Pakistan, and to the Pakistani Embassies abroad. A copy of the letter should be sent to: The Red Mole, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.

## THE WORLD BANK IN DENMARK

The exemplary actions of the revolutionary left in Denmark in connection with the recent anti-World Bank demos should be an object lesson in organisations for revolutionists in Britain. From the day the Danish comrades discovered that the World Bank was having its conference in Copenhagen and that the conference was being graced by the presence of Mr. Robert MacNamara himself, they decided to organise militant action. A World Bank Committee was set up consisting of representatives from all left organisations, and three months before the conference took place, the World Bank Committee was well on its way to organise a massive welcome. On 20, 21 & 22 September the plans were put into action. Massive demonstrations greeted the delegates on arrival in Copenhagen and from then on they were hounded wherever they went. A mass demonstration succeeded in mobilising 12,000 militants who marched to the specially-erected conference hall and held a militant meeting. The two speakers from outside Denmark were Sarah Lidman, a well-known Swedish author, and a representative of *The Red Mole*.

For two successive nights militant demonstrators paralysed the centre of Copenhagen. Outside the posh restaurants where these givers of aid were banquetting there were violent scenes of brutality; outside the opera house (where Mr. MacNamara was taken in by a side entrance) the demonstrators threw petrol bombs and bricks. The chants must have been heard inside the opera: "World Bank Out", "MacNamara Go Home", etc. etc. (a lone SDSer from the States chanted in a stentorian voice: "MacNamara, Up Against the Wall.") That night enraged by police-brutality, the demonstrators set a bank on fire and smashed to smithereens the Pan American office. At this stage the Danish police took out revolvers and fired shots in the air, the first time that weapons had been used since the days of the Nazis. Over 200 demonstrators were arrested, some of them at the point of a revolver, with their hands raised above their heads. The Danish bourgeoisie was clearly traumatised. It had gone out of its way to give the World Bank a warm welcome, and though it had expected demonstrations they had not been prepared for the militancy.

The World Bank leadership which had obviously thought that Denmark would prove to be the mildest of countries were also shaken (a group of World Bank wives grabbed hold of a lone demonstrator in a hotel lobby and assaulted him in the most brutal way imaginable all of them were nice bourgeois upper-class ladies). The World Bank has been demystified in the best way possible. It does not dare to hold its conferences in the countries to whom it gives aid because of the chronic political instability of the regimes. The actuality of the revolution in Western Europe, too, is now beginning to hound them. Wherever they meet next year, a healthy

**SOLIDARITY WITH RUDI DUTSCHKE**  
There is not much to add to the general comment which has been made regarding the Dutschke affair. In particular Neil Ascherson's comment in *The Observer* sums up the situation aptly. At the time of writing we hear that Dutschke's appeal will be heard in the near future and clearly he will be allowed to stay in the country till then. Given the state of his health this period of suspense and uncertainty is not likely to help him in the coming period.

Usually it has been the Labour Government which has kept revolutionaries out of Britain (the case of Trotsky is one of many) and Mr. Michael Foot actually told one revolutionary that he had a better chance of getting a passport under a Tory government than Labour. This situation has now been reversed as the Tories don't want Labour to be ahead even in this ugly business. As far as the revolutionary left is concerned, it should be clear that Dutschke is expelled we should organise appropriately militant action.

## EVENTS

**EVERY MONDAY:** Birmingham Red Circle meeting, 7.30 p.m. at the Black Swan, Birmingham 5.

**WEDNESDAYS:** Stafford Red Circle, Dog & Partridge, South Walls, 8 p.m.

**THURSDAYS:** Glasgow Red Circle, Christian Institute, Bothwell Street, 7.30 p.m.

**OCTOBER 3rd:** Nixon's visit. Ring 278 2616 for details.

**OCTOBER 3rd:** March & meeting to commemorate massacre of Tlatelolco 1968. March from Mexican National Tourist Council offices, 60 Jermyn Street, S.W.1 (Green Park tube), 3.30 p.m. Meeting 7 p.m., Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1 (Holborn tube). European Committee for the Defence of Mexican Political Prisoners, 197 Kings Cross Road, W.C.1.

**OCTOBER 3rd:** Spartacus League London Branch party, 8 p.m., 101 Park Avenue North, N.W.10 (Willesden Green tube).

**OCTOBER 5th:** Spartacus League/Red Mole meeting, LSE, 1.00 p.m. Robin Blackburn on "The death of the New Left".

**OCTOBER 6th:** 31st October Ad Hoc Meeting, The Roebuck pub, Tottenham Court Road (Warren Street tube), 7.30 p.m. Everyone welcome. To organise S. E. Asia demo, 31 Oct.

**OCTOBER 13th:** First Red Forum: Moshe Machover (Matzpen) speaks on the current situation in the Middle East. 8 p.m., 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1 (King's X). This is the first of five Red Forum held fortnightly. Look in this column.

**OCTOBER 6th:** London Socialist Woman Group, 8 p.m., 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1 (King's X). Discussion: Why Women's Liberation Now; & future activities Women only. Ring 574 7407.

**OCTOBER 7th:** Che Commemorative Evening, 6.30 onwards, Unity Theatre, 1 Goldington Street, N.W.1 (Mornington Crescent tube). Tickets 7/6 at door, block bookings in advance 5/- (from Unity Theatre). Britain-Cuba Association.

**OCTOBER 10th-11th:** Irish Solidarity Campaign Conference, Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham. Details from P. Yeats, 67 Birchwood Drive, Birmingham 12.

**OCTOBER 11th:** Irish Solidarity Campaign RALLY, Birmingham, 2.30 p.m. Speakers invited include: Bowe Egan, Cathal Goulding, Pdraig Yeats, Bob Purdie, Gerry Ruddy.

**OCTOBER 13th:** 31 October Ad Hoc Meeting, 7.30 p.m. The Roebuck (see Oct. 6th).

**OCTOBER 16th:** IMG Forum on Caylon. Ring 278 2616 for details.

**OCTOBER 19th:** Meeting to set up London Women's Coordinating Committee for winter and spring activities, 8 p.m., Camden Studios, Camden Street, N.W.1 (Mornington Crescent tube). Ring 574 7407.

**OCTOBER 20th:** 31 October Ad Hoc Meeting, 7.30 p.m. The Roebuck (see Oct. 6th).

**OCTOBER 22nd:** VSC Public Meeting: "Demonstrations & the Left—Effective Protest?" Speaker: Pat Jordan, National Chairman VSC. 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Euston Road (opp. Euston station).

**OCTOBER 24th-26th:** Workers Control Conference, Birmingham. Contact: Institute for Workers Control, 45 Gamble Street, Forest Road West, Nottingham. NG7 4ET. 0602-74504.

**OCTOBER 25th:** Anti-Apartheid Rally, Trafalgar Square, 3 p.m.

**OCTOBER 27th:** 31 October Ad Hoc Meeting, 7.30 p.m. The Roebuck. See Oct 6th.

**OCTOBER 30th:** Ernest Mandel debates Tony Cliff on Stalinism & State Capitalism. Caxton Hall, 7.30 p.m.

**OCTOBER 31st:** S. E. Asia Demonstration. More details in next issue.