

# **The Red Mole**

**PREPARE**

**FOR**

**YOUR**

**PILKINGTON,**

**WHOEVER WINS ON JUNE 18**

**THE WORKERS WILL HAVE TO**

**FIGHT!**

**LABOUR PARTY DEBATE CONTINUED**  
**a reply to Robin Blackburn**



# ELECTIONS

## BRITISH IMPERIALISM: THE LONG CRISIS

Once again the Left is faced with the task of orienting itself to the Labour Party in an election period. This is a task which for very fundamental reasons the revolutionary left has never adequately coped with. Those fundamental reasons spring from the same root as the cause of the strength of the reformist party in relation to the revolutionary left: namely the continuing strength of British imperialism. This is a situation which is now changing, however. British imperialism is undergoing a long-term crisis. All its structures are in a state of flux. Even since 1966 the political scene is a different one: the radicalisation of youth has taken place on a large scale. We can begin to expect now that as revolutionary action rather than revolutionary propaganda becomes possible, some more satisfactory relationship to the mass reformist party will emerge. *The Red Mole* has been organising a debate of late to attempt to assist this process.

## WHAT TO DO IN THIS ELECTION?

What, however, should we do now in this election? In the absence of a large organisation, the role of the revolutionary left will still be a largely propagandistic one. This makes it all the more important that that propaganda be correct.

It is a time when the political consciousness of masses of British people is heightened: when they are more receptive to political ideas. It is a period which more than any other offers a chance to revolutionaries to explain the real nature of the Labour Party and the needs of the British working class. This is why it is of paramount importance that we do not liquidate our independent revolutionary presence in this period. To talk of the Tory Bonapartist threat is to mystify, since it directs attention away from the Labour Party. It implicitly covers up for the Labour Party over the last six years. It encourages the type of illusions in the Labour Party as being somehow "progressive" which have plagued the Left for the last forty years. Most important of all, it fetishises the Parliamentary struggle and does not make the essential political point that it is not in elections but in mass struggle that the bourgeoisie will see how far or how little it can push things.

## THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS

We can see that throughout the world, wherever the interests of British imperialism have been at stake, the Labour Government as have previous Labour Governments acted as the stooges of the bourgeoisie: they have acted as the enemy of the working

class on a world scale. We have seen the unsuccessful fight against a National Liberation struggle in Aden and the Gulf states where British imperialism has not yet given up the struggle. In the Caribbean, repression has taken place in Trinidad and Anguilla. In Ireland, British troops stand by ready to shoot fighters for an independent and socialist Ireland. In British jails there are Irish political prisoners now (see elsewhere in this issue). Diplomatic and material support has been given to the American war of aggression against Indochina. In South Africa, the Labour Government props up the regime despite hypocritical gestures to the contrary. In Rhodesia, it capitulates to racism without much protest: had that been a black liberation struggle, their reaction would have been very different. We can see that throughout the world wherever imperialism has been waging its backward reactionary fight, the Labour Government has been in the vanguard of the struggle. These are not facts that we should allow to be swept under the carpet in the interest of Unity for a Labour Victory. We should harry the Labour Government and supporters at every possible opportunity. *No peace for the enemies of the international working class.*

In 1966 there existed a so-called Labour Left, which liked to pose as a progressive force within the Party. If only they could take over the Labour Party, how different things would be, they would tell us. Their record is familiar to most people on the Left. It has been a totally miserable abject role. They have completely failed to put up any consistent fight against Wilson and his policies. Had they been revolutionaries they could have provided a pole of attraction within the Party which could have won over a large section of the working class. Their failure to do this has demonstrated the utter bankruptcy of their claims to be fighting for socialism, and has contributed to a depoliticisation of militant sectors of the British working class.

We should lastly say a word about the role of the Labour Government internally. They should be reminded that the reforms they have introduced have been very few and very timid. Not only, however, have they abandoned what little claims to being progressive that they ever did have. They have moreover capitulated to all that is most base and reactionary in our society with the introduction of racist legislation to restrict immigration.

By rejecting the struggle for socialism, they have had no other alternative but to carry out the wishes of the capitalist class. They have attacked the British working class over a whole range of issues. The resistance of that class

made them back down over the Penal Clauses of the Trade Union Bill. However, their support has not only been lacking from the militant struggles of the class. They have militated against these struggles. Throughout their years in office they have pandered to and peddled the most obnoxious bourgeois propaganda: all the familiar lies about the National Interest, letting Britain down by striking, etc. We should lose no opportunity during the election campaign to bring home the fundamentally anti-working class nature of the Party's activities and why it necessarily must act in a way contrary to the interests of the class.

## STRUGGLE NOT VOTING IS DECISIVE

To support such a party in the hope of social change is of course a complete illusion. It could well be that the return of Labour to government will assist in the task of breaking militants from illusions about the Party. We should recognise,

however, that the revolutionary left is sufficiently small not to be able to decisively influence the way the masses vote. The real significance of our activities over the election period then lies not in our advice about voting but in the type of propaganda we make. We are talking at best to a small politically conscious layer of the class, feeling its way out of the social democratic embrace. The important propaganda point is to attempt to break the working class from the false idea that voting ever determined anything very much. The thing for revolutionaries to stress is that that class is going to have to struggle against whichever Government gets in. It is in this context that we can explain why it is that reformism begins to fail, and that leads directly to an explanation of the relationship between the Labour Government and the international working class.

# SOUTH AFRICA AND THE LEFT

*The Springbok tour has predictably been cancelled—after a little manoeuvring and counter-manoevring by the Labour Government and the Cricket Council. However, we should not let the occasion go by without attempting to gain some clarification of where we stand with regard to the South African regime. To this end The Red Mole is publishing a leaflet which was to have been distributed on the demos.*

The mass mobilisation against the S.A. cricket tour marks an important step forward in British politics. Tens of thousands of young people will be taking part in extra-parliamentary politics for the first time.

But to anyone who is serious about why they are demonstrating, the most important questions have not been answered. How is it possible for groups with such diverse politics as several Conservative M.P.s, many members of the Labour Party including Wilson himself, the Liberals and their younger brethren as well as the radicalised youth vanguard to line up together in opposition to the tour? The answer to this lies in the particular class interests they represent. Yes, let us stop the tour; but above all, let us be clear about the political nature not only of our shady "allies" but even more of the South African State.

Why do the Conservatives and others in The Fair Cricket Campaign oppose the tour?

These people are interested in opposing apartheid both in Britain and in South Africa itself only because it upsets stability. Many of them are directors of companies with large investments in South Africa—companies which derive vast profits from the super-exploitation of black labour (British companies have invested over £1,000 million in South Africa and are the mainstay and chief beneficiary of that regime's hideous internal policy). For them it is a tactical question. They are afraid...of you. Afraid that even demonstrating against a cricket match can radicalise large numbers of people into asking questions which go far beyond cricket.

Why does Wilson oppose the tour?

This is real hypocrisy. It's so easy to give verbal opposition to the tour so he can keep up his anti-apartheid facade while lashing out at demonstrators with the police to protect his law-and-order flank in the election period. But what has the Labour Government really done? Firstly, it has not in any way challenged the very basis of apartheid—the capitalist economic base of South African society. On the contrary, it has encouraged British-owned companies to invest there. Secondly, it has accepted completely South Africa's key position as an outpost of British and American imperialism, as a centre for the spread and consolidation of white domination, first economically and second politically, into the black African states to the north. This needs weapons. Of course the Labour Government has made a big show of not selling arms direct to South Africa. But all through NATO's long tentacles, it has been easy to direct arms to South Africa and Portuguese imperialism; b) ICI certainly, and probably other companies too, have been encouraged by the Government to set up subsidiaries in South Africa.

## What about the Liberals?

There can be no doubt that they are sincere about being anti-apartheid. But what does that mean? What are we to make of the fact that most of the English-speaking South Africans—and they comprise the biggest industrialists in that country—are against apartheid too. What we have to understand is that the bourgeoisie in South Africa is split between the Afrikaans who control the ruling Nationalist Party, and the English-speaking section. The latter, in their attempt to gain power, have made a bloc with some black organisations whom they control completely politically. These people see very clearly that the continuation of apartheid carries with it the great danger (for them) of independent revolutionary action by the black majority: revolutionary action which would threaten the whole basis of capitalism in South Africa. For there is one thing we must not forget or we shall be side-tracked: there are many countries in the world where apartheid does not exist. There are many where racialism is unintelligible to the population. But oppression still exists in these countries, exploitation of man by man for the profit of a few still exists in the countries and there, as everywhere else, the oppressor must be fought by an awakened people.

The real struggle in South Africa is not only for the removal of apartheid though of course this is an integral part of it. Under the present system, an African subsists in the reserves and can only get work in the towns for a year at a time, and even then he goes where he is sent (under the iniquitous pass system) and has no choice but to accept what wages he is given. If more black workers were allowed to work, they would undercut the much higher wages of the white workers. And this is what these "Liberals" would like. For just to abolish apartheid would still leave us with a capitalist South Africa, able to utilise cheap black labour much more "rationally" than at present—but a South Africa with a veneer of respectable parlim parliamentary democracy.

*We must have no truck with such fakers.* For us, the most important aim is to work in solidarity with the forces in South Africa capable of mobilising the great mass of the people to fight independently for their own liberation. We cannot see this liberation only in terms of abolishing apartheid. The black people of South Africa have a greater destiny than overthrowing apartheid only to find they remain exploited as workers and peasants in a country controlled by foreign capitalism.

Liberation starts from recognising that the black people of South Africa are not just blacks, but are immigrant workers, landless peasants and small plot-holders. If it is to succeed, it must lie along the road of socialist revolution.

**Stop Apartheid's Representatives Playing Cricket!**

**End the Exploitation of Black S.A. Labour by Foreign Capital!**

**Full Solidarity to the Emerging S.A. Revolution and with the Freedom Fighters in Portuguese Territory!**

# PILKINGTONS

There are many people on the left in Britain, even revolutionaries, who categorise strikes into two types: economic and political. There are others who more correctly but rather dogmatically say that all strikes are political. The Pilkington strike, as did the Fords strike of 1968, and the dockers strike of 1966, has shown yet again that a strike about wages assumes conscious political proportions when it clearly demarcates class alliances and antagonisms, sometimes, as in this case, throughout the country—i.e. when the press picks up the scent of "outside agitators" and does everything possible to pour dirt on the independent action of workers; when everyone from Barbara Castle (with her official enquiry headed by John Wood, an active Conservative who bossed the Standard Triumph enquiry which came down—naturally—against the workers demands) to the police at the picket line and to the very Union the men belong to, all line up, lap dog style, behind Pilkington & Co. Ltd.

And on the other side we saw workers' solidarity from Fords, Leylands, Kraft Foods, Vauxhalls, etc., and especially from the 1,500 men at Ellesmere Port who promised £1 cash a week till the strike was over.

But this is no time for complacency; the majority of workers stayed with the strike committee until the end, but 2,500 went back to work before. How was the unity broken? and

from the lessons of this one? We must concentrate on a very dangerous weapon in the arsenal of strike-breakers (in this case the crawling GMWU)—the Secret Ballot. That ballot should never have been permitted. Formally so democratic, the secret ballot plays exactly the same role as do general elections. In each case the effect is to atomise the working class. Instead of the 8,800 Pilkington workers practising workers democracy among themselves, we see 8,800 individuals cut off from each other's corporate solidarity, fallen prey to the witch-hunting rumours of the newspapers, the echoes of "solid advice" from stooge T.U. representatives, that signed letter from "the Lord of the Manor" himself, the understandable nagging of the wife. And he snaps. And afterwards he regrets it but it's too late.

And one other thing this strike has shown, though the lesson must be learnt. If workers democracy means anything at all within those organs created by the class to defend it—the Trades Unions—then every worker must go out of his way to practice it. Bureaucrats exist and concentrate power in their hands on the basis of apathy on the part of the rank and file. A representative elected by the entire membership of a workers organisation and subject to their control must reflect the real interests and views of those workers. To put one's faith in bureaucrats is to let them sell one out at the crucial



**Palestine Solidarity Campaign—Statement on Police Violence during Demonstration of May 17th, issued 19/5/70.**

In view of the distorted reporting which appeared in the press concerning the march of May 17th in support of the Palestinian freedom fighters, the PSC would like to make known the following facts:

- Through the rally and march the Metropolitan Police behaved with hostility and provocation towards the marchers. The march had hardly begun when the Secretary of the PSC, Miss Penny Lydon, was arrested on a charge so flimsy that the Magistrate on his initiative entered a plea of "not guilty", despite the charge made by the police.
- The police constantly harassed the demonstrators, rigidly restricted their movements and attempted to otherwise intimidate them and to dictate their course and method of peaceful protest.
- At the end of the march, the police man-handled and roughly treated the Palestinian demonstrators while treating with a velvet glove the Zionist demonstrators who had lined the street in order to provoke the PSC sympathisers. Several of the latter were severely bruised by kicks and punches emanating indiscriminately from the ranks of the police.

d) Apart from physical violence against the PSC supporters, the police engaged in verbal provocation, often racist in tone, against the Palestinians and Arabs in the crowd. On some occasions they caused great indignation by tearing up Palestinian flags and symbols as an overt affront to the feelings of the marchers, particularly the Palestinians among them.

e) When scuffles broke out between the PSC supporters and the Zionists, after the march had dispersed, the police almost invariably arrested the former while treating the latter very lightly.

f) Press reports of an "innocent bystander" being hurt by a PSC supporter are completely false. The person in question is a well-known leader of a Zionist thug group and had himself initiated the disturbance in which he was hurt.

Once again the authorities in Britain expose their belligerent attitude towards revolutionary and progressive movements, towards supporters of anti-imperialist struggles, and towards overseas workers and students. This is not all surprising in view of the fact that in the same way that the State of Israel is a protégé of western imperialism, so are local Zionists the protégé of the British Establishment.

The Executive Committee, Palestine Solidarity Campaign, c/o G.U.A.S., 4 Chesterfield Gdns., London W.1.

## red circle demo

A group of young Socialist revolutionaries known as the Stafford Red Circle is organising a Vietnam protest march through Stafford town centre, on Saturday.

But they define their aim as far-reaching than just demonstrating against "American imperialism" in South-East Asia.

Pledged to assist working-class struggles in Stafford, the group, now about 10 weeks old, sees itself as playing a support role in tenants' grievances and fights against employment redundancies.

In addition, there are plans to organise demonstrations against the Springboks at Birmingham and Nottingham. And the Red Circle is also keen to encourage a revolutionary movement in Stafford schools.

"We want pupil democracy," said 21-year-old Mr. Chris Pailthorpe, a commercial apprentice at Dorman Diesels, Stafford, who called the Circle's first meeting.

"There are a lot of genuine grievances over such things as corporal punishment and school uniforms."

The organisers of Saturday's demonstration say that at least 150 people will be taking part. Of this number about 100 will be Keele University students.

Marchers will carry the words "Victory to the NLF", "End British Complicity" and "Withdraw all American troops now". And it is planned to distribute leaflets among town-centre shoppers.

The organisers say the march will be peaceful. Said one Red Circle member: "We are Socialist revolutionaries—not people who just want a punch-up."

Mr. Pailthorpe said that none of the group wanted to use violence either as a means or an end. "But we certainly don't morally disown it for defensive

reasons."

Chief Superintendent Harold Wright, chief of Stafford police, said of Saturday's march: "Nobody has suggested to us that there is going to be any trouble. Sufficient officers will be on duty."

Starting at 2.30 p.m. outside Stafford railway station, the marchers plan to halt in the Market Square for an address by Mr. Gerald Hitman, a member of the Birmingham International Marxist Group.

"We want as wide a public support as possible," said Mr. Pailthorpe. "But we think the greatest support will come from the young people."

Stafford Labour Party has been informally approached for support. But support was refused, the Advertiser was told.

Stafford Red Circle has a hard core of 12 members. But between 20 and 30 people aged between 17 and the mid-thirties, gather at the White Lion public house in Lichfield Road, Stafford, for Circle meetings on Monday evenings.

The members include white-collar workers, manual workers, an English Electric apprentice and a planner.

The group's broad political position is firstly that the members "recognise the need to build a revolutionary party."

They oppose the "Russian bureaucracies" and advocate political revolution in the Soviet bloc as well as in capitalist countries and they "support the struggles for national liberation in the colonial countries."

(Reprinted from the Staffordshire Advertiser, 14th May 1970).

## up strikes, out scabs

The rising militancy of workers in British industry is clearly evident from the current figures for strikes. The number of days "lost" through strike action in the first quarter of 1970 was close on 2½ million, a rise of around 40% compared with the first quarter of 1969—itsself a marked upturn on previous figures. The actual number of stoppages is up by nearly 50% and the number of workers involved by nearly 30%. It should be noted that the official figures\* do not include the 22,000 dockers who struck on March 17th as a protest against the Government's proposals for port nationalisation.

The bourgeois press of course mourns the loss of production and becomes hysterical at the thought of "outside agitators" (especially when they are inside). This is of course a well-tried technique for creating division and confusion, and weakening support for strikers. But what the popular press in particular prefer to ignore is the increase in days lost through unemployment. This too continues on a steady upward plod, and is now the highest since the Second World War; it is now 2.7% of the workforce, standing at 624,000. In certain regions such as Wales, Scotland, Northern England, the figure stands at over 4%, and Northern Ireland 7%. In all regions the percentage unemployed of women is higher than for men. The figures for strikes are interesting enough even though

they do not fairly reflect political stoppages, but what is also important is the continuing trend towards open confrontation between rank and file organisations and the official union machinery. The most glaring example of the day is the Pilkington strike which has extended to battles with police and scabs. A foretaste of this was evident in the Hull Trawlermen's strike (See Mole No. 3).

Trade union official leaders are becoming increasingly nervous at the growth of rank and file activity, such that the leadership of the General and Municipal Workers Union which openly betrayed the Pilkington workers are contemplating lodging a substantial pay claim on behalf of (or rather to forestall) their members in municipal services. If the St. Helens Glass Strike is remotely representative of changes in the mood of workers, the Lord Coopers\*\* of this world will have a stormy time ahead.

From District Line Mole (N.U.R.)

\*See Employment and Productivity Gazette.  
\*\*Lord Cooper is the "leader" of the GMWU. When he received his peerage, the union magazine, anxious to please no doubt, carried a full colour glossy picture of him in his robes on its front page. The comments from union members on seeing this can be imagined.

**Ché Guevara's Bolivian Diaries.** 5/- post free from The Red Mole, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.

**Rank-and-File:** militant teachers' journal. Available quarterly from 87 Brooke Road, London N.16. Single copy 1/2d. 9/- per dozen. Annual subscription.

**Rouge, French Revolutionary Weekly of the Ligue Communiste.** Write Rouge, BP201, Paris 19e, France, or write to The Red Mole, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1, enclosing 2/- for an individual copy.

**VIETNAM**—monthly magazine of the VSC, available from J. Suddaby, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1. Price 1/-.

**RED BOOKS** (formerly Pioneer Books) now at 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1. Open every Wednesday till 7 p.m., other days ring 278 2616 first. Enquiries to Leonora Lloyd.

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**MARXIST STUDIES**—Spring issue. Workers' Control and Marxists, John Walters. Self-management in French High Schools 1968, Nicholas Baby. The Law of Value and Self-Management in the Workers States, Ernest Germain. Factory Councils, Gramsci. Book Reviews, etc. 3/4d pp. BMS Publications (RM), 16a Holmdale Road, London N.W.6.

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**CUBA:** "The sons of people cannot be exchanged for worms."

Prime Minister Fidel Castro and several hundred thousand cheering Cubans greeted the eleven Cuban fishermen freed after being held for eight days by Alpha-66—an anti-revolutionary group based in Miami—on Tuesday night (May 19).

The eleven men flew in a special Cuban plane from the Bahamas where they were held on May 10 after their fishing boats were sunk by Alpha-66 gunboats.

Dr. Castro drove with the fishermen for 15 miles past cheering crowds to a ceremony outside the former US Embassy in Havana where more than 200,000 chanting, dancing Cubans greeted them with roars of applause.

The Embassy had been besieged by demonstrators for five days, waving flags, chanting slogans and hurling insults at President Nixon. Inside the Embassy was Swiss diplomat Karl Kunsiker, and the Embassy night-watchman. They were there for three days and nights with nothing to eat but nuts and dried plums and were led out of the building by a Cuban Foreign Ministry official, policemen and two doctors on Monday following night-long negotiations by the Swiss Ambassador Alfred Fischli and a Swiss Government note (the Swiss Government handles US Affairs in Cuba).

The demonstration outside the building was exceptionally well organised since its spontaneous beginning: latrines, tents, and food and water were laid on by the Government, and the building was bathed in floodlights each night. On Saturday (May 16) GRANMA, the Party newspaper, warned Swiss diplomats that they were using the eight-storey concrete and glass building illegally. The Swiss officials have been using it since 1962 when they started representing US interests in Cuba. The newspaper implied that Swiss officials and the building would not receive police protection if the diplomats returned to it. It said it would be difficult to control the crowd and that the police would not shed Cuban blood to protect imperialist symbols. "Diplomatic immunity is not more sacred than the lives and peaceful work of our fishermen."

The eleven fishermen kidnapped by Alpha-66 were initially held as hostages for the nine Alpha-66 guerrillas captured after the attempted invasion of Eastern Cuba last month (April). But Castro refused

the exchange and instead threatened the Alpha-66 group with the execution of the prisoners unless the fishermen were freed. "The hand of the revolution will be hard, firm and inflexible with its enemies," he said. "The Government of Cuba rejects fully and definitively any blackmail by the CIA and its agents which attempts to use the Cuban fishermen as hostages."

President Oswaldo Dorticos summoned the Swiss Ambassador in Havana and informed him of Cuban demands. He also summoned British Ambassador Richard Sykes and informed him that counter-revolutionary organisations and the US CIA were using small British quays and islands off the Cuban coast to launch anti-Cuban activities. The President warned Britain to take steps to prevent these activities, otherwise "the Government of Cuba would find itself obliged to adopt the relevant measures with the aim of preventing them by its own means."

Castro announced that captured exiles had told of continual visits by FBI and CIA agents to the training camps of the exiled guerrillas and that the invaders last month trained for their expedition at Great Inagua Island, a British possession in the Bahamas, sixty miles north-east of Cuba. He also warned Britain that the exiles were using some of the 4,000 islands in the British Bahamas to train guerrillas and launch attempted landings. The "relevant measures" Cuba is prepared to take will be direct intervention in the British islands to stop the exiles' activities if Britain did not do so.

The Alpha-66 invasion last month consisted of 13 men, four were killed and the other nine captured. They had landed near Baracoa town on the north coast of Oriente Province, equipped with modern automatic weapons supplied by the United States Army. Five Cuban soldiers were killed and one wounded by the guerrillas.

At the funeral of the dead soldiers, Castro warned that new invasion attempts would suffer worse defeats than the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961. "Nixon has now assigned the Pentagon, sadly known for its crimes in the world, the organisation and recruitment of mercenaries for new aggressive plans against our country." And he added, "If Mr. Nixon and the band of criminals composing the Pentagon and the CIA had not learned from the basting they have received in Vietnam and Laos, they would have more in Cuba."

**MARXIST YOUTH JOURNAL**—Issue No. 3 includes Women's Liberation; What is Scientific Socialism?; The Secondary School Struggle; The State of the Student Movement; The British Secret Police. Subscription: 15/- for 12 issues, 5/- for 6 issues, post free. Cheques payable to A. J. Lenton. Write: Marxist Youth Journal, 19 Gotham Street, Leicester LE2 0NA.

**Second Issue of Middle East for Revolutionary Socialism** now out. Subscription £1 per year from M.E.R.S., 3 Beachwood Avenue, London N.3. For single copies (1½ + 5d pp) and enquiries write Peter Gowen, 75 York Way, London N.7.

**Socialist Women**—now out in new printed format—is produced by a group of socialist women of the Nottingham Socialist Women's Committee. A subscription costs only 5/- for 6 issues (bi-monthly). Send to 16 Ella Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham.

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# Africans abroad come together

Published below are some extracts from the Constitution and Programme of OAPPA (The Organisation for All Progressive People from Africa). This organisation has been formed after a series of meetings in London initiated by the Gower Street African discussion group, and a conference in Geneva. It is open to African militants living outside Africa who are committed to African and world revolution and to the dissemination of revolutionary ideas. The Red Mole is pleased to help in giving the organisation publicity.

**Introduction to the Programme of OAPPA**  
Starting from the fact that feudalism, international capitalism and imperialism are messing up Africa our father land; they are the forces which physically and mentally enslave our fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters; the African militants outside Africa have a duty of making positive contributions in their temporarily small but significant way to the complete overthrow of all these reactionary forces and their lackeys.

The temporary success of imperialism in Africa as shown by the numerous right-wing coups of the '60s; the absorption of the African educated "elite" into the international bourgeoisie with the "capital-less" Africans as junior partners in the game of exploiting African workers and peasants in most African states; have all helped African militants studying or working outside Africa to come together and to re-examine issues.

They have discovered that African socialism which is not scientific is a myth and that is why most of it was drafted by European expatriates and American Peace Corps serving in Africa, edited and approved by the American State Department. It allows the acquisition of maximum possible profits by Anglo-American imperialism which in turn helps to develop an African bourgeoisie—a new upper class made of the Western-orientated and educated "elite". This socialism does not lead to the elimination of exploitation of man by man.

The lack of effectiveness and confusion in some of the liberation movements at home as opposed to their success in publicising their cause abroad; which is due either to a lack of a clear ideology or opportunism both of the left and right, also is a cause of great concern to Africans who are temporarily outside Africa. They realise something has to be done in Africa and someone has to do it. They have to make maximum contributions.

The African militants in the OAPPA do not recognise the present boundaries of Africa which were created to serve the interests of the competing European upper classes. We believe in the total unity of Africa with one continental government on the lines suggested by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana.

As revolutionary internationalists we should forget thinking in terms of being Ghanaians, Zambians, Congolese, Kenyans or South Africans. We should concentrate on the African revolution which is also a big contribution to the world-wide anti-capitalist revolution.



**THE SOCIALIST APPROACH TO THE WOMEN QUESTION**  
Evelyn Sell, American Marxist active in the women's liberation movement, is the main speaker at the London Socialist Woman's Group's first public meeting.  
**JUNE 5th—7.30 p.m.**  
Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London W.C.1 (Holborn tube).  
Enquiries: ring Leonora Lloyd, 01-574 7407.

according to the specific African countries they came from. There has been no Union organised on a continental basis catering for the interests of African militants committed to revolutionary pan-Africanism and who have not been mentally captured by colonialism.

Recent months (January to April 1970) have seen a lot of meetings by Africans in London and a conference was held in Geneva of Africans studying or working in parts of Europe. These have ended in the formation of the "Organisation for All Progressive People from Africa" (OAPPA).

**General Programme of Action for OAPPA**

1. To collect, study and analyse anti-capitalist black power literature as a way of getting rid of the colonial mentality which many of us still have, consciously or unconsciously.
2. To study thoroughly the works of Nkrumah, Nyerere, Franz Fanon and the Russian, Chinese, Cuban, Vietnamese revolutions and others as a way of preparing ourselves for the revolution in Africa.
3. To try and answer every distortion and misinformation about Africa which is published or broadcast in the Western news media. If possible to start a newspaper or journal of our own which would cover the plight and struggles of the oppressed world and exploited peasants and workers in Africa and the rest of the exploited world.
4. To take direct militant action wherever possible or necessary.
5. To take advantage of our present access to the masses of information about Africa which is more available in Europe and America than in Africa itself by collecting it, sorting it out, analysing it and sending it to progressive individuals, groups or organisations inside Africa who badly need it.
6. To encourage the formation of Progressive Circles in different parts of the countries of Africa. These shall study what revolution is about and how to make it; they shall serve as centres of anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist information; they shall promote revolutionary political actions in different parts of their countries; they shall work hand in hand with other revolutionary organisations in their countries or even be branches of those organisations. It is our contacts in Africa or ourselves, when we go back to Africa, who shall form these Progressive Circles.
7. There shall be commissions of OAPPA dealing with different countries or regions of Africa, as is appropriate, which shall deal specifically with the issues of those countries or regions. These commissions shall be made up of people mainly from those places concerned.
8. From the constitution of OAPPA and this general programme of action each branch or commission of OAPPA shall be free to decide exactly where to start from and how to proceed.

For further information contact:  
Chen. Chimutengwende, 103 Gower Street, London W.C.1. Tel.: 01-387 1640.



- JUNE 3rd: STST meeting, Essex Road Library, London N1 (Angel or Highbury tube), 5.15 p.m. Contact John Theodor, 288 Liverpool Road, N1.
- JUNE 4th: meeting to discuss NJACWER and Equal Pay, Hanwell Public Library, Cherington Road, London W.11. Contact Leonora Lloyd, 574 7407.
- JUNE 5th: "The Hornsey Film", Camden Studios, Camden Street, N.W.1. 8 p.m. Angry Arts, 263 0613
- JUNE 19th: cultural programme, Peggy Seeger, militant folk artists. Contact WERC, 37 Castletown Road, W.14.

# Antidote

**PEOPLE'S ANTIDOTE TO TEAR GAS**

A biochemistry student at the University of California has developed an easy-to-make and easy-to-use antidote for tear gas. The student, John McWhorter, brought his little bit of magic in a milk bottle to the office of the *Daily Californian* after the April 15 anti-ROTC action in Berkeley, which included heavy doses of tear gas from the police. McWhorter, senior in biochemistry working with Professor John B. Neiland, claims he has found an antidote to tear gas that can be made by anyone who has ever scrambled an egg.

The antidote compound was tested by McWhorter during an anti-war demo on more than 20 people. They found it effective in preventing stinging eyes and sore, irritated skin.

McWhorter explained the theory behind his concoction in this way: CN and CS gas attack a sulphidral group in the eye. Egg has a great deal of albumin, and egg albumin has a great deal of sulphur.

The implications of this are astounding, said McWhorter. In riots it would be possible to walk right through tear-gas attacks.

He said that on April 15 he and many others spread the egg mixture on their face and around their eyes. They then walked out into a wave of gas. Their reactions? "We all felt fine."

The recipe is: Mix 8-10 eggs with one cup of water and a tablespoon of baking soda. Beat very well. Spread over face and around eyes. Also vinegar in a handkerchief is an effective agent to breathe through, but vinegar should not be spread on the face. The vinegar-soaked handkerchief and the egg mixture should, together, make an effective anti-tear gas team (effective against CN and CS).

McWhorter promises that further research on tear gas antidotes is proceeding despite some pressures from unnamed sources. Further developments, he said, will be reported promptly to the public.

"The spirit of the People is greater than the Man's technology."

**RIGHT ON, PEOPLE'S CHEMISTS.**  
Info: Liberation News Service and Agitprop.

# Appeal

**BLACK PEOPLE'S LEGAL AID AND DEFENCE FUND**

On Sunday, 26th April, twenty brothers and sisters were arrested on the Solidarity Demonstration in support of our Black brothers and sisters in Trinidad and Tobago.

After the Court hearing on Monday, the Black people who attended left the Court at about 1.00 p.m., peacefully on their way home, escorted by a number of uniformed pigs. On reaching the ticket office at Oxford Circus tube station, they were suddenly pounced upon by a number of pigs in plain clothes, resulting in the further arrest of one sister and two brothers.

Brothers and Sisters, because of what happened on the 26th and 27th of April and no doubt what will continue to happen, we have seen the necessity to launch this Defence and Aid fund.

The Brothers and Sisters who have fully committed themselves to the struggle need moral and financial support from all Black People so we can function more effectively in the coming confrontation with the law.

The welfare of brothers and sisters who are held in prison must be looked after, e.g. rent, food and clothing.

Please contribute what you can afford financially or otherwise.

Your donations will be used solely for this purpose.

All donations to be sent to:  
A. Williams,  
3 Hornsey Rise Gardens,  
London N.19.

# Czech show trials

Dear Editor,

May we appeal through your columns to socialists who have opposed the suppression of democratisation in Czechoslovakia? For many months we have been receiving reports of anticipated political trials in Prague. The jailing of the Czech journalist Oto Filip has confirmed our fear that these trials are in preparation.

Last year Bertrand Russell repeatedly warned the Left of show trials, and appealed for international action to expose them. We are therefore asking the Left to stand ready for the opening of major trials, and to support their victims by making known the true nature of their "crimes".  
Yours fraternally, Ken Coates, Chris Farley,  
The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation Ltd.,  
3 & 4 Shavers Place, Haymarket, London S.W.1.

# Mexico Libre

Dear Comrade,

The World Cup means world attention focused on Mexico, and this is the time to hit with a political sales punch. What about a "do-it-yourself" slogan campaign? It wouldn't be much trouble to write "Mexico Libre" on the top of each letter you post, would it? Or return all "reply-paid" coupons you can lay your hands on with a note "Free political prisoners in Mexico" (costs them postage as well)? Ever entered a "spot-the-ball" football competition? What about drawing a ball and then attaching it by a chain to the player's leg? Defacing ads is against the law, but who's to catch you with a little spray-pak? Surely you've got some better suggestions? Noticed that all these are questions questions? No incitement. Big sport is big politics—offside means jail in Mexico.  
Fraternally, C.W.

# Pakistanis

The Pakistani Progressive Party had a meeting at Toynbee Hall last Sunday. We have all decided the Race Relations Officer Mr. Joe Hunt of Toynbee Hall is an evil for us. He does not want to know anything about what is happening here; he is only interested in making false statements to the press. It helps him to keep his reputation with his bosses. He says the language difficulty is the cause of the problems, which is utter nonsense. All the Pakistanis speak the language pretty well, though not like barristers or politicians. In order to show that it is impossible for him to solve the problem, he blames the people, one way or the other. We must get rid of him as soon as we possibly can.

The idea of forming vigilantes which our people has initiated has now been taken up by the policemen. They have started searching every Pakistani house in the area. On charges like possessing unaccountable keys and household cutting utensils, etc., they take the people to Court. On the way they charge the people for keeping something like a penknife.

The murderer of Tahir Ali has been found now. The Government seems to think the situation is eased off a bit. This is very much mistaken. The situation will not ease off unless the Government do it by means of justice, not by means of suppression or punishment as they do now. We are cooperative by mouth and heart. The authorities are cooperative only by mouth, not by heart. Toynbee Hall or the authorities have deputed a number of officers around here to see how best they can help the people. My talks with one of their officers show it is only the repetition of what has actually given rise to the problem. They do no more than before. So these officers are only wasting their time. The people do not want to know anything about them. Of course they are successful, but only in finding out who is doing what, etc. In the end I believe the authorities are only serious about finding out who is who, in order to put a really hard pressure on the people.

It is useless to blame the English people for this sort of mentality. Mentality takes a long time to build up. For the last two hundred years the English people were the rulers of the world. Still they believe the same. After the Second World War, there has been a great change in the minds of the people. The English people do not understand that, and they do not want to understand it either. Here is the main crux of all the problems in this country. Again I don't want to blame them for these sorts of things. Babylon will fall, when Babylon is to fall. The British have got to go down when there is time. I believe it is the right time for them. That is the reason they seem to turn a deaf ear to reality. They preach the doctrine of peace in the world whereas they do not know what it is. They are crying to the wilderness.





# FREUD, PIAGET, ALTHUSSER, MARCUSE...

In a society permeated by a liberal ideology social ills are often attributed to psychological causes. Crude examples abound: the student movement is the result of permissive upbringing; delinquency is due to inadequate parental models for identification, etc. In such a milieu psychology students, often drawn to the subject out of dissatisfaction with other ones, may begin to see it as relevant to social issues.

**Witchcraft/Frivolity/Pornography**  
Yet what do they actually study in British universities? Academically, psychology is a subject striving to live down a discreditable, unorthodox past. In the early years of this century, standard neurological views on Freud's ideas ranged from "a modern form of witchcraft mania" through "frivolity" to "pornography". Reich was committed to an asylum, where he died; Jung became a semi-mystic. To increase its prestige, academic psychology has aped the methods of the natural sciences, which, as the societal function of the university changes, naturally receive an ever-increasing amount of money and prestige because of their economic potential.

This "scientific" development in psychology has been encouraged by capitalist society, particularly in the United States, for two further reasons. It leads to an emphasis on the prediction and control of behaviour instead of on the understanding of people and their thought; the former is clearly more valuable to a social system which treats people as machines. Also, it leads to an emphasis on fact-finding rather than on theorising, thereby limiting the development of dissident ideas. Thus Watson—the founder of behaviourism, the most "scientific" school of psychology—was compared to Newton by the *Wall Street Journal* in a review of his textbook. Yet psychoanalysis, the only school of psychology which has consistently produced radical thinkers—Reich, Fromm, Marcuse, Laing—is still hardly taught in British universities.

## Dialectics of Personal Liberation

Some changes are beginning to occur in the teaching of the subject, but with such a past it is not surprising that as many as 250 people came to a Left Psychology Conference at Keele in early March, probably the first such conference in Britain for many years, although it overlapped somewhat with the Dialectics of Liberation Conference of 1967. It was organised, as far as they believed in organisation, by a group of anarchists, for all those dissatisfied with establishment psychology. The proceedings were rather chaotic and no organised factions developed. Yet there seemed to be at least three distinct positions represented. First there were those who, using psychology, had rejected societal ideas on normality and were interested in techniques for obtaining personal liberation. The most sensational of these were the adherents of Reichian vegetotherapy, in which members of a group—best arranged in a circle and naked to remove inhibition—caress each other with the aim of removing physical tension and thereby mental tension. For the second group—a large number of anarchists—personal liberation provides the basis for a political ideology. An extreme example of the style of their arguments is the remark made in the course of an interminable harangue at the final session: "Only those who are personally liberated, about a quarter of those present, know how to fight capitalism, where it is most needed—in the mental hospitals and the prisons!"

## Low-Level Arguments

Finally there was an indeterminate, but not very large, number of Marxists of various tendencies (excluding the SLL) who needed to deal with much more complex intellectual problems than those facing the groups whose ideology was based directly on psychology, for we had to attempt to discuss psychological factors in relation to socio-economic factors. I heard only two relevant problems discussed. First, there was an interesting paper by David Ingleby on the pernicious influence of the reified view of man encouraged by modern academic psychology. Second, some discussion took place on the question of whether or not the study of psychology is basically reactionary—both in view of

the integrative function of industrial psychology and of the tendency in clinical psychology to identify cure with the ability to work; yet very similar arguments could be produced about the study of medicine, which one could hardly call reactionary as a whole even if particular practices are. In general, the heterogeneity of perspectives, the large unchaired sessions, the lack of time for preparation and the novelty of the conference made low-level arguments virtually inevitable.

If one rejects Althusser's non-dialectical view of Marx, then Marxist thought should contain a theory on the psychology of man as one of its levels. The relatively simple psychological ideas implicit in the later Marx, more explicit in the younger Marx, have proved eminently satisfactory for mediating political theory. However, just as Marx's economics have required elaboration, so may his psychology. There seem to me to be a number of questions where modern psychology might be able to contribute to Marxism. In a time when the unmasking of social democracy is the overriding problem, can anything be salvaged from Marcuse's analysis of false consciousness? His relatively uncritical acceptance of the psychology—as opposed to the metapsychology—of the later Freud means that he has no psychological concepts mediating class consciousness, but perhaps a synthesis of Freudian with more cognitive psychological ideas such as Piaget's might

be fruitful. Can a psychological perspective add anything to socio-economic analyses both of fascism and of the phenomenon of the increasing rejection, both political and non-political, of capitalist values by middle-class youth? Or, less plausibly, can it add anything to the polemic between Lenin and Luxemburg on the organisation of Bolshevik parties?

In addition to combatting distorted ideologies based on inadequate psychology, such as those produced by Ardrey and Lorenz, it seems possible that Left Psychology could have a meaningful positive function by contributing to Marxist theory. One major reason why it has almost completely failed to contribute until now is the positivist and isolated nature of modern academic psychology. Thus this conference in its chaotic way may indicate a more promising direction for British psychology. (For anyone interested in these developments, the conference produced a legacy in the form of a bulletin, which will probably reflect all three positions mentioned above; for information write to Ruth Davies, 197 Goldhurst Terrace, London, N.W.6.)  
Tim Shallice

*This article has been held over from previous issues for space reasons. Although the conference which it reports happened some time ago, we think it is sufficiently interesting to our readers to include it here.*

# Freedom FOR IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS

As you read this article, two young Irishmen, Patrick O'Sullivan and Conor Lynch, are locked in a small cell (measuring 8' x 13') in an English prison. They are there as a result of what Paddy O'Sullivan so accurately described as "a show-piece of British justice" which took place between September 8 and September 25, 1969, and which resulted in them both being sentenced to seven years in prison. Previous to that so-called trial, they had been held in custody for well over four months, on the basis of a hearing which was as much a sham as the trial itself. The alleged crime—that they both took part in a raid on an arms factory in Dagenham, Essex, on May 7, 1969. The evidence was so flimsy and so dependent on suggestion and possibility (as I will show below) that a conviction, not to mention a sentence of seven years, was astounding. Even more astounding was the comment of Judge McKinnon that he had found the evidence absolutely overwhelming. To us it simply shows to what extent the trial was, in fact, a sham show-piece of justice.

## Prison Conditions

For an Irishman to express the wish to be treated like an ordinary English prisoner seems unbelievable. Yet this was what Paddy O'Sullivan said in his letter, printed in the *United Irishman*, in February 1970. The same letter shows quite clearly why he wants this change. (i) His cell is 8' x 15' in size. He, unlike all other prisoners except Conor Lynch, is confined to it for 19 hours a day, and 23 hours a day at weekends. (ii) He is not allowed to sit, meet or write to his fellow republican, as one is classified as "Young Prisoner" and the other as "Adult Prisoner"; regulations forbid them to come into contact. (iii) He is categorised as a "Special Watch" prisoner and forced to wear clown-like prison clothes which make him stand out among the prisoners. (iv) He is allowed to write only two letters a week, and his incoming mail and reading material is strictly censored. From these facts we can clearly see why our comrade wishes for a normal prison classification.

## The Reasons

We can also clearly see why they are being subjected to such harsh and inhuman treatment. It is because they are members of an organisation, the Republican Movement, whose aims are the overthrow of capitalism throughout the whole of our country and the shaking off of the fetters of British imperialist domination, now probably more powerful in the economic sphere than ever before since the foundation of the state.

It is because of the threat which the Republican Movement poses to British imperialism and to Irish capitalism that all

opportunities are availed of by the oppressing class, ably represented by the Courts, the police and the prison authorities, harshly to suppress and punish all who take a progressive stand. Thus it is unimportant on what flimsy grounds a man is convicted. The evidence on which Conor Lynch and Paddy O'Sullivan were convicted quite clearly shows this up, and it is with this in mind that it must be analysed.

Since the Republican Movement is also the class enemy of the political "gombeen" men who run this country in the interests of native capitalists and British imperialism, it is easy to see why, up to very recently, no political voice had been raised in defence of the two young Irishmen. It is in the interests of our so-called political representatives that all movements with a revolutionary aim be suppressed. Since the Republican Movement has recently emerged as quite clearly a revolutionary movement, a movement with a broad base among the Irish working class, it is thus imperative that it be suppressed, by all possible means. Thus, although it may go against the spirit of their bourgeois nationalism to let a fellow Irishman languish so unnecessarily in a British prison, they were (and this applies to all parties) prepared to do so to serve their class interests. It was only under pressure from the Republican Movement that one of Labour T.D.s quite recently decided that he would take a stand. It seems strange that this man who are obviously more "au fait" with the facts of the case should be prepared to turn a blind eye to such marked injustice as exists here. However, as shown above, their class interests have obviously been their guideline.

Now let us analyse on what evidence these two Irishmen were condemned to seven years' imprisonment under such harsh conditions. We must first recognise that it is difficult to analyse what influenced a judge and jury, apart from the bias of their class position, in making a decision such as this. We can only deal with the points of which most use were made by the prosecution.

The chief points on which the "trial" was based were as follows:

1. That on May 3rd, O'Sullivan and Lynch entered England with four other men, all giving false names.
2. That O'Sullivan was a confessed member of the IRA, the military arm of the Republican Movement; and Lynch was a confessed member of Sinn Fein, the movement's political wing.
3. That on the night of the raid O'Sullivan, on being arrested in Barking, Essex, refused to give an account of his movements.
4. That the men who raided the factory spoke with Irish accents.
5. That the police dog had found a pistol with a lanyard hooked around it, with a picture of



the Virgin Mary and a pierced heart. 6. That is of no concern to the court as to whether the IRA were correct or not, or whether the IRA was an enemy of Britain.

Now let us deal with these points, and show how utterly inadequate they were for the type of conviction and the sentence given.

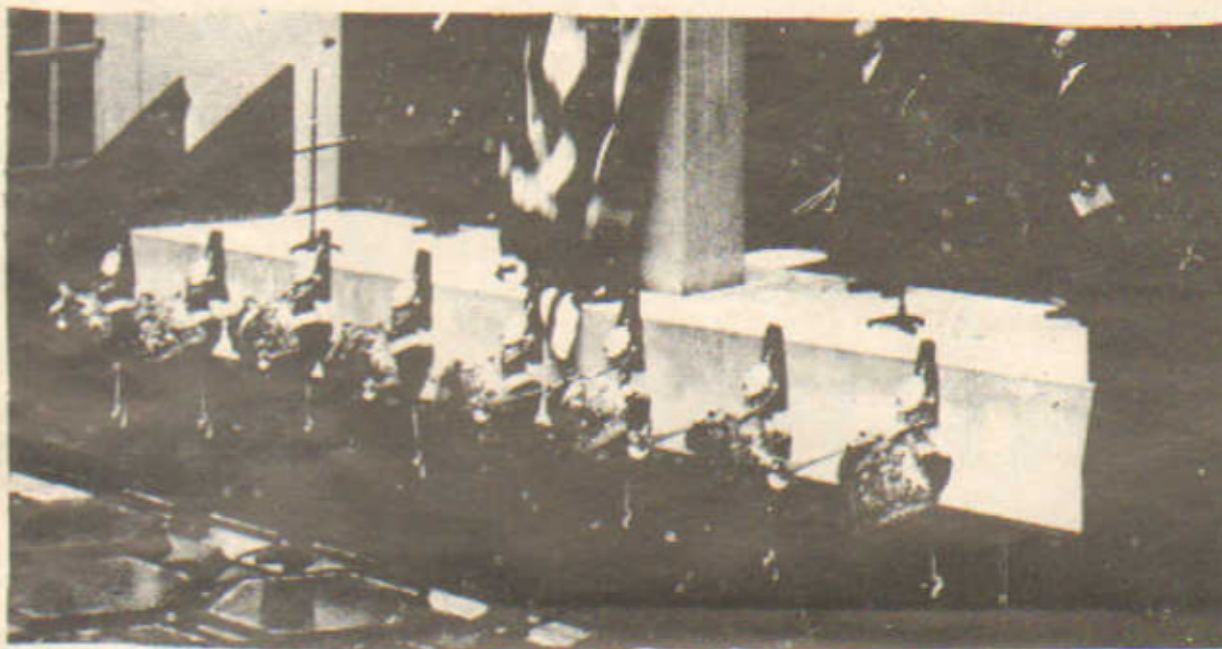
1. As members of the Republican Movement, Lynch and O'Sullivan have (like most other members) suffered in the past from persecution by Ireland's political police—the Special Branch. It was this body, working as usual in close co-operation with Scotland Yard's Special Branch that was responsible for having the men questioned on their arrival at Fishguard. Conscious of this persecution, and of the fact that their mission—an educational course for Irish emigrants at a camp in Essex—might be interfered with if they gave their true names, the two men gave false names, and declared a false mission.
2. O'Sullivan's confession to being a member of the IRA was played on to its full extent by the prosecution. It was obvious that if they could find no positive evidence on which to make a criminal conviction then they would convince the jury that being a Republican, especially a member of the IRA, was enough to make one guilty of any crime, and dangerous enough to be locked away for a long time.
3. O'Sullivan, as a member of the IRA, was only acting in line with usual procedure, as he himself clearly stated, when he refused to state his whereabouts on the night in question. Surely not a point on which a man can be convicted.
4. The Irish accents of the men who carried out the raid provides us with one of the most questionable pieces of evidence. First of all we have as witness to this, a man who was severely injured in the raid. Despite this he was forced by the police to come with them to help in their enquiries after having been ordered by doctors to go directly to bed. From his own words in Court, the night watchman was obviously put under some strain in order to make his statement. This strain could have been produced by the police. In any case you don't have to be Irish or even Conor Lynch and Paddy O'Sullivan to have an Irish accent.
5. With regard to the pistol, it was made quite obvious to the jury that no one but an Irish worker would be equipped with such a thing. In cases like this one can never eliminate the possibility of planting by the police.
6. This trial has certain similarities with that of Bernadette Devlin. The actions are seen in isolation from the circumstances which precipitate them.

From our Irish Correspondent



# LABOUR PARTY DEBATE CONTINUED

## Pat Jordan replies to Robin Blackburn



Bourgeois ideology blowing its own trumpet  
at the opening of the new TUC headquarters.

Robin Blackburn's article on the Labour Party in *Red Mole* No. 3 was very welcome. It opened up a discussion on a vital question for revolutionaries in a refreshing and concrete style. Too often this matter is discussed in terms of fetishes and abstract schema. As indicated in my letter in the last issue of *Red Mole*, I wish to contribute to this discussion not just as an individual but to express the point of view of the International Marxist Group. Of course, I agree with much of what Robin Blackburn has to say about the role of the Labour Government and his strictures on the attitudes of various lefts. However, to save space I will concentrate upon those aspects where we differ. For the sake of clarity I will do this in the form of a series of fundamental assumptions which underpin my views.

1. The Labour Party is neither a purely bourgeois party nor a purely workers party but has dual aspects—having bourgeois policies, leadership and social function, but resting upon workers organisations.

Robin Blackburn quoted the excellent speech made by Lenin at the Second Congress of the Third International. However, later on in the speech Lenin explained his view that the Labour Party is "a very peculiar party, or more correctly, it is not a party in the ordinary sense of the word" because "it is made up of all the trade unions." I point this out not to prove anything (quotations like this never do) but to show that Lenin had a much more rounded-out view of the Labour Party. Comrades wishing to read the most important of his writings on the British Labour movement should get hold of *Lenin and the British Labour Movement* (available from Red Books, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1, 25/- + 1/6 p.p.).

### Instrument of the Ruling Class

One can agree with Robin Blackburn that the Labour Party has been the main instrument for implanting bourgeois political concepts in the organised working class movement. As demonstrated in Ralph Miliband's *Parliamentary Socialism*, the ideology of Labour's leaders from the very inception of the Labour Party has been dominated by fetishism about parliamentary democracy and by an overwhelming desire to "serve the national interest".

One can go further than Robin Blackburn: Labour's leaders have always tried to confine the aspirations of the working class to parliamentary means. They have opposed industrial action and other extra-parliamentary struggle even for the most modest of reforms. In and out of Government their commitment to the "nation's best interests" has led them to

always oppose any reforms they thought the "nation could not afford". The 1945 Labour Government, which alone of Labour regimes carried out many reforms, did very little more than a Tory administration would have been forced to do. In political and ideological terms Labour's leaders have been fairly "honest" about this: they always argue that it is Tory stupidity that prevents the Conservatives from carrying out Labour's programme.

Labour Governments have always pursued a foreign and colonial policy geared to the interests of British imperialism. Labour's "granting" of political independence to India, Pakistan, etc., was determined more by the relationship of forces than by socialist (or even humanitarian) principles. Where they could, Labour's leaders in the same period used force to brutally suppress national liberation movements: Malaya and elsewhere.

Thus there is nothing fundamentally new about the policies of the present Labour Government. The only thing which is really different is the greatly weakened state of British capitalism—which makes it impossible for it (and a Labour Government) to concede any fundamental reforms.

### Labour & the Working Class

The bourgeois aspect of the nature of the British Labour Party is determined by both its social function and the policies of its leadership. A Labour Government is just as much an instrument of the ruling class as any Tory Government. Having said all this it is wrong to compare the Labour Party with, say, the Democratic Party of the United States. The latter party is a purely bourgeois party in all its essential aspects: ideologically, structurally and in social function. The Labour Party has, in terms of ideology, a thoroughly bourgeois leadership, but, in terms of programme, a formal commitment to socialism which is taken seriously by a large part of its active membership. Organisationally, in one sense it is virtually identical with the organised working class because of the complex system of affiliations of trade unions at various levels. Robin Blackburn is quite wrong to say that this boils down to a bourgeois cash nexus.

The first unconscious act that most workers make as workers is to join a trade union. For a vast majority of organised workers this also means joining the Labour Party. Although the links between the trade unions and the Labour Party have become eroded and are not, at this stage, a vital living process, they certainly still exist in a form which directly involves thousands of the most politically active workers.

### Multi-Million Stranded Relationship

On any night of the week there will be, in Britain, hundreds of small meetings of the basic units of the working class movement—trade union branches, Labour Party wards, co-op groups, etc. In most of these meetings "politics" will take the form of the people present defining their attitude and relationship to the Labour Party. When the people who attend these meetings, i.e. those who make up the bulk of the active members of workers' organisations in this country, discuss local, national and international affairs, they do it largely in the form of making demands of or suggestions to the Labour Party.

At certain periods this process has been extremely rich in political debate. Just now it is at an extremely low level but the whole mechanism creates a multi-million stranded relationship between the organised working class and the Labour Party. It is the essential reason why millions of workers think of politics in terms of the Labour Party. The policies of the Wilson Labour Government, especially its attacks on the trade unions, have placed a tremendous strain upon this relationship and have led thousands of militants to leave the Labour Party (or cease to be active). However, there has been no significant severing of these links. True, there have been a few local and one national disaffiliation (the Pottery Workers Union, which later reversed the decision) but from a long-term point of view the tendency has been for the identification of the organised working class with the Labour Party to grow. During the '60s the number of trade unionists affiliated to the Labour Party has tended to grow—some small unions (the POEU, for instance) became new affiliates. Politically the grip of Labour upon the working class has become a virtual monopoly since the end of the Second World War: the ILP, Commonwealth, etc. losing their parliamentary representation. There is a long-term trend for the Liberals to be squeezed out by Labour. There has been a notable decline of support for the Communist Party in those areas where it contended with the Labour Party for the loyalty of the working class.<sup>4</sup> The only significant shift in this pattern in recent years has been the election successes of the Scottish Nationalists. However, this

<sup>4</sup> So far as I know this phenomenon has not been studied in depth. A good indication of the trend is the successive decline of Communist Party General Election votes in Fife, Stoney and Rhondda. In each of these areas the CP vote is now down to that of an average constituency: one or two thousand. Yet in 1945 it won two seats and nearly won a third in these areas.

seems to be fairly ephemeral although we should be cautious about this. There are deep-seated and long-term structural reasons for the development of separatist movements (which will be intensified upon Britain joining the Common Market).

Historically, Labour has been able to survive the debacles of MacDonald and the 1945 Labour Government without any really significant decline in its votes (when Labour was voted out of power in 1951, it obtained the highest vote in its history). In fact, from a long-term point of view the voting pattern has been developing to consolidate Labour's grip upon the organised working class.

While ever this relationship between the organised working class and the Labour Party survives and while there is no political alternative there is always the possibility of the presently eroded links being revitalised (especially if Labour is in opposition with a Tory Government carrying out an offensive against the working class).



### The Labour "Left" and Clause Four

The formal commitment to socialism and the normal existence of a reformist left-wing in the Labour Party plays a key role in maintaining the grip of the party upon the organised working class. The reformist Labour left accepts by-and-large the essential ideology of the leadership, but not having the burden of office or leadership can posture as being defender of the socialist conscience of the party. The reformist labour left has always acted as counter-pressure to the formation of an alternative to the Labour Party or even the formation of a revolutionary current within it. Pointing to Clause Four, these "lefts" have always argued that it is necessary to remain in the Labour Party at all costs and that the democratic (in theory) structure of the party makes victory within it possible. The reformist left always argues against those who want to fight the leaders' policies that it is necessary to do this in a circumspect manner because of the danger of expulsion and because the workers do not understand revolutionary policies. At critical times the reformist lefts step into the breach to prevent the mass of the active Labour Party workers from becoming completely disillusioned with the Labour Party. Harold played this role when the overtly right-wing policies of Gaitskell threatened to cause a split in Labour's ranks. However, all this is only possible because of Labour's nominal adherence to socialism through Clause Four. This is not to say that the mass of the left wing of the Labour Party at any given time are "fake lefts". Elements who place themselves at the head of the left currents undoubtedly are, but the majority represent sincere workers who are seeking to find an expression for their political aspirations.

To summarise: in its essential and most important aspects—social function, policies, etc.—the Labour Party is bourgeois, but structurally it rests upon the organised working class. This fact, together with the Labour Party's reputation as the party of reform and its nominal adherence to a form of socialism (together with the role of the reformist lefts), makes the grip of the party upon the organised working class extremely tenacious.

2. The Labour Party is the principal political obstacle to the development of revolutionary organisation and consciousness in the organised working class: the aim of Marxists, therefore, must be to remove this obstacle.

Bourgeois ideology envelops workers from their very first moments of consciousness. The family, the education system, the church, the mass media all combine to get workers to accept the values of capitalist society. The average worker thinks that it is "natural" for there to be owners of industry and wage labourers. However, his or her situation in production daily generates another consciousness: that of him or her being a worker who has interests as a worker which are separate from and antagonistic to those of other sections of society. This level of consciousness is expressed by the creation of trade unions, co-op organisations, etc. In Britain it has gone a stage further through the creation of the Labour Party. In some countries—the United States, for instance—this stage has not been achieved as yet. In those countries the creation of a Labour Party based upon a break with overt capitalist parties would represent a big step forward. The creation, 60-odd years ago, of the British Labour Party was an important step forward because it broke the grip of two overtly capitalist parties on the minds of the working class.



## Trade Union Consciousness & Socialist Consciousness

However, this has been a contradictory process and the very fact that the Labour Party was a step forward in the working class acquiring class consciousness has made it all the more effective as a barrier to the development of revolutionary socialist consciousness. Having a revolutionary socialist consciousness means not to accept the values of capitalist society—a mere class (or trade union) consciousness means to fight within the concepts of this society. The trade unionist wants a bigger share of the cake but thinks it "fair" that the capitalist has the rest; the revolutionary socialist wants the whole cake, candies and all, because he does not think it right for capitalists to have any.

The Labour Party is an organised expression of working-class consciousness freezing at this trade union level of consciousness. Its entire orientation to parliamentary struggle is, in fact, a method of getting the working class to accept that the only way to fight is through the existing bourgeois institutions. The capitalist class badly needs such a device: otherwise every time severe class struggle takes place there would be the danger that workers would go over to a revolutionary socialist consciousness. In the present world situation there are many revolutionary examples. It is essential from a capitalist point of view that these revolutionary examples be discredited from within the workers movement and another model of social advance be presented. Of course, the crimes of Stalinism have facilitated this process, but the principle is the same.

## How to Remove the Labour Party

It is one thing to recognise an obstacle, but another to remove it. In fact, this problem of removing the obstacle of the Labour Party has dominated the thinking of Marxists in Britain over the last seventy years. Most of the polemics and splits in the British Marxist movement have had their roots in differing attitudes taken towards this problem. Roughly, there have been three main approaches to the question:

- to try to destroy the grip of the Labour Party by propaganda and by building a rival organisation;
- to try to capture the Labour Party for socialist policies;
- to try to develop a Marxist trend within the Labour Party, thus trying to build organic links with the working class through the party.

No significant success has been notched up for any of these policies nor the numerous mutations and combinations of them: the Labour Party still stands as an obstacle. However, circumstances are changing:

The Labour Party, with its unique structure, is a product of British imperialism and its former dominant world position. The reforms that Labour has directly implemented or obtained from other governments were possible because of the strength of British imperialism.

The whole myth of British "freedom" and democracy, so important in Labour's ideology, has been built up by a policy made possible by the social stability of British imperialism's home homeland. Now Britain has lost this position. Since the Second World War, the third industrial revolution, the post-war reconstruction boom and Keynesian economics made some reforms possible. But now a very different economic situation dominates and the Achilles heel of Keynesianism, inflation, is frightening the bourgeoisie as much as the fear of the consequences of high unemployment.



In essence, the economic basis of Labourism is steadily declining. However, history shows that we would be wrong to think that there will be an automatic end of the dominance of reformist thinking in the working class movement. Only revolutionary organisation can ensure that this more favourable situation is used to break the grip of Labourism on the organised working class.

Other changes are taking place too: social strata have emerged which are not under the domination of the Labour Party, e.g. the black population (overwhelmingly working-class), the youth vanguard and sections of militant white-collar workers. These may be soon joined by another in the not-too-distant future: the militant sections of the Irish population (also mainly working class). Whilst at present these sections are not organised, they have given a mass base for an extra-parliamentary struggle in Britain, and the potential is even greater.

## Three Approaches

It is in the light of these changed circumstances that we have to look at the three approaches to dealing with the problem of the

Labour Party. It is only necessary to say a few words in a journal like *Red Mole* about the theory that one should try to capture the Labour Party for socialist policies. Historically, the reverse has happened: those who have held this theory have been captured by the Labour Party for bourgeois policies—we see the representatives of this trend in various places in the House of Commons.

Traditional "entry" was accompanied by the use of the slogan "Labour to Power" and was premised upon the assumption that once Labour got elected, a mass left wing would gradually develop because of the contradiction between working-class aspirations and the right-wing policies of the Labour Government. This mass left wing, which would have taken over some of Labour's organic links with the organised working class, would provide the basis for a formation which would break the monopoly of the Labour Party on the working class (it must be said that the Marxists holding this view were usually quite vague about exactly how this was to happen).

The experience of nearly six years of Wilson's Labour Government has been very different. Far from a mass left wing developing, the left in the Labour Party has virtually disappeared. Part of the former Bevanite left having gone over directly to Wilson (Barbara Castle et al.), another section has postured as being in opposition but in practice has evolved to the right at the same speed as Wilson (taking care to be exactly one pace to his left to maintain its "left" reputation). Other sections have become completely disoriented. As the election draws near, most of these elements, anxious not to lose the spoils of office, have thrown away any pretence to be serious critics of Wilson.

Attempts to build an alternative to the Labour Party by waging propaganda war upon it have been no more successful: the SPGB, "third-period" Stalinism and the SLL are dreadful warnings. Indeed, the latter organisation seems to have gone into reverse gear at its well-known speed. We don't hear much now about those Young Socialists parliamentary candidates since the debacle of Swindon; instead the columns of the *Workers Press* are concentrating upon the danger of a Tory "counter-revolution", whatever that might mean in Marxist terms.

## Revolutionary Youth Movement

The Fourth International has discussed this problem on a European scale and come to the conclusion that to break the grip of mass social democrat and Stalinist parties upon the working class, it is vital that the revolutionary forces are strong and capable of initiating revolutionary activities. The building of revolutionary youth organisations can be a very effective way of doing this.

Hence the problem of breaking the grip of the Labour Party upon the organised working class can be seen in a different way: externally, pressure should be put on by the building of a large revolutionary youth organisation and extra-parliamentary mass action; and internally, a Marxist trend should be built within the structures of the trade unions. (Should political life return to the Labour Party, it will be necessary to intervene). As Robin Blackburn noted, since 1964 there has been a huge development of non-parliamentary forms of struggle. The seventies are likely to be stormy years. The opportunities of building a revolutionary youth movement and a Marxist current in the trade union movement will be many and good. It is from this point of view that revolutionaries should judge the outcome of the coming General Election and their intervention.

3. There will be no essential class difference between a Labour Government and Tory Government. The significance of the election result will lie in the way it effects the ability of Marxists to build a revolutionary trend in the working class movement.

A lot of nonsense is now being talked about the danger of the return of a Tory Government. This is based largely upon the reformist and idealist concept that political policies are decided by the will of politicians. Whichever party gets returned to power will face the same problems, and in the absence of a socialist option, which no one takes seriously, will be compelled to attack the working class. In fact, the policies of the next Government will be determined by the vector of two pressures:

- the economic situation arising from the relative backwardness of British industry, growing competition between capitalist nation-states because of decline of the post-war boom, and the failure, so far, to completely integrate the trade unions in Britain into neo-capitalist planning;
- the fact that the British trade union movement is strong and undefeated and that its members will not readily allow its leadership to barter away their rights and conditions. The Tories are shrewd politicians and will only go as far as they think advisable. The difference between a Labour and Tory victory will lie in the fact that success for the latter will be, to a certain extent, a vote for anti-trade union legislation. However, Labour, too, is pledged to trade union reform. Only those who think that the Government of the day loyally carries out its election pledges will think that matters go much farther than that. Much more important in deciding the tactics of the next government will be its judgement of how likely trade unionists are to fight back. The key problem facing trade unionists is not the party label of the next government, but the working out of a strategy to fight back and take the offensive.

## The Significance of a Labour Defeat

This is the main thing. However, I must take issue with Robin Blackburn's view that defeat for Labour would not be a defeat for the working class, not even a marginal one. I do so on two grounds:

- in the absence of a socialist alternative, defeat for Labour (which equals less workers voting Labour and/or more voting Tory) would represent a certain depoliticalisation of the working class;
- that again in the absence of a socialist alternative, defeat for Labour would present the possibility for the rebirth of illusions in Labour.

Just now, the main significance of a vote for Labour by most workers is that it is a vote against the Tories, held by them to be the direct representatives of the bosses. Another victory for Labour gives much better opportunity to demonstrate that Labour leaders, too, are direct agents of the ruling class.

The emergence of a young vanguard movement has been an extremely positive development. One of the reasons it developed was because of the existence of the Labour Government carrying out very right-wing policies. It has no illusions to shed because it never had any. Should, however, Labour lose the election, and especially if the Foots and the Heffers take over the leadership of the Labour Party, there will be a regeneration of illusions in "left" social democracy even amongst the young.

To conclude on this: I am in favour of the victory of the Labour Party in the election not because it will pursue any better policies or is less likely to attack the working class, but because Labour in power is the most favourable situation for the destruction of social democracy. I reject the view that this will be an automatic process but must emphasise that the danger of a renewal of illusion in "left" social democracy is a grave danger. It is from this point of view one has to judge what revolutionaries should do during the election campaign.



4. The importance of the General Election campaign is not that workers vote but in the fact that political awareness and interest increase, especially among young people. Revolutionaries cannot decisively influence the course of the election, but they can use the heightened interest to spread and develop revolutionary ideas.

For reasons given above, I am in favour of the victory of Labour in the coming election campaign. However, it would be the height of foolishness to draw from this the conclusion that revolutionaries' main activity should be that of calling upon people to vote Labour. In the first place, it is totally unrealistic to think that small revolutionary groups can influence the outcome of the election. Secondly, to make our main thrust the slogan "Vote Labour" would be to put ourselves on the left-wing of those forces mystifying the whole electoral process. This would, in effect, be adding our weight to those processes which enable the Labour Party to divert working class aspirations. It would also hinder our endeavours to spread revolutionary ideas and our efforts to warn the working class that its main concern should be to prepare for an attack from whatever government emerges.

To concentrate upon the slogan "Keep the Tories Out" would be merely another way of saying "Vote Labour", under present circumstances.

However, it is imperative, from a Marxist point of view, to explain very clearly to the politically aware why it would be best for Labour to win. This is an educational process, not an election-deciding exercise.

To those who quote Lenin's *Left Wing Communism* or Trotsky's advice to the ILP in the '30s, I would answer, be concrete in your approach. Lenin was advising a tendency which had the support of thousands of organised workers; he also advised the British Communists to propose an election-pact with the Labour Party—should revolutionaries follow this bit of advice as well? Trotsky addressed himself to the ILP when it was a party claiming to be revolutionary socialist with thousands of members and considerable resources. He also advised it to immediately abandon its united front with the Communist Party and propose one to the Labour Party instead—again I pose the question: should we follow that as well? To pose these questions is to demonstrate how completely different the objective situation is now from when those pieces of advice were given.

## Raising the Real Issues

The most positive thing revolutionaries can do is to inject into the election discussions at all levels fundamental issues. In particular, every candidate should be put on the spot as to their attitude towards the most important struggle taking place in the world today—the Indo-Chinese war. At every important election rally it is vital that the issue of this war is made a central focus of discussion. Those principally responsible for Britain's disgusting support for the vicious American war of aggression should be the target of demonstrations.

Trade unionists should demonstrate against any attacks on the trade unions from whatever party. To cease to criticise Wilson during the election campaign on this matter would be the height of folly. Labour leaders—even Ramsay MacDonald—have always used the argument of the lesser of two evils to persuade workers to accept their right-wing policies. The capitalist class undoubtedly hope that trade unionists will accept anti-trade union legislation from Labour because "it would not be so bad as the Tory brand of medicine."

The Irish should campaign against the support of both the major parties for the semi-police state of Northern Ireland. Irish militants would be justified in putting up candidates to express their opposition. They, too, should ensure that Labour and Tories cannot readily forget their support for repression and the neo-colonialist domination of Ireland.

The women's liberation movement should put all candidates to the test on where they stand on such questions as free abortion. The supporters of this movement should make life hectic for revolting Tory MPs who have waged the campaign against the timid reforms that Labour has introduced. They should demand that all candidates stand against this vile backward-looking election gimmick.

Everywhere black workers should expose the racist policies of both parties and demand candidates repudiate them. Whilst Powell will undoubtedly be the target of many actions, no one should forget that it was Wilson, not Powell, who pushed racist legislation through Parliament.

Revolutionaries should support all these protest actions. They should take the lead in calling for protest demonstrations and forming ad hoc committees to inject into the election discussions—at all levels—real issues. Propaganda material, discussion meetings, etc. should be organised.

Paradoxically, a campaign of this kind will do more to ensure the return of Labour than pathetic attempts to influence the course of events by chanting "Vote Labour". Our role should be to raise the level of consciousness, to prepare people for the coming struggles and to fight any illusion that the election result will solve any problems.

Certain critics of the DMG have called this abstentionism. Ignorant of the precise meaning of the term, they think that the only way one can intervene is to shout "Vote Labour". In so doing, they show that they, too, have parliamentary and reformist illusions. The SLL has accused the DMG of advocating the theory of "social fascism"—coming from them, that's rich. One could scarcely find a more "third period" organisation. This is no accident: the SLL is a linear descendent of a tendency which originated in the Communist Party whilst third-period Stalinist ideology was rampant. This group, the Workers International League, was denounced by the founding conference of the Fourth International for its sectarianism and factionalism.

My last criticism of Robin Blackburn is that he seems to think that we can ignore the Labour Party, or merely propagandise against it. History has many salutary lessons in this respect. The Labour Party has been "buried" many times and yet still exists as an obstacle to the building of a revolutionary party. It won't bleed to death—an executioner is needed. Only the working class, under revolutionary leadership, can destroy the Frankenstein's monster it created. This article is a contribution to the discussion the left is having as to just how we set about doing that.

Pat Jordan

Clause Four: included in the Labour Party Constitution of February 1918. It formally commits the Labour Party "to secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production [amended in 1929 to: 'the means of production, distribution and exchange'] and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry and service."

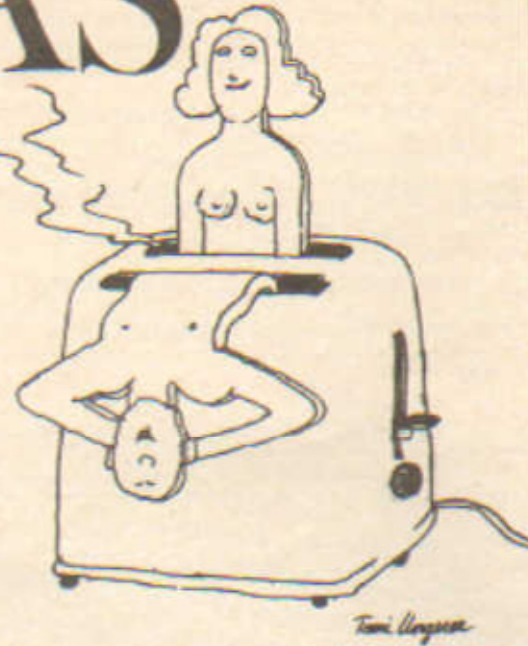
Keynesian economics: system of economy propounded by John Maynard Keynes, the essence of which consisted in a theory that in times of depression, money could be pumped into the economy to raise the level of economic activity and that this could be done by Government intervention.

Third Period: period when the Comintern cut itself off from any work with other left or social democratic forces, even to combat fascism, and went even to the length of setting up "red" trade unions—all this under the impact of Stalin's analysis that revolution was round the corner. The result of third-period Stalinism was the rise to power of fascism in Germany without the CP combatting it through a united front with social democracy.



# THE DOLLE MINAS

## Dutch women get organised



Tami Unger

The women's liberation movement has been developing fast everywhere recently, but nowhere faster than in Holland. Four months ago it did not exist—now it has some 5,000 members and is still growing rapidly.

The Dolle Minas ("crazy Minas", named after Wilhelmina Drucker, 1847-1925, one of the few early women's liberators who was working class and militant socialist, attacking marriage and the family and stressing that the workers could not be emancipated unless working women were also) started towards the end of 1969 as a small group of members—including some men—of the Socialist Youth, whose proposal to that organisation that a women's organisation be set up was turned down and who therefore went ahead on their own. Their first aim was to secure publicity by using the playful kind of action which the Dutch left has been at since Provo days. On January 23 and 24 they started their public campaign by invading the Nijenrode Academy, an institution to educate top people who just happen to be all male, turning up at a wedding at the Amsterdam Town Hall and asking the bride to comment on their proposals for women's liberation (she did—favourably), barricading male street urinals to emphasise that no such provision is made for women, and whistling at and accosting men in the street. All this was featured in a peak-hour television journal that night, and the group received extensive coverage in the press over the following week. Most attention was of course paid to the sex and sensationalism aspect, but the Dolle Minas managed to use that as a vehicle to get their ideas and programme points, such as free legal abortions and free or non-profit-making creches for all, over, and more and more people joined the organisation every day, and invitations to address meetings, etc. kept flowing in. Soon there were Dolle Minas branches all over Holland, and the first national congress, attended by some 300 delegates and hordes of pressmen, was held at Arnhem on April 4 and 5.

### The First Congress

The first congress showed some of the difficulties produced for Dolle Mina by its very success. The original founders of the movement were conscious socialists, with a Marxist analysis of society to which they can more or less link the position of women, and with some notion of what the real perspectives are. But the people they had managed to attract by their successful publicity stunts were largely middle class, had no analysis of society and wished mainly to work out their own frustrations anarchically in actions. Many of them are equally attracted by the Oranje Vrij Staat (the Gnomes of Amsterdam—Provo repeating itself as even more of a farce). On the first day of the conference these people started shouting down serious speakers trying to contribute to an analysis of the problems and work out a programme and a form for the organisation, saying things like "down with programmes! what we want is action!" and making suggestions that the whole conference should go out and demonstrate there and then. There was even a group which voted both for and against every proposal. A caucus of the original Dolle Minas late that night considered that the congress had definitely been a failure and came close to calling it off entirely. On the second day, however, they did

finally manage to secure acceptance for a programme with the following points: on the basis that the biological distinction between man and woman does not justify their role assignment, the goal of Dolle Mina is: social change, to bring about equal development chances for all, irrespective of sex. Among the more important points of the programme are: equal pay for man and woman for equivalent work; reorganisation of work hours to make half-day working possible; abolition of special young people's wages—equal pay for equivalent work; abolition of alimony—contributions to maintenance where required from public funds; free, properly organised creches, geographically distributed, and/or at factories and institutions; possibility for children in nursery schools and early primary schools to remain for the whole day, including a free meal; adjustment of school hours to work hours; cost-price restaurants; cost-price laundries; free abortion at the woman's request; financing of all provisions listed from public funds, possibly including a contribution in some cases (e.g. creches, restaurants).

### The Tasks Ahead

The task of the conscious minority within the Dolle Minas, now that they have secured formal acceptance of this programme and taken some first steps towards an organisation to realise it, is to make its implications clear to the membership, to raise the level of their consciousness, and to break free from the strait-jacket of stunt-type actions and organise realistic campaigns. In Amsterdam, where most of them are concentrated, they can do this by direct discussion; elsewhere they must still rely on publications. Their first book, "Dolle Mina, a rebellious girl in the class struggle is a pearl", No. 2 in the Socialistische Uitgeverij Amsterdam series *Wat te doen?*, analyses the programme from this point of view. It points out how the programme represents the interests, not of "all women" (an abstraction with no real social existence), but of working-class women and of the whole working class. Thus, an upper-class woman is not interested in higher wages for women, since that would affect the unequal division of the social product by which she benefits. Likewise, she has no interest in pressing for free creches, which she does not need, and which she probably regards as places for social deviants and unmarried mothers. Good free creches would mainly benefit working-class women, and would also cost the community a lot of money, which would again affect her position. The middle-class woman, again, desires creches, but is "prepared to pay for them". If the creches are to be free, that attacks the social definition of who can pay for what. Again, if women are to have the same chances as men in the society, a great number of tasks now performed by women in the household will have to be socially provided for: thus not only upbringing of children, but also cooking, washing etc. This would require a whole network of social services not based on the profit principle, which would cost sums which our society as at present constituted could not provide. The groups at present ruling in the society will not and cannot provide these sums. In the first place, because these provisions are not necessary for the top social stratum; they can already afford nannies, restaurants, etc. In the second place, because

# CATCH THEM YOUNG. SIX COUNTIES EDUCATION?

The following article was sent to us by a 15-year-old Mole reader in Northern Ireland.

The first thing a newcomer notices about education in Ulster is that, on the secondary level, Catholics and Protestants are educated separately. This is caused by the two reactionary organisations who like things (the division of the proletariat) as they are—the Unionist Party and the Catholic Church. They realise that they would both lose their power if the opposing workers united.

The Unionists continue the split in education by allowing the present system of Grammar Schools to exist. In the area where I live the only Grammar Schools are not state-owned, so fees have to be paid. Admittedly grants are given to all scholars, so eventually the fee may be very small, but if a Catholic has to pay to have his child educated in a Protestant school, he won't bother. It will seem more reasonable to have his child taught in a Catholic school. And here we reach the method by which the Catholic Church maintains its position. By educating the majority of its young, the Catholic Church is always assured of support.

Education in what could be described as the Protestant schools is amazing. In the majority of these schools Irish history is not taught, therefore a large proportion of Protestant children never know any real facts behind the present troubles. They can only talk in vague slogans, "No Surrender", "Remember 1960", etc., etc.

In the particular school I attend, Irish history is taught, so I suppose that some people would call it liberal. But in fact its regulations on personal liberty are extremely repressive. The school regulation haircut can only be described as short, only regulation coats can be worn, uniform is strictly enforced, and other such rules must be obeyed. If a pupil is seen smoking, he is warned; if he is seen again, he is suspended for a week.

Therefore the whole educational system in Ulster is geared to producing the "norm"—even more so than in England.

The reactions of the pupils to this is strange: they resent incursions on personal liberty, but do not notice the other infringements. In my school there is no real anti-Catholic feeling, the others think that Catholics are just different. Some people of course occasionally make biased statements, but it is all talk. In my form I know of only one Paisleyite, and he is completely influenced by his parents. The fact is in most areas the two sections never meet in any way.

Where they do meet, always in squalor, there is trouble. Occasionally people I know mention fights with Catholics, but their attitude is puzzling. Why should they fight? Nobody knows. You can tell by their statements that they don't hate Catholics, they seem to feel that they have been born only to fight. This attitude seems to extend to the Catholics, though I cannot say for sure, because I never meet them socially.

The young do not realise they are the tools of the Establishment, being used to uphold the status quo. Yet when they are young, they are more likely to be swayed from their present position, but nobody tries. Both sides have made violent attacks on the Establishment, but for no worthwhile reason. The place to spread new political thoughts is in the schools—even Queen's University has a large right-wing Unionist group. But the two wings of the Establishment (Unionist Party and Catholic Church) make no concerted effort to win support from the schools. A revolutionary movement can gain ground here, when people are most rebellious.

But there is nobody to inspire them, to enlighten them. Even by the time students reach University, too many of them are set in their ways, the ways of their parents. But at schools, the pupils are more oppressed, more revolutionarily inclined than other sections of our society. It is time that the revolution spreads to the schools, it is time the schools were liberated.

N.M.



the income of the state is insufficient. The state's income could only be increased by increased taxation, especially direct taxation, and if the state itself took part in the process of production, so as to share in the surplus value produced by human labour. But this attacks the basic principle of our society, private enterprise and private profit. But even supposing these demands could be granted, it would only "free" working-class women for low-paid, unskilled, rotten jobs; they would still be in a very much inferior position to women from higher classes. It is of course because they realise this that working-class women are little interested in emancipation, and why they at present prefer to be housewives as the least evil. It is social struggle, not struggle against "men", which can free these women into a world where they can associate together to work for their own collective interests, rather than performing alienated labour for the benefit of the ruling class. The struggle for the emancipation of women is thus a part of the general class struggle of producers against parasites. The problem is then how to introduce this truth to the people it affects and how to organise to achieve the goals. The book points out that this involves discovering where a realisation of the need arises or can arise and going to work there—thus equal pay actions must be fought in the factories, creches should be fought for in the districts which need them, so should decent housing, and actions for freer, more equal education should likewise be fought in the schools and the districts around them.

### Dolle Mina: A Political Movement

The most interesting chapter is a brief one on the question whether Dolle Mina is political. It recapitulates the argument that the emancipation of women as human beings means class struggle, and points out the important part Dolle Mina can play in that struggle. Dolle Mina thus takes part in politics—but is not itself a political party. Dolle Mina wishes to make clear to people that the freeing of women and men, and the existing discrimination of women, and the way to the emancipation of women are political matters. People must learn to see that whether they like it or not their daily, concrete existence is determined by political decisions. The second step will then of course be that women and men will follow the political course of affairs with critical attention and interest—since that determines the circumstances of their lives. The step from this position to the realisation that no existing political party satisfied these conditions, to the realisation that to fight the class struggle to a successful conclusion what is required is a different type of political party, a democratic centralist combat party of the Leninist type, is a small one. If the Dolle Mina leaders are able to make this leap, and if they are able through participating in the day-to-day struggle in the way they have outlined to raise the consciousness of a large mass of working people, mainly women, to the same level, they will indeed be playing a very important part in bringing about the social change which is their declared goal.

Jan Fraser



KENT, Ohio, May 5—Four students were murdered at Kent State University yesterday, and several wounded when National Guardsmen opened fire without warning.

It was cold-blooded murder. We narrowly missed getting killed ourselves.

The students had been protesting President Nixon's escalation of the war into Cambodia and the bombing of North Vietnam.

The day of the massacre there had been an impromptu call for a student strike at Kent.

The statement from the National Guard that they started shooting in response to sniping is untrue. It was a one-sided shootout. We were caught with hundreds of other students near a parking lot when suddenly a line of Guardsmen turned towards us, knelt down, aimed—almost as if by an order.

Briefly, the events leading up to the bloodshed were this:

On Friday noon, May 1, there was a rally of about 2,000 to bury a copy of the Constitution. It was in response to Nixon's speech escalating the war. A serviceman with a silver star and a bronze star burned his discharge papers. Later the Black United Students held a rally.

That evening the Guard was brought in.

Saturday night a crowd of several thousand burned down the ROTC building. When ROTC burned, the Guardsmen had orders to shoot anyone who cut firehoses.

On Monday, May 4, we both went down to the Commons, an open field, at noon.

Someone climbed up on the base of a

liberty bell and said, "It's time to strike. It's time to strike."

An Army jeep pulled up. There were four men, three Guardsmen and one state trooper in it. The trooper had a bullhorn. He said, "Please leave the area. Please leave the area. This is an illegal gathering. Leave, before someone is hurt."

A few students—no more than a handful—were heaving rocks. Thousands of students were in the area.

A group of Guardsmen approached. Before we knew it, we saw tear gas canisters in the midst of us. People started running.

"Walk, walk," people shouted. The students walked. It was an orderly retreat.

Several truckloads of Guardsmen pulled up, got out, formed a single line, fixed their bayonets, put on tear gas masks and started coming up the hill. Gas canisters were lobbed. Students threw them back.

We retreated again. The scary thing about it was that the Guard was still coming, shooting tear gas.

The Guard came down toward the hill. Maybe as many as a thousand students had regrouped on a hill near a parking lot. The Guard came toward us. A few guys were throwing rocks—more like pebbles. They weren't big. One Guardsman brushed stones away with his hand.

Then the Guardsmen got to their knees. They aimed. There was no sniper fire. If the commanding general claims there was sniper fire coming from a building, why didn't they shoot up at the building? Why did they shoot at the crowd?

At first no one was sure what was

happening. There was a steady, loud rattle, like machine guns.

Someone yelled, "Those are only blanks."

Then we heard bullets whistling past our heads. Dirt flew up in our faces, where bullets were hitting the ground, landing only a few feet from us.

There was a tree about 15 yards behind us. There were repeated sounds of thuds and splintering noise as bullets hit the tree. More bullets hit the cars in the lot, smashing the windshields, hitting the fenders and the sides of the cars.

One of us—Mike—dived behind a curb and lay flat. The other one—Fred—raced for a trash can and dived behind it. That's where we waited. Until the shooting stopped.

There was a steady rattling of bullets. We saw one student run for the parked cars. He almost made it. Suddenly, he spun around, his legs crumpled underneath him, and he fell, half behind the car. A student who had made it tried to drag the body behind the car but he wasn't able to.

A girl was screaming. "They're not using blanks. They're not using blanks."

Another student fell over, dead. A student collapsed to the ground, hit. Suddenly, after about 30 seconds, the shooting stopped. We got up and looked around.

One girl was lying on the ground, holding her stomach. Her face was white. There were others, lying on the ground. Some moved. Some didn't.

The whole area was one of panic. We heard a girl crying hysterically.

"Get an ambulance, get an

ambulance" others were shouting.

A guy picked up one girl and held her in his arms. The front of her was covered in blood. "She's dead," he was shouting. "She's dead. I know she's dead."

Some guys were leaning over another girl using jackets as makeshift compresses. Another was giving her mouth-to-mouth resuscitation.

Another guy were helped hobbling to a dorm. One leg had been shot.

One fellow lay in the parking lot. Just lay there.

There were sounds of ambulance sirens. The ambulances pulled up.

"Over here," some students were yelling. "Over here." Students were pointing down at the wounded lying on the ground. "Please hurry, please hurry"

The attendant lifted one fellow onto a stretcher. One side of his head was puffed way out and his face was blue.

People were crying and screaming, saying this thing was uncalled for.

We blame Nixon for this. He's the man responsible for these murders. He sent the troops to Vietnam and sent more to Cambodia. The students are outraged.

What is there to do now? The answer is immediate, total withdrawal of troops.

Kent is closed now. The university's president sent all the students home.

But we want the killers brought to trial.

Right now, we're still in sort of a state of shock. We can still see the National Guardsmen firing.

Each of us tried to go to sleep last night. But you can't. You put down your head, and you keep hearing shots.

Fred Kirsch, SMC

## THE KILLINGS OF THE 4th OF MAY





# The fruits of peaceful coexistence

The aggression committed by American imperialism against the people of the Indo-Chinese peninsula raises afresh the problems of the forms that the defence of the revolution in this part of the world will take for the international workers movement. Some sections of the Left hesitate to take decisive action: the framework of these hesitations was fixed by the strategy of peaceful coexistence elaborated by the Stalinist movement.

## "SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY"

When the proletariat took power in Russia in 1917, Lenin and Trotsky viewed the Russian revolution as a springboard for the world revolution—as a first victory whose future depended on new successes for the proletariat, notably in Germany and Hungary. After the brutal repression of these uprisings in the first place by a social democracy which had become the flank-guard of the bourgeoisie, Stalin and the bureaucratic caste on which he rested, by putting forward the thesis of socialism in one country, made the international workers movement a simple auxiliary of their own interests. To affirm the possibility of building socialism in one country was simultaneously to deny the international character of the proletarian revolution in the epoch of imperialist decay. It was to split it up into national revolutions and open the way to theories of the evolutionary development of socialism.

The strategy of peaceful coexistence is only the opposite side of the narrowly national vision of the construction of socialism in one country. After sacrificing the interests of the world revolution to those of a thermidorean soviet bureaucracy, it was necessary to justify this state of affairs to make it more easily accepted by the international workers movement. The theory of peaceful coexistence corresponds to this need.

## "ECONOMIC COMPETITION"

It was Khrushchev who expressed it most clearly in January 1961 in *Problems of Peace and Socialism*:

"The victory of the USSR in economic competition with the USA and the total victory of the socialist economic system will mark a radical turning-point in history and will exercise an influence yet more revolutionary on the workers' movement throughout the world. Then it will be clear, even for the most undecided, that socialism alone brings all that is necessary for man to have a happy life and they will make their choice in favour of socialism. To gain time in economic competition with capitalism is what is important today."

For the Soviet leaders it's not the struggle of the colonial peoples and of the proletariat in the imperialist countries which is the determining element for the victory of socialism. In the Stalinist view of the world, the historical antagonism between proletariat and bourgeoisie is reduced to the economic competition between two different modes of production, the "sporting" victory of the better one assuring its world domination. To become fully competitive, the Soviet economy needs a political climate of international detente. The object of its leaders is to reach an agreement with American imperialism guaranteeing a long-term peaceful coexistence between the two systems. Such an agreement must, for them, include the dissolution of the military blocs, the progressive achievement of general controlled disarmament and the peaceful regulation of international conflicts. But all agreement of this type rests on a compromise—it's necessary that the other party to the agreement gets something from it on his own behalf. Threatened imperialism will accept peaceful coexistence only if it's possible for it to maintain its own positions. All agreement together can only consecrate the international status quo—that is to say, it is concluded at the expense of the revolutionary movement, which struggles precisely to transform the status quo to the benefit of the revolution. The Soviet leaders are quite satisfied to play this role: for a long time they have expected nothing good for themselves to come from revolutionary

struggles; their hazardous results are not worth the tensions that they provoke. The political realism of the bureaucrats looks elsewhere; it consists in weakening imperialism in the framework of peaceful coexistence, by developing the alliance of the workers' states with the new independent states of the Third World. The "generous" aid with strings attached which the USSR gives out to the emancipated ex-colonies must allow them to progressively quit the imperialist orbit and gravitate to the so-called "socialist" camp; this process would finish by causing the aggressive imperialists to be isolated and made harmless.

## "STRUGGLE FOR PEACE"

The historic mission of the proletariat has suddenly changed its nature: from now on its role consists in preserving peace and international detente.

"History has assigned to the international working class in the first place the great mission of avoiding a new world war... The Communist Party consider the struggle for Peace as their overriding task" (Declaration of 81 Parties, Moscow 1960).

A search for every possible collaboration with imperialism; cooperation with the national bourgeoisies of the colonial and semi-colonial countries; willingness to hold back the revolutionary movement as much as possible, especially where its efforts compromise the general plan—such are the practical implications of the Kremlin's international politics which the Khrushchev-Kennedy meeting at Camp David and the embraces of Johnson and Kosygin at Glassborough have symbolised in their time.

## THE CRUTCH OF REFORMISM

It is necessary to recognise that the Soviet bureaucrats and imperialism are not alone in benefiting from this strategy. The whole international bureaucracy of the workers' movement finds something for itself in it. In an age when reformism, expected to appease the workers, is winning very little and shows itself up as more and more illusory, to blazen the economic successes of the USSR as the key of the situation serves as an alibi for its capitulations. Thus the strategy of peaceful coexistence serves well as the crutch of reformism in our time.

What characterises this strategy in spite of the appearance of good sense and realism on which it complacently prides itself is its total abstraction. It has not varied by a word nor by a comma despite all the practical refutations that it has received.

American intervention in the Dominican Republic, in the Congo, coup d'etat in Greece instigated by the CIA, "advisers" everywhere in Latin America, open aggression against Cambodia and Laos—that's certainly very tolerant coexistence!

According to what criteria could one consider that the rules had been broken, when will we consider that imperialism has come out of the area which was assigned to it to combat the workers' movement on its own ground? How many provocations, genocides and deaths must we endure in order to recognise that this coexistence is hardly peaceful? On the international bourgeoisie's side, it has never meant the smallest check to the daily violent exploitation of the proletariat or to the armed repression against national liberation struggles. On the other side for the official workers' movement, to coexist peacefully has signified quasi total abandonment of the most elementary duties of the international proletariat. That has meant in particular that military aid has never preceded the imperialist aggressions that they could discourage, but always follows them... if it ever follows them; which pays for itself regularly by an increase in the number of useless victims. The waverings and hesitations which have accompanied the U.S. aggression in Cambodia are only a supplementary proof of it, but the most tragic.

## "SOLIDARITY OF THE PROGRESSIVE WORLD"

As Che Guevara already said in his political testament:

# mexican diary

In 1960 during an enormous mass movement of the people in the state of Guerrero, which contained two massacres of peasants, and which temporarily overthrew the government structure in that state before it suffered a hard and brutal repression by the federal government, a popular leader in that state and candidate to a municipal post in Chilpancingo, the state capital—Genaro Vasquez Rojas—was arrested.

He spent as a political prisoner six years in prison, until in 1967, when after a spectacular gun-battle he regained his freedom and went into hiding with a group of armed men in that state.

Now Vasquez Rojas has come back into the news. The following notices have been published in leading papers of Mexico City:

25 March 1970 in *El Dia*: Vasquez Rojas and Lucio Cabanas, leading an armed group of men, have been encountered by the army. After a short battle Vasquez Rojas was captured and is believed to be dead.

30 March 1970 in *El Dia*: the commandant of the military zone of Chilpancingo denies that there was any encounter between the army and Vasquez Rojas; and also stated that Vasquez Rojas was neither killed nor captured by the army.

1 April 1970 in *La Prensa*: the director of public security in the state of Guerrero has declared that by means of a lawyer Vasquez Rojas has made a gesture and given certain conditions for turning himself in to the authorities, and that the government is prepared to open talks which should bring fruit in about one month. It also states that Vasquez Rojas is not to be found in the state of Guerrero.

After this fantastic triangle of contradictions, I would like to propose two questions to the Mexican press, who apparently back up and publish these notices: "Where is Genaro Vasquez Rojas?" and "Is he in Guerrero, alive, dead, free, or captured?"

## Mario Menendez

Mario Menendez Rodriguez, editor of the radical weekly *Por Que?*, imprisoned for "terrorism", was beaten by guards in the maximum security ward "O" of Lecumberri Prison some time during the last week of March, because of which he has been in the infirmary of ward "O" with two broken ribs...

Texcoco, Mex. 31 March: students of the junior and senior high schools have stoned the local police station twice. The first time by 150 angry students, throwing stones—calling that three students (one supposedly arrested for riding a bicycle without plates) be set free. The three arrested students were set free, but nevertheless, after learning how the three in question were treated, a short while later (about 10.15 p.m.) 400 students returned and apparently destroyed the police station...

Puebla, Mex. 2 April: the academy of teachers of the School of Medicine, who for the last 15 months have been on strike, today had an interview with the governor of that state to ask for an increase in the state budget for the School of Medicine.

Puebla, Mex. 3 April: more than 400 students from several schools of the University of Puebla procured the freedom of three students from the School of Medicine, and another from the Benito Juarez high school, who were arrested early this morning.

Mexico City, 1 April: 26 buses have been hijacked by students of the Preparatoria 9 to urge demanded indemnity for run-over victims, an elemental act of justice that in agreement with the traditional morality of some minor authorities, can only be obtained by force. In the Union of Concessions, we have been told that the indemnity is established in agreement with the law and that in round numbers the amount received for each run-over victim, death is about 25,000 pesos (sic) and that in cases of survivors, the quota is much less and reduced (sic).

Mexico City, 2 April: there are now 58 buses from different urban lines being held in the grounds of Preparatoria 9. The demands of the students are that the Peravillo-Tlalnequania bus line pay an indemnity of 250,000 pesos for the deaths of three relatives of a student. Apart from this, students of the Preparatoria 7 in support of those of the Preparatoria 9 have broken windows and stoned buses still in operation.

Mexico City, 5 April: the Union of Concessions of buses in the Federal District yesterday gave to the authorities of the national university 180,000 pesos corresponding to the indemnities for the victims of an accident which occurred a few days ago. The same above-mentioned Union authorities also picked up the hijacked buses

being held at the school "Pedro de Alba". And finally the sub-director of the school, Jose Belio, has stated that the functionaries of the Attorney General's office have offered to release the nine students arrested in recent days for the hijacking of buses. This was enacted yesterday.

Mexico City, 3 April: the "novatadas" in the School of Law have taken an exceptional turn, in a sui generis form. Yesterday in the morning the juridical department of the national university confirmed that these groups have not been identified, but eye-witnesses have stated that they came to the school armed with pistols and rifles. They have provoked one conflict, resulting in the beatings of some students, and later escaped carrying arms to take control at the Coapsi high school, where they threatened serious young students.

Ciudad Juarez, Chih. 30 March: a problem has come up between the teachers and students in the Autonomous University in this city; the government of the state has refused to grant recognition of the Autonomous University as a decent legal centre, notwithstanding the UACJ has been functioning for two years and has close to 500 students in its schools. The members of the Federation of Students Societies in the schools have met, with the object of coordinating activities intended for solving the legal situation, and they have come close to the resolution of continuing "by peaceful means insisting that the governor considers their existence."

Monterrey, N.L. 2 April: three students of the University of Nuevo Leon, arrested on Wednesday night after a frustrated attempt to rob a bank in Ciudad Victoria, have confessed to participating in an assault in Monterrey on 23 January 1970, in which they took close to 100,000 pesos from a bank employee—this was the sum total of the General Electric payroll. The arrested are: Hector Rodriguez, 21; Mario Alberto Martinez, 25; and Julio Javier Alvarez, 25. The arrested have stated that they are members of the Spartan League, and that in part they are to obtain funds for the promotion of guerrillas in the country. They affirmed also that they were part of a group of 20 students who visited Cuba in 1969. In this city the student council of the University of Nuevo Leon and the Communist Party have stated that the arrested are not members of their groups and that they are members of groups alienated by adventurist politics. From the Ciudad Victoria we have been informed that government agents have come to investigate the relationships between those arrested and groups in other regions.

Sinaloa, Sin. 2 April: Jose Luis Cecena has ceased to be the director of the School of Economics. Also dismissed was Manuel Inzunza Saez, the secretary of the School of Economic Economics, also charged with instigating violence and responsibility for the strike movement. Consigned before the third judge of the penal section in Culiacan, faced as responsible for 19 crimes ranging from intentional destruction of private property to fabrication, possession and use of prohibited weapons. The apprehension of important leaders in the strike movement and teachers considered "responsible" is now being "studied".

Sinaloa, Sin. 30 March: the students on strike were dislodged from the university buildings yesterday morning. The strikers stated that the group that dislodged them was formed of state judicial, and municipal police. About 5.00 in the afternoon, a large group of students accompanied by elements of the population, attempted to recapture the building, which they did after a four-hour battle during which the police intervened using gas to disperse the attackers. Three people were wounded by gunfire. When the strikers became entrenched on the roofs of the university they ordered the police to retreat to stop the flow of blood...

Culiacan, Sin. 31 March: from yesterday's gun-battle, five students were wounded, the number of police agents injured was also five. The students demanded the dismissal of their rector, M. Armiens. Official data shows that close to sixty students have been arrested.

Mexicali, BC. 31 March: the Federation of University Students of the state declared this afternoon their complete moral support with the strike movement of the students at the Autonomous University of Sinaloa. Furthermore, with this moral support they have sent a commission to Culiacan, Sinaloa, to participate in solidarity with the strike movement until the demands of the students of Sinaloa are satisfied.

Mole Mexican Correspondent

"There is a painful reality: Vietnam, this nation which embodies the wishes and hopes of victory of a forgotten world, is tragically alone. The solidarity of the progressive world with the people of Vietnam resembles with bitter irony what the encouragement of the plebs signified for the gladiators of the Roman circus. It is not a matter of wishing success to the victim of aggression but taking his part to accompany him in death or victory.

"When we analyse the solitude of the Vietnamese we are seized by anguish at this illogical epoch of humanity.

"American imperialism is guilty of aggression; its crimes are immense and stretch through the whole world. We know all this, gentlemen! But those are also guilty who in the hour of decision have hesitated to make Vietnam an inviolable part of socialist territory, in running, yes, the risks of a war on a world scale, but forcing the American imperialists to decide as well. And those also are guilty who follow a war of insults and leg-trips already begun a long time ago by the representatives of the two greatest powers of the socialist camp."



# Stop Press

## ISRAEL IS PREPARING ANOTHER JUNE WAR

In the last few days we have received what we regard as reliable information indicating that Israel is planning a military offensive on the scale of the June war to be directed against Egypt, Lebanon and possibly Jordan in the next few weeks. According to diplomatic circles in London, the visits of Israeli Foreign Minister Eban to Western capitals last week involved discussions of these plans, which the Israeli government links to what they call the Soviet military build-up in Egypt. They are of course referring to the construction of Sam 3 missile sites along the Suez canal which the Israeli government considers is not being taken seriously enough by the major imperialist powers. The Israeli government's sounding out of Western capitals is accompanied by propaganda build-up along the familiar lines—threat of annihilation, this time at the hands of Soviet pilots and missiles.

It is scarcely necessary to point out that these missiles are "surface to air" (hence SAM) and however much we may think the Israeli ruling class has its head in the clouds, they know perfectly well that their military superiority over the Arab states is no more under threat than it was in 1967. What these missiles could do would be to provide some protection for Egypt against Israeli air raids. The Israelis of course would not welcome such a development and could easily prevent it. But this is not what their present diplomatic manoeuvres are concerned with. To understand what the Israeli ruling class is preparing for requires a deeper analysis of the processes at work in the Middle East since the June war. For its part, sections of the British Left have shown themselves lacking in clear understanding of the nature of the struggle in the Middle East. It is an urgent necessity for us to rid ourselves of the confusion and evasion of responsibilities which occurred in 1967.

In the coming weeks and months we should bear in mind the following facts:

1. **ROOTS OF THE CRISIS:** the axis of the conflicts in the area is no longer that between Israel and the Arab states, primarily Egypt, but a struggle by the Palestinians for national self-determination. This movement has transformed the relationship of forces on an ideological level—and is doing so increasingly on a political-military one as well—between the progressive and reactionary forces in the area: (a) it

exposes the colonising expansionist essence of the settler state of Israel (b) it unmasks all the gr regimes in the Arab world which are linked with imperialism; (c) it throws up from its ranks a Marxist vanguard posing the decisive strategic tasks of the Arab revolution (—the forging of a revolutionary party able to centralise the struggles of the Arab masses as a whole in the fight for a united socialist Middle East, thus exposing the petit-bourgeois regimes and reformist CPs with their talk of peaceful transition.

2. **IMPERIALIST STRATEGY:** the dual strategy of the imperialist powers in their efforts to crush the Palestinian resistance movement have so far failed miserably: on the one hand they have attempted to crush the militant sections of the Palestinians by direct assaults from Israel and the Jordanian and Lebanese states; on the other, they have tried to impose a "peaceful settlement" on the area through a four-power formula that the main Arab states and Israel could be persuaded to accept—handing back most of the West Bank, probably with some new political status, the return of Sinai, and some adjustment in the status of Jerusalem. This would be linked with effective pressure on a section of the Palestinian movement which could be bought off to accept such a settlement. The two prongs of this strategy have to succeed together: such a "settlement" would only produce a more threatening situation for imperialism if the Palestinian resistance remained intact; while the crushing of the Palestinian vanguard could lead to even greater convulsions in the area in the absence of such settlement.

3. **THE ISRAELI RULING CLASS:** Israel is not, however, prepared to be the passive recipient of whatever the Four powers may wish to offer her. The Israeli ruling class, in spite of its overall commitment to the imperialist system, has its own specific interests which may not smoothly coincide with those of the dominant imperialist powers at any time and has moreover her own preferred means for trying to achieve those interests. The continued and growing presence of the Palestinian resistance movement and the failure of the imperialist powers and their Arab agents to crush this movement leads the Israelis more and more to take the strategic decisions into their own hands: if nobody else seems to be prepared to do the necessary job on the Palestinians, the Israeli generals will relish the chance of doing it themselves.

The fundamental debate within Israeli ruling circles is precisely on this point, between those who

advocate "diplomatic means"—i.e. relying on the imperialist powers and the Soviet Union—to deliver the goods, and certain officers of the Israeli army led by General Mote Peled who favour an Israeli preventive war. As the political situation in the area evolves with no solution in sight and the resulting contradictions within Israeli society sharpen, the arguments of the military for a way out of the impasse through "preventive war" become increasingly attractive.

4. **FRICTIONS AMONG THE GREAT POWERS:** the Palestinian resistance movement's growth tends to sharpen the frictions between Israel and the imperialist powers, within the imperialist powers themselves and between the imperialists and the Soviet Union, while at the same time making the necessity for all of them to agree on the means to maintain the status quo more urgent: hence the incessant counterpoint of, on one side, appeals for "everyone" to sit down and work out a "peaceful solution" acceptable to "all" and, on the other, attempts by one power to embarrass and out-manoeuvre another. The precise nature of these frictions needs very careful analysis—taking into account global interests of the various powers at any one time. But for a rough guide we could grade the powers according to their commitment to fully back Israel on the one hand or the various existing Arab regimes on the other in the following order: USA, GB, France; the priority of the Soviet Union in the area is clearly to defend the Egyptian regime, the main base for extending its political influence in the area and thus guarding against the dual threats of imperialism and socialist revolution on its southern flank.

5. **THE CRISIS DEEPENS:** time is not on the side of Israel and the reactionary forces in the Arab world. As months pass, the very logic of the Palestinian revolution undermines all reactionary, bourgeois and pseudo-progressive structures in the Middle East: (a) within the Arab world—the politicisation of the Palestinian movement deepens; radicalisation has spread to the Jordanian and Lebanese masses and throughout the Arab intelligentsia; these processes have been accelerated by every twist and turn of the Arab regimes; attempts by the Lebanese and Jordanian states to rid themselves of the Palestinian menace have resulted only in deepening their own crises, while the

political impasse of Nasserism, graphically illustrated by the Rabat summit last December—remains; Marxist wing of the Palestinian vanguard grows in strength and awareness of its revolutionary tasks alongside new currents developing to the left of the CPs in a number of countries, particularly in Lebanon. These developments are accompanied by the growth of revolutionary movements in South Yemen, Doha and the Gulf and by signs of instability in Saudi Arabia. (b) Within Israel there is a growing crisis at every level—strains within the economy, fatigue in sections of the armed forces, a growing dissatisfaction among young people unwilling to enlist in the arm questioning of Zionist ideology; all these processes find political expression in the growth of a revolutionary current—and of a leftward-moving political trend among university and secondary school students and in the increasingly hysterical response of the Israeli government to any sign of opposition from the Left.

6. **THE PRESENT CONJUNCTURE:** in recent months the full force of these developments has struck the Israeli ruling class in a series of blows: the school-movement against enlistment; student protests against Golda Meir; failure in the Lebanon; as the economic situation deteriorates and the social and psychological strains tend increasingly to rip open the inherent contradictions of the Zionist state, the Soviet mass score presents the Israeli regime with the enticing prospect of recommitting "national unity" and defeating the class enemy in the Arab world with a swift blow. It is doubtful that Washington will welcome an upheaval in the Middle East at a time when it is in the throes of the Cambodian crisis; efforts are no doubt being made to restrain the Israeli government for the time being. But whoever wins the particular argument about timing, the fundamental contradictions of Zionism and imperialism in the Middle East will require such a radical solution if the Arab Revolution is to be prevented from making a forward. IT IS THEREFORE CRUCIAL FOR THE BRITISH LEFT to be prepared to respond in solidarity with the revolutionary forces in the Arab world and in Israel, to correct the mistakes of the past and to develop links with the vanguard of the Arab Revolution.

# blurb on the independents

## The Other Cinema

Into its first week at The Place is a four-week season of independent British films brought together by The Other Cinema. The programme is comprehensive, and indicative of just how much activity is going on outside the industry—not by default, but in opposition to it. This season is really the first public statement by the Other Cinema of what their alternative distribution policy amounts to—till now they have been almost entirely dependent on such props of the Establishment as Contemporary and Connoisseur. But they came into existence specifically to promote a third circuit for independent films, one completely bypassing the industry stranglehold on all aspects of production, distribution and exhibition.

This break is not really as radical as it sounds—for a start it involves the basic contradiction that nearly all their capital has to come from the industry anyway, which is in effect promoting its own alternative with a view to taking it over when necessary. A far more radical departure is being practised by Cinema Action. They ignore the very concept of a circuit, and concentrate on mobile distribution—showing a collection of films and discussing them to audiences assembled in schools, universities, factories and community centres.

But in terms of effectiveness, Cinema Action is small and alone in its field, while the Other Cinema is committed to reaching a nation-wide audience regularly through its regional outlets—hence despite its exclusively bourgeois orientation it is a progressive front, one that could possibly unify the anarchic and dangerously competitive growth of independent distribution in England.

## When Mobile Distribution Becomes Important

Of course on a longer perspective, all distribution will be superseded in only a few years by cassettes, or at least will become more a library system than one of public readings, and hence a likely candidate for government control. Which is where mobile distribution becomes important—because it is semi-underground, it escapes this government control (censorship, etc.). And because it brings groups of people together in familiar surroundings, it is an effective medium for political propaganda.

The films then. Five colour features the first week, two of them celebrating their premieres. *Praise Marx and Pass the Ammunition*, by Maurice Hatton, was the most expensive, and the least successful in terms of innovation, imagination, or visual intelligence. That's not to put the film down—in its old-fashioned way it is an honest look at a popular conception of "revolutionary activity", but it's outclassed by the youthful vigour of the films shown with it.

They were all made for £5,000 or less—at \$12,000, still expensive by U.S. standards. Incredibly hard work goes into these independent productions—it usually involves one person acting as producer and director, and by the force of his personality attracting a group around him willing to work for nothing,

or a percentage cut. It involves hustling stock, equipment, processing and editing facilities—and when the film is finished, there's the long grind of hawking it round to distributors.

## "The Fall"

Peter Whitehead's *The Fall* is the closest to an analysis of the subjective and objective sides of film-making, but the experiment fails and all that we're left with is a dismally narcissistic justification for the word "artist". A man and his movie camera set off to discover America—they become increasingly involved in the protest movement, taking part in the Columbia strike, till it emerges that the film is no longer as important as the events it is recording. In fact the man's contribution as an artist is to thread his documentary material together with a literary device—that of the novel-as-journal. To this extent *The Fall* is a very honest film—to the same extent it is dishonest in that Whitehead's self-effacement is belied by his narcissism.

## "Events"

John Llewellyn's *Events* is concerned with much the same sort of problems, but removed one step from Llewellyn to a group of people who share his life-style. He then follows them through various situations with a cinema-verite camera—sitting around in kitchens, bathrooms, getting busted, chatting in bed after a fuck—till he blows it all up in a fantasy junk yard final scene. *Events* is important because it's not trying to be the greatest film ever made—it's just people, the way we know them to be from our own experience.

## "Trouble in Molopolis"

Philippe Mora's *Trouble in Molopolis* operates through a diametrically opposed method. Here the people come from an exclusively mediated experience—the hoods and molls of a thirties gangsters movie, set to music. The film opens at a period farce, becomes an Eastmancolour comic strip, a melodrama, and almost ends as a Brechtian tragedy. But via mediation, it is revealed as an exercise in people discovering themselves through playing roles. The product of a consuming cinephilia, *Trouble in Molopolis* can perhaps claim to be the first real mass-audience underground movie in England.

## "Makin' It"

Being premiered too is Simon Hartog's *Makin' It*, a series of screen tests shot one Sunday night with a stationary camera. The idea is interesting—to set up a panel of faceless "directors" who then manipulate, exploit and crudely dominate a series of girls who have applied for parts in a hypothetical movie. A documentary situation where the camera is as faceless as the panel, and at the same time the focus of all the action—it raises the same sort of fictional questions as *David Holzman's Diary*—just who is watching who, and how real is an unreal situation? But the spectator is so outraged at being forced into this voyeuristic role, that it seems the film shouldn't be released until an equivalent series of screen tests is shot with male applicants and

a female panel. Then the two can be shown simultaneously, and indignation will be balanced by discomfort. It goes without saying that all these films have little in common with the neo-Hollywood hack jobs like *Midnight Cowboy*.

In the coming three weeks an enormous number of screenings have been planned—as well as repeats of the first week, programmes by Steve Dworkin, Peter Gidal, Mireille Dansereau, the Tattooists, Peter Whitehead, Felix Greene, David Larcher's *Mare's Tail*, Philip Trevellyn's *The Ship*, Joel Tuber's *Great Wall of China*, Kevin Brownlow's *It Happened Here*, The Hornsey Film, Alan Power's *The Secret Life of Hernando Cortez* and possibly at the end of the season, Steve Dworkin's 16mm colour feature *Times Four*. And this selection ignores films made for television, which could make up a later collection.

John Mathews

# politics of american science

Daniel S. Greenberg: *The Politics of American Science*, London, Penguin Books, 1969, 10/-.

Hilary Rose and Steven Rose: *Science and Society*, London, Allen Lane the Penguin Press, 1969, 50/-.

One orthodox view of bourgeois science, and its relation to technology, is roughly the following: Science has a unitary structure. Pure science comprises the expansion of man's understanding of and control over nature, and this, at an accelerating pace, entrains developments in applied science and technology, which employ the new fundamental knowledge for transformation of the productive process. Thus whatever pure science makes possible becomes in due course inevitable in production, and therefore the contradictions of science and technology under capitalism can be resolved if only scientists are men of good will working at good things, that is, at the solution of socially urgent problems. These problems can and should be identified by the community, to whose demands both scientists and those who allocate resources between them should be responsive.

It is essential to recognise that this view of science is wrong, and that problems cannot be correctly posed in these terms. Any serious discussion of science, its successes and failures, its distortions under capitalism and prospects under socialism, must start from a realisation of the qualitative differences between "pure" science, "applied" science, and "technology", or, in Greenberg's terms, between "basic research", "applied research", and "development". Of course the demarcations are time-dependent, and are not always sharp; moreover they have been formulated in the context of bourgeois capitalism and need re-examination, but at least these terms describe activities which stand in distinguishable relation to the capitalist productive process, and they will serve for the time being.

Greenberg, who is careful to make these distinctions, confines himself almost entirely to pure science, within which he makes the further important distinction between "little science" and "big science"; in a book tracing the institutional development of pure science in the United States, mainly during the period of rapid expansion since 1940, he is naturally more concerned with big science (which is characterized by large capital investment and large research teams).

The Roses, in a shorter book, attempt a similar study for science in the United Kingdom, but devote several chapters to other countries; their wider scope hardly justifies some carelessness over detail (who is Wilhelm Heisenberg?) and leaves a strong impression of superficiality. Much more serious is their failure to preserve the distinctions between pure science, applied science and technology. Thus in the question quoted above, big science (high energy physics), little science (molecular biology), applied research (computers) and development (Concorde), activities which involve immensely different scales of investment, some of them with no foreseeable application, depending for resources on different elements of the capitalist structure, are all jumbled up together, "contending" for the same funds. This confusion of disparate formations persists throughout the book and detracts very much from its value.

The nature of bourgeois science demands a fresh Marxist analysis. A major problem, in effect raised but not solved by Greenberg, is to understand the specific relations between basic research and the processes of production, through all the intermediate stages. These relations are mediated by competition and the demand for profit, not by the good will of scientists. The resulting contradictions cannot be resolved within a capitalist framework.

Engels understood these problems better: "This regulation [of the social effects of production] requires something more than mere knowledge. It requires a complete revolution in our hitherto existing mode of production; and simultaneously a revolution in our whole contemporary social order." (F. Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1966, p. 182).





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 nearest  
 Red Circle**

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\***COVENTRY:** John Presland, Rootes Hall D16, University of Warwick, Coventry.

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\***HAMILTON:** Walter MacLellan, 37 Smyllum Road, Lanark, Scotland.

**HULL:** John Bearpark, 88 Park Street, Springbank, Hull.

\***LANARK:** Walter MacLellan, 37 Smyllum

**KEELE:** Jason Hill, Students' Union, University of Keele, Newcastle, Staffs.

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