

The Red Mole



Hugo Blanco released / Spain / Poland / Zionism

Rotax struggle / Teachers / Max Hobbs

DUTSCHKE/HOCH: Victims of capitalist repression

Unmoved by the pleadings of Labour front-benchers, liberal leader writers and the National Council for Civil Liberties, the Tory government has decided to expel Rudi Dutschke from Britain. Whether the decision was taken as the result of a departmental cock-up or whether it was coolly calculated is no concern of ours. What is important is that the Heath regime was not prepared to make any concessions to the liberals and admit that a mistake had been made, if indeed it had. Quite clearly the capitalist government feels more edgy, more insecure and more threatened today than it did in the last century, when Comrade K. Marx was not barred from engaging in political activity by Mr. Maudling's predecessors. Indeed, historically it has always been the Labour government which has adopted a more repressive policy towards political exiles. The fact that the Tories are beginning to lose their sense of confidence and are embarking on a McCarthyite binge reflects more than anything else the changed nature of British capitalism, when the sun hardly rises on the territories dominated by British capital. Clearly the Tory politicians understand that they

are facing what could develop into a fairly explosive situation. The coming industrial struggles frighten them. Even though they are perfectly aware that the dynamic duo (Feather & Wilson) will do their best to deflect these struggles and defuse them, they still feel edgy, and they are of course quite right to be so. Dutschke was a convenient scapegoat who could be used to show the toughness of this regime which wasn't prepared to tolerate any nonsense from foreign (and German) agitators. At the same time, actions like this tend to create an atmosphere of hysteria and xenophobia in the country, and this is precisely what the Tory government wants.

Paul Hoch's deportation was a comparatively simpler affair: he had taken part in a violent political demonstration in Britain against the racist regimes of Southern Africa. An example had to be made of him to deter other foreigners who came to this country disguised as students. Hence Hoch was expelled. For the revolutionary movement, Hoch's expulsion represents an even more serious threat to civil liberties, because it implies that foreign students should not take

part in revolutionary politics in Britain. They should confine themselves to the niceties of Tory, Labour and Liberal Clubs at universities. But the trendy writers of letters to *The Times* seem to be unconcerned at this. Nor have "left" M.P.s in the House of Commons seemed to be too upset, nor for that matter has the National Council of Civil Liberties protested too strongly. These pathetic liberals who depend on the bourgeoisie and form part of its liberal support, didn't want to see their "good" publicity over Dutschke harmed by the "bad" publicity regarding Hoch. It exposes their hypocrisy better than anything else.

The real tragedy is that the revolutionary segment of the student movement has so far not been able to act and respond to these measures. The fact that Dutschke did not conduct a principled Marxist fight at his trial and seemed to pander to the liberalism of his supporters is irrelevant. What is crucial is that militants in the universities act immediately to protest against the expulsions of Hoch and Dutschke. A student movement which is incapable of defending its own militants is not likely to be too successful

in linking up with working class struggles. The advanced workers have only contempt for those students who are not capable of protecting their own rights and at the same time bleat loudly over the rights of workers. The lack of a centralised revolutionary student organisation, the inability of some political tendencies to fight in the universities, has led to this impasse. The Spartacus League which was set up a few months ago is still in the process of acquiring roots in many universities, but despite its infancy is attempting to coordinate the struggle in the universities. Its national conference in February will be discussing a strategy for socialists in the universities in some detail.

It is essential that the revolutionary left attempts to mobilise students in support of Dutschke and Hoch in the coming weeks so that there is no repetition of these sordid deportations. The demonstration on Sunday 17th is obviously a start, but militants have to ensure that actions are continued in the universities and that Tory M.P.s and Ministers are reminded, when they visit universities, that the revolutionary Left still exists.



After January 12th.

Bombs apart, January 12th went off quietly. The number of workers on strike was certainly no more than on the December 8th day of protest called by the unofficial London Committee in Defence of Trade Unions. In London one might almost say there was a flop; elsewhere there were some very large demonstrations in medium-sized industrial towns, and, as usual, Scotland and Merseyside were to the forefront in terms of numbers on strike. What picture emerges from the mass of confusion?

One thing, above all, that was demonstrated was the complete inability of the TUC to mobilise or enthuse. And how can one expect them to do so? On the very day of the demonstration, the *Financial Times* in its lead editorial noted that the "fundamental attitude [of the TUC] is probably not so different from that of the CBI... Its readiness to negotiate with the Government can be read between the lines, in references to the need for higher productivity and for wage negotiations which put the emphasis on security of incomes and employment". The differences, the paper added, were mainly about whether or not unemployment was desirable in the process of ending inflation and ensuring more rapid economic growth. In other words, all the TUC proposes is an alternative capitalist strategy to that of the Tories. The experience of the Labour Government's failure shows that such an alternative is not possible.

Secondly, it was shown that there are big sections of the working class which will respond to a militant lead. The London Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions almost disappeared after December 8th, and yet hundreds of thousands of workers responded to their vague call, made over a month ago and not energetically reiterated at all, for industrial action on January 12th. This was done in spite of all the appeals by the leaders of the TUC, supposed leaders of the fight, not to strike. Indeed, one can say that there was an almost instinctive response by very large numbers of workers. According to Tom Jackson, secretary of the Union of Post Office Workers, his members are itching for a fight against the Post Office Corporation which has made an "insulting offer" in response to the union claim for 15% wage increase.

Thirdly, it was clear that the militants have not been in the least deceived by Wilson's sudden conversion to the defence of trade unions. His treatment at the hands of the selected ticket holders at the Albert Hall rally was indicative of a far wider mood. This was confirmed in the negative sense, too. Nowhere did workers carry slogans calling for the return of a Labour Government. At present the memories of Wilson's pioneering attack on trade unions looms large in the memories of the activists.

Fourthly, we must say that if the right didn't do very well, neither did the left. The so-called

lefts of the trade union leadership did not emerge at all as an independent force. No one would know that there is supposed to be a minority in the TUC which is in favour of more militant action—where was it? How did it express itself? The Tribunes and other so-called Labour lefts have no independent existence whatsoever—they are squeezed between the trade-union bureaucrats on the one hand and the C.P. on the other. The Communist Party is caught between its instinctive desire to form a popular front with the TUC (hence the type of thing like the Eccles cartoon of January 13th, which is an insult to any militant's intelligence) and the pressure of the militants wanting action. Its instrument, the London Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions, did not even have an independent existence on the day's activities. It completely missed the opportunity for announcing further plans for action—the weakness is clearly political, not organisational.

As for the left groups, their intervention is still limited to the propaganda level—not one of them could contend for leadership. Nearly all brought out leaflets, special supplements to their papers, etc. But even the "first daily Trotskyist paper" could not decisively influence one major demonstration, let alone a real industrial situation.

So what can one do? At this stage, the major role the revolutionary left can play is that of helping to give a strategy to the movement. To

leave the struggle against the Bill in the hands of the TUC and Communist Party is to invite a humiliating and demoralising defeat. To confine one's intervention to make propaganda, exposing the right wing and Stalinists, etc., whilst it has value and must be done, is to abrogate responsibility.

From the start of this struggle *The Red Mole* and the *International Marxist Group* have made a call for all-inclusive action committees with an offensive programme. We believe that one should combine this with making a call for the TUC, Labour Party, etc. to take action. We are for the broadest unity on this, providing "lowest common denominator" politics do not prevail. In the action committees there must be a combined struggle for a socialist programme and greater and more coordinated action. The national committees, for example the London Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions, must have elected committees and be constructed on a delegate basis. Politics must be brought to the fore. Sectarianism which seeks to confine the committees to supporters of one particular tendency must be vigorously fought. Boldness and audacity in action and programme must be the aim.

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MAY HOBBS: women cleaners campaign

In the last two issues of the Mole we have been reporting on the London night-cleaners campaign for union recognition and better pay and conditions. At a time when the Tories are trying to take away all the protections workers have built up for themselves through self-organisation, we give all support to this fight for their rights by the women of a traditionally unorganised and super-exploited industry. The campaign is now in the process of becoming national as cleaners in other parts of the country hear about the London cleaners' fight and start campaigning on their own account.

Here we interview May Hobbs, who has worked as a night-cleaner for 12 years and has now been blacklisted by all the cleaning contractors for her militancy. Despite this victimisation, May has carried on with the fight and set up the Cleaners Action Group to ensure immediate militant action against any further victimisation of women who stand up for themselves.

The initial difficulty of reaching the women, who are scattered all over London in different buildings, in the first place, means that help from all quarters is warmly welcomed, and various women's groups, including the London Socialist Woman Group, and student organisations etc. have consistently been giving the cleaners direct support. If you would like to help, please let us know.

—How did the campaign start?

It really started about 8 years ago, when a group of us didn't like to see the way we were treated and the conditions, so we joined the union—the T&G. The trouble started when they sacked this coloured girl—we went on strike and said we'd stay out till she was reinstated, and eventually the supervisor responsible got the sack and the girl was reinstated. It went all right for a couple of weeks and then they started picking us off and sacking us one by one. So the campaign collapsed and it all lay dormant until now. A group of us thought it was about time something was done to better our pay and conditions in the industry, especially as we had got hold of the profits of the different companies, so with the help of all these different groups of people who provided leaflets and forms, etc. and went out round the buildings at night round different areas, we got some girls into the union, and they're still coming in fantastically—we've got about 200 cleaners to date in it.

—How does the contracting system actually work?

Well, if you take a building like Shell-Mex, instead of employing their own cleaners, they contract out to have it cleaned, to save the worry. They pay x amount of money a week to the contractors, and the contractors take on



women to do the work at £12-13 a week for a 40-hour week—that's working all night from 10 to 6.

—Can you tell us what sort of work the women have to do, and also what sort of women you get doing this job, and why they do it?

We have to get through about 40 to 50 offices a night, with the stairs, toilets, emptying the bins, sweeping, dusting, hoovering; sometimes we have to buff up the floors and also do brass work on some buildings. We have to do all this in an 8-hour night. The women that do this are usually women with children—their husbands might already be on a low income, so they go to work to supplement that income to get a reasonable living standard. The contractors want you to think we're going to work for little extras and holidays and that, but it's not true, we have to go to work just to live reasonably. No fool of a woman would go out 8 hours a night if they didn't have to. Take a woman with four kids, if she goes out to work during the day, she has to pay for the children to be looked after, which means paying out all her wages; if she works at night, her husband can look after the children so they can keep the couple of shillings she earns.

—What are you fighting for in this campaign?

First of all, to get the women unionised; then our demands are for £16 a week minimum; holiday money, adequate staffing on all buildings, cover money—if a girl is off sick and someone has to cover for her, they're entitled to a whole night's money (they only get about half at present)—the contractors are getting paid the same amount for the job and we're entitled to the money for the work we do.

—What particular difficulties do you have?

Well, the conditions of isolation these women are in, it's hard to get hold of them; you can only do it between certain hours of night.

—What sort of help have you had from the T&G?

Well, at the moment they're trying to negotiate for recognition, but the employers are refusing to meet them, so I think that the pressure the women themselves can bring to bear as they get organised is very important, to back up the union.

—Has there been any reaction from other workers—what about the women's husbands, for example?

Well, they're right behind them, especially the coloured men (there are a lot of coloured girls doing night-cleaning, and the coloured and white women have been coming out on strike together), in fighting for better conditions and wages. Of course, they don't like their wives having to work nights—they get the backlash of their wives being so tired and so on, and often the only real time you can see each other is Friday or Saturday night, but very often that's the only work the women can do and there's no choice, so their husbands are supporting them.

—What about the people who've been helping from outside, do the cleaners resent this at all?

No, not at all, unless they just come once and never come back. The people who've been helping regularly, leafletting and giving support on pickets and so on, the women are beginning to know and talk to them, and beginning to trust them—including students, which they never used to. They think, if they're going to put their time into it like this, they must be interested in people like cleaners, at last someone's taking an interest—because people tend to look down on cleaners—and also it encourages them; they think, if people are going to come and talk to us and picket with us, it really must be worthwhile, otherwise they wouldn't waste their time. The cleaners are changing their image about these people, they think they can't be just the "troublemakers" they thought they were.

—How have the employers reacted so far?

Well, they're not very enthusiastic, to say the

least. I think you can draw your own conclusions from the fact they've been sacking girls who joined the union—though we've got them reinstated again by now.

—What do you think will happen in future, how do you see the campaign developing?

We want every cleaner in the union. It will be a long hard struggle, but I'm almost positive we are going to win in the end, and eventually the contractors will have to see it our way and recognise us.

—Why do you think the campaign's suddenly got off the ground after so long?

Eight years ago we never had the help, and the people helping us, that we have now. All sorts of people have been helping from all different areas—even influential people. The cleaners have always wanted a union, but we never had the chance to really organise that we've got now. Also with all the other strikes there have been—the more struggles there are, the more militant they get.

—What about the Tory Bill—how would it affect this campaign? What do the cleaners generally think of it?

We wouldn't be able to organise in the way we're doing—the people going out leafletting would be liable to prosecution, if we think we're getting a raw deal we couldn't take any industrial action, which is the only way we're going to get our pay and conditions righted. We as cleaners will defy the Bill. Cleaners are the same as housewives, they're too tired and they haven't got time to read right through the Bill, they only know what they've got time for; all we know is that if we come out on strike to better our pay and conditions, we'll get fined and all the rest of it. In our eyes it amounts to blackmail. We've never been blackmailed in our lives, and we don't intend to be blackmailed by a load of strangers we don't even know.

—Finally, how can papers like *The Red Mole*, and its readers, help?

By giving us publicity, and also by helping us with the leafletting and generally helping, which you are already doing. And of course we need money very urgently, so that when we take action we've got something behind us. We really do need this sort of help.

Money and offers of help should be sent to:

May Hobbs, Cleaners Action Group,
13 Middle Lane, London N.8 (348 2817)
or contact London Socialist Woman
Group, 40 Inverness Road, Southall,
Middx. (574 7407).

(Interviewed by Felicity Trodd)

TEACHERS: The anti-Tory struggle

On December 8th over 2,000 London teachers participated in the political strike which was called to demonstrate workers' opposition to the Industrial Relations Bill. The call for action did not come from the Executive of the NUT (National Union of Teachers) which made quite sure that all members of the union knew that it did not want any such action, but from the ILTA (Inner London Teachers Association) council. Several schools closed down completely, and in others many children were sent home. It was this action of over 2,000 London teachers demonstrating their solidarity with workers as workers which has given any real meaning to the decision of the NUT to join the TUC.

Within the NUT wider discussion on the Bill amongst the rank and file only started when there was a possibility of taking action against it. After the proposals of the Tories were published, their myths and lies were revealed. This Bill was seen by many teachers not to be an attack on the "irresponsible" and the "wildcats" but a blatant attempt to smash any effective rank and file control of the union and consequently to shackle any effective union.

How would this affect the teachers? Over the past two or three years there has developed in the NUT a conscious rank-and-file movement. Many young teachers have found themselves entering a job with very rigid hierarchical structures and a union that often reflected those structures. (The young teacher is at the mercy of the headteacher in both the school and, often equally so, in the union). Critiques of the education system have been developing and also a

heads and deputies, who jealously guard their positions and have no desire to incorporate into the structure any fresh blood, leave alone the rank and file. Our criticisms of the union have made it quite clear that the executive of the union is really a cautious appendage of these established educational structures, and has no desire or ability to lead the teachers in struggle.

Rank and File Pressures

What has also become apparent over the past two years is that the executive can be pushed into action; an example of this being the demonstration in London of July 1969 by London teachers in support of their Interim Pay Award.

This strike was the first serious pressure on the executive by the rank and file in support of their claim. This led to the series of strikes through the winter of 1969-70, and the award of £120 per annum. However, with the Tory Bill, there would be possibility of such a campaign; the union would be fined for breaking a signed agreement; strike actions called by bodies other than the executive would be illegal, and agitation for such a strike would make individuals liable for personal fines. The Bill would also contain the insidious clause which gives the government the right to dictate what the rules of the union should be (in the teachers case it is the right of the employer). Even the NUT realises that such a clause is unlikely to "strengthen the union or ensure that its structures are more democratic". (As the National Union of Seamen's rulebook is often cited as the ideal by the Tories, it is worth noting that Rule 32, clause 5, says that no one can write a document, manifesto or paper about the union without the authorisation of the E.C.—i.e. the union bureaucracy!)

teachers fought for supporting the Dec. 8th strike. Within ILTA council, the two main groups opposed to each other were the ILTA officers supported by the C.P. on the one hand, and the group around the journal *Rank and File* in addition to other militants, on the other. The ILTA officers and their backers fought the resolution on the grounds that we should wait for the NUT executive and not indulge in political action, etc. etc. The C.P. fought it on the grounds that we were over-estimating the consciousness of the teachers and were running ahead of our membership. The teachers should follow the TUC recommendation and have a lobby, after work. (They ignored the fact that when a lobby was called on the burning issue of comprehensivisation, of which thousands of teachers are both conscious and deeply concerned about, there were less than a hundred teachers at Westminster.) The C.P. voted against the strike with the right-wing social democrats, but they lost, 40 to 25. (The end of the saga came when King Street heard of what happened and instructed the C.P. teachers to work for and not against the line on Dec. 8th. (As a result, some of them came out on Dec. 8th).

December 8th was important for us insofar that it revealed the increasing politicalisation of teachers; it was preceded by a clarification of the issues and very importantly by an educational campaign in the local associations. In these local discussions the myth of the "a-political" nature of the schools and the education system is gradually being eroded.

The Bill being fought at the moment is usually labelled Carr's Bill, but it could easily become the biggest weapon that Thatcher will ever wield. The NUT is at the moment engaged in pay talks and the employers, with Thatcher,

basic scale payment that the teachers receive at the moment. These new scales will allow ample opportunity for the government to dissect the teachers' union by offering differential payments to different scales; plums for the top and peanuts for the rest. Not only would this cause problems of fighting for a higher salary, but it will allow the Sec. of State to be more efficient in her proposals to cut the rate of increase in education expenditure, most of which goes on teachers' salaries. Evidence of her preoccupation with this is the news that she is planning to reduce the number of teachers being trained, and increase the expenditure on educational aids. She apparently envisages teachers as master technicians. (The alienation of the American college student in classes of hundreds with no personal contact with teaching staff will be imported into the British primary classes.) For teachers who are still coping with classes of over 40 (under-10s), the increased expenditure on mechanical aids is no help. They want a drastic reduction in the number of children they are expected to "teach" . . . classes of less than 30, and more personal work with individual children, not less. But then this is precisely what the Tories want to avoid. As the crisis of bourgeois ideology intensifies, the less contact the teacher has with the pupil, the better.

However, attacks on the teachers via Carr and Thatcher are not the only ones that we must fight, the whole Tory ethos, typified by Keith Joseph and his attacks on the social services are part and parcel of our battle. It is essential that all teachers realise that we must consolidate the gains of the working class which have been won in struggles over the last hundred years. It is necessary that teachers begin to see themselves as part of the struggles which the

BIRMINGHAM: The Silas Hyde affair

The campaign against the Tory Bill in Birmingham has clearly highlighted what the rank-and-file militants are up against—both from the Government and employers and from the Labour Party and trade union leadership.

December 8th and the Trades Council
When the action on December 8th was announced in November, the Trades Council counter-acted by calling a strike on January 1st. It was obvious that this call was made to divert the struggle and take it out of the control of the rank and file movement. January 1st had no political significance as had December 8th (the day the Bill was published) and more important it was a day of traditional high absenteeism (not that workers should not be "seizing" these extra holidays, but it helped to confuse the issue as to exactly who was on strike and who was still recovering from the previous night—a confusion that the mass media took advantage of). The Trades Council also stated that it had decided to call this demonstration so that action against the Bill would be "orderly and respectable".

Stoppages on December 8th were probably similar to that in the rest of the country generally. But the only demonstration and meeting planned was that of the students of Aston University. Although the demonstration was small (about 400) the action of the students was welcomed by those workers who were on it.

The December 8th action was important in showing the workers how some so-called "left" trade union leaders reacted to such a situation. With January 1st and January 12th actions, which were both "official" actions, these "left" leaders were in a good position to weaken the "unofficial" action by arguing for support for the other dates—in the interests of "unity" of course in the labour movement.

The Silas Hyde Affair

One very important event resulted from Dec. 8th which showed up the official leadership and also showed, in a limited way, the crisis British capitalism is in at the moment. A small firm of sheet metal workers, Silas Hyde, employing about 100 people, "sacked" 70 workers who had gone out on December 8th. It was declared a lock-out by the unions concerned—the first in Birmingham for many years. In the week before Christmas certain facts about the state of the firm came to light which were given a fair amount of publicity. Silas Hyde was in the red to the tune of £96,000. The remaining employees had been given notice and the firm announced that it was either going into liquidation or was hoping someone would buy it up. So now the issue was no longer a lock-out but of receiving redundancy money—the employers insisting that the sackings were entirely coincidental with the financial position of the firm. Since then other information received has shown the complete mismanagement of the firm. Until three years ago, Silas Hyde was a firm that was making sheet metal. It was small but the business was quite successful. However, a new boss came on the scene who didn't know too much about the business and decided that buses were more profitable. It didn't matter that the workers didn't know how to make buses or that they didn't really have the right equipment—buses were the thing. And from that time Silas Hyde made a steady loss. (Never was there a more obvious case for opening the books and workers' control).

But despite the important struggle that these workers are involved in and which raises many important issues; despite the official backings of the unions, the Trades Council has done nothing to help: which makes it all the more hypocritical of them to call the Jan. 1st action against the Bill, when they cannot even defend workers who are in a position many other workers will be in if and when the Bill becomes law.

But any militant who was at the meeting on January 1st will know the Trades Council are not interested in action that is effective. The demonstration itself was tremendous and much bigger than anyone had expected. It was the largest demonstration in Birmingham since 1926—over 5,000 workers (not even the press dared call them students this time) marching through the city centre. Morale on that demonstration was extremely high, and rightly so, for (in spite of the original reasons why the demonstration had been called for that day) Birmingham, traditionally known as a reactionary city, had produced one of the biggest actions so far against the Bill.

The meeting in the overflowing Town Hall was as expected with Harry Urwin (on the General Council of the TUC) and Eric Heffer. Although we were promised that Urwin would tell us what action we could take against the Bill, all he talked about was the implications of the Bill—something everyone knew. After all, that's why we were all there. Heffer made a typically demagogic speech and for those militants who had perhaps been encouraged by the demonstration, it may have seemed disappointing to hear the thunderous applause he received, especially when he talked about fighting the Bill in the committee stage in the House of Commons. He did mention the need to work outside Parliament, but he didn't go into details, and he also implied that this was for the rank and file movement, and not for the likes of him who would be "struggling" in the House of Commons—a typical load of Parliamentary bullshit.

The "Popular" Front

The most significant event of that meeting was the obvious and crude alliance between the Labour Party and Communist Party. Dick Etheridge, Austin convenor, member of the C.P. and well-known Dec. 8th scab, called for the return of a Labour Government—just that with no conditions posed. Although there was a

little hostile reaction when Etheridge came on stage to make an appeal for money, it was sad to see how short the memory of the Birmingham working class was, as they responded to his jokes, appeals and speeches. £1,300 was collected for the Trades Council to be used in action against the Bill (rumour has it that £600 will be used to send coaches down to London on Feb. 21st to hear Wilson in the Albert Hall).

The Need for an Action Committee

All these factors makes the setting up of a rank-and-file action committee extremely urgent. It is important that the movement is not left in the hands of the bureaucrats and C.P.-left Labour alliance.

The matter is becoming more and more urgent every day. The threat of redundancy is prevalent in all industries in the Midlands. The gas turbine shop at Lucas is being closed down, and there have been redundancies. In Coventry redundancies at British Leyland were announced some time ago.

It is essential that these events plus Tory policy in general (such as cuts on the social services, increases in prices, etc.) are seen as an integral part of the Tories' policy. Only in this way will action against the Bill broaden out into a general anti-capitalist one, which it has to do if the Tory Government is to be smashed. But this cannot be left in the hands of "left" bureaucrats. The rank and file must form an action committee calling for the trade union leadership to take offensive action, and if it doesn't do so (as seems highly likely) then it must take on that responsibility itself.

Although the struggle in Birmingham looks as though it has been defused by the T.U. leadership, Jan. 1st will serve as inspiration to the working class as what the rank and file can achieve in spite of and not because of their "leaders".

Testa van Gelderen
Birmingham

Spartacus League prepares conference

Which Way the Wind Blows

After decades of relative social peace, this society is moving with increasing speed towards an open confrontation between the working class and the capitalists. With its back against the wall, all other tactics having failed, the ruling class has no alternative but to launch vicious attacks on the labour movement, on the weakest and the most oppressed sections of the population.

In the last few months we have had a taste of what is in store: slashing cuts in the social services, tax concessions for the bourgeoisie, red-baiting during the miners' strike, a frenzied campaign to slander the power workers, measured day work and productivity swindles, vicious repression of black people and Irish militants, plans to sell off profitable sectors of nationalised industry, plans for more racist immigration legislation, the government bill to smash the

shop-floor organisation of the working class... the list of anti-working class measures could be extended endlessly.

The capitalists' problem, their nightmare, is the fact that workers show no sign of turning and running in the face of these attacks. Strike after strike has demonstrated the tremendous power and determination of the labour movement to defend its class interests.

Smash the Bureaucracy!

But repeatedly we have seen the sickening bureaucrats of the labour movement—the Wilsons, Castles, Feathers, Painters, Chapples, and even so-called left-wing leaders like Jack Jones—pleading with the government to calm down and have the patience to let them stab the workers in the back. It is the existing leadership of the working class which gives the bourgeoisie its greatest hope for success.

Our Responsibilities

In the next months many thousands of young people, students as well as workers, will be found at the front of the battle. Here, as in the rest of the world, young militants must learn the harsh realities of the class struggle, not simply in libraries but on the streets. As the confrontation deepens, much will depend on the dedication and fighting spirit of the new generation of revolutionary militants now entering the factories and colleges, or still at school. The cynical bureaucrats of the labour movement have a hearty loathing for the revolutionary youth and we must ensure that their fears are more than justified!

But the struggle we are fighting cannot be won by revolutionary enthusiasm alone. We must also have clear political perspectives and organisation. Without the first we will not know

where we are going and are quite as likely to go in circles as any other direction. Without the second our energies will be dissipated in fragmentary struggles.

Spartacus League

It was with these considerations in mind that the Spartacus League, a revolutionary youth organisation, was founded last summer, by members and sympathisers of the Fourth International. Against this background of sharpening struggle of class against class, the Spartacus League is holding its first conference since its foundation.

All who are seriously dedicated to the overthrow of capitalism and are in broad sympathy with the programme of Trotskyism and the Fourth International are welcome to attend this conference.

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Rotax Struggle

How to combat

redundancies



Introduction

The headquarters of the Rotax Company at Willesden, which makes aircraft components and is a subsidiary of Joseph Lucas, is threatened with closure. The staff and workers there are united and determined to fight the closure. We interviewed Jim Cooney (AEU), who is convenor at Rotax, Willesden, and also chairman of the shop stewards Combine Committee which represents the 20,000 workers on the aircraft side of Joseph Lucas; and Ernie Scarbrow (DATA), who is on the DATA Office Committee (roughly equivalent to a shop stewards committee) and Secretary of the Combine Committee.

This is what they told us:

In the last few years, Joseph Lucas has been systematically taking over its competitors. The company claimed this was to "augment" its production. But actually the point of the take-overs is to get rid of competition. They have made sure that whatever aircraft work is available, they will get. They were given a grant of £3 million by the Labour Government's Industrial Reorganisation Corporation; Lucas stated at the time that they would continue production in the present plants, although the IRC, and the Labour Government, did not ask for any guarantees that there would be no redundancies. What happened was that Weinstock decided to sell off the aircraft accessory part of his business, which was in direct competition with Rotax; Rotax bought out AEI at Coventry; English Electric Special Products at Luton, Bradford and Netherton; and they also bought Vatric and Hobsons of Wolverhampton. Within four months they had reduced the labour force at AEI's factories in Coventry from 2,600 to about 400; in other words they bought the factories to close them. They have announced that two of the EE Special Products factories at Bradford will be closed, and their factory at Luton is threatened. They bought up Premier Precision Products, and said the reason for doing so was to take the overflow of their work; a month later they closed the factory. When they bought Hobsons, Hobsons had just bought up and closed down another factory: so it was a case of dog eat dog. Now they are threatening to close us at Willesden. And they have recently announced that there is to be a 25% reduction of the labour force throughout the Combine; which means that 5,000 jobs are threatened.

"Lucas already hold a monopoly in the car industry . . . now they want a monopoly in the aircraft industry . . ."

The point is that it's not as though the company are hard up. They are not coming to us and saying we're sorry, we're hard up, and there's nothing we can do about it. They are getting bigger and bigger and more and more powerful. In September last year, a month before they announced the closure at Willesden, they bought eight pages in the *Financial Times* in preparation for the Farnborough Air Show, telling everybody how profitable they were, and that they were the biggest manufacturers of aircraft outside the United States; and they bought 5,000 copies themselves to distribute at the Air Show. When they bought EE Special Products, this meant they also bought a 37½% interest in a French aircraft company; and they have formed two other companies in Germany. Joseph Lucas already hold a monopoly in the car industry for certain components; now they want a monopoly in the aircraft industry. Rotax has three quarters of the market outside the United States.

We say that the plant at Willesden could be kept open. At a meeting last Monday, which lasted for six hours, we told the company that

available, complete jobs. They were not interested; they made vague excuses that there was not enough aircraft work to go round the group; we argued that there was, and we gave the example of CAV Acton, which is part of the Lucas combine, sending out big contracts to companies outside the group.

The sore point at Willesden is that they are the parent company; the average worker at Willesden has had 25 years with the company. They are the people who made the money which made it possible for Lucas to take over all the other places. Vatric was bankrupt when they took it over, but they're keeping that factory open. Ever since the company went public after the war and its profits were published, the profits of the two Rotax factories at Willesden and Hemel Hempstead have never been less than £½ million a year; EE Special Products, with five factories, made no more profit. So the people who built up the company are being chucked on the scrap-heap; that's how they reward long years of loyal service.

The Road to Hemel Hempstead

The company say there are 300 jobs at Hemel Hempstead. There are 800 of us here, including 250 at another Rotax factory at Chase Row. They want us to uproot our homes and just go to Hemel Hempstead, just because the company happens to want to do its work somewhere else. They want to transfer the know-how on the Harrier VTOL aircraft gas-turbine starter engine to Hemel Hempstead. They're not going to get this. We have said we will oppose the transfer of know-how and machines, physically if necessary; and we are not allowing anything to be taken from the factory. Twelve planes with this engine have been sold to the United States for £50 million, although the United States had spent £500 million, unsuccessfully, on trying to develop a similar type of plane themselves; they handed them the planes on a plate, and they're negotiating to sell the rights to produce the plane in the United States; which shows how patriotic they are. But there is still an order for 100 Mark II Harriers which they have to produce the starters for here, and that's why they want 300 to move to Hemel Hempstead. A month before they announced the closure at Willesden, we got a "Queen's Award" for the gas-turbine starter on the Harrier; we had Sir Gerald Temple, Queen's Equerry or something, down to make the award and all.

This is why they are so anxious to get us to agree to go. We have refused to go; the factory is completely united. The company said we had misled the men on the question of going to Hemel Hempstead, and they said they were offering good conditions for the transfer; they were arranging coaches, and so; the coaches were to be in our own time, mind you, and they'd leave at 6 in the morning; it was as if the company was asking us to start work an hour earlier, with no extra pay. Anyway, the company wanted to issue a statement putting their case

them in the canteen one day, and then we tore the statement to pieces in front of all the workers. They rejected it unanimously; I have never seen the factory so united. Next they tried sending letters to all the workers individually; they sent three sorts of letters, one saying that they offered a job in Hemel Hempstead, one saying they'd offer a job if so and so agreed to go, and one saying there'd be no job after such and such a date. They were trying to divide us. But it didn't work. All the men brought their letters in to us; we'd prepared typewritten slips saying that we didn't want to negotiate individually with management, the men signed these, and we put them in the letters and returned the whole lot to the management. They can't divide us between those who get offered jobs at Hemel Hempstead and those who don't; who wants to uproot himself and his family and go to Hemel Hempstead? The company at first said vaguely that housing and accommodation would be arranged at Hemel Hempstead; but we contacted the local housing development corporation ourselves, and they said no more houses were being built for rent; so the company offered £250 settling-in allowances to workers who sold their houses here and moved out. At our last meeting, the penny dropped, and they understood that people weren't going to rush onto those buses at 6 in the morning; so they offered another 41 jobs at the Chase Road factory; that was just a sprat to catch a mackerel; they need to get the tools and the know-how transferred, and they hoped to split us. They can plan nothing until they know how many will go. In the long term, no matter what the battle is (and we're prepared to wreck the factory), there is a feeling that they have given their lives to the factory, and they are being thrown on the scrap heap.

Cartoons on the wall

Inside the factory there are all sorts of cartoons on the walls; somebody produces one and we make 50 or 60 copies of it and they're stuck up all over the factory, on foremen's doors and everywhere. The foremen are all with us. Once the management summoned the supervisory staff to come up and talk to them; we told them not to go, and they didn't. But they come to our meetings. The management bought shredding machines to destroy confidential documents; but it's no use to them, because the secretaries are on our side. One day somebody took down the Queen's Award flag, which they'd put to fly over the factory; they've gone mad looking for it, but they've never found it. We took a photograph of two blokes holding it, wearing masks, and stuck it up all over the factory; they've been trying hard to recognise them, but without success.

I think we have this unity because the staff have seen, over the years, the benefits of being organised. Willesden has been one of the fore-runners in organisation. We are responsible for setting up the Combine Committee, and we have helped workers in other factories. Even so, they have not nearly reached our level. The

would get a £5 or £6 cut in wages; this is one of the reasons why they want to fight. Some of us get £30 a week with no overtime. In Willesden we've controlled overtime very strictly; all overtime work is negotiated through the stewards; we don't accept the 30 hours a month recognised as a maximum by the unions, we say 10 hours should be the maximum. All our membership turn up to meetings; we hold two-hour lunch-time meetings. When we've won a dispute, we have the practice that everybody puts the first week's rise into union funds; last time everybody did it, without our asking them to.

This is the real reason why they want to close us down. We've been a thorn in their side. They've kept open Vatric, for example, which was bankrupt when took it over; it's not coincidental that there's no organisation there. It's also the reason why they're giving so much work to sub-contractors; they are unorganised, they have no "labour problems", and they work all night. Even within the Combine, there are some places where they do a lot of overtime, while they starve us out of work. But we are determined to oppose the shutdown, physically if necessary. The danger is that they will hive off anything that is not too difficult, starve us deliberately of products, so eventually we will have no work. This will be the dangerpoint; we must get things moving before then. We have to face facts; on our own as a factory, we will not succeed. But we can succeed if we get enough pressure throughout the Combine, and this is what we are trying to achieve. We have a meeting of the Combine Committee in Sheffield on January 23rd, and we plan to go on from there. We already have a ban on overtime and sub-contract work which is being operated throughout the group, by workers in all the unions, including DATA, AEU, CAWU.

Official union backing

For the moment we have official backing from the unions. DATA have supported us all along the line. We are fortunate that three members of the DATA Executive work in the Combine; Mike Cooley, who is Vice-President, works at Willesden. DATA, the AEU and CAWU are supporting us officially now; there was a meeting in Birmingham on December 29th between management and the unions, with members of the AEU and CAWU Executives and George Doughty, the President of DATA; they stated to Nichol, General Manager of Lucas, that they, including the AEU, officially opposed the closure of Willesden. But we'll have to see what they do; there's many a slip between cup and lip. When the closure was announced, DATA wrote immediately to the AEU; but they took six weeks to answer, and then only because we sent them a telegram asking what they were doing when we had a one-day strike. The crucial point is whether the AEU will call a delegate conference of Convenors in the group, as we have asked them to; DATA have already done this, and Doughty and the Executive sanctioned it, so that anything we decided would be official. If the AEU call a delegate conference, this will mean that the rank-and-file would attend, and any decision would be official.

We don't know whether the unions will support us officially in the long term, and we are running our own campaign. We have been in touch with M.P.s, not that we put much faith in them; Pavitt has raised some questions in the House of Commons. We have our own plans in mind as to how the campaign will be conducted; you should expect to see some things happening. We came out on December 8th, in spite of all the other things on our mind. Partly as a protest against the management, and partly because we realised that if the Bill went through we wouldn't be able to do what we are doing

What is U.S. I

Ernest M

The manifestations of American imperialism began to appear as early as the nineteenth century, relative to Latin American countries, and later in the Pacific zone (expansionism towards Japan, conquest of the Philippines). Since the beginning of World War I, American imperialism has extended itself on a global scale. Thus, in the framework of inter-imperialist competition, American imperialism appears as the great victor of two imperialist world conflicts. In point of fact, it is the only victor whose military and economic forces gained from these two wars. All of the principal competitors were enfeebled by either one or both of these conflicts.

It is not necessary to examine in detail the causes of this superiority of American imperialism over her competitors. The principal reasons are well known: immense richness in raw materials; greater equilibrium between industry and agriculture; broader territorial and demographic bases, which permitted the enjoyment of important economies of scale in matters of industrial mass production; the absence of semi-feudal vestiges, which allowed the expansion of a purer capitalism than that of the other imperialist countries, etc.

It must be accentuated, however, that the ascent of American imperialism towards the position of the first power in the world represents a dialectical process during which the contradictions of the rest of the world have had a tendency to breed, even in the midst of American society. The imperialist American bourgeoisie cannot engage in this expedition towards world domination without at the same time assuming the leadership of the entire capitalist world. In that position they are confronted by anti-capitalist forces which each day grow more numerous and powerful. Because of this fact, American imperialism is often directed in its decisions by the political imperatives involved in the global defence of the international capitalist system, a system which at times may enter into conflict with the particular historical interests of American imperialism itself. The Marshall Plan has to be interpreted in this light. Far from being an enterprise of the pastoralisation of Europe or of its submission to the will of Washington, historically the Marshall Plan was the initial phase in the reconstitution of an autonomous force in Western European imperialism—that is to say, precisely the recreation of a force competitive with that of the United States.

This decision was not, however, irrational. It simply reflects a choice between two evils, both of which Washington had to face following the Second World War: either assist in the collapse of West European capitalism, or permit the reappearance of a powerful competitor. American imperialism chose the lesser evil, by its lights.

These prefatory remarks are essential in order to avoid falling into economism, and to prevent too simple an interpretation of the economic roots of American imperialism.

1. Surplus and Export of Capital

The principal economic root of American imperialism remains the one classically defined by Lenin for the whole imperialist era: the existence, in imperialist countries, of a surplus of capital which is poured into other parts of the globe in search of superprofits. The only modification which should be applied to the Leninist definition is the conclusion that, in the actual historical context of the period following the Second World War, this surplus of capital was no longer directed exclusively, nor even principally, into colonial or semi-colonial (i.e. underdeveloped) countries, but was spread equally and in increasing proportions among other industrially developed imperialist lands.

This important variant of the Leninist theory can be explained by the following factors:

1. The significant difference in technology and productivity of labour between American imperialism on the one hand, and that of the other imperialist powers on the other.
2. The difference between the military and political power of the United States and that of the other imperialist powers, a difference which is even more pronounced than that in the economic sphere.
3. The increasing insecurity weighing upon investments in colonial and semi-colonial countries, in which there is a growing profusion of revolutionary liberation movements.
4. The contraction of the geographic area in which surplus capital may still be invested with profit, a contraction resulting notably from the overthrow of capitalism in an expanding portion of the world.¹

The end result of these diverse tendencies is that the difference between the rate of profit

in other imperialist countries definitely more appealing than investments in underdeveloped countries where greater insecurity neutralises the attraction of an even higher rate of profit.

Certainly, as American capital gradually discovers outlets in the world,² a process of equal distribution and the levelling off of the productivity of labour and technological development will progressively occur between the United States and the other imperialist countries. Such a process will reduce the difference in the rate of profit between them, and will "revalorise" the underdeveloped world as the only area where important superprofits may be acquired.

In the same way, an eventual prolongation of *detente* between the United States and the Soviet Union will open possibilities—although very modest ones—of investment of American



capital in countries with a socialist economic base, similar to that already achieved by Fiat and Renault in the automotive field.

But all of the investment possibilities cannot change the fundamental fact that during the last quarter of a century the essential direction of the investment of exported American capital has been into other imperialist countries, rather than to the rest of the world.

It must be remembered that this export of capital admirably suits an economic necessity inherent in the capitalistic system of monopolies. It represents a response to a double menace: the decline in the average rate of profit experienced in the principal imperialist citadel, and the massive accumulation of capital which cannot be invested in that citadel without endangering the average rate of profit with a new, serious decline.

2. The Growing Role of the War and Armaments Economy in the U.S.

The accumulation of a growing surplus of capital which can no longer be profitably invested in the normal sectors of the economy not only encourages its export but also increases research in new fields of investment where capital will yield an average profit from the monopolised sectors of the economy without threatening the rate of profit from the monopolised sectors of the economy without threatening the rate of profit from the entire system of monopolistic capital. The production of armaments (and its extension into space production) constitutes a similar "substitutive field of unparalleled investment (to use Rosa Luxemburg's phrase).

The advantages of the realisation of monopolistic capital in the area of armaments are obvious. It does not reduce the scope of capital already invested in the rest of industry. On the contrary, it markedly stimulated the production of heavy industry and certain specific raw materials. It does not become a substitute for other products normally produced. On the contrary, it creates merchandise whose sole purchaser is the State, and whose only value, in terms of consumption, is the strengthening of

the American economy against a return of a catastrophic crisis similar to that of 1929 (without the power, however, to prevent the appearance of periodic recessions which are not, finally, any less grave than the average crises which capitalism has known throughout its history). It brings an automatic guarantee of profit to monopolies in a growing number of sectors (all those related to national defence).

The increasing importance of arms production in the American economy is indicated above all by the preponderance it acquires in expanding sectors, such as electronics, aircraft, and chemistry. It results in a double symbiosis which stimulates the imperialist expansion of American capital by producing a double self-perpetuation.

1. The symbiosis of certain areas of the monopolies, and of the production of armaments in

these areas, developing a "vested interest" in the maintenance and expansion of arms production.

2. The symbiosis of certain positions of authority in the armed forces and in the machinery of State, which gives these positions a "vested interest" in the maintenance and expansion of the military budget at an astronomical level.

This double symbiosis is all the more dangerous since it tends to reproduce itself in foreign countries, following the establishment of American bases abroad, the military missions in foreign countries and the military "aid" to "friendly" governments menaced by "internal subversion" or by "external Communist aggression."

Even former President Eisenhower, as conservative as he was at the end of his Presidency, publicly expressed his fears about the formidable growth of the industrial-military-political establishment. That establishment lives on and prospers essentially from the continual increase in arms expenditures, and it requires international

conflicts in order to justify this expansion to the American taxpayer.

Nevertheless, it would be foolish to consider the important role the production of armaments plays in the heart of the American economy as simply the result of manoeuvres by this particular Mafia in the centre of the large American bourgeoisie. The entire bourgeoisie is condemned to practise the politics of permanent rearmament, confronted as it is with a permanent revolution on a worldwide scale and with the industrial and military growth of countries which have already overthrown capitalism. The goal of every one of the disarmament conferences is not actual disarmament but the attempt to rationalise the course of armament, to render it supportable by the budgets of the USA and the USSR which are not, after all, unlimited.

In a world divided into two profoundly antagonistic camps, genuine disarmament is utopian. Still more utopian is the idea that monopoly capitalism could reorient the sixty or seventy billion dollars it annually spends on arms production to fields of public service, education, health, and aid to underdeveloped countries. Such a redirection would first of all require the conversion of the bourgeoisie, the very class devoted to profit motives, into a class working for the good of the human species. Any diffusion of masses of capital outside the areas of disarmament would rapidly menace the investment of "civil" capital and the rate of profit. It will never happen.

3. Supply of Strategic Raw Materials

Unlike most of its competitors, American imperialism was characterised by the fact that it found within its own borders the essential raw materials for modern industry. Even in the period immediately following World War I, the importation of raw materials remained fundamentally secondary—rubber, silk, sugar or tin, products easily replaced by synthetics.

However, the formidable expansion of American industrial production at the end of World War II changed the situation. Today the USA must import increasing quantities of raw materials as essential as petroleum, iron ore, bauxite, copper, manganese, and nickel. Moreover, America's own resources in these areas are rapidly diminishing and, in the case of petroleum, could be exhausted by the end of the century. America depends entirely on imports for chromium, cobalt, and columbarium, indispensable to iron production.

In other words, three-quarters of a century behind its principal competitors, the USA must now launch a drive for new sources of raw materials in the world; for petroleum, in Latin America, the Middle East, and Nigeria; for iron ore, in Latin America and West Africa; for other minerals, in Canada, Australia, and Africa, etc. In this search it will collide not only with liberation movements in various colonial and semi-colonial countries, but with the competition of other imperialist nations like Great Britain, Japan, France, West Germany, indeed, even Spain.

Often the appropriation and possession of these sources of raw materials involves political conflict, *coups d'état* and local war (notably in West Africa in the last few years). It may involve the establishment of missions, perhaps American military bases. The need for new sources explains the tenacity with which American imperialism clings to countries like Venezuela and Brazil, for they have become precisely the sources of supply of raw materials indispensable for Big Business in the United States.³

4. Inter-Imperialist Competition in the Heart of the Third World



Imperialism?

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Although the export of American capital into under-developed countries has been of less volume than the same export into other imperialist countries, nonetheless it has not been negligible. When it concerns important countries, like Indonesia or Brazil, or countries of enormous, scarcely tapped potential, like the Congo, the export of American capital results in growing interference by American imperialism in the internal affairs of these semi-colonial countries. Conflicts develop with other imperialist powers, particularly the former colonial powers which American imperialism is gradually replacing.

In the last twenty years, the most typical examples of the way in which American capital has taken over from former colonial capital are its domination of Indonesia (replacing Dutch capital), Morocco (replacing French capital), and Iran (English capital). Without a doubt, in the Congo we are witnessing the debut of a similar replacement of capital, in this case Belgian, although at this moment it is reflected less in capital investments than in the reorientation of foreign trade.

All this imperialist substitution was not achieved simply by manoeuvring behind the scenes. It produced acute national and international conflicts, often accompanied by blood-baths. From the overthrow of Mossadegh to the assassination of Ben Barka and the ascent to power of Mobutu by a *coup d'état*, the course of this substitution was marked by murder, conspiracy, and oppressive operations whose victims number in the hundreds of thousands.

In the end, American imperialism will not achieve world domination. The dream of an "American Century" lasted, in fact, only five years, from 1945 to 1950. The dream was destroyed not only by the strengthening of anti-capitalist forces on a world scale, but by the law of unequal development which functions inexorably in the heart of the imperialist world and does not permit any acquired position to last for ever. In comparison with the 1945-50 period, the principal competitors of American imperialism (with the exception of Great Britain) have strengthened, not weakened, their positions relative to American imperialism. The inter-imperialist competition is more acute than before. There will be no super-imperialism, but rather a continual struggle of imperialist forces to shift the revenue of power in their favour.

However, the battle of inter-imperialist competition is taking place in a new global context: the loss to Capital of a third of the world; the constant extension of new revolutionary forces and movements that threaten to wrest new countries away from Capital. In these conditions, inter-imperialist competition will dissolve into inter-imperialist solidarity before the vital threats which weigh on the total system. Stalin's hope of seeing the outbreak of new inter-imperialist wars turns out to be in vain (assuming one disregards local conflicts between various pawns of imperialism in Africa, Cyprus, and elsewhere).

5. The Defence of General Conditions in the Realisation of Capital

One of the economic motives appropriate to American imperialism is that of defending the conditions of realisation of invested American capital when those conditions seem to be deteriorating, or when they are exposed to threat. It is precisely in this sense that the *coup d'état* in Guatemala, in defence of the investments of United Fruit, must be understood; or the military mission to Venezuela defending the investments of Creole Petroleum; or the intervention of the CIA in the military *coup d'état* in Brazil in defence of United States Steel Corporation investments. The same intervention in the military *coup d'état* in Greece permitted America's Litton Industries to make huge investments of capital under exceptionally favourable conditions.

However, it would be false to see this imperialist intervention in too restricted a way, that is as merely the defence of capital already invested. Additionally, imperialist intervention is a question of preserving future opportunities and avoiding the danger of a chain reaction which would menace strong positions in one country by events in another.

For example, direct investments of American capital in South Vietnam are very modest. But there are more important investments in Thailand, and considerably more important ones in Malaysia, in Indonesia and India. By intervening with a counter-revolutionary war of aggression in the civil war in Vietnam, American imperialism covers capitalist positions in all the neighbouring countries and attempts to preserve its future opportunities in the eastern part of the Asian continent. Today, the imperialist strategy is unavoidable a global one. Necessarily, the defence of capital does not take place when



properly called, strong areas.

That is why an analysis of the global, economic moving forces of American imperialism can come to only one conclusion: to be effective, anti-capitalist forces must oppose the international counter-revolutionary strategy of Big Capital with a corresponding, world-wide global strategy.

NOTES:

1. An investigation by a firm of management consultants in Chicago in 1960 revealed that 35 large American trusts had a net rate of profit (corporate profits after taxes) of 9.2% in the USA and 14.2% abroad. (*U.S. News and World Report*, 1 Jan. 1962, and *Newsweek*, 8 March 1965, arrived at analogous conclusions.)
2. Direct foreign investment by American corporations went from 7.2 billion dollars in 1946 to 40.6 billion in 1963 and 54.4 billion in 1966.
3. According to Harry Magdoff, American imports of

certain raw materials evolved in the following manner in terms of percentage of their production in the United States.

	1937-39	1966
Iron Ore	3%	43%
Copper	-13%	18%
Lead	0%	131%
Zinc	7%	140%
Bauxite	113%	638%
Petroleum	-4%	



This map demonstrates with extraordinary vividness the way in which the giant international oil companies have bought South East Asia, and carved it up among themselves. The precious off-shore oil, which could have been used to provide the energy and proteins to raise the living standards of the peoples of South East Asia, has been cynically hawked to the highest bidders, so that they may keep these two cars in the American middle-class garage on the road. The oil men swarm all over South East Asia today. Singapore, without oil itself but the hub of the administrative and servicing side, has almost a hundred oil or oil-related companies resident in its boundaries today. The employees demand—and get—all kinds of "amenities", which violently outrage the local culture. But the local elites have cause for rejoicing: Singapore makes millions a month from providing everything the business man wants. Pertamina, the Indonesia oil monopoly run by corrupt Gen. Sutowo, charges ludicrous fees amounting to millions of

bottomless coffers of the competing oil companies. Expectation is that South East Asia will become the oil area of the world in the 1970s. The Dutch already knew about the potential riches of the area in the late 1930s. Despite their self-regarding secrecy, the news leaked out to the Americans. This greatly strengthened their determination to have South East Asia at any cost—including wars in Korea and Vietnam. For both Vietnam and Korea were key defensive points in protecting South East Asia. Both, incidentally, have also recently been shown to have offshore oil—a fortunate bonus for the United States of America. Words cannot convey the tragedy of all these heroic people who have died in Asia for their land and their future, murdered by the mercenaries of selfish imperialists who cannot imagine life without a Chevrolet or two powered by the oil robbed from the poor of the earth at the point of a gun. The key year in realising imperialist aims was 1965—when America invaded Vietnam in force, and overthrew

SPAIN: after Burgos, the struggle continues

Despite the retreat involved by the government in commuting the death penalty on the six Basque revolutionaries, the repression continues in Spain. This is directed particularly against the leaders who launched a strike movement in the Basque province the day after the verdict. Many of them have been arrested.

Thus the government draws the lessons of the recent events. Aware of the process of radicalisation taking place among broad layers of the Spanish class, it takes advantage of its only trump card, namely the organisational weakness of the workers movement. It practises a selective repression, aimed especially at the workers vanguard which has developed with the mobilisations over Burgos, thus hindering coordination of the whole strike movement.

In fact, the Franco dictatorship knows well that that is only a temporary solution. The politicisation of the workers struggles as well as the instability which lies in the heart of the regime itself points towards a dark future for the Spanish ruling class.

Franco's "mercy" and his end of the year speech

In relation to the crisis of the regime, Franco wanted to present a less tragic picture of it to the population: thus both by his "mercy" and in his speech at the end of the year he tried to go back to the politics which the Spanish bourgeoisie has preached since the beginning of the 1960s. In other words, to continue to use the "hard" wing to get things ready for the "technocrats" who would pursue the politics of opening the country to foreign investment; that does not prevent the "hard" politics from coming to the fore whenever social tensions put in jeopardy the projects of big business.

Hence the mobilisation of the Falangists to give fascist salutes at the time of the recent upheaval was accompanied at the same time by a measure of "clemency", and Franco's clear affirmation of the inevitable integration into the European and American market.

In fact, only this blend of politics, resting



This drawing of a firing squad is by an imprisoned Basque militant. It was smuggled out of Spain and was first shown on the BBC programme *Panorama*.

on the complementary nature of the two wings of the government can temporarily delay the final agony of Francoism. But the picture is not the same as it was at the begin-

ning of the 1960s, either from the economic point of view or from that of the workers' struggles. The optimistic panorama offered by European capitalism at that time has

changed unfavourably for Spain. On the other hand, the mobilisations over the Burgos trial were in many ways a dress rehearsal for the fairly wide and militant strikes in the coming months.

All this shows that the crisis of the regime will continue to get worse. Therefore the conservative Catholics and various reactionary forces pursue their criticism of "technocratic" ministers and demand to be allowed to take part at once in a new government. It is obvious that these forces behind the demand for a governmental reshuffle don't for a moment find an audience among the leading circles of the big bourgeoisie, which sees itself better served by the "Europeans" than by people who have reservations regarding integration into the Common Market, and about overtures to the Eastern European countries. It would only be in the last resort, and with the aim of strengthening its alliance with other sectors of the bourgeoisie that big business would accept a new political change.

The Politicisation of the Workers' Struggles

The strike launched in the Basque province the day after the Burgos verdict, just like the continuation of this same strike in the face of the arrest of several of its leaders, is the clearest example of the degree of radicalisation that the workers movement is moving towards.

The retreat of the government over the Burgos trial constitutes a first victory over Francoism: the Spanish working class, used to subjection by systematic blows for so many years, sees for itself today that the struggle pays off, and that only this struggle will allow it to obtain new victories.

That is why we must anticipate in the months to come new strike movements which, in spite of repression, will push forward the process of reorganisation in the working class.

It is with this perspective in mind that the construction of the revolutionary party, whose absence has been brought into broad daylight with the recent events, constitutes the central task towards which the revolutionary extreme left should work.

Gerardo Ferrer

The turning point of Roger Garaudy?

The Turning Point of Socialism, by Roger Garaudy, Fontana, 7/-

Garaudy was for many years one of the leading intellectuals of the French Communist Party, in the best Stalinist tradition, and the initiator of its recent dialogue with the Church. He was a member of the Central Committee until 1968 when he was expelled from it on account of his opposition to the Party's attitude to the Czech invasion--- in particular he demanded that the Party should use the occasion to open a debate on the question of Stalin and the nature of the Soviet Union. His increasingly independent pronouncements in the subsequent year finally led to his expulsion from the Party itself, the pretext being the publication of his book *The Turning Point of Socialism*.

He begins this book with the statement that "the International communist movement is in a state of crisis" and goes on to analyse its causes and possible solutions. The decisive stage in modern history has now been reached, according to Garaudy, by the conquest of the three 'infinities': The infinitely small (atomic energy), the infinitely large (space exploration)

comes close to that of Baran and Sweezy. It insists on the dominant role of monopoly capital in the American economy. From this analysis and his initial postulate, Garaudy derives his theory of the new 'historic bloc' between the blue and white collar workers, the latter now outnumbering the former. This bloc is making demands of a new type, an example of which is the recent MIT technicians strike waged over the meaning of their work and not simply economic demands. He does not, however, make any attempt to discuss the possible influence by the campus students on the type of demands made by the strikers.

Claiming that the specificity of American society is its 'frontier' formation, with the frontier extended to include South America as well,¹ Garaudy goes on to endorse the 'New Frontier' policy of Kennedy with all its ramifications. Instead of American capitalism waging wars in Vietnam and elsewhere, he would welcome a capitalism bent on a war against poverty at 'home' and on industrialisation of the South. Such a capitalism he calls 'purposeful capitalism'. It is this which exposes the fragile base of Garaudy's Marxism. He cannot grasp the inherent anarchy of the capitalist mode of production, cannot

Union is only a transitional form of society: instead of predicting the Soviet masses and their ability to carry out a political revolution, he still places his hopes on a palace revolution à la Khrushchev. His assessment or rather his cumulative ignorance does not allow him to understand the dynamics of the bureaucracy trying to walk the tightrope of economic reforms without undermining the present political balance.

There is a brief discussion of Dubosk-style reforms. The fact that his attempt to give more power to the factory managers meant also upsetting the political balance internally (more political freedom) and externally (Soviet interests) is hardly discussed. Likewise his model of socialist society, Yugoslavia, exchanged bureaucratic control of the economy for control not by workers' councils, but by factory and administrative managers. In exalting the Yugoslav educational system nowhere does he mention the Belgrade student strike of 1968 or the criticism of Yugoslav society made by revolutionary Yugoslav students at that and subsequent times (cf. *The Red Mole*, Vol:1, No: 10). He believes that the high growth of the Yugoslav economy since 1963 illustrates the thesis that workers control has had in hand with technological advance

book, the section discussing France, that his statement: ".....a Communist Party in an economically and technologically advanced society cannot adopt the same organisation form as those very justifiably advanced by Lenin." He totally rejects democratic centralism. Obviously an effect of decades of being a hatchet man for French Stalinism. His programme for the future is both utopian and pathetic showing his total bankruptcy: "What can be done here and now is to press, in the United States, for a form of capitalism that has human goals; in the Soviet Union, for the democratisation of socialism; in the Third World for the discovery of new criteria and methods of development."

Is this absurd hope simply a stepping stone in Garaudy's evolving consciousness or does it represent the last and pathetic outcry of a Stalinist-turned-liberal. A new version of the disillusioned Stalinists of the Thirties who turned to capitalism for new hope and prostituted themselves and their 'talents' against Marxism. Garaudy's evolution has not been as simple, but his end will be the same if he continues to maintain his present beliefs.

Paul Petrie

POLAND: The new vanguard

New Polish Marxist Vanguard

A factor, of which little is yet known, is the emergence of a new revolutionary Marxist vanguard in Poland. This has occurred since the fading of the post-1956 liberalization and the reformist illusions inspired by the de-Stalinization. The first major sign that a new revolutionary current was developing was the appearance of Kuron and Modzelewski's open letter to the party and Communist youth organizations of the University of Warsaw.

This document was the first rounded Marxist critique of the bureaucracy to appear in a workers state since the extermination of the Soviet Left Opposition in Stalin's purges.

Student Radicalization

In March, 1968, extensive student strikes and demonstrations took place in support of demands for implementation of workers democracy and the principles of Marxism. The protesters at one school issued the following manifesto to the workers:

"We students of the Warsaw Polytechnic Institute inform you that a sit-in is in progress in our school. It is to express our protest against violations of article 71 of the constitution [providing for freedom of speech] which you yourselves established. We protest because only in conditions of complete democracy can solutions be found to put our socialist economy in a healthy condition. In an atmosphere of distrust, suspicion, and denunciations, study of economic problems is impossible. . . .

"Long Live the Working Class!"

"Long Live Socialism!"

"Long Live Democracy!"

The students in Wroclaw demanded "consistent application of the principles of socialism and not empty extolling of its ideals for the sake of protecting positions acquired in the leadership."

The Manifesto of the students of the University of Warsaw ended with the slogans "Long Live Poland!" "Long Live Socialism!" "History Will Absolve Us!"

In 1968 one-half of the Polish population was under twenty years of age. The majority are now under twenty. Under the conditions of bureaucratic dictatorship, it is impossible to judge how widely the influence of the student radicalization spread. But there are grounds for believing that its expansion could have been very rapid. The young workers, the contemporaries of the revolutionary students, could be expected to be hardest hit by the "technocratic" reforms that increased the cost of housing and the extent of unemployment.

In the spring of 1970, apparently, a new opposition

journal appeared in Poland. *Iskra*, the organ of the Grupa Marksistowsko-Rewolucyjna [Revolutionary Marxist Group]. In its first editorial it wrote: "For the first time in Poland since October 1966 an independent Marxist publication will be circulated and read.

"For the first time in several decades this publication will be the production of a revolutionary vanguard, its theoretical organ, the reflection of revolutionary struggles in Poland and throughout the world, the organizer of a movement."

Iskra gave this evaluation of the influence of the March student strikes:

"Despite the climate of police repression promoted by a whole series of already announced trials and those in preparation, there has been a general political awakening in Poland since March. The permanent economic crisis of the 'socialist' countries is galvanizing the discontent of the people."

This issue of *Iskra* also announced the clandestine publication of an article by Leon Trotsky on the social nature of the bureaucracy, "The USSR in the War," as the first of its series Biblioteka Rewolucyjnego Marksizmu (Library of Revolutionary Marxism).

The insurgent workers in the Baltic coast cities raised the same demand for access to honest and complete information that the students raised in 1968. A prerequisite for the workers assuming real control of the state and economy that ostensibly belong to them, this demand arises naturally in working-class struggles against the bureaucracy. Moreover, it represents a point of convergence between intellectual workers, who need freedom of expression to achieve minimum professional dignity, and manual workers trying to comprehend and combat their exploitation.

Sympathy Voiced in News Media

In the Polish uprisings, as in the Czechoslovak de-Stalinization of 1968, sections of the press seem to have gone over to the side of the workers. The paper *Glos Szczeciński* is one example. There are also reports that Polish television showed scenes of demonstrating workers that contradicted the propaganda of the bureaucracy.

The crude slanders churned out by the bureaucratic propaganda machine at the start of the uprising undoubtedly gave an added acuteness to the workers' demands for the facts.

A New Step Forward

Facing this totally uninspiring regime, the Polish workers are the first working class in Eastern Europe to act so clearly against the bureaucracy as a whole. They did not fight in support of a bureaucratic faction as the Hun-

garian workers did in 1956 or as the Czechoslovak workers did in 1968. They moved against the bureaucracy as a whole. Having thus demonstrated their power in independent action, they are not likely to accept the leadership of a bureaucratic hack like Gierak, especially after their disillusionment with Gomulka.

Moreover, the Polish workers' rebellion is the first antibureaucratic upheaval in direct opposition to the technocratic reform that has been the bureaucracy's only solution to its ever more obvious bankruptcy in the field of economic management.

By their insurrection, the Polish workers appear to have inaugurated a whole new higher stage of antibureaucratic struggle in Eastern Europe—only months after the bureaucracy had seemingly totally pacified Czechoslovakia.

After repeated blows—Yugoslavia, the Berlin uprising, Poznan and the Polish October, the Hungarian revolution, the splitting away of China, Albania, and Rumania, the increasing independence of the Western Communist parties, the Prague Spring, and now the uprisings in the Polish coastal cities—the Soviet bureaucracy's political position seems on the point of being decisively undermined.

The first antibureaucratic rebellions in the 1950s occurred at a low ebb of revolutionary struggle in the rest of the world. Today the democratic fighters in Eastern Europe can find examples and potential allies all over the world.

In the 1950s it was relatively easy for the capitalist and Stalinist press to distort the nature of these revolts. Today a new generation of revolutionists has appeared all around the globe prepared to understand and support the struggle for workers democracy in the bureaucratized workers states.

In the 1950s there could still be illusions that these revolts were directed at the collectivist system as such. It was still possible for some to defend the idea that peaceful evolution could remove the threat to capitalism represented by the bureaucratic regimes, or reduce the antagonism between the capitalist and noncapitalist systems. Today the fundamental drive of the antibureaucratic rebellions, the revolutionary future they portend, is apparent even from the reports in the capitalist press.

In the *Los Angeles Times* of December 27, for example, Neal Ascherson wrote: "This was not a 'revolt against communism,' a national outbreak like the mighty risings which toll through the history of Poland. It is reported that the crowds who stormed the party headquarters at Gdansk were singing the 'Internationale,' and that is the key."

And so, the most astute bourgeois observers found little that was encouraging in the Polish revolt.

Prominent Signers of Open Letter to Czech Government

Demand Release of Socialists Held in Prague Prison

A year ago sixteen young comrades were arrested in your country, including Petr Uhl and the West Berlin student Sibylle Flogstadt. They have been kept in prison since that time. The official press in your country has accused them of being members of the "Revolutionary Socialist Party" and of undermining the collectivist social order by their activity.

An attempt was made in the Czechoslovak press at the time to impute a criminal character to the activity of these comrades, to blame them for acts of sabotage, and create the impression that they were working for "foreign services." For example, in an article in *Rude Právo* of January 17, 1970, the attempt was made, among other things, to besmirch these comrades' earnest efforts to discuss social problems and contradictions on the basis of Marxist and Leninist theory.

We believe that the deepgoing crisis in which Czechoslovakia found itself at the time of these arrests made it urgently necessary to overcome these difficulties by means of a broad mobilization of the working masses and not least of all the youth. In such a process, errors are inevitable. However, the working class has the right to learn from its own errors and this is a basic precondition for its emancipation.

By this we are not appealing for

ism. We have read the publications of the Revolutionary Socialist party. According to all we have been able to find out about this group, it is slanderous to accuse these young comrades of counterrevolutionary activity. Even though we do not fully agree with their views, we believe that these views must be open to public discussion in a socialist country.

In our opinion these young Czechoslovak comrades express a correct point of view in two aspects important for all communists:

1. In their program they propagandized for an organization of the working people and above all the proletariat at the base, that is, at the point of immediate production. And they were ready to struggle to give a centralized expression to these bodies. In this, they took a position in the best traditions of the great October socialist revolution.

2. Of no less importance for all anti-imperialist forces in our countries is the unshaking solidarity of these young Czechoslovak comrades with the anti-imperialist movements in the third world and the capitalist centers.

In the meantime a year has passed since the first arrests. Nobody discussed anything with these comrades. Rather, they were kept in prison and are to face trial. Not only this. These young comrades, some of whom have

decide whether or not it should stage political trials. Moreover, the already repeatedly announced trial is being postponed from month to month, which can also have the effect of breaking down the physical and moral resistance of the prisoners.

Furthermore, some signs indicate that new and still more absurd accusations are to be fabricated at the hearings in order to justify the long pre-trial detention of the prisoners.

Neither progressive public opinion in West Europe nor any honest communist or socialist can fail to speak out on this matter.

We demand that you release the imprisoned young comrades immediately and let a public political discussion be held on their activities and views.

Signed: Ernest Bloch, Tubingen; Margherita von Brentano, Berlin; Ken Coates, Nottingham; Lucio Colletti, Rome; Chris Farley, London; Pino Ferraris, Turin; Vittorio Foa, Rome; Erich Fried, London; Ekkehart Krippendorff, Bologna; Alain Krivine, Paris; Ernest Mandel, Brussels; Lucio Magri, Rome; François Maspéro, Paris; Klaus Meschkat, Medellin, Colombia; Aldo Natoli, Rome; Oskar Negt, Frankfurt am Main; Bahman Nirumand, Berlin; Luigi Nono, Venice; Luigi Pintor, Rome; Claude Ponzoli, Frankfurt am Main; Bernard Rabehl, Berlin; Rossana Rossanda, Rome; Jean-Paul Sartre, Paris; Bala Tamore,



Hugo Blanco is free!

The release of Hugo Blanco is an inspiring victory for the entire Latin-American revolutionary movement. Peru's outstanding revolutionary figure became famous throughout the continent for his method of going directly to the peasants and helping them to organize themselves into powerful and militant unions, principally under slogans demanding recognition of their democratic rights, particularly those associated with a thoroughgoing agrarian reform.

The freeing of Hugo Blanco is likewise a great victory for the world Trotskyist movement. In court, facing a death sentence, Hugo Blanco proclaimed his adherence to the Fourth International and emphasized that the building of a revolutionary-socialist party represented the key to winning new socialist revolutions in Latin America following the Cuban revolution.

Hugo Blanco's release came a little more than seven and one-half years after his arrest. He was held for more than three years in Arequipa in solitary confinement, before he was finally brought to trial in Tacna.

After being sentenced, Hugo Blanco was taken to the prison island of El Frontón, notorious for its brutal conditions.

In both Arequipa and El Frontón, Hugo Blanco staged various hunger strikes in protest against the vile conditions under which he was held, or in solidarity with other prisoners whose rights were violated.

Captured by the Peruvian military forces, who hunted him down as a guerrilla fighter in 1963, Blanco was twice threatened with judicial murder, his life being saved in each instance only by a massive campaign of international protest.

Hugo Blanco grew up in Cuzco, where he saw at first hand the desperate poverty of the oppressed Indian masses who constitute the majority of the Peruvian population. From his youth, he spoke Quechua, the Indian language, as well as Spanish.

In the early 1950s, Blanco went to Argentina, where he studied agronomy and worked as an active union member in an American-owned meat-packing plant. When he returned to Peru, he helped to organize the giant demonstrations at the time of the visit of the then Vice-president Richard Nixon in 1958. Forced to flee Lima, Hugo Blanco returned to Cuzco, where he and his comrades began to organize peasant unions.

In the upsurge of the Latin-American revolution inspired by the establishment of a workers state in Cuba, Hugo Blanco became a legendary figure in Peru. Working among the landless peasants of the valley of La Convención in the Cuzco region, he organized unions to defend the rights of the landless against the *hacendados* (big landowners).

Blanco translated the Trotskyist program of mass struggle in accordance with Peruvian conditions. In the winter of 1962 and spring of 1963, the revolutionary peasant unions led by him engaged in large-scale "recuperations" of lands illegally held by the *hacendados*.

The landowners responded with army and police attacks, and in the ensuing battles, several soldiers were killed. Hunted by the military, Blanco was hidden successfully by the peasants from November 1962 until May



Hugo Blanco, photographed in Lima soon after his release. The first thing Blanco did was to demand the release of Eduardo Creus and other militants still in prison. He then went on to reaffirm and stress his membership of the Fourth International and his undying belief in revolutionary Marxism.

Neira, a correspondent for the Lima daily *Expreso*, described the peasants' attitude toward Blanco:

"Fought by the right, his image distorted by prestige due to erroneous reports about him being a guerrilla fighter, injured by the silence, if not sabotage, of the traditional, bureaucratic groups of Communism, extolled by the FIR [Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario—Front of the Revolutionary Left], feared and hated by the unorganized *yanacunas* [Indians bound to personal service to the landlords] and the *hacendados*, admired by the union ranks, Hugo Blanco looms over the whole South.

"This is the straight truth, without falsification, of what this man, who is a prisoner today in Arequipa, means to the peasant masses. . . . 'We owe him everything,' say the peasants. In fact every change in Convención and elsewhere in the country was accelerated due to the danger they saw in the peasants having no hope other than hope in the revolutionary unionism of Blanco.

"Devotion to Blanco is total; they don't dare bring him to trial. I am referring to the unionized peasants. 'He is our chief,' they say. . . . And in every peasant's home there is an empty bed. It's the one that was waiting hopefully for the leader when he was going around the region organizing or when he was passing during the night, under the stars, fleeing from the police. . . .

"In the Plaza de Armas in Cuzco, the evening came, dressed in red, flaming. The meeting of the peasants was languishing. The crowd, disciplined, standing, listened, applauded, laughed, or yawned.

"Then a student came forward. . . . He took the mike and shouted in Quechua:

"*Causachu compañero cansa, Hugo Blanco* . . .

"The crowd awoke and responded with great shouts:

"*Causachu, causachu, causachu.*"

"Long live! Long live! Long live!"

"I saw this repeated throughout the South. No other name arouses greater fervor among the men, in striped ponchos who speak the euphonious Quechua. The shadow of Hugo

"I am not exaggerating: the unity of this agrarian movement that has no limits, like an immense ocean, whether in ideology or comportment,

which can just as well turn peaceful and cooperative as explode in blood and gunfire, has, nevertheless, a name that unites the people of the mountains and the valleys, of the hacienda and the community—Hugo Blanco."

Support for Blanco extended into the urban working class as well, as was demonstrated by a twenty-four-hour general strike demanding his release that paralyzed the city of Cuzco in December 1963.

The Cuban leaders, even though they were at variance with his tactical approach, were well aware of the importance of his work. In 1963 Che Guevara said of him:

"Hugo Blanco is the head of one of the guerrilla movements in Peru. He struggled stubbornly but the repression was strong. I don't know what his tactics of struggle were, but his fall does not signify the end of the movement. It is only a man that has fallen, but the movement continues."

Hugo Blanco's standing with the new revolutionary generation in Peru can be judged from the following comments by Héctor Béjar in his book *Peru 1965: Notes on a Guerrilla Experience*:

" . . . under the influence of the left in some instances and spontaneously in others, the unionization of the peasantry broadened from 1956 up to 1962. The highest point of this great wave, because of the political quality of its leaders, was in the valleys of La Convención and Lares and the most outstanding figure was Hugo Blanco."

This widespread support for Hugo Blanco proved to be a great embarrassment to the Communist party, particularly in view of the fact that the CP had contributed to the defeat of the peasant movement by withholding aid because of Blanco's Trotskyist affiliation.

Héctor Béjar describes in his book the impact that Blanco's movement had on the radicalizing Peruvian youth, many of whom had been in-

Trotskyist militant. This fact presented a serious problem for the left. Hadn't it been said for many years that the Trotskyists were agents of imperial-

ism? Hadn't it been repeatedly claimed that Trotskyism was a counterrevolutionary current? The years of Stalinism were not in the distant past, and in any case, even with the idol of Stalin fallen, the supreme anathema against Trotskyism had not been withdrawn by anyone; it remained in full force.

"This, on the one hand. On the other, the left as a whole did not become fully incorporated into the peasant struggle. It directed the organizations 'from above,' advised the unions, sent organizers temporarily into the field, but it did not lead 'from within' the way Blanco did.

"On the one hand, its still existing political prejudices prevented it from giving Blanco the collaboration he merited. On the other hand, its inertia kept it locked within the old urban molds."

Hugo Blanco and twenty-eight other peasant organizers were brought to trial before a military court on August 30, 1966. Prior to the trial, newspapers reported that the prosecutor would ask for a twenty-five-year sentence and that the judges would increase the sentence to death.

But although the trial was held in the tiny, isolated village of Tacna, Blanco's supporters were able to mobilize sufficient public attention to stay the hands of the executioners. The military judges rejected their legal adviser's recommendation of the death penalty and sentenced Hugo Blanco to twenty-five years' confinement in the island prison of El Frontón.

Not content with this savage sentence, Peru's rulers soon made a second attempt to place Hugo Blanco before a firing squad. When his lawyer appealed the sentence to the Supreme Military Court in November, the prosecutor also appealed, asking the court to order Blanco's execution.

For the next eleven months, the revolutionary leader's life hinged on the outcome of the international campaign in his defense. Demonstrations, resolutions, appeals were launched around the world—Japan, France, Canada, the United States, Belgium, England, Scotland, Greece, Italy, Chile, Sweden, West Germany, Nigeria, India, Mexico, Argentina, as well as in Peru.

Blanco received the support of Amnesty International, Jean-Paul Sartre, Bertrand Russell, the Chilean MIF [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left], Labour members of parliament in England, the Québec Federation of Labor, the Italian General Confederation of Labor, the Walloon Workers party, and numerous other organizations and individuals.

In New York, nearly 400 participants in the Socialist Scholars Conference signed a petition demanding amnesty.

Shortly thereafter, the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners [USLA] was organized. USLA took on an increasingly larger role in the defense of Blanco, and after Peruvian President Fernando Belaúnde Terry yielded to the international pressure and permitted the Supreme Military Court to confirm Blanco's original sentence in October 1967, USLA continued the campaign for his release.

Our Mole reporter went to the TUC "demonstration" against the Bill at the Royal Albert Hall last week, expecting to be bored out of his mind and to catch up on some sleep. In the event it was quite a jolly evening to start with, though the natives got restless towards the end when they realised they too had gone there without just cause.

We started off with some lovely community hymn-singing as people found their way to their seats. I suppose they were worried about an Ibrox Park disaster as people fell over themselves to heat the gospel. In any event Billy Graham would have loved it: This emotional softening-up went through some really nice working class classics, songs of struggle, such as "Down at the Old Bull and Bush", "Toot, toot tootsie goodbye". And, just in case people were feeling a little apprehensive about being jailed under the Tories, we had "When you're smiling, you're always smiling, the whole world smiles with you". There's nothing like a bit of internationalism to give a warm rosy glow. And after the General Council members had taken their seats, behind the massed ranks of chrysanthemums, we had the strains of "When the Saints go Marchin' in".

But despite these desperate attempts to ensure that a good time would be had by all, there was no euphoria when our comper for the evening, Lord Pilkington of Cooper, took his place at the pulpit. Given that most of the people present were trade union officials, guests of the TUC, or just plain stupid to have gone there anyway, what followed was remarkable. From the beginning the air was punctuated by cries of "Kill the Bill" and "General Strike Now". Don't believe the bullshit about handfuls of people. No handful of people could overcome the microphones and fill the Albert Hall with constructive criticism. Of the 6,000 present an estimated half refrained from giving any applause to Wilson or Feather, and of those some hundreds were opposing the platform in an active fashion.

Wilson's speech was a spirited defence of Donovan and an attack on "those one or two of you who have to come to jeer and are not trades unionists anyway". One speech was received with massive applause: that of Bill Wedderburn, industrial law expert, who was clearly the only one on the platform to fully understand the Bill. He distinguished himself from the others by calling for a socialist society (which brought the house down) and contrasted with Feather who bemoaned the loss of the "social revolution" that had taken place under Labour. Wedderburn did not make a speech. He just explained, and for that he got rapturous applause after a respectful hearing. Feather after a few jokes was scarcely audible as people began to vacate their seats for the comfort of public houses. He could dimly be heard reciting the horrors of life under the Tories and brought us the crushing news that the numbers of old age pensioners have increased since the defeat of Labour.

There were some brighter spots. Ena Sharples brought a message of solidarity from Coronation Street. Of course, Bessie Braddock's dead and, thank God, no one could replace her, but the friendly socialists at Granada allowed our Ena to tape a message and her ugly mug to be blown up thousands of times on a giant screen. And at one point we had a visitation. Lord Citrine came back from the dead. Once again the lights were killed and a searchlight illuminated his VIP box where he stood, silverhaired, looking like an ambassador waiting to be kidnapped. His recorded voice told us how the Bill would have to be drastically amended if it was to be at all workable. And as the lights came up again, he disappeared. He left his chauffeur outside.

YOUNG LIBERAL SACKED BY CHARITY FOR ANTI-APARTHEID RESEARCH

Douglas Marchant, International Secretary of the Young Liberal movement and a Vice-Chairman of Putney Young Liberals, was recently sacked from his job as Youth Officer for the Voluntary Committee on Overseas Aid and Development (VCOAD).

He had recently been doing research into the political implications of the Cabora Bassa dam scheme in Southern Africa. He received a letter from Mr. F. Lees, the General Secretary of VCOAD, explaining that this type of work "infringed Charity laws" and as a result his services were no longer required. Mr. Marchant

Aid, UNA, Freedom from Hunger, etc. The Chairman of Freedom from Hunger is Sir Gilbert Rennie, a former Governor-General of Rhodesia.

At a meeting of activists to discuss the sacking, Mr. Marchant said, "I have no doubt that the reason behind my sacking was the findings of my research into the Cabora Bassa dam scheme and the disclosure of the extent of involvement of British companies. There are people involved in these charities who stand to gain from the perpetuation of Apartheid. They do not want the public to know the details of the scheme and its role in preserving the white minority regimes in South Africa and the Portuguese territories in Southern Africa.

"Although it will be difficult as I no longer have the resources I had at VCOAD, I shall continue my research. I hope to publish a pamphlet on the scheme in the near future."

Graham Tope, Chairman of South East Y.L.s commented, "This vicious and unfair sacking is an example of the growing victimisation of activists involved in the Anti-Apartheid cause. The fact that this type of research was part of Douglas's work makes me wonder if this is the start of a campaign to remove politically conscious people from Charity posts."

OXFORD WOMEN CLEANERS STRIKE TOO

Not two months after the strike at the Board of Trade buildings which led to the formation of the Cleaners Action Group by May Hobbs and other militants (reported in *Red Mole* no. 13 by Linda Fryd of London Socialist Woman Group), women cleaners went on strike in the Pressed Steel factory in Oxford. They came out on January 1st in support of a £4 pay claim, after the management had offered them precisely 5/-.

Like the London women, Pressed Steel cleaners are employed through a contractor—in this case London and Home Counties. Pressed Steel Fisher first brought the contractors in some years ago when the women began to organise into the T&GWU. The first firm they used attempted to get away with reducing wages paid from 5/2d to 3/6d per hour. 100% unionisation was organised to combat this. But the cleaners still get only £6 5s for a 20-hour week on evening shift. And negotiation on their behalf by the union has not always brought benefits: like the occasion two years ago when a new contract was signed for fewer women—that is, the union allowed the management to sack some workers. Instead of the original 120, 95 women are now employed at Pressed Steel.

The present Pressed Steel contract was due for review this year. In October, it was discovered that at Morris's British Leyland were employing women directly at £10 5s. for a 20-hour week. At both Pressed Steel and BMC (BMC is contracted at the same rate through Cleanwell, as it pays British Leyland to use competing firms), the women put in a demand for parity. The contractor reported that British Leyland "couldn't" pay more than their 5/- offer on the contract. The contractors of course couldn't give up any of their rake-in—some of these firms are known to get only 200% of what goes to the women! (though BL is presumed to drive a harder bargain than that). And of course we all feel for Stokes & Co. facing a hard winter after making only £4 million profit last year. —The fact is that without the contract system British Leyland would have to pay its cleaners basic engineering rates, which of course it doesn't want to do.

The Pressed Steel cleaners' strike has held solid and despite their isolation they voted on January 4th and January 11th to continue the strike. One reason for their isolation has been the acceptance of a two-year deal by the BMC women. Under this deal they are limited for the whole period to a 30/- rise over a year. They are bound by a "flexibility and mobility" agreement under which they can be moved around and doubled up at the will of the management. They have also agreed to "natural wastage"—a fancy term for permitting the bosses to lay off workers. The pressures on women workers to

strike official, so that the women are receiving no strike pay: a fairly obvious instance of discrimination against women workers, the case for a strike being so clear-cut. Moreover, the union negotiator has reduced their claim from £4 to £2 10s.

What is desperately needed for the success of the strike is support from other workers. In the case of London, May Hobbs said they would never have got so far without help, and in Oxford as well support is urgently needed. So far in Oxford not nearly enough has been done.

Inside Pressed Steel, the only gesture of solidarity so far has been the refusal of other T&G workers to handle refuse bags put around by the management. The strikers hope that other workers will come out when the place gets unfit to work in. This action is a help, but it is not enough. More urgent steps are needed. Most important of all the strike must be made official at once. If the T.U. officials do not hurry to take action, then that only shows the greater urgency of building Trade Union Councils of Action to help gain support for women and any other workers in struggle.

But the Oxford strikers need support NOW. Messages of support to: Mrs. Phyllis Jones, 20 Merlin Road, Blackbird Leys, Oxford.

In late December, the National Association of Schoolmasters (the union of the career-minded male chevroniers) met in Manchester. The Senior Vice President Mr. Cocking made a "reds under the bed" attack on the NUT, he pointed out that there were at least two members of the C.P. on the NUT executive—the C.P. being the political party playing havoc with the British economy. He followed this by explaining it was not a smear campaign and that each person should have the right to their political views but all teachers had the right to know about them.

However, this attack on the C.P.'s work in the NUT goes sadly amiss and will embarrass Max Morris (leading NUT bureaucrat and favourite C.P. pin-up). Reactionary teachers (of whom, alas, there are still many) should be thankful that the C.P. is active in the NUT, active in serving their interests. The C.P. teachers fought against the militants in the NUT who called for striking on December 8th.

EVENTS

MONDAYS: Birmingham Red Circle, 7.30 p.m., The Black Swan, Bromsgrove Street, Digbeth.

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

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

JANUARY 19th: Left Forum, Commercial Hotel, Bathgate, 7.30 p.m.—"Why Socialism". Free if at all possible.

JANUARY 20th: University of Canterbury Socialist Society, Robin Blackburn on "The Death of the New Left", 8 p.m.

JANUARY 20th: Chelmsford, Mid-Essex Tech: Tariq Ali on Revolutionary Socialism, 7.30 p.m.

JANUARY 23rd: "Teachers and the Industrial Relations Bill". Speakers: Joe Finch, Duncan Hallett, 2 p.m. Nufto Hall, Jockeys Fields, W.C.1. Organised by "Education Today & Tomorrow" & "Rank & File".

JANUARY 25th: Gorky's "The Mother". Film show by London Socialist Woman Group, 8 p.m. at Chelsea Poly, Manresa Road (unconfirmed, so check by ringing 574 7407). Entrance 3/-, proceeds to night-cleaners fund.

FEBRUARY 2nd: London Socialist Woman Group public meeting: "What does part-time work do for women?" Discussion introduced by Jane Porter, 8 p.m. George IV pub, Pentonville Road (corner Cumming Street), (King's X or Angel).

FEBRUARY 12th: A *Red Mole* Forum, David McLellan will introduce a discussion on Marx's *Grundrisse*, extracts from which will be soon be appearing in book form. Time & place of meeting to be announced later.

MARCH 6th: "Women Unite" demonstration for 4 demands: Equal Pay Now; Free 24-hour Nursery Facilities; Equal Education & Job Opportunities; Free Contraception & Abortion on Demand. Assembles 1.30, Speakers Corner. Rally Trafalgar Square, 4 p.m. Provision for children. Contact: March 6th Ad Hoc Committee, c/o 23 Basildon Road, London N.5, ring 01-226 3911.

MARCH 28th: Day Seminar on "Social Causes & Con-

CADE'S COLUMN



THE TRUTH WILL OUT, SOMETIMES!

"In the thousands of years we've inhabited these islands, we've confined ourselves to a mere 20% of their total area.

"That's one acre out of every five. Even so, a couple of problems which the Industrial Revolution brought in its wake have yet to be solved.

"Namely those of pollution and urban squalour. Or to put it the impolite way, filth and rotten housing.

"It's the rotten housing conditions which concern the majority of us.

"Out of 18½ million dwellings in this country nearly 2 million are totally unfit for habitation.

"Not surprising therefore that a large section of the public is asking what is being done to solve this problem."

One could be forgiven for assuming that the above was a bit of socialist propaganda designed to disprove the racials' lie about overcrowding. They would be wrong, however—it is an extract from the National Press, placed by the "Building Societies Association" of Park Street, W.1.

The very people who have amassed thousands of millions of pounds by battening on the housing problem.



SHITHOUSE OF THE YEAR

Many viewers have seen the kind face and heard the homely voice of the workers' champion, Mr. Victor Grayson, Keir Hardie Feather, to his friends plain Vic Feather, general secretary of the TUC.

Unfortunately too few people know him in the role of landlord and bailiff. A family of four are facing eviction from a tied cottage owned by Vic Feather.

Mr. Ernest Rogers, 46, his wife and two young daughters were given a month's notice in October. Then Mr. Rogers, who worked as a poultryman for a Mr. Hammond, a farmer, was declared redundant. The cottage leased by Mr. Hammond went with the job.

Mr. Rogers, a former member of the ETU and the Boilermakers Union, is refusing to vacate the cottage.

The feudal baron T.U. leader Vic Feather has written to Mr. Rogers saying, "I'm sorry for the position you find yourself in. The only arrangement I have about the tenancy is with Mr. Hammond and when the lease is finally completed a member of our family is waiting to move in."

One day in the not-too-distant future, Shithouse Feather, the militant revolutionary workers' movement will evict you from the post you so ably prostitute.

Footnote: For socialists wishing to help fight the eviction, the cottage is in Titchmarsh, Northants.



REDISTRIBUTION

It was recently reported from Cordoba, Argentina, a four-man guerrilla group held up a lorry with 2,400 bottles of fresh milk and gave them all away in a nearby poor neighbourhood.

THERE'S MONEY IN MUCK

Nothing ever escapes the profit-seekers. Brokers Myers & Co. believe the shares of Fisons, the fertiliser-to-drugs group, should be bought at their present level of 42/-.

Profits for the last year should come out a little better at £5,400,000, the Myers men reckon, and they say £8,400,000 could be on the cards for 1971.

The men and women who work in Fison Fertiliser Factories suffer abominable conditions at notional average wages. With the £3,000,000 increase in profits forecast, they have every right to demand a 60% wage increase.

Zionism's Red Flags

The Final Crisis of the Zionist "Left"
A new stage in an old contest. Conflicting loyalties to two flags—the banners of class and of nation—tear at the hearts of many who are drawn to the new Left upsurge of today, yet are still exposed to nationalist propaganda. This battle of sympathies resounds nowhere so fiercely as in the anxious and tortured theses of the Zionist "left". Scorched through by this clash of inner identities, the best elements to be found inside the modern, ultra-nationalist Zionist movement—mainly younger idealists with real consciences—develop doubts, fears as to the direction Israel is taking. Made aware of the Palestinian Arabs' bitter struggle, conscious of imperialist financial and political investment in the Zionist state, these youth constitute a specific and restless faction within the Zionist cause. Seeking to combine both patriotism and humanitarian and socialist ideals, their confusion leaves them suspended high in mid-air, over the yawning gulf between Zionism and internationalism, in an era when the advancing Arab Revolution has forged powerful forces on the Left now confronting imperialism and its local adherents in the Arab world. What is the reaction of the Zionist establishment to this ferment amongst their youth?

A Weapon Against the Left

Of necessity, Zionism, as the nationalist movement of the Jewish people, operates organisationally in the many countries where sizeable Jewish communities exist. This permits considerable insight into the political development of different continents, a wider experience and outlook than those shared by other reactionary nationalisms in the modern world. Long before the 1967 war in the Middle East shed light on the tragic consequences entailed in the logic of Zionist colonisation, one perceptive Zionist statesman warned "The Zionist movement is no longer revolutionary, at least in its presentation. In order to secure the loyalty of the more idealistic elements of the second generation... this is a very important consideration."¹ The lesson was not lost. A "left" section already existed within the Zionist movement—the old "Mapam" party and its youth groups, Israeli Communist Party members within the Zionist framework, dissident intellectuals and academics, certain Jewish student unions and groupings. Now they would conveniently play a new role, as a buffer against the anti-Zionism of the revolutionary Left internationally. "Some delegates are likely to point out that pro-Arab propaganda, which has pinpointed Israel as a bastion of imperialism and reactionary ideologies, has made some headway among the general public and particularly among youth. Greater emphasis on the social achievements of Israel and on the positive side of her policy and the stronger identification of Zionism with socially progressive trends could balance the picture painted by pro-Arab propagandists", wrote a very sympathetic reporter at the British Zionist Federation's last annual conference.² The entire history of the Zionist left suits this new function.

Roots of the Conflict

A socialist-inclined faction has existed within the Zionist cause almost from its foundation, and was bound to do so. The founders of Zionism sought recruits amongst the bitterly-oppressed Jewish minorities in Eastern Europe, the focus of Jewish life at the dawn of the century. Their very misery, however, welded these minorities into a deep solidarity with the advancing working-class movements advocating social revolution in their towns and cities. With the virtual eruption of ideas and theories triggered by the growth of socialist consciousness generally, the Jewish ghettos became the scene of intense debate between dozens of factions

was the Bund, the Jewish Socialist Party, a specifically Jewish sector of the wider labour movement in Russia, proposing Jewish autonomy in a cultural, not a geographical, sense—"In the Bund's programme, we do not find autonomism 'per se'; it is neither 'districtism' nor territorialism, but national-cultural autonomism".³ The Bund's nationalism, rejected by the Bolsheviks, led the Party to alliance with the Mensheviks and final collapse in 1919, large numbers of its members going over to the internationalism of the Bolshevik Revolution. However, its general involvement with the Russian working class and its opposition to Zionist emigration to Palestine had left their mark. Only when the Bund had gone and Stalin ruled the Soviet Union, could the left Zionists make major inroads. Above all, three of their leaders fashioned the new programme—Leshchinsky, Borochof, Syrkin. They produced the basic ideology of left Zionism—praise for the ideals of proletarian internationalism as the ultimate objective, but until after the "national" stage of building a strong Jewish state in Palestine. The "theory of stages" today, as when first formulated, means, in strict order of priorities:

1. The achievement of a Jewish State based on a majority of Jewish population, in the "spiritual" homeland, Palestine.
2. Class struggle within that State, between a Jewish working class and Jewish capitalists, to achieve socialism.

It means, in immediate terms, an outright assault on internationalism. It is a valuable weapon in the Zionist armoury.

Nationalism First

In their attacks on the revolutionary left, modern "left" Zionists draw frequently on Borochof.⁴ He was clearer than his successors as to the implications of his theories—"It is false to accept the widespread fallacy which claims that the proletariat has no relation with the national wealth and therefore also has no national feelings and interests... Let us forget the flip-pant and dangerous conceptions about this question usually entertained by the progressive elements... As long as the national workplace is not secure, the national problem overshadows the labour problem. And as long as the workers of a given nation have not yet made their place of employment secure, the problem of work is of far greater importance to them than the issues of the class struggle."⁵ The red flag is locked in the broom-cupboard for the foreseeable future. Meanwhile, the national flag is flown from the highest masthead. From the

viewpoint of the official Zionist leadership of today, a perfect theory to bring critical, rebellious Jewish youth back into the Zionist fold. And a fine "socialist" shield to thwart the attacks of the revolutionary Left, since socialism is clearly written into the agenda—"in the end"

Revolutionary Imagery

This happy coincidence of opinions between the right-wing establishment and ruling the Zionist movement and the "Marxist" left Zionists, as to the immediate task of defending the national homeland before all other considerations, is the inevitable consequence of putting national values first, more than a century after Marx built the first of many bridges between the working class movements in different nations and continents. The resultant confusion worries many sincere and humanitarian young Jews seeking a solution in any helpful theory or compromise. Just how convenient this is to the Zionist leaders is clearly indicated by the considerable and increasing crop of "left" Zionist committees and publications mushrooming in recent years. Apparently not troubled by financial problems, new magazines and propaganda appear, differing on many points but absolutely united on the sacrosanctity of the exclusively Jewish state in Palestine. Teeming with Marxist and revolutionary language and quotations, they represent the only left opposition known today which meets with the applause and full encouragement of the right wing it purports to challenge. Far from being attacked by the leading Zionists, the latter welcome them, knowing that "It is furthermore not to be underestimated that in many parts of the world it is the reactionary, nationalist groups which have become the sponsors and admirers of Israel, whereas large parts of the progressive world have become disappointed and antagonistic to Israel".⁶ It is simple to outline the "left" Zionists' principal themes in their verbal war against the real Left:

1. Zionism is a "national liberation movement" somehow akin to the Vietnamese NLF, or to Black Power in the USA.⁷ Next to the blatant and concrete links between Israel and imperialism, this sounds a little thin—"The six-day war gave some solid economic gains to Israel. The victory brought an extra \$300 million of overseas capital investment, mainly from the United States, so that the 1967 capital inflow reached a record \$780 million" stated the *Times Business News* on 27th March 1969. A most unusual struggle for anti-imperialist liberation!
2. Peace, before all other considerations, is a "socialist priority".⁸ As Israeli arms now domi-

nate the Middle East, such a peace settlement is the ideal assertion of the "status quo" of conquest and occupation. A strangely rapid conversion to pacifism from those who, in the same breath, salute anti-Arab guerrillas in the Sudan and claim, in the same publications, to combine that pacifism in the Middle Eastern context with ardent praise of great revolutionary figures, applauding Che Guevara or Lenin's "ruthless determination" in the struggle against capitalism and reaction.⁹

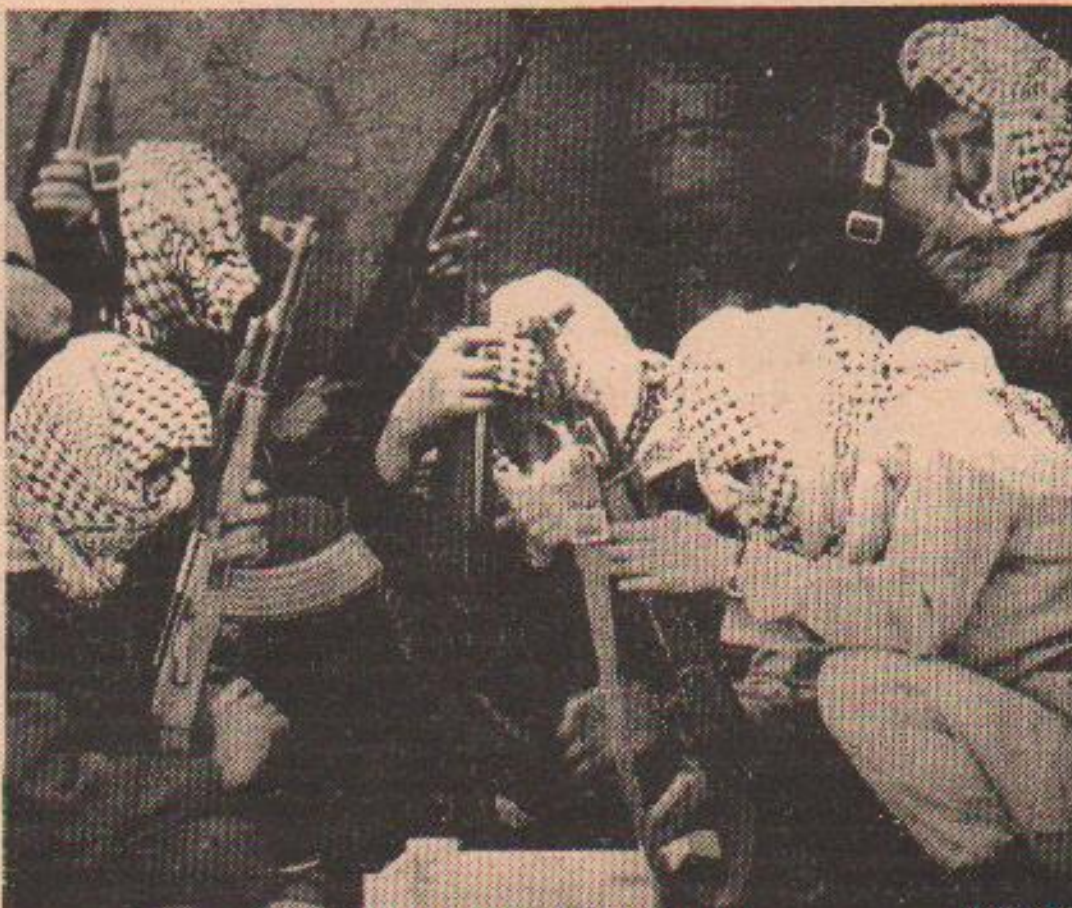
The Last Stage

The diversionary "theory of stages" has ironically led to a new stage, not for Zionism, as intended, but for the Zionist "left" itself. Refusing to recognise in Israel an exclusivist, settlers' state, they are reduced to a mere left cover for the government in Tel Aviv. It is the last role they can play. The relentless exposure of the realities of Zionism by the unfolding drama in the Middle East hits at "air vitals". The Israeli veto on the projected Goldmann peace visit to Cairo, the official plan to settle 250 Jewish families in Hebron, led to the first violent protests by Israeli youth on 8th April 1970. Sections of the Zionist "left" split away, towards increasingly militant positions. Zionism, which called to its ranks the Jewish survivors of Nazi infamy, the victims of age-old oppression and persecution, and gave them militarism and war in place of refuge and safety, has lost its grip on the red banners now seized from its hands by their rightful bearers on the revolutionary Left.

D. Landau

NOTES

1. Dr. Nahum Goldmann, *The Problem of Jewish Survival in the 20th Century*. Speech to Jewish students in Holland, December 1963.
2. Zionist Affairs correspondent of the *Jewish Chronicle*, 3rd April 1970.
3. V. Medem, theoretician of the Bund, from *Twenty Years to Medem's Death*, published New York, 1943.
4. An example is found in *Zionism in Question*, a typically poor "theoretical" pamphlet, produced by the now defunct "left" Zionist "Ad Hoc Committee for Peace in the Middle East" in London.
5. Dov Ber Borochof, *The National Question and the Class Struggle*, written 1906/9. A selection of his essays was published under the same title in New York, 1937.
6. Dr. Nahum Goldmann, *The Future of Israel*, published in the U.S. journal *Foreign Affairs*, issue of April 1970.
7. Point No. 1 in the platform of the various "Israel-Palestine Committees" adopted in Virton, Belgium, on 2nd November 1969.
8. Headline in *Co-Existence*, issue no. 2, journal of the "left" Zionist Young Mapam group in Britain.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 4 (Sudan) and 5 (Lenin).



OF HOPE

You may say:
"I wish I was
A retailer of bread in Algeria
To revel with the rebels
A shepherd in Yemen
To witness rebirth
A waiter in a Havana bar
To toast the victory of the poor
A stone-carrier in Aswan
To sing lullabies!"

Don't say that my friend
Don't say that

The Nile will not pour into the Volga
The Congo and Jordan rivers
Will not serve the Empress
Each river has its own

Our land is not impotent
Each land has its own rebirth
Each dawn has an appointment
With a revolutionary

—Muhammad Darwish