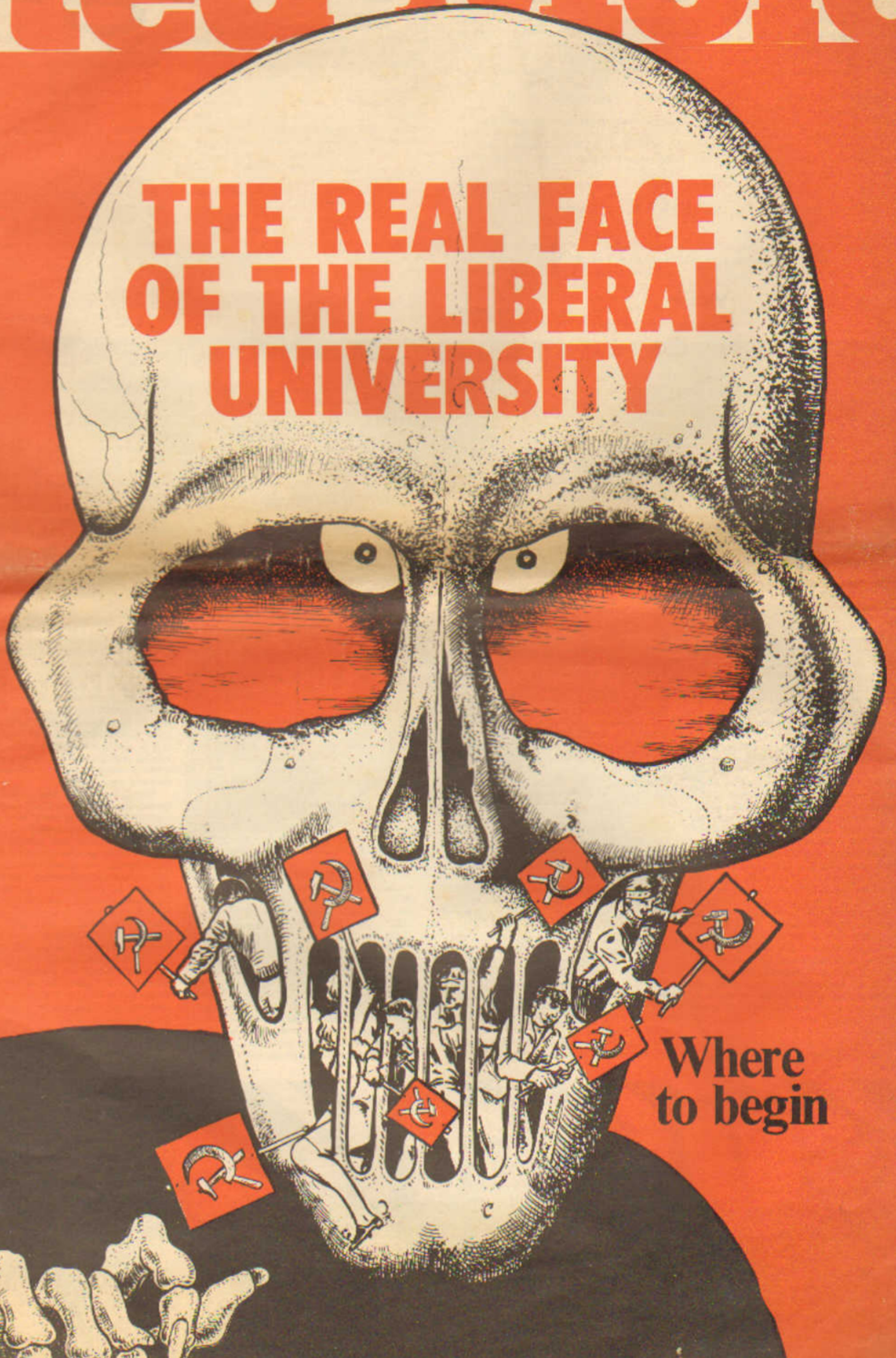


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Red Mole

THE REAL FACE OF THE LIBERAL UNIVERSITY



Where
to begin

Where to begin

The political split on the *Dwarf* editorial board took place because it was impossible to achieve unity in action. Those of us (six in all) from the old *Dwarf* who have come together to form the new *Red Mole* board don't view this split as an end in itself. It will be both a beginning and a continuation. *The Red Mole* will continue to reflect all that was best in the old *Dwarf* but it will be a much more politically consistent and coherent paper than its predecessor. Most of the members of the *Dwarf* board realised that the time had come for a long hard look at the *Dwarf's* politics. It was essential to hammer out a long-term political strategy for the *Dwarf* if it was to survive as a permanent and serious feature of the revolutionary left and not to disappear with the first temporary downturn in activity. We could not live for ever on the wave of revolutionary euphoria that accompanied the May events and the October '68 Demo in England. Without a perspective, without a strong link to revolutionary action, indeed without being an organiser ourselves, we would have become staid and superfluous. We had to make up our minds who we were talking to and what we wanted to say to them, most important of all what we wanted them to do. A political debate took place on the *Dwarf* board and papers and counterpapers (some of which we hope to reproduce in later issues to give our readers a clearer idea of the background to the split) were produced and read. Those papers did not provide a basis for unity in action—rather they served to do the opposite—they demonstrated the gaping difference that existed on the board about the future of the paper. Those of us who left wanted the *Dwarf* to take very clear political stands on the issues which it was confronted with. We argued that it was not sectarian to do this—in fact it would be sectarian to do the opposite and attempt to avoid making a decision on these issues, even if at times it did make us unpopular with some sections of the Left. Within the framework of the present *Dwarf* we couldn't put those ideas into practice, however. This was best illustrated by the Africa debate. A debate was begun on the role of the ANC in South Africa, what we felt was an extremely important and educative debate for the British Left. However, it had to end prematurely. The *Dwarf* took up an issue, created a furore and then abruptly dropped the issue as suddenly as it took it up. The reason was that the article created serious tensions on the editorial board, leading to one resignation and a temporary and unsatisfactory compromise was reached to enable the paper to continue appearing. We felt that it was not fruitful for us to work in that

climate any longer. It would be better to produce separate newspapers since the political differences had become so great. We want to be able to produce a committed newspaper, which is able to attempt to give a lead to militants, to open discussions on vital issues and which is not content to trail behind the movement or to shrink from taking sides for fear of offending personal friends of members of the board.

A second profound difference concerned the existence of a revolutionary paper in capitalist society. Some of the board thought that a newspaper had to be viewed in a completely different light from an organisation. We would agree that this is the case for the general run of newspapers in capitalist society but we would argue that it's impossible for a revolutionary newspaper to run on the same basis (indeed it's hard anywhere in the world to find one that does). *The Red Mole* will be as professional a paper as our limited resources allow. It will take every opportunity as *The Black Dwarf* did of being distributed through bourgeois outlets but it will not rely on these means of distribution and it will try and build a revolutionary alternative. It will be above all an organising paper, which uses its contacts to create real political links between militants, to create the basis for an organisation, which both supports and is supported by the paper. The *Dwarf* always ran into problems because it had no organisation behind it. It did not integrate people just coming into revolutionary politics into political life because it did not give any perspective beyond reading and selling the paper. This is where *The Red Mole* will be an important step forward from *The Black Dwarf* for it will be an organising paper, dedicated to intervening in the class struggle. It will cease to be a spectator or a commentator and become a living part of that struggle.

When it first appeared in June 1968 the *Dwarf* represented the revolutionary militants who identified with the anti-capitalist struggle in France in May 1968. Gradually the *Dwarf* became the voice of the extra-parliamentary opposition in this country and reflected the spontaneism which could be seen in the Grosvenor Square demonstrations. With many of the militants involved in these struggles either dropping out or joining organisations, the *Dwarf* seemed to be left in a void. *The Red Mole* we hope will be able to fill that void and offer some organisational perspectives to the hundreds of militants who have identified with the *Dwarf* in the past. At the same time we will continue to act as a mouthpiece for the revolutionary left in general without closing our pages to all those involved

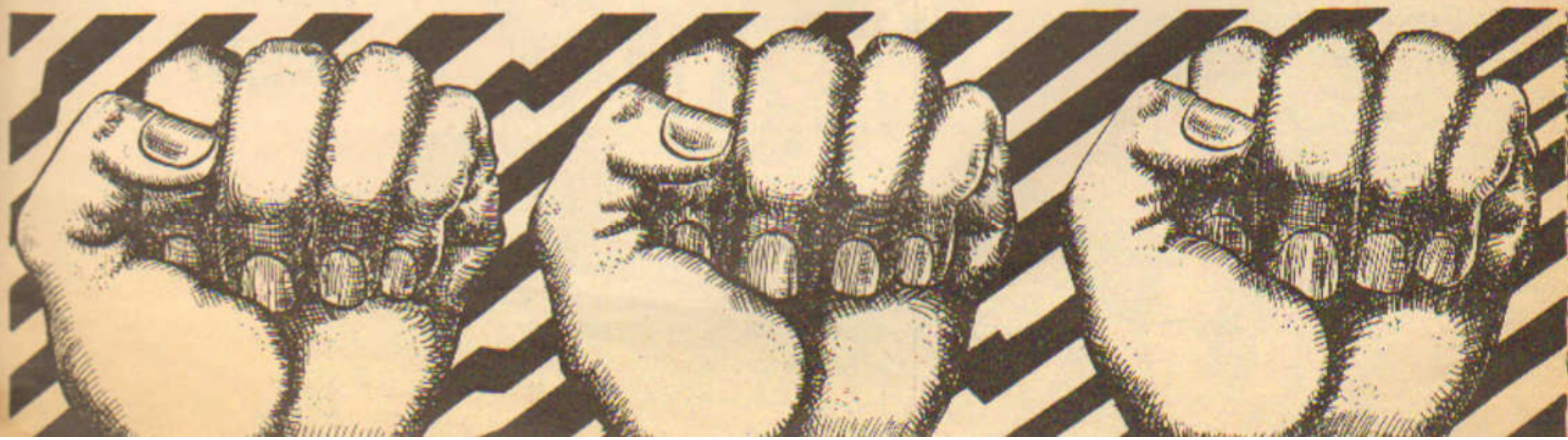
in struggle.

The Red Mole will support the struggles for national liberation and socialism throughout the world. Internationalism will be an important plank of our work and we will give support to the Chinese, Vietnamese and Cuban revolutions, to the anti-bureaucratic struggles in Eastern Europe and to struggle for workers' control and socialism in the advanced capitalist countries. We will not be a sectarian paper and will leave the task of theoretical debates and abstract polemics to the different journals of the revolutionary groupings in this country. What we will aim to do is to present a fusion of the accumulated experience of the working class in past struggles, the revolutionary tradition, with the experience being gained in struggles throughout the world now and with the day-to-day lessons and requirements of agitation in Bri Britain. Most of all we think that it is not an abstract programme which is most important but the effects that the journal can have and the use to which it can be put in revolutionary activity. To make a turn to revolutionary activity requires unity in action, however, and that was impossible to achieve with the old *Dwarf*. Our new board will be a working collective with a broad agreement on revolutionary strategy.

We think that it is no longer sufficient to provide an abstract revolutionary culture as the *Dwarf* has sometimes done in the past. The crying need of the Left is to get organised. We have seen in the student field an upsurge in 1968 which halted in its tracks after the LSE occupation and the October demo and left people wondering where to go next. Admittedly it produced RSSF but sad to say no organisation with even the limited staying power of the SDS in West Germany or the USA. It is time to begin asking ourselves why this has happened and how we can amend our practice to begin to build more enduring organisations capable of resisting the counter-attacks of authority. In the last two or three issues of the *Dwarf* we have been tentatively opening the debate particularly with an article by Ben Said in the last old *Dwarf* on students. That debate will be continued in the pages of *The Red Mole*. We are now seeing what promises to be the beginning of a new upsurge of the students. We would like to see the student left imbued with a far greater self-consciousness and idea of where it is going than in the past. The need above all is for organisation, an enduring framework within which militants from different institutions can regularly meet to discuss their problems, to learn from each other and to hammer out a common

strategy. This last is the most important because an organisation to survive must find its *raison d'être* in revolutionary action. It must not just be—it must act, and act in coordination so that students can face the centralised power of the state with a little more confidence than they have been able to over the last few gloomy months where the student movement has been able to do little to protect individual militants from repression. It is particularly essential for students to have an enduring organisation that can prevent them from becoming isolated, demoralised and eventually absorbed when they leave their college and start work. We have seen too many revolutionaries and potential revolutionaries go to waste because of this lack. The long-term aim should not be a student organisation, however, but a revolutionary youth organisation taking its own political initiatives, and training people to accept the ideal of being a life-long revolutionary, a bolshevik. We say youth organisation because this is the sector at present where the ruling ideology is weakest, which has little faith in the stagnant organisations of social democracy and reformism and which has not suffered the debilitating experience of Stalinism and the ultimate debacle of the 20th Congress and Budapest. Through youth as a whole lies the way into the working class for revolutionaries. The first base of a paper like the *Dwarf* and now *The Red Mole* may be among students but as it builds an organisation and becomes an activist group so will it recruit comrades from the schools, apprentices and young workers.

Already in the latter part of the *Dwarf's* existence, *Dwarf* circles had been created in response to local political needs. We want to direct *The Red Mole* to help develop these organisations and coordinate their activities. On the basis of the perspective outlined in the preceding paragraphs our message to comrades reading this manifesto is quite simple. It is to build Red Circles. If one exists in your locality, join it, for in isolation a revolutionary can do nothing and revolutionary politics must be much more than a fortnightly read. If no Red Circle exists then join the struggle to build them. We will help you in whatever way we can with advice, speakers, advertising space in *The Red Mole*, etc. We will publish lists of Red Circles and Red Mole contacts in each edition of the paper. We believe this is where to begin—to attempt to construct one of the fragments that will one day join together to form the revolutionary party to make the revolution in Britain. VENCEREMOS.



The Women's Weekend held at Ruskin College, between 27 February and 1 March, met with a far greater response than the organisers had expected, and was attended by over 500 women, applications having been closed weeks beforehand. The women who came were mostly young, mostly middle-class, many of them in organisations and many others looking for one to join. A widespread feeling of oppression and need to do something about it among women was obvious.

LIMITED DISCUSSION

The need for women's liberation was discussed under the headings: Women's Social Role, Women and the Economy, Women and Revolution, and future activities. The large numbers and different viewpoints of the participants limited concrete discussion, and during the Saturday sessions a split began to show between those recognising the impossibility of women's liberation without social revolution and "feminists" looking for private personal liberation. The split extended to disagreement on the usefulness of the material presented, which tended to polarise between historical and economic analyses of women's position in society, leading on to the need for a movement to involve working-class women—producing shouts of "We aren't interested in the working class" and "Leave equal pay to the people who work for

it"—on the one hand, and detailed description of the emotions of an oppressed woman, probably unnecessary for most of the participants, on the other.

The conference discussed the need to alter the present pattern of isolated single-sex child-rearing before women could achieve any kind of equality or freedom; child-care centres and education; and the need to liberate children from their parents. Papers in the "Economy" session dealt with the reasons for women's increasing militancy (increased rate of employment, rising cost of living, work replacing child-care as a centre of interest); the growing numbers of women in unskilled manual and part-time jobs—the least rewarding and most fragmented; women's pay position (11% get equal pay, 4 million get less than 5/- an hour, and 1/25 more than 10/-, the average for men) and the reasons for their reluctance to fight for equal pay (fear of cutting men's wages, isolation in the family unit); the relative exploitation of working-class men and women, and the need for them to fight together in a class, not a sex, struggle.

REWRITING HISTORY

The "Politics" session demonstrated the need to rewrite history giving women their proper place. Jo O'Brien of *Socialist Woman* showed the material was there for anyone interested enough to look for it, with her inspiring paper on 19th century Nottingham women, which the conference decided to publish. Every member of the post-industrial proletarian family was a breadwinner and directly exploited, and women and children played a vital part in working-class political activity, in the bread riots and union movement.

Very few concrete decisions came out of the conference, partly because of the general chaos on Sunday afternoon. The experiment of the creche run by volunteer men was a success, though a good point was made that creches were supposed to be for the benefit of both parents, not just mothers. A collection of £22 was taken for the Centrax strikers, messages of congratulation and support were sent to the Leeds women, and we also marched to the Clarendon building to show solidarity with the sit-in. The conference turned down a suggested Women's Party, regrettably voted for a Sex Relations Board and agreed on the need for further study, to meet again, and to set up a national and regional coordinating committees for women's liberation (details left undecided).

LACK OF COHERENT THEORY

One thing that emerged very strongly at the conference was a general lack of coherent theory. Bits and pieces had been grabbed from various fields and jammed in regardless of whether or not they fitted. Women are not a class, nor are they an oppressed national minority. The parallel with black oppression is used up to a point, but you can't demand self-determination for women as such. This incoherence reflects the comparative isolation of women in society since their retirement into the family after their 19th century public economic role. Women at the conference, faced with this difficulty in defining and articulating their frustration, reacted by besieging the bookstall for many recent journals and pamphlets on the woman question or by sticking at this point and again we heard "I didn't come here to discuss politics." They wanted to discuss their problems, but could only elaborate on how they felt about them.

What all this shows is the immaturity of the women's liberation movement at present. We need more knowledge, more experience, more objectivity—and above all, we need a non-sectarian socialist women's organisation to unite all the diverse views in a programme of action. The Ruskin Weekend was just the beginning. *Felicity Trodd*

Lancaster—a whiff of militancy

Lancaster is probably best known as the gateway to the Lake District. What is not known is that it is also one of Britain's industrial backwaters with an extremely low level of wages and high unemployment. Despite the efforts of local industrialists, efforts are being made today to change the situation.

Last year one of Lancaster's major firms, Lansil Ltd., had its first big strike in thirty years—an event which marked a turning point not only for the firm involved but for Lancaster as a whole. The workers insisted that unless all the workers in the plant were unionised, they would not return to work, and their victory leaves only one large plant in the city which has yet to be unionised.

Lansil employs nearly 2,000 workers who are

involved in producing a variety of products, including bleach cotton, cellulose acetate, carpet underlay and a variety of yarns. For several years it has been owned as a subsidiary by the giant Monsanto Organisation, a chemical combine which extracts surplus value from workers in most parts of the capitalist world. Monsanto has twenty British subsidiaries worth well over £35 million and controls 66% of the shares. A bulk of the extracted profit therefore goes back to the United States.

The wages paid prior to the strike were 6/1d per hour to male workers, 4/5d to female workers, which amounted to the princely sum of £12 3s 4d and £8 17s 6d respectively every 40-hour week. It was possible to earn more by working overtime, and many workers did so, but the alienation of workers who were forced to work a seven-day week simply multiplied. The pre-tax profits of Lansil Ltd. in the three years prior to the strike were over £2½ million, an average of £440 per worker per annum.

The attitude of the management had created an unsettled atmosphere in the factory, and eight weeks before the strike commenced the workers in the spinning department banned overtime in protest against the bosses. After discussions on a new bonus scheme, the management refused to negotiate any further and announced that they were going to bring in work study consultants to study the structure of the entire factory and that pending the report made by these consultants, the status quo would be preserved. On October 17, 1969, the spinning shop stewards met the management and informed them that they were going to withdraw their labour. The same day a mass meeting of workers voted unanimously to back the strikers and decided to shut the entire plant down by 10 p.m. the same evening. The main demand was that the entire shop floor be unionised.

During the last three weeks of the strike we received support from the dockers, lorry drivers (many of whom were regular callers) and last but not least from the students. The Press found it difficult to attack the strikers because of the

unanimity of the workers and also the demands we were making. Instead they concentrated their attack on the students. Our Branch Secretary was instructed to send a letter to the Press making it clear that we were extremely pleased with the support we had received from the students and thanking them for the same. The traditional impartiality of the police was also on display as they escorted blacklegs inside the factory and provided them with protection.

After three weeks a settlement was reached and we returned to work and immediately began discussions on wages. A back-dated wage increase was agreed to as were the demands for unionisation. One of the main causes of the trouble, the attitude of the management, has however changed little. In departments with no tradition of militancy, shop stewards and workers are regularly harassed, but the lessons of the strike have been learnt by the workers and this has increased their solidarity with each other and they have begun to realise that this is where their strength lies. All the shop stewards have been treated to what was laughingly referred to as a "works study appreciation course". What it amounted to was two days of brainwashing. Six of us were subjected to a further two weeks of study on the subject. All of us told the bosses that we were grateful for the lectures etc., but we preferred to remain shop stewards. They appeared to be somewhat taken aback at this ingratitude.

Since the strike an Action Committee has been formed in the town. The Lancaster and Morecambe District Committee for the Defence of Trade Unionism, as it is called, consists of twenty-one militants, who are largely shop stewards from the town's three largest factories. Its purpose as its name suggests is to struggle to defend the right of collective bargaining in the face of attacks from the capitalists. This we do by providing information (leaflets), education (day schools, lectures) and, where necessary, practical advice to workers engaged in day-to-day struggles.

At the moment a draping firm has sacked six

employees for joining a trade union. We have put out a call to all trade unionists in the area to boycott the firm till the workers are reinstated and till the firm displays a sign saying that it only employs union labour. This may sound exciting to people who live in traditionally militant areas, but for Lancaster it is the difference between the ox-cart and the jet.

There is a great deal of interest among shop stewards in Lansil in setting up a committee of shop stewards throughout the Monsanto Organisation. We would be grateful if any readers who live near any of their factories or subsidiary companies would make an effort to contact shop stewards and give them our address (AGEROS, 81 Keswick Road, Lancaster). *P. Ageros (T&GWU)*

How not to combat anti-semitism

The Universities Committee For Soviet Jewry now stands exposed. Its real motivation is clearly exposed by the emotional 'reply' which it issued in leaflet form on the demonstration of February 22nd which was convened to protest against the anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. It handed out this leaflet as the only response it could possibly muster to the clear criticisms of its activities levelled by comrades of the Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee Abroad. (ISRACA)

What did they say?

1. ISRACA is accused of never having taken part in demonstrations on behalf of Soviet Jewry in the past and of desiring merely to exploit this particular occasion for its own purposes.

WE SAY:

How can we be expected to solidarize ourselves with demonstrations which, while allegedly neutral on the question of the Palestinian Liberation Struggle receive full backing from the leaders of the Zionist State of Israel? How can we be expected to participate in demonstrations whose whole emphasis and this is a conscious and deliberate emphasis is on emigration and abdication of the anti-racist struggle? And how also can we be expected even to risk turning out when demonstrations are inadequately stewarded and our comrades get no protection from the thugs and hooligans of the 'Group 62', or 'Group 43' (or whatever the latest gang of dissident ruffians calls itself), as was seen last Sunday. Despite assurances that the Israeli comrades would be able to hand out their leaflet 'in silence.'

2. The organisers of the campaign make a big hue and cry about hordes of East European Jews longing to go and settle in Israel. But as the Jewish exodus from Poland has shown, these innocent victims of Stalinism go in every direction but Israel! Here of course was a government which really did 'let my people go'!

'Zionism wants immigrants, of course! It needs them particularly for the colonisation of the areas taken in the June war' (Workers Press, Jan. 24th.).

Doubtless there are Jews in the Soviet Union who wish to emigrate (and non-Jewish Russians too come to think of it!), just as there are black people in this country who react in a defeatist way to Powellite racism and think in Utopian terms of solving the problems by returning to their native countries in Africa and Asia. But to elevate this particular aspect of Russian Jewish protest to a place of major prominence in a campaign against Soviet anti-Semitism constitutes a calculated attempt to divert the issue into the convenient lap of 'welcoming Israel' and to publicise only the cases of would-be emigres (such as Ilya Rippe). All this under the banner of humanitarianism, democracy and freedom of movement, which rights naturally are inapplicable as far as the Palestinian 'Diaspora' is concerned!

Anti-semitism, like any other racism, is a product of its social, economic and political environment and cannot be solved in isolation from it. It is only by striking at the roots of any

such phenomenon that it can be abolished once and for all.

3. The organisers should also take note that, while pretending to demand 'equal rights' for Soviet Jews, they in fact demand extra special rights with the slogan 'Let My People Go'; for the Kremlin bureaucracy does not allow anyone to leave the 'socialist fatherland', Urbeks or Letts, Tartars or Azerbaijanis! Is it a case therefore of putting the rights of Jews above those of Soviet citizens of other nationalities? One sincerely hopes not.

4. As to the deliberately distorted 'quote' from Matzpen's publication 'The Other Israel', apropos freedom to emigrate to Israel, the reference was clearly to the position to be taken in the context of a de-Zionised, socialist Palestine; and as for the sheer gall involved in the invocation of Lenin on the national question, we challenge the 'Universities Committee for Soviet Jewry' to debate us on this question (if they will not accept, we will at least ask them to read Lenin before they misquote him!). Moreover, to suggest that we read Trotsky and Deutscher is to add insult to injury. It is precisely because you have failed to draw the lessons of what

these two anti-Zionist socialists stood for, about all in relation to anti-Semitism, that you can quite shamelessly throw their words at revolutionaries who seek to apply their theory in practice and not use them as a fig-leaf for an incredible lack of analysis and a cowardly, diversionary nationalism!

WE SAY:

Your 'independence' does not seem to enable you to escape from the clutches of the pro-Zionist and viciously anti-leftist 'Jewish Chronicle', nor from those of the Israeli Television Service.

We refuse support to those who were yesterday making agreements with fascists (Haavara, Kastner) and blowing up synagogues in Baghdad, the day before yesterday negotiating with Czarism (Hersl - Von Plehve) and who will tomorrow be forging alliances with new reactionaries (W. Germany?).

We refuse support to those who, while making neverending noises about anti-Semitism here, there and everywhere, do nothing and will never do anything about it.

THE UNIVERSITIES COMMITTEE FAILS SOVIET JEWRY!

We demand that, if the Committee wishes to be taken seriously, it dissociates itself from its well-wishers in the Israeli government, and shows itself interested in genuinely combatting the oppression of the Jews and all the other National minorities of the Soviet Union by actively participating in the revolutionary struggle to overturn the charvinist bureaucracy which usurped the red flag of October.

Down with anti-Semitism!
Down with Zionism!
Down with all forms of racial and national oppression!
Forward to the workers' political revolution in Eastern Europe!

COMBAT BUREAUCRACY,
R. Slansky

This letter has been received from a Mexican prison and is signed by over 70 political prisoners. It is a striking display of solidarity and we are proud to publish it.

Open letter to the Black Panther Party and the President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon.

As political prisoners in Lecumberri prison of Mexico City, we express our complete support and solidarity with the militants of the Black Panther Party now being viciously attacked, murdered and imprisoned in the United States.

We present the following demands to the President of the United States, Mr. Richard M. Nixon:

1) That the Chicago 7, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale be released immediately and unconditionally, as their imprisonment is the result of a criminal and fascist repression taken against the Black Panther Party by the Government of the United States for obvious political reasons.

2) That Mayor Daley of Chicago, police officials and all others involved in the brutal murder of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton, be taken from public office and be held for trial as responsible for this premeditated political assassination!

We will persist in these demands until they are met and we call upon all forces of the Third World to follow our example.

For the right of Self-Determination in the Black Community!

Venceremos!

A referendum is the favourite tool of a dictator when the Corporation of London, the local government body which controls City affairs, announced that it was going to put forward the scheme for a 600ft. tower block in Bishopsgate—the proposed new headquarters of National Westminster Bank—to the public, in order to solicit their opinion, it did not need much imagination to realise that something sinister was afoot.

SUPERFICIAL NEUTRALITY

Superficially, at least, the Corporation was neutral: public opinion was supposed to be one of the factors helping it to make up its mind as to recommendations it had to make to the GLC and other interested bodies; but it is widely known in the City that the planning department has been pressuring the Board of Trade to increase the number of Office Development Permits granted in the City, and as the National Westminster Bank would release the skyscraper block at present used by the Bank, which stands in Drapers Gardens, onto the market, there was every reason to presume that the Corporation's mind was already firmly in favour.

SEIFERT'S LAW

Another factor was that Seifert was the architect: traditionally, there has always been friction between architects and developers. Architects invested with any honesty are interested in putting up worthwhile buildings. Developers want minimal cost, maximum floor area, and easy maintenance, and that is all.

Seifert saw, quite early in life, that all he needed to do was to fulfil the developers' demands, forget about the rest, and he would become the most successful commercial architect in the country.

He did just that. Planned new commissions for building projects in Britain have crashed from £625m. in 1964 to last year's low of £430 £430m. Seifert's percentage of this shrinking cake increases all the time, as does the actual size of his slice. Apart from the £15m. Bishopsgate project, he is currently hatching the New London Press Centre, the Kings Reach project on the South Bank (estimated £20m.), the Grand Metropolitan Hotel, opposite West London Air Terminal, and the redevelopment of Wembley Stadium. These are only the pick of his commissions; it is little wonder that the rest of his profession look on him with resentment.

In the early days of Harry Hyams, he muscled in on the developers' act, designed the notorious Centre Point, and even went so far as to buy shares in Oldham Estates, Hyam's astronomically successful company.

He became notorious in Government Planning circles for always taking the developers' line, whatever the aesthetic or social considerations: indeed, various loopholes in the plot ratio laws are known, familiarly, to this day as "Seifert's clauses".

Last year, fulfilling a legal obligation, Seifert

and his partners tried to arrange a surreptitious showing of his plans for the 600ft. tower, and rish it through on the quiet.

What they had not bargained for was an uproar in Parliament, questions about further contamination of London's skyline, rumblings from the GLC about further concentration of offices in Central London, and a wall of protest from the City Club—which was housed in a monstrously ugly early Victorian building by Philip Hardwick, the demolition of which would appear to be the sky-scraper's one redeeming feature.

The City Club affair was the least of Seifert's worries: as *Private Eye* revealed at the time, the preservationist tag so loudly vaunted by the Club, was a ploy for increasing compensation (What else could one expect of City businessmen?)—and it failed to gain the necessary support from the Ministry or the Corporation.

What was far more worrying was the continuing general outcry from the public.

Now, there is a very well-known technique for architects who wish to demonstrate to the ministers, the GLC and other interested parties that the public is solidly behind them, and Seifert proceeded to use it in the most blatant fashion, to suppress the clamours from those who were against his scheme—and it appeared that he had the Corporation's support.

"ALTERNATIVE"

He went back to his drawing board, produced an "alternative" plan, involving a 500ft. tower, and set up models and maps of both schemes in the Royal Exchange in the heart of the City, under the sponsorship of the Corporation.

The 500ft. alternative was blatantly inferior: it incorporated a second, smaller, ancillary tower which self-evidently increased ground congestion, blocked out light, and "choked" this over-built area of the City.

Next the Corporation called a Press Conference, and surrounded by "impartial" City dignitaries, including the then Chairman of the Planning and Communications Committee, Mr. Peter Revell Smith, Seifert revealed his masterpieces, and told the assembled Press men that the public would have a free choice between the two.

Seifert himself spoke only of the merits of the 600ft. block. The City Architect, Mr. Chandler, who was also present on this occasion, was asked if it would make any difference whichever block the public chose as to whether the Corporation would recommend the scheme or not, and would only say that the public's opinion "will be considered". He would not elaborate in any way, or say how much influence it might have.

However the Corporation looked on the Press Conference and exhibition, its purpose for Seifert was to demonstrate that public opinion was solidly behind him in his proposals, and that was all. Of course, it could not but con-

firm just that. To even the most ignorant observer, the 600ft. tower was preferable in every respect.

A particular advantage of this technique is that it is easy to show that the much valued opinion of the building and allied professions are even more solidly in your favour than the general public. After all, professional discrimination will settle for the better scheme, with even greater accuracy.

THE REFERENDUM

As if playing into Seifert's hands, the Chairman of the City's Planning and Communications Committee made a moving little speech, pointing out that the 600ft. tower was half a mile from St. Paul's, and so it could not affect the view, adding that he had displayed some drawings to prove it, and pointing out that the Parliamentary pressure group had completely misunderstood what was involved...but of course, it was entirely up to the public to choose and the Corporation would not express a view!

Seifert's little plan has worked triumphantly. The figures show that 77% of all those who registered an opinion preferred the 600ft. block.

Only 15% were actually in favour of the 500ft. tower.

Of course, 83% of votes cast by the building industry and allied trades favoured the 600ft. tower, and only 9% the 500ft. scheme.

The figures are made somewhat weaker when it is realised that only 1,867 members of the public—less than half a per cent of all City workers—bothered to register an opinion.

However, Seifert's gimmick seems to have done the trick for his organisation yet again. Officially, the Corporation has still to make its recommendation on the architects' planning application, but judging by the former Chairman's comments at the Press Conference, and the results of the poll, they really have little option.

If they decide against the 600ft. tower, Seifert will be able to kick up one hell of a fuss saying that the City are refusing to give the ratepayer what he wants. The Parliamentary clamours can be effectively ignored.

Footnote: Whichever scheme is built, it will cost £15m. and an additional £20m. for purchase of the land. The value of the block on completion will be in excess of £100m. Some office space not required by National Westminster Bank will be created and let at the highest rentals in England (the figure of £14 a sq. ft. was mentioned at the Press Conference). In addition to a vast annual income, plus capital growth potential, immediately either block is completed, National Westminster will be £65m. richer. A nice slice of this will go to Seifert. You can see why he is for it.

STOP PRESS

Surprise, surprise. The GLC has withdrawn all objections to the 600ft. skyscraper. Percy Ingrams

Comrades,

I am surprised that you should have published in your last issue an article on the GLC Tenants struggle which took so overtly an Economist and spontaneist position. The article contains almost all of the most banal errors which have been made in analysis of the strike. For a Marxist journal to publish it without a disclaimer is a disgrace.

Rawlence revels in the fact that the struggle is, in his words, "non-political" but more alarming than this is his assertion that the "strength" of the movement lies in this characteristic. Indeed his frenzied adulation of the struggle itself leads him to a total incapacity to analyse the decline of mass activity and prevents him from making any concrete proposals for socialist work in this field.

Out of the situation of the GLC struggle have evolved four basic theoretical mistakes into which different sectors of the left have fallen. Discussion of the role of the International Socialist in the initial period of the campaign does not need to be repeated yet again but it is important to point out that at least one group has regarded work in this field only in terms of its immediate recruitment targets. Obviously few recruits are made in an area where the class is so fragmented and has no tradition of organisation but a Marxist cannot approach the problem in a mechanical and sectarian fashion.

Quite obviously the central error in Rawlence's "analysis" is his vulgar *ouvriertism*. This manifests itself most clearly in the central passage of his article where he says: "They (the tenants) realise that they cannot trust the 'politicians'—whether they be Labour, Tory, Liberal, Communist or extra-parliamentary left or right...This is why the GLC Tenants are still strong—they have faith in themselves, in their own self-determination". Here Rawlence abandons the notion of conscious intervention in the class struggle in favour of a paternalistic solidarity with the economic struggles of the class.

Intimately allied with this mistake is the assumption that intervention in such struggles is rendered unnecessary by some automatic mechanism by which economic demands will turn into political ones. In the face of the inability of the left to advance a transitional series of demands against those of the "pure trade-unionists", this is a tempting thesis and for those who, for doctrinaire reasons, cannot accept that this debate was concluded in *What Is To Be Done* the experience of the present struggle will show that the acceptance of such a thesis can only be reactionary.

The fourth error into which some sections of the left have fallen is, surprisingly, not present in Rawlence's article, but is one that the *Dwarf* should nevertheless be wary of. Over the last few months socialists have written some extremely good material for use by squatters and rent-strikers. It does appear, however, that some comrades are beginning to regard this material as useful in itself and to substitute minute examination of legal opinion on antiquated laws and so on for direct agitational and propagandist work. *Technicism* is a trap which socialists must consciously avoid.

That the *Dwarf* should publish articles on socialist work in the field of tenants is excellent but the analysis which is published should at

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Shola: a new revolutionary Pakistani monthly journal in Urdu, 2/- per copy. Write Shola, c/o Pakistani Marxist Group, 8 Toynbee Street, London E.1.

Rouge, French Revolutionary Weekly of the Ligue Communiste. Write Rouge, BP201, Paris 19e, France, or write to The Red Mole, 182 Pentonville Road, London N1, enclosing 2/- for an individual copy.

The Cartoon Archetypal Slogan Theatre is unable to perform any of their plays until the summer owing to an outbreak of pregnancy. The group wishes to apologise for the cancellation of performances and the breakdown in communications (the latter is a result of the joy caused by having our first break in 5 years). Rehearsals are beginning on new material which we hope will be ready later this year. Meanwhile anyone wishing to contact us should write to C.A.S.T., c/o John Porter, 161 West End Lane, London N.W.6.

1970 Poster Workshop/Calendar. Different poster for each month—black, red, blue. Send 7/6 (at least) to Alison Waghorn, 9 Lyme Terrace, N.W.1.

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CINEMANTICS: 2nd issue takes for its theme the role of cinema in changing the political consciousness of an audience—in the third world, noted Brazilian director Glauber Rocha writes on the cinema novo, and its efforts to nationalise the colonised popular culture of the west, the cinema must first revolutionise itself—it must discard a language inherited from Hollywood—before it can hope to be an agent of social change. Subscription enquiries etc: 117 Harfield Road, London S.W.19, phone 542 3018.

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"The Revolutionary Road for South Africa" published by the Unity Movement. 2s (+ 6c p&p) from Pioneer Book Service, 8 Toynbee Street, London E.1.

Those interested in forming a RED CIRCLE in the York area to organise sales of the MDLE and political discussion should contact 9 Bishopthorpe Road, York.

MARCH 10th: Film Show—"The East is Red", Exhibition Hall, Camden Studio, Camden Street, NW1. 7.30 p.m. (Mornington Crescent Underground).

MARCH 11th: Film Show—"Tunnel Warfare", East Finchley Library, High Road, N2. (East Finchley Underground), 8 p.m.

MARCH 13th: Brazil picket, NFT, 11 p.m.

MARCH 13th: Honour Bertrand Russell. A meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster, SW1 at 7.30 p.m. Speakers include: Gunther Anders, Laurent Schwartz, Tran Cong Tuong, Ernest Mandel, Conor Cruise O'Brien, Malcolm Caldwell, Ken Coates, Bill Jones, Stan Newsom MP, Tony Smythe and Raymond Williams.

MARCH 14th: "Let My People Go" (film), SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, SW4. 7.30 p.m.

MARCH 14th: "Further Education in Crisis", Richard Kirkwood, 2.00 p.m. at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1.

MARCH 15th: Irish demo and rally, Trafalgar Square, 2 p.m. march to Downing Street, Ulster Office and Irish Embassy. Organised by Irish National Liberation Solidarity Front, 83a Golden Green Road, NW11.

MARCH 15th: Tony Cliff on productivity deals. International Socialists meeting, 7.30 p.m. 6 Cottons Gardens, E2.

Until MARCH 15th: Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays at the Unity Theatre, 1 Goldington Street, NW1—see "The Agony", the play that Obi Egbuna, Black Panther activist, wrote in Brixton Prison. Members only. Associate membership 7/6. Performances at 7.45 p.m. Box office EUS 8647.

MARCH 16th: "Revolutionary Struggle in South Africa", a meeting in Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1, at 7.30 p.m. Speakers: L.B. Tabata, N. Honono. Organised by Scrape Ntshaba, 66 Barrage Road, S.E.8. 01-855 4451.

MARCH 19th: "Lenin in October", China Policy Study Group celebrates Lenin Centenary with historic film. 7.15 p.m. at Holborn Library, Theobalds Road, WC1.

MARCH 19th-20th: "China" (Felix Greene's film), Camden Studio, Camden Street, NW1. 8 p.m.

Che Guevara's Bolivian Diaries. 5/- post free from The Red Mole, 182 Pentonville Road, London N1.

AL KARAMEH WEEK
On the occasion of the 2nd Anniversary of the Battle of Al-Karameh (when Palestinian freedom fighters defeated a large invading enemy force) FREE PALESTINE is holding an exhibition at the Indian Student Centre, 41 Fitzroy Square, W.1.
March 20th—March 26th. 10 a.m.—10 p.m.

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LATE NIGHT FILMS AT THE PARIS PULLMAN CINEMA, 65 Drayton Gardens, SW10—nearest tube: Gloucester Road. Each night at 10.45 p.m.

March 5—11: "THE BLACK FOX"—the rise and fall of Hitler.

March 12—18: Polanski's "Knife in the Water".

March 19—25: "To Die in Madrid"—Koolha's documentary on the Spanish Civil War

Warwick

It was the prevention of the University authorities and their refusal to pay attention to the views of staff and students about a future social building that caused the Warwick students to take direct action. The discovery of incriminating material in the administration's files changed the main issue, however, to that of political repression, and in particular that of keeping political files on staff and students.

The files found indicated that the university authorities had attempted to force out of the country a left-wing lecturer, that they had been involved with spying on meetings, not of the revolutionary left, but of the Labour Party. Gilbert Hunt, a director of Rootes Motors who sits on university council, wrote to Warwick's Vice-Chancellor "My dear Jack, At my request Mr. N. P. Catchpole, our director of legal affairs, attended a meeting of the Coventry Labour Party on March 3rd, which was addressed by Dr. D. Montgomery. As you will see from the attached notes of the meeting nothing was said by him which would involve prosecution under the 1919 Aliens Restriction Act, but I felt that it was advisable for you to have a copy of these notes for your confidential files. Sincerely Gilbert."

Correspondence between the headmaster of William Ellis School, London, and the University showed that a potential student had been refused admittance because of his political activity. The Headmaster, Sydney L. Baxter, wrote of the student "he is now a committee member of the Schools Action Group, engaged in the organising of protests and demonstrations concerning School Government. His name appeared in the Times Educational Supplement of the 10th January expressing his intention to embark on militant action where necessary."

"I felt that it was important that you should be aware of this in making your decision. I would prefer this communication to be treated very confidentially..." Written at the bottom of this letter was "Reject this man J.B.S." (These are the initials of Warwick's Vice-Chancellor.) A letter from the Registrar to Baxter said "The Vice-Chancellor has asked me to say how very obliged we were to you for writing in this way. We really are most grateful to you"

"You may wish to know - privately - that the course selector has decided not to make an offer in this case."

A series of documents were found concerning three students of the university who handed out S.A.U. leaflets outside a local school. A copy of the leaflet was sent to Butterworth by the chairman of the local education committee, who also contacted Dudley Smith and Enoch Powell about the leafletting. Smith thought "the leaflet reveals an interesting state of affairs." Powell that "it would be interesting to know who it is, in fact, who lives at the address in question at Kenilworth (the address given on the leaflet P&S.) and what lies behind the whole operation." Minutes of the weekly meetings of the Officers of the Council (a meeting which does not formally take place under the constitution of the university and one which was unheard of before we opened

the files) showed that the administration had been looking for ways to discipline the people involved with the leafletting although they have no legal power to do so. Of one of the leafletters the minutes say "X.... Had now been identified as a graduate student of the university. He had come to Warwick from Essex but although he had passed his degree examinations at Essex, the university has not permitted him to take the degree because he was in debt to it. The question therefore arose as to whether he was properly qualified for entry to his course at Warwick."

These are just some of the files removed from the Warwick Registry. They show quite clearly how the university functions in modern capitalist society. The system exists not to develop individuals but to provide highly skilled administrators, technicians, etc. which are need by industry. Industry provides much of the capital used by universities and the rest is provided by the capitalist state. What this involvement with industry means is shown by the files discovered at Warwick. The activities of those who oppose the capitalist system are suppressed as soon as they go beyond discussion. Furthermore, deliberate attempts are made to exclude socialists from the Universities.

The capitalist class knows this but it does not wish others to know it. It has therefore used its State power to suppress this knowledge. Injunctions were granted by the High Court in an effort to prevent the Publication of incriminating documents found in the files. The injunctions have failed to achieve this end. The publication throughout the country of the documents found at Warwick has shown that if one is determined and not alone one can fight and win against the capitalists' attacks on the democratic rights of free speech and of free publication.

The mistake has been made over and over again during the past two weeks of seeing the events at Warwick in isolation - out of political context so to speak. Warwick is not an isolated example. It represents, as perhaps the most advanced example, a general trend which is becoming more and more obvious as time goes by. E. P. Thompson made the same mistake in his article in *New Society* and the bourgeois press has been masterfully striving to maintain the illusion.

The events at Warwick (and of course at all the other universities round the country such as Manchester and Edinburgh) must be seen in the context of a desperate attempt by the bourgeoisie to regain full control of education and to cut costs. Also in the same context must be seen the Black Papers, the refusal to pay teachers more and, of course, the recently published Department of Education and Science proposals for Higher Education.

Let us consider the Department of Education and Science proposals more closely. There are thirteen main proposals and without an exception they are intended to cut down the cost of education. (Education is the highest investment in Britain today) The proposals are as follows:-



- 1) a reduction or removal of the student grant-aid, coupled with a system of loans;
- 2) a similar policy at post-graduate level only;
- 3) a more restrictive policy as regards the admission of overseas students;
- 4) the requirement that grant-aided students should enter specified kinds of employment after graduation, which might have the effect of reducing applications;
- 5) the greater use of part-time correspondence courses as alternatives to full-time courses;
- 6) the possibility that the most able should have the opportunity to complete a degree course in two years;
- 7) the possibility of some students not proceeding to the customary course of three

- years, but to a different course lasting only two years and leading to a different qualification;
- 8) the possible insertion of a greater period between school and university, which would give school leavers a better opportunity to formulate their views as to whether or not they wished to proceed to some form of higher education;
- 9) the more intensive use of buildings and equipment, including the possibility of the reorganisation of the academic year;
- 10) more sharing of facilities between adjacent institutions;

- 11) more home-based students;
- 12) the development of student housing associations, and other forms of loan financed provision for student residence;
- 13) some further increase in staff/student ratio.

The events at Warwick and the above mentioned proposals are the two main prongs of the bourgeois attack on higher education. Both of these have, of course, the secondary objective of helping to eliminate student unrest. However, the D.E.S. proposals clearly show the dichotomy which faces the ruling class at the moment. They are torn between the need for skilled manpower and the cost of the investment needed to obtain that skilled manpower.

The struggle at Warwick has been one of great importance to the student movement nationally. It has revealed the class nature of the university and has forced the ruling class to demonstrate the use of their repressive state machinery.

The essential thing now is that the link between these events at Warwick and the political context of the struggle is pointed out to the mass of the students.

John Presland
Paul Shevlin

Oxford

On Tuesday a meeting of 500 students at Balliol voted overwhelmingly to occupy the Clarendon building and to ask for the opening of the Proctorial files.

The issues they raised are of central importance in the lives of not only students, but of everyone in Britain.

The assembling, maintaining and use of confidential files on individuals by public bodies and authorities presents a danger which is not new:

Union organisers have been persecuted by blacklisting from as early as the 19th century.

Senator Joe McCarthy, in his paranoid onslaughts on an imaginary enemy in the 1950s, made extensive and devastating use of confidential files culled from University, administrative, police and his own sources. Thousands of persecuted individuals were sacked, denounced and shunned by all, their careers ruined. Many of these files, and much of the information volunteered by unsuspecting individuals for them, was thought to be perfectly harmless - until it was too late.

When the Nazis moved into Europe, they found in some countries census files detailing religious affiliations; these files enabled them to bring about a near elimination of the Jews in those countries.

But two things have brought new urgency to the situation today.

The confidential files discovered by Warwick students in their recent sit-in made it clear that information far outside the legitimate concern of the authorities was being solicited, collated

tight control of a small group of industrialists and administrators: this control was maintained because fundamental administrative decisions were made outside the democratic bodies responsible. The files played a central part in this.

It thus became clear that, with increasing complexity of organisations and increasing industrial pressure to subordinate all activities to commercial and industrial needs, the way in which information was handled created - de facto - a situation in which democracy was totally denied.

Secondly, the advent of large computerised storage systems transforms an already dangerous situation. University, Police, Social Security, Health and Credit files are being put, all over the country, on the Data Files of large computer complexes. Further, the GPO and other organisations fully intend to set up a national network of data links by means of which any of these computer complexes may be connected, and have access to files in any other such complex. The date for completion of an initial workable system is widely forecast for about 1984.

This makes it possible to perform the previously impossible: to execute rapid and efficient computer searches of all such files; to correlate and reveal connections in items as widely disconnected as: contact with "political suspects" (over 2,000,000 such records on Special Branch files - NCCL figures); personal (and subjective) assessments of character and attitudes by, say, tutors, headmasters, managers, friends and relations questioned by Police or industrial

with benevolent intent, the result would inevitably be the persecution and effective repression of minorities and individuals wrongly presumed to belong to those minorities.

In the hands of a dictatorship or tight controlling group (such as the one at Warwick), it is an instrument for complete and utter domination, and the total evasion of the Democratic process.

WE ARE LIVING IN A FOOL'S PARADISE IF WE BELIEVE FOR ONE INSTANT IT COULD NOT HAPPEN HERE.

In Greece, Portugal and Spain dictatorships reign. Italian Fascism is already forging links with the Greek Militarists. In France, 1700 political activists are still in prison without trial, and eleven political organisations are outlawed. Opposition to Gaullist repression has been ruthlessly put down and eliminated. In America, the Panthers, the only effective voice of the Black people, are suffering a vicious and deadly campaign of Police persecution. Computerised systems are enabling them to track down and harass Panther Party members, whether or not they are legally justified in doing so.

THE ISSUES RAISED BY THESE FACTS HAD TO BE PRESENTED CLEARLY AND PUBLICLY.

FOR THIS REASON the Balliol meeting adopted the following statement of principle:

REGARDING ANY CONFIDENTIAL FILES HELD BY ANY PUBLIC BODY AND RELATING TO ANY INDIVIDUALS:

(2) THE INDIVIDUAL MUST HAVE THE RIGHT TO SEE HIS FILES AT ANY TIME, AND TO CORRECT THEM WITH REGARD TO THE FACT, OR OMISSION OF FACT.

(3) HE MUST HAVE THE RIGHT TO SECURE THE DELETION OF ANY ITEM NOT THE LEGITIMATE CONCERN OF THAT BODY.

(4) HE MUST HAVE THE RIGHT TO FORBID ANY PERSON OR GROUP OUTSIDE THE BODY ACCESS TO HIS FILES, AND TO KNOW, WHENEVER HIS FILES ARE USED BY SUCH PERSONS, BY WHOM AND FOR WHAT PURPOSE THEY ARE BEING USED.

The occupation continues. Poster making equipment is in the Clarendon to assist the campaign and inform the public.

ALL EFFORT MUST NOW BE DIRECTED TOWARDS AN EXTENSIVE CAMPAIGN FOR THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE BALLIOL MEETING DEMANDS. HELP AND SUPPORT FOR THE SIT-IN IS URGENTLY NEEDED.

THERE WILL BE A MASS DEMONSTRATION OUTSIDE THE CLARENDON BUILDING ON SUNDAY AT 2.00. THIS MUST GIVE A CLEAR INDICATION OF THE SUPPORT FOR THE SIT-IN AND THE ISSUES RAISED. BRING BANNERS.

SOLIDARITY WITH WARWICK STUDENTS. SUPPORT THE SIT-IN DEMANDS.

~~Portugal~~

Crush
Imperialism

Mozambique

Guinea

Angola



with Britain far outweighed that with any other country. The economy of Mozambique was totally dependent on South Africa and Rhodesia where British interests were predominant. In Angola foreign influences were even more varied with Belgian and French interests both competing with those of Britain and South Africa.

Britain's Oldest Ally

During most of the Salazar era the situation remained almost unchanged. The backward and semi-feudal character of Portuguese society was carefully preserved by the dictatorial Fascist ideology led him into a nationalist position which largely protected Portugal not only from foreign influence but also from foreign interests other than those already present. All through this period Portugal remained an intermediary to foreign interests with British capital playing the leading role, but the static character of the situation somewhat obscured the real nature of Portuguese imperialism. The weakness of indigenous capital which was incapable by itself of developing further meant that the stagnation was total. Salazar in any case relied for his initial support mainly on the landowning class of Portugal and was not particularly inclined to favour financial and industrial capitalism. This was reflected in the barbarous and primitive nature of Portuguese colonialism with its intensive use of native forced labour in near-slavery conditions both internally in Angola and Mozambique and for export into South Africa, Rhodesia and South-West Africa in a way which in its systematic brutality went far beyond anything done by other colonialist powers.

Agricultural Crisis
By the 1950s however the situation had begun to change. As the agricultural crisis in Portugal became acute, emigration, an endemic phenomenon of Portuguese society, reached new records. Tourism was also becoming an important industry. The relative importance of finance capital was therefore also increasing as this benefited greatly from handling both tourist and emigrant transactions.

Liberation War
In 1961 the simultaneous outbreak of the war of liberation in Angola and the loss of Goa to India coupled with large internal student and worker political activity dealt a serious blow to the regime which relied for its stability on the perpetuation of the myth of the indivisible nature of Portugal and its "overseas Provinces". The regime's reaction to these events was brutal. Massive and indiscriminate retaliation led to the massacre of whole populations in Angola by use of napalm, search and destroy operations and saturation bombing.

The beginning of the wars in the colonies had a catastrophic effect on Portugal. Europe's poorest country was hardly the best equipped to withstand a prolonged colonial war. Portugal had to rely on Western imperialist support for sustaining the huge military burden which by 1967 was taking up 48% of the national budget with a deployment of some 140,000 troops divided amongst Angola (70,000), Mozambique (45,000) and Guinea-Bissau (25,000). This number of troops when taken in relation to the population of Portugal (9,000,000) is far greater than those of the US in Vietnam. The length of military service was increased to an unprecedented four years' compulsory service (two if in active service in the colonies).

Comprador Base

The required level of imperialist financial and military support was obtained largely in exchange for the opening of Portugal and its colonies to foreign investments and military facilities for foreign troops. This in turn further inflated the role of Portuguese finance and monopoly capital which in alliance with the foreign capital quickly became the dominant economic force, a development which was finally reflected in the choice of Marcelo Caetano as successor.

"Africa is more than a land to be exploited... Africa is for us a moral justification and a raison d'être as a power. Without it we would be a small nation; with it we are a great country." (1)

Thus Marcelo Caetano, the present Prime Minister of Portugal, described in the '70s the importance of the colonial empire to Portugal. Other ideologues of the regime have added a mystical touch: "The action of the Portuguese cannot be confused with the movements of the capitalist colonising nations which introduced a type of human relations in which the superior dominating race is contrasted with the inferior dominated race." It is "the universalist mission which for centuries the Portuguese has been carrying on and which can never be mistaken for colonialism put in terms of mere material interests and racial segregation." (2)

Two Negations

From these official explanations two significant points, peculiar to the Portuguese colonial ideology emerge: one is the negation of racial discrimination as an official weapon; the other is the negation of the role of capital in Portuguese colonialism. The first of these is an attempt at bringing colonialist ideology into line with the universalist character of the Catholic Church, an attempt which evidently fails since racial discrimination is quite widespread within the Portuguese colonies. The negation of capital can also be understood from the fact that Portugal, unlike other imperialist countries, never had any capital nor did its imperial role ever lead to its accumulation. Even in the heyday of Portuguese colonialism, the 16th and 17th centuries, the Portuguese economy was extremely backward by comparison with those of other European countries. The capital made out of the sale of spices from India or later of sugar and gold from Brazil was immediately re-exported to pay for manufactured goods for the ruling class. At this time Africa was unimportant except as a supplier of slaves to the sugar plantations in Brazil and as a stop-over for ships en route to India.

Declining imperialism

By the 19th century with the independence of Brazil, Portugal's importance as an imperialist power had vanished and its role as a British neocolony was consolidated. It was used by Britain as a pawn in the big power struggle for Africa in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

In 1880 Portuguese presence in Africa was limited to the coastal strips of Angola and Mozambique. In the ensuing years the whole of Africa was divided up with the three most industrialised countries—Britain, France and Germany accounting for more than 80% of the territorial acquisitions. In this period Portuguese territorial interests also increased to roughly their present borders mainly with the support and encouragement of Britain which feared that Germany, France and Belgium might otherwise close its access to the central part of Southern Africa.

British predominance in Portugal and its colonies continued unabated until the 1950s. In Portugal itself British interests owned the whole of Portuguese communications (railways, buses and trams, telephones and telegraph), most of the insurance business and a large portion of the wine industry. Portuguese trade

connections with the main banks and insurance companies in Portugal and was a legal adviser to CUF, by far the biggest Portuguese cartel which all but owns Guinea-Bissau. CUF owns the

Totta-Alanca bank which has just opened an office in London and is closely related to the Standard Bank. In Angola the bank is called the Totta-Standard. Caetano's policy was therefore to willingly accelerate the policy which events in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau had already forced on the Salazar regime. This has however also deepened the latent contradictions within the Portuguese capitalist class which, on the one hand, wishes to be integrated into the mainstream of European neo-capitalism, a process which would require a certain amount of bourgeois democratic liberalisation but on the other realises that only its position as intermediary to foreign economic interests in the colonies gives the necessary momentum to do so. Thus Portugal is locked in an impasse without the colonies its economic bargaining power vanishes since indigenous capital is too weak to sustain any kind of neo-capitalism, but the determined pursuit of the colonial war requires the kind of internal rigidity which is incompatible with the development of capitalism. In this deadlock the Army clearly wields its traditional power on the side of the die-hard colonialist forces, and the regime is obliged to follow a somewhat erratic path, alternating affirmations of belief in progress and moderate liberalisation with admissions to and imposition of disorderly and unpatriotic elements who question the integrity of the nation.

THE ROLE OF WESTERN IMPERIALISM
The statement that Portugal merely acts as an intermediary to Western imperialist interests in Africa can be readily verified by even a superficial look at the economic forces in operation in Angola. Of the main export products of Angola, coffee (48%), diamonds (18%) and sisal are by far the most important. 80% of coffee production is controlled by the French Banque Raffin through the Companhia Angolana de Agricultura, Companhia Agricola de Angola and Companhia Agricola do Cazango. Sisal production is in the hands of West German interests (Kai von Ahlefeld, Bernau Opelara, H. J. Jessen of Hamburg) which also controls the whole monopoly of Diamond (Diamond Company of Angola) which is an international consortium whose shareholders are Anglo-American and De Beers of South Africa, the Societe General de Belgique (which also controls the Katanga mines) and the Mouton Bank (US). Diamang owns and controls with its own police force, administration and laws a concession whose area is nearly that of Portugal. Of the other important economic sectors, the iron mines belong to Krupp (W. Germany) and Bethlehem Steel (US), the main railway, the Benguela Railway, which connects the Katanga mines to the sea, belongs to the British Tanganyika Concessions. Recent rich oil concessions in Cabinda (enclave north of Angola) have been given to Gulf Oil (USA) which in turn is owned by the Chase National Bank and the National City Bank of New York. Other oil concessions belong to Petrolup which is a subsidiary of Petrolina which belongs to Royal Dutch.

Mozambique
The pattern in Mozambique is similar although here the capital is overwhelmingly British and South African with some Belgian participation. This is due to the total dependence of Mozambique on the Rhodesian and South African economies. The traffic here even drives on the left. Sugar, for example, is entirely dominated by English companies led by the Sena Sugar

the use of the Azores air base, strategically an important American base. Portugal was also

reportedly threatening to throw the American anti-communist radio station Radio Free Europe out of Portuguese territory. By the middle of 1963, Mennen Williams, Secretary of State for Africa, was declaring that, "It is neither to see the Portuguese leave Africa, nor to curtail their influence out there." (3) Thus by 1963 Portugal had managed to range the whole of Western imperialism, including of course South Africa, on her side. And it is thanks to this massive support and the playing of one imperialist interest against another which this country, economically the poorest in Europe, remains today as the biggest colonial power in the world, carrying on a bloody war of extermination on the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. Nevertheless this has not prevented the development and intensification of the liberation struggles of the three colonies. The military situation for Portugal in Guinea-Bissau looks almost desperate with two-thirds of the country now in the hands of the PAIGC, in Angola the armed struggle is on the increase and now covers almost half of the territory, and in Mozambique FRELIMO now threatens the success of the much-advertised Cabinda Basin project.

From the analysis made above it becomes clear that the role of Western capitalism is paramount in the situation and that the greatest support that revolutionaries in this country can render to the liberation movements is the systematic exposing of the sinister role of capital. Exploitation at home and abroad are intimately connected.

(1) Quoted in P. Anderson, "Portugal and the End of Ultra Colonialism", *New Left Review*, Nos. 15, 16, 17, 1962.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Duffy, *Portugal in Africa*, Penguin, 1962.

(4) *Portugal and NATO*, Angola Comité, Amsterdame (available in England from Libro Libre)

(5) *Ibid.*

Estates recently described in *Optima*, the magazine of the Anglo-American Corporation as "an ideal example of Anglo-Portuguese cooperation (the British founder of the firm [Hormung] married a Portuguese lady)." The Sena Sugar Estates are situated in the heart of the Zambezi valley, in an area which is supposed to benefit greatly from the £150 million Cabova Basin dam project which is to be built by the international consortium ZAMCO led by the Anglo-American Corporation. The company is already planning a large increase in its production.

Inter-Imperialist Contradictions
Western imperialist contradictions in Angola have actually led to a complication of the situation there. The US had traditionally been left out of the plunder of the colony which was dominated by British, W. German, Belgian, French and South African interests. Since the 1950s Britain's declining economic strength was reflected in its decreased participation in the economies of both Portugal and Angola, and her place was quickly taken up by mainly W. Germany but also France. The W. Germans, apart from their concessions in Angola such as the Krupp mines and Lobito railway and docks, also obtained an air base in Southern Portugal, at Beja, covering some 2,000 acres and costing \$40 million. In return they supplied Portugal with some 200 war planes and also set up small ammunition factories there for their own and Portuguese use. France was also liberal in its supply of planes and helicopters and was similarly rewarded with concessions in Portugal and a missile tracking and later a submarine base, both in the Azores.

Angola
At the outbreak of the Angolan war in 1961 the US was therefore very much uninvolved in the Portuguese colonies. This was also the beginning of the Kennedy era with its aggressive approach to foreign policy. American involvement in other parts of Africa such as the Congo and other recently independent African countries. The Kennedy administration was therefore interested in keeping the friendship of "jingo dependent" Africa where it saw a real possibility of increasing its influence vis-à-vis the old hated colonial powers. This eventually led to the Congo debacle with the US supporting Mobutu and the Belgians backing Tshombe.

With regard to the Portuguese colonies, Kennedy initially sought to pursue a similar policy by backing a nationalist movement which he felt could guarantee American interests in case it won independence. This was the UPA (Union of the Populations of Angola), later to become GRAE (Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile). "No less an authority in international communism than the CIA reportedly made an investigation of UPA and satisfied itself that it was an authentic African nationalist party, free from any Communist association." (3) Subsequently official American tax-payers' money was channelled to UPA via the American Committee on Africa. (4) The leader of UPA, Holden Roberto, was further supported by Mobutu. UPA was largely a tribal-based organisation which violently opposed MPLA, now the leading and most effective liberation movement. This initial US position led to a freeing of relations with the Portuguese regime which officially invited anti-American demonstrations in Lisbon and Luanda in protest against US support for Afro-Asian resolutions at the UN. In 1962 however there was a reversal of American policy. This was prompted in part by the apparent ineffectiveness of UPA and also because of the impending negotiations with Portugal on

Lessons of the Belgian strike. Ernest Mandel

As everyone knows, we are living in a "democracy". Everyone is free to say what he wants. Political oppositions exist and can express themselves. Trade-union, cooperative, and collective organisations operate freely. All is for the best in this best of all possible worlds.

But this "democracy" has its economic foundations. It is founded on the capitalist system. The means of production, the land on and beneath the surface, the factories, the machines, and the raw materials belong, in fact, to a social class.

LABOUR POWER

The workers do not have free access to the means of production. They do not own either stocks of food or sufficient financial reserves. They are therefore forced to sell their labour power to the bosses month after month, week after week, day after day. Not because they adore working for a boss, or because they are inspired by a boundless love for "their" job or "their" factory. They would starve to death if they did not sell their labour power.

Formerly these workers were nothing. Today, having built powerful organisations, they have become something. Everybody knows that too. Their wages have increased. They have social security. They have achieved a modest standing.

But in exchange for these concessions, which are after all very small since the bourgeoisie has enriched itself in the meantime beyond all imagination, the capitalists have succeeded in transforming the same workers organisations that won these reforms from representatives of labour against capital into conciliators, intermediaries between capital and labour. Moreover, the most cynical and corrupt, or the most consistent (that is, consistently reformist), of these labour leaders cannot help sometimes functioning as the representatives of capital against labour.

RECESSIONS

In a capitalist "democracy", recessions are inevitable. During recessions workers are fired. In such conditions there are regularly 200,000 to 250,000 "officially" unemployed workers in Belgium (besides this, some unemployed workers are no longer counted thanks to Van Acker: it looks better in the statistics!). You shrug your shoulders. Nothing can be done. It's God's will. Excuse me! It's the inexorable consequence of "free enterprise".

But under the capitalist system fat years follow thin ones. The workers who are condemned to suffer in the time of the thin cows try to make up for it in the time of the fat ones. When there is a drop in unemployment, or even a labour shortage, the "laws of the market" favour the sellers of labour power.

In two years' time, from 1967 to 1969, capitalist profits increased by 50% in this capitalist paradise which Belgium still is. The workers naively wanted their "slice of the pie." More naively still, these same workers believed in capitalist "democracy". Wasn't the right to strike recognised? Didn't they have the right not to work? So, the Limbourg workers stopped working.

Too bad for them. To use Karl Marx's apt phrase, all the demons of private interest, the most sordid thing in the world, were loosed against them.

"WILDCAT" STRIKE

What? Go out on a "wildcat" strike? Do you deny that the workers exist so that the unions can do their conciliating for them, instead of the unions existing to fight for the workers? Demand the right to set up pickets? Stick to your original demands? Hang on to your initial slogans because you think they are right and just? Are you actually going to let that kind of sincerity and bullheaded honesty replace compromise and the cultivation of a chummy understanding in cocktail parties and backroom discussions?

Why, these people are sportsmen! They're threatening to upset everything. They're impossible people, if not downright "lawless"! And Mr. Schepmans, who everyone thought was more intelligent and less two-faced than that, raised the cry this week in *Pourquoi Pas?*—"The backers and organisers of this strike, especially the JGS [Jeunes Gardes Socialistes—Socialist Young Guard, a sympathising organisation of the Fourth International] are 'specialists in subversion'."

You can hardly believe your eyes. So, organising strikes and pickets, aiding striking workers is supposed to be subversive activity, the same thing as throwing bombs or plotting a coup d'état? You would think we were back in the good old days of the economic royalists when all the potentates in the little world of capital had in fact established that principle.

Later the potentates of the workers organisations broke into this cosy circle, which, then, very reluctantly, had to change its language (not much really but still something). But all it takes is for the workers to get angry, to fight back with their weapons of the class struggle against the permanent, uninterrupted class struggle conducted by big capital, and the old economic royalists surface again. From *Libre Belgique* and the *Miroir* of December 1960-January 1961 [the dates of the Belgian general strike] to *Pourquoi Pas?* of January 1970, the same theme has reappeared with a vengeance—to strike is subversive! Strike pickets are subversive! Solidarity with the strikers is subversive!

Gentlemen, you capitalists are more dangerous when you play the hypocrite's role than when you dish it out straight from the shoulder. We a thousand times over prefer a capitalist or a bourgeois scribbler who says what he thinks about strikers to a hypocrite who gives a Judas kiss to unionism and the workers, all the while thinking that he will "get them" in the next turn in the economic situation.

So, we thank these gentlemen of *Pourquoi Pas?*, as we thanked the gentlemen on *Libre Belgique* in 1960-61. We call on the advanced workers to spread around tens of thousands of these quotations in their areas: From the standpoint of the bosses and the reaction in this country, to strike, to set up pickets, to aid strikers is subversive. Naturally, it is not subversive to democracy because democracy is the masses, the miners; but it is subversive, without any doubt, to the capitalist system. These gentlemen are 100% right.

But when two million subversives in this country get organized like the Limbourg miners so force in the world will be able to prevent them from carrying their subversion all the way—that is, to the overthrow of the capitalist system. The editors of *Pourquoi Pas?* will be able to sleep with a clear conscience then because they will have made their own little contribution to this beneficial work with their nineteenth-century prose.

HUNGER AND THE POLICE

If the miners were confronted only with the "thoughts" of Schepmans and Co., they would win in a few minutes. But capital has far more potent weapons than reactionary ideas. It employs hunger and the police. *All its power is based on this.*

When the Social Democrats say that reforms must be introduced, that they "cannot be delayed", I do not doubt that some of them are sincere. When they say that these urgent reforms require socialist participation in the government, there is no doubt that, alongside the careerists and the lovers of leather couches and places in ministerial cabinets,* there are some reformists who feel a real devotion to the workers and the little people of their city, neighbourhood, or village.

But whatever their intentions are, whether their hearts are as pure as the driven snow or as foul as cesspools, they have no choice but to do their master's bidding.

The state is an instrument for defending the interests of the ruling class. The ruling class is the bourgeoisie. Its interests require defending private property and profit. As long as nothing but talk is involved, we are all brothers in one big socialist family. But when we come to serious things—when 50,000 workers come to serious things—then socialist fraternity comes to an abrupt halt, along with the Sunday speeches and mid-week editorials. "Law and order must be maintained." Achille Van Acker raised this cry in 1961 (he had already practiced it in 1945 against the post-office employees and in 1957 against the metal-workers; but, altogether too generous, the workers forget so quickly!). Today, Harmegnies, Coels, Leburton, and Major are imitating him (and in the meantime there was Vranckx with two miners killed in Zwartberg). The ministers send police to crack the skulls of their striking "fellow" workers.

There are no more hypocritical, more "manipulative", more deceitful words than these six, "law and order must be maintained". In the daily papers, day in and day out, on radio and television on the hour, these words soften everyone up. Of course "law and order must be maintained." Only monsters could doubt it. Don't you have to let firemen put out fires? Don't you have to stop motorists from running over old people? Or degenerates from raping little girls? And don't you have to guarantee electricity for every home so that everyone can see at night and keep warm in winter?

But if you don't let scoundrels or imbeciles pull the wool over your eyes, you can see very well that this is not what the cops are doing in Limbourg under the authority of their supreme commander, Citizen Harmegnies. They are protecting not firemen but strike-breakers. They are defending not little girls but the men who are starving them. They are maintaining not the flow of traffic but capitalist exploitation.

On its side, capital has money, power, international connections, and—unfortunately—the help of most of the brains (you have to live

*Socialist bodies composed of the head of a ministry and his advisers.

comfortably, so you have to do the dirty work of those with money). The individual workers are stripped and helpless in the face of these powerful means of control.

But they have a secret weapon—the strength of numbers, the capacity for collective organisation, the power of mass solidarity.

REFORMISTS AS STRIKE-BREAKERS

To condemn the workers to "go on strike" and by one against capital would doom them to complete impotence. To deny them the right to organise, to form pickets, to block access to the factories would tie them hand and foot. "Law and order must be maintained" has a very concrete and precise meaning. It means maintaining the law and order of the capitalists against the workers, the law and order of the exploiters against the exploited, the law and order of greed and profit against the law and order of collective solidarity. "Law and order must be maintained" means that labour must be stigmatised and crushed by capital if it dares to try to defend its own interests.

Leburton and Major are "maintaining" capitalist law and order in their own way. This is no nothing new. The Liege workers have had them pegged for a long time.

But what about Citizen Harmegnies? Not long ago we stood at his side at the "Broken Gun" demonstration of La Louvière. Now his police are trying to outdo one another in clubbing the same Jeunes Gardes Socialistes who organised this demonstration. The violent denunciation of the police budget which he delivered on the floor of parliament still rings in our ears. Poor Harmegnies—would he have believed us if we had told him that the day would come when he would command these same police in breaking strikes and arresting Jeunes Gardes? The logic is inexorable. Why didn't he have the decency to resign? Are you reformists in favour of participating in the government? You will end up becoming strike-breakers! You cannot be a minister in a capitalist regime without having to "defend the law and order" of the capitalists. And you cannot do this without having to break strikes from time to time. Let Ernest Gilme remember that...

After the cop's billy club comes the bishop's crozier. In the January 28 issue of *Le Peuple* Leo Collard lectured us gravely that while the Limbourg miners were right to want "their share of the abundance", it "would be regrettable and dangerous" if their movement became a precedent and an example. It would, in fact, be "a serious error to consider the trade-union organisation 'integrated' into the neocapitalist system and to oppose both without discriminating between them."

We did not need Leo Collard to tell us that the trade-union organisation must not be equated with the capitalist system. The Jeunes Gardes did not need to be told either. Since the strike began they have successfully blocked the anti-union tendencies which a peculiar united front of *Vulcanisme* [an ultrarightist Flemish nationalist group] and the Maoists have tried to spread among the strikers.

But the fact that you cannot equate the union organisation and the union bureaucracy is something that Collard, like a good reformist, will not and cannot understand. As he sees it, any attack against a union leadership, no matter how obvious and despicable its bankruptcy, is automatically an attack on the unions. Without realising it, he is giving grist to the mill of the anti-unionist tendencies this way. Because if, in fact, the unions could only be defended on the basis of their present leaders, nothing would stand more discredited in the eyes of the workers than the unions!

BUREAUCRATIC COMPROMISE

Let's look at the picture then. For weeks the mine union leaders conducted an all-out campaign for "a 15% rise now". They explained that this was possible and necessary. They aroused the workers. They prepared everyone for battle.

Then, overnight, without consulting the rank and file, without calling a single membership meeting, the leaders changed their tone. You have to be satisfied with 6% now (we just will come later). They discovered that the 15% rise was neither necessary nor even possible and in fact that it would ruin the country. They cheerfully "imposed" this point of view upon the feelings of the great majority of their members.

And when their members went out on strike anyway, the leaders cheerfully cut off strike benefits. They refused to give the miners—the absolute majority of whom are on strike—the money that belonged to them and that was collected for this express purpose. And all this was topped off by the "unionist" Major who said cynically that the miners must not be paid the end-of-the-year bonuses due to them because the money would be "wasted" in buying food...

Can you imagine a more upstating, a more scandalous spectacle in the eyes of a mine worker?

If the bosses had wanted to hold an anti-unionist contest, they would have had to give the first, second, and third prizes, as well as honourable mention, to these "unionists".

No one in the country has worked against the interests of the unions as systematically, as effectively, as courageously as the leaders of the mine workers. Jules and Louis Major have been doing for a month now. They are the ones Collard should have indicted, and not the Limbourg strikers and the students who are supporting them.

Another pernicious argument being spread by the real enemies of unionism is that the strike is detrimental to the interests of the Limbourg coalfields and is endangering employment there.

This is the classical argument of the boss. "The strike is helping my competitors." According to the same logic, we would have to conclude that the Belgian bosses and workers "profited" two years ago from the French, Italian, German, and English strikes before suffering in their turn from the Belgian strikes. This would only be a fair turnabout. These people want to replace solidarity among the workers with competition among the workers, each worker being loyal to "his" boss. This would set us back a hundred years.

WORKERS DEMOCRACY

The day the rank and file re-establish their control over the unions, the day when general assemblies, with decision-making power are held regularly, the day when all steps toward compulsory union membership (such as bonuses for union members alone) are ruthlessly abolished and unionism is backed by the enthusiastic support of tens of thousands of union activists, that day the future of socialism in this country will be assured. It will become a rock on which all its enemies will break their teeth. Every precedent and every example that brings that day closer—and the Limbourg strike is one—will be written in gold letters in the history of unionism in this country. This was the case of the 1960-61 strike. It is true of the strikes in Flanders today.

I will not go back over the history of the 1960-61 strike, which until now constituted the highest point reached by the class struggle in Belgium. Let me say only that for historical reasons (a lag in industrialisation, former control by a still reactionary Catholic church, a more right-wing tendency on the part of the union leaders), that strike was less firm, less "revolutionary", and less widespread in Flanders than in Wallonia.

Those who had drawn the conclusion that hit this kind of strike was finished in Belgium, that it belonged to the past, that it was a product of the "old" and not the "new" working class, were fundamentally mistaken. We said so at the time. Today history has proved us right.

INTERNATIONALISM

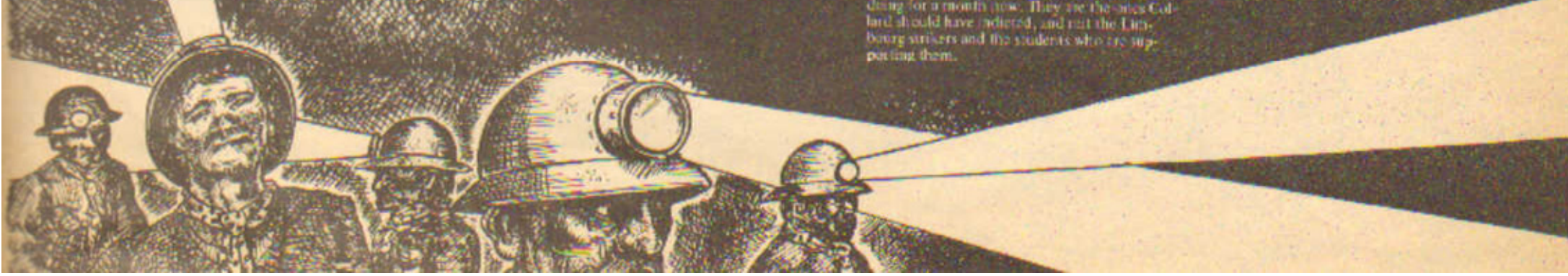
As a Fleming, I salute with great pride the combativity of the Limbourg miners, the Genk and Antwerp automobile workers, the "new" working class—if it is one. As an internationalist, it is with great pride that I salute the small workers international that has come into being in Limbourg, where Flemings and Walloons, Greeks and Turks, and Irish and Spaniards are fighting shoulder to shoulder in fraternal unity, where my comrades of the JGS are distributing material in six languages, where working-class organisations have sprung from the mass of these six nationalities and are learning to fight together. Here, as in May 1968 in Paris, is the Europe of tomorrow in birth, the socialist Europe of Sovereign Labour.

But as a member of the Belgian workers movement, I want to address myself to my Walloon trade-union comrades of yesterday and today. I want to tell them: Do not miss this chance. We would have won everything in 1960-61 if the Flemish workers had fought at our side as the workers in Liege, Charleroi, and the Borinage did. The Flemish workers could not do that then. Today, they are learning how, and quickly.

Your 1960-61 pickets in front of Cockerill, in front of the Hains-Saint-Pierre station and in front of Boel are reappearing today in Waterscheid, in Genk, and in Antwerp. They are as solid as yours were. They are being attacked by the police as brutally as yours were. And thanks to the legislation on maintaining law and order passed by the traitors, the police are better armed today and the workers less.

If you let yourselves be taken in, if you remain indifferent, if you let strikes be broken, if you let the police hold the factory gates, then your own future is a very dark one. Not for a long time to come will the Flemish and Walloon workers again lose a chance to wage a common struggle against capital, their common enemy; not only will your industry decline still further, but tomorrow they will break your strikes the way they are trying to break those of your Flemish brothers today. Tomorrow your picket lines will be crushed, tomorrow your unions will have to bow like the Flemish unions today.

Seize the chance that history has unexpectedly offered you! Defend the right to strike without any limitations whatsoever. Defend the pickets in Limbourg and Antwerp. Provide the Limbourg miners and their wives and children, whom the bosses are trying to starve out, with a flow of solidarity that no one can stop. And then, as long as you maintain a solid front, at least in Liege and Charleroi, a new and formidable power can combine with it, the might of hundreds of thousands of Flemish workers. Today these workers are being educated in your tradition of struggle and not that of the Major. Everything now becomes possible in the struggle against capital and the bourgeois state.



Uruguay - Tupamaros in action

The Tupamaros—Uruguay's urban guerrillas—came close to looting a Montevideo bank of nearly \$1.5 million in their most spectacular raid at the end of last year.

Although the band of nine men and two women did not succeed in getting their hands on the money in the vaults of the French and Italian Bank, they did make off with the account books and confidential documents. There was speculation this material could set off a political-financial scandal similar to that which followed their daylight raid a year ago on the Monty Financial Co., when seized documents turned out to be compromising for well-known figures in the country.

The French and Italian Bank is just seven blocks from the well-guarded government building. On Dec. 26, at half past seven in the evening, 32 employees were working overtime to prepare the year's end balance. A bell rang and the doorman saw through the peephole that it was an "Italcable" messenger. He opened the Rincon street door, near the corner of 33rd St. and took out a pencil to sign the receipt. Suddenly, several men broke in, identifying themselves as information and intelligence police with orders to search the bank, because "bombs have been placed here."

Nervousness spread among the employees. The "police" announced the arrival of experts from the material and armaments service who would help to take apart the explosive devices. The rest of the Tupamaros then entered, making a total of 11. One of the "experts" warned the employees: "Don't touch anything, please. Do not press any buttons or lift telephone receivers—a bomb might go off."

Then the Tupamaros, with the frightened cooperation of some employees, searched the whole bank in a supposed bomb search. In fact, they made sure there was no one else around.

Half an hour had gone by. A new phase of the operation began. The "messenger", with a calm and firm voice, said: "Hands up and keep calm, nothing is going to happen to you. We are Tupamaros." They then asked for the papers of all the employees. They called them by name and separated them into two groups, the "unionists" and the "suckers".

One of the Tupamaros asked the treasurer for the keys to the vault, while the Bank's general manager, Franco Berri, watched the scene in astonishment. The treasurer handed over the key, but a second one was needed to get to the money. The second key was in

the possession of exchange operator and legal representative Nelson Baracco, who was attending a banquet at the Spanish Club.

A Tupamaros "commission" calmly left the bank and went by car to the Spanish Club some 20 blocks away. It was half past eight when they got to the Club. They identified themselves to Baracco as police investigators and told him to return at once to the bank because the general manager had committed suicide and he had to hand over the keys to the vaults.

Baracco said he had given the keys to credit chief Hector Brunetto, who was sure to be in his house in the Malvin section. As if there was no hurry, the Tupamaros went to Brunetto's house accompanied by Baracco. They then all returned to the bank.

There was still another key to be obtained, however, that of the safe that was inside the vault and which contained about \$1.5 million. That key was in the possession of a cashier who was also attending the Spanish Club banquet.

The Tupamaros did not succeed in locating the second key, so they tried to force open the safe. In view of the impossibility of making off with the booty, they calmly searched file cabinets, shelves and drawers, selecting documents that

they carried off in burlap sacks.

Not everything was locksmith work. While some worked, others explained to the bank employees the purposes and objectives of the National Liberation Movement, actual name of the Tupamaros. They found that one employee had on his person a large sum of money from the sales of a store he owned. The frightened man thought that the money was as good as gone, but a Tupamaros assured him: "We don't touch the workers' money." Another employee, Victoria Rey, became very frightened and was near hysteria. She was at once cared for by the Tupamaros and one of the women accompanied her to the bathroom.

It was 10 p.m. when the group calmly left the bank. They had previously cut the telephones and shut in the 32 employees. Once in the street, they called the police to tell them the news. On the walls of the bank they left their signature, a five-point star with a "T" in the middle. The operation was over.

The police questioned the workers, they showed them hundreds of photographs and made searches. Thus far all to no avail. The 11 Tupamaros disappeared in the hot Montevideo night.

Juan O. Mendez
Prensa Latina

France - militant soldiers

The jailing of four French soldiers for their anti-war views has been met by a nation-wide campaign in defence of their rights. Such well-known figures as Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, and Daniel Guerin are among the sponsors.

Three of the prisoners, Serge Devaux, a former professor; Michel Trouilleux, a electrical worker; and Alain Herve, a technician, have been held in the central prison at Rennes, in north-western France, since 20 October.

They are charged by the military authorities with "inciting disobedience among soldiers and hurting the morale of the troops."

The only specific accusation against them is that they possessed copies of the journal *Croix en l'Air*, and of a petition on behalf of a draftee at Vannes who was struck by a non-commissioned officer, then put under orders

not to protest this mistreatment.

The fourth prisoner, the soldier Divet, is being held at Landau, West Germany. A pamphlet was found in his possession entitled, "It's Only the Beginning, Continue the Struggle".

A National Committee for the Release of the Imprisoned Soldiers has been formed, with chapters throughout France. To date it has printed 50,000 posters and more than 200,000 leaflets explaining the case.

An appeal on behalf of Devaux, Trouilleux, Herve, and Divet was announced on 15 January. The initial signers included Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Dr. Marcel-Franco Kahn, Dr. J.-M. Krivine, Marguerite Duras, Daniel Guerin, Aime Cesaire, Claude Bourdet, Pierre Frank, *Brochier* magazine, Alain Krivine, Jean-Pierre Vigier, Marguerite Bonnet, and Annie Le Brun.

"In rejecting the regimentation, the bullying, and the repression which reigns in the army," the appeal said, "Devaux and his comrades have expressed the opinion of tens of thousands of other soldiers."

"In struggling so that the soldiers in the ranks may enjoy the same rights as all other citizens, Devaux and his comrades are struggling for the thousands of workers, peasants, and students who refuse to be transformed, for sixteen months of their lives, into docile sheep of a despotic hierarchy."

The signers demanded the immediate release of the prisoners, and called on others to sign the appeal.

The four soldiers are to be tried by military courts, and face up to two years in prison if convicted. The trial at Rennes is said to be scheduled for the beginning of February.

One demand by the Committee for the Release of the Imprisoned Soldiers is that the defendants be granted the status of political prisoners. Thus far the military has refused, but the three prisoners at Rennes have threatened to go on a hunger strike if their request is not granted.

According to the January 19 issue of the Paris revolutionary-socialist weekly *Rouge*, the army has established weekly commissions of inquiry to pry into the political beliefs of other soldiers, with the threat of further prosecutions. More than twenty draftees have been interrogated in Rennes, Meaux, Tours, and Metz.

The Committee for the Release of the Imprisoned Soldiers has asked that statements of support be sent to Dr. Marcel-Franco Kahn, 15, rue Cler, Paris 7, France.

Palestine Diary

FOUR DAYS OF CRISIS BETWEEN THE PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT AND THE JORDANIAN GOVERNMENT

10th FEBRUARY: at 2 p.m. a 13-point communique, of which 12 points are addressed to the Palestinian resistance movement, is published by the Council of Ministers, which has been meeting under Hussein's chairmanship since the morning. This communique appears one day after Hussein's return from Cairo, after the resounding failure of the Conference of the countries "at war with Israel", and five days after Hussein's meeting with the United States Ambassador in Amman. The communique is in fact an ultimatum. At 10 p.m. the same day, all the Palestinian organisations together bring out a communique answering the authorities; it's a revolutionary manifesto of the Palestinian organisations. Together, they set up a unified command of the Palestinian resistance movement, to be in continuous occupation of a command post somewhere in Amman.

For their part, the repressive forces had already been on the alert four days before the publication of the royal ultimatum. Although the evening is quiet, a state of acute tension persists. The fedayeen patrol the town and fraternise with the population, explaining the meaning of the royal ultimatum.

11th FEBRUARY: Shots are heard, scattered and sporadic. Clashes are reported, but no real engagements. The leaders of the resistance organisations remain in control of the situation.

The authorities set up barriers at the entrance of Amman. The frontiers of Syria, Lebanon and Iraq are very closely supervised, and the armed fedayeen can neither enter nor leave the country. Everybody arriving in Amman is painstakingly searched. If any of the travellers returning home are armed, they are forced to give up their arms.

At Mafrak, a town on the road to Iraq, which is declared a military zone and has one of the main military airports, a barrier is set up by the authorities, surrounding the town and blocking all the strategic points. Another barrier is set up between Jarrah and Irbid, near the Syria-Jordan frontier, another strategic point.

The Northern, central and Southern plateaux are subjected to similar military precau-

tion. Near Soulehn, some twelve miles from Amman, a fedayeen getting off a bus is accosted by an army unit holding a barrier. He is ordered to give up his weapons; he refuses, resists physically, is overcome and locked up, to be released only in the evening.

The Palestinian organisations, through their unified command, take decisions which bind the whole resistance movement. Late in the night a meeting takes place with the representatives of the royalists. At the same time the authorities apply a strategy of isolating Amman from the rest of the country, and especially of cutting off the Palestinian organisations' leaders from their units, camps and bases. The unified command of the resistance movement directs the fedayeen not to yield to intimidations, to explain the meaning of their struggle, to explain the counter-revolutionary manoeuvres of the Jordanian authorities, and to fraternise with the soldiers. The fedayeen are ordered to cross the barriers with their arms in their hands and to retaliate against all armed attacks by the authorities. In the North of the country an El Fatah supply van falls under the fire of the army and is confiscated. The driver, a fedayeen, is killed. Three members of the Saika are imprisoned and subsequently released.

At Djabbal-Bttaj, a fixed battle has broken out between the fedayeen and the Bedouin Legion, and is prolonged until nightfall. Several fedayeen are killed. The fedayeen take a police post, and seven policemen are taken prisoner. The army has lost three armoured cars during the engagement.

Late in the night, Hussein, during a meeting with the representatives of the Palestinian resistance movement in the private house of the Prime Minister, Talhouni (a reactionary minister well-known for his pro-imperialist positions), makes the following statement: "The communique issued by the Council of Ministers yesterday is not directed against the Palestinian organisations, but is concerned with the preservation of order in the country... What is he playing at now?"

12th FEBRUARY: The barriers are still up, but the army and the police have withdrawn from the centre of Amman. The civilian population fraternises with the fedayeen, who circulate freely in the town. Very conscious of the gravity of the situation, the fedayeen act with great revolutionary discipline.

At the Elwahdeh camp, a real fixed battle

is taking place. The fedayeen besiege the post and want to take it over. At Mafrak, Jarrah, Irbid, on the great Northern, central and Southern plateaux, the barriers are still up. The Palestinian organisations demand that all the governments which have not yet declared themselves should define their position clearly in face of the aggressive intentions of the reactionary Jordanian regime.

In Cairo, in response to the appeal of the Palestinian organisations, the radio announces that "King Hussein has postponed the journey he intended to make to Abu-Dhabi and Pakistan, owing to the disturbances; the authorities are following closely developments in Jordan." A clear indication of which way the wind blows in Cairo.

In Baghdad, the radio announces that the government has threatened the Jordanian regime that it will withdraw its troops from the front if the situation remains tense between the Palestinian resistance movement and the Jordanian authorities, and states that "Tkriti, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence, is arriving today in Amman to discuss the situation with the king..."

In Damascus, the radio declares that the Syrian authorities will put themselves at the disposal of the Palestinian resistance movement and will send reinforcements, if the Jordanian government decides to repress it.

In Tripoli, the radio announces that the government will revoke the undertaking it took at the Arab summit of Rabat, on the financial aid it was to provide for Jordan, if the royal authorities repress the Palestinian resistance movement; but if the Palestinian organisations do not unite, it will be obliged to reconsider its attitude towards them (!!!).

While these radio announcements go on, the battle of Elwahdeh continues. At Mafrak, the resistance movement has succeeded in dislodging the armed forces from the position they are occupying, and this allows them to control the strategic road which links the centre with the North of the country. Troop movements towards the North indicate that reinforcements are being sent by the government to the dislodged units. Motorised units are sent towards Amman, from the direction of Soulehn. A communique, signed by various political organisations, trade union, professional, student, women, etc., criticises the Jordanian government, makes it responsible for what has happened, and demands the setting up of a patriotic government at the disposition of the

resistance movement continue until the end of the afternoon. The authorities propose a common communique. The Palestinian organisations refuse because the communique says nothing of their demands: (1) that the ultimatum should be declared null, (2) that the situation should be restored to what it was at 2 p.m. on 10.2.70. It is decided to meet again at 6.30 p.m.

After this first failure, barriers begin to make an appearance in the streets of Amman, and the fedayeen, armed to the teeth, take up positions at strategic points in the city. There are stronger and stronger rumours of tank movements in Amman. Fedayeen units move around the town and the immediate surroundings, and set up barricades. The state of emergency is maintained until the following day, in spite of the agreement reached between the representatives of the resistance movement and the royal authorities. The agreement is unclear, but is therefore open to various interpretations; it is above all the result of a relation of forces favourable to the Palestinian movement. But it is clear to everybody that the real decision has merely been postponed.

13th FEBRUARY: The Unified Command of the Palestinian Resistance Movement (UCPRM) issues a communique in which it explains to the population of Jordan and Palestine, to the Arab masses and to the international working-class movement, how the organisations of the Palestinian resistance movement interpret the agreement.

The situation slowly returns to "normal". The fedayeen are still occupying certain terraces in Amman, the loud-speakers broadcast information and advice to the population massed on the pavements (in order to avoid provocations) and launch appeals for vigilance.

Peculiarly unexpected scenes occur: embraces between fedayeen and police agents, between fedayeen and soldiers of the royal army. The policy of fraternisation with the police and the army, ordered by the leaders of the Unified Command, is bearing fruit. The ordinary soldier of the Jordanian army has a practical realisation of the unity of his situation with that of the fedayeen.

Revolutionary interviewed

The following interview was given by a Japanese Revolutionary to a member of the Red Mole staff. It is interesting for a number of reasons. It shows what happens to a workers' party when it fails to practise revolutionary politics and instead tries to adjust itself to divisions within the camp of the bourgeoisie. It also shows that the Japanese student movement bears many parallels with the history of that movement in the rest of the world, particularly with the SDS in the USA and West Germany. From the decline of the Communist Party a New Left arose. Students assumed an important political role in the absence of a strong revolutionary workers' movement. The New Left, however, could not avoid or transcend the divisions of the Old Left, since these divisions represented choices that were still very relevant in the sphere of revolutionary action. The interview should be read in conjunction with the article by Ben-Said in the last issue, which provides a theoretical framework for the analysis of such developments. In the next issue we will be printing an article on the Weathermen faction of the American SDS.

—Perhaps we could begin by asking you to tell us something about the situation in Japan immediately at the end of the second World War and more particularly what revolutionary forces were there in Japan at this time, and what were they doing?

During the second World War all independent working-class political activity was repressed. The only political party that had not completely capitulated to the Japanese Emperor Hirohito had been the Communist Party. As a result its credit was high and it had political hegemony in the Trade Union movement—the activity, that is. There was no large social democratic party to contend with. Until about 1950 it often found itself in the position of colluding with the American military authorities. They were introducing some bourgeois democratic reforms, often against the wishes of Hirohito and his entourage. The CP welcomed these reforms. During this whole period it had sponsored some very militant activity but it restricted itself to the Trade Union field. Politically it did not play an independent role. Once the Americans had restructured the Japanese Government to their liking, they had no further need of backing from the JCP so that they were then at their leisure to deal as they wished with this somewhat dubious ally. From 1950 to 1954 the Communist Party was illegal. Militants were purged from factories under pressure from the US Occupation Army. The CP made matters worse for itself by having made no effective preparation for this development—it had even given a list of its members to the Japanese Government. The General Secretary of the CP at the time was a man named Tokuda, whose followers have subsequently become pro-Chinese.

—What political forces have filled the vacuum caused by the demise of the CP?

Well, the crushing of the CP gave an opportunity to the Japanese bourgeoisie to construct a social democratic party. The Americans of course played no small part in the development of this party. Before 1949 the majority of this Socialist Party had been rightist social democrat. There was a minority, however, which consisted of Left social democrats, essentially Kautskyites. A new federation of Trade Unions was organised in 1951 called SOHYO. It was politically tied to the Socialist Party. Its founding convention in 1951. It supported the Korean War and was in turn supported by the US Army. Any mass meeting not under its auspices

was banned by the Government. In 1952, however, SOHYO changed its line and adopted a Nehru-type "neutralist" position, largely in response to widespread pacifist feelings among the Japanese masses. The Left Kautskyites became a majority, which became a larger and larger majority throughout the '50s. In 1959 they split from the right, which was left as a tiny Parliamentary rump (10 seats). The big economic recovery after the Korean War created the preconditions for the appearance of a large reformist Trade Union movement. Some spontaneous rank-and-file growth of the workers' movement did take place but it was crushed by the counterattacks of the Government after 1957. A national railway strike and a national steelworkers' strike were both defeated in that year. After that time the workers did not institute independent political activity but did join the political demonstrations organised by the students to a limited extent.

—How did this student movement develop?

The Zengakuren was founded in 1947 as a National Federation of Student Unions. Although deeply political, its politics were in essence bourgeois democratic. Until 1950 its activities centred on attacking reactionary professors. It was, however, the only movement which effectively resisted the Korean War and the Red Purge of the early '50s. The American and Japanese bourgeoisie attempted to weed out Communist professors, but they were prevented from doing so by the militancy of the student movement. The Zengakuren resisted the Korean War, a movement which had a large following owing to the widespread pacifism which existed in Japan. The Communist Party was active in the Zengakuren throughout this period. The National Committee was elected by the National Conference and the delegates to this conference were chosen by local Zengakuren cells, which were under the control of the CP. There was an opposition which was politically to the right of the CP but was adventurist in its tactics. What did change was the leadership of the Zengakuren which fluctuated from being controlled by bureaucratic elements in the CP, to being led by opposition currents in 1951/52 and back to the bureaucrats again in 1953/54. After 1955 the Communist Party began to attempt to reorganise its structure and in 1956 the Zengakuren was reorganised under a new leadership. It never had to go fully underground like the Communist Party but operated in a semi-clandestine manner. In 1956 the Communist Party took a new rightist line, what was in fact a 20th Congress line before the 20th Congress had taken place. The Zengakuren at this time was participating actively in mass actions against US bases. In 1958 the Government attempted to introduce tough controls over teachers, whose union was very leftist. The students participated in their struggle and very good relations were established. In 1958 the students turned to direct action. One student was killed by the police in that year. The Communist Party of course resisted this orientation and in 1959/60 Leftist militants were expelled from the Party, owing to these contradictions between the bureaucracy and the students.

—What were the consequences of these expulsions?

Other organisations began to make their appearance as poles of attraction outside the control of the Communist Party. Trotskyist propaganda started for the first time on any scale after 1958. Before that date the Trotskyist movement had been restricted to a handful of people. Two leftist student organisations were formed—the Communist League and the Revolu-

tionary Communist League. There was a third called the International Communist Party but it was very small and based mainly on Tokyo. It had some 30 to 40 members compared with 400 for the Revolutionary Communist League and 700-800 in the Communist League.

—What were the principal differences between these organisations?

The Communist League was a left centrist organisation. It tended towards spontaneism and state capitalism. I suppose you could call it the "state-capitalist spontex". It rejected the approach of Trotsky's Transitional Programme and tended to reject democratic demands, particularly when these were posed by colonial peoples. It would accept only maximum slogans. It gained its recruits by its activity in the student field. It formed the majority of the leadership of the Zengakuren and was very active and militant, particularly in direct confrontations. In 1961 however, it suffered 5 or 6 splits. Its majority became demoralised and now it's quite small. Two splits united to become the Revolutionary Communist League National Committee, which was an explicitly State Capitalist organisation, tending towards economism in practice.

The other organisation which came out of the expulsions from the Communist Party was the Revolutionary Communist League. This was a Trotskyist or rather initially quasi Trotskyist organisation. It had workerist tendencies and was somewhat anti-student. It thought that demonstrations were petit bourgeois and exaggerated the workers' struggles and as a result became isolated through these tactics.

—What developments took place within the Communist Party itself during this period?

It too underwent a process of splitting. Pro-Chinese elements controlled the Party from 1961 to 1965 and the pro-Moscow members were expelled. Consequently a number of other organisations appeared. *The United Socialist League* which was a left social democratic formation and adopted entrism into the Socialist Party. It tended to be pro-Moscow and was under the influence of the ideas of Togliatti. *The Movement for Socialist Renovation* which rejected the entrism line and fought for an independent pro-Moscow party, and the *Voice of Japan Group*, which followed Moscow pragmatically. The hard line Stalinists were very weak indeed. The last two eventually united. The Japanese Communist Party itself became pro-Rumanian neutralist in 1965—its response to the Indonesian massacres. It eventually established relations with Moscow but dissented over Czechoslovakia from a right-wing liberal viewpoint.

—To what extent did the various groups which formed after the break-up of the old CP work together?

After 1967 there was a very broad radicalisation of students and young workers. In 1967 and 1968 it mainly centred on anti-militarist struggles and Vietnam solidarity activity. In 1968 and 1969 very broad campus struggles took place and by 1969-70 campuses were occupied. Very broad masses joined the 1969 Okinawa struggle. A broad radicalising militant mass movement appeared, which developed outside the Socialist Party and the CP. Three United Front organisations were formed. There was a National Federation of all campus struggles, which took the place of the Zengakuren which had fragmented into five Zengakuren of the various tendencies. There were action committees in every University. All the leftist groups had one member on the National Committee except the Revolutionary Communist League

National Committee (The Kakumaru), who by this time were economist and reformist and rather isolated, although having a widely circulated newspaper. There was also a United Front of Young Workers, which all the Leftist groups joined and an Organisation for Peace in Vietnam, which was a Left pacifist citizen's group. It helped organise the desertion of US GIs from the Army in Japan, but also supported the militant students in the Vietnam solidarity movement. These three United Fronts cooperated among themselves and formed their own United Front. Radicalisation has taken place inside the public sectors of the economy and joint action on anti-imperialist issues has taken place between young workers and students and young workers and teachers. During the last year three Young Workers organisations sponsored a mass meeting which was attended by 100,000 young workers and students. I know that it sounds a cliché, but I would end by saying that unless this spontaneity can be linked to a revolutionary organisation it will fritter away

spontaneism: rejecting the need for an organised political party to act as a vanguard for the working class; a belief that the workers will in the course of a struggle throw up all the organisational forms and tactical weapons necessary to make the revolution, in a spontaneous fashion.

economism: a concentration on the day-to-day economic demands that the working class evolve in the course of the on-going class struggle, which do not go beyond the capitalist system to challenge capitalist power relations and to progressively remove rights from the capitalist class to change the balance of class forces in a way favourable to the working class; a struggle which does not politically polarise the bourgeoisie as a class against the proletariat, i.e. which involves the bourgeois states, for instance, as most major struggles do in the age of capitalist decline.

entrism: tactic adopted by various sections of the revolutionary left. Instead of maintaining a completely open and autonomous organisation, the group sends its members into the large reformist working-class party in the hope of detaching sections from it or of capturing the leadership of the party.

transitional programme (see economism): written by Trotsky in 1938. A thesis that transitional demands should be drawn up for all sectors of the revolutionary's activities. These demands should act as a bridge to progressively lead the working class from reformist to revolutionary politics in action.

state capitalism: group of related theories, affirming that the Russian bureaucracy constituted a class and that a fresh revolution would be needed to overthrow this class, which exploited the workers in a fashion similar to capitalism.

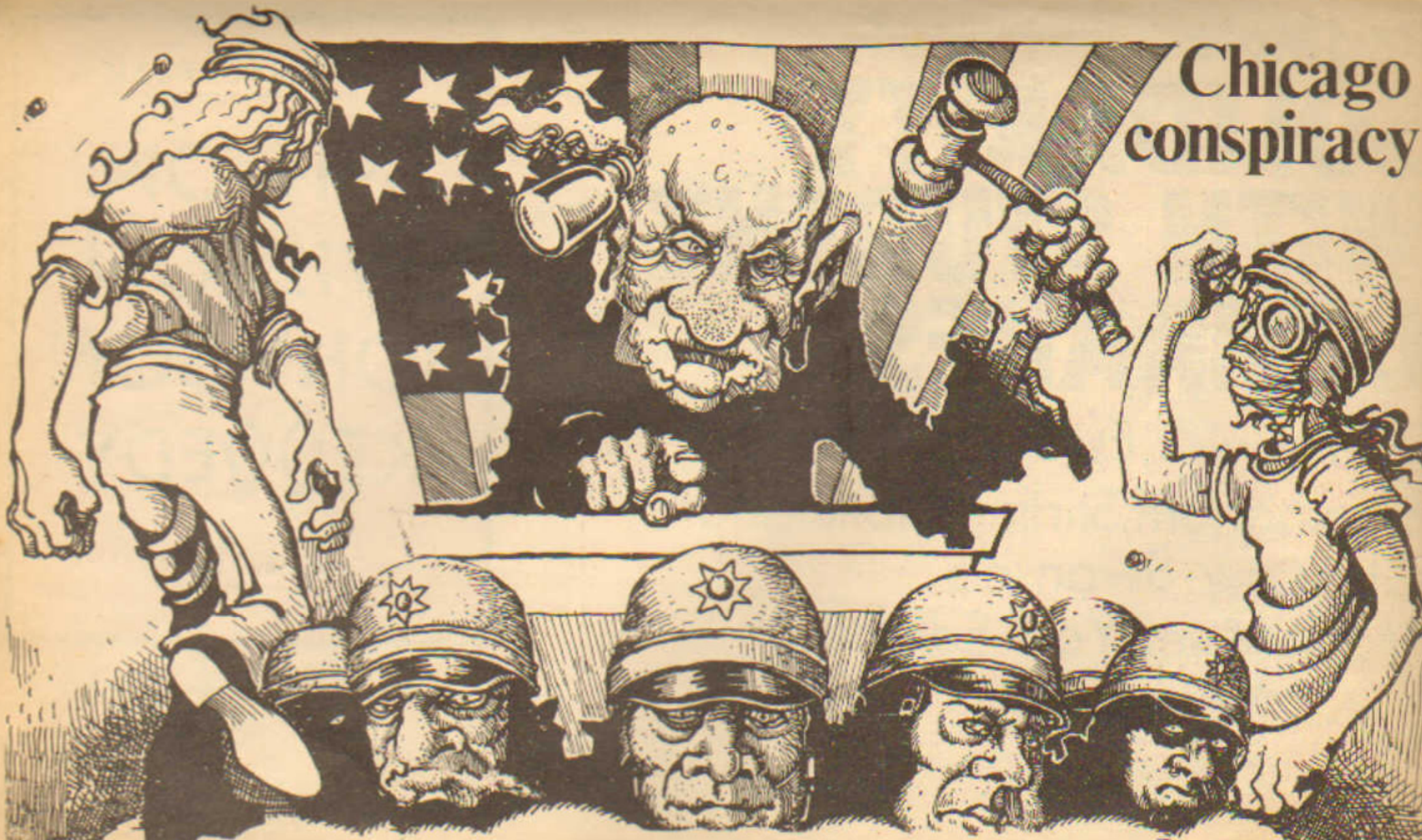
left centrist: not having a clear perspective of building a revolutionary group. Willing to merge with other groups of widely differing theoretical outlook, not simply for one-issue United Fronts, but as a long-term organisational perspective.

Fourth International: International group with sections in various countries. Founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938.

Togliatti: Italian Communist. Formulated doctrine of polycentrism, i.e. that the World Communist movement could simultaneously contain within itself a number of varying lines, held by different national groups at the same time.



Chicago conspiracy



The Chicago "Conspiracy" Trial and the antics of the Judge Hoffman enabled the defendants to demystify the entire judicial process and use the trial as a propaganda platform. The defendants themselves did not agree politically with each other, but were united in action against a racist bourgeois judge. In printing Jerry Rubin's "last rap" before being sentenced by Hoffman The Red Mole declares itself in solidarity with the Chicago 7.)

by Jerry Rubin

The jury this morning was given its instructions, sent to deliberate, and two seconds didn't pass before Judge Julius Jennings Bryan, uh, Hoffman, named after William Jennings Bryan, by the way, began railroading us to jail, one by one. It was barbarous. It was criminal. It was just sick. It was incredible. Nobody could believe it.

Here we had had a trial for five months long, a trial that had captivated the world, a trial that involved millions of people, and a jury has been sitting and deliberating, and the moment the jury goes out to question the evidence, Julius Hoffman sentences us to jail.

Well, the first person he sentenced to jail was Dave Dellinger. And he went on and on about different things Dave said and then he finally sentenced Dave to jail for twenty nine and one half months. I just couldn't keep the tears back. And I say that because you have to understand what it feels like to be in a courtroom in which a sadist is wearing black robes and has the power to send you to jail. And in which marshalls stand around, gun at their hip, ready to take people and just put them behind bars. Our crime, our crime is being human beings, being a human being in that courtroom.

Dave Dellinger is the most beautiful human being I know. Julius Hoffman is, well, the worst human being I know. And Julius Hoffman, the worst human being sentenced the best I've ever seen to jail.

Dave stood up to speak. The judge said, "Mr. Dellinger, you have the final words." Dave stood up and just the moment he began speaking about the war in Vietnam, and racism, Judge Hoffman interrupted him, marshalls ran at him, pushed him in his seat, Tasha Dellinger was dragged out, and there was swinging everywhere, and William Kunstler broke down crying and said, "Judge, my whole life is ruined. I've never seen anything like this in a courtroom. You've destroyed everything I've ever believed in."

Dave Dellinger said, "I'm an old man Judge Hoffman, but my spirit is young, and I'm fighting for the future." And Dave Dellinger went away. The doors shut behind him. 29 1/2 months in jail.

They've got to get the seven of us behind bars the way they jailed Bobby

Seale for four years. So they're gonna do it one by one.

Then came Rennie Davis. Now Rennie Davis was sentenced to 25 months and 19 days in the federal penitentiary by Judge Hoffman. Six months because he didn't answer questions properly when he was a witness on the stand.

Then came Tom Hayden, who was sentenced to 14 months and 14 days.

And Abbie Hoffman was sentenced to eight months.

And then it came my turn. And Judge Hoffman did about the cruelest thing he could ever do. He said the court was over for the day and that I'd be sentenced tomorrow along with the other defendants, John Froines and Lee Weiner, and the two lawyers William Kunstler and Len Weinglass.

And I screamed out "No Judge, don't separate me from my brothers. Sentence me now."

And Judge Hoffman said, "Do you ask favors of Adolph Hitler?" referring to the fact that I had referred to him constantly throughout the trial as Adolph Hitler, which I think is a very accurate and fair comparison.

So here I am, going to sleep, with my girlfriend, my wife, for the last time, knowing that tomorrow morning I'm gonna wake up at 9:30 and at 10:00 o'clock Julius Hoffman is gonna sentence me to jail for, what I guess'll probably be about two years.

And then he'll sentence Lee Weiner and John Froines. And then he'll sentence Bill Kunstler. The most incredible thing is, you're gonna see William Kunstler, one of the finest lawyers in this country, the beautiful man who's been with us through this whole thing, who just gave his life to us, you're gonna see Bill Kunstler sentenced to jail because he dared to represent the scum. And we are the scum as far as that courtroom is concerned.

The courtroom has just become a military camp. Marshalls and Chicago police all over the place. FBI agents, gloating, wailing all over the place. It's become a war, a battleground. The youth of America versus the people who have power. And Julius Hoffman, who eats at an invitation-only club, an all men's club, who gets his money from ore stocks, who sentenced Bobby Seale to four years in jail, represents everything that we oppose. And people, you can't just focus on the Judge, cause he's every judge.

He's every judge, and he's sentencing us to jail because of how long our hair is, because we laugh, because we smile, because we're human and because we act.

It's become a battle ground on which

The Justice Department is ready to wipe us all out. It's genocide on the young people of this country. The goal in passing this law, and trying to find us guilty under this law is to wipe out national demonstrations. And then when they get us in court, indicted, all you gotta do is stand up and say "this is an unfair court," and Boom!, it's three months in jail.

Respect for the court. Judge Hoffman says, "respect this court or else." Like a father says to his son, "respect me or else." But we're a generation of people that aren't gonna respect the people in this power, or else. We respect ourselves, and we respect our morality, we respect our sense of what humanity is all about.

Our respect is for the millions of people around the world. We respect what Dave Dellinger says, because he identifies with the Vietnamese and the Latin Americans and the Chinese. Judge Hoffman is an oppressor. And if we're given a choice between being an oppressor and part of the oppressed, we're becoming part of the oppressed.

This trial is just the beginning. What's beginning now is an incredibly long battle. We're all in jail already, and I think at this point there's gotta be such demonstrations on the campuses, and the streets—everybody's gotta act. Ministers, doctors, dentists, workers, everybody. Everybody sitting there has got to realize that we're ALL in jail, we're ALL in jail.

What's going on in Chicago is such an atrocity, that this man Julius Hoffman, and the FBI and the Justice Dept. and the John Mitchells and Spiro Agnews are ready to wipe out our generation.

We face an incredible question: Can we survive?

Can we organize ourselves and get together to survive as a generation? That's what's involved in this trial. Because they're not jailing the eight of us because of who we are. It's because of what we represent. Every single person in this country is on trial. Every young person is on trial. The purpose of this trial is to wipe out the movement, to wipe out activity in streets.

It's tyranny. Abbie Hoffman said it when he was sentenced. He said, "the law has become tyranny. The revolution therefore is the only order."

We're going to go to jail smiling and laughing because that's our nature. Because we have a good time. We're on this earth to enjoy ourselves and to build a world on people's cooperation and love. We have faith in ourselves as human beings.

We're going to jail because we know that they're taking eight of us away, but in putting the eight of us away they're creating eighty million of us. Eighty

million Yippies, eighty million demonstrators. And we've got to show them in the next week and two and three weeks, that we're gonna continue. We've got to show them that if they put us, put any of our brothers in jail, there's gonna be so many people and so much reaction that it's just not worth the price. We can't let them separate us. We can't.

People have been watching us for, how many months? On television, seeing the trial as a sideshow, an entertainment. Well, it is high comedy, and high tragedy. But it's also life, lotsa real life. And it also shows what they're willing and ready to do to us. And it's real.

Dave Dellinger, Tom Hayden, Rennie Davis, Abbie Hoffman, Bobby Seale, are right now behind bars, facing years in the federal penitentiary. And tomorrow Jerry Rubin, John Froines, Lee Weiner, Bill Kunstler and Lenry Weinglass are gonna be behind bars, for years, in the federal penitentiary. That is a symbolic attack on our generation. And it's just the beginning.

They're gonna use this law, they're gonna use these courts, they're gonna use judges like Hoffman to put us all away, unless we react. We've got to go into the streets, we've got to do whatever we're capable of.

We are a generation that intends not only to survive, but intends to build a world in which there are no jails, no judges like Judge Hoffman, and no pig courts like that court.

I'm very emotional. I'll say, I just couldn't believe it. I mean, I couldn't believe the shame of the trial. To have a trial for five months, then the moment the jury goes out for the judge to all of a sudden sentence everybody in jail. Everybody to jail for smiling, for laughing, for speaking out, for talking about the war. The judge says, "the war is not an issue in your trial, racism is not an issue in your trial." But we say the war and racism are issues.

Every single one of you is now in jail, as we're now in jail. And we're in jail knowing that you're going to do something to change this country, to get us out of jail and to get everyone else out of jail, because everyone in jail today is a political prisoner, because they've been put there by illegitimate courts and illegitimate law and a system founded on private property and selfishness and racism.

This is sort of like my last rap. In ten hours I'll be in jail. I wish I could be with you to hug and embrace everybody. And I know we're gonna win. You're all

Red Mole SOLIDARITY WITH STUDENT COMRADES

in Warwick, Essex, LSE, Barking,
Birmingham, Stirling, Nottingham
Glasgow Swansea
Manchester, York, Edinburgh ...

The Warwick revelations have brought a tremendous, angry response from masses of students around the country. But the revolutionaries have in some places been divided on how to counter-attack, in a situation where the possibility exists as never before of launching a unified national assault of students against a number of points in the system. Where and how should we strike?

Specific targets have been thrown up in particular localities: in Oxford proposed new disciplinary statutes; in Swansea regimentation in the halls of residence; in Warwick a student-staff social building; in Essex the banning of students on bail from the university; all these battles must be fought and won. But running through all these issues is the network of small bureaucratic cliques linked to industrial bosses, the local police chiefs and to the judiciary using spies, secret court injunctions and the cops to protect their "academic communities" from the mischief of staff and students. The Warwick students happened to catch one of these cliques at work reflected through the Vice-Chancellor's files. Some comrades have been arguing that because the issue of the files is equally relevant in the factories (witness the sharp response of the Rootes stewards to the Warwick disclosures) and because the workers are a thousand times more important for us than students, we should therefore be trying to persuade students to go to the factories to explain the whole issue to the workers.

It is of course important to explain to workers what has been happening in Warwick and elsewhere. But most industrial militants

don't need students to remind them of the existence of files and blacklists. What they may very well need to be reminded of is the fact that it is possible to fight such blacklists and *win*. And to bring those facts to the workers requires that the students first *create* them, forcing their own bosses to publicly reject such methods and concede safeguards against their use.

A second argument being put forward by some militants is that the issues of files and injunctions are liberal issues and therefore not the concern of revolutionaries. Such a view betrays a total failure to understand what processes are at work in British capitalist society and in its education system today. The problem that university administrators and monopoly capitalists face is not simply that the idea of the liberal university no longer fools students, but that the liberal myth of the free enquiring critical autonomous university has become in this period of crisis *subversive* of their whole strategy of integrating the higher education system into the economic and technical structures of monopoly capitalism. They cannot afford to guarantee teaching staff security of tenure to allow students to engage freely in political activity inside and outside the universities. At Warwick, Butterworth was bemoaning the fact that he was unable to expel staff and students under the present legal framework. But at the same time he was unable to launch open attacks on the liberal myth—in fact he had to resort desperately to court injunctions to try to prevent his anti-liberal schemes from being revealed. At the present time to call for university autonomy, for control of the university to be in the hands not of a handful of faceless administrators and

industrialists but of staff and students, for university committees to work openly, and for an end to secret files, etc. is to put forward demands that cannot be granted by the ruling class without sabotaging the plans for education.

It is precisely because such previously reformist demands have in the era of advanced capitalism acquired a revolutionary content that we find the struggle against files and injunctions being led not by liberals but by revolutionary socialists. And it is because these matters are no longer open to amicable solutions through negotiations with students' union officials that masses of students are ready to put their trust in the leadership of revolutionaries with whose general goals they have as yet no sympathy. But we will change the consciousness of students not simply through our ability to explain their situation to them when the liberals have no credible solution, but above all by showing that we can lead them to victories of however limited a kind. It is on this point that the vice-chancellors are pinning their hopes: they can offer no justification which will convince students that they are right. However they calculate that they can, through the use of the courts and the police, convince staff and students that they cannot win. What is demanded therefore of revolutionaries is not simply good speeches and sophisticated theorists of even dramatic aggressive actions, but militants who can precisely analyse the political relationship of forces, not to decide whether they can win but *how* they can win, then put forward and lead a struggle which will mobilise all the resources of the left, butside as well as inside the university. What we need at this time are revolutionary

politicians and organisers superior to those supplied by the ruling class. That means that since the vice-chancellors and capitalists are organised nationally, so must we be.

But our perspective must go beyond the immediate issues of files and injunctions. Short is well aware that the educational war he is engaged in extends far beyond matters of university discipline and he may at this moment be trying to persuade the hot-headed vice-chancellors to make a tactical retreat in order to lull the students into passivity in preparation for the programme of savage attack on higher education which he is hoping to introduce in the near future. We should therefore also be preparing to extend our counter-attack beyond files and injunctions to Short's proposals for educational reforms. These include the following: a massive reduction in the number of overseas students in higher education, loans instead of grants, the possibility of making students agree to take up a specific job on leaving college, greatly increasing the ratio of students to staff, introducing extra grades of degrees, trying to push as many students as possible through college in two years, etc.

To force through such an attack on higher education the Government will need all the injunctions and police it can lay its hands on. If the student movement can smash the equivalent in the education system of the wage freeze in the factories, if the revolutionaries in the universities can forge links, not simply between handfuls of students and working-class militants, but between mass movements of students and workers against the strategic plans of the ruling class, then revolutionary socialists will be in a position to determine the course of British politics.

POLITICAL POEM

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Stephen Morris

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SPRING & GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET

March 2nd late afternoon: Grosvenor Square. About 150 black and white comrades gathered to demonstrate against the imprisonment of comrade Bobby Seale. The fuzz feeling even more confident with Selsdon Man's support for law and order moved in with the viciousness they usually reserve for black comrades in dark alleys. It is fitting that these cybernauts of Selsdon should have numbers not names: D 339 is reported to have said, "Animals do what they are told" as he obstructed the peaceful movement of the demonstrators, while D 407 is said to have remarked, as he lumbered in idiot fashion through the streets of W.1., "I came here to pick black people up."

March 3rd early morning (i.e. 10.30 fuzz time): Great Marlborough Street. Black brothers and sisters and white heads all talking and laughing together while the

for court number one to open—the scene was made happier by the presence of Ed Berman and his Christmas troupe also being "tried". Victims and their friends were all happy and for one good revolutionary moment the law, for all its bourgeois menace, was made to seem tiresome, irrelevant and idiotic.

But the idiocy has its own potency in the person of that notorious racist Tory St. John Harnsworth—his comments on the "lower classes" and people of other races are such as to make us seriously doubt the possibility of even bourgeois justice in his court. The defendants were black and even though the fuzz did not oppose bail most of them were remanded in custody until March 10th and March 25th. Comrades should make sure of being in court on those two days to give our brothers support. It is always possible that St. John Harnsworth, making the way plain for the lord, confused the men with the brothers when he remarked that they were involved in what he called