

The Week

A NEWS ANALYSIS FOR SOCIALISTS

Vol. 7. No. 18 May 3rd, 1967

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Coup

*Labour's
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THE COMMON MARKET DEBATE

Wilson has taken the plunge on the Common Market. It would appear very likely to us that he does with the knowledge that Britain's chance of being accepted is quite good. He must realise that an unsuccessful application would further tarnish his already badly shaken reputation. It is obvious from the speeches in the House of Commons that there is going to be a big fight in the Labour Party on the question, despite the fact that so far no member of the Government has resigned.

The division on this question does not follow the traditional left/right lines. Elsewhere in this issue we have printed a letter from a very good friend of ours, Stan Newens, who is strongly in favour of entry into the Common Market. On the other hand such right-wingers as Shinwell and Jay are opposed to entry. How does one get one's bearing on this subject? Is it true that the main division is between the little-Englanders and the go-ahead modernists?

Stan Newens, whose integrity none of us have called into question, speaks of a Marxist approach. With that we readily agree. However, for us the key to the Marxist approach is taking a class position. Taking a class position means no collaboration with big business and its representatives in rationalising capitalism. It is true that we can talk of the objective effects of concentration of industry. It is true that British independence is anyway illusory. But objectively progressive effects depend upon the subjective factor: concentration of industry lays the basis for making the working class more powerful but only if the working class behaves in a certain way. For us the question of Britain's independence is also secondary: what we are concerned with is the independence of Britain's working class from capitalist policies.

We welcome Stan Newens' letter and hope it sparks off a lively discussion. It would, in our opinion, be utopian to think that the left can prevent or expedite Britain's entry into the Common Market. The important thing is certain lessons must be learnt: the necessity of complete independence of working class politics, and the need for internationalism. As we have stated many times before: the real answer to the Common Market threat is the calling of all-European conference of labour to work out a strategy of opposition to capitalist rationalisation and its political ramifications. If the debate on entry facilitates that conference it will have not been in vain.

THE GREEK COUP: The whole left should demand the release of the Greek political prisoners. They should also denounce the way the Wilson Government has rushed to establish good relations with the new Greek regime. The affair underlines the hypocrisy of the talk of defending democracy against communism.

WORKERS' CONTROL CONFERENCE: LATEST NEWS from Tony Topham

During the past week, the conference convenors have learned that the new Executive Committee of NALSO have agreed to send two official delegates to the Coventry meeting in June, and that a NALSO team is preparing a paper to be submitted to the Student Democracy Seminar. The delegates will be Bernard Reaney, (NALSO's President) and Mike Griffin, of the University of Aston, Birmingham. It is expected that many NALSO branches will be sending their own local delegates as well.

Another important paper in course of preparation is from Richard Fletcher, on "Democracy in the Corporate State". It will deal with the problem of control and supervision of top officials, the question of financial control and budgeting, and aims to tackle the practical obstacles which are always brought up against the advocates of workers' control.

Car workers in the Midlands will be convened for a pre-conference discussion towards the end of May, when they will prepare an introductory paper on problems of workers' control in their industry. Further details of this meeting will be announced shortly.

Copies of the circular giving details of the Coventry conference, and application forms, are still available from 1, Plantation Drive, Anlaby Park, Hull.

WORKERS "PARTICIPATION" IN MINING by Julian Atkinson

The current edition of "The Political Quarterly" carries an interesting article on Labour participation in management with special reference to the mining industry. The author, George Graham, traces the history of participation in the mines from the early day in 1946 when the National Executive Committee of National Union of Mine Workers entered into discussions with the Minister of Fuel and Power as to the composition of the coal Board. The Minister indicated that he was unprepared to consult the union as those to be appointed were to be representatives of the nation as a whole and not of any particular interest. (The new Steel Board seems to reflect similar "considerations"). However, consultation would remain in the shape of the Pit Production Committees, which had been created in the war to deal with absenteeism. The Minister warned that these should not interfere with the management of the industry, which should remain the responsibility of managers above.

As it turned out, representatives from the National Union of Mine Workers and Trade Union Congress were asked to serve on the Board and Graham analyses their contribution and the contribution of ex-trade-unionists if put on by the Tories. It was thought that these representatives might weaken the management side but, "Any suggestion that an ex-trade unionist Industrial Relations Member would play any role remotely implying softness towards labour is completely discredited... The significant fact is that any person in a responsible managerial position has wider issues affecting various facets of the enterprise to take into account before taking a decision".

He further notes "A common argument raised against the idea now is that workers appointed to management Boards would cross over to the management side. This argument presupposes antagonism between management and its own workers". George Graham is to be thanked for stating so bluntly what happens when workers control is emasculated and becomes class-collaboration.

MILITANT SCOTTISH ELECTRIANS' DEMONSTRATION from a Glasgow correspondent

Over 1,500 Scottish contracting electricians demonstrated in Glasgow, Friday April 29, chanting "Wage freeze, out!" The electricians marched in a quarter of mile long procession to the city centre after a mass meeting in Govan Town Hall. At the meeting they had unanimously agreed to continue their strike against the Government's decision to freeze their 1 shilling an hour wage increase.

At the front of the demonstration was a banner showing Harold Wilson withdrawing a bloody dagger from the back of a kilted workman, with the caption: "We trusted him". A section of the demonstration sang "Ee-ay-addio -- We're marching for a Bob," while at the other end a lusty version of "We shall not be moved" resounded through the streets. Placards bearing slogans such as "Give us 12 wee pence" and "Cut prices -- cut profits" stopped the thousands of passers-by interested in reading them.

After the demonstration a spokesman for the central strike committee said the number of sites involved was now 150, with over 2,000 on strike. He said "From today's meeting we are issuing a challenge to the Government: 'If you say it is illegal for us to strike, what are you going to do about it? If, as you claim we have been breaking the law for ten days and you have not taken action, we say you are afraid.' In our opinion you are afraid to act because the electricians have a 100% case, while yours does not bear examination."

AN APPEAL FROM LEEDS

Editorial note: we received the following letter from Jim Scott, dated Sunday April 30th, 1967:

Today Leeds Trades Council held its annual May Day Rally. Myself and several other supporters of the International Socialism Group turned up to march with the demonstration. We carried a red flag with the words "Labour Worker" on it. Also present were members of the SLL and Militant Group. As the demonstration began the Secretary of the Trades Council approached us and told us we could not march carrying political banners, they objected particularly to the SLL's banners calling for solidarity with the Greek working class. He informed us that he intended calling the police to see that we did not march. He is a member of the Communist Party.

We later learnt that the police were quite content to allow us to march and it was only on the insistence of the Communist Party that they broke our part of the demonstration up. As the march proceeded we raised our banners and marched off following the Trades Council demonstrations, the police broke into part of the demonstration, arresting Cliff Slaughter and some other members of the SLL. When I and other comrades protested against this we were arrested and charged with "threatening behaviour" and one Anarchist comrade with assault. This flagrant breach of working class tradition (the calling of police to fellow socialists) must be abhorred by all socialists. We in Leeds appeal to all Communist and Labour Party members for support: money will be needed for payment of fines, etc., all donations should be sent to Phil Evans, 26, Bagly Road, Leeds.

April 21 cast a pall over all Europe. Barely three years after emerging from two decades of harsh military dictatorship, the most reactionary forces in the country, mobilised around the throne and backed by the financial and military might of the United States, have again seized power. Ruling under decree law, with troops patrolling the streets and jet planes buzzing the cities, the generals are rapidly putting Greece back into the straitjacket. During the night troops occupied strategic points in the city and circled the palace. Tanks took over the airport, the central post office, and all radio and communications buildings.

At dawn, a decree, said to have been signed by King Constantine, was read over the radio suspending certain provision of the constitution. Four of these provisions bar arbitrary arrests. One of them guarantees the right of peaceful assembly. Article 14, annulled by the conspirators, guarantees the right of free expression. The same article guarantees freedom of the press. Article 18 prohibits torture, the total confiscation of one's property and abolishes the death penalty. Article 20 guarantees the inviolability of correspondence. Article 97 bars the military from trying civilians before war tribunals.

From this list, it is completely clear what the generals have in mind. They are prepared to submit Greece to a blood bath. By noon, a curfew was announced, and the troops were given orders to shoot on sight anyone caught in the streets after sundown. Martial law was proclaimed in the border regions, particularly near the Turkish frontier. Athens radio announced new decrees permitting the arrest of anyone, without a warrant, and without any time on how long a person might be held without charges. If political dissidence is involved, one cannot be released on bail. Anyone, no matter what his position, can be tried by special military tribunals or commissions. All meetings whatsoever are banned and if held are to be at once dispersed.

Any kind of organisation with trade union aims is absolutely banned. Strikes are illegal. Searches can be made at any time in homes. All radio and television communiques must be submitted for clearance in advance by the censorship. Correspondence, no matter what its nature, comes under censorship decrees. Military tribunals are to try all infractions of the above decrees. The witch-hunt gathered momentum within hours. The April 25 Paris Le Monde reported that the army itself had been purged. A group of foreign correspondences who pooled the information they had gathered, reported 8,000 arrests had been made within three days. In addition, the police were hunting for another 2,000 or 3,000 in hiding. "The internment camps," said Le Monde, "have been hastily fixed up to receive thousands of prisoners. Upon their arrival from Vienna, members of the Austrian national soccer team reported they found the big Karaiskasis stadium covered with tents sheltering hundreds of internees."

How was it possible for the generals to take over in the dead of night in this way, after the election victory of the left in February, 1964? The reason is simple: the leaders of the working class blocked the masses from taking the revolutionary road to socialism. In the summer of 1965, the workers poured into the streets of Athens and could have then overthrown the regime. But the working class leaders, including those under the influence of the Greek Communist Party, restrained the people and told them to go home after "peaceful" demonstrations. It is a mistake that they are now ^{paying} dearly for. We should support all moves for a militant struggle against the regime.

OXFORD CSE LOOKS AT THE UNIVERSITY from a Northern Correspondent

The Oxford centre has produced its third pamphlet - "The Faceless Ones" by Harry Goode. This examines the effects of Oxford University and its colleges on the lives of the citizens. The issues involved, e.g. the existence of University nominees on the Council with the resulting interference in planning decisions, are mainly local democratic ones, but as far as possible these have been dealt with from a Socialist standpoint.

Many of these issues have at various times been taken up by local bodies, but this is the first time they have been drawn together and documented in a detailed way. The author shows that one of the basic reasons for the anti-social behaviour of the colleges is their constant striving for autonomy vis-a-vis the central University authority. Pre-occupation with their sources of income has led them to develop into petty-capitalists. Behind their facade of dedication to higher learning and nineteenth century customs they are large scale landowners and shareholders.

The University and Colleges pursue a policy of vicious anti-unionism and their employees are among the lowest paid in Oxford. The author contrasts this with a detailed breakdown of the salaries and other perks received by the academic staff. The college fellows (including the "progressive" dons) are the direct beneficiaries of much of the surplus appropriated by the colleges from their landlord and business activities. As in Athens of old, democracy and the delights of high culture are the prerogative of the few while towards the needs of Oxford's citizens there is indifference.

This pamphlet is in fact complementary to Oxford CSE's earlier one on B.M.C. The city is torn between these two giants:- on the one hand BMC which regards the city as the barracks for its wage slaves, on the other the University and Colleges which seek to maintain their old feudal dominion over the city.

The affairs of the University are shrouded in obscurity, and "The Faceless Ones" does no more than examine the tip of the iceberg. The Oxford centre hopes it may act as a stimulus to further research or even perhaps as a spur for action.

Copies can be obtained for 10d. including postage from the author at 24 Stockmore Street, Oxford.

C.S.E. BULLETIN NUMBER THREE UNDER PREPARATION

The Centre for Socialist Education Bulletin number three is now being prepared. It will be mainly concerned with the forthcoming Workers' Control conference in Coventry. However, the editors are very anxious to have as many reports of local activities, etc., as possible. Will people with such material please send it to: Geoff. Richman,
138, Fordwych Rd.,
London N.W. 2.

51 Eric Fletcher Court
Essex Rd. London N.1

TO ALL SOCIALIST WOMEN

On Thursday, April 20, The Week in partnership with New Left Review sponsored a public forum "Woman, the Most Exploited Class". The forum discussed two aspects of the woman question; the dissolution of the bourgeois family and woman in today's society. During the discussion it became evident that there was a great interest in the general topic and, more important, a sentiment that the left as a whole had done little or nothing in the way of education on this subject and therefore itself was subject to the prejudices and erroneous ideas that bourgeois society fosters.

It was felt by a number of women that not only should more discussion take place, but also that there was definitely a need for militant action. The emancipation of women has not been attained and for many of us it is not enough to be told "Wait until the socialist society comes". Not only are we exploited as workers (average woman's wage per week £9 compared to £20 for men) but are also the victims of prejudice at every level of society, from our personal relations to the lack of equal education to the lack of control over our own bodies.

A job needs to be done within the radical movement itself, a propaganda job. Specifically woman-oriented demands must be part of every political program, i.e. equal pay for equal work, more day-care centres, legal abortion, trade union organisation among the service industries, contraceptive advice and availability to all women regardless of marital status. These are just a few of the demands that must be made.

Possibly some of us may be hesitant, remembering the disparaging remarks about the suffragettes or indifferent, considering the problem to be one and the same as the many other questions that confront the socialist movement. An analogy might be drawn with the advanced black people in America. What if they had been self-conscious and shy or what if they had said that their problems were the same as the white worker? and since the socialist movement had their interests at heart they would wait for socialism when their problems would be solved. We can see how their struggle raises the consciousness of the entire working class and advances the struggle for socialism. So what do we do now? Do we wait or act?

This letter is designed to initiate discussion and to rally women who feel the need for action. Suggestions of seminars on the History of British Women, public meetings, a "Second Declaration of the Rights of Women" have already been made. Projected is the formation of a committee of socialist women. If you are interested in discussing your participation and/or projects please contact (Mrs.) Toni Gorton at the above address.

THE WEEK TO PUBLISH WOMAN PAMPHLET

The Week will soon be publishing a pamphlet on the woman question. It will be based on articles that have appeared in The Week plus some new additions. If any of our readers have a contribution on this topic please sent it along.

LABOUR AND THE COMMON MARKET - STAN NEWENS REPLIES *

Richard Cooper's comment on the statement issued by twenty-five left and left of centre Labour M.P's favouring British entry into E.E.C. could hardly be weaker (The Week 27.4.1967).

He merely attributes it to "their efforts to rationalise British capitalism in the interests of the British monopolies".

As one of the signatories who has in the past been a sponsor of The Week, I am prepared to be told that my reasoning is at fault but the suggestion that my major concern is the interests of British monopolies is idiotic.

As a Marxist, I recognise that socialism can only arise out of the development of the productive forces. Whether we like it or not, the big capitalist monopolies are no longer primarily contained within the frontiers of national states but are international in their character.

For socialists to seek to preserve the inviolability of Britain by opposing entry into Europe if successful would not in any way assist the achievement of a socialist Britain.

On the contrary it would mean that the more profitable sectors of British industry would be placed at a disadvantage to their continental counterparts and made a greater prey to take-over by American capital. It might be instructive for those on the left who are so concerned to preserve British from becoming linked more closely to European capitalism to consider the growing domination of the British motor industry, oil, electronics, etc., by American firms.

If British socialists are to be able to work in an arena in which the levers of power are actually at hand, they will have to work in Europe alongside European socialists.

The alternative of intaining British "independence" is in reality that of furthering Britain's economic and, therefore, political dependence on the United States of America.

As an international socialist, I look forward to the day when the American working people will be reaching out for socialist control of their land but, for geographical reasons, Britain is much more part of Europe than of the American continent.

Socialism will no more be achieved in Britain by struggling to preserve an illusory independence from Europe than socialism in a small firm can be ensured by preventing its takeover by a larger concern.

Our objective should be to build a European and in the long run an international socialist movement. It is not by fighting against natural economic development but by seeking to take it over that socialism stands to triumph in the end.

* Text of letter-- received from Stan Newens -- dated 1st May, 1967.

In these countries, the contradictions will become explosive in the next years, but their problems and, hence, their solutions are different from those facing our dependent and economically backward peoples.

The fundamental field of imperialist exploitation covers the three backward continents -- the Americas, Asia and Africa. Each country has its own characteristics, but the continents, as a whole, also have theirs. The Americas constitute a more or less homogeneous whole and almost everywhere North American monopoly capitalism holds absolute primacy. The puppet, or in the best of cases, weak and timorous, governments are unable to resist the orders of the Yankee master.

The North Americans have reached virtually the pinnacle of their political and economic domination. They can now advance little; any change in the situation could be converted into a decline in their primacy. Their policy is to maintain their conquests. The line of action is reduced at the present time to the use of brute force to block freedom movements no matter what their nature. The slogan, "We will not permit another Cuba," is designed to cover up treacherous aggressions like the one perpetrated against Santo Domingo; or, before that massacres like the one in Panama, and the clear warning that they are ready to send Yankee troops anywhere in the Americas where a change in the established order endangers their interests.

This policy enjoys almost absolute impunity. The OAS (Organization of American States) is a convenient mask, however discredited it is; the UN is of an inefficacy bordering on the ridiculous or the tragic; the armies of all the countries of Americas are ready for use in mowing down their own people. In practice what has been formed is an international of crime and betrayals. In addition, the indigenous bourgeoisies have lost all capacity to oppose imperialism, if they ever had any -- and constitute only a source of supplies for it. No other changes can be made; it's either a socialist revolution or a caricature of revolution.

Asia is a continent with different characteristics. The freedom struggles against a series of European colonial powers resulted in the establishment of more or less progressive governments whose subsequent evolution was, in some cases to deepen the primary objectives of national liberation and in others to revert toward proimperialist positions. From the economic point of view, the United States has little to lose and much to gain in Asia. The changes have favored the U. S.; it is struggling to displace other neocolonial powers, to penetrate new spheres of action in the economic field, sometimes directly, sometimes utilizing Japan. But special political conditions exist there, above all in the peninsula of Indochina, which give Asia characteristics of capital importance and which play an important role in the global military strategy of North American imperialism.

Its blockade of China extends at least from South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, South Vietnam and Thailand. This dual situation -- such a strategic

interest as the military blockade of the People's Republic of China and the ambition of its capitalists to penetrate the big markets which they do not yet dominate -- makes Asia possibly one of the most explosive regions in the world today, despite the apparent stability outside of the Vietnam area. Belonging geographically to this continent, but with its own contradictions, the Middle East is boiling, and no one can forecast what the cold war will lead to between the progressive countries of this zone and Israel, which is backed by the imperialists. One more rumbling volcano in the world, Africa, appears almost like virgin territory for a neocolonial invasion.

Changes have occurred which, to a certain degree, have compelled the neocolonial powers to give up their former absolute prerogatives. But when the processes continue without interruption to their conclusion, colonialism gives way, without violence, to a neocolonialism, the consequences of which are the same so far as economic domination is concerned. The United States formerly did not have colonies in this region and now it is struggling to penetrate the former preserves of its partners.

It can be said that Africa constitutes, in the strategic plans of North American imperialism, a long-range reserve; its current investments are of importance only in the Union of South Africa and it is beginning to penetrate into the Congo, Nigeria and other countries, where violent competition is flaring up (of a "peaceful" nature up to now) with other imperialist powers. It does not yet have big interests to defend except its pretended right to intervene any place on the globe where its monopolies are making good profits or where big reserves of raw materials are to be found. All the above leads up to posing the possibilities for the peoples to win their freedom in the immediate or near future.

Analyzing the African scene, we see that the Portuguese colonies of Guinea, Mozambique and Angola are struggling with some intensity, with particular success in Guinea and variable successes in the other two. Also we still see a struggle between Lumumba's successors and the old accomplices of Tshombe in the Congo, a struggle that appears at the moment to be inclining in favor of the latter, those who have "pacified" a big part of the country to benefit themselves, although war remains latent.

In Rhodesia the problem is different -- British imperialism utilized all the machinery at its disposal to hand over power to the white minority which now holds it illegally. The conflict, from England's point of view, is completely against these officials, except that this power, with its customary diplomatic skill -- it is also called hypocrisy in good Spanish -- maintains an appearance of distaste for the measures taken by the Ian Smith government and is supported in its crafty attitude by some of the Commonwealth countries which follow it and is attacked by a good part of the countries of black Africa, whether they are economic vassals of English imperialism or not.

In Rhodesia the situation could become highly explosive if the efforts of the black patriots to rise up in arms materializes and this movement is actually supported by the neighboring African nations. But today all these problems are aired in bodies as innocuous as the UN, the Commonwealth or the OAU (Organization of African Unity). Nevertheless the political and social

evolution of Africa causes us to forecast a continental revolutionary situation. The freedom struggles against the Portuguese must end victoriously, but Portugal signifies nothing in the imperialist list. The confrontations of revolutionary importance are those that hold at bay the whole imperialist apparatus, although we would not, because of that, cease struggling for the liberation of the three Portuguese colonies, for the deepening of their revolutions.

When the black masses of South Africa or Rhodesia initiate their genuinely revolutionary struggle, or when the impoverished masses of a country set out against the ruling oligarchies to redeem their right to a decent living, a new era will have opened in Africa. Up to now barracks coups have occurred in which one group of officers replaces another or a regime that no longer serves their caste interests and those of the powers that surreptitiously control them; but there have been no popular convulsions. In the Congo, these characteristics were given a temporary impulse by the memory of Lumumba, but they have been losing momentum in recent months.

In Asia, as we have seen, the situation is explosive, and Vietnam and Laos where the struggle is now going on are not the only points of friction. The same holds true for Cambodia, where at any moment North America can launch a direct invasion; Thailand, Malaysia must be added, and, naturally, Indonesia, where we cannot believe that the final word has been said despite the annihilation of the Communist party of that country after the reactionaries took power. And, of course, the Middle East. In Latin America, the struggle is going on arms in hand in Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela and Bolivia and the first buds are already appearing in Brazil.

There are other centers of resistance that have appeared and been extinguished. But almost all the countries of this continent are ripe for a struggle of such nature that, to end in a triumph, it cannot be accommodated to anything less than the establishment of a government of socialist nature. In this continent practically only one language is spoken, save for the exceptional case of Brazil, with whose people those who know Spanish can speak, in view of the similarity between the two languages. The similarity of the classes is so great among these countries that they can be identified as an "international American" type, much more so than in other continents. Language, customs religion, a common boss unites them.

The degree and forms of exploitation are similar in their effects for exploiters and exploited in a good number of countries of our America. And rebellion in them is ripening at an accelerated rate. We can ask: This rebellion -- how can it be fructified? What kind of rebellion will it be? We have maintained for some time that given its similar characteristics, the struggle in the Americas will, in time, acquire continental dimensions. It will be the scene of many big battles in behalf of humanity, in behalf of its liberation. Measured against the scope of this continental-wide struggle, the present struggles keeping it going in an active way are only episodes, but they have already provided their martyrs who will figure in the history of the Americas for having given their quota of necessary blood in this final stage of struggle for the full freedom of mankind.

The great lesson of the invincibility of guerrilla warfare catching on among the masses of the dispossessed. The galvanization of the national spirit; but preparation for more difficult tasks, for resistance to more violent repression. Hate as a factor in the struggle; intransigent hate for the enemy, which takes one beyond the natural limitations of a human being and converts one into an effective, violent, single-minded, cold killing machine. Our soldiers must be like that; a people without hate cannot triumph over a brutal enemy. The war must be taken as far as the enemy carries it; into his home, into his home, into his places of diversion, making it total.

He must be prevented from having a moment's tranquility, a moment's calm outside the barracks and even within them -- attack him wherever he is to be found; make him feel relentless pursuit wherever he goes. Then his morale will begin to decline. He will become still more bestial; but signs will be noted of the decay which begins to appear and which will develop into genuine proletarian internationalism, where the banner under which the struggle is carried on is the sacred cause of benefiting all humanity, so that to die under the colors of Vietnam, Venezuela, Guatemala, Laos, Guinea, Colombia, Bolivia, Brazil -- to mention only the current scenes of armed struggle -- is equally glorious and desirable for an American, an Asian, an African and even a European.

Every drop of blood spilled in a land under whose flag one was not born, is an experience that is treasured by anyone who survives and who can then apply the lessons learned in the struggle for freedom in his own place of origin. And every people that frees itself is a phase in the battle for freedom of the very peoples that have already won a victory. It is time to moderate our disputes and to place everything at the service of the struggle. That big controversies are agitating the world struggling for freedom, all of us know; and we cannot hide it. That they have acquired a character and a sharpness that makes a dialogue and reconciliation appear extremely difficult, if not impossible, we know that, too.

To seek ways to initiate a dialogue which the disputants reject is a fruitless task. But the enemy is there, pounding day after day and threatening new blows and these blows will unite us today, tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. Whoever first obtains and prepares this necessary union will win the gratitude of the peoples. In view of the virulence and intransigency with which each cause is defended, we, the dispossessed, cannot take part in any way by declaring a position on the differences, even when we at times agree with some of the arguments on one side or the other, or to a greater degree with those of one side rather than those of the other.

At this moment of the struggle, the form in which the present differences are made public constitutes a weakness, but in the situation confronting us, to hope to reach an agreement on them through words is an illusion. History will determine which positions will be wiped out and which will be confirmed. In our world of struggle, everything involving a dispute around tactics, methods of action for the attainment of limited objectives, must be analyzed with the respect due other's appreciations. As for the great strategic objective, the total destruction of imperialism by means of

struggle, on that we must be intransigent. We would sum up as follows our aspirations for victory: destruction of imperialism by means of eliminating its strongest bulwark -- the imperialist domain of the United States of North America.

To take as the tactical line the gradual freeing of the peoples, by ones or by groups, involving the enemy in a difficult struggle outside of his terrain; liquidating his bases of support, which are his dependent territories. This means a long war. And, we repeat it once again, a cruel war. Let no one be mistaken on this when he sets out to initiate it and let no one vacillate in initiating it out of fear of the results which it can draw upon his own people. It is almost the only hope for victory. We cannot evade the need of the hour. Vietnam teaches us this with its permanent lesson in heroism, its tragic daily lesson in struggle and death in order to gain the final victory.

Over there, the imperialist troops find the inconveniences of those accustomed to the standard of living which the North American nation boasts. They have to confront a hostile land, the insecurity of those who cannot move without feeling that they are walking on enemy territory; death for those who go outside of fortified redoubts; the permanent hostility of the entire population. All this continues to provoke repercussions inside the United States; it is going to arouse a factor weakening the full vigor of imperialism; the class struggle inside its own territory. How close and bright would the future appear if two, three, many Vietnams flowered on the face of the globe, with their quota of death and immense tragedies, with their daily heroism, with their repeated blows against imperialism, with the obligation it would signify for imperialism to disperse its forces under the lash of the growing hate of the peoples of the world!

And if we were capable of uniting so as to give our blows greater solidity and certainty, so that aid of all kinds for the people locked in combat would be even more effective. How great the future would be, and how near! If we, on a small point on the map of the world, carry out the duty which hail and place at the disposition of the struggle this small bit which we are permitted to give: our lives, our sacrifice, it can happen that one of these days we will draw our last breath on a bit of earth already ours, watered with our blood. Let it be known that we have measured the scope of our acts and that we consider ourselves no more than elements in the great army of the proletariat; but we feel proud at having learned from the Cuban revolution and its great main leader the great lesson to be drawn from his attitude in this part of the world: "What difference the dangers to a man or a people, or the sacrifices they make, when what is at stake is the destiny of humanity."

Our entire action is a call for war against Yankee imperialism and a cry for the unity of the peoples against the great enemy of the human species: the United States of North America. Wherever we are surprised by death, let it be welcome if our call for war has reached even one receptive ear and another hand reaches out to take up our arms, and other men prepare to sing the mournful songs to the chattering of machine guns and new calls for war and for victory.

To arms! -- Che

THE INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL OPENS by Geoff Coggan*

In spite of the extreme pressure on those taking part in the Tribunal over the last few weeks the First Session opened on May 2nd in Stockholm. The world famous Swedish playwright, Peter Weiss, who is a member of the I.W.C.T. Swedish supporting committee, made the opening speech. This was followed by an hour-long statement by Jean-Paul Sartre. A message of welcome to Tribunal members sent from Wales by Bertrand Russell was read by Ralph Schoenman, General Secretary of the Tribunal.

Members of the Tribunal who are now in Stockholm and are taking part in this session include philosopher, Jean-Paul Sartre, French author Simone de Beauvoir Gunther Anders, Austrian author, Lelio Basso, Italian M.F., Vladimir Dedijer Historian, Wolfgang Abendroth Professor of Political Science at Marburg University, Mehmet Ali Aybar President of Turkish Workers' Party, Dave Dellinger American Pacifist and editor of Liberation, Amado Hernandez Poet Laureate of the Philippines, Laurent Schwartz Professor of Mathematics, Paris University. The Japanese Commission for the Investigation of American War Crimes in Vietnam has sent two representatives to Sweden to present the evidence gathered by their independent investigating teams. Two British members will be arriving later this week: - Lawrence Daly, General Secretary Scottish N.U.M. (who had to return to Britain on important union business); and Isaac Deutscher, Trotsky's biographer, who has been indisposed.

The first question to be discussed by the Tribunal is whether the United States government, and the governments of its allies, have committed acts of aggression contrary to international law. As a background report to this question an 80-page document has been prepared by American historian Gabriel Kolko which traces the course of the Vietnam war over the last 25 years.

The second question to be discussed at this session is whether, and on what scale, there has been bombardment of purely civilian targets. Six North Vietnamese witnesses are already in Stockholm to give evidence and eyewitness accounts will also be given by the members of four international investigating teams which include lawyers, doctors and chemists. Examples of American experimental weapons, including fragmentation bombs, will be presented to the Tribunal. Four hours of films of U.S. raids and of the effects of experimental weapons will be viewed by Tribunal members and recorded interviews with North Vietnamese villagers are amongst the evidence to be presented later in the week.

One report describes a visit to a hospital in North Vietnam where a doctor in one of the investigating teams examined victims. He found a three-year-old boy who had been wounded in the right leg and shoulder by steel pellets from a fragmentation bomb and was bleeding heavily; a five-year-old boy who was wounded by steel pellets in the head and right leg; and a 45-year-old peasant woman who was wounded in the stomach, her legs were paralysed, her bowels were damaged, a bomb fragment was lodged in her spine and she had an injury to her left arm.

This first session will last 10 days and the evidence presented together with The Tribunal's findings will be publicised in magazines, books and films. Wide interest has been shown in the Tribunal and press and television reporters are present in Stockholm from all parts of the world.

*Geoff Coggan is Press Officer to the I.W.C.T.

VIETNAM WEEK IN SHEFFIELD from Peter Smith

In view of the intensification of the war in Vietnam, a group of people have organised a week of activities in order to bring to the attention of the people of Sheffield the issues involved. The following activities have been planned. During the week, there will be a permanent exhibition in the foyer of the University Union on Western Bank, showing the effects of the bombing and the use of napalm. The building is open from 10.0 a.m. to 9.0 p.m. Also it is hoped to have a literature stall in the centre of the town later in the week. A daily bulletin will be published and distributed.

Monday May 8: 1.0 p.m. Arts Tower, Western Bank, FILM 'The Threatening Sky' a record of Vietnam at war. 7.30 p.m. Lower Refectory, University Union PUBLIC FORUM Speakers: Lord Milford (Communist member of the House of Lords) Ken Coates (Director of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation) Nigel Harris (York University) FILM 'The Threatening Sky'

Tuesday May 9: 1.0 p.m. Arts Tower, Western Bank FILM 'Eye Witness' - Vietnam through the eyes of James Cameron. 7.30 p.m. Graves Hall, University Union FILM AND DISCUSSION MEETING Speakers: Peter Worsley (Professor of Sociology at Manchester University) Terry Lacey (Chairman of the Union of Liberal Students) FILM 'Eye Witness'

Thursday May 11: 1.0 p.m. Graves Hall, University Union QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON VIETNAM Panel: Professor Bernard Crick, Michael Barratt Brown, Nick Howard, Ray Southall, Teodor Shanin, David Read, Professor Tom Kaiser in the Chair. 8.0 P.m. Forresters Pub, Division Street SOCIAL EVENING WITH READINGS from Vietnamese and American Literature, arranged by John Hainsworth of the Extramural Department.

Friday May 12: 1.0 p.m. Graves Hall, University Union "Is America a threat to world peace?" Speaker: Russell Kerr M.P. 7.0 to 10.0 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Hartshead, Sheffield 1. PUBLIC DISCUSSION Speakers: Ernie Roberts (Assistant General Secretary of the Amalgated Engineering Union) Laurence Daly (General Secretary of the Scottish Union of Mineworkers) Dr. Malcolm Caldwell (Lecturer at the School of African and Oriental Studies, University of London) All recently returned from North Vietnam, and Russell Kerr M.P. and Peter Jackson, M.P. and Olive Gibbs, CND.

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