

Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Kuron and Modzelewski are on trial in Poland for writing
A Revolutionary Socialist Manifesto from a Polish prison
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IS BOOK SERVICE
 90 Mountview Road London N4.

N Ireland and the British Left: the enemy is at home

SOME READERS may have thought that Socialist Worker's definition of Northern Ireland as a police state was rather extreme. They have surely changed their minds following the events of the last few days. Citizens who protest against

the lack of democracy in Northern Ireland are openly subjected to beatings and intimidation from the Royal Ulster Constabulary which has the complete support of O'Neill's government. Even the millionaire press in Britain is disturbed by

EDITORIAL

this. Their solution, of course, is to tell the organisers of the Civil Rights movement to stop demonstrating and thus 'provoking' the police.

They don't object to the quiet and systematic brutality of the police as long as they don't do it when press cameramen are around. The demonstrations must go on. The demands of one man, one vote, and an end to religious discrimination in

housing and unemployment must be won. What it is vital for British socialists and trade unionists to realise is that the Northern Ireland regime is part of the 'United Kingdom' and is financed and supported by British capitalism.

The British Left must act in solidarity with their Irish comrades by fighting to end British capitalism's role in Ulster.

Our job is to fight the enemy at home, not to tell Irish socialists what to do. The geographical nearness of Ireland tends to confuse British socialists about their role. The attitude of most British socialists to the struggles for national liberation in Africa and Asia follows the basic marxist approach of fighting to expose the complicity of British imperialism in those parts of the world. But where Ireland is concerned, too many British socialists unconsciously accept its 'colonial' status by ignoring the grip of British capital over the country and instead insist on instructing the Irish Left to call for a 'united workers' republic of North and South'.

ULSTER COPS v MARCHERS

From
MICHAEL FARRELL
 Organiser of the 'Long March' from Belfast to Derry, Jan 1-4



DERRY on Monday: Civil rights supporters march on police HQ to protest at attacks on Lecky Road

THE PEOPLE'S democracy of Queens University, Belfast, decided early in December to sponsor and organise a march from Belfast to Derry in support of civil rights in Northern Ireland.

The 'reforms' offered by the O'Neill government the previous month in response to demonstrations all over Northern Ireland, we felt, had no relevance to the demands of the demonstrators.

The chief demands were: For one man, one vote in local elections.

For an end to gerrymandering in local authorities.

And for the repeal of the infamous Special Powers Act.

O'Neill had promised us in return an Ombudsman, a points system for housing allocation and an appointed commission for Derry. Voting remains restricted and authorities remain gerrymandered.

So we marched. The march was not banned. At no time during the march did any demonstrator carry a weapon, offer any violence, or express any wish other than to walk down the road towards Derry.

SCREAMING

The reaction from the supporters of the Rev Ian Paisley, his commander-in-chief, Major Ronald Bunting, and the police indicated all too clearly the nature of the Northern Ireland police state. On the first day, New Year's Day, we marched to Antrim, where we were stopped well short of a screaming mob, waving clubs.

The County Inspector, Cramsie, suggested that he would protect us through the crowd in twos and threes. We agreed.

Cramsie then went into conference with Major Bunting, who was marshalling his 'troops'. After some delay, Cramsie told us that the deal was off.

Also present was Mr. Nap Minford, Parliamentary Under Secretary to the Minister of Development, and MP for Antrim, who refused to ask the government for police reinforcements for our protection or to ask the crowd to let us safely through.

Mr. Minford was later heard to tell one of the crowd where we were staying for the night.

The next morning we were stopped again at Randalstown, and, after an hour's wait, only got through a small crowd by climbing into cars, many of which were lent to us by sympathisers.

At Toome Bridge we were stopped again. The County Inspector of the Royal Ulster Constabulary once again refused to guarantee us safe passage through any trouble and re-routed us several extra miles through country lanes.

One of our scouts told us there was no trouble of any kind on the road on which we were headed.

DETAILS

At one of the cross-roads, where a small crowd had gathered, a photographer from the Belfast Telegraph overheard a conversation between a man who said he was Chairman of the South Derry Ulster Protestant Volunteers (Paisleyites) and a senior policeman.

The officer gave him exact details of the route we were taking.

We stopped briefly at the village of Gulladuff, and I

drove on ahead to spy out the situation.

The road to Maghera was thronged with Paisleyites armed with cudgels and iron bars.

No attempt of any kind was made to disperse the crowd. The marchers went on to their hall beyond Maghera in vehicles, intending to go back and march over the route the following day.

The Paisleyites, deprived of their prey, ran amok in Maghera, laying waste to the town's Catholic area.

When the Catholics collected to defend themselves, they were baton-charged by the police.

On Thursday night, Major Bunting went to visit Major James Chichester-Clarke, Minister of Agriculture, and cousin of the Prime Minister.

Bunting asked Clarke to get the march banned, and Clarke rang Home Secretary William Long, requesting him

to ban the march. Long refused.

Chichester-Clarke who has a brother of the same name at Westminster, agreed to join the Paisleyites at a cross-roads on the next day's route.

The police then refused us permission to go back to Gulladuff and march through Maghera.

On the Friday, January 3, we were stopped again by a police cordon at Dungiven, and warned that there was 'serious opposition' on the road to Claudy.

PUSHED

We were fed up by now and we pushed through the police cordon without much difficulty. On the road to Claudy we met with no resistance at all.

On the final morning we were stopped again at Cumbercross-roads and told that a few hundred yards ahead, at Burntollet Bridge there were

a few people who might throw stones.

No attempt was made to stop us.

As we came round the corner to the bridge we were ambushed by a huge, howling mob.

Each man had prepared a large pile of stones and bricks. They blocked the road in front and hurled stones from every side.

Many of the men had the shields and helmets of the B-Special police force, an emergency force drawn entirely from the Orange Order. Some of the men have since been identified as members of the B-Specials.

The first group of marchers got through without much injury, but the second half of the march were driven off the road and into the river.

Many were savagely beaten. One girl, Ann Devlin, had her

to back page

IS condemns Polish witch-hunt

TWO POLISH revolutionaries, Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, are on trial in Warsaw. They have already spent lengthy periods in jail for their writings and activities against the bureaucratic and repressive Polish regime that masquerades as socialism.

The western press has been barred from the court proceedings and the result has not been declared as we go to press. There is little doubt, however, that the two courageous marxists face stiff penalties.

Socialist Worker urges readers to join the protest at the Polish Embassy in London this Friday, (January 10) where the following letter of protest will be handed in:-

WE WISH TO CONDEMN in the strongest possible terms the trial of Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski.

The only crime committed by these courageous men has been to speak the truth with absolute honesty.

Poland is rotten with men who commit crimes without challenge.

The great criminals decide housing for workers shall not

be built and wages cut and that Polish troops shall be sent to invade Czechoslovakia and paid for out of the earnings of Polish workers.

The small criminals speculate and racketeer in the lower echelons of the Party. Yet these criminals remain untouched; indeed, some are heaped with honours.

For the innocent, for those that demand socialism, you reserve crucifixion.

Bankruptcy

At a time when Poland faces crisis, when the demands of the mass of the workers can no longer be reconciled with the imperatives of your Moscow overlords, the trial of these two men is a living demonstration of the bankruptcy of your government.

Like the capitalist states you claim to oppose, like the Tsarism against which you revolted, like the Stalinism you were supposed to have abandoned in 1956, the Polish

state cannot argue.

It has no politics that can be justified. It can only imprison the truth.

But marxism cannot be squared with the jackboot of the secret police. The knout of the state stands in total contrast to the ideals of revolutionary proletarian socialism.

Your government is no more than the knout, and is long overdue for destruction.

But Kuron and Modzelewski are the first sounds of the coming epoch that will sweep away you and your fellows, ruling classes on both sides of the Elbe.

Whatever the judgement of a corrupt court, these two men will remain an inspiration—with Vorsky, with Tyska, with Rosa Luxemburg, with Radek, Lenin and Trotsky.

These two have raised once again the supreme issues facing mankind—the struggle for socialism, for freedom, for workers' power. Their immense courage and

self-sacrifice will dig the grave of Stalinism in Poland and of capitalism in the West.

And the working classes of East and West will then have the final verdict on them and on you.

We salute Kuron and Modzelewski. When our turn comes to stand alone and cry defiance at tyranny, we can hope for no greater courage than theirs.

Spark

In Poland they have lit the spark which will finally consume the ruling classes of East and West in a common ruin.

As revolutionary socialists who have fought and continue to fight against imperialism in Vietnam, against capitalism in Britain, against dictatorship in Greece, against Stalinism in Czechoslovakia—we denounce the arrest of Kuron and Modzelewski and demand their immediate release.

The Executive Committee of the International Socialists 6.1.69.

Don't miss these important meetings and demonstrations

This Friday (Jan 10)

Moving picket and protest against trial of Kuron and Modzelewski. Polish Embassy 47 Portland Place London W1. 6.30 pm. Called by IS.

Sunday Jan 12

Rhodesia: Demonstrate solidarity with Zimbabwe Freedom Fighters. Assemble 2 pm Speakers' Corner, march to Rhodesia House.

Saturday Jan 18

Rosa Luxemburg: IS commemoration meeting. Spkr Tony Cliff. Africa Centre, King St WC2. 3.30-6. Followed by social at New Merlin's Caves, Margery St WC1, 8 pm.

Sunday Jan 19

Demonstrate solidarity with Irish Civil rights movement. 2.30 pm Speakers' Corner. March to Ulster Office.

ONE WORLD - NOT TWO ...

Are the Western countries and the Eastern bloc separate and irreconcilable, based upon different social systems? SABBY SAGALL says no - and argues that, in spite of superficial differences, we live in one interdependent capitalist world

THE RENEWED resistance by Czech students and workers to the Russian occupation and the hardening of the Kremlin's attitude towards internal freedom within Czechoslovakia once again highlight the fundamental problem facing millions of workers in Western capitalist countries:

Can a regime which sends tanks to crush the aspirations for national independence of a people be called 'socialist'?

The press and politicians of both East and West are united in referring to Russia and the East European countries as such.

But for marxist revolutionaries, socialism has always meant social ownership of the means of production under workers' control.

Can it be said that Russia and her neighbours are 'workers' states', in which the workers themselves decide the priorities of economic production, for example, whether to build more nuclear submarines and space rockets or more hospitals and schools?

CONFLICT

The official propaganda agencies in both East and West are united in their doctrine that the fundamental conflict in the world is, and has been since 1945, the Cold War between the two opposing camps.

American imperialism in Vietnam and Russian imperialism in Czechoslovakia are each able to point to the danger supposedly represented by its rival superpower as a justification for suppressing genuine popular movements.

However, in the weeks following the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia last summer, it became clear through a number of press reports that there was a tacit understanding between the two powers to collaborate as far as possible regarding each other's accepted 'sphere of influence'.

A report in the Sunday Times described how the Johnson administration had known about the Russian plans for many months and had instructed American diplomats to play down the issue.

In The Times of September 25, a headline read: 'US and

Russia Find Common Ground'.

The report stated: 'The 23rd session of the UN General Assembly opens today with the US and the Soviet Union apparently adamant against formal discussion of Vietnam and Czechoslovakia respectively, with both at odds with U Thant ...'

And the main headline in The Times on October 18 was: 'Russia Backs US Move on Vietnam'. The report said: 'The Soviet Union, it was learnt last night, is cooperating with the US in trying to persuade North Vietnam to accept the latest peace initiative.'

DISPEL

It seems, then, that the Cold War is not, in the long run, the basic struggle in the world. In fact it is vital to dispel from the outset the myth fostered by both sides that the world is divided into 'two camps'.

What we have in reality is a single capitalist world, though different forms of capitalism prevail in different parts of the world due to different historical circumstances.

In Russia and the other East European countries the system that prevails is state-capitalism in which the workers are, as in the West, the exploited class who do not own and control the means of production, but on the contrary, sell their labour-power to those who do control it—the state bureaucracy.

The bureaucracy consists of all those top party and state officials who constitute the ruling class by virtue of exercising complete control over the national wealth, which is state owned.

These controllers of the national means of production form a class in that they alone determine the priorities of economic production and the general political and cultural life of society.

Like the Western capitalist class, they also allow themselves preferential treatment in the distribution of the national product.

The Cold War, then, is a struggle between rival ruling capitalist classes which, however, have ultimately more



Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin: they carved up Europe in 1945.

in common with each other than with the working classes whom they exploit.

This could be clearly seen as early as February 1945, when Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill got together at the Yalta Conference to carve up Europe into their respective 'spheres of influence'.

The Russians had nearly completed their conquest of Eastern Europe and the new reality was recognised by the Western powers, who agreed that Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria should remain under Russian domination.

In return Stalin promised that Western Europe and Greece (where a fierce Civil War was raging) would remain under Western capitalist control, and that Yugoslavia should be shared 50-50 between East and West.

Stalin's refusal to aid the Greek partisans enabled them to be crushed by right-wing monarchist forces assisted by several British divisions.

BETRAYAL

But the Stalinist betrayal of the world revolution was nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in the policies of class collaboration pursued by the West European Communist Parties, especially the French and Italian.

In both France and Italy at the end of the war, the Resistance movements were armed and had sufficient working-class support to overthrow the existing bourgeois governments, replacing them with regimes of workers' power.

But instead of giving a revolutionary lead to the working class in both countries, the leaders of the Communist Parties, on Moscow's instructions, ordered the

workers to give up their arms to the bourgeois 'Liberation' governments and continue the wartime policy of national 'unity'. They entered the post-war coalition governments and denounced workers on strike.

Had the Communist Parties ceased to embody the revolutionary aspirations of the working classes of the West? The Western Communist leaders knew that if the bourgeois state apparatuses were to collapse, working-class social revolution would inevitably follow.

The whole of Europe was seething with the desire for revolutionary change in the wake of the Nazi defeat. It was the strongest revolutionary upsurge since 1917.

The point is that since the Red Army was not in command of Western Europe, and without its support the Communist Parties would not have been able to control the revolutionary masses.

One basic motive which united 'communist' and capitalist parties was the desire to prevent at any cost genuine workers' revolutions in the West.

For 40 years, the Western Communist Parties have acted as a political dam, stemming any potential tide of working-class revolution. The reason for this is that their real, objective social basis is not the working class of the West, but the Russian state-capitalist bureaucracy.

Although they have in the past inspired militant industrial policies on the shop-floor, (now almost totally replaced by reliance on parliamentary, reformist channels of struggle), the Communist Parties have also been political 'ambassadors' in the West of the state-capitalist class which exploits and oppresses the workers and peasants of Eastern Europe in its own social and economic interests.

AGENTS

This objective role meant that the Western Communist Parties were used as tools of the foreign policy requirements of the Russian bureaucracy.

This is one of the main points where Russian imperialism and Western capitalism must be seen not as fundamentally antagonistic but, on the contrary, as mutually supporting: the tacit understanding is that the Communist Parties are to be active agents of counter-revolution consciously or unconsciously helping to prop up Western capitalism while the Western powers turn a blind eye to what Russia does in Eastern Europe.

Official Russian propaganda would have us believe that the Red Army which swept the German forces out of Eastern Europe in 1944 also carried with it social revolutions in the various countries.

Nothing could be further from the truth. On entering these countries, the 'Soviet' government pledged its support for the existing set-up which in each case meant an anti-working-class regime.

They upheld for a long time the existing state-bureaucracies with in many cases the same right-wing or fascist officials in charge.

In countries such as Poland, Bulgaria, and Rumania, Stalinist policies were specifically aimed at crushing whatever independent working-class organisation and initiative had been spontaneously thrown up as part of the anti-Nazi struggle.

The state-capitalist bureaucracy thus formed alliances with the most reactionary elements in order to destroy all popular and socialist forces.

The Communist Parties were only able to assume complete control of the state machines in the satellite countries when all actual and potential working-class opposition had been finally eradicated.

PLUNDER

Stalin's economic policy towards the satellites was to plunder their resources through the wholesale transfer of factories to Russia and through trade 'agreements' on terms that were ruinous to these countries.

The economic needs of the latter were completely subordinated to the Russian bureaucracy's interests of capital accumulation.

The main reason for this looting was Russia's lack of capital. In 1917 she had been one of the most backward capitalist countries.

The industry that existed had been built up largely through foreign investment. And the Second World War destroyed roughly a third of her industrial base.

But the Russian bureaucracy's drive towards ceaseless capital accumulation, which resulted in the imperialist plunder of Eastern Europe, must itself be seen in a wider historical context.

The emergence of the Stalinist bureaucracy as the ruling state-capitalist class is historically rooted in the destruction of the Russian

revolution by the forces of counter-revolution.

The Russian working class was tiny in comparison with the vast peasantry. This was due to Russian economic backwardness, which was itself a product of the unevenness of world capitalist development.

Nevertheless, the working class was the driving-force of the 1917 revolution.

The counter-revolution was in turn able to destroy the working class in the Civil War because of the failure of the Russian revolution to spread internationally.

For this, the German social-democrats bear an overwhelming responsibility. In 1919, they colluded with right-wing Army officers to crush the revolutionary workers' councils and murder the revolutionary leaders such as Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

The consequences of Russian economic backwardness and the isolation of the Russian revolution was the need to undertake rapid industrialisation if the new regime was to survive against a further onslaught from Western capitalism.

The point is that the capitalist bourgeoisie had since the late Middle Ages bound the world into a single system of social and economic relations.

It had absorbed the underdeveloped countries into its network, and transformed them into satellite economies. They became sources of raw materials, then markets for goods manufactured in the advanced world, and later outlets for the investment of surplus capital.

DANGER

The Western bourgeoisie had important investments in Tsarist Russia, and clearly could not tolerate the existence of a revolutionary workers' state in the midst of its global possessions.

Quite apart from the actual expropriation of their Russian assets, the living example of a socialist democracy was a constant danger to the Western ruling classes.

The Russian revolution either had to spread internationally or succumb to the pressures of the capitalist world market and become absorbed into it.

The declining reality of the international revolutionary alternative in the course of the twenties inevitably meant that industrialisation in Russia would be under-



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Socialist Worker

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SOCIALIST WORKER is the paper of International Socialism, a movement of revolutionary socialists who believe that the present form of society, with its blatant inequalities, its periodic crises, wars and racist hysteria must be replaced by one based on a planned economy under full workers' control; those who produce the wealth should own and control the means of production. International Socialism is opposed to any incomes policy that seeks to restrict the wages of the workers in order to boost the profits of the employers. We unconditionally support all shop stewards and rank and file trade union members in their struggles for better wages and conditions and oppose all reactionary laws that threaten the liberties of the labour movement. We support all strikes in defence of workers' interests with the de-

WHERE WE STAND

mand of no victimisation of trade unionists. Redundancy should be opposed with the demand: five days work or five days pay. Shop stewards organisations should strengthen and extend their in-

fluence by linking up on an industrial and ultimately a national basis.

We are opposed to racial discrimination, a weapon used by the ruling class to divide the labour movement. Immigration control must be ended, ensuring the free movement of peoples regardless of race and colour. Black and white workers must unite and form their own defence organisations to fight fascism and racialism. The labour movement must demand the immediate recall of British troops from abroad as the first step towards ending colonial exploitation.

The task of revolutionary socialists is to join workers in their struggles with socialist ideas that will link up the various sections of the labour movement and help create a force that will lead on to workers' power and international socialism.

Britain: how the o

THE SOCIALIST WORKER programme refers to the blatant inequalities of capitalist society.

These are the result of the ownership of the means of production (and of the greater part of personal wealth) by a tiny minority of the population.

Inequality can be seen not only in wide differences in income between social classes but in such fields as health, education and housing.

Three-quarters of all private property in Britain, according to Professor Meade, is owned by a mere 5 per cent of the adult population, whereas 45 per cent (some 15 million people) have no property at all or only very small savings.

In addition to this, the control of the productive resources of the nation as

expressed in the ownership of ordinary shares is even more highly concentrated.

Although there are two million shareholders in Britain, according to the Inland Revenue three-quarters of ordinary shares are owned by a mere 2 per cent of the population.

Value

At the same time, the value of shares has risen much faster than real wages.

The market value of all the ordinary shares quoted on the London Stock Exchange rose from £6,657 million on June 30 1947 to £28,554 on December 29 1967, which was more than twice the total wages earned by 15 million workers in that year.

As far as earned income is concerned, while one-fifth of adult male workers earn less than £15 per week,

by DAVE

the richest population share of total poorest 33. and women are less than each.

The share salaries in has increased compared with while the alone has risen from 40 per cent.

While people try pitiful stipendium of a couple (to receive superannuation) retiree's pension of £100 a week and pension of £100 a week



The Czech invasion: a student asks a Russian soldier 'Why have you come?'

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These controllers of the state increasingly detached themselves from any vestiges of socialist internationalism—on the contrary, they felt obliged to set about systematically destroying what remnants of working-class democracy had survived the Civil War.

The interests of the emerging state-capitalist class lay in building up their national economic base so as to achieve industrial equality with the other powerful capitalist states and the capacity to compete with them on equal terms on the world market.

SQUEEZE

To do this, the bureaucracy had to squeeze the maximum production out of the masses at the cost of minimising their level of consumption.

Clearly, the workers and peasants could not be relied on to accept such ruthless mobilisation on the terms laid down by the bureaucracy without considerable resistance.

The growing need of the bureaucracy to keep the masses down inside Russia also dictated their need to discourage and undermine any independent foreign working-class revolutionary movements.

We can see how imperialism East and West objectively need and sustain each other. The Western and Russian

ruling classes have more interests in common with each other than with the workers they exploit and oppress.

Each side needs 'law and order' within its recognised sphere.

To the extent that it has this, it can get on with the job of driving its workers towards greater and greater accumulation of capital so as to be able constantly to strengthen its competitive position on the world market.

The fact that the Russians supply the North Vietnamese and the NLF with arms does not detract from this analysis, since clearly the Russians subscribe officially to a revolutionary ideology.

There is, however, a difference between actively initiating and fostering the growth of revolutionary movements, and grudgingly jumping on the bandwagon for the sake of appearances once they have become an inescapable reality.

The Cold War has provided each ruling class with an indispensable means of justifying to their respective working classes the perpetuation of the existing type of society.

Capitalism, East or West, only continues to exist because the workers accept it as the only possible and legitimate form of society.

Each form of capitalism achieves this ideological justification by pointing to the other as the only conceivable alternative to itself.

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to two-thirds of their salary.
There are numerous cases of directors receiving lump sums of £40,000 and pensions of £5,000 a year.

These glaring inequalities in incomes and the ownership of property result in the poor housing and poor nutrition of a significant proportion of working people.

Sickness

There are 1.6 million people in British living more than three to a room, 2.6 million households with no bath, and a large proportion of families where the children have an inadequate diet.

Sickness among unskilled workers is twice as frequent and the infant death rate is 50 per cent as high as among professional people.

These contrasts are the product of an economic

system motivated by profit for a few at the expense of the majority.

In order to place the burden of the increasing problems of British capitalism on to the backs of the working people, the government is seeking to impose a wage freeze and is carrying out attacks on the standard of living.

It is only by mass class action and the development of a revolutionary understanding of society through the building of the socialist movement that these attacks can be defeated.

Rosa Luxemburg

was murdered in Berlin 50 years ago this month. Next week JIM HIGGINS writes on the life and ideas of one of the great figures of international socialism

SLOWLY, BUT WITH gathering momentum, the whole of the Middle East is moving into a final confrontation between Israel and the Arabs.

The revolutionary Left in Britain must clearly face up to the issues raised by such a clash and decide which side deserves our support, however critical.

It seems clear that the Israelis are determined to hold on to the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip and Sharm el Seikh which controls the Straits of Tiran and access to the Israeli port of Eilat.

Premier Eshkol also demands the demilitarisation of the West Bank of the Jordan.

If any Arab leader gave in to these demands he would be promptly overthrown by the passionately anti-Zionist masses.

People's interests

The emergence of the Arab commando groups of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation and Al Fatah represents for the first time the Palestinian peoples' interests in the recovery of their homeland.

The guerillas are not racialists bent on exterminating the Jews as is claimed by such 'socialists' as Ian Mikardo, who see in Moshe Dayan the democratic socialist in arms defending a socialist state, dependent on the US and West Germany for maintaining its economy.

In an interview with guerilla leader Yasir Arafat in The Times, he said:

'We are not against the Jews. On the contrary, we are all semites and we have been living together in peace and fraternity, Muslims, Jews and Christians, for many centuries.'

Fearful insecurity

The enemy of the Palestinians is Zionism, a movement born of the fearful insecurity which Jews found in the twentieth century when nationalism fed on minority groups.

The Balfour Declaration of 1917 unlawfully gave to the Jews the sovereignty of Palestine in return for American Jewry's support in World War 1.

The birth of the state of Israel in 1948 was a direct result of British policies and the tremendous sympathy which the Nazi's criminal policy of genocide had generated for the Jews.

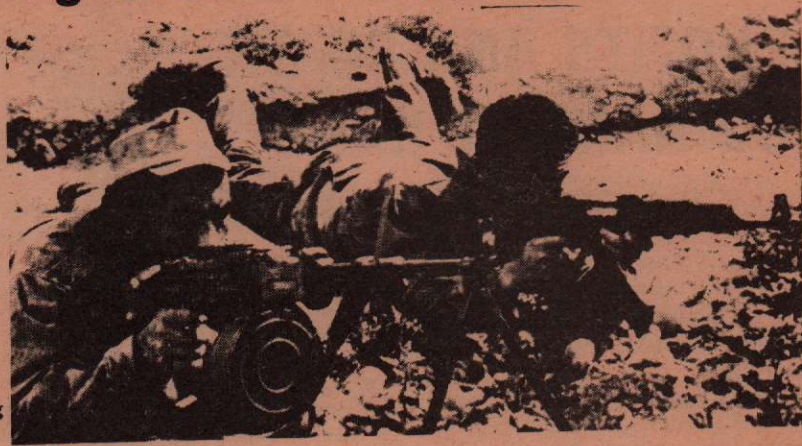
But the Jews had their own policy of driving out the Arabs or massacring them as at Deir Yassin when 254 were murdered by the terrorist gang, the Irgun.

By a policy of force the Zionists established the state of Israel, driving into refugee camps 580,000 Arabs. Some 160,000 were allowed to remain living under military rule, with special passes—second-class citizens in a religious state which saw them as a potential fifth column.

In 1956 there were some 922,000 refugees in the camps

Palestine guerrillas fight for their homeland Arabs and Israel: why Zionist state must go

Arab commandos training in Jordan



by TERRY BULL

at Gaza, Jordan, the Lebanon and Syria.

In the same year Israel joined with the French imperialists led by 'socialist' Guy Mollet and the British reactionaries under Eden to smash Nasser and Egypt in the Suez adventure.

Pan Arabism and Nasser had to be contained. Zionism was revealed as a useful weapon against the growth of modern regimes in the Arab world.

The six-day war in 1967 stemmed directly from the Zionists' fears that the new states of Algeria, Egypt, Syria and the Yemen would strengthen the hand of the Palestinians.

There can be no solution to the Middle East conflict without the destruction of the Zionist state of Israel and the building of a secular Palestine.

400,000 more refugees, the annexation of Jerusalem and the military occupation of the West Bank have emphasised

that Israel's role as a Zionist state is of necessity an expansionist one, dependent on the West for help in return for playing the role of policeman.

It could be argued that only neutrality is the correct response to what is a confused and confusing picture.

Syria is ruled by a ruthless wing of the Baa'thists, opposed by Iraq, which is also ruled by another wing of the Baa'thists.

Popular unrest

Algeria is run on a strict Muslim basis by an autocratic usurper, Boumedienne.

Egypt is in the throes of popular unrest presided over by the Arab Socialist Union and Abdul Gammel Nasser—a cynical manipulator of the masses.

But there are 80 million Arabs who see in the creation of a hostile state by force in their midst an affront to

their very existence.

Israel has to draw in Jews from abroad to maintain the momentum needed to build a Jewish state. Dayan and others like Ben Gurion also see the need for a state of siege psychology which will one day, with the help of the Atomic Reactor at Nahal Soreq, produce the ultimate deterrent.

Meanwhile money needed for reconstruction is wasted on military hardware and thousands shiver and rot in the refugee camps.

The destruction of the Zionist state (not its Jewish inhabitants) by a popular armed guerilla war is a necessary prerequisite for socialist advance.

A new Palestine must be born, that will destroy Hussein's pro-Western state and create a climate in which the technology of Palestine could advance the lot of great numbers of the 80 million Arab people.

Zionism is the enemy of Jews and Arabs alike. There can be no peace while it remains a Zionist state.

Join the International Socialists

ABERDEEN Janet Kennedy 32 East Main Ave Mastrick	GLASGOW Ian Mooney 4 Dalcross Passage W1	NORTHAMPTON Alan Druker 21 Ardington Road
ACTON John Deason 148 Rusthall Avenue W4	HAVINGER Dave Rugg 8a Elm Parade Hornchurch Essex	NORWICH Gerald Crompton 220 College Rd Norwich NOR 54F
BECKENHAM Mervyn Smith 9 Alton Gardens Copers Cope Rd 01 658 6552	HORNSEY Valerie Clark 18 Dickinson Rd N8	NOTTINGHAM Robert Abrahamson 15 Wellington Square Derby Rd OXFORD Steve Bolchover 181 Iflley Road
BIRMINGHAM Godfrey Webster 128 Yardley Wood Rd B'ham 13	HULL Paul Gerhardt 52 Freehold Street ILFORD Lionel Sims 99 Belgrave Road 01 SEV 6991	POTTERIES John Whitfield 5 Grosvenor Rd Newcastle U Lyme
BRADFORD Bob Kornreich Flat 1 7 Oak Avenue Bradford 8	IPSWICH Malcolm Bezant 45 Melbourne Road	RICHMOND Peter Glatzer 3 Burlington Ave Kew
BRIGHTON Micky Adams Flat 4 85 St. Aubyns Hove	ISLINGTON/ANGEL D Phillips 2 Chapel Mkt Grant St N1 01 BRU 1026	RIPLEY & ILKESTON C Burnett 75 Heage Road Ripley Derbys
BOLTON F Canavan 11 Sutton Rd Sutton Estate Deane Bolton	DALSTON/SHOREDITCH B Hugill 154 Downham Rd N1	SELBY John Charlton 12 Thatch Close Selby Yorks
CAMBRIDGE Peter Smith 65 Glisson Road	HIGHBURY Keith Ellis 8 Archibald Road N7	SHEFFIELD J Wilkin 15 Raven Road Sheffield S7 ISB
CAMDEN Chris Barker 36 Gildea Road NW5	KENTON Kevin Simms 56 Salisbury Road Harrow	SOUTHAMPTON John Fisher 144 Thornhill Park Road
CHERTSEY Nick Humphrey 83 New Haw Rd Addlestone Surrey	KILBURN Sean Dunne 18 Lithos Road NW3	STEVENAGE Michael Downing 57 Trumper Road Trots Hill
COLCHESTER Ian Noble 12 Coach Rd Arlesford Wivenhoe 272	KINGSTON Roger Crossley Flat 2 6 The Avenue Surbiton	STOCKPORT Barry Biddulph 10 Foliage Crescent Brinnington
COVENTRY Dave Edwards 53 Palmerston Rd Earlson	LAMBETH Andy Smith Flat 6 126 Streatham Hill SW2	STOKE NEWINGTON Mike McGrath 28 Manor Road N16
CRAWLEY Deborah Ward 2 Weddell Rd Tilgate	LEICESTER Shirley Abrams Flat 3 26 St Albans Road	SWANSEA Pete Branston 33a Uplands Crescent
CROYDON Jenny Godhams 26 Braemar Avenue South Croydon	LEEDS Vince Hall Flat 3 25 Bagby Road Leeds 2	TOTTENHAM Laurie Flynn 374 High Road N17
DURHAM A Beard 35 Hallgarth Durham	LOWESTOFT Ron Mallet 30 Cotmore Road	TOWER HAMLETS M Renn 58 Merchant St Bow E3
EAST LONDON John Metcalfe 61 Wolsey Avenue E17	MANCHESTER Jack Sutton 11a Rowan Avenue Walley Range M16	WATFORD Paul Russell 61 Carpenters Avenue Carpenters Park
EDINBURGH Jim Smith 25 Pitt St (Leith) Edinburgh 6	MERSEYSIDE Ross Hill 5 Lothair Rd Anfield Liverpool 4	WIGAN Ray Challinor 34 Whiteside Avenue Hindley
ENFIELD Gill Pressman 34 The Chine London N21	MERTON Malcolm Roe 22 Elmhurst Avenue Mitcham Surrey	WOOD GREEN Helen Wigley 332 High Road N22
FULHAM Jackie Taylor 41 Perham Road W14	MIDDLESBROUGH F Chris Chard 32 Bedford Terr Billingham	WOLVERHAMPTON Dave Spilsbury 274 Penn Road YORK Bob Looker 22 Hobgate
FOLKESTONE Dave Cowell c/o 18 Station Rd	NEWCASTLE Tony Corcoran 26 Lesbury Road	

Please send further details of the meetings and activities of the international socialists to

Name

Address

