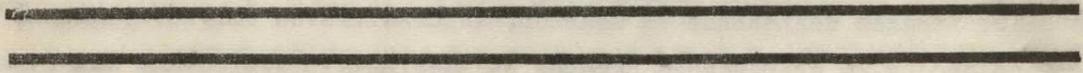


# **THE POLITICS OF WAR ●**

**by**

**hilda bernstein**



HILDA BERNSTEIN is a member of the General Council of the British Peace Committee, and was formerly the Secretary of the Peace Council of South Africa before it was banned, under the repressive legislation now in force there.

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#### THE POLITICS OF WAR

There are half a million American troops in Vietnam. There are another 300,000 in Europe. According to every American President they are there for only one reason, - "to defend freedom". America is a part of NATO which also defends freedom. It has over six million men under arms. In the Warsaw Pact there are four million men under arms, making a total of 10,000,000 men.

The main difference between the two military pacts is that those serving in NATO do so usually hundreds, if not thousands, of miles away from their own countries. Freedom becomes an infinity, its boundaries grow wider and wider and threaten to extend to the ocean floor and outer space. This defence of freedom which defies definition applies to NATO; it also defies the UN Charter, which approves only of regional defence against aggression. NATO operates in Europe, in America, in Africa and Asia, and it makes sense only in the context of the American world policy of containment. It is the essential element in the war of the rich against the poor, of the traditional ruling class against those who want social change and progress.

It is time this was recognised in Britain, and especially in the Labour movement. The hypocrisy about foreign policy is of the same order as the hypocrisy about wages policy and they both re-enforce each other, and until this hypocrisy is challenged on both fronts, a real alternative for Britain, which means peace and sanity, will be impossible.

"Europe and the Two Alliances", a pamphlet published recently by U.N.A., deals with the arguments in favour of NATO. The pamphlet says that despite the Vietnam war, relations between Russia and America have continued to improve in the 1960's. They give examples of how they have improved. Mr. Dennis Healey has several times remarked that war between the Soviet Union and the United States today is highly unlikely. The feeling has been growing therefore that if there is no common enemy, why should NATO continue. Why should not the Pact dissolve, and some overall European Security Pact, without involving America, take its place? The pamphlet argues that this argument gains force when one examines the high level of arms backing both Alliances in Europe today. But though there is obviously a case for mutually reducing the military potential of both sides as quickly as possible, it is doubtful whether the abolition of NATO now would contribute to this. Indeed such a move might increase tension in Europe again. The cause is Germany. As long as the Federal Republic is part of the Western Alliance she is subject to restraint, and some control. Whatever they may say in public, the Soviet Union, and probably the smaller Eastern European countries, regard this as an advantage. The fear of Germany in Eastern Europe is still great. And without NATO the fear would be greater still.

This is an argument, but it is only an argument, and it is based on historical inaccuracies. It is said that NATO was an answer to the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia in 1948, and to the Berlin crisis. This is not so, and that if you search the records and the writings of those responsible for Foreign affairs of Britain, you will find that they themselves will admit this. We know that the actual policy, - the conspiracy of re-arming Germany and agreeing to the Potsdam promises - was primarily of American origin. There was strong resistance in France and Britain at first, and even in 1954 the trade unions of Germany voted against it by 390 votes to 4. But gradually the resistance was overcome. In Britain one of the main arguments has always been that it is safer for the NATO powers to agree to re-arm Germany under their control so that they can control German militarism; the result being that today West Germany is not merely powerfully armed, but more powerful, arrogant and dangerous than it could ever have been had it been left alone, and not helped.

What was the real objective of the West in all this? Quite simply - to contain Communism. In simple words, the same objective as in Vietnam. This was the new Cordon Sanitaire, which was called a Defence Pact and untruthfully claimed to be consistent with the Charter of the United Nations. This is why NATO was formed and consolidated. The formation of NATO was only a stage in the development of a policy that had been put into operation four years before.

THE ATTACK ON DEMOCRACY

NATO was not, and never was, what it claimed to be - a shield in defence of democracy in the free world. It is a military instrument of United States domination in Europe. It is a power upon which reaction can call when seriously threatened by popular progressive movements forces and their opponent countries. If this was ever in doubt, the cases of Greece and Italy should prove this fact. The Greek coup was carried out by a NATO army with NATO tanks and under a NATO plan. The plan was drawn up in 1952, and was revised from time to time. Its existence first came to light with respect to Italy. It was intended to be put into operation in the event of a war with any of the Socialist countries, and it provided for the swift arrest of Communist and other progressive leaders, and to the immediate seizure of key centres; we can presume that plans of the same sort exist in all the NATO countries. If NATO and the United States withdrew their support, the Greek colonels would collapse. The Athens News of January 1968: 'Greece is the only one of NATO's allies that has raised no voice of discord against the Americans on the question of Vietnam and Korea, besides it is self-evident that while the Russian fleet in Egyptian waters is being re-enforced, the second front of the cold war is in the Mediterranean. For this reason the American government recognising that the present Greece has perhaps the best ally in NATO's anti-Communist front, has played a leading role in the so-called recognition of the new Greek government.' To these two cases we must now add Spain, as it was revealed recently that the U.S. army had a detailed military plan to take over the country in the event of rebellion against the Franco regime. Does not NATO also assist Portugal in its African limitations, a far cry from defending freedom in the Atlantic area.

Portugal has been losing ground against its freedom fighters. Recently two Portuguese officers, army officers, attended a symposium on Guerilla warfare in Capetown, and in a press interview they claimed that they were winning the war against the freedom fighters, but they say that the freedom fighters are moving steadily South and are now less than 100 miles from the South-West African borders.

Portugal, as you know, is a NATO member and has been using NATO equipment in the war against the African freedom fighters. The freedom movement in the Portuguese colonies has several times made statements about this. Frelimo, which is the freedom movement in Mozambique, and MPLA, which is the freedom movement in Angola, both claim that NATO arms are being used in the guerilla warfare. This has been denied by other NATO members, but they do not call an enquiry to examine the evidence. Both Dr. Mondlane, the Frelimo leader who was murdered in January by a bomb in Tanzania and Dr. Neto who is the leader of the MPLA, have criticised NATO aid to Portugal. It is not only of course that Portugal

uses NATO weapons, we know that an impoverished little country like Portugal, with the terrible conditions that prevail there for the people, that such a country and its dictator could not survive and carry on this massive war, which has been going on for five or six years in different territories, without the tremendous backing it is getting from the other NATO countries. So it is not just a question of the arms themselves. And now we find that the NATO weapons which are being used against freedom fighters in Portugal are spreading as the war itself is spreading and as it is trickling southwards.

Zambia has been a victim of several raids by Portuguese aircraft dropping bombs on Zambian villages, and there are NATO bombs. On 6th December of last year it was announced that Portugal had accepted responsibility for six separate incidents earlier in the year involving her armed forces in the shelling or the bombing of villages which are in Zambia, but along the border with Angola, and of Mozambique. The Portuguese themselves stated that their armed forces had been responsible for the actions and had offered compensation. Of course the reason for this is clear. It is not accidental that the planes fly over and bomb villages over the border. It is because the guerillas are operating across the border, and when they are chased by Portuguese forces they cross over the borders to villages on the other side. In December last year, five Labour back-benchers visited Zambia, and they testified to the use of NATO arms and equipment by Portugal.

#### INVESTMENT IN APARTHEID

Now, I am moving down a little bit further South. South Africa. The Times Foreign News Editor on the 19th of this month writes about South Africa claiming that labour troubles in South Africa are causing the apartheid log-jam to move, and he says this whole area of Southern Africa, and not only Zambia which is part of it, has to live with the South. The Eastern, Southern and Central African nations who met in Lusaka last month made an unmistakable moderate appeal to the white South to cooperate in negotiations so as to spare themselves the dilemma of sponsoring vague armed resistance as best they could. Industrially, economically and militarily South Africa has raced ahead. The more she out-paces her South African neighbours, however, the more she perceives that financially and militarily her forces are inter-locked with the United States and with Europe, and also with Australia and Southern America in seaward defence.

South African statesmen continually emphasise today that South Africa's role in the defence of Western civilisation is a major one. They equate their society with western civilisation. South Africa's responsibilities in the Southern Hemisphere, they say, are vital to the defence of western civilisation.

The British South African Naval Agreement which was first signed in 1955 was renegotiated in 1967 to allow Britain to withdraw from direct presence in Simonstown but it was agreed with South Africa that the South African Navy would assume greater responsibilities for the defence of the sea route around the Cape in the event of war. We know that Britain's stake in apartheid is enormous. The figure generally quoted is a thousand million pounds. We believe today that this is nearer one and a half thousand million pounds, (£1,500,000,000). The largest of all Britain's foreign investments are in South Africa, and the dividends from the direct and portfolio investments are calculated at more than one hundred million pounds a year. South Africa is Britain's second biggest market. In October, 1968, the President of the Board of Trade said, "It has always been my Government's view that political differences should not be allowed to interfere with the growth of trade".

It is claimed that investment in apartheid produces the highest rate of capital return in the world. Business Week reported in March 1969 that South Africa had an attraction of an investment return of between 17 and 26 per cent. The basis of course is cheap labour. It is interesting here that the same article of the Times News Editor, which I quoted remarks that shoes and clothing in Johannesburg shops which sell to Africans can cost as much as in London. No wonder a South African Professor recently stated that there are a million children suffering from starvation in South Africa today.

#### THE WEST STRENGTHENS ITS HOLD IN THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE

This is the basis of Britain's trade and profits in South Africa; the million children who are starving; apart from South Africa's strategic importance in any military alliance in Southern Atlantic and Indian Ocean area. The Tory shadow Foreign Minister, Mr. Alec Douglas Home, has described the Cape route as the main artery of the Western World, and it must be kept secure: he says that NATO should concern itself with helping South Africa to defend the sea route. Over 1,600 ships now take the Cape route every year, half of them calling at South African ports. So that in addition to her strategic importance in a military alliance her economic power is, by itself, a tremendous attraction to the western nations, and her newly formed Naval and terrific military power, which is greater than anything in the whole of the African continent, is specifically designed to make her indispensable to the western system despite apartheid policies.

But apart from this there are two other important aspects as far as South Africa is concerned. One is the major role played in maintaining colonialism in Africa. South Africa is taking over the responsibilities of imperialism in Africa. This is very important for us to recognise and to understand when we are formulating ideas about peace

policies and programmes, because we no longer face the direct colonial interventions of the past; yet we must not think that they have gone, and we must seek the ways - quite obvious if you look - that this new kind of colonialism, which goes by the catchphrase, neo-colonialism, is developing. South Africa is doing it by developing trade and economic alliance, first with neighbouring countries in Southern Africa, then spreading to Central Africa, then generally over the African continent. You must look upon South Africa as you might look upon the United States in relation to the whole American continent; so is South Africa in relation to the African continent. It is the technologically advanced industrially developed, economically booming country with all the resources of skilled man power, with the know-how, with the abilities, with the finance - South Africa is having such great trouble today only because it has enormous gold reserves, and does not know how to dispose of its money. And you must look at your classic development of imperialism, and see in South Africa the situation which forced countries to invest capital abroad, which forced them to develop colonial ties, which forced them to start this whole train which leads to colonial exploitation. South Africa is precisely in that position today. The neighbouring countries, the former British Protectorate's Basutoland, Botswana, and Swaziland, were given independence in a rush in recent years, under conditions which make them economically completely subservient to South Africa. They have no viability except in relation to South Africa, and this of course applies to Malawi, which has made itself dependent on the South African economy. Malagasi, Nigeria, Ghana and Kenya, are amongst the African countries who during the past years have strengthened the economic ties with South Africa. Gabon, Chad, and the Upper Volta have also started amiable contact regarding diplomatic relations with South Africa; this, in spite of the OAU and the attitude towards apartheid which all the African countries proclaim (let nothing interfere with our trade!)

South Africa, by 1967 already had 650 million rand invested in the area of the proposed South African Common Market, which is in the Southern Africa/Central Africa area. Private capital is heavily entrenched in the whole of Africa today, and we know that Anglo-American assets are approaching 1,000,000,000 rand in Africa, and the Anglo-American empire stretches from South Africa through Rhodesia to Zambia, South West Africa, Swaziland, Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Congo, Kinshasa, as well as to Australia, Malaysia, Canada, Britain and the United States of America. This policy of South Africa of developing its economic ties and diplomatic relations with other African countries is also being extended to Latin America. In the past year there have been trade and diplomatic missions between South Africa and Latin America, and this is also connected with the question of defence and military alliances. This policy is known as the 'verligte' policy, the enlightened policy. They are looking outwards towards the world.

The second point about S. Africa is the tie-up between South Africa and West Germany

which I am just going to mention without the evidence which we have in various pamphlets, particularly well documented by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the GDR, of the co-operation, both scientific and financial, and Germany's interest in South Africa's nuclear potential.

Now here I want to try and join together some strands that I have indicated, the strands of neo-imperialism, of Germany, the United States and South Africa.

#### THE ROAD TO WAR

The recent currency crisis in Germany has revealed Germany as the dominant Western European power both on the material level, and as a result of its huge economic and financial power, and also on the political level, able to withstand the combined pressures of practically the whole capitalist world. Germany will emerge more and more as the centre of the United States political, military and economic strategy in Europe, both as a result of Nixon's desire to pass on United States commitments and expenses, and also of the Bonn Government's desire for a more direct and powerful influence in world affairs. Germany will attempt to further these aims by various methods. There is the Strauss plan for the revival of some kind of EDC around France and Germany. Alternatively there is the plan for a North West European Group inside NATO, which would be essentially a German controlled structure. Sooner or later a plea for the nuclear autonomy of Germany is bound to emerge in a strong way. The retirement of de Gaulle has added to the acceleration towards a supra-national structure of a six-Nation Europe. Claude Bourdet, a leading French Socialist, has said that he believes this will come about in successive stages, and he outlines the stages as these:- Firstly the adoption of majority rule in all EEC decisions; then the increase of power of the EEC Commission; then the election of a Parliament by universal European vote; finally some kind of super-government. He adds that the only forces in Europe, apart from de Gaulle, that have consistently opposed the trend of Germany to become the most dominant force in a six-Nation Europe have been the French and Italian Communists. The United States, and anti-Communists everywhere believe European integration would eliminate the danger of a socialist breakthrough in any one of the countries. Once all six nations are integrated and are ruled by a kind of super-Government a collective breakthrough towards Socialism is practically impossible.

In a letter to the Times, Emanuel Shinwell gives a very clear summary of the visit of Herr Strauss to Britain. I quote, "The ground is being prepared for a revival of German military strength. The base is obvious. A fresh approach by Britain to enter the Common Market, but to what purpose? In an address to the members of the European Atlantic Group in the House of Commons, Strauss let the cat out of the bag. He pleaded for a common defence programme in Europe, a nuclear division of labour between Europe and

the United States. The first steps should be the pooling of British and French nuclear arms to create the core of a European defence force. This, Strauss emphasised, would not give German national control over nuclear weapons, but it would be a first step. "Who can doubt," writes Shinwell, "that in a European nuclear pool transferred to a European community under a president of a European Federation, West Germany can be excluded from either the manufacture of nuclear weapons, if this is not already in train, or the decision in the eventual use of nuclear weapons; and where do we go from here?"

#### THE STRAUSS MISSION

Thus you can perceive the shape of NATO today. Originally NATO was the United States in Europe. Now it has shifted. It is German control of nuclear weapons. It is not a question of the German finger on the nuclear trigger, it is a question of German control of nuclear weapons.

And what will be the next step? After all Britain is the only West European power that has a sizeable nuclear arsenal. The Strauss mission was not an isolated happening - it sprang the truth about Mr. Wilson and Mr. Healey's underlying nuclear strategy. Chapman Pincher had the most revealing article in the Daily Express on May 21st. "A government decision to mass-produce a new all-British atomic bomb is imminent as a result of a nuclear arms plan put forward by Herr Franz-Josef Strauss, the West German Finance Minister in London this week. It presents a major switch in Labour policy by re-furnishing Britain's independent nuclear strength, which the Prime Minister promised to eliminate". (We have seen many major switches of this kind in the Labour government's policy.) "The weapon, known as the lay-down bomb, is needed for the R.A.F.'s Phantom Buccaneer and Vulcan Bombers, which are being assigned to NATO for battlefield use in Europe. It is a small atomic bomb with delayed action devices so that planes can drop them from a low height without getting destroyed by the blast of their own bombs. Defence chiefs who finalised the designs months ago have been urging the government to order its manufacture. The government has been inclined to accept instead an American offer to provide U.S. weapons free provided they remain under the complete control of President Nixon. This would save several million pounds, but end the nuclear independence of the R.A.F. forever. Only the production of an independent stockpile of lay-down bombs would enable the Government to take part in the Strauss plan, which requires the setting up of an independent Anglo-French nuclear force inside NATO. The main objection that would have to be overcome is that the U.S. would never permit NATO to use nuclear weapons in Europe because of the risk that Russia would retaliate on American cities. Now with Germany's backing the Government sees the plan as the likeliest way of overcoming French

resistance to Britain's entry to the Common Market. West Germany's Finance Minister tried to allay fears in London last night that his proposal for a European Nuclear Force would mean a German finger on the trigger. Herr Strauss added, "In this stage the order to use nuclear weapons could be given only by the existing authorities in whose territories parts of the nuclear arsenals were located", and he made it clear that in the first stage as was the case now, British atomic weapons would be located only in Britain and France, and French weapons only in France; in the first stage.

#### A DIABOLICAL SCHEME

The Times of May 21st outlined the situation in which NATO countries nuclear weapons could be used first, before any nuclear attack had been made on them. NATO has more so-called tactical nuclear war heads, with about 7,000 of them sited mainly in West Germany. NATO nuclear war planners, the defence ministers of the United States, West Germany, Britain etc., together with their own NATO top officers, have also discussed the suggestion of using a demonstration nuclear weapon. The Anglo-American agreement is likely to place special emphasis on restricting the use of these weapons to targets outside West Germany. To me this is the most outrageous thing of all. The Germans are the master minds behind this whole diabolical scheme. They are the ones who are going to control the use of nuclear weapons and they are going to see that nuclear weapons are detonated anywhere in Europe except in Germany itself. They are going to keep West Germany free of the direct effects of the detonation of these nuclear weapons. They say they are restricting the use of these weapons to targets outside West Germany, that is in East Germany, Poland or, conceivably, Czechoslovakia. Although warheads have become smaller, and battlefield nuclear weapons are, therefore, said to be cleaner, there is still a natural West German reluctance to have detonation on home ground. Natural enough we all agree! In this connection you can understand the annoyance that the NATO countries are feeling at Trudeau's Action on the Canadian withdrawal from NATO. They say that somebody will have to take up the slack. No nation but Germany is in a position to replace the departing Canadians which could mean a substantial increase in German forces along the Eastern Frontier.

My final quote is the article by Charles Douglas Home, which appeared in the Times on 31st May, 1969, "Proposals for speeding up the procedures by which NATO would decide to use nuclear weapons in the first few days of defence against Soviet aggression are to be circulated to all the members of the alliance concerned with nuclear affairs. Suggestions to Britain and Germany are based on the view of both governments that the use of nuclear weapons is inevitable as the only alternative to surrender after a comparatively short period of non-nuclear fighting. This view is not shared by the Americans who would like to see Europeans lengthen the period of non-nuclear conflict, by raising the level of their conventionally equipped forces".

After all the Americans have done very well out of the Vietnam war without using nuclear weapons; maybe we can get the other countries to follow suit.

"The purpose of firing the first nuclear shot, in the British and German view, would be to demonstrate that the West was prepared to use even bigger weapons if the fighting did not stop".

Just a little warning nuclear bomb fired off, to let them know that there is a bigger one if we don't respond.

What makes a country like Germany dangerous is not its individual power alone, but the backing it can get from others, especially from the United States and Britain. If Germany was no longer bolstered by United States and Britain based on their hostility policies towards Socialist countries, then it would be obliged to change its role in Europe.

Some argue for the keeping of NATO for the time being: and to strive for simultaneous demoting of the NATO and the Warsaw Alliances. Bourdet says this is something of a delusion, like keeping tuberculosis in order to fight cancer. Against a hypothetical simultaneous suppression of the alliances he favours what he calls a dialectic way. Any disruption of NATO will provoke, after a time, changes in the Warsaw Pact nations, which are kept in line mainly by the constant use of the threat of NATO and Germany. He adds that what is important is not to take the post-Czech situation lying down, and accept the resurgence of the Atlantic Alliance. We must turn the tables to show the responsibility of NATO and its mistaken policies in the whole of the present situation, and especially in the present developments in eastern Europe. We must show that there is another way out, we must propose an alternative for defence, and develop the whole idea of neutralism, through pamphlets, studies and campaigns of all kinds. It is easier than it was twenty or ten years ago. Until the Czech crisis NATO was more and more being called into question because the leading role of the United States was less and less accepted, and because the example of Vietnam following Yugoslavia and Cuba has shown that smaller nations can remain independent in the present world, if they refuse to submit, and they are ready to make any aggressor pay a huge price .

#### DETENTE MUST BE A DIALECTICAL PROCESS

Bourdet then goes on to make important proposals, around which peace movements can organise their activities. They are policy proposals, of things to adopt. He talks first of the fact that the Federal German Republic must be compelled to see that the Oder-Neisse

frontier is a matter for negotiations and a future peace Treaty; to accept it as a permanent established reality; this will not be achieved without a struggle. Revisionist aspects of West German policy have created an objective need for more military power in the Federal Republic. When you demand, even if ever so politely, a part of your neighbours belongings, it is wise to carry a weapon. But then the growth of military power itself makes the frontier revision look more natural and less dangerous. This is a dialectic process which is being constantly pushed further. If some new and cheap way of producing nuclear weapons enables West Germany someday to build a quick substantial nuclear armament or if some European nuclear arms super-state is largely controlled by Germany, then it is quite clear that these revisionist demands will increase even further. For this reason Germany would be a dangerous partner in Europe, and more and more as time goes by. This has nothing to do, he says, with the German character. It would happen to any other country in a similar position.

Our first idea should be to try and reverse this whole trend, this whole movement. And the central idea of a campaign would be the recognition of all existing governments, including the GDR, both at the United Nations, and at the government level. The French Government has officially endorsed the Oder-Neisse line, and established commercial relations with the GDR, but is not yet recognising the GDR, or even facilitating travel in France for GDR citizens. If a campaign for recognition of the GDR got under way in Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands, it is conceivable that the French government might feel in a position to take another cautious step forward. We should not forget that the central aim should be the with-holding of nuclear arms from Western Germany, a danger which might arise either directly, or in some form of MLF, or through European political and military integration, and so on. We should insist on the value of a dialectical instead of a global approach. He says the global approach is like trying to plant a tree fully grown. This is an answer to the people who say: why do you hammer away at this one point here and one point there? What we want to do is eliminate all pacts, all armaments, all wars, and so on, and nothing short of that will satisfy us. I think that Bourdet has a right attitude when he says we have to start campaigning, here and there, and then gradually build up a world-wide approach. If we start demonstrating opinions, situations and structures in the west, we can count on the same sort of demobilisation in the east, if only from pressures from people there, and the chances are that this will make a contribution to support the more progressive and liberal elements in the USSR against the hard-liners.

Finally he says that supra-nationalism has little to do with internationalism. New superstates are no better in principle than nation-states, as history proves. And, therefore we must not be taken up with these arguments that this would do some good. Britain is the

key to this kind of development. If Britain does not join the EEC no other EFTA nation will, and EEC will become more and more self-contained.

FOREIGN POLICY IS TRADE UNION BUSINESS

Now Britain's role. We have come right around the globe, over Africa, and America and Europe, and we are back to Britain. Britain is the junior partner to the United States in the orbit of world capitalism, which means that all difficulties encountered in Britain today must be shouldered by the working people of Britain to protect the property and possessions, and rights and dividends of the upper classes of this country.

One per cent of our population owned 42 per cent of personal wealth in 1960. Five per cent owned 75 per cent, and 10 per cent owned 83 per cent. 10 per cent of the British population owned 83 per cent of the national wealth. These are the figures of Professor E. Victor Morgan, who estimates that property assets held by the 1 per cent who owned 42 per cent of ~~all the~~ national wealth as being £30,000,000,000. All present trends in Britain today lead towards one end, all the present policies of the British government, everything that goes on in Britain at home and in regard to its foreign policy, are all tied up and lead to this one fact. You take for instance the rationalisation of industry, which is put forward as a great step forward in the advance of a technologically enhanced Britain which will take her place in the forefront of the industrialised nations of the world. This rationalisation of industry takes the form of the promotion of monopolies with the assistance and aid of the Labour government. This is accompanied by attacks upon the trade union movement, designed to ham-string any action that could be taken at shop floor level. Instead of a Socialist policy we have a labour government managing the capitalist system for us on behalf of the capitalist class - playing it the way that the capitalists want it, allowing the Bank of England and the international financial community to determine the lines of policy that Britain must follow.

I think that there has never been a more outrageous fraud than the prices and incomes policy. This was supposed to be two-pronged, a limitation on prices, and on incomes at the same time. Every single housewife from one end of Britain to the other who goes to the supermarket and who can read the rubber stamps on the articles there, knows that this is a fraudulent policy. Every week they see the rise in prices. In practice there has only been one limitation and that has been on worker's wages. There has been none on price rises, there has been none on managerial and executive incomes. What of the scandal of the governments appointments at tens of thousands of pounds a year of men to positions on government Boards?

This policy is a very blatant swindle, and this is simply because Britain is part of the world capitalist bloc, not the Socialist bloc, and as such it is not an independent country. Britain's foreign policy is a clear indication of this. Wilson's fawning on Bonn, the attempts to develop British/Bonn interests, the Anglo-American two thousand million pound joint building of the variable-wing combat plane; Healey boasting that we can wipe out the whole of the Soviet Navy in the Mediterranean in a few minutes; the assertion that Britain's frontier is on the Elbe, and the defence of Britain's home territory can be run down since the Healey strategy will be to turn any war in Europe rapidly into a nuclear war; and finally of course the question of Vietnam; the subservience of British policy to the United States, and the support that is given to Vietnam - all these instances that make up our foreign policy not only devalue Britain's influence in the world, but they bear down directly on the standards of living of the population. The price subservience is the heaviest arms bill in Europe, both in absolute and relative terms.

#### SOME CONCLUSIONS

What I have given to you today is obviously an over-simplification of the whole line-up. When you oversimplify like this to some extent you vulgarise as well. When I have talked about the Labour Government and Labour policy, and British government policy, and so on, this does not take into account all the various facets and all the people who are opposed to this policy within organisations and movements and who have been fighting it all along, or who have other strategies to put forward, even within the cabinet and the government itself. It does not take into consideration the forces which operate within the whole society, which pull the capitalist class itself in diverse ways, which make it sometimes seem to contradict itself in what it does. But we people who are here today, who come to conferences of this nature, and who are in the vanguard of the peace movement, our policies which we discuss are often ahead of those of other peace organisations, and that is precisely because we have a better comprehension of the whole political picture, because we don't see one thing by itself, as for example the disastrous and heart-shattering war in Vietnam that pulls at our heart-strings, and makes us want to do something about it, or a starving child in Biafra, which makes us want to do something about that. We are the people who have a better understanding of how all these things work together and tie together in one way. And for that reason we have to formulate lines of action on policies that are not only correct for us, but are viable for the broader groups, for the peace groups among whom we work, and among whom we want these policies to spread.

I think that we need to launch a campaign now, not just against NATO, but also against Britain going into the Common Market, a priority at the present time, and one

which perhaps can be discussed with a wide range of different kinds of organisations who would gradually be made to take this up; not something launched by the British Peace Committee itself. I think that we need to expose neo-colonialism as a power house of Western capitalism today. We must demand a British policy which supports the guerilla fighters in Africa. All of you, who have not read it, should write in for the Times of Thursday, May 22nd, and read the Appeal which was put out by a number of African nations. As the Times editorial said, it is a very moderate and very well-addressed, but very moving Appeal indeed, on the question of the responsibility of the nations of the world towards what is going on in Southern Africa. The Times Editor, is not doubt aware that the motivation behind such an appeal is the terrible dangers into which Zambia and other countries have been drawn by the operation of Western policies in Africa at the present time.

Then of course there is the question of Rhodesia. It is unspeakable ~~what the British government has done~~, but we must demand of the British government that it gives direct help and assistance to those who are fighting for majority rule in Rhodesia.

We must renew efforts to bring the Vietnam war to an end, and to defeat United States militarism and imperial takeovers.

We must demand the recognition of the GDR and China; in this connection it is interesting to see the recent blows to the Hallstein doctrine, with the recognition by Cambodia and Iraq and the Sudan, of the GDR. The whole of Bonn has gone into a kind of tail-spin. Much of their policy has rested on the fact that any country that recognises the GDR cannot have diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic, and of course Iraq is one of the biggest trading partners of West Germany today. This action of Cambodia, Iran and the Sudan makes it a very suitable time for us to make this a leading point in our policy. We must couple this with the demand of the recognition of the GDR with the exposure of Germany's nuclear aims, and what this is going to mean in terms of the growth of the NPD in Germany at the present time. And to bring the mighty nation of China into her rightful place in the world is also of vital and immediate importance for all.

The real thing we have got to do is to stop them destroying our world. I brought this along, the headline, "Only you can prevent forests". This comes from the radical American weekly, the "Guardian". According to Pentagon figures, the United States military has poisoned-sprayed nearly five million acres in South Vietnam. Most of the chemicals are directed against forests in an attempt to deprive NLF troops of cover. More than half a million acres of crop land have also been sprayed. The heaviest year for

defoliation was 1967, when 1,707,758 acres were destroyed. The destruction decreased somewhat in 1968 as a result of equipment losses during the Tet offensive, but this year the spray business is back to the 1967 level. The defoliation project is named 'operation ranch-hand', and the ranch-handers motto is 'Only you can prevent forests'. When I was a child I liked a sentimental song which said, 'Only God can make a tree', I think that I shall never see a poem lovely as a tree', and the last two lines were, 'Poems are made by fools like me'. 'But only God can make a tree'. And only you, the defoliation experts of the United States can prevent forests!

Once it was possible, we believed, for us to re-create on any ruins that they made the kind of world that we wanted to have to build it again, to see the grass grow and the trees grow again; and so did, in some of the cities of Europe, Warsaw and Berlin, and Leningrad; and once we knew that however much our heritage, of man's heritage, they destroyed in their wars, their ghastly wars, in the form of historical buildings, art treasures and the creative wealth that man has accumulated over thousands of years, still we knew that the earth would survive and the trees would grow again, and life would re-assert itself. Now this is no longer true.

I finish with a quotation from U Thant. It is pessimistic; I feel like this too. This is from the New York Times of the 10th May. "In the gloomiest assessment of the world situation since he became Secretary-General more than 7 years ago he said, ' I do not wish to seem over dramatic, but I can only conclude from the information that is available to me as Secretary-General that the members of the United Nations have perhaps ten years left in which to subordinate their ancient quarrels, and launch a global partnership to curb the arms race, to improve the human environment, to defuse the population explosion, and to supply the required momentum to world developments efforts. If such a global partnership is not forged within the next decade, then I very much fear that the problems I have mentioned will have reached such staggering proportions that they will be beyond our capacity to control'.

And the responsibility for seeing that this is done, that this partnership is reached, and these problems are solved, and the reconstruction is begun, rests upon people in rooms like this. Roomsful of people like us. The spearhead of the activists.

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