

The Red Mole

No. 38 13 March 1972 Price 7½p.

WHAT IS WORKERS CONTROL

MASS UPSURGE IN FRANCE IRELAND: AFTER ALDERSHOT
U.C.S.-TORY RETREAT AFTER THE MINERS STRIKE
MANDEL BARRED FROM WEST GERMANY

THE BOURGEOISIE AFTER THE MINERS STRIKE

The tidal wave of the miners' strike has left the British ruling class in a state of bedraggled confusion. Heath's TV attempt to pretend that nobody had won the strike evidently failed to convince a single member of his own class, which has been involved in a heated, if muddled debate as to what or who is to blame.

tantrums

The Economist has put on a most unbecoming display of tantrums since the strike. Having prided itself for so long on its detached, clinical approach to the class struggle, the miners' victory has transformed it into a spoilt upper class brat whose lollypop has been grabbed by one of the servants: in the first week after the settlement it turned its fury against the miners, dreaming up all manner of vicious schemes for closing down the pits; in the second week it sank its teeth into Wilberforce and said some shocking things about the poor fellow who was after all only doing what he was told. But Heath's broadcast produced a final paroxysm of rage:

"The Prime Minister talked on television last Sunday of the double danger before Britain, of growing inflation and growing intimidation: 'I do not believe you elect any government to allow that to happen, and I can promise you that it will not be tolerated.' Instead, his government has decided it will be rewarded. Mr. Heath spoke on the morrow of giving an inflationary £100 m. a year to the striking miners, and on the eve of giving £35m. to the Clyde sitters-in.... The message that is being taught by Government in Britain today is that, if you are in a declining industry, then your best course is either to picket your work-place or (better) the workplace of some expanding industries, to intimidate, to demonstrate as loudly as possible, to seize property, to strike."

The Red Mole considers such remarks to be grossly unfair to the Prime Minister who did everything he could to smash the miners. Those cosy arm-chair strategists at *The Economist* must face up to one of the facts of life: that when the mass of workers really get on the move in defence of their living standards, there is precious little that can stop them short of armed repression.

But it is not enough to deprecate outbursts like those of *The Economist*. We must try to understand what

causes them. And the answer is that the journal is scared to death by the economic problems of the bourgeoisie, the chronic inability of the capitalist class to accumulate capital at a sufficient rate to be able to hold its own against its hungry rivals in the jungle of international competition. What infuriates *The Economist* is that all sections of bourgeois opinion including the Labour leadership admit, in fact take as their starting point, the need for the rapid growth of British capital, but refuse to recognise that such growth depends on taking extraordinary measures to increase the rate of exploitation of the working class, to destroy the fighting strength of the unions, and cut the living standards of the workers.

This is precisely the dilemma before the leaders of the bourgeoisie: the economic needs of their class point very clearly in one direction—that of confrontation with the unions—while a substantial section of their own class, epitomised by such papers as *The Times*, not to mention wide layers of the middle class, are still not prepared to face the political consequences of such economic necessities and instead sighed with relief when Lord Wilberforce waved the white flag to the miners. They then flooded the newspapers with all manner of panaceas and red herrings. Some look for administrative solutions: the Department of Trade and Industry is too big, say some businessmen, it's not up to its job; we were palmed off with junior ministers and under secretaries during the crisis. We need to split it up, or we need the old Prices and Incomes Board back, or we need some new 'independent body' which will sort out 'fair' pay differentials.

Others see the problem as one of personnel. The whole trouble, grumbles the *Financial Times*, was that the conciliation officers, the NCB men and the government ministers were not really up to the job. Within the government and the Conservative Party there are also clearly moves in favour of sacking various ministers.

Inevitably the legalists have a panacea in the shape of new laws on such things as picketing. No doubt it is only a matter of months before the bourgeoisie's legal experts finally hit upon the obvious solution to all problems and work out a law banning all strikes and any other kind of independent working class action!

The crisis has even prompted some elements in this most empiricist and pragmatic of bourgeoisies to suggest that the root of the problem lies in the realms of theory, arguing that the whole economic philosophy of the State has been wrong since the adoption of 'Keynesianism' and that we need to revive the obscure theories of some academic back-

woodsman by the name of Hayek (but he sounds rather foreign don't you think?)

heath's tactics

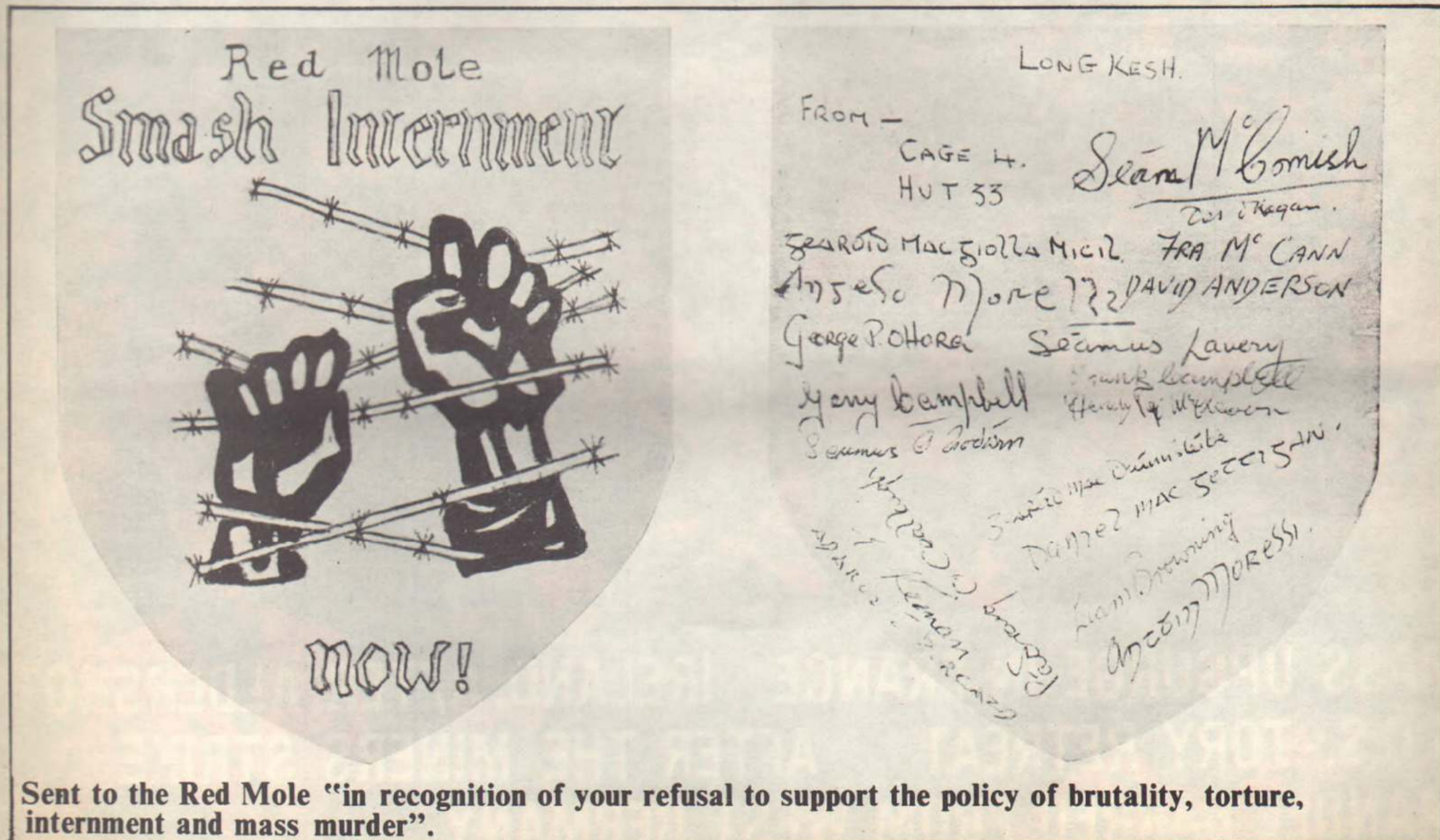
The last editorial in *The Red Mole* outlined the basic framework within which bourgeois politics would evolve following the strike. Events since then suggest that Heath has been forced at least to appear to make concessions to the 'conciliationist' wing of the ruling class. These concessions take the form of open-ended discussions with the TUC (and of course the CBI). *The Times*, which has played a consistently flabby role during the last two years in its efforts to stand above the class struggle has hailed these talks as "a turn of events of extreme importance".

The talks will indeed mark an important turn if either the TUC decides to support a wage freeze on Heath's terms or the government decides to accept the TUC's idea of linking wage increases to price increases. For the TUC to accept a wage freeze would undoubtedly split the trade union movement in a situation where the right-wing leadership had absolutely nothing to gain from such a split. On the other side the very holding of the talks, combined with the UCS deal and Wilberforce, has created a crisis of 'morale' inside the Conservative Party, which is already torn over the Common Market and facing a crisis over both Ireland and Rhodesia.

The talks are much more likely to be used by Heath to pacify the conciliationist tendency within the ruling class in the interval before the next important wages struggle, at which point the government will revert to its confrontation tactic, possibly use sections of the Industrial Relations Act, say goodbye to the TUC and hopefully win a resounding victory in the strike, thus silencing the conciliationists, and revivifying the Tory Party. Subsequently it could happily offer renewed talks with the TUC.

working-class response

But whatever the outcome of the heartsearchings and manoeuvres of the bourgeoisie, the basic tasks of working class militants in the economic struggle must remain the same: to smash any wage freeze in whatever guise and under whoever's sponsorship; to make the Industrial Relations Act unusable; and to redouble solidarity action for any section of workers on strike.



Sent to the Red Mole "in recognition of your refusal to support the policy of brutality, torture, internment and mass murder".

Tory Retreat UCS

The statement about UCS by John Davies, Minister of Trade and Industry, in the House of Commons on 28 February, represented a complete shift of Tory Government policy. According to press reports, this change in policy was arrived at only after a sharp struggle in the Cabinet.

This climb-down, closely following the surrender to the miners (which also involved accepting the principle that the Government would assist an unprofitable industry for 'social reasons'), has upset some of the Government's warmest supporters. *The Economist* of March 4, was bitter: "This featherbedding is the third very bad economic mistake" (the other two being the 'unimaginative' fixing of exchange rates and the climb down in face of the miners) "made by the Heath Government in the past 10 weeks". The journal considers that these mistakes have jeopardised the "good chance of at

The so called 'lame duck' policy is just a gimmicky way of describing a basic mechanism of capitalism: that of allowing market forces to eliminate inefficient and backward sectors of industry. The arguments of the Tories and others who support this policy are as follows: to make British capitalism more competitive, investment has to flow from those sectors which are outmoded to those which are most modern and which, therefore, make higher profits and are expanding. Subsidising loss-making industries or services, so the argument goes, merely holds back the modernising of industry. Hence, the argument continues, although featherbedding may appear to solve unemployment it merely meets the immediate problem at the expense of bringing about long-term trends which make Britain less and less competitive. This, in turn, leads to balance of payments problems, stop-go, deflation, and hence more unemployment. Of course, not even the present

However, there is a half-truth in the arguments of the 'lame-duckers'—economic policies have to be considered as a totality 'feather-bedding'—for no matter what reason, e.g. to keep a 'vital' industry going or to avert repercussions like a growth in militancy—increases the general tendency for inflation and falling rates of profit. Government subsidies come from taxation. Taxation on business profits narrows profit margins and when applied against the working class increases the pressure for larger wage claims (when British capitalism was rapidly expanding more funds from taxation came from the same level of taxation on a greater amount of production). So whilst a decision like that on UCS will prevent a given amount of unemployment, other things being equal it does this at the expense of increasing inflationary tendencies and/or pressure on profit margins.

Of course these are surface phenomena and the underlying cause of unemployment is to be found in the nature of the capitalist system, and, in particular, in the contradiction between the increasingly social nature of production and social relations based upon production for profit.

As noted before, no government could today fully operate a policy of allowing market forces to determine the pattern of industry despite the brave words of *The Economist*. What the Tory Government did (and still does) is to allow a limited operation of this tendency to rationalise British industry more rapidly. Some of the decisions taken in this field are, no doubt, connected with Britain's forthcoming entry into the Common Market. The capitalist class does not want to take into that 'community' further spare

words of the *Morning Star*—a left policy opening up the road to Socialism.

There are however, more sinister implications. The about turn of the Tories comes almost immediately after its massive defeat at the hands of the miners. That defeat was inflicted on the Tory Government by massive class action. No one could say that the Tories are under the same kind of pressure from the UCS work-in. Why, at this particular time have the Tories come forward with their plan? A likely explanation is that it is part of a deal that will be proposed to the TUC leaders. The latter gentlemen are no doubt just as worried by the militancy of the miners as is the Tory government. The radicalisation of the miners and the example they set strikes a blow at the social basis of the trade union bureaucracy. There is an identity of interests between the Tories, the Labour leadership and the TUC leaders—they all fear, above all else, "chaos and uncontrolled violence", i.e. workers' mass action.

Vic Feather has said many times that he is willing to discuss with the Government co-operation to end inflation providing some gesture is made by the Tories. Could the UCS *volte-face* be such a gesture?

wilsonism

The long-term effects of not understanding the real significance of the decision over shipyards is all the more dangerous. Wilson is projecting himself to the capitalist class as being better able to stem workers' militancy than Heath. Of course, he has some difficulty in doing this after the *In Place of Strife* fiasco. However, not even he had to make a humiliating climb-down *à la* Heath over the miners. Under these circumstances, as noted in the editorial of the last issue of *The Red Mole*, Wilsonism is an extremely dangerous trend designed to demobilise working class action and replace it with class collaboration. As the hatred of the Tories grows, the potential danger Wilsonism embodies increases. The only real counter to any scheme the TUC and the Government, aided and abetted by Wilson, are trying to arrive at is the independent mass class action of the workers. That is why the line of the UCS shop stewards substituting the passive work-in for straightforward occupation is so wrong. Of course, it will be pointed out to the 'utopian' revolutionaries that the work-in succeeded and that an occupation would probably have failed. This is half-true, an occupation by itself would have been doomed. But an occupation as part of an on-going militant strategy along the lines of extending the struggle on an all-Scottish basis would either have intimidated the Tories (like the miners did) or unleashed forces which would have set into motion huge mass struggles.

Those who are short-sighted enough to think that the concessions from the Tories plus promises of class collaboration are an effective policy against unemployment must study their history. They do not have to go back very far. The Fairfields experiment, which seemed to solve an immediate crisis, paved the way, just a few years later, for the UCS closure threat. The long-term trends making for a decline in the basic industries of Britain and especially Scotland continue. This Tory about face, at best, will merely postpone a massive increase in unemployment in Scotland.

The Tory *volte face* on UCS is to be welcomed if the correct lessons are drawn and it is a stimulus to further struggle rather than a dampener. But the real example is that of the miners. A combination of the fighting spirit of the miners and the UCS workers' disregard for the sanctity of private property—which even now sets a positive example—could give us an explosive mixture which would engender mass struggles of a kind not seen in Britain for over 50 years.

—P. Peterson

N.B. for an examination of the tactic of the work-in and other background material on the UCS affair see copies of The Red Mole issued at the beginning of the crisis in the shipyards and the special Red Mole UCS Broadsheet.

UPPER CLYDE STEWARDS PROTEST AGAINST REDUNDANCY

last going for much higher growth, and thus of mopping up unemployment"

The *Morning Star*, of course, took a very different line: "UCS fight forces a Tory Retreat" was its headline on 29 February. It went on to quote, without comment, the statement of the chairman of the UCS shop stewards co-ordinating committee: "This is a welcome first stage toward the retention of all four yards and the jobs, as demanded by shop stewards, unions and workers. Of course our basic position remains unaltered. We will only give full co-operation to Govan Shipbuilders Ltd. when there is a definite guarantee on the future of the Clydebank Division. We are hopeful that such a guarantee will be forthcoming shortly in view of the new situation." The paper's editorial, in the same issue, ended: "The workers at UCS and in the pits have shown the way forward, and the urgent need now is to carry their fight on to get rid of the Tory wreckers, and to install a Labour Government committed to Left policies opening the road to Socialism."

issues involved

What are the issues involved? Is *The Economist* right in saying that the new Tory policy will actually make unemployment worse? Or is the *Morning Star* correct in seeing the struggle of the UCS workers (firmly under the leadership of well-known Communist Party members) as having struck a decisive blow against unemployment?

Firstly, what is involved? The answer is very straightforward: the conflict between the 'lame duck' policy and the policy of giving government subsidies to industry in trouble is the conflict between two rival capitalist strategies.

ativistic Tory Government could fully operate this policy. Indeed, the policy is quite inappropriate to modern capitalism. It belongs to the era of *laissez-faire* capitalism and is only viable in a strong, dynamic and growing economy. This is hardly the situation British capitalism finds itself in. Today industry is so inter-related and inter-dependent and the amounts of capital needed to start (or modernise) branches of industry so large that continuous government intervention is necessary no matter how committed to private enterprise it might be.

fear of militancy

Moreover, such is the strength of the working class and its organisations that Governments have constantly to be on guard against policies which engender militant action. The present Tory Government is no exception to this rule. It allowed Rolls-Royce to go bankrupt but had second thoughts and stopped short of cancelling the RB 211 jet, giving Rolls-Royce £200 million to complete the engine. Some £15 million has already been given to two other shipyards: Cammel Laird, Yarrow, and Harland and Wolff, Belfast. Development grants worth £4½ million have been given to machine tool companies.

Quite apart from this, the 'lame duck' argument falls down completely on another score. The type of investment taking place today is overwhelmingly capital intensive (i.e. employing large amounts of capital in proportion to labour—akin to Marx's concept of the increasing organic composition of capital). Therefore there is a built-in tendency for this policy to increase unemployment unless working hours are reduced or the increase in production keeps pace with the increase in productivity. Again, the latter conditions hardly apply to British capitalism.

capacity in such industries as steel, coal, shipbuilding, etc. all of which are already facing recession in the Six. Neither for that matter are the ruling classes of the Six anxious for this.

tory retreat

Just how much the Tories have retreated on UCS can be gleaned from a few facts: last summer the Tories were adamant that UCS must close; whilst the company's management asked for backing so that a £6 million loan could be negotiated from banks. The Tories turned this down flat and instead put up £5 million to wind up the consortium. Now they announce that they are to pump in £35 million and have given broad hints to Marathon Manufacturing (which has expressed interest in buying the fourth yard not covered by the Tories' proposals, Clydebank) that more money will be available to assist its take over.

Of course the Tory proposals fall far short of saving the 8,000 jobs which was the number of operatives employed when the crisis blew up. So far, only just over half that figure would be guaranteed.

How then do we assess the *Morning Star's* talk of victory? Undoubtedly, among big sections of the working class the news will be greeted with enthusiasm. It will seem to be vindication of the tactics of the shop stewards of UCS. In a certain sense of course, this is so—the workers at UCS refused to accept the principle of unemployment and have forced the Tories to retreat. However, this response contains a great danger: it can gloss over the class collaboration aspects of the CP-led UCS shop stewards' attitudes and it can assist in spreading the illusion that Labour's alternative capitalist strategy is—to use the

CAMPAIGN DEVELOPS

FRIDAY: THE MURDER. On February 25th 1972, Pierre Overney was shot dead at a Renault factory in Boulogne-Billancourt, just outside Paris. Renault is a state-owned industry and Overney's killer was a security guard employed by the factory. Overney had been a worker at the Billancourt plant and had been sacked for selling the paper of the Maoist organisation to which he belonged, *La Cause du Peuple*. Together with other sacked workers Overney was participating in a protest action co-ordinated by a Maoist 'commando squad'. He was murdered in cold blood by the security guard.

This assassination is not an accident: for a long time now, the firm's management has been paying gorillas to maintain 'law and order' (in this specific instance this means preventing a revolutionary from distributing propaganda against redundancies). It is not an accident because one doesn't arm and pay killers unless one expects them to kill one day. Before this shot was fired there are incidents going back years which have involved systematic organisation of the repression in the factories, universities, high schools, etc. This murder is therefore meant as a warning to all revolutionaries, their organisations and their mobilisations and one which the entire working class movement must heed.

SATURDAY: THE CONSEQUENCES. An ordinary protest would not have been sufficient in reacting to this crime. What was needed was a show of force accusing the French government of murder and showing that the left could unite against the bourgeois state and challenge its right to maim and kill. It was also necessary to prove in an exemplary way that the defence of workers and revolutionary militants against the provocations by bodies of armed men in the pay of capital would be answered on the streets. Why? Because the propaganda for the self-defence of workers begins by the organisation and protection of their mass mobilisations:

It was under these circumstances that the first united front meeting took place as soon as the news of the death was confirmed. The Communist League (French Section of the Fourth International) proposed to the ten organisations who sent representatives, a common appeal for a demonstration on Monday evening at Charonne (an underground station where communist workers had been killed in 1962). The C.L. insisted that the demonstration had to be held whatever the obstacles: if a ban was imposed, it had to be defied. In the circumstances the government found it difficult to prevent a mobilisation as it was involved in the crime.

SUNDAY: THE ORGANISATION OF THE FIRST MARCH. Once it was clear that the demonstration would not be banned the organisation of it began in earnest. The *Cause du Peuple* asked for a large march of 'democrats' without stewards. The other organisations, including the C.L. rejected such demagoguery. They explained that the organisers had to assume responsibility for the demonstration and protect the marchers. Finally a unanimous agreement was reached and all the organisations, which included the P.S.U., Lutte Ouvriere, A.J.S. (the supporters of Lambert, formerly the 'sister-organisation' of the SLL in Britain, now, alas, separated and on their own!), Revolution, agreed on the main objective: a large, powerful demonstration, but protected by a *service d'ordre*.

It was in relation to the conditions agreed on for the march that the other trade-union and political organisations had to adjust their participation. In this sense the murder at Renault provides us with an image of the future: it anticipates in outline the real intentions of the bourgeoisie towards the working class and its combativity since May 1968, even though the timing of the Renault killing might appear clumsy to the more sophisticated bourgeois politicians.

The reactions from the traditional leadership of the workers were predictable. The



THE MURDER OF PIERRE OVERNEY

On 25 February a young worker was shot dead by a security guard at the main Renault factory in France. His death has provoked the biggest revolutionary upsurge there since May '68, but the C.P.'s only response has been to denounce the 'ultra-lefts' as agents of the State.

C.P. and the C.G.T. (C.P. dominated Trade Union Federation) foamed at the mouth in a fit of reactionary hysteria. The Socialist Party of Mitterand and the C.F.D.T. abstained from taking a position. The S.P. is of course too scared to participate in a combative demonstration as it might endanger electoral victories in the future. It is prepared to participate in the funeral demonstration; prepared to commemorate the dead, but to combat the murderers? Surely not for after all weren't the latter synonymous with the bourgeois republic which the S.P. admires so much.

MONDAY: THE DEMONSTRATION. The pressure of the CGT at Renault was too much for the CFDT to resist. They satisfied themselves with platonic protestations for this 'young lost life', etc. The revolutionaries, on the other hand, assembled in full force. 40,000 militants assembled at Charonne in what was the most important demonstration since May '68.

"Yes, Marchais", mocked the demonstrators, "better than in May '68". This was in reply to a gibe from the C.P. leader that "it" (i.e. May '68) would not start again. These chants were really too much for the CP bureaucrats to stomach. They denounced the demonstration as 'anti-communist', but few took this slander seriously.

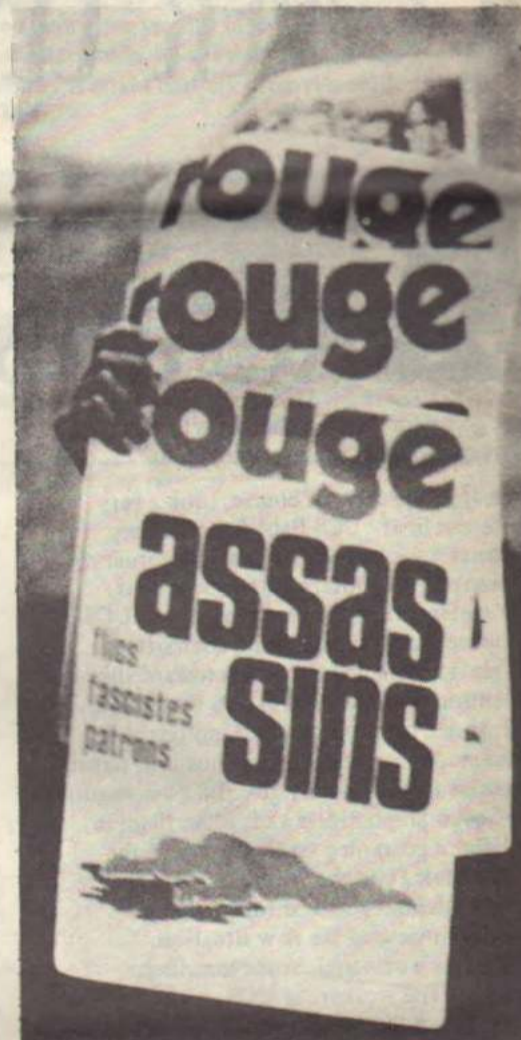
The Charonne demo highlighted a permanent feature of French society which worries both the bourgeoisie and the French C.P.: the existence of a social and political base, coming from the youth and a layer of workers who have broken from the reformism of those who lead the workers' movement. Many of these militants do not see themselves as part of any extreme left organisation in particular, but mobilise themselves and respond to the appeals of the revolutionary left.

Of course a lot has happened since the heady days of May '68. That same extreme left has reconstituted itself according to a new international relationship of forces related to the activity of the revolutionary left and its implantation. Whatever the political differences (or political errors of some of them) in general, a considerable force exists and it gathered at Charonne on Monday evening. To think that this could be organised on a permanent basis would be to deceive ourselves, but nevertheless it is the embryo of a real force, which will educate itself through struggles and which will finally link up with one or the other of the existing revolutionary organisations. This is why our comrades of the Communist League did everything in their power to ensure the success of the demo. By developing this layer of militants they develop themselves.

THE FOLLOWING SATURDAY: THE FUNERAL If Charonne was a success then the funeral demonstration was an even bigger one. 150,000 workers, students, teachers and other layers marched to show the anger at the murder. The C.P. and the C.G.T. stayed away (for them there was one Maoist less) but its allies like the S.P. and even the left Christian Youth marched. Again the demonstration was disciplined and protected by a *service d'ordre*. A large bulk of it consisted of militants whom the bourgeoisie has every right to fear.

STOP PRESS

News has just come in that the Maoists have kidnapped the Chief of the Security Guards at Renault-Billancourt and are holding him captive until the sacked workers are re-instated. We will carry more information in the next issue of the paper, but one's immediate reflex is to remark on the existing social climate in France, which is not the same as in Latin America or Ireland, and while we are not in principle, opposed to kidnapping of this sort, it seems doubtful whether this particular one will be understood by the French working-class.



Special issue of Rouge, paper of the Communist League.





40 000 de charonne RRE OVERNEY



Georges Marchais, PCF Secretary

THE ROLE OF THE C.P.

At the gates of the factory a young worker was shot down in cold blood by a boss's cop. This took place not in Barcelona or Cordoba, but at Boulogne-Billancourt: The factory was not Citroen or Simca, but Renault — the 'workers stronghold'!

What did the PCF (French Communist Party) do? 'Did it call the State management to account? Did it mobilise the workers nationally against the worsening of the repression in the factories and above all against the penetration of the bosses' private army?

In other circumstances, it would probably have done so. But there was a problem: the assassinated worker was a Maoist militant newly sacked from Renault where he had been active in the 'Committee for Struggle'. It was because of this that the bureaucrats saw red! The scandal of the bosses' armed guards was pushed into the

background. Push the blame on to the ultra-lefts! "What a monstrous crime by the ultra-leftist groups", said Party secretary Georges Marchais in Strasbourg. It was "staged by paid agents, ultra-left commandos and plain clothes cops all mixed up", claimed the PCF section at Renault.

In the propaganda of the PCF stupidity vies with bad faith in the best Stalinist tradition: the assassin and the victim are put on the same level, presented as if they were accomplices: both are State agents; Overney happened to get the role of the killed, Tramoni of the killer—that's all. After reading the editorial of *L'Humanite* (PCF daily paper) on the day after the murder one could have sworn that the assassin only fired a blank and that Overney got up five minutes after his accomplices had taken him away out of sight! The amalgam between the various leftist organisations and the right and ultra-right formations is carried out with

just as much subtlety as at the time of the Hitler-Trotsky witch-hunt.

PANIC IN COMMAND

The PCF's attitude, by its very exaggeration, reveals the panic felt by the bureaucrats each time the perspective of being bypassed on the left looms up before them. The PCF leadership lives in terror of a second May '68: all the more so since the 'Union of the Left' was progressing quite well. The 'united left' was heading—slowly but steadily—towards an electoral victory. Little by little it was gnawing away at the support for the Centre, votes so indispensable in making up a new majority. And suddenly everything collapsed. Using the legitimate popular discontent, the manipulated-by-the-government-ultra-lefts bypassed this careful tactic and sent back the moderates into the bourgeoisie's womb, thus undermining years of patient effort. Today, the same mishap threatens to take place again: the PCF leadership knows that its tactic is vulnerable. And with the working class at its present level of combativity, a swift by-passing is indeed possible, if the bosses are stubborn enough in their arrogance.

And yet, until now everything was going rather well, and seemed to be going to get even better. After the Epinay Congress of the new socialist party, the Union of the left was back on the rails. The PCF had once again a credible political perspective. In the summer of 1971 it launched an offensive and began to accumulate successes. From campaigns to initiatives, it succeeded in moving quite forcibly to the forefront of the political scene. Its 'Campaign for a Programme of Popular Unity' especially, was a notable event. The revolutionary extreme-left seemed to be at the bottom of the wave. The impressionists of all sorts — and there are plenty of them in the leadership of the PCF—thought they were going to have a pre-May situation again. Intoxicated by their own bluff, they started to consider as a real force their starved tentacles in the university and high school sectors. The 'New Left' was nothing but a bad dream.

The FSI¹ mobilisations and then the students strike committees against the CFPM², however, revived their worries. The numerous clashes between the PCF stewards and the FSI marches, in the provinces, on 13 January and the brutal attacks on the militants of the *École Emancipée* (Liberated School) at the 26 February demonstration in Paris confirm this new anxiety. Even though he would deny it, it was once more Georges Marchais who spoke most clearly the mind of the PCF leadership: "It is not going to start again as in 1968", he said before a mesmerised audience. The PCF apparatus is indeed prepared to do everything it can to make sure "it" does not happen again.

A POLICE CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

We are not in agreement with the political line of the *Cause du Peuple* group and we do not approve of the actions of the 'Committee for struggle' in Renault, which we consider to be essentially ultra-left. But after the murder of Pierre Overney, any workers' party worthy of the name would have reacted as we did, not by an hysterical anti-ultra-left campaign, but on the contrary—and in spite of anything it might think of the Maoists—by a campaign against the increasing repression by the bosses in the factories, and especially against the penetration of the bosses' private police.

Whether the PCF likes it or not, this deterioration is not the consequence of "ultra-left provocations". It is the result of the high level of working class combativity to which May '68 gave birth. New aims, new forms of struggle have become a habit. The rejection of the capitalist organisation of work has qualitatively increased at the same time as capitalist production demands an increase in discipline to cope with more arduous work. Just as at the level of the State the bourgeoisie gives itself the means to face the new sharpening of the class struggle by reinforcing its apparatus of repression and manipulation, in the same way at the level of the factories, the bosses adapt their means of repression to the level of the workers' combativity. The idea that it is the acts of agents provocateurs which "explain" the increase in the bosses' viciousness is worthy of the small mind of a police inspector. The PCF behaves in every way possible

to convey the impression that it is a Party of Government. What is certain is that its main leader already thinks of himself as Minister of Home Affairs. It is the conditions of existence and of work imposed by capitalism which engenders the workers' revolt, and by reaction, the bosses' repression.

As far as ultra-leftism is concerned—in the strict Leninist sense of the term—it is the direct result of the PCF's opportunism: it is because hundreds of thousands of youth and workers do not recognise their revolt against the existing system reflected in the neo-reformist policies of the PCF, that they refuse to accept its leadership and try to organise themselves independently for the struggle. Because the PCF tries to isolate this 'new extreme-left' by all means, it stimulates in sections of the latter a genuine ultra-leftism which theorises its isolation and the hostility of the official workers movement, in a desperate and impatient fashion. If the PCF was a revolutionary party, it would capture the revolutionary aspirations of the worker and student youth. But because it is a reformist party, a party of class collaboration, it sidetracks into the impasse of ultra-leftism part of the militant energies of the new generations. Ultra-leftism, said Lenin, is the price of the political opportunism of the workers parties. If the State feels that it can sometimes use the revolutionism of some currents in the extreme left, then it is you, M. Marchais, who are the first to be blamed. And it is not with the disgusting campaign which you have launched that you will be able to reduce the phenomenon. Rather the reverse.

The reaction of the PCF has been too exaggerated to be effective. The thesis of a "staged performance" does not go down very well when one of the so-called accomplices is done in for good. The lack of any reaction—other than verbal—against the presence of the bosses' armed militia in the factories has shocked more than one militant. In a word, the PCF's attitude to be effective demanded a serious 'campaign of explanation'—all the more necessary since many PCF militants had lost faith. However, the apparatus did everything it could. Wherever this apparatus is powerful, in towns or big factories (especially Renault-Billancourt), the PCF ends up by getting its views accepted (though not without alienating many vanguard workers in the process). But where this apparatus is weak or non-existent the PCF version was greeted with an indignant scepticism. Its methods have removed the "good impression" which had been created in the minds of "anti-monopolist allies" by democratic declarations of faith in the "programme-campaign". F. Mitterand and some others have jumped at the opportunity to score a point; by announcing that they would participate in the funeral of Pierre Overney they dissociated themselves from the PCF "explanations". The latter found itself completely isolated on the day of the funeral. This is why the PCF attempted to reset its sights. On 1st March, the CGT Secretariat published its appeal, proposing (five days too late) a "common reaction to the measures of repression directed against the workers democratic movement". In this appeal, the denunciation of the forces of repression in the factories for once took precedence over anti-leftist broadsides which occupied, for once, a secondary place.

A DEMOBILISATION CAMPAIGN

Thus, it took the PCF a week to devote some of its energy to the fight against the factory police and not primarily against the 'ultra-lefts'. But the demobilising effect of this campaign has been tremendous. A battle of the highest importance from the point of view of the workers has been deliberately sabotaged by the PCF apparatus, in its own specific interests. The revolutionary militants will draw the lessons of this to the attention of the workers.

—Henri Weber

NOTES:

1. FSI — The Indo-China Solidarity Front initiated by the Communist League and based on the principle of solidarity with the Indochinese revolution.
2. CFPM — Centre for the Professional Education of Teachers.

The above is taken from a slightly longer article published in *Rouge*, weekly paper of the *Ligue Communiste*, French Section of the Fourth International.



In any economy the types of things necessary in production are roughly the same. Under capitalism what is essential about production is that all products are produced by units of production operating independently of each other, and only coming into contact through the market. In short it is an economy based on generalised commodity production which in turn is only made possible by the existence of the commodity labour power. Production is for profit and determined by the unplanned anarchy of the market. Under this system of production it is possible, and indeed inevitable, for all sorts of crises to occur which are against the interests of the working class. It is important to note that it is the entire system of social relations which defines the mode of production as capitalist, and not the ownership or running of single factories, firms and industries. For example a nationalised industry operating inside a capitalist economy is just as much a capitalist firm as any other. It still buys and sells on the market and its operations are therefore determined by the capitalist law of value. Ignoring or not understanding this point leads to all sorts of utopian schemes for destroying capitalism inside one factory. Most of these ideas of 'workers control' are merely impractical, others suggest ideas to employers which are positively counter-revolutionary.

The most extreme cases of this latter variety are a few privately owned capitalist firms where supervision has been abandoned almost completely. Here for example is a description of one such situation ".....the output and dedication of girls on an assembly line shot up when they were put completely in charge of making the entire electronic product themselves and the controls over their work by the foremen, inspector and industrial engineer were abolished." (Packard, *The Naked Society*, p.96). In such cases it is clear that there is absolutely nothing which is socialist about the measures at all. They are manoeuvres by the companies concerned to increase their profits, by utilising the workers' knowledge of the stupidities and inefficiency of normal management and by making use of the thousands of dodges and tips that any operative finds out about how to do the job. In a strict sense they do not decrease the exploitation of the worker, but on the contrary heighten it by increasing the amount of profit that the firm makes from each worker. The firms are still prey to the crises of the capitalist economy, and if unable to sell their goods workers will still be laid off, put on short time etc.

workers participation

Also in the category of obvious fraud are so-called examples of workers participation in management. A typical example of this can be found in the Steel industry. Here the Steel industry suggested a scheme of 'workers-directors'. Out of fourteen to sixteen members on each regional board it was suggested that three should be selected by the management from lists submitted by the TUC. If the workers recommended were shop stewards, they would have to give up their union positions. They were not to be subject to any form of recall and were to sit on Group Boards outside the Group in which they worked. Here again was another perfectly obvious fiddle. What was clearly intended by the Labour government was to have directors on the boards of the companies who could be termed representatives of the workers so as to strengthen the hand of the Steel corporation when it came to implement its massive programme of closures. Even worse is the system in Sweden. Here on many occasions the management has declared that there are going to be redundancies, but that the union can decide who is going to be fired. In this situation the trade union does not fight redundancy at all, but just carries

out the management's functions. In this situation the union gets the worst of both worlds. Firstly the workers sacked naturally become fairly hostile to trade unionism, secondly the management avoids most of the blame for the sackings, and workers instead concentrate on attacking the unions over who has been sacked.

Equally bad are schemes whereby the workers either completely own the company, e.g. the firm of Scott-Bader at Wallaston, or own it in conjunction with, for example, its consumers. The most notable of these examples is of course the Co-Op. Here normal capitalist shareholding is abolished. But in fact the conditions of the workers are not improved in any material way at all, in the long run. The company simply competes with ordinary capitalist firms and in the course of the competition is forced to organise production in much the same way as any other company, and, is unable even to give higher wages than in ordinary capitalist firms.

The mistake in all these ideas and schemes is a confusion of the role of management with the effects of the capitalist system or, put in more technical terms, between the *authority relations of the factory and the production relations of society*. The reasons for this confusion, which is the most common of all in dealing with the question of workers' control, of course reside in the conditions of the working class under capitalism. It is the company and its management who are the clear 'visible' oppressors of the workers while the relations of capitalist production are 'invisible' and so to speak work behind the scenes.

The most difficult thing in explaining the ideas of workers' control is to get across the essential idea that what is involved is not a struggle against the management, but a struggle against an entire economic system. But as we have seen, any idea of workers' control referring to the management (authority relations) of the factory, leads to putting forward schemes that cannot solve the problems of the working class and in many cases actually aid the employers. The idea which must be got across is not that the struggle against the management is the main struggle and must be intensified, but on the contrary that the simple struggle against the management settles nothing.

production relations

All the theories and schemes we have discussed in this section are misled by the situation of struggle against management, into confusing the production relations in society with the authority relations (management) within the factory. Even if the authority relations within the factory are completely destroyed, for example, by having complete workers' management, that does not in the slightest affect the production relations of the society. The factory or firm still has to buy its raw materials, power, etc. on the capitalist market, and it still has to sell its finished products as commodities on the market. As the factory or firm is still linked completely by commodity relationships to all the other production going on in society, it is still dominated by the law of value. If there is a general depression of the capitalist market it will still be unable to sell its goods. If other firms push up the exploitation of the workers to a higher point, the firm will still be forced to follow suit in order to compete. It is this which means for example that an individual industry nationalised under capitalism in fact is still forced to run like, and indeed still is, a *capitalist* firm. It is only the destruction of the general *production* relations of society and not just the authority relations of the factory which means that firms can run in anything other than a way which is dominated by capitalism. When therefore we talk about workers' control, what we are talking about is *not* control over the management, but control over the effects of capitalist production (the law of value) within the factory. The second can of course only be achieved by the first, but we have to be very clear as to the aim, otherwise all sorts of varieties of reformism can emerge.

Apart from the very obvious fraud schemes we have already discussed, there are also schemes

put out by, for example, the Institute for Workers Control.

For example, when the government scheme for Workers' Directors in the Steel industry was put forward, the IWC advanced the idea that instead of being a minority, the workers directors should have made up 50 per cent of the numbers on the boards (see *Can the Workers run industry* p. 147-153). They suggested specifically: "These proposals for fifty-fifty membership of management committees and boards with the senior management official at each level being appointed subject to ratification by the workers delegates.....the veto on management appointments gives to the workers an important instrument of control". Here is a classic example of the confusion of authority relations and production relations. The strategy put forward by the IWC would not in the slightest solve the problems of the steel workers. It would have made no real difference if the workers had been able to appoint every single manager and have 100 per cent of the places on the Boards of the Companies. Even if the management were completely replaced and the entire factory or company were run by the workers, *that would not in the slightest solve their problems*. The company would still be producing within capitalist production relations and would therefore still be a capitalist company even if it were nationalised, the workers took all decisions, took all income etc. Indeed such an experience would be the most demoralising one possible for the workers. The operation of the law of value would impose speed-up, short-time working or redundancies, dangerous working etc. on the factory or it would be forced out of business and the workers themselves would be forced to take these decisions.

We are therefore completely *opposed* to workers taking over and running their factories or industries within capitalism. What occurs when this is tried, for example at UCS, is the demoralisation of the workers and the discrediting of the whole idea of workers' control. It is not the job of socialists to tell the working class that the organisation of its own conditions of production under capitalism is the solution to its problems, on the contrary it is necessary to point out that this is not in the slightest a solution to its problems. Far from socialists being in favour of workers taking over and running their own factories, they are totally opposed to workers taking *any* responsibility for the running of firms under capitalism. Socialists must explain that it is *not* the management itself which oppresses the workers, but the entire production relations of capitalism. Any propaganda for workers control must therefore have this as its key point. **NO WORKERS' RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE RUNNING OF FIRMS UNDER CAPITALISM** must be the absolutely central slogan of any campaign for workers control.

the state

So far we have only discussed cases in which the capitalist relations of production in society have not been destroyed. In this context control means simply attempts by workers to resist the effects of the operation of the law of value within the factory. It means resistance to things such as speed-up, the introduction of machinery involving a deterioration in working conditions, and to dangerous working. However, the way in which workers control has always been understood in Marxist terms is together with the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat (i.e. of a workers state.) As Lenin put it in *Can the Bolsheviks retain state power*: "When we say 'workers' control', always juxtaposing this slogan to the dictatorship of the proletariat, always putting it *immediately after* the latter, we thereby explain what kind of state we mean.....if we are speaking of the proletarian state, *that is*, of the proletarian dictatorship, then workers control *can* become the country-wide, all embracing, omnipresent, most precise and conscientious accounting of production and distribution of goods". The point that Lenin is clearly making here is that real workers' control is only possible after the destruction of the state machine which

WOR

The recent spate of factory control. As this article is utopian, because they are effects of the capitalist



defends the capitalist property relations. From that point of view the slogan of workers' control is therefore meaningless unless it is coupled with the slogans of a workers' government and a workers' state. This needs to be explored a little more carefully however to fully understand the point.

If the basic idea of workers' control is resistance to the effects of the workings of capitalist production relations (the law of value), then quite clearly completely generalised workers control actually means that the production relations of the capitalist economy are in fact no longer regulating the economy. Such a situation is of course extremely unlikely to occur, although in situations of mass take-over of factories, etc. as in Spain and Russia a situation something like this can be approached. What it means in this situation is that there is actually *no* mode of production, or to be scientifically accurate there are elements of two modes of production so interlinked that neither is operative. If the workers can refuse the closing down of factories, stop loss of jobs, control the speed of production etc. throughout the entire economy then capitalist production relations are *not* regulating the functioning of the economy. On the other hand neither is production being organised according to a plan and therefore neither is a socialised mode of production in existence. Such a situation is precisely, considered at the economic level, the point of *transition* between the capitalist and socialised modes of production. Such a situation would be to tally unstable. Economically production under these conditions would mean the ruin of the bourgeoisie. It would provoke an immediate attempt by the bourgeois state machine to destroy the workers' organisations in the factories.

WHAT IS WORKERS CONTROL?

Occupations has prompted a renewed interest in workers' control. In Britain, however, most schemes for workers control are based on a confusion of the role of management with the role of the workers.



In any real situation, such a situation of 'total' workers' control would never be achieved. Either the bourgeoisie would step in at a far earlier point, or if the workers' organisations were in fact so strong that they were capable of imposing their will on the situation in this way, the proletariat would have seized power before this stage was reached. Nevertheless examination of the situation of workers' control in a 'pure' and complete sense indicates completely why any attempt at workers' control will inevitably be crushed if the state machine remains in the hands of the capitalists.

Against isolated groups of workers, or indeed against whole trade unions, the state always has infinitely greater force and resources at its disposal than do the workers. The whole force of the police, the organisation made possible through the government departments, the control of the press and television, the immense financial resources, and in the last resort the army, means that an all out contest between even large groups of workers and the state will always be won by the state. The struggle for workers' control is therefore only possible if it is seen as part of a struggle for a workers' government which can challenge the power of the state on a nation wide basis. The failure to understand this has led in the past to many tragic defeats for the working class. For example in Spain in 1936, and Bolivia after the seizure of factories in 1953.

acute class struggle

Nevertheless it is possible to put forward demands relating to workers' control which can even be partially achieved in situations of acute class struggle. In particular in Italy

this has been carried out to a high degree.

For example, at the tyre firm of Pirelli complete regulation over the speed of work was established. Every time the management tried to speed up the production line, the workers just slowed it down again. However whether such types of struggle are revolutionary or reformist depends not on what in particular is achieved, but whether the struggle is presented as being one which is an end in itself, or whether it is presented as merely the maximum that can be wrested from capitalism given the existing relation of forces. In practice, as we have seen, this means whether the struggle is presented as one against the management, or one against the effects of the production relations of capitalist society.

Where this distinction becomes absolutely crucial is in dealing with the question of workers management (i.e. a transition from the workers merely regulating the effects of capitalist production to workers actually initiating decisions). As we have noted, socialists are completely opposed to workers management under capitalism. However, in periods of acute class struggle, and particularly in revolutionary and pre-revolutionary situations, the workers will in fact inevitably be forced to undertake functions of management if the crisis last for any period of time. This was clearly visible in the May 1968 events in France.

At the Rhone-Poulenc factory at Vitry, the strikers established direct relations of exchange with the farmers and sought to extend this to other firms. Similar events occurred in Paris where the CLEOP (student worker-peasant liaison committee) organised food convoys supplied by agricultural co-operatives and distributed the food directly to the factories. At Citroen factories in

Paris lorries were requisitioned for the purpose of supplying strikers. At Brest workers produced walkie-talkie radios for the strikers instead of their normal products. The question of course then arises as to at what point it is legitimate to be in favour of the workers actually initiating changes in production. The answer is that this is correct *only* when the social relations of capitalist production have in practice been destroyed. In general this can only be achieved *after* the destruction of the bourgeois state machine, although in certain circumstances, as we noted, it can occur before this has happened. As however capitalism is an economic system based on *generalised* commodity relations, this means the production relations of that society are not confined to those 'within' the individual factory, and even less are reducible to the *authority* relations within the individual units of production, but include the relations *between* the individual units of production as well.

It is clear therefore that if we want to talk about workers' control or management, in its true sense, i.e. as referring to the relations of production and not to the authority relations, this can only be done in the context of organisations which span the various units of production and which unite together representatives of many factories. There are two classical forms of this—the workers government, and Soviets. The idea of a workers government is extremely simple. It is simply a government that gives control of industry to the working class. Because a government obviously exists for an entire state, the question of workers' control in its real sense of a regulation existing between as well as within factories is at once solved by the existence of such a government. The idea of Soviets also allows the question to be solved but so to speak 'from the base' instead of from the top.

soviets

The very word Soviet is of course associated with the Russian revolution and therefore has come to sound exceedingly romantic and mysterious. However its basic idea is very simple. A Soviet is simply an organisation which draws together workers from many different factories, housing estates, etc. in an area. It is therefore different from a factory committee in that a factory committee is confined to one place of production only. In fact organisations very much like Soviets spring up in any really big strike led by the rank and file, and have existed even in Britain. For example in the 1911 railway strike, the leaders of the unions concerned refused to support the men. Immediately in Liverpool a Joint Strike Committee was established. This virtually took over the entire organisation of the city, and not even essential services were carried out without the authorisation of the Committee.

The development of such organisations can be seen clearly in the May 1968 events in France. Thus at Nantes the entire town was quite clearly in the hands of the strike committee. Drivers patrolled all roads leading into the town and entry was controlled by the workers organisations. Only food lorries and vehicles sanctioned by the Central Strike Committee organising workers from many factories were allowed through. Attempts by police to break up this system were smashed. Food supplies were organised into the city, and the strike committee even issued its own currency. And although Nantes was one of the high points of workers' control/management in 1968 similar types of situations developed in many other places.

present perspectives

At the present time, unfortunately, capitalist production relations are still very much with us. The way in which the question of workers' control comes up at present is in terms of individual factories which are extremely militant and well organised, and in the formation of policy for left factions inside unions. Under these circumstances it must be brought out clearly that under the

capitalist system, the workers must take no responsibility whatsoever for the running of firms or factories. The best way in which this essential point can be brought out in practice is by formulating the demands for the protection of the workers' interests in the form of vetos, in other words the right to say *no* to any management decisions which harm the interests of the workers, without at the same time the working class taking any actual responsibility for the running of the factory or company. The workers of FIAT in Italy for example, put forward these ideas in the form of five demands:

1. The right of veto over movements of workers within the plant.
2. All questions of shift working and overtime to be subject to veto by the elected representatives of the workers until decided upon by a mass meeting of workers.
3. All questions of bonuses and work categories to be subject to veto by the elected representatives of the workers until decided upon by a mass meeting of workers.
4. Workers' assemblies to have complete control with regard to all questions affecting the danger of working. This to include not merely safety regulations, the payment of danger money, etc. but also the speed of work.
5. All questions referring to the introduction of new plant to be subject to veto until brought before a mass meeting. This meeting then to decide whether the introduction of the new equipment is in the interests of the workers or not, and if they decide it is not, to have the right to veto its introduction.

These comprise a really excellent series of demands. Because they are put in terms of vetos, they do not involve the workers taking the slightest responsibility for the running of the plant, yet at the same time they would defend the interests of the working class. There are also of course other demands of the same form which would be added to the list drawn up by the FIAT workers. For example: The right to veto job loss and the right for workers to veto the contents of the capitalist press are equally important demands, but the demands raised at FIAT are an excellent starting point.

workers vetos

Demands for workers vetos can of course be achieved only in a situation where the relation of forces in society is decisively favourable to the working class; in short, where the employers fear the consequences of not granting these demands to the workers even more than they do the consequences, financial and political, of granting them, or at least allowing them to be carried out. This relation of forces can of course exist in exceptional circumstances even within an individual factory. Obviously as revolutionaries gain a bigger base in the working class and as the crisis of capitalism deepens, there are going to be factories or even industries where the majority of workers will put forward demands for workers' control. If these factories are of key importance and the workers are exceptionally well organised, then the management may even be forced to grant some of these demands. In this situation for a period of time, normally of course very short, the workers would have achieved some of these demands, but would still be working under capitalism. In these circumstances these demands would be entirely appropriate as they would make clear that the workers were taking no responsibility whatsoever for the running of firms within capitalism. In general however these types of demands can only be achieved in a revolutionary or near revolutionary situation. At present they form the basis of slogans of left factions within unions, or of individual unions. It is these types of demands at the present time that should form the basis for a campaign for workers' control.

—J. Marshall

ERNEST MANDEL BARRED FROM WEST GERMANY



Mandel at Fourth International 'Red Europe' rally in Brussels.



Mandel at IMG cadre school.

On 22 February, 1972, the West Berlin Senate rejected a unanimous recommendation by the Free University students and staff that Ernest Mandel be given the vacant Chair in Social Politics. The Senate admitted quite openly that the only grounds on which Mandel had been rejected were political : his membership of the Fourth International disqualified him from the post.



A few days later the comrades of the GIM (German Section of the Fourth International) in West Berlin together with other tendencies, called a teach-in to discuss the affair and invited Mandel to come and speak. Over 2000 students turned up for the meeting (despite the fact that vacations are in progress). Mandel meanwhile had been taken into custody at Frankfurt airport and expelled from the Federal Republic of Germany. When news of this reached Berlin there was a demonstration organised on the spur of the moment and led by militants of the West Berlin GIM. The demonstrators, taking the police completely by surprise, marched to the house of one of the Senators responsible for the ban chanting, "Neubauer Out, Mandel In", etc. The West German Interior Minister, Genscher, explaining the ban declared that the German government was not opposed to Marxist theoreticians living in Germany, but argued that Mandel was also a revolutionary activist and there was a danger that the Secretariat of the Fourth International would be moved to W. Germany, something which his government would not tolerate. He also cited the fact that Mandel is barred from France, Switzerland and the United States of America

ANGRY REACTIONS

Apart from the angry reaction of the Berlin students, which is likely to continue at an accelerated pace as students return to the universities, protests are beginning to pour in from other quarters. Trade-unionists, members of the SPD and intellectuals have been putting pressure on the government to rescind the ban without further delay. The comrades of the GIM are preparing to launch a big national campaign to demand that the ban be lifted. Already the National Committee of the SPD Young Socialists (which is the organ-

isation of all SPD members under 35) has passed a resolution condemning the ban and the Universities of Frankfurt, Bremen and Konstanz have all demonstrated their solidarity by offering Ernest Mandel teaching posts. There have been teach-ins protesting the expulsion in Hamburg, Cologne, Heidelberg, Bremen, Konstanz and Frankfurt. The left-minority of the SPD in West Berlin which controls one-third of the party has also issued a vigorous protest. It is obvious that the Mandel ban is not going to be accepted by the German left, with the exception of a somewhat embarrassed West German C.P.

MANDEL'S OPEN LETTER

In an eight-point letter to the West Berlin Senate, Mandel has exposed the absurd grounds on which he has been barred from teaching. In the letter, which has been quoted extensively in the German press and television, Mandel argued that the victimisation to which he had been subjected was part of a wider plan:

"They begin with so-called left extremist minorities, then come those with a Jewish grandmother, next are the other agitators and finally all those who happen to be unpopular with the local *satrap*. Fortunately we haven't gone that far yet, but the first steps in that direction are being taken. A McCarthyite witch-hunt is beginning....."

"I don't know of any decision by a Constitutional Court declaring the Fourth International unconstitutional in the Federal Republic. The executive thus anticipates any possible future jurisdiction and at the same time seeks to influence it in a big way. Not only is a whole collective declared guilty without being charged and without the right to defend itself, but the very act in itself prevents the possibility of an 'objective' trial. Here

too the break with the principles of constitutional government is evident.

"The alleged unconstitutionality of the Fourth International, it is argued, derives from its intention to destroy the 'free and democratic order'. This is a primitive falsification. In no programmatic document of the Fourth International can you find any mention of a 'free and democratic order' and the West Berlin senate will find itself unable to quote a single line substantiating the charge. This argument only makes sense if 'free and democratic order' and capitalist exploitation are synonymous in the eyes of the Senate. This exploitation we want to smash just as we want to abolish any form of social inequality, oppression and injustice through the construction of a society free of classes or violence. It would be interesting to hear whether in the opinion of the West Berlin senate, the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism is to be declared unconstitutional. Should this be the case, the Senate ought to pursue the dissolution of the DGB (West German TUC) which in its Munich programme called for the socialisation of the means of production—a measure which if carried out would put an end to capitalism.

"Another argument in favour of the unconstitutionality of the Fourth International, according to the Senate, is its demand for a soviet republic. Having had such a close look at the statutes of the Fourth International, the senate ought to do a little more research on the programmatic texts. For it would find that we regard a soviet constitution possible only with the active support of the great majority of wage earners, i.e. in W. Germany, the absolute majority of the population. The senate would further find that we believe in a multi-party system with political opposition, with more freedom of the press and association than exists today, because these basic rights must not only be

granted to all working people, but must also include all the material means necessary for them to exercise these rights. Out of this theory flows an interesting question concerning the 'free and democratic order' which the senate pretends to defend against the Fourth International. The constitution of the Federal Republic also guarantees these basic rights, albeit formally, but at the same time defends the capitalist system. Now, what happens if the majority of the population, in exercising its basic rights, speaks out for the abolition of the social order? Because that is the situation we are trying to bring about. In this case are basic political rights to be sacrificed on the altar of the golden calf, or the golden calf on the altar of basic political rights? The senate has obviously opted for the golden calf when it accuses us of breaking with the 'free and democratic order'. This definition of unconstitutionality would apply not only to Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, August Bebel, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, but up to 1923, even to Karl Kautsky, Rudolf Hilferding and Rudolf Breitscheid.

All these leading representatives of the German labour movement supported the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the construction of a state like that of the Paris Commune, i.e. a democratic soviet republic, for which the Fourth International fights today."

Mandel warned the SPD leaders that the measures they were using against him could easily one day be used against them: "Do I have to warn the West Berlin Senate that all social-democratic organisations and newspapers were banned as 'marxist' during the Third Reich?" The present actions were designed to pander to right-wing elements who wanted to prevent Marxists from teaching in German universities because they were frightened by their ideas, especially when these ideas were related to a concrete practice. Mandel ended his open letter by claiming:

"It is self-evident that I was not coming to Berlin to throw bombs or to place machine guns into position in the Free University. It is solely a question of giving the many socialist students an opportunity within the framework of their courses to have lectures that correspond to their needs and that simultaneously enable marxists and non-marxists to confront each other with their respective views on the scientific analysis and theoretical understanding of a society's economics. I can only be in favour of such a confrontation, because Marxism flowers best in an atmosphere of permanent, sharp and scientific critique. The fear exhibited by the Senate speaks volumes on its lack of confidence in its own ideas....."

THE NEED FOR A CONCERTED CAMPAIGN

In the United States the ban on Mandel was reversed by a decision of a U.S. Federal Court and the authorities have appealed to the Supreme Court before whom the case now rests. In Switzerland 15 social-democratic members of Parliament as well as numerous trade-union leaders have protested the ban imposed by a Minister who was known as a notorious anti-semitic during the war. This was all the more ironic as Mandel participated in the Resistance during the war and finally ended up in a concentration camp. In France it seems unlikely that the ban will be removed while the wretched Marcellin holds office. What is ironic is the fact that as the bourgeoisie of Europe moves towards closer unity, politically and economically, it places restrictions on the travel of revolutionists. In Britain a scurrilous and false report published in the *Sunday Telegraph*, of 27 February 1972, seems to be preparing the ground for banning Mandel from this country. It is therefore essential for all revolutionists, social-democrats and trade-unionists to make clear that they are opposed to restrictions being placed on the right of any individual to travel from one country to another.

—Clarissa Howard

S.P.D.: German Social-Democratic Party, whose leader Willy Brandt, is the Chancellor of Germany.

AFTER ALDERSHOT

Photos by George Snow

The Aldershot bombing has, predictably, been the cue for a massive propaganda offensive by the venal British press; it has equally predictably been the cause of a great deal of confusion on the British "left", which had settled down comfortably to wailing about the Derry massacre, without trying to understand the political context in which it occurred. *The Red Mole* has always resisted getting involved in the politics of the last atrocity, and while making the maximum propaganda against the brutality of British Imperialism has stressed the fact that all the violence in Ireland stems from imperialist oppression, and that the oppressed minority, through its armed vanguard the IRA, will be forced to reply to oppression in equally, if not more violent terms.

Aldershot was a legitimate military target despite the tragedy of civilian deaths, which have been exploited to the full. The latest *United Irishman* makes some interesting points about the British Army statements:-

"Most interesting in the light of later developments was the fact that although the bomb went off at three minutes to one, according to on the spot witnesses, British propaganda altered the time to 12.40 when there would be few officers there.

"... similar disappearances of Paratroop officers occurred in South Yemen... Even where the NLF and FLOSY claimed certain casualties, the British were able to deny them, to the obvious propaganda advantage of the British.

"... a high proportion of the officers in that regiment have no family ties of any kind. Their deaths would be missed by no one. What the British had got away with in Aden they also hoped to get away with in the Aldershot case. This view is backed by the views of people in Aldershot, who maintain that there were at least thirty officers in the building when the explosion occurred. Since 280 lbs of gellignite were used it is obvious that few people in the building would escape unscathed. Yet the only military casualties admitted were seventeen officers injured. What happened to the other thirteen? But publication of this information wouldn't help Britain's propaganda case."

The Officials' Statement stressed that the bombing was not the prelude to a general offensive in Britain, although the British press refrained from reporting this. But despite the fact that it was a "one-off" operation, the Aldershot attack does emphasise a new factor in the situation in Ireland—the current military offensive of the Official IRA.

AN ESCALATING CAMPAIGN

Until the beginning of this year the main core of the military struggle had been carried on by the Provisionals, being cast in the traditional Republican mould, they have seen themselves very much as an army, fighting another army. This dictated sniping at soldiers, and attacking military installations, and while they did give their campaign a political edge, by attempting to bomb life in Belfast to a standstill, this has not been achieved and has more and more taken the form of random actions.

The Officials, on the other hand have developed an escalating campaign. Their actions have included the burning of the homes of leading reactionaries in the North, (during one of these operations Senator Barnhill was shot); and they have blown up the Town Halls in Strabane and Newry, where Stormont had taken over following the boycott of the councils by the overwhelmingly catholic councillors. The shooting of John Taylor is another aspect of this campaign. As distinct from the Provos, they have chosen political rather than military targets.

Had Aldershot been a success (leaving aside the question of whether or not Officers were killed for the moment), there can be little doubt that the Northern minority, and the rest of the Irish people would have been heartened. As it is the action spells



out clearly to the British Army, the consequences of a future massacre like that at Derry. Had the IRA simply ignored the massacre it would have encouraged the attempts of British imperialism to frighten the mass movement off the streets. The new campaign also multiplies the contradictions for Stormont and Westminster; they had been making a lot of noise about the lower level of the Provisionals' campaign, although they were stretched taut in dealing with it. The Officials will make their military and propaganda situation more difficult.

REPRESSION

The response of the ruling classes in Britain and the Twenty Six counties has been essentially political. The detention of a number of leaders of the Officials in Dublin was aimed primarily at the movement's important political figures. The holding of Derry Kelleher for 48 hours is the most blatant proof of this: Kelleher, who is a vice-President of the Official Sinn Fein, peers at the world from behind thick glasses, and is neither young enough, nor in an appropriate physical condition, to be credible as an urban guerrilla. He is, however, a leading opponent of Lynch's EEC policy.

Lynch chose the period immediately after the Aldershot incident to swoop, while the mass of the Irish people were stunned at the civilian deaths and the killing of a catholic chaplain. But he is in a weak position, for although he has resurrected those parts of the Offences Against the State Act which give the Gardaí the power to arrest and hold individuals for 48 hours, he cannot revive the internment camps, or the military tribunals without processing this through the Dail. This could become a focus for mass opposition. If the Officials carry on with the military campaign, and score some successes, any negative effects of Aldershot will be overcome and they will be able to mobilise the Irish people in their defence.

In Britain there has been a series of Special Branch raids on the homes and offices of Irish militants and organisations. Since the Branch boys know perfectly well who will be likely to get involved in such action and who will not, it is clear that this is political intimidation. The Press of course has been beside itself. The *Sunday Telegraph* claimed that the ISC, the IMG and the Fourth International were "Backers of Terror". But probably the most serious attack has been aimed at Clann na hEireann, the political organisation of the Officials in England, Scotland and Wales. The *Daily Express* hysterically denounced them for collecting funds for the IRA, this led to questions in the House, and a move by some Tory MPs to ban "The IRA" in Britain. *The Red Mole* solidarises with Clann in face of the witch-hunt, and is pleased to note that the publicity has helped Clann's recruitment.

CONTRADICTIONS

Aldershot, however, shows up some important contradictions in the Officials' policy. Firstly their repeated condemnations of Provisional actions, while being careful in selecting those which could be interpreted as being sectarian, nevertheless have tended to make generalised criticisms of the military struggle of the Provisionals which seem to counterpose a non-violent response to the situation. An example of this is in the interview given to *Seven Days* by Cathal Goulding, where he criticises the Provisionals for escalating the struggle after internment:—"But the Provisionals escalated the struggle and that gave Faulkner the excuse he needed to continue internment."

Such statements had brought the Officials many a false friend recently, who praised their "responsibility", and denounced the Provisionals as "terrorists." It is as well to lose such supporters, but by giving them a basis in the first place the Officials did not help to clarify the politics of the situation. And if they are serious about carrying through such a campaign it is as well to prepare the Irish people for it in advance; they have done the reverse.

It is as well also not to have organisations which are well-known to be heavily under Official influence, such as the NICRA, denouncing the bombing (see *Morning Star*, 23rd February).

These contradictions, which can all be explained in terms of "tactics", in reality flow from the basic contradiction within Official policy, their attitude towards Stormont. Still insisting, after internment, after Derry, that Stormont can be reformed, they are propelled into reformist and gradualist politics. At the present juncture the mass demonstrations do have a revolutionary potential, since they increase the contradictions of the Unionists and British imperialism; but not being placed in the context of a policy which tries to smash Stormont their line of development is extremely limited.

But the Officials are still Republicans, they still come from the physical force tradition. It is impossible for them to stand idly by while the British Army tries to crush the minority in the North; retaliatory action was necessary, and has been taken. This, however, merely opens up more contradictions, for such a campaign will have very serious consequences for Stormont. If it is carried on for an extended period it could well lead to the collapse of Stormont, and if the alternative is not to be direct rule it is necessary to prepare the groundwork for a peoples' alternative now.

It will be inevitable too that such a basic contradiction will lead to disagreements within the Officials; one section will try to resolve the contradiction by bringing the military policy into line with the reformist political policy, and another will try to change the political line. This is not the best internal situation with which to sustain a military campaign.

Nevertheless we pledge our continued solidarity with the struggle now going on, and will renew our attempts to build a principled solidarity movement in Britain, one which does not hesitate to say:-

VICTORY TO THE IRA!

Bob Purdie

RACIST EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS

THE ROLE OF THE LIBERALS:

Part Two of an important article which explains the difference between the revolutionary and liberal solutions

The last *Red Mole* examined how racist education works in schools. However, one of the vital tasks with respect to most education is to distinguish the revolutionary from the liberal solution. This is because, on the one hand, most of the existing revolutionary groups with their usual rotten chauvinism ignore both racism generally and racist education, and, on the other hand, the liberals both acknowledge the existence of racist education and also talk about it in a pseudo-socialist rhetoric. Thus there is a heap of liberal literature which points out the existence of racist education. For instance, in the last couple of months there have been liberal books on blacks in E.S.N. schools (Bernard Coard) and on racist literature (Janet Hill). Again the very first edition of *Children's Rights*—a schools magazine by 'radical' educationalists—actually begins with an article about racism in schools. Moreover, a large amount of this literature does not only acknowledge the existence of racist education, it also argues that it is the result of 'imperialism' and even 'capitalism'. Coard in particular emphasises the role of the imperialist expansion of Capitalism in laying the foundations for racism.

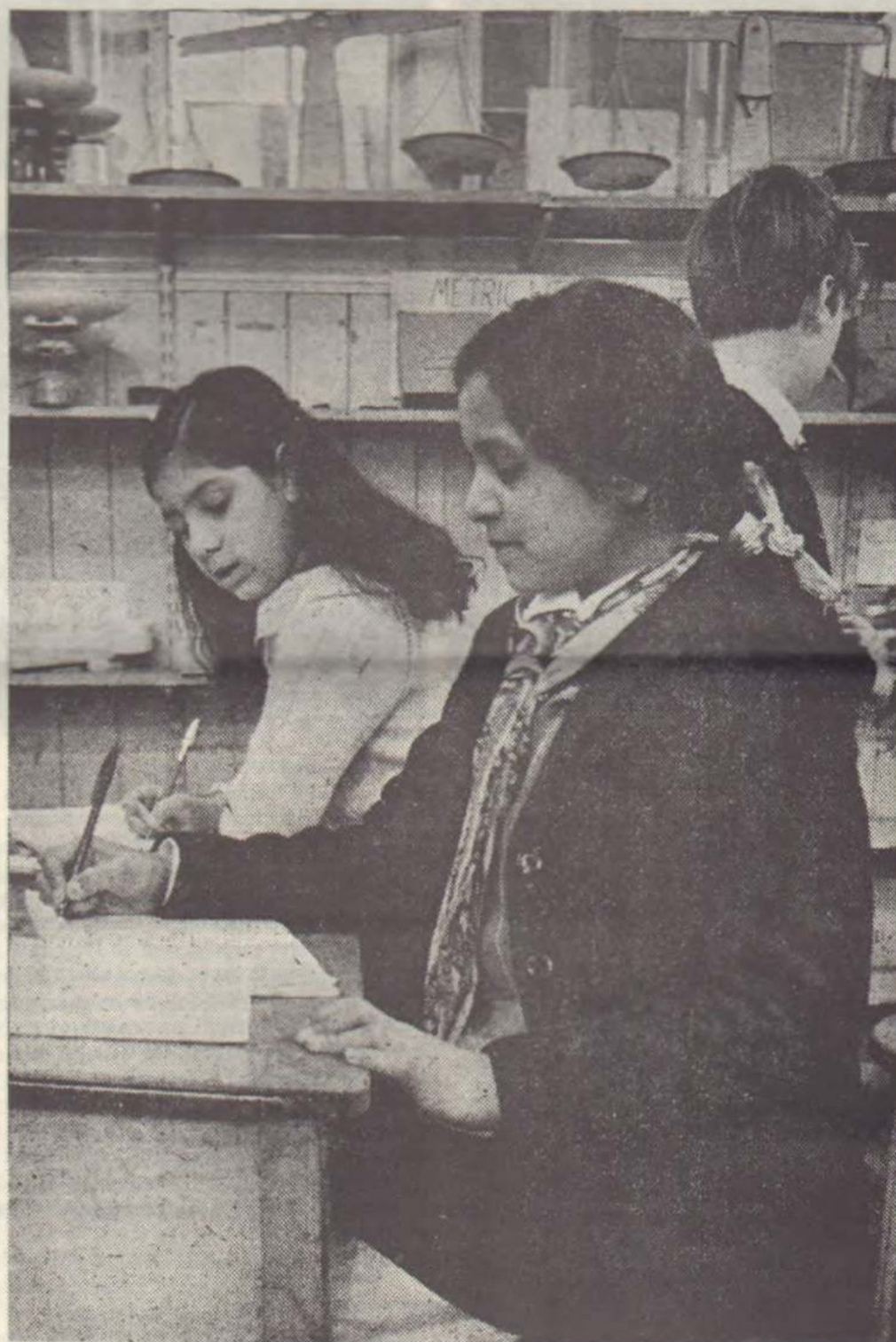
However, the difference between liberals and revolutionaries has never been that the former do not and the latter do make a close analysis of society. Many liberals recognised, well before Marx, that the capitalist system was based on a property owning class and a working class. What distinguishes Marxists from liberals is precisely seeing that this labour/capital contradiction can never be resolved within capitalism, and that the vicious circle can only be smashed by smashing capitalism. Thus the distinguishing mark of liberal writings on racist education is that it believes this racism can be 'solved' by reforms within the system. For instance, Coard's answer to I.Q. tests (which he himself admits are based on 'white middle class values' as a way of deliberately herding black students into ESN schools) is that in future these tests should be administered by black psychologists. Again, one answer to black youth unemployment which is put forward is to have black Youth Employment Officers. Now these are manifest non-solutions to racism in schools. The reason why they are non-solutions is precisely because capitalism needs to perpetuate racism in order to divide the class. In other words, no solution lies within capitalism itself.

Of course this does not mean that it is sufficient for revolutionaries just to proclaim that racist education can only end with the end of capitalism—with an invocation to 'build the revolutionary party'. For instance, revolutionaries should be helping to organise those most oppressed by bourgeois education—namely the students—to fight back. However, what this does mean is that such School Students Unions will fail to come to grips with racism in schools if they consider that bourgeois schools can be 'democratically' run on a non-racist basis. Instead, such Unions like any Union in a period of imperialist decline, need to have an explicit revolutionary perspective.

THE ROLE OF THE LIBERAL INTELLECTUALS

Liberal intellectuals do not just acknowledge the existence of racism and racist education—rather they are totally obsessed and pre-occupied with them. Thus whole institutions, eg. the Institute of Race Relations—and whole journals,

e.g. *Race Today*—are run by liberals to discuss and investigate racism. Moreover, within all this, by far the most discussed aspect of racism is in regard to education. For instance,



virtually every issue of *Race Today* has an article on racism in the schools.

This emphasis on racism and racist education by the liberals might seem paradoxical—especially compared with the chauvinistic disdain of racism by most of the revolutionary groups. However, this emphasis is in fact a classic example of the political role of liberal intellectuals as the lackeys of the bourgeois state. This can be seen in various ways.

Thus the (hopeless) effort of liberal intellectuals to 'rationalise' all the contradictions within capitalism and suggest 'reforms' within the system is precisely their usefulness for the bourgeoisie. They both act as a safety valve for the capitalists and are themselves co-opted into the system. This is especially important as regards racism because of the bourgeoisie's present need to intensify antagonisms between black and white workers.

Again, this is particularly so, as regards racist education, for the contradictions this produces potentially strike at the liberal intellectuals' assumptions about 'objective' knowledge and 'objective' education.

Finally, the interest of intellectuals in justifying the system is not merely an abstract phenomenon. It is the result of the intellectuals' need to justify their own material base in the petit-bourgeoisie. Moreover, it is precisely this material base which black militancy, like all proletarian militancy, threatens. This is why it is no coincidence that the recent rise in black militancy has been met by a rise in liberal 'concern' for racism. The liberals have a material interest in pre-empting such militancy. One example of the way they do this is by attempting to co-opt black militants into the whole liberal machinery, for instance by getting one or two of them to write for *Race Today*. Again it is no coincidence that liberals concentrate most on racist education—for this is just the field that black militants attack most.

with token reforms and to win over the intellectuals.

However, what is different about the nineteenth century Royal Commission reports and the State's attitude towards racism today is precisely the period of capitalism we are now living in. Thus the nineteenth century was a period of capitalist expansion. Today is a period of capitalist decline and crisis. Half the world is no longer capitalist—and the rest is offering an ever decreasing rate of profit. The implications of this are twofold:

1. The bourgeoisie has to resort to racism to divide the workers;
2. The options in terms of offering even token reforms are no longer present. Thus as regards racist education in schools the bourgeoisie and its intellectual lackeys are not able to offer any long-term reforms at all. For instance, the notion of black psychologists, black youth employment officers etc. as a 'solution' to racist education is just a farce and a patent farce. Moreover not only has the state no option open to it in terms of reform, it also, even on its very own liberal criteria, has to resort to utter deceit and hypocrisy to conceal its racism whilst purporting to reform it. Thus Royal Commissions in the last century were, at least on a liberal basis 'honest' in that they were at least able to admit there were 'defects in the system' (though without admitting their causes). However, whatever reports the state produces on racism today are full of blatant lies. For instance, as we have seen, the figures for black unemployment are just bent. Again the ILEA report on blacks in ESN schools says that even though blacks might be shown to be wrongly placed in ESN schools yet such schools still fulfil their 'educational needs'. The classic example of this double-think deceit is of course in respect to racism towards the Irish and the Compton Report where 'brutality' towards the Irish was distinguished from 'torture'.

In fact one of the marks of the crisis of capitalism is not only that it screws up workers—capitalism always screws up workers. Instead it also screws up the bourgeoisie in its capacity to rule by reform and by buying off discontent. (Of course the problem for revolutionaries is that it also tends to screw them up as well—for instance, by rendering them chauvinistic).

LIBERALS AND REACTIONARIES

Finally, because in the period of decline of capitalism there are manifestly no liberal answers to anything, and so the bourgeoisie have no room to manoeuvre—then the whole difference between 'liberals' and 'reactionaries' which is illusory at the best of times becomes totally meaningless. They both end up using the same arguments—posing the same non-'solutions'. This is seen clearly as regards racism in education—and in particular the question of blacks in the ghetto areas being placed into the local ghetto schools and being de facto segregated from whites in other schools. Now, lots of 'liberals' do not like this de facto segregation and want black students to be dispersed into the white schools. Likewise many 'reactionaries' are against black students being in a numerically dominant position in any school and are therefore in favour of dispersal. Conversely, because dispersal in effect often means forced dispersal through bussing students miles away from where they live, then other 'liberals' are against it. Again many 'reactionaries' are against dispersal and are in favour of ghettoisation of blacks into certain schools as a way of keeping them from whites as much as possible. Another identical position between 'liberals' and 'reactionaries' is that both see racism and racist education as producing a 'problem' which has to be 'solved'. Likewise immigration is seen as a 'problem'. However, the reason why racism produces problems is that always under capitalism, and especially in its period of decline, everything produces problems. In the period of decline of capitalism the choice can never be between liberal progress and reaction. It can only be between socialist revolution and barbarism.

—Steve Cohen

1 *Race Today*, February 1971.



Dear Comrade,
I read with great interest the letter from the Lancaster comrades which appeared in *The Red Mole* 37, and I took particular interest in the part which I.S. played in the expulsion of the I.S.C. from the Irish 'Solidarity Alliance' on account of the principled stand which the I.S.C. took in regard to the slogan 'Victory to the I.R.A.'

Up until 4 weeks ago, the Manchester branch of the I.S.C. of which I am a member, consisted of the International Marxist Group, Workers Fight, I.S., Revolutionary Workers Party, Clann na hEireann, and about fifteen individual members, e.g. Irish nurses, building labourers, etc. From the formation of this branch, Clann na hEireann had been opposed to the slogan 'Victory to the I.R.A.' and four weeks ago they pulled out of the I.S.C. and after talks with the Provisional Sinn Fein, decided to set up an Anti-Internment League.

Until this point, things had been going well with the branch and its members had been carrying out various activities such as pickets, leafletting and holding public meetings. A compromise had also been reached with I.S. whereby they accepted the slogan 'Victory to the I.R.A.' provided the other groups accepted the slogan 'For a 32-County Workers Republic' and this was agreed on. At this juncture, there was tremendous scope for the I.S.C. in the aftermath of the Derry massacre. The Manchester Socialist Women's Action Group had affiliated as had the Gay Action Group and there was also an external affiliation from the Manchester College of Commerce Student's Union.

However, the potential of the I.S.C. wasn't going to be realised so easily. The national organisation of the I.S. must have been getting embarrassed by one of their branches getting up and raising the slogan 'Victory to the I.R.A.' for no sooner had the Anti-Internment League been set up in Manchester than I.S. as an organisation dropped out of the I.S.C. and joined the A.I.L. They did not intend, however, to lose their two seats on the committee of the I.S.C. so they told their members that they could remain in the I.S.C. as individuals.

As anyone will agree, this is a very strange state of affairs and I, for one, would like to see I.S. justify its actions.

Comradely Greetings
Manchester I.S.C. member.

I.S. HYPOCRISY IN GLASGOW

The movement in support of the Irish struggle has been meeting with increasing repression everywhere in Britain, but nowhere has this been sharper than in Glasgow. Two demonstrations have met with attacks from Orangemen, and during a public meeting for Bernadette Devlin the hall was surrounded by a huge crowd of drunken Orangemen who abused and in some cases physically attacked those who attended it. In response to this hooliganism the Press and the City Authorities have tried to clamp down on political activity in support for the Irish struggle. Thus the demonstration following the Derry massacre met with the Public Order Act, which prescribed the route, and prevented the carrying of the Tricolour or Starry Plough. Recently two IS members who attempted to hold an open air meeting on Ireland, were arrested and held in prison for two days.

This has severely curtailed the possibilities of public propaganda on the Irish question, and poses an important challenge for revolutionaries in the City. If this situation is accepted then reaction will be stronger, and the repression will extend to other political fields. Unity is necessary because no single organisation on the left is strong enough to carry out public activity on any scale, alone. And yet the Glasgow IS have chosen to oppose such unity.

Following the demonstration on 16 October in Glasgow, when a large number of demonstrators were arrested and given heavy fines, the organisations involved formed a united front committee to defend free speech on the Irish question, and to raise money to assist those arrested. The committee organised a public rally which was a moderate success, and raised part of the money required. But following the rally IS walked out of the committee, saying that they could work better outside its framework; this followed a complaint about the distribution of leaflets for Glasgow ISC meetings at the Rally. Shortly afterwards Clann na hEireann dropped out leaving the IMG and the Glasgow group of the Communist Federation of Britain (M-L), to carry on raising the rest of the money required.

About three weeks ago Glasgow ISC attempted to re-create the necessary unity by inviting a number of organisations to discuss the basis for such unity. The reply of IS is at once instructive and tragic:

"IS comrades will not be attending your meeting tomorrow night for the following reasons:

1. It is being convened under the auspices of

an organisation which does not have an existence independent of the IMG.

2. For real united front action the forces coming together must discuss directly and honestly the platform and perspectives of such work. By deciding to issue your invitation under the auspices of the non-existent ISC you indicate that your organisation has already decided on the promotion of a particularly sectarian kind of united front in which we decline to participate.

3. We are already working closely with members of other organisations and uncommitted comrades around the slogans "End Internment" and "Withdraw the British Troops", and for the adoption of internees in Glasgow. We believe that your failure to indicate that the IMG now has a new attitude towards united front work means that the work we are now involved in would be jeopardised if we became involved in the kind of sectarian battles that your proposal promises....."

First of all Glasgow ISC is neither non-existent, nor a 'front' for IMG, non-IMG members are in a majority in the branch, and it contains people who are active in Glasgow and Strathclyde Universities, and Langside College. Coatbridge ISC contains some 15-20 young militants, none of whom are IMG members. ISC, while not being large, is a force which has great potential for building united front actions in the West of Scotland. IS can wish it out of existence if they like, but to work up such moral indignation in the process seems slightly bizarre.

Secondly the CFB(M-L) an organisation which has a lot of respect on the Glasgow left, and about which the IS has never raised any complaints, has not been invited to participate in the united front work which IS is so anxious not to jeopardise, so that this united front does not exclude only those who are 'sectarian' in IS's eyes. But when the full facts come out IS's indignation is revealed for what it is—hypocrisy. Their refusal to support a united front has nothing to do with IMG's 'sectarianism', but has a great deal to do with their belief that they can gain more for IS with their present policy. This is made explicit in an IS internal document, dated 4.1.1972, entitled "Report On Our Irish Work", a copy of which was given to Matt Montgomery, chairman of Glasgow ISC, by Gerry Doherty of Clann na hEireann. The following are some extracts:

"1.In some parts of the country we work inside the AIL, yet elsewhere we do not try to initiate branches of it. In some places our members are leading members of Clann and sell *United Irishman*, and elsewhere *U.I.* is banned from IS bookstalls. Here we co-operate with the IMG, there we don't.

"2. Our only consistent attitude to Ireland, and to the task of fighting chauvinism

amongst the British working class is shown in *Socialist Worker*. But *SW* alone cannot do the job among the millions of Irish and ex-Irish working in this country. The job of course is to convince them of the need to build a Revolutionary Socialist Party in Ireland capable of dealing with both capitalist regimes, and of the need while in Britain to join IS.....

"4. The principle problem with a mass campaign in Britain is not the need for it, nor its potential support, but the existence of the IMG ready and willing to sacrifice it on the altar of sectarianism. Thus the only basis for a national campaign free from those dangers is a front organisation of ourselves and close collaborators."

Two further points suggest the initiating of a paper directed to Irish workers based on Glasgow; it concludes—

"7. Locally we should prepare for the launching of such a paper by:

1. Seeking to build IS cells inside the Scottish Clann branches,
2. Establishing IS/Clann Liaison Committee to: produce joint posters leaflets and sell literature; to support each others Devlin meeting and to hold a joint McCann meeting in late March, early April; organise joint pickets.
3. Leaving the Campaign for Free Speech on Ireland as soon as the fund is sufficient." (In fact, they did not wait for this.)

In passing, we note that IS, the largest group on the British revolutionary left, has no consistent policy for solidarity work in relation to Ireland the sharpest political issue confronting them. But the most important aspect of the document is its definition of the task (see point 2). The job in Britain is not to win Irish workers to revolutionary organisations, in Britain or Ireland—it is to win them, politically, to using their strength, and their key position within the British working class to aid the struggle back home. If organisations help to bring about such a change in consciousness amongst these workers, they will deserve the appellation "revolutionary", and will be able effectively to recruit large numbers of these workers. If the approach is made from an abstract assumption that winning them to a particular organisation is the same as winning them to revolutionary politics the result will be both political confusion, and a failure to assist the struggle in Ireland. Because IS sees the task in precisely these organisational terms it is led into a sectarian policy, and must raise shabby half-truths in order to provide a cover.

Elsewhere such a policy would be disastrous, in Glasgow it is criminal. It greatly weakens the forces capable of carrying out public work on the Irish question, and mis-educates any Irish workers who do come around, while leaving the streets to Jack Glass and the Orangemen.

—Bob Purdie

Kollontai's AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A SEXUALLY EMANCIPATED WOMAN.
£1.30. Orbach & Chambers, 17, Shaftesbury Avenue, London W.1.

IRISH SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN
The Irish Solidarity Campaign holds alternate forums and business meetings every Friday at 8 p.m. at the General Picton pub, Caledonian Road (junction Wharfedale Road) nearest tube Kings Cross.
Friday, March 17th: Anna de Casparis on 'Orangeism and Paisleyism—Fascist movements?'

ANTI-INTERMENT LEAGUE
Mass Mobilisation—March 26
Assembly Points:
South London—Clapham Common 1.30
West London—Hammersmith Broadway 1.00
East London—Tower Hill 2.30
N.W. London—'The Crown' Cricklewood 1.00
North London—Archway 1.30
Then to—
TRAFALGAR SQUARE
For further details phone 01-603-3085

GLASGOW RED CIRCLE
Weekly Discussion Group for Revolutionary Socialists—Thursdays at 7.30 p.m.
Series on imperialism now being held:
March 16: Imperialism and under-development.
March 23: Britain as an imperialist power.
Iona Community Centre, 214 Clyde Str.

SPECIAL OFFER
CHE GUEVARA'S BOLIVIAN DIARIES
The Black Dwarf Autumn 68 Special issue. Price 10 p plus postage 2½ p (reduced from 25 p).
No postage payable on orders of 6 copies or more. Obtainable from *Red Mole*, 182 Pentonville Rd., London N.1.

NEW FROM IMG PUBLICATIONS!
Ireland Unfree by Bob Purdie, 30 p.
Capital—A Readable Introduction, 40 p.
Cash with order plus 3 p post & package. Bulk terms on request.
IMG Publications, 182, Pentonville Road, London, N.1.

North London Red Circle meets every Tuesday at 8.30 p.m. to discuss revolutionary politics. All welcome.
General Picton Pub, Caledonian Road, (nr. Kings Cross Station) N.1.

EDITORIAL BOARD: Tariq Ali, Dave Bailey, Robin Blackburn, J.R. Clynes, Peter Gowan, Alan Jones, Pat Jordan, Branka Magas, Martin Meteyard, Bob Purdie, Daniel Rose.
DESIGN: Christine Moore
DISTRIBUTION: Phil Sanders

Published by Relgocrest for *The Red Mole*, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1. 01-837 6954.
Printed by F.I. Litho (T.U.) Ltd. 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1. 01-837 9987

PLEASE SEND ME THE RED MOLE FOR THE NEXT 6/12 MONTHS. I ENCLOSE CHEQUE/P.O./CASH FOR £1/£2.

NAME.....
ADDRESS.....
.....
THE RED MOLE, 182 PENTONVILLE ROAD, LONDON N.1. 01-837 6954.
FOREIGN SUBS: Asia/Africa/Australia/N. & S. America: £5 per year (airmail); £3 per year (ordinary).
West Europe: £3 per year.

INTERNATIONAL MARXIST GROUP (British Section of the Fourth International)



Please put me in touch with IMG militants in my area.
Name:
Address:
Occupation:
Age:
Place of Work:

RHODAN GORDON TRIAL

Arrested on December 17th (day after Mangrove trial ended) and charged with obstructing the free passage of traffic with a car and assaulting P. C. Saunders.

PROSECUTION STORY

P. C. Saunders and P. C. Pugh were walking down Portobello Road and saw a car parked at an angle, causing an obstruction. They did not know whose car it was. When the owner, Rhodan, returned to the car Saunders asked him to move it. Rhodan refused, was unnecessarily impolite, and as a crowd gathered round, assaulted Saunders as he was being held, biting his finger and bruising his knee. Pugh (a witness in the Mangrove trial) radioed for help and Rhodan was taken to Notting Hill Police Station and charged. At the station Rhodan made a statement in which he said that Saunders and Pugh had abused him in the past, and that the incident proved what he had said the day before at the Old Bailey concerning suspended sentences and the way they work against black people.

Saunders denied having seen or spoken to Rhodan before and denied assaulting him at the police station. (Cross summonses against Saunders, Pugh and Sgt. French have been taken out by Rhodan, but have yet to be heard.)

The other police evidence confirmed Saunders' story.

DEFENCE CASE

Rhodan was on the way to the Old Bailey to collect some papers on the Mangrove trial. He stopped to pick up a friend, parking the car in Oxford Gardens, close to the kerb and away from the corner. He left another friend in the car and was gone for about fifteen minutes. When he came back Saunders came up to him saying something about him having a new car. Rhodan asked "Which car? What are you talking about?" and Saunders replied "the one with the fucking monkey sitting in it". Rhodan asked "What's wrong with you?" and Saunders replied, "Never mind what's wrong with me, you fucking move it". Rhodan then realised that Saunders was just using the car as a tactic to provoke him.

Saunders and Pugh then grabbed Rhodan and pushed him against a parked car. A crowd gathered, some of them taking photographs, telling the policemen to leave Rhodan alone, that they had seen what happened and that he had done nothing. Rhodan denied biting Saunders's finger or attempting to knee him in the groin. He was held while Pugh radioed for assistance and then taken to Notting Hill Station.

While he was in the charge room he was assaulted by Saunders, Pugh and French-Saunders stamped on his foot and called him "black cunt" before being dragged away by another officer. After he left the station, he received treatment in hospital for injuries to his foot, and bruised ribs. A medical report testifying to these injuries was read out at the trial.

The prosecution claimed that Rhodan had set up the whole incident to prove his point about suspended sentences. Rhodan denied this saying that it was ridiculous and insulting and that he wouldn't spend 11 weeks in the Old Bailey under those mental pressures, and end up with a sentence of fear, just to provoke an incident with the police the next day. Rogers, the prosecutor, then suggested that Rhodan was out to get publicity so as to keep his position as a leader, and produced copies of *Friendz*, *Private Eye*, and the *Kennington Post*, all with pictures of Rhodan with a bandaged foot in them. Rhodan replied that he hadn't asked for publicity and to a suggestion that the bandage on his foot was just for effect replied that he had left it to the people at the hospital and he should ask them about the bandage.

Other defence witnesses gave very similar accounts of the incident.

VERDICT

Guilty of obstruction: fined £5. Case dismissed on the charge of assault. The magis-



trate, Anthony Babington, who convicted Rhodan of an assault charge two years ago (when reminded of this, he said he couldn't remember the case but wouldn't have taken the present case if he'd known), said that he could find no substance in Rhodan's allegation of a police vendetta against him.

Rhodan is appealing against the conviction on the obstruction charge.

COMMENTS

The case was yet another example of police fabrication with the aim of intimidating local militants. The fact that the magistrate found the police evidence on the assault charge insufficient merely reflects the incompetence of Saunders, Pugh and Co., and the fortunate presence of several members of the public at the scene. On the other hand, the conviction on the obstruction charge demonstrates the usual bias of magistrates towards accepting police evidence.

Whether the incident was the result of an initiative taken by Pugh and Saunders themselves or whether the suggestion to frame Rhodan on a suitable charge came from higher up in the Notting Hill police hierarchy we don't know. But either way the (hoped for) result was the same. All the senior officers who gave evidence, from Chief Insp. Radford downwards felt obliged to support Saunders and Pugh's story. There are many ways in which the racism of the police force operates. It might take the form of an organised attack like the raid on the Metro Club; or it might take the form of the harassment of individual black people by racist cops who know they will be backed up by their colleagues.

As an institution, the police force attracts racist individuals, but also produces and reinforces racism in many others. This being the case the harassment of black people will operate through the initiative of individual policemen as well as from orders coming from higher up. (The same thing also applies of course to other minority groups). In fighting the acts of individual racist policemen, we are also fighting the institutional racism of the whole police force, and it is the latter and not the individual policemen which must be seen as the main enemy. And in fighting the police as an institution, we must remember that they are only one element of the repressive apparatus of the State, whose overall function is the maintenance of the capitalist order, and whose destruction and replacement by new forms is the ultimate objective of political struggle.

B. W.

LIAISON COMMITTEE SLATE FOR NUS ELECTIONS

The Easter NUS Conference in Birmingham will see an election fought (in the main) between two alternative slates. The C.P. dominated (indeed packed) left caucus refused any alliance with the Liaison Committee for the Defense of Students' Union (LCDSU) at its traditional pre-conference meeting. It would neither accept the United Front demands of the LCDSU as a basis for a principled alliance, nor the autonomy motion (the so-called 'amendment 9') passed at the special January NUS Conference, as an initial basis and springboard for more general agreement. In that situation, the LCDSU decided to offer an alternative slate and to fight for the allegiance of the left at the Birmingham Conference.

The LCDSU is potentially in rather a strong position. The next period will reveal quite clearly that the only position which will ensure a continuing fight for autonomy will be that offered by the LCDSU: the only alternative will be a Scab Union. At this conference, however, this will not be at all clear. What is required in this situation is not a retreat to half truths and guarded statements, but a clear and precise explanation of the positions of the LCDSU. This will *a fortiori* be the case in the elections, especially given the confusion as to who really does represent the left-wing of the NUS.

The International Marxist Group and the I.S. are major forces within the colleges, building and supporting the LCDSU. Most of the positions on the question of autonomy were originally worked out by the I.M.G. It is a fruitless and self defeating task to try to hide the major role which these two groups play within the LCDSU. However, for reasons termed "credibility" a majority of the Steering Council decided to remove representatives of, in particular, the IMG from leading positions on the slate. The argumentation of all sides (the I.S. included) revealed that the proposers of this move had not broken in any way from the C.P. methodology of pushing reputedly 'left' students' leaders to expound the views of the real actors in the situation, who would operate behind the scenes, as it were (in this case, at the bottom of the slate).

Secondly, the IMG was not convinced that some of the people proposed for the top positions had actually proved themselves in struggle and certainly all had not been consistently involved in building and defending the LCDSU. It would be utterly disastrous if the LCDSU became simply an alternative electoral machine for 'left' student bureaucrats.

Given this political approach to the coming elections, together with the obviously unrepresentative makeup of the slate in relation to the forces inside the LCDSU, the IMG comrades could only give critical support to such a slate and were not prepared to participate organisationally in it. The question of elections is not, of course, a principled issue but a matter of tactics. Consequently, the IMG will continue to support and build the LCDSU whilst remaining critical of this particular slate.

J. R. Clynes

ANTI-INTERMENT LEAGUE TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

A trade union conference held by the Anti-Internment League on Sunday, 5 March, attracted well over 100 people, including 90 trade unionists from 18 different unions.

The conference was like a curate's egg—good in parts. Mike Cooley, president of the technical section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, made an excellent speech pointing out that any defeated suffered by British imperialism in Ireland would represent a substantial victory for the British working class. He also agreed with a speaker from the Irish Solidarity Campaign that no campaign in this country which failed to come out in clear support of the IRA could be built on the necessary effective basis—a class basis. Another excellent speaker was Dermot Kelly of People's Democracy, who spoke about the Northern Resistance Movement and also stressed the necessity to side clearly with the IRA in the present struggle.

Unfortunately, however, the attitude persisted that politics and 'practical proposals' were two totally different topics. A sugges-

tion for a campaign in the trade union movement to eradicate its latent chauvinism by stressing the need to support the IRA was ruled out of order. Instead all that came out of the conference was arrangements for co-ordination and committees. These are, of course, necessary—but the fact remains that unless the politics of our response to the Irish struggle are discussed seriously, and keyed in consciously to our intervention in the labour movement, then we may well ask: co-ordination for what?

CARTER FORCED TO HAND IN RESIGNATION

As a result of the publication in *The Red Mole* of the kill-Angela-Davis letter by Bradford immigrant centre's racist headmaster, Mr. Nick Carter, he has handed in his resignation.

The Sunday Times picked up the story. Carter told them he was particularly puzzled that anyone should think he's unsympathetic to immigrants. "In Bradford I'm a kind of father-figure—like a District Officer in the Colonial Service".

In a letter of resignation circulated to his staff Carter blamed "Marxists and sympathisers in our midst who resort to gutter actions". The unfavourable publicity led to a Bradford City Councillor suggesting that Carter should apologise. Carter decided that he couldn't continue working for an authority which "would consider such a cowardly course of action".

His successor, a Mr. Fitzpatrick, will no doubt be more discreet in his public announcements. No change, however, is expected in Bradford's racist immigrant education system.

IMG & S.L. FUSION CONFERENCE: 27th, 28th, 29th May, 1972.

The National Committee of the International Marxist Group, British Section of the Fourth International, meeting on 26th and 27th February, 1972 scheduled the next National Conference for the 27th, 28th and 29th May, 1972. There have already been two separate delegate conferences of the IMG and Spartacus League respectively to discuss the fusion of the two organisations, both of which agreed by overwhelming majorities to build a common organisation.

The February meeting of the National Committee also accepted a perspectives document entitled "Building the Fourth International in Britain." As the pre-conference discussion has been started, *The Red Mole* will in future issues be carrying material reflecting the debates within the organisation.

IRISH SOLIDARITY DEFENCE FUND

Well over a hundred people were arrested on the Irish demonstration in London on the Saturday after the Derry massacre. Many more have been arrested in other post-Derry demonstrations elsewhere.

These arrests were the result of deliberate and continuous provocation by the police forces. Their aim was simple, and similar in many ways to that of the British troops in Derry,—to intimidate and deter people from coming out in support of the Irish struggle.

It is necessary now to show very clearly that the State will fail in this aim, that it cannot prevent the growth of a solidarity movement here, in the imperialist heartland. But it will only fail if we can show ourselves capable of defending those who come out on such demonstrations, and ensuring that they suffer the minimum disruption to their lives as a result of the intimidatory actions of the State.

The Irish Solidarity Defence Fund has been set up for this purpose, to help offset the considerable costs which are being incurred by those appearing in the courts as a result of those demonstrations. We appeal to all those who support the right to demonstrate in support of the Irish struggle to give generously to this fund; the alternative is likely success for the State in its attempt to intimidate those demonstrating, and thus prevent the growth of a significant Irish solidarity movement in this country.

Postal Orders and Cheques should be made out to the 'Irish Solidarity Defence Fund' and sent c/o 37 Gordon Mansions, Torrington Place, London W.C.1. All contributions will be acknowledged.