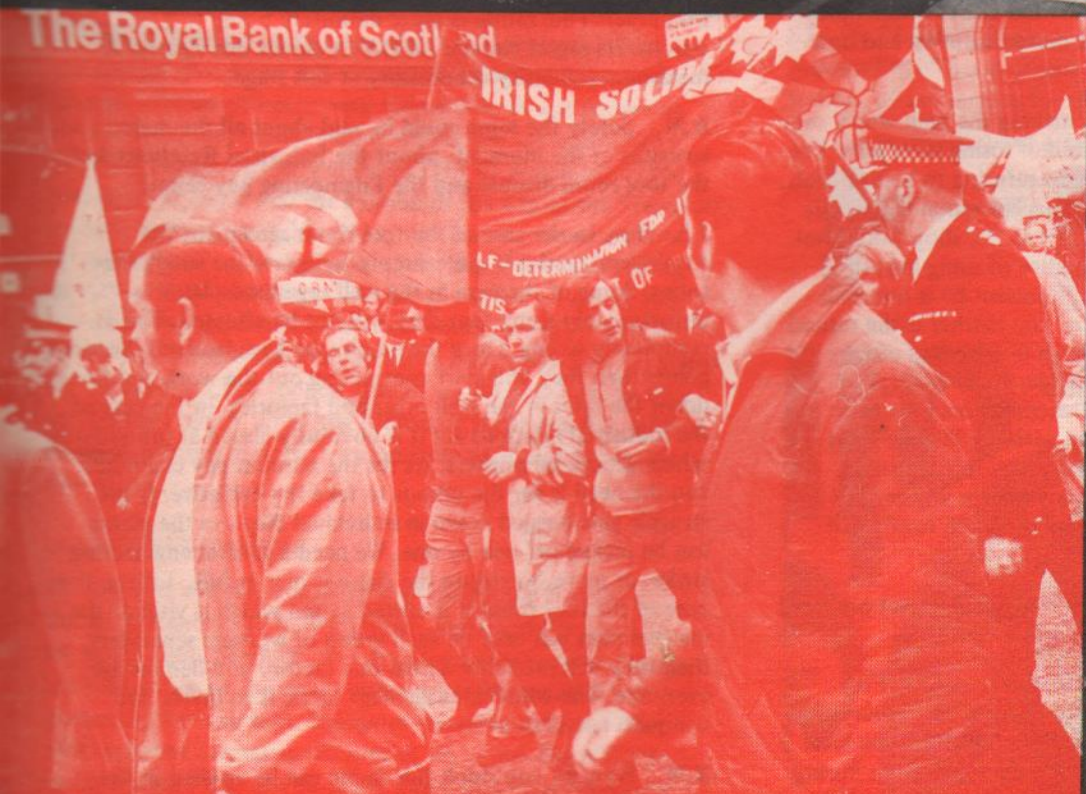


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# The Red Mole

## FOR A MASS SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN



TRIBUTE TO PETER GRAHAM

Graduate Unemployment--Coventry--Indochina--1789--IS

# VICTORY TO THE IRA!-FOR A MASS SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN

The October 31st demonstration was an important step forward in the building of a campaign in this country in support of the Irish struggle. It showed by its size (at least 20,000) that there is now a basis for a mass campaign on this issue. And more importantly, it also showed (for instance, in the slogans taken up on the demonstration) that there is wide support for a campaign with an explicit solidarity position, i.e. one which goes beyond the two demands of the Anti-Internment League (end internment, withdraw the troops) to a position of solidarity with those forces who are leading the struggle against British imperialism.

Why is this last point so important? It is important because only by taking a position of unconditional solidarity with those forces which are leading the masses in the struggle to defeat British imperialism—i.e. the IRA—can we demonstrate quite unequivocally that we ourselves are for the defeat of our own ruling class. Many genuine revolutionaries believe that the demand for the immediate withdrawal of British troops is adequate for this purpose, and indeed it is essential to include this demand in the platform of any campaign. But this demand on its own is unfortunately ambiguous: it can

very easily be taken up and transformed into a 'Bring the boys home' campaign based on liberal issues with only a negative impact. Such a campaign avoids the issues of the class struggle, can exist completely independently of them, and in its worst form can even divert resources from that struggle. A solidarity campaign is necessary because only on this basis can a campaign on Ireland become an integral part of the class struggle in this country, and only by becoming an integral part of the class struggle in this country can it actually have any effect. Only by posing the question of solidarity with those struggling for the defeat of British Imperialism, and pointing out that such a defeat for the British ruling class would be a positive victory for the British working class, can we hope to mobilise sections of the labour movement on a basis which would change the relationship of class forces in this country. Only in this way can we demonstrate that working class internationalism is not a matter of sentiment but a concrete necessity in the fight against imperialism. As we call for victory to the NLF rather than for peace in Vietnam, because we are for the actual defeat of imperialism in Vietnam, so it is necessary

at the present juncture, when the military struggle between the IRA and the British Army is of decisive importance in the North of Ireland, that we come out openly for victory to the IRA. At the present stage of the struggle this is a logical and necessary development flowing out of the slogans, particularly that of national self-determination, on which we have consistently campaigned. We would argue, therefore, that it is necessary to transform the present campaign against internment and for the withdrawal of British troops into a campaign which is in active solidarity with those leading the fight against British imperialism. We believe not only that it is necessary to take up this position, but that the October 31st demonstration showed very clearly the possibility of building a mass campaign on this basis. The IMG and the Spartacus League will continue to work in and support the Anti-Internment League, but with the perspective of winning it to a solidarity position. And in the meantime, we shall also continue to support and build the Irish Solidarity Campaign, as part of the process of building a national campaign in solidarity with those leading the struggle against British imperialism in Ireland, the IRA'.

## The Present Stage Of The Class Struggle In Coventry

We publish below an interview with Jack Sprung at Standard's in Coventry. It pointedly describes the present situation in Standard Triumph, where management is attempting to force the production workers off the piece-rates system of payment. Standard Triumph is a subsidiary of British Leyland, the empire of Lord Stokes, and it produces both saloon cars and sports cars, the latter holding a significant share of the American market. Standard Triumph is a stronghold of the piece-rate system of wage payment, and it is a central part of the industrial strategy of British capitalism, and specifically of Stoke's empire, to smash this system of wage payment. The reasons have been analysed many times before. Piece-rate is a system of payment whereby a large proportion of the wage packet is determined by shop-floor negotiations between management rate-fixers and shop stewards over the price of a particular job. In the period of boom during the 50's

workers were able to take advantage of this system to make big wage gains and to build powerful shop floor organisations. British capitalism has subsequently experienced this as a barrier to rationalisation and rapid technological innovation. Three-parts of the wage packet of the Standard-Triumph men for example, are constituted by piece-rate earnings, and the powerful shop stewards committee at S-T exhibits all the 'evils' that the Coventry Blue Book first outlined systematically in 1966: an ability to shield men against redundancy and work-load fluctuation owing to the effective absence of detailed management supervision over the job (which prevails under Measured Day Work) and its substitution of steward control over this area; the continual upbidding of rates following each new job negotiation, leading in turn to 'wage-drift' over whole areas of industry; the creation of powerful rank and file bodies over whom the union bureaucracy has little effective control; and a generalised state of affairs in which management cannot introduce day to day changes in working practices, manning, etc. without having to constantly buy workers off 'restrictive practices'.

It is one of Stoke's major intentions to build an auto empire, in which the old-established British car firms he has taken over no longer contain within them systems of wage-payment which has enabled the workers in the past to defend themselves against the level of exploitation that prevails among Stoke's competitors (Fords for example has always had MDW and has experienced no such difficulties in smashing shop floor organisation. The timing of the offensive in S-T is significant. Since 1966 throughout the period of take-overs by British Leyland, the financial viability of the whole operation has often been in doubt. This year however has witnessed a period of financial consolidation in the combine, and Stoke's is now prepared to do battle with the two-thirds of his inheritance that remains on the old system of payment, of which S-T is perhaps the toughest bastion of shop-floor power he will have to crack, where the workers are in a position to make him pay heavily for any abandonment of piece-work. It has been high on BL's list of priorities for some years. In addition to financial consolidation, Stokes also hopes to take advantage of the level of unemployment which is supposed traditionally to weaken shop floor organisation, (unemployment has appeared in the Coventry area for the first time since the war as a significant phenomenon) and the period of present boom in the car industry (car registrations are up 30% on August '70). To attack, at the present time, the wage costs involved in production by switching to MDW is both necessary and possible, from BL's point of view; necessary because Nixon's imposition of the 10 per cent import surcharge will affect sales of sports cars to the United States, and possible because the period immediately following the imposition is the best time to risk a strike since stockists in the US can supply the market with cars at pre-surcharge prices while further exports are temporarily reduced to a minimum during the period of negotiation over the surcharge.

The struggle in S-T has coincided with another very important struggle in the Coventry area—that of 10,000 toolroom workers in the area to retain the Coventry Toolroom Agreement.

The Coventry toolroom dispute is reaching its culmination this week with a ballot of the men involved on the question of an all-out indefinite strike. This would shut down all the industries in the area. The struggle began some six months ago when the Coventry Engineering Employers Federation contracted out of the Toolroom Agreement which was initiated during the last war. The central feature of the Agreement is that it ties the wages of the toolroom workers in all plants in the area to the average earnings of skilled production workers in the area. This results in high wages for the toolroom without their having to constantly fight for it. It contains built-in cost of living increases, and it also serves as a contract of employment, thereby preventing the employers from using non-contract labour, in addition giving the workers a certain security against summary dismissals. The timing of the EEF withdrawal is partly explained by this fear of the possibility of the workers fighting at some future date to make the Agreement legally enforceable in the Industrial Relations Court. It is declared policy of the EEF to make contracts legally enforceable (a point made abundantly clear in the course of the recent negotiations over the York procedure agreements)—but only of course those contracts which are favourable to them, and the TRA does not favour the employers. The TRA struggle is also a kind of 'trial run' for the employers in the area for the coming struggles over the AUEW wage claim, the cancellation of the national procedure agreements, and the possible use of the I.R. Court (see coming article in Red Mole on the Engineers).

These combined battles will provoke bitter struggles in the Coventry

Following the cancellation by the EEF of the TRA, the toolroom workers adopted a co-ordinated policy of non-cooperation and overtime bans. Two months ago they embarked on a series of weekly one-day strikes each Monday. The EEF refused to reinstate the Agreement, offering £3.50 rises to buy the workers out. The EEF has subsequently replied to the one-day Monday strikes by Tuesday lockouts. This rather cautious and ineffective policy of one-day strikes has now been superceded by a ballot for an all-out strike, following the intervention, ironically enough of Rolly Royce. Last week Rollys-Royce, which is not federated to the EEF in the area, tried to break the solidarity of the strikers by offering a separate deal with its own section of toolroom workers. The rebuttal of this tactic by the workers was met by R-R with an indefinite lock-out of 1,150 of its workers. This was the signal for an all out strike in the area. With the RB-211 now ahead of schedule the Government have almost certainly attempted to play a strike-breaking role in this case through the intervention of R-R (now a nationalised concern of course). This is complementary to the other Government intervention which has occurred last week in the industry: discussions between Government, EEF, and AUEW to work out some formula to head off the coming struggle over the York agreements in the engineering industry.

What is therefore needed, given this close interrelation of all the factors discussed in this brief introduction, is an analysis of the balance of forces not just on the shop-floor of S-T. This is not a criticism in any way of the militant interviewed below it merely suggests that the outcome of the struggle in S-T is not going to be determined by isolated factors, but given the balance of forces which bear on S-T and the prevailing situation around S-T, a situation has been created in which new tactical possibilities are open to both sides.

(One of the most directly observable points of interrelation for instance is the fact that the most militant sector of toolroom workers involved in the TRA dispute are located inside S-T itself, where three weeks ago they broke ranks and conducted not just a one-day stoppage, but an indefinite strike, staying out as it happened for a whole week before the District Committee of the AUEW forced them back into line)

It must be borne in mind that an indefinite strike of TR workers which shut the area down for a period would necessarily up-the-stakes in any struggle inside S-T, thereby directly affecting the behaviour of Stokes, the Government and the EEF. But the shutdown also raises new tactical possibilities for the men in S-T. For example, the extension by the S-T men of an enforced lay-off into a strike on the issue of MDW might, depending on the circumstances, take the initiative out of S-T's hands. Conversely, the refusal of S-T men to negotiate on MDW until the EEF settled the TRA dispute to the satisfaction of the toolroom workers might provide a powerful lever on the EEF over and above the action taken by the toolroom men themselves.

The outcome of these two struggles is of prime importance since this is only the beginning of the EEF offensive in Coventry.

**Red Mole:** Could you explain the general background to the situation in Coventry? In particular what effect is unemployment having on the workers in the motor industry and how are the unions reacting?

J.S.: Obviously it has an effect in making the men worry over taking action because they are scared of losing their jobs. The T & G in the Midlands has a policy of refusing to accept deals, especially productivity deals, which accept redundancy, but so far this has not been brought down to the shop floor level. Jack Jones has spoken of the possibility of using industrial action to help the pensioners, but at present he is not even using it to defend his own members, and neither is the refusal to sign Productivity agreements which involve loss of jobs being enforced by the union. In Standards for example, I requested at a mass meeting that the convenors give an undertaking that in any negotiation with the Management no job losses would be accepted. This they refused to do. Saying you refuse to add to unemployment is all very good but it is now much use unless you are prepared to enforce that policy.

**R.M.:** Why do you think the union leadership is not prepared to take effective action against unemployment?

J.S.: I think they are scared of their own members. For example take the case of the demonstration on January 12th this year against the Industrial Relations Bill. The local full time officials originally asked for a demonstration during the factory lunch hour. It was only a meeting of local shop stewards that decided on a demonstration during working time. This led to 25,000 people attending the demonstration. This scared the officials, and there was no follow up. It is just like the case of the TUC and the demonstration on February 21st in London. This was supposed to be part of a campaign

appearances by organising a demonstration for Sunday morning.

**R.M.:** How are the management using this situation to attack the workers in Standards?

J.S.: The management have demanded an end to piece work but ar not prepared to negotiate over rises. They say the company can't afford it. All they make are general promises such as talking about lay off pay and regular pay reviews. These are completely useless. Lay off pay is like the so called guaranteed week—you never see it. What is the use of regular pay reviews if all they say is you can't have anything because the company hasn't got the money? In the company newspaper *Triumph News* they talk about a system which will guarantee 'stable earnings' but that is just nonsense. If MDW goes through it will inevitably lead to redundancy and the only earnings then will be the dole. MDW also turns men into machines, for example at Rootes now they even regulate when you can go to the toilet. Also the management will use any device to try to trick the men. For example in 1956 they summoned the convenors to the office and while they were there gave out 3,000 redundancy notices. The bosses calculated that by giving out who was going to lose their job and who was going to be safe, the solidarity of the men would be split.

**R.M.:** How do you think this sort of situation can be dealt with?

J.S.: I think the union must take the initiative. It is useless just to sit there and wait to be attacked. The union must submit a straight pay claim and reject the MDW outright.

**R.M.:** Do you think the same tactics should have been pursued in the Tool Room dispute?

J.S.: Yes, definitely. All the men should have been called out right from the beginning. By only sections coming out it enables the management to try to turn sections of workers against each other. For example, they have tried to get men to work on machines which should have been blacked because the tool men were out. The machine tool fitters at Standard's have voted to come out on indefinite strike. This is the right tactic. It is particularly vital now because the Engineering

Employers Federation is quite definitely trying to break the unions. Its secret circular on DATA shows this clearly. A maximum solidarity is necessary at this stage.

**R.M.:** Surely the same could be said about all the main struggles at the moment—about the Industrial Relations Act, the tool room dispute and the Engineering pay claim?

J.S.: Yes. In the case of the tool room agreement the employers' tactics is quite simply to isolate the smaller factories. Some of the men in the well organised plants unfortunately think that they will not be affected. This is completely wrong. Once the employers have isolated the small plants then they will start contracting out the work and force down the rates in the well organised factories. In the case of the industrial relations act it is obviously aimed at intimidating whole groups of workers. As for the autumn pay claim here too the need is for the unions to take the initiative. If the struggle gets bogged down in individual disputes the plants can be picked off one by one. We need a general engineering strike, or more, to ensure the claim is met in full. Like in the case of the tool room it is united action which is vital. If the management can take on each group of workers separately, then they will probably defeat one factory and demoralise everyone. The whole management tactic is to divide and conquer.

**R.M.:** How do you think this tactic can be applied in the struggle against the anti-union laws?

J.S.: The first time the law is used everyone should be called out on strike. But it must not stop there. What is needed is a General Strike to get rid of this government. We shouldn't have any illusions in the Labour Party: it would not

## THE STAGES OF A SELL-OUT

A very dangerous element in the Tory Government's anti-union Industrial Relations Act becomes law on Friday, 1st October. From a new office in Euston Road North London the official Registrar of Trade Unions started his work of listing unions in order to regiment them under his wide powers in the new Act. The importance of this event was not lost on the expert

# The union 'Leaders' and the Tories

capitalist press—"Registration of trade unions lies at the centre of the Government's industrial relations policy, and is aimed at maintaining stricter control than has been possible in the past over unions' rules and on how they are followed" states the *Financial Times* on 29th September under a large headline reading "Registration—a key issue". For socialists in the trade unions it is essential to know how the union leaderships and the T.U.C. responded to this major threat to their members' interests. In a year which witnessed very widespread and militant struggles by the working class to maintain living standards and defeat the Tory offensive, the union leaderships have balanced determinedly between the rank-and-file resistance and the anti-union drive by the state. The introduction of state registration of unions has clarified their role in no small measure.

## IN PLACE OF STRIKE ACTION

The first warning signs followed hard on the Special Congress held by the T.U.C. on 18th March this year, to discuss opposition to the new laws. The T.U.C. leaders pushed for rejection of official strike action against the Tories and succeeded—for two reasons. The left union leaders never made clear to the Congress exactly what type of strike action they were advocating, never held out the idea of a prolonged mass strike and, consequently, seemed to offer only token action unlikely to shake the Government seriously. Secondly, in contrast to the lack of plans and details in the 'left's' proposals, the T.U.C. leaders pledged a seemingly strong campaign to stop the new Act, based on "avoiding" its worst effects through non-registration by unions and other calculated measures. The delegates voted down the General Strike call and passed the specific policies demanded by the General Council. One of these said "Unions shall be strongly advised not to become registered under the Act.....". The reasons were spelt out in the T.U.C.'s Report to the Congress—"It cannot be foreseen what the demands of the Registrar may be. Initially they may be modest, but it must be borne in mind that the Bill has political objectives. The Registrar will have the power and the duty of intervention and supervision" over the unions which register—a whip above the heads of union leaders as well as members. The attitude of the capitalist state was clear.

## THE CAMPAIGN

Immediately, the agreed policies for 'campaigning' against the anti-union laws were reduced to farce. The T.U.C.'s own Chairman, Lord Cooper, announced his personal willingness to register his own union—the 800,000 strong General and Municipal Workers' Union—in an interview with the *Guardian* of 10th May. The government fully appreciated the fluctuating indecisive resistance that the union bureaucrats would mount against the Act and increased the pressure on unions to become registered. It was already clear that non-registered unions would lose all right to call any industrial action in any circumstances without difficult, legal formalities. It was becoming clear that non-registered unions would lose tax exemptions they had always formerly enjoyed (The *Guardian* estimated a loss of £800,000 a year for a union of the size of the Transport & General Workers Union. Now, the Tories announced that all unions previously registered under the Trades Union Act of 1871—which means most unions, as the Act all owed the tax exemptions mentioned above—would be AUTOMATICALLY registered under the repressive new legislation. To stand by the agreed T.U.C. policy, unions would now have to take steps to de-register under the Industrial Relations Act, adding to the confusion and the Tory pressure to accept the legislation in full.

## JACK JONES WAVERS

Resentment and crisis developed as the annual T.U.C. Congress approached in September. Rank-and-file pressure for action remained high, threatening to overturn the reluctant but sure search of the union bureaucrats for peaceful submission to the new laws. Delegates narrowly defeated Clive Jenkins at the annual conference of his union, the A.S.T.M.S. and demanded outright de-registration, and no compromise. Rebellious anti-registration currents were reported even inside Lord Cooper's G.M.W.U. "It was Jack Jones who opened the escape hatch for the bureaucrats, to avoid similar embarrassments. In a skilful speech to his own union's conference last month, Mr. Jones' emphasis was on the pitfalls of not resist-

that all trade unions took the same line and de-registered.

This condition was crucial. With at least some unions intent on becoming registered, here was precisely the formula to save the tender skins of the 'left wing' leaders union leaders. Insistence on collective de-registration allowed Jones to keep the flag of opposition to the Industrial Relations Act flying bravely for the eyes of the rank-and-file, whilst simultaneously providing an opportunity for the 'left' to eventually register—

after others had broken ranks and registered, as they were fairly certain to do, and taken the blame for the collapse of the T.U.C. policy. Thus the pressure from shopfloor militants could be kept at bay.

## THE ENGINEERS

The 'left' union leaders swiftly adopted Jones' formula at the T.U.C. Congress. Hugh Scanlon's union the A.U.E.W. has consistently proved more militant in practice than Jack Jones in combatting the Tory Act for two main reasons. Firstly, the Engineering Employers' Federation (E.E.F.) has vociferously supported the Act—and called for yet worse anti-union laws—firmly establishing the fact that the engineering industry is the prime target of the new laws. Secondly, the relatively democratic nature of Scanlon's engineering union, in its internal structure, means that officials are much more susceptible to rank-and-file pressure for action than in many other unions. The A.U.E.W. had held strikes against the Act in March. Now, it had a strong resolution before Congress demanding non-registration. As the *Financial Times* then explained on 24th August, "the T.G.W.U. has tabled an amendment to a strong anti-registration resolution", (Scanlon's resolution)—which the A.U.E.W. agreed to accept. The wording of the amendment introduced Jones' vital condition—"non registration can only be effective if all affiliated unions act collectively". Congress carried the amended resolution. Only Vincent Flynn of the printing union, SOGAT pointed out to the delegates that the leaders of the "left" within the T.U.C., Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon, had cleared the way for the final sell-out of the rank-and-file.

## WAITING, WAITING

All that remained for the "left" was to wait until Cooper or another right wing bureaucrat opted for registration, and they would be free to follow in his footsteps. Committed in theory to collective de-registration by member unions, the T.U.C. instructed all unions to deregister before 1st October. Otherwise, they would be automatically registered. The A.U.E.W. did so, but it seems Jones did not. On 24th September, the *Financial Times* reported—"last night Mr. Jack Jones, T.G.W.U. General Secretary was far from sure that his union would comply.....". On the actual date, 1st October, the paper added "The G.G.W.U. is to tell the T.U.C. within the next few days that, after taking legal advice on its rule-book, it cannot withdraw" from the new register. The excuse appears to be that the unions' rules are so worded as to legally require registration of the T.G.W.U. But the T.U.C.'s orders concerning such rules were too "quickly arrange to amend them and in the meantime inform the Registrar that they wish to de-register" (note 1). Obviously, no mere legislation could be permitted to excuse unions from standing by this policy of de-registration. But the T.G.W.U. used this excuse. This means that at the time of writing, THE MOST POWERFUL UNION IN BRITAIN IS STATE REGISTERED, due to the provisions for automatic registration of trade unions unless they requested de-registration, whilst waiting for the right-wing leadership to move.

The longer this state of affairs continues without protests,

the safer will Jack Jones feel in his decision to be registered at this time. Only a dramatic upsurge of the T.G.W.U. rank-and-file can force a change of policy—and this is not likely. The warm endorsement of Jones as a 'militant' leader by the Communist Party and organisations like the Institute for Workers' Control makes public rebellion against his policies extremely embarrassing for many of these 'leftists' in the Union. In addition, the question of registration has been left

abstract and remote in the eyes of many shopfloor militants by most union leaderships. They have not explained its importance as a giant stride towards state control of the labour movement's machinery and operations. Jones will be able to hide behind his legal excuses until, in the end, other unions openly opt for registration as a permanent policy. When this happens, Jones and other 'left' leaders will follow suite, under the terms of their own resolution at T.U.C. Congress.

## THE LESSONS

The question of trade union registration is very far from being the only Tory weapon against the unions. The Industrial Relations Act, most of which comes into effect in December and in early 1972, contains very many harsh and repressive regulations (note 2). All of these will be available to the Tories to implement the Engineering Employers' pleas for "action to reduce the present bargaining strength of certain trade union groups" (note 3). But definite lessons can be extracted from the experience described in this article of union leaders' responses to registration as the only part of the new Act to become law at this stage.

The principal target of existing union leaderships is still the achievement of worthwhile economic reforms to satisfy their members' aspirations and, hence, retain their privileges as officials. The current constraints on British capitalism mean that such reforms are no longer forthcoming. The state no longer offers opportunities for marginal social change but, instead, displays the mailed fist of repression. In such conditions, the only alternatives facing the union bureaucrats are as quiet an acknowledgement of this reality as their members will permit—or powerful resistance. The latter can only mean recourse to mass struggle. In such a conflict, the privileges of the leaders would rapidly disintegrate.

No bureaucrat of the 'right' or 'left' desires such erosion of his career and standing. For as long as possible, he will ride with the anger of his rank-and-file membership—if necessary, he will call token strikes against a government—but, in the final analysis, he functions as a bureaucrat only within the capitalist system and must accept it. The stalinists and reformists of all shades still demand reforms as if the state could deliver them tomorrow. For revolutionary trade unionists, there must be no illusions in the state or its' would be reformers. Neither Jack Jones nor Hugh Scanlon will defeat the Tories. Only an organised rank-and-file movement in the workplaces can do that. The urgent constructions of this movement is the lesson of the sell-out on registration.

## T.G.W.U. MOLE

### NOTES

1. Reported in the industrial relations journal "Incomes Data", September 1971.
2. See "Red Mole", Vol. 1, No. 13, November 1970.
3. "Wage Inflation and Unemployment", E.E.F., September 1971.



# Reading Students In Struggle Against Government Education Policy

For over a week, hundreds of students at Reading University have been occupying the Administration Building on the campus, defiantly resisting all attempts to evict them and defeat the struggle they have been waging since the beginning of October. This fight has implications for students in every University and College of Education in the country. For these reasons it is important that all students realise the implications of the action taken in Reading and that they receive more information than has been available in the bourgeois press.

## Government Education Policy

The Confrontation with the University Administration by Reading students over hall of residence fees and accommodation policy must be seen in the context of the whole *education-on-the-cheap* policy of successive Labour and Tory governments. The late capitalist economy *needs* a rapidly expanding higher education sector to produce highly skilled scientists, technicians, economists, etc. but it is *not willing* to expend the necessary finance to do this properly. Thus the student population of Reading University is planned to increase from the present 5000 to 8000 in 1980, but the planned building programme of university accommodation (halls of residence) comes no-where to meeting this.

The consequences are already taking effect; more and more students are being forced onto the housing market in town because of the lack of university accommodation. So the Students Union "hall fees campaign" ceases to be a purely student issue, unrelated to what is going on elsewhere, for there is simply just not the accommodation available in the town. The housing situation in Reading is already very bad—only 20 council houses built in the last 3 years! With ever more students looking in town for flats and houses, there will inevitably be an all-round rise in rents. Hence one effect of *cheap education* is *expensive housing*—and not just for students.

The Labour government abandoned any further State finance for student accommodation; their Tory successors have added their own sophisticated touch to this by suggesting that the present students should pay for future student accommodation. In order to build the current 3 extensions to halls of residences, which will provide about 400 more places, the university have committed students for the next 30 years to paying the interest on the loans they have raised. The *loan service charge* is £18 per student this year, and is certain to rise.

The response to this has been a campaign to boycott all hall fees in order to force the Administration to concede the abolition of the loan service charge and a radical change in student residence policy as a whole. The Students Union campaign was initially successful, insofar as 90-95% of students in halls have not paid their fees, but the University Administration have shown utter intransigence on the matter, and have refused to talk on the four demands put forward by the Students Union.

After a fortnight of this impasse it was proposed that a means must be sought to bring the campaign to a head, if necessary by bringing the university to a halt until the campaign was satisfactorily concluded.

## The Occupation

On Tuesday 19th October the Students' Union decided by an overwhelming majority to occupy the Administration Building, Whitenights House. It was proposed that the occupation should take effect immediately for maximum impact, but the final decision was to occupy at 11 a.m. the following morning.

A token force occupied at 9 a.m. on Wednesday and met with no resistance. Unfortunately this token force was not strong enough to prevent the authorities from locking almost every internal door, removing certain files and evacuating all staff from the building.

10 days later, at the time of writing, the situation is basically unchanged: although the Administration is being greatly inconvenienced, no offer of meaningful negotiations has been made.

## What Comes Next?

No doubt under pressure from the Administration, the resident Head Porter has obtained a court order which prevents students from blocking or barring any entrance to the building. Since the university's solicitor was present in court, at the time the order was issued, it seems clear that very soon legal proceedings will be started to evict students from the Administration Block, by force if necessary. In purely formal talks with the students' elected negotiating committee, the Vice-Chancellor has made it clear that he is not ready to concede, but rather, that he is willing to take any measures to destroy the campaign and defeat the occupation.

## A Counter-Strategy

Solidarity has already been expressed by dozens of universities and colleges over the country, but this is not sufficient. It is obvious that students in Reading cannot win along: the onus is on other students, in the first instance, to take up the struggle. Other universities, notably Surrey and Lancaster, have had similarly reactionary fees structures imposed on their students. Students in Dublin have occupied for a similar reason.

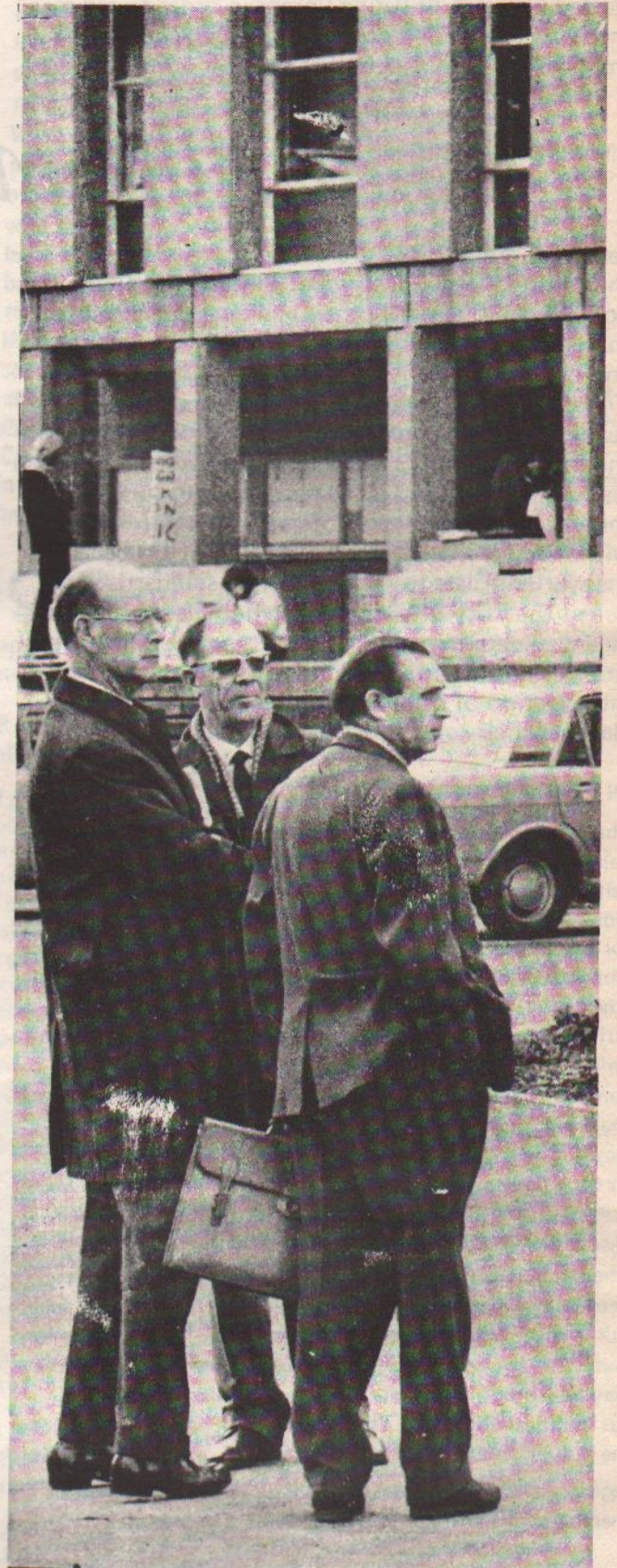
It is not enough merely to look to Reading: students elsewhere must look at their own fees for residence; in many cases they will find a loan service element which is included in the total.

In Reading we are making attempts to contact local trades unions for their support. The UPW has already responded to an appeal to black all mail to the Administration (largely as a result of student support expressed during the postmen's strike earlier this year), and the Trades Council is being approached. Spartacus League comrades are maintaining a vigorous political intervention inside the occupation to combat any illusions about a victory through compromise and conciliation.

Steps are being taken to organise an effective defence of the building by all the students affected by the hall fees increase.

If this campaign is to be won, it will be won through unity, determination and active solidarity from without and within.

—Reading Spartacists



University Administrators locked out of Administration Building.

## STUDENT UNIONS UNDER ATTACK

The much threatened attack on students unions now appears to be imminent. Press reports about the activities of certain Tory backwood men could only have been given the prominence they have, as a run in to the actions of the government. It is quite clear that the first stage will be the prohibition of so called 'ultra vires' payments, an attempt to give legal gloss to the interference of the government in the disposition of the finances of a student's union. There are many reasons for the attack which I shall go into in a moment, but the activity which so raises the gall of the Tory backbenches is the growing practice of students unions, through the activities of revolutionary militants, to donate money to the various causes of the world revolution; from donations to guerilla groups in S. Africa and Bangla Desh, the financial support of strikes and claimants unions, to the more recent involvement in the Irish struggle. The argument amounts to two things. First that it is illegal for any body to sanction activities (in this case, finance) which are outside of or prohibited by the constitution of that body—what the precise content of this is will be revealed with the conclusion of the current legal case in which Sussex Union is involved. And, secondly, the fact that Students Union finance comes directly from so called 'public' monies—in particular the levy which local authorities pay to the Unions for each individual student. It is supposed to self evidently follow from this that student union finance is then 'accountable' to the 'public' whoever they might be. The force of this latter argument is, of course, accepted by the NUS. But the 'public' always turns out to be the ruling class and appeasement inevitably means capitulation, a situation which lays the basis for yet further attacks. Nor are the NUS any more realistic as to how to fight the former argument, proposing all manner of legal dodges through such things as the utilisation of the 'Juke box' fund (i.e. monies gained by the Unions, in their own right, through trading activities of one sort or another) for the payment of political donations; through the changing of constitutions or more generally the exhortation

But this is no way to tackle the problem. In its essence, it is not a matter of legality but of politics. These tactics can only lead to unpreparedness and defeat.

## NSU and the cold war

There are two sorts of reasons for the current attack on student students unions, one long term and the other more immediate. In the long term there is a need to transform dramatically the workings of NUS. What we have in Britain is a situation which is almost unique in the western capitalist world inasmuch as the students' unions are financed directly by the State. The reasons for this were obvious throughout the Cold War period when the role of the NUS through its sponsorship of the ISC (a CIA financed organisation) did much to ensure student enthusiasm for the life and politics of the Free World. This satisfactory performance of NUS nationally meshed in well with a federal structure of the Union which ensured the continuance of a bureaucratised structure at local level. At the same time there grew up quite legitimate servicing and welfare functions performed by the NUS but it would be quite wrong to identify these as its *raison d'être*.

## A new role for NUS

With the breakdown of Cold War ideology and the concomitant crystallisation of a radicalised layer amongst the student body, this role is no longer possible for the NUS. At the same time, the federal structure of this organisation has given an opening to revolutionary students on campus to propagate their politics and commit their unions to radical actions. That most raising the ire of the Tory back benchers is that of political donations—especially of the *ultra vires* type. From the point of view of the bourgeoisie, then, it is absolutely essential that NUS is transformed and a new role mapped out for it. This appears to be as a policing body (some call it representative) to dampen down student conflicts. In this, the present leadership of the NUS appears to be willing (if

require a much greater centralisation of the union which would need very often a doctoring of individual constitutions.

## The attack and the class struggle

The reason why it is propitious now for the bourgeoisie to go on the offensive stems from the current stage of the class struggle. Having failed to decisively defeat the working class through direct confrontation and having come to the limits, for the present, of the weapons of unemployment and stagnation without significant success, the bourgeoisie are now looking for some sort of deal with the TU leaders. The present state of British capitalism doesn't allow this deal to be won through concessions. On the other hand, blatant repression would make it impossible for the union leaders to sell the deal to the membership. In this context repression of peripheral groups will allow such a 'responsible' response from the TU leadership doing their bit to prevent society falling apart at the seams. Thus the intensification of Black repression, the hunt for 104 Russian diplomats under every bed, the backlash against pornography (Festival of Light and Lord Longford), and the revelations of the dangerous corruption of our schoolkids through Little Red School Books and Oz. In this scheme of things, students are an easy and popular target. Political payments is the excuse.

## Politics—the answer

To attempt to fight the current attack by the sort of ostrich like approach which characterises current NUS policy is the height of folly. I am not in any way saying the battle is lost but pointing to the tendencies inherent in the situation. Certainly NUS (and its leadership) can be forced to fight the immediate attack and contest its proffered role. But this would need a political approach to mobilise the mass of students. In a situation of student apathy, the only practical policies are reformist and capitulationist ones.

# GRADUATE UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment is no longer the fate of the industrial working class alone. It is becoming quite clear that previously privileged sectors of the labour force—those in occupations requiring “professional” qualifications and higher education—will not remain insulated from the deepening crisis of British capitalism. The current panic over “graduate unemployment” is only the beginning—the future holds the prospect of even larger crises affecting not only new graduates but those already employed in the technical and administrative bureaucracies of capitalist society.

Even the present scale of the problem presents the post-war ideology of bourgeois society with a major challenge. It has been a dogma of economists and social planners alike that the capitalist economy had an unlimited need for technologically trained manpower. One very influential school of thought even argued that education, seen as “human capital” development, was the motor force of economic growth in advanced capitalism. This ideology now has the impossible task of explaining away an ever growing surplus of highly educated manpower throughout most of the capitalist world. At the same time, the existence of serious unemployment in *this* sector of the work force strikes a major blow at another principal tenet of bourgeois ideology: unemployment is a product of individual failure, and mismatching between the skills in existence and the needs of the economy; extensive educational upgrading and retraining is the answer for the individual and society alike. How then can growing unemployment among the most highly educated sector of the work force be explained? Is it possible to take seriously Heath's proposal that unemployment could be reduced if school leavers would stay on past 15 when more and more university graduates (including even those with higher degrees) are having difficulty finding work? This clearly will not do. But it is not just a question of sending a few ideologists back to the drawing boards to come up with arguments more consonant with reality. The whole of governmental policy on manpower planning and the educational system has been founded upon premises that are being daily ground to dust. The vast machine of state policy continues to move inexorably towards producing more students with university entrance qualifications, more places in further and higher education, more highly trained graduates, while the current level of output of the educational system is already overflowing the reservoir of industrial governmental requirements. The crisis in bourgeois ideology is paralleled by a crisis in bourgeois state policy.

## GRADUATE UNEMPLOYMENT—FACTS AND FIGURES

At the present time data from university careers services indicate that unemployment among this year's graduates is running at about 14%; if those who have entered teacher training courses or are doing a higher degree are eliminated, the figure is more like one-third.<sup>1</sup> Even by the end of the year—the date usually chosen for the U.G.C.'s survey of graduate employment—the figure is expected to be about 10%; for male graduates this will be almost double the 1970 level of 5.4%.<sup>2</sup> A survey taken by the *Times Higher Education Supplement* indicates a wide variation in the figures from university to university: unemployed graduates represented only 6% of the total at Oxford, Loughborough and York but 18% at Sussex, and an astounding 43% at Swansea.<sup>3</sup>

In fact data on graduate unemployment tends to understate the problem. For one thing those graduates without work are taken as a percentage of all graduates; however this latter figure includes a considerable number about whom nothing is known—many of them may be without work, and it certainly cannot be assumed that all of them have found jobs (as this procedure does). Moreover the total also includes many students who were probably never prospective entrants to the labour market—foreign students who returned home, students on leave from their companies while at university who then returned to their former jobs, and others classified as “not available for employment”.

In interpreting these figures a number of things should be kept in mind. First of all, 1963 was itself something of a crisis year in graduate unemployment. It came at the end of a long period of declining job opportunities, and, with the improved overall economic conjuncture, graduate unemployment declined considerably in 1964 and '65. The 1963 level of unemployment was not reached again until 1967. The figures, moreover, indicate only those graduates who are still “seeking employment”—they tell us nothing about the *type* of work which those in employment have found. It seems very likely that the lower unemployment rate among women can be explained wholly by their greater willingness to accept lower paying, low-status, jobs: for example, in 1969 over 10% of those women science graduates who entered the labour market took up jobs in schools; for men the corresponding figure was less than 4%.

## PATTERNS AND PROSPECTS

The immediate sources of this rising trend in graduate unemployment are several. For one thing, the number of university graduates expanded more rapidly than the number of post-graduate courses, so the proportion of graduates able to continue their education beyond a first degree fell. Secondly, the years 1965 and 1966 were associated with significant expansions in the education system (especially further and higher education) and the social services; as a result education, the civil service and local government became expanding fields for graduate employment. After 1965 this slowed down quite markedly, producing a serious surplus of graduates, particularly in the most rapidly-growing area which had most benefited from these expanding opportunities—the social sciences. However in this phase of declining graduate opportunities the demand from industry and commerce continued to grow, and these areas actually managed to enlarge their relative shares of a rapidly growing output of graduate manpower. What this has meant, however, is that since 1966 graduate employment opportunities have been closely bound up with private business needs. This was always fairly true of science and technology. What is new about 1970—and far more so 1971—is that private business demand for qualified manpower has begun to taper off very rapidly. This has produced

At Manchester, Mr. Holloway said: “At September 30, 1970 of physics, metallurgy and electrical graduates engineering graduates (including electronics) 116 had obtained jobs in industry or public utilities; at September 20, 1971 the corresponding figure was 49. For physicists alone the figures were 30 and eight respectively. Mechanical engineers are in severe difficulty and there is just no point in many scientists and engineers hoping to get jobs within their disciplines.”

The problem for graduates seem to be serious, but they are even worse for the smaller number of Ph.D. holders who now seek employment. The secretary of the appointment Oxford University Appointments Committee, Mr. Tom Snow, commented: “Post doctoral scientists are almost unemployable. Of the 12 post-doctoral chemists on our books only three are known to have jobs.” The University of Wales also had “some good Ph.D's in science” on their books.

## CONCLUSION

A systematic analysis of the roots of graduate unemployment should be the theme of another article. However, there can be little doubt that this problem is very intimately linked with the general crisis of British capitalism. On the one hand the cut-backs in social service and educational expenditures by the government, on the other the crisis of British industry: these are the twin pillars on which the decline in graduate employment opportunities rest. The first affects primarily arts and social science graduates, the latter those from the science disciplines. There seems considerable evidence that this year was the beginning of a qualitatively new phase in the deterioration of demand for graduate manpower. Events on a much more dramatic scale than we have previously witnessed appear in the offing. It seems inevitable that a problem on this scale would be the source of a whole new range of social conflicts. Their revolutionary potential lie in the fact that there is no foreseeable solution except the elimination of the contradictions of the capitalist economic system, which must necessarily entail the destruction of that system itself. The sole bright spot on the capitalist horizon might be the impact of common market entry. But here, as in most other areas of the British economy, this development will carry with it numerous curses and only very mixed blessings. The prospect is a continuing crisis accompanied by major changes in the political outlook of the entire sector of highly educated technical and administrative personnel.

1. *Times Higher Education Supplement (THES)* no. 2, October 22, 1971, p.1.
2. “Why is there a science job crisis” by Barrie Sherman; *New Scientist*, 19 August, 1971, p.415.
3. *THES*, op.cit.
4. Both in *THES*, op.cit., p.1, & p.24.

## Internationalism Versus Chauvinism, Racism and Reaction

Three anecdotes can best sum up the Anti-Common Market demonstration in Trafalgar Square on Sunday 13th October. Firstly an inordinate number of faithful social democrats attending the demonstration went slightly apoplectic at the sight of my bundle of *Red Moles* which boldly proclaimed solidarity with the I.R.A. Secondly, there was the sort of shock that familiarity has still not numbed one to: beside me in the thick of the crowd a worker had been shouting loudly during the speech of Tory M.P. Edward Taylor that his crowd couldn't even find jobs enough for the few men at UCS. When Labour M.P. Judith Hart came to speak he listened attentively as she pleaded that in this matter of Britain's destiny it was the British people alone who should decide their own fate. Then he turned to me, as would a man who had dwelled long and hard on the destiny of his class and gave me his verdict. “Yes”, he said as if translating the real message of Mrs. Hart, “the trouble is that there are too many darkies over here”. The third incident was the sight of a demonstration leader of the National Front, unmistakable by his silver badge and equipped with a loud hailer directing his union jack carrying supporters in the midst of several thousand Labour Party and trade union members who raised not ever their eyebrows, never mind their fists.

In themselves such random incidents might be brushed aside, and discounted as isolated or even quite accidental events. There is however no precedent, save the jingoism of the two Imperialist World Wars for such a unity of purpose as was displayed in Trafalgar between Michael Foot, and Tory M.P. Sir Derek Walker Smith. Both made indistinguishable nationalistic speeches in defence of national sovereignty and the time-tested institutions of British democracy, now alleged to be threatened, in front of a mass of allied trade union banners and Union Jacks

In the light of such an extraordinary fact, the extremities of the Anti-Common Market demonstration suggest that a much deeper process has taken place in British politics

but has found perhaps its most cogent expression in the campaign of the Footite ‘lefts’ against Common Market entry. In Trafalgar Square it was indeed Michael Foot who spoke with the greatest emotion and demagoguery.

Adding fuel to the fire of national chauvinism over this issue has emerged as the last resort of a Labour ‘left’ which has passed far beyond the point where it could give half hearted, or even a convincing token lead in the struggles of the working class. In what is purely and simply a struggle for their own existence. The camp followers of left social democracy have seized upon Common Market entry as the only possible issue that might obscure the balance sheet of their treachery.

Revamped from the deeply rooted imperialist ideology of the British Labour Movement, and culled from the discarded trappings of Conservative nationalism, chauvinism is the natural last ditch stand for a ‘left’ bankrupt of political ideas. For them to take any other road in such a period of sharpening class struggle would have meant an all out struggle with the Labour right and a split in the Labour Party forcing them to take up the leadership in the fight for the workers' independent interests. Having definitively rejected that alternative there is no choice for them but to oppose Common Market entry on the most nationalistic lines. And it was not many steps to a situation like the October 13th demonstration where Michael Foot consummated an alliance with the whole spectrum of the reactionary right.

Thus in the developing crisis of British capitalism social democracy seeks a way out of its impasse by taking up the traditional Tory Party role of defending the ‘nation’. Meanwhile the Tories are making hay. While the Labour Party panders to lowest petty nationalist instincts of the working class, the capitalist class has grown more confident of their strategy and more united. Dissension, which might have opened up on the basis of divergent economic balance sheets of EEC entry, has been smothered over by a broader hegemony. The bourgeoisie is not so foolish as to risk its class interests in a nationalistic crusade that less and less serves its real interests.

Yet now the class interest of the workers is clearly more and more at risk. The real and correct apprehension the workers' have over this new venture by British capitalism are in the hands of Michael Foot and his fellow social-chauvinists directed into a campaign to defend the rotten state that has been their direct and main oppressor for generations. If we rightly reject the Common Market as a capitalist solution we also—now even more strongly—reject any campaign to prop-up the capitalist nation state. That task we can leave to the capable hands of the petty-bourgeois rabble of the Monday Club and the National Front.

The new posture of national chauvinism by the Labour ‘left’ has consequences which go beyond the outcome of the Common Market struggle. Chauvinism and racism in their every overt or subtle manifestations hamper and cripple the chances of the workers in their class struggle from the shop floor dispute to the position of the workers movement in the international class conflicts. It is an imperialist ideology through and through which robs the workers of their basic class senses. It is the antithesis of proletarian internationalism which is the very life blood of the struggles of the working class.

In Britain today this has a very concrete meaning. The struggle of the Irish people against a British imperialist occupying army remains virtually undefended in the ranks of organised labour in Britain because of this same chauvinism. And by no means least, the government is this day putting on the statute books vicious new legislation directly aimed at the elementary liberties of the black and immigrant population with virtually no opposition from the traditional labour organisations.

How is it possible for the working class to forge a programme to defeat the Tories and advance on the road to defeating capitalism without breaking away from chauvinism over the right of Irish self determination, the immigration policy of these last years, and the Common Market? The answer is simply that it is impossible because everytime chauvinism will take you down a blind alley to beat your head on a wall—or some other worker's head—in impotent frustration.

The reality is that the enslavement of Ireland stands directly in the road of the defeat of capitalism and the destruction of its state and army in Britain: so too the repression of black people is the example for British workers of what they can expect should they discard their false sense of superiority: and the Common Market is the means for rescuing and continuing a declining British capitalism.

Racism and chauvinism must therefore be fought without quarter. Proletarian internationalism must be the first and not the last banner to be raised in actual class struggles of every description. Above all we must expose these matters for those deluded workers who followed behind Michael Foot's bandwagon in Trafalgar Square and tell them very plainly: chauvinism has a very specific purpose in the hands of the Labour leaders: the betrayal of the coming struggles of the working class.

—Ben Joseph



# PETER

It is hard to accept the death of Peter Graham. The many tributes which he received indicate that this feeling is widespread. His death might seem to be of minor importance when placed in the context of the maelstrom imposed on the North of Ireland by British imperialism, and its Unionist allies; when it is reflected that he came from a nation which has borne more than its share of martyrs; and that he died a member of the Fourth International which has had to bear the bitter loss of many comrades in the struggle, most notably Leon Trotsky and his son Leon Sedov, and most recently the forty Bolivian comrades who lost their lives resisting the foul right-wing coup. But for us his death has a poignance which stems not merely from the fact that we knew him personally, but because he personified those revolutionary qualities which everywhere have made it necessary for capitalism and imperialism to murder, that they might put off the day of their own death; and in mourning him we mourn all of the fighters who have been sacrificed in the struggle to which he dedicated his life.

### A Class-Conscious Worker

Peter Graham was a good comrade in the fullest sense of the word, his sense of humour, his patience, his honesty, his complete unselfishness made it easy for him to be part of a team, to work with others; and usually the full significance of his contribution would not be apparent; such comrades are essential to the building of a revolutionary organisation and such comrades are all too rare.

Peter was a class conscious worker. A Dublin electrician, he came from the militant tradition of the Irish working class; that he should devote his life to his class was something which he took for granted, all that he ever questioned was how best he might serve it. It was this which made him more than just a class conscious worker, he understood the need for action to be guided by theory, and he struggled to become a revolutionary intellectual. This constant struggle was one of the most striking things about Peter, he would seldom be seen without a book in his hand or in his pocket, ready to snatch a few minutes of reading over a meal or on a journey. Theory was something of prime importance to him, which he approached with tremendous seriousness. He formed his ideas through intense work, and defended them just as intensely. And yet in all of the many debates his comrades had with him, despite the vigour with which he would defend any disputed position, he would go off, read, think and study so that he might defend his ideas more effectively. If through this he changed his position his acknowledgement was full and generous, and usually he would in the process deepen the analysis, and contribute fresh insight into the problem.

### Member of the IMG—British Section of the Fourth International

We saw all of these qualities in his work as a member of the International Marxist Group. He joined the IMG in the Autumn of 1970; he had come in contact with us first in the early summer of that year when he moved to London from Dublin. His decision to join the IMG was the result of a long process of political self-clarification, but once he had made the decision he plunged into working for the Group with all of his

talents and energy. Contributing to the leadership of the IMG in London, and to building the Group in North West London. He worked for a time in the printshop, where it was nothing for him to work through the night on some important job. There was never any holding back with Peter all of his energy and time were at the disposal of the movement.

### Return to Ireland

It was in this spirit that he returned to Ireland in summer of this year, when it became apparent that there were opportunities opening up for the creation of an Irish section of the Fourth International. Irish Trotskyism had seemed in a dead end, a previous effort to build the movement—the Irish Workers Group—had ended in a bitter split, and fragmentation. A grouping had emerged from this of which Peter was a member, but before his stay in London he had become increasingly dissatisfied with the narrow range of its politics and theory. In joining the IMG he was expressing his conviction that there could be no Trotskyism in one country, and he went back to Ireland to fight to win over Irish revolutionaries to the Fourth International.

His work was directed towards overcoming the two key contradictions in Irish Trotskyism, its international isolationism, and its low level of theory. He helped to form the Marxist Discussion Group which is composed mainly of former members of the existing Trotskyist group, and members of the Young Socialists. The MDG has carried out some intensive work on such historical questions as the formation of the Irish working class, which is of tremendous importance for understanding the role of Irish Republicanism.

His work in Dublin included serious activity in building the Young Socialists, as a vigorous revolutionary marxist youth movement, and Peter was in the lead when in August this year they were faced with the outbreak of struggle in the North following internment. He ensured that the YS did not stand idly by, and the support which they gave to the IRA at that time showed a maturing of their political understanding. This support was political, through the pages of the South County Dublin YS paper *The Plough*, and practical, through assisting Republicans to raise money for the North.

### Irish Trotskyism

The death of any revolutionary is a tragic loss, but it is even more tragic when they are silenced just as they are beginning to show their full potential. This was the case with Liam Mellows, murdered by the Free State just as he was beginning to grapple with the need for a socialist orientation for the Republican struggle. It was the case with Malcolm X, assassinated after a year in which he moved from being simply a religious nationalist to becoming a revolutionary socialist. It might seem vain to compare Peter to these examples, but for those who knew him it is just. The rapidity of his political development was such that he completely transformed the relationship of forces within the Trotskyist left in Ireland, only a very short time after his return. His writings, which will be



### IMG Political

The Fourth International assassination of comrade P... International has suffered i... of the Irish Revolution; the... yet another loss in its long... rule.

Comrade Graham had a lo... behind him in Ireland. Star... Youth movement he rapid... becoming a member of the... founder member of the Le... and the Young Socialists. Comrade Graham joined the... the fullest role in the devel... work in the journalistic and... newspaper "The Red Mole... by all comrades of the Inte...

Graham's contributions to... were of inestimable help in... pressures of British chauvin... consequence, in aiding the... arity with the Irish Revolu... is therefore felt particularly...

After his valuable work in... of the Fourth International... Ireland to establish an Irish... He correctly saw this as cor... in aid of the Irish Republic... struggling against British in... Comrade Graham played th... organising assistance for th... in the North of Ireland for... repression of British impe... Fail regime. Comrade Grah... exemplary physical courage... by all sections of the Irish... ment. Delegations from th... of the Irish socialist movem... Graham's work in building... International was moving r... murdered. When an Irish se... in its formation will, beyon... comrade Graham.

The circumstances surrou... dubious. We note that the... sections of the Republican... of the Irish working class.

of its previous record of re... fall on the reactionary Fia... apparatus of the twenty-six...

We extend our fullest con... of comrade Graham. Foll... express our renewed a solid... Young Socialists and partic...

Group. The building of the... International will be inspir... comrade Peter Graham!

Photos: This Week



# TE TO GRAHAM



Peter Graham (holding banner)

## Committee statement

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and under the direction de Giàham returned to e of the Fourth International. y complementary to his work y, Saor Eire and all those im and the Irish bourgeoisie. active role possible in ting against British rule fence of victims of the and the reactionary Fianna e in this work, and his a recognition of his activities an and working class move- nd from all militant sections ended his funeral. Comrade section of the Fourth o success when he was established the crucial role ulti, have been played by

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published shortly by his comrades in Dublin, show that he was beginning to be able to express profound political ideas simply and clearly; he had tremendous organisational ability, and limitless energy; he was capable of inspiring those around him, and was an excellent speaker. In addition to the qualities which made him an exceptionally able political leader, he was also a trained physical force revolutionary, who had taken action to assist the people in the North in 1969. Such a combination is rare, but is of tremendous value in the context of Irish politics.

This combination may give us some clue as to why he was assassinated. As yet there is no concrete evidence as to who was responsible, but there can be no doubt that there are powerful, and reactionary forces within and outside Ireland who would want to stamp out the potential which Peter represented. Of one thing we can be sure, the propaganda put out by the Irish bourgeois newspapers which suggested that the death was a political assassination carried out by the Republicans or Saor Eire, as an attempt to use his death for their own ends. Both the YS and Saor Eire issued statements denouncing these slanders.

Peter's funeral was a vivid demonstration of the unanimity of Irish republicans and socialists in regretting his death. Members of both wings of the Republican movement, of Saor Eire, the Socialist Labour Alliance, the Labour Party, the Connolly Youth Movement (Irish YCL), as well as the YS and supporters of the Fourth International, formed the 300 strong cortege which marched in four columns behind the hearse. The Provisional IRA issued a statement regretting his death, and stating that four of their officers would attend the funeral as a token of their respect. The Official Republicans supplied the Starry Plough flag which draped his coffin. The oration was given, on behalf of the Fourth International, by Tariq Ali, and was followed by the singing of the "International" with fists raised in salute.

## The Fourth International

As Tariq Ali said, "there are not many Peter Grahams in our movement", and his loss is not only a blow to the building of the Fourth International in Ireland, but to the Irish working class, which has lost a leader of great potential. But we know that the Irish workers are capable of producing more militants like Peter Graham, that the setback will only be temporary. The fact that he had already succeeded in forming a firm group of young revolutionaries committed to intervening in the struggle in Ireland and applying the theories of Trotskyism to the building of a revolutionary leadership in Ireland is an assurance that his work will be carried through. We who are left will never forget him, and while we pause for a moment in grief at losing him, we are quite determined to pay him the greatest tribute of all—the carrying on of his work.

Forward to the Irish Section of the Fourth International  
Forward to the Irish Workers Republic  
Long Live the Memory of Peter Graham



The following statement was issued by the Eastern Command of the Provisional Republican Army:

" We deeply regret the death of Peter Graham. Whilst he was not a member of the Republican movement his death has come as a severe blow to the National resurgents. In 1969 he was instrumental in providing aid of all forms to the besieged people of the North. In witness of his stand at that time, four officers from Northern Command and one from Eastern Command were present at his graveside today."



# BOLIVIA: EYE WITNESS ACCOUNT OF THE COUP

*In the last issue of Red Mole we published a USFI statement on Bolivia. A letter has also been received from a quite different participant in the struggle against the coup: a European militant not in the Fourth International. It is of interest because the informal account of the days of the coup in La Paz, conveys an impression of the militancy of the students and workers who came out on the streets and fought, and at the same time shows the extent of the failure to prepare militarily for this eventuality. Furthermore, it shows how the bitter lessons of the coup are being learned by militants in Bolivia. Throughout the period of the Popular Assembly the comrades of the Gonzalez Moscoso POR were calling for the arming of the workers and peasants, and carrying out such work themselves in so far as they could. Prevarication on this question has been the main focus of their criticisms of the POR led by Guillermo Lora during the Popular Assembly. (For an account of Lora's unholy alliance with the CP in the Assembly, see International:6, Sept-Oct. 1971. Note also that the comrades of the SLL have found it necessary to make some criticisms of Lora, whom they supported in his denunciation and betrayal of the guerrilla of Che Guevara.) The comrade who wrote this letter also draws attention to the POR-Lora's failure to understand the agrarian question: he still has the "idea of taking power through armed insurrection in the cities"—(a long time in the future, we might add) whereas "the revolution here is going to be a long drawn out bloody fight and it will have to involve the peasantry too."*

*In publishing these passages the Red Mole declares again its solidarity with all victims of the repression in Bolivia, and with all who take up arms in the struggle against it.*

Everything.....has changed drastically as a result of the coup. It's all so different now from the days of the Asamblea Popular, when we were talking (incorrectly) about the arrival of dual power, and thinking that the 'victoria final' was drawing near.....But the Asamblea turned out to be just a kind of debating chamber with no real power—and the worst of it all is that when the coup (which had been talked about for so long) eventually came—the Asamblea still had not organised its own armed militias, which were of course essential if the Asamblea was to have any power at all to implement its decisions and resolutions.

The days of the coup were the tensest I have ever lived in my life—we scarcely ate or slept for three days. Things started happening in Santa Cruz on the Thursday when people involved in the coup were arrested, there was a demonstration against their arrest which led to fighting between left and right wing civilians, and then the army arrived—and before long a new government had been set up in Santa Cruz. On Friday one after another the army divisions in the different cities of the interior came out in favour of the coup. There were meetings in the university and then in the afternoon a large demonstration of workers and students demanding arms, which of course Torres wasn't going to give us. Then back to the university where we were given rapid lessons on how to make grenades and molotov cocktails and told what to do if arrested etc. I joined up with people from the MIR, and we divided into groups and went off to different houses to await instructions. It was a pretty helpless situation—in our group we had one old mauser and a revolver between ten of us. Listened to the terrifying news from Santa Cruz—eight students shot in cold blood as a reprisal for a bomb attack, and the regiments one by one going over to the golpe (coup). But nothing happened in La Paz that night.

On Saturday yet another assembly in the university, then the news that the COB was going to try to take the Cuartel General in Miraflores to get arms—so we all went up to the Stadium a square not far from the (Miraflores) barracks and started building barricades, and several lorry loads of miners armed with sticks of dynamite arrived—but apart from dynamite there was a terrible scarcity of arms....Then the fighting started—the people and the Colorados regiment (headed by Major Ruben Sanchez, who had been taken prisoner by the Che Guevara guerrilla, and been somewhat radicalised by the experience) against the Castrillo regiment. Those who had guns, and quite a lot who had guts but no guns went off to fight, while the rest of us—I guess well over 1500 people just stood around helplessly in the square, feeling totally impotent—if there had been 1500 more guns things might have been different. What was disappointing was that despite the Vanguardia Militar del Pueblo's declaration a week or so earlier to the effect that the army was a class institution, and that they (the corporals and non-commissioned officers who had made the declaration) were the brothers of the proletariat

and would not let themselves be used against them, they nevertheless fought.....

The repression began immediately, and the next few days were nerve wracking, houses began to be raided immediately and arrests were made, on the Monday they bombarded the university and arrested 250 people, fortunately they released most of them.....There are about seventy political prisoners—student and labour leaders and militants—in a concentration camp in the heart of the tropical jungle, and who knows how many more imprisoned in La Paz and the military barracks at Viacha. Some comrades are known to be in the military hospital after being brutally tortured. Most of the left wing leaders have gone into exile (so too have the members of the last government) no doubt posing as left wing heroes, which is far from the truth. In Santa Cruz they have shot over twenty people claiming they were guerrillas—but as the army suffered no losses it is obvious they were not killed fighting. What is happening is that they are going from village to village and dragging out and shooting anyone they know to belong to any revolutionary organisation.

Although the ex-Barrientista peasants have taken over the peasant federation and claim support for the government, it is doubtful how much peasant support it has. The fact that the MNR is in the government may bring some support, but this is likely to be annulled by the fact that the Falange, who have long been the peasants' worst enemies as they represent the landowners, are also in the government..... Although initially people thought the government would not last long, as it is made up of three groups of previously worst enemies, and it looked as if they would fight amongst themselves, they seem to have consolidated themselves, and with a policy of total repression and allies like the Americans and the Brazilians it could last for quite a while. Resistance is going to be difficult—a long slow process of 'trabajo de hormiga' ('ants' work')—.....The repression continues, but the struggle must go on—Venceremos.

## INDOCHINA: The Left must destroy Nixon's smokescreen

China in the United Nations, Nixon in Peking—it's obvious that some sort of changes are on the way in East Asia. But for all the secret diplomacy going on, one thing equally obviously has not changed—and that is that Nixon has no intention of leaving Indochina to itself. The war goes on on all fronts.

The elections in South Vietnam have put the military situation in the background, and it is true that the big newsworthy confrontations of earlier in the year have given way in the main to smaller clashes. And US troops are indeed leaving Vietnam. By December, if all goes according to plan, there will be no U.S. combat troops left there. But this is only half the truth. In December there will still be 184,000 troops in Vietnam, and the war is far from winding down. U.S. bombing of the countries of Indochina continues at an enormous level, and on the field the US is still trying to get the Vietnamese to do their dirty work for them.

### ESCALATION IN CAMBODIA

The U.S. also recently renewed its bombing raids on North Vietnam. About 200 strikes were made, up to 35 miles north of the DMZ. The U.S. claimed they were retaliating against a build-up of missile and anti-aircraft sites in the North.

It is in Cambodia that the picture can be seen most dramatically—there the war is increasing not winding down. In October B52s dropped 900 tons of explosive over Indochina, half of it on Cambodia's border with South Vietnam. The number of U.S. experts in Phnom Penh rises steadily, and Nixon has requested even more money to run the war next year, \$310 million dollars as opposed to the £235 million dollars granted for 1971 (this is only direct expenditure and does not include the bombing or support for South Vietnamese troops).

A high proportion of the Cambodian countryside is in the hands of the liberation forces, and fierce fighting continues. A big battle is going on on the Cambodian-South Vietnamese border, the outer defences of the approach to Saigon. It was during this battle that US soldiers refused to go on duty, and the US was forced to abandon the Pace base. The South Vietnamese troops remaining are also in trouble.

### US ARMY DEMORALISATION

The U.S. Army, of course, is well known to be in a bad way. Yet another proof of this is that General Westmoreland has seen fit to circulate a 62-page booklet on how to improve the army. *The Washington Post* carried out its own investigation, which showed that drugs, violence, boredom, rebellion and racial tension were all rife in the army.

In South Vietnam, attacks, such as those on US bases or against pacification programmes occur all the time, but the scale of the fighting seems to have changed. J.C. Pomonti, a correspondent who knows the area well, has suggested that the struggle has entered a new phase. The NLF, having forced the US to begin withdrawing combat troops, has now

the PRG has been developing small units for precise tasks. Local guerillas are being strengthened, and political cadres reconstructed so that units will emerge that can be adapted to any task. Meanwhile on the political front, the puppets have been entrenching themselves.

### THE SITUATION IN CAMBODIA

In Cambodia in October, Lon Nol declared a state of emergency. He suspended the normal working of the assembly and announced that he would rule by decree. These measures were necessary, he said, because of the operations of a fifth column. Over 4000 Buddhists demonstrated against Lon Nol's new powers. The US is once again supporting dictators, and can be none too happy with the situation, especially at a time when the foreign aid programme which keeps the war going, has been rejected.

They were none too happy either with the one-man election of Tieu. Even US officials admitted the irregularities, and popular violence during the election was only stopped by massive precautions and intimidation.

### INTEGRATION FOR SOUTH VIETNAM?

Not content with keeping his supporters in political power, Nixon is busy planning how to keep South Vietnam within the "free world" once the fighting is over. In the last few months a number of studies of the Vietnamese economy have been made. These have been to find out how a new economy, closely enmeshed with the "free world", could be built.

One of these studies was carried out for the Institute of Defense Analysis (Pentagon-financed) by Arthur Smithies, whose links with the CIA are well-known.

Columbia University has made another study, and there is also one for the Asian Development Bank. The premise of all these reports is that South Vietnam will remain a state separate from the North, and will be integrated into the economy of the "free world".

The Smithies report announces that the best planning assumption seems to be the withering away of the war, "a process that can last for a decade or more". Smithies finds it easy to forget the millions of refugees and hundreds of thousands of civilian casualties, as he gazes happily on the roads and ports, the basis for the new economy, that the war has brought to Vietnam.

From all the reports emerges South Vietnam's dependence on the US. US aid between 1970 and 1975 will probably amount to 13,000 million dollars, of which 9,000 million will be military.

At the same time as ensuring that Vietnam will be available to foreign capitalists, Nixon is still in need of some solution that

the withdrawal of US troops, insist that Thieu must go or else there will be no negotiations. For Thieu and the policy of Vietnamisation mean war nor peace.

### SUPPORT THE LIBERATION FORCES!

Nixon is expected to make a major speech on Indochina in the next few weeks. Certainly he needs something to take to Peking if the visit is not to be a failure. In Vietnam, there is deadlock; in Laos there are signs of bargaining, but it would not be the first time bargaining has led to nothing. In Cambodia the war expands with US help and no one every talks of "Khmerisation".

We must expect some new pronouncement from Nixon, some new talk of peace. But for Nixon, talk of peace is a smokescreen for more war. We must make sure the smoke is blown away. Don't let Indochina be forgotten. The war is far from over. Nixon still has not answered the PRG's 7 point peace plan. Don't let him forget it. Support the NLF and PRG's legitimate proposals! Support the liberation forces of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam!

—Members of Indochina editorial board





# Japan: Peasants and Revolutionaries Fight the New Airport



For six years the Japanese Government has been planning to build a new international airport near Tokyo. To obtain the land for this airfield they planned to expropriate the peasants' holdings in the Sanrizuka and Shibayama regions. The peasants, however, have been extremely unwilling to give up this land. They have built their holdings up with great effort since the end of World War Two. If they had to move now it would mean virtually starting from scratch again somewhere else. The majority of land in this district is highly commercialized mainly vegetable production for the Tokyo market rather than rice. The peasants formed a Peasants' Union to fight the expropriations. (The Sanrizuka-Shibayama Kukohantia Domei—Peasants' Union against Construction of New Tokyo International Airport). At first the Communist Party had a fraction inside the Peasants' Union but in 1966/67 the C.P. was expelled after hard internal fights between the C.P. and

non-C.P. fractions inside the Peasants' Union, for taking too conciliatory a line to the Japanese Government and the new Airport.

Around 300 families are in the Peasants' Union, which is a minority in the region but a minority which is very determined to defend the peasants' land. Two years delay in the opening of the airfield has already been caused. This year the Government and the corporation began to expropriate the land of peasants who were Peasants' Union members. Three very hard fights have taken place over three forced expropriations. When the peasants first created this Union they only wanted to defend their land. After establishing contact with the Left groups, however, and through its experience with the Government the Peasants' Union developed a more political consciousness. Now they express their solidarity with the Okinawan, Korean, Vietnamese and Chinese people and several Peasants' Union leaders have visited China. They realise that the need to build extra airport space has a direct connexion with the amount of space already used at existing airfields for military purposes (one big military airbase at Yokota-Tachikawa west of Tokyo and half of the existing Tokyo International Airport used for military purposes), and with the increasing remilitarisation undertaken by the Japanese bourgeoisie itself. The Peasants' Union has developed a very good political consciousness. Now all tendencies are welcomed in the Peasants' Union provided that they are serious in their support of the P.U.'s struggle.

For the time being the Japanese Government is concentrating its efforts on building just one runway out of the three—the main runway. The Government hope to complete the building of this runway by the spring so that they can hold test flights then. The three expropriations which have taken place to date have been along the route of this runway. The first expropriation took place in February/March, the second which was smaller in June and the largest (see pictures) in September. All of these expropriations were accompanied by hard fights on the part of the peasants, who used molotov cocktails, bamboo sticks etc. against the police. The struggle is only at its starting point, however. Next spring the Peasants Union and the students and young workers who supported them hope to organise occupations of the main runway to stop the test flights from taking place.

From 1967 to 1969/70 the Peasants' Union felt a little politically isolated. Especially after the September action, however, about 1500 of the local population created special committees to keep a watch over the expropriations and to defend the Peasants' Union and students and young workers who supported them against police brutality. This is just the beginning of solidarity action. The Government and corporation will have to build several supplementary facilities—pipelines, transport systems, etc. The Peasants' Union has the possibility of mobilising large numbers of people who are on the route of the pipelines or who are worried about the noise problem that the airport will create. The Peasants' Union is steadily winning fresh political forces over to its side and

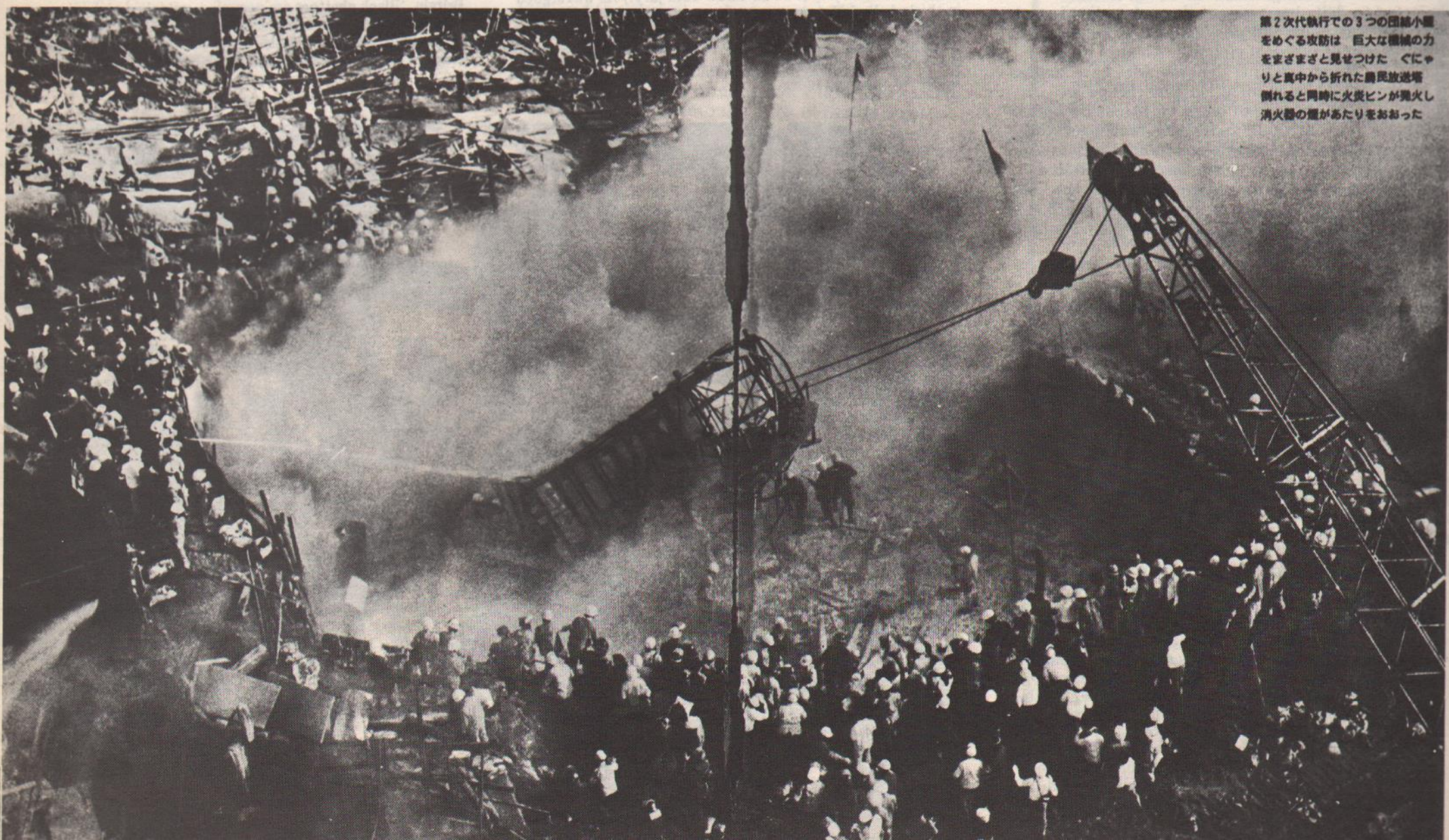
surrounding the airport. In Japan itself the political climate is favourable to their struggle. A widespread radicalisation has taken place in the last few years and political issues such as pollution have already been taken up. In several places anti-pollution movements have caused the peasants to invade the factories to stop the machines which have been causing the pollution. The peasants' struggle against the airport can exercise a very good radicalising influence in this climate, by generalising the anti-pollution movement. Last Autumn the Peasants' Union organised a national conference to coordinate these various struggles and another at the beginning of this year.

During the struggle this September, the Japanese Government used the Kidotai (specially armed police with clubs and poison gas). Not only students but also young workers took part in the struggle. Our comrades in Yon Toro (the Japanese Section of the Fourth International) mobilised about 400 people to help fight with the peasants about 200 of which were young workers. Several students had been with the peasants fairly continuously since the first battles in February/March helping them defend and cultivate their land. Political trust and relations with the Peasants' Union are very good. During the September struggle towers and tunnels for defence were built under the leadership of our comrades. In preparation for the struggle about 1000 students young workers and High schoolers were organised to help the peasants in their farms. Some semi-military training was undertaken for the battle. After the battle 2000 were wounded and 980 arrested (60 of our comrades). One student is very seriously ill at the present time and three policemen were killed.

The Peasants' Union feels confident, however. They feel that they now have a real chance of stopping the building of the airport going through. The Government has not yet finished one runway and on the other two runways members of the Peasants' Union have a lot of land, all of which will be bitterly contested. The Government has a very real problem in stopping the Peasants' Union getting wider support from the population. At the end of September 800 people gathered at a mass meeting in Tokyo in solidarity with the peasants at which the leaders of the peasants attended. The struggle of the peasants is a very real factor in the awakening of political consciousness throughout Japan. The strength of the Japanese Left is a very real factor in hampering the designs of a resurgent Japanese imperialism.

**SOLIDARITY WITH THE SANRIZUKA-SHIBAYAMA PEASANTS' UNION!  
LONG LIVE YON TORO, JAPANESE SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!  
LONG LIVE THE JAPANESE REVOLUTION!  
AGAINST THE RESURGENCE OF JAPANESE IMPERIALISM!**

—Daniel Rose



第2次代執行での3つの団結小屋をめぐる攻防は 巨大な機械の力をまざまざと見せつけた。ぐにゃりと真中から折れた農民放送塔倒れると同時に火災ビンが発火し消火器の煙があたりをおおった

## ROLE OF THE CAPITALIST PRESS

The last issue of the *Red Mole* analysed Angela Davis' book *If they come in the Morning*. However, as was pointed out in that article, it is extremely dangerous to think that it is only in the USA and not in Britain that blacks are subjected to police and prison brutality and court frame-ups. This of course is precisely the impression that the bourgeoisie press would like to give. Hence on the one hand their publicity for Angela Davis and the oppression in the USA. Hence on the other hand their almost total lack of publicity of oppression here. Thus at a time when nine black militants are on trial here, the bourgeoisie press is only too willing to virtually ignore the proceedings whilst at the same time giving full (if distorted) details of massacres at Attica, murder of Jonathan Jackson, attempted murder of Rap Brown, etc. As long as it is happening 3000 miles away, anything will be reported in order to direct attention away from the daily physical repression of Blacks in Britain.

# Bourgeois 'justice'-the black man's burden

3. Actually wherever it seems that a legal 'technicality' might be of help to the oppressed class the courts will invariably ignore it. This again is shown in respect to the Mangrove Nine. Here the comrades tried to argue for an all black jury. In fact they were able to quote legal precedents, going back over 1000 years, that an accused had the 'right' to be tried by a jury of his peers. However, after arguing this for 1½ days they were confronted by a judge who turned the whole argument down without giving any reasons—and who refused to give any reasons. So much for the much vaunted 'value' of legal precedent—which in class terms is a pretty one-sided value.
4. After being refused an all-black jury the defendants tried to ensure that all the blacks who were eligible to be on the jury for the case were in fact put on the jury. However even here they were met with resistance by the Prosecutor who rejected one black jurymen as soon as he tried to read the oath.
5. One of the most oppressive features of the trial is that these police who are being produced to give evidence against the comrades are in many cases men for whom the police against whose constant harassment the demonstration was called. In particular, one of the star witnesses called by the prosecution is P.C. Pulley—the same P.C. Pulley whose past conduct the comrades were demonstrating against. Pulley is able to give evidence in this case by virtue of the fact that he followed the demo in a plain car.
6. The reaction of the comrades to all this is shown by the attitude of one of them in interrupting the judge and telling him he was in effect taking over the case of the prosecution (this was after the judge had told the one black defence lawyer that he was incompetent).

## BOURGEOIS 'JUSTICE'

Recently the Magistrates' Association has described British justice as 'the best in the world at all levels. It is incorrupt. It is impartial. It is humane!' However, justice can never be neutral. The only sort of justice which can exist in a bourgeois state is bourgeois justice. This is why we have bourgeois laws of theft to protect private bourgeois property. This is why we have bourgeois laws of riotous assembly to stifle any meaningful fight back against the system. In other words free speech is o.k.—but don't actually try and do anything about it. The response of the black comrades in the public gallery of the Old Bailey was quite correct when he told the Prosecutor, who was talking about the 'Queen's Peace' that what he really meant was 'bourgeois violence'.

It is precisely because of the racist nature of law that revolutionaries must support the demand of the Mangrove Nine in calling for a black jury as a way of exposing this racism. However at the same time racism does not just exist in a vacuum—it itself is part of a capitalist class system. In other words even if the Mangrove Nine had got a black jury they would still be at the mercy of a system which put them on trial in the first place. (For instance, the state could ensure that an all black jury is an all Uncle Tom jury.) As was argued in the last *Red Mole* in respect to Angela Davis, we don't merely want to reform bourgeois 'justice' we want to end it. Thus in the case of the Mangrove Nine we don't merely support the demand for a black jury. Instead we demand immediate release of the comrades.

## MANGROVE TRIAL! NOT THE FIRST

Although the Mangrove case is on at the moment it would again be wrong to be taken in by the silence of the capitalist press and to imagine that this is the first obviously political trial of black militants here. To put this into its correct perspective a random selection of examples can be given—and there are many others.

1. In 1967 Michael X was found guilty under the Race Relations Act of causing a breach of the peace and inciting racial hatred.
2. In December 1968 Obi Egbuna and Peter Martin were found guilty of issuing leaflets at a Hyde Park anti-racist rally threatening to kill police in retaliation for harassment.
3. December 1969. Peter Martin found guilty under the Race Relations Act for distributing leaflets whereby 'breach of the peace might have been occasioned' describing brutality by the police against blacks in Brixton.
4. April 1970. 20 black comrades were arrested on a joint Black Panther-Vietnam Solidarity Campaign demonstration.
5. November 1970. Magistrates Court found two other comrades involved in Notting Hill-Mangrove Demonstration guilty of assaulting the police. The fact that another nine were eventually committed—to the Old Bailey on riot charges seems because the D.P.P. is out to get the leadership of the black movement.
6. January 1971. 3 black militants found guilty of riot when they tried to prevent police breaking into a Black Panther dance in the Oval House in Kensington (on the pretext they were looking for a stolen watch!)

## MANGROVE TRIAL—NOT THE LAST

Not only is Mangrove not the first political trial of Blacks—it is also obviously not going to be the last. Thus in a few months the black youth from the Metro Club will be in a similar dock on similar charges. Again the Immigration Act will itself provide greater scope by inventing greater crimes for such trials. Indeed every time a black ever appears in court it is a political trial—for he is there basically because he is black.

It can be seen that it is no exaggeration to say that the State as 'a body of armed men' does have a reality to blacks in British ghettos. Racism attacks them physically as well as materially. This is quite unlike anything which is happening to even the most militant white workers (except that handful who have consciously sided with the black cause). As Angela Davis says, 'The vicious circle linking poverty, police, courts and prison is an integral element of ghetto existence. Unlike the mass of whites, the patch which leads to jails and prisons is deeply rooted in the imposed patterns of Black existence.... For the Black individual, contact with the law enforcement-judicial-penal network is inevitable because he is black'. The Mangrove trial shows also that the same description Angela gives of Watts and Harlem can be given of black ghettos in Britain. 'Black ghettos are occupied, patrolled and often attacked by massive deployments of police. The police, domestic caretakers of violence are the oppressors' emissaries charged with the task of containing us within our oppression'.



## ROLE OF THE CAPITALIST STATE

The truth is that blacks here are increasingly as subject to the State as a 'body of armed men' as are their brothers and sisters in the U.S.A. Blacks in Moss Side, Handsworth, Notting Hill, Brixton, don't just have rotten housing, schools, jobs (if any). They are not just the victims of openly racist legislation as in the Immigration Act. They are also subjected to daily harassment through police brutality, court frame-ups and prison violence—a hierarchical trinity of physical violence. Already in the trial of the Mangrove Nine the comrades have spoken of blacks being beaten up at Notting Hill police station and the planting of drugs on blacks by police—but this is only the tip of an iceberg. Moreover, this violence is not restricted to black militants—it is a daily reality in the life of every black. Indeed in a way blacks here are more vulnerable than in the USA black political groups have more greater strength than here and are thus better placed (relatively) to defend the ghetto communities.

## THE 'MANGROVE NINE'

At the moment the violence of the State is being particularly directed at one group of blacks—the Mangrove Nine—who are now on trial at the Old Bailey on a charge of riot. This frame-up arose out of a demonstration last year in Notting Hill organised by the Black Panthers against police harassment of black people in general and in particular of black people in Notting Hill/Ladbroke Grove especially against those who meet in the Mangrove Restaurant (which is being continually busted by the police on various pretexts).

Of course the whole affair is a frame-up from beginning to end. Indeed what bourgeois 'justice' really means can be seen in the actual conduct of the trial itself. Various examples can be given.

1. The charge of riot had already been thrown out by a magistrate on the grounds of obvious lack of evidence. He thus didn't commit the comrades to the Old Bailey on this charge (although he was prepared to have them up for assault). However, the Mangrove Nine are black and they are militant revolutionaries—and the State wants to make an example of them. The Director of Public Prosecutions consequently employed the little-used technical device of getting another Judge to commit a further comrade (who was arrested for this purpose, months after the demo) for trial for riot on a 'voluntary indictment' which does not require him to hear evidence. Moreover, this comrade was voluntarily indicted with the others so that this Judge committed them all to be tried for riot. This is the real function of so-called legal technicalities—which should not be seen merely as boring garbage (this being only half the story).



As many of our readers may know the leadership of the International Socialism group has taken the decision to expel from the organisation a group which calls itself the "Trotskyist Tendency" and is generally known inside and outside I.S. as "Workers' Fight". Taken on its own merits this expulsion is completely unjustifiable. The statement issued by the national secretary of I.S. does not list one single breach of democratic centralism or lack of discipline by members of the Workers' Fight and makes it absolutely clear that they are being expelled because of the particular political views which they hold. In view of these rather strange proceedings from a group which is supposed to be 'non sectarian' and 'democratic' it is worth trying to explain the logic of the events behind the threatened expulsion.

#### THE UNITY TACTIC

Workers' Fight originally joined I.S. as a result of an appeal made by the I.S. leadership for unity of revolutionary organisations. These proposals were made in April 1968 and were a result of an analysis made by the I.S. leadership that fascism was imminent. I.S.'s paper, then called "Labour Worker" carried in issue no. 83 a printed leaflet entitled 'THE URGENT CHALLENGE OF FASCISM'. This proposed the formation of a common revolutionary organisation on the basis of 4 points which would constitute a minimum programme. These proposals were in fact so liberal that at a later date the I.S. found itself in the embarrassing position that a Labour Party M.P., Stan Newens, stated that he agreed with the four proposals. (I.S. Executive Committee minutes for before the 1970 General Election). It was on the basis of these proposals that Workers' Fight joined I.S. Although in many respects the Workers' Fight had incorrect positions on various subjects, nevertheless the fact that it was in essence a Trotskyist organisation (i.e. accepted the theory of permanent revolution, accepted the definition of the USSR as a degenerated workers' state, accepted the need for a Leninist party) enabled it to make a relatively quick progress inside those I.S. branches, mainly Manchester and Teesside, in which it had members. As soon as this occurred the I.S. leadership replied with a regime of bureaucratic manoeuvring. This reached its height when the I.S. leadership split the Manchester branch in order to prevent Workers' Fight making any more headway. This was presented to the membership of I.S. in a totally dishonest fashion. The Manchester branch clearly voted against the split, but the resolution passed at the I.S. National Committee declared that it was ratifying the decision of the branch by enforcing the split and it was in this way that the decision was presented to the membership. It was not until the I.S. Autumn Conference of 1969 that the real story became apparent when Workers Fight circulated copies of the branch minutes. From then on the campaign against Workers Fight was stepped up to its present level whereby they are to be expelled for their particular political views which in no way run counter to the original four points on which they joined I.S.

This last episode is a general part of a deterioration of democracy within I.S. For example the last I.S. national conference passed a resolution clearly stating that I.S. would not oppose British entry into the Common Market. This decision was quite blatantly then reversed by the I.S. National Committee. Workers Fight and others organised opposition to this arbitrary act and it is probably for this reason that the decision to expel Workers Fight is now being taken by the I.S. leadership. This is however only the tip of the iceberg. The real reason why the I.S. has decided to expel Workers Fight is due to fear of a reaction on the part of the I.S. membership against the increasing right wing evolution of the organisation. Nowhere is this shown more clearly than on the question of Ireland.

#### THE IRISH STRUGGLE AND I.S.

The first clear indication of the rightward evolution of I.S. came in August 1969 when British troops were sent into Northern Ireland. For several months I.S. had been campaigning on the basis of the withdrawal of troops. Now that they were actually being used I.S. withdrew the call. This was done quite consciously and after a discussion at the Executive Committee. A vote was taken on the precise issue of whether to call for the withdrawal of British troops. The motion that this slogan be included in the list of demands to appear in "Socialist Worker" was rejected. At the I.S. conference of Autumn 1969 a resolution was moved that I.S. should call for the withdrawal of British troops. After the intervention of the I.S. leadership this call was rejected. From then on the rightward evolution of I.S. proceeded at a rapid pace reaching a new peak in their withdrawal at this year's DATA Conference of a resolution calling for a General Strike. The I.S. turned out in this case to be to the right of even the majority of delegates who passed the resolution which I.S. had attempted to withdraw. Other milestones along the path were, for example, the refusal of the I.S. leadership to take disciplinary action against an I.S. lecturer at Barking technical college who refused to support students

struggle in Ireland. They took part in the founding of the Irish Solidarity Campaign but rapidly withdrew when they saw they were not going to make quick recruits. Throughout the early period of repression in 1971, I.S. allocated no real forces to work on Ireland. It was only with the introduction of internment that I.S. thought they could jump on a bandwagon by forming a Labour Committee against Internment. This was established on a reformist basis with slogans which included a demand for a 'fair trial' as an alternative to internment. I.S. later tried to disown this latter slogan, but this was hardly impressive as they had written it in this first place. After weeks of pushing the Labour Committee and never even mentioning the Anti-Internment League in their press, the I.S. abandoned this LCAI. This was quite simply because I.S. saw that the anti-internment league was making real gains and I.S. hoped it could jump on another bandwagon in order to recruit. Now in the 6th November issue of "Socialist Worker" we are told that the success of the October 31st demonstration was due to "many weeks of hard work by the Anti-Internment League and its supporters". What is clear is that as far as I.S. is concerned all they did was to pull out their members for the demonstration but for most of those "many weeks of work" I.S. was not supporting the Anti-Internment League with publicity but was trying to build the rival Labour Committee. This does not mean that even now I.S. have changed their political line. They still have not called for a campaign in solidarity with the IRA but "Socialist Worker" confines itself (6/11/71) to calling for an end to internment and the withdrawal of troops. As I.S. has never been noted for having a consistent national line it is not surprising to find that individual I.S. branches, for example York, are calling for a solidarity campaign with the IRA, while the national I.S. line is not doing this. Naturally, however, the I.S. line on Ireland may change next week (or in fact virtually at any time).

#### SELF REFORM ?

The accelerated drift to the right of I.S. nationally leads to internal struggle inside I.S. A considerable section of IS militants opposed the line on the troops in Ireland and a large section will oppose the expulsion of Workers' Fight. The question then arises of whether IS is reformable and the shift to the right can be halted. This has to be dealt with at several levels.

The first question is whether it is possible to challenge the IS leadership. The answer lies in an analysis of the social forces acting within IS.

In the period 1966-68 IS grew very rapidly around the VSC and the general student upsurge. It grew on the basis of intervention in a political issue—the Vietnam War. At that time the IMG was too small to benefit from the Solidarity Campaign it had been active in initiating. That layer of militants which, for example, in France had gone into the JCR, in Britain went into IS. It formed a solid political cadre and it is largely on this layer that opposition to the opportunist policies of IS leadership is based. The internal situation was however transformed by the mass IS recruitment campaigns. In terms of the political level of the political level of the organisation, a disastrous drop occurred. Even by the admission of the IS leadership, reformists, opportunists, people who were totally non active etc. joined the organisation. This acted as a 'Lenin levy' and created a new social base for the IS leadership. Cliff, Hallas etc. could now appeal over the heads of any political opposition to a non political rank and file. It is possible to create an internal regime based on demagoguery and hysteria. Insinuation of 'wreckers' and 'whisperers' became frequent. Furthermore the new non-political IS could only be kept together by an increase in sectarianism and bureaucracy. The combination of these two adds up to the expulsion of Workers' Fight. It is in fact now impossible for any political opposition to challenge the leadership of IS because that leadership can always simply ignore the political aspects of the opposition and concentrate on demagoguery. Hallas' arguments against a special IS Conference on the Common Market 'a diversion' from building the organisation etc. is a typical product. Rosewell's report on the intervention in UCS—almost entirely in terms of the number of papers sold etc.—is another example of the general direction things will take inside IS.

Given the relationship of forces created by the recruitment campaigns, effective opposition to the rightward direction of the organisation is impossible. Those who believe they can change the direction of IS's evolution are in fact deluding themselves and not basing themselves on an analysis of the real situation inside the organisation. There are many militants

# the end of I.S.'s unity tactic

perspective on which they entered IS was incorrect. The way in which you build a Party in the present period is not by passive propagandistic politics. It is by open activity and intervention. It is true that the political questions of the nature of the Soviet Union, the role of the colonial revolution etc. all underlie everyday political intervention, but the way they show themselves in the present period is in the concrete question of how to build the revolutionary party. The leadership of Workers Fight chose the path of propagandism. The leadership of IS chose a quantitative concept of the building of the party and in consequence led their entire organisation to degenerate. In a real sense the present solution of IS hopefully marks the end of a historical period in revolutionary politics. It may mark the end of the specifically British revolutionary tradition of empiricism, placing of size above politics, purely administrative concepts of organisation, etc. The task now is to avoid repeating the same errors and build an organisation based on theory and internationalism.

—David Windsor

For an analysis of IS's basic political position read:

Mandel, "The Mystifications of State Capitalism" 10p.

Grogan, "New Developments(?) in State Capitalism" in 'International' Vol. 1, no. 1.

available from Red Books, 182 Pentonville Rd., London, N.1.

## orangeism and fascism --letter

I was slightly disturbed by an article which appeared in your last issue entitled "Fascists attack ISC march". This referred to a demonstration in Glasgow which was attacked by Orangemen. Does this mean that the Red Mole equates Orangeism with fascism? If so, this seems rather odd in a newspaper which has attacked the use of the term fascism to refer to everyone from Harold Wilson to Colin Jordan and the National Front.

Certainly Orangeism is an extremely reactionary ideology, but fascism is usually defined as an armed movement aimed at destroying the organisations of the working class. Doesn't orangeism on the contrary rely on the misguided support of sections of the protestant working class and in that sense it can hardly be called fascism?

Martin Huggitt

#### Editorial Reply

An unfortunate ambiguity crept into the headline cde. Huggitt referred to. The movement led by Jack Glass is in marxist terms a proper fascist movement and has close links with the National Front. It was to this that the word fascist referred to in the headline. However, taken in the context of the article we agree that it might have been taken as referring to Orangeism in general. We agree completely that it would be incorrect to describe Orangeism as Fascism. Its particularly reactionary ideas easily give rise to fascist movements and it contains within itself elements, who are genuine fascists. However, taken as a whole the nature of Orangeism is different. Orangeism bases itself on a particular privileged position held by the Protestant working class. Certainly in any real terms the Protestant workers are monstrously oppressed and exploited by the Orange state and Orange capitalism. Nevertheless Orangeism uses one section of the working class against another and does not attempt to smash the working class as fascist movements do. In that sense Orangeism, as cde. Huggitt points out, cannot be equated with fascism. As we regard this question of the nature of fascism as an extremely important one (the theory of 'creeping fascism' for example is one which leads to a disastrous political practice) we are very glad that cde. Huggitt's letter has given the

"...we want to be holding living women in our arms."

The bourgeoisie tries so hard to have 'the others' believe that art is apolitical that they sometimes end up deceiving their own ranks. '1789' which some people might have been lucky enough to see at the Round House is a good illustration of this fact. Yes, the play was subsidised by the French Government, but for once—oh surprise—that did not make it innocuous.

"1789" is a political play. Without being a detailed or even an accurate account of what happened at the time of the French revolution, it relates the first year of this revolution in class terms and qualifies it as being a *bourgeois* revolution with everything that that implies: up till the seizure of power by the bourgeoisie, deception of the masses; then, ferocious repression of the people. Repression directed mostly at those who realise that the revolution must be permanent or—forget about it. (i.e. must lead right up to the liberation of the masses.)

Paradoxically enough, though, the revolutionary aspect of the play does not lie mostly in its marxist approach. What the audience is really compelled to reflect upon is not so much whether, for example, Marat was "realistic" or not, as, what the meaning of art is (not merely theatrical art but ART). Still, the sheer posing of the question would not be enough to make "1789" a revolutionary play. What does, is its partial answer to the question.

What one is made aware of most strikingly during the play is the actual *form* of theatre one is watching. One is not going to be lulled or deceived into believing that we are actually back in 1789; that we are actually facing Marie-Antoinette and Louis XIV, or even that we are going to *feel* their panic. Indeed, throughout the play no process of identification is allowed to take place (each of the actors acts many parts or is *seen* gesticulating behind the puppet he is moving). This might remind the readers of the famous "Brechtian technique" of freeing the audience of all emotions so the mind can remain in a perpetually "critical state". However, it would be wrong to suggest that the type of acting of the Theatre du Soleil is a Brechtian one.

The point is that one process of identification at least *does* attempt to take place, and this is that of the audience with the masses. Now, we know that in an interview she gave to Emile Copferman, Anne Mnouchkine denies that even an attempt had been made for the public to 'participate'. But in art just as in any other field, one should not judge on what is *said* but on what is actually *done*. What actually happens is a paradoxical situation of obvious attempts at making the audience participate while the latter is unable to do so. And in turn, we could be paradoxical and say that this is precisely when the "failure" of the play is actually an illumination.

We talked of obvious attempts. Well, the clearest, and also the pre-condition for participation is the very *fact* that the audience has to stand up, and therefore is not allowed to drift off to sleep (this happens in most bourgeois theatres where the visual/verbal "niceness" wafts down onto the replenished ladies and gentlemen cosily ensconced in their chairs). Another stimulus throughout the play is the way actors mingle with the audience march and parade through it and generally treat it like a Parisian crowd. Lastly how should we interpret the scene of the narration of the seizure of the Bastille if not as a pure attempt at involving the audience?

We hope to have shown so far that even if it is not the actors' intention to make the audience participate it is in the logic of the form of the acting they have chosen.

Why now do we talk of failure and yet of illumination? Well, failure, very simply because the public *just does not* really respond or does so only very timidly. We heard some people say that if unfortunately the only sign of participation had been some heckling when Bailly declared "Law



Christopher Davies, Report London.

and Order" it was mainly due to a *British* audience, who surely in a Latin country the public would have actually taken the Bastille again! Lovely illusion, but illusion nevertheless.

We think differently—not just because we saw a similar type of acting in France and elsewhere under "exuberant climates" where the response of the audience was pretty much the same as over here. Above all we know that even if it tried, the majority of the audience is not in a position to respond. We know that in a society where art is separate from life, where the division of labour imposes a division of skills, and specialists and be called entertainment; in this society, we know that to ask the audience to shake off even for one evening all this inhibition and conditioning is sheer Utopia.

*It is the pointing out of that Utopia which is the major contribution of the play.* In other words what this play does is to make people rather painfully aware—embarrassed even—that they cannot throw off their alienation....by what we called its "failure" (to involve the audience) the play is the demonstration of the fact that art must cease being separated from life; that the whole point of art is not to create objects but *one's own life* (the main thrust of the USSR vanguard in 1917 was Mayakovsky's "we are fed up with bookish passions/we want to be holding a living woman in our arms." or the more famous... "Streets are our brushes/squares are our palettes."

It does not mean of course that art can arbitrarily be declared dead overnight or that we should burn down museums or stop acting. It is obvious that until the socio-economic conditions are that of communism, art is indispensable, but art must develop towards its abolition and be the means of educating the masses who should be able to "undertake" their sensitivity.

—Juliet Wynter

accomplished through the Soviets alone.

All this comes out in Griffiths' play. But he seems to have taken dramatic licence to telescope the Third International of Lenin with that of Stalin. He confuses the revolution triumphant with the revolution betrayed.

The drama is acted out in a room in a Turin hotel. Kabak, played by Patrick Stewart, the emissary from the Comintern, for some inexplicable reason, made up to look extraordinarily like Lenin. His mistress is a Countess of the old regime who, throughout the play, is dying of cancer of the womb, probably symbolical of the passing of the old order. Kabak is depicted as a cynic, more typical of the Stalinist bureaucrats than the devoted revolutionaries who surrounded Lenin and Trotsky. He brings, not only advice from the Comintern for the revolutionary workers of Turin, but lots of "Moscow Gold", which he distributes very freely.

No sooner are the workers defeated than the representative of the Third International becomes transformed into the representative of the Soviet Government. With a victorious socialist revolution in Italy now off the agenda he sends for a director of Fiats—those same Fiats whose factories were still occupied the day before by the workers—and offers him very favourable terms for setting up a plant in the Soviet Union "You will find" says this cynic, "that our working class will not give you the same headaches as the workers of Turin."

To symbolise the defeat of the revolution and the triumph of counter-revolution, the voice of Hitler is heard off-stage. This again shows the authors predilection for telescoping two historical periods. It would surely have been more appropriate to end the play with the voice of Mussolini or to the strains of "Giovinezza".

Gramsci comes well out of the play and Ben Kingsley's make-up as the misshapen dwarf is remarkable. There are moments, especially when Gramsci is addressing the workers, that one really captures the spirit of the times. The audience, in fact, becomes part of the occupying factory workers. For this reason alone it is worth seeing if you can afford the £ admission charge.

—Charles van Gelderen

**REVIEW:**  
**occupations-Royal Shakespeare**  
**Company at the place**

Good political theatre is few and far between. They tend to be either documentaries or cast in the Stalinist "socialist—realism" mould, in which the ordinary worker and peasant is sculpted in twice life-size and without a blemish. From the Royal Shakespeare Company one expects good theatre and 'Occupations' is both well-produced and well-acted.

The central theme of this play by Trevor Griffiths is the occupation of the factories by the workers of Turin, under the leadership of Antonio Gramsci in 1921. The author shows some perception of the political realities of the time. The Italian Socialist Party (PSI) under the leadership of Turrati, was one of the first to affiliate to the Third International. But the core of its leadership remained reformist and it wasn't long before these elements returned to their spiritual home in the 2nd International. Only Gramsci and his closest associates seemed to grasp the revolutionary potential of the situation. Unfortun-

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