

The Red Mole



COULD THE WAR SPREAD TO KOREA?

The OLD Tories are back



For the workers the recent electoral victory of the Conservative Party represents a marginal set-back: marginal in the sense that it cannot be predicted categorically that the policies which the Tories adopt will be any different from those practised by Mr. Wilson's government, but a setback nevertheless because a Labour Party in opposition will once again be able to sustain the illusion that it is the only alternative to Toryism, and in the absence of a real alternative it will not be easy to combat this illusion. For this reason and for this reason alone a Labour victory would have been preferable.

At the moment we seem to have the worst of both worlds. A massive Tory victory could have had the effect of provoking some sort of a struggle inside the ranks of the Labour Party against the right-wing policies of the leadership. The present result will enable Mr. Wilson to retain the leadership of the party and maintain unity as he will argue that the Powellite threat and the small majority could split the Tories and leave the way open to Labour in the very near future. At this stage it is difficult to predict whether or not there will be any immediate developments inside the Labour Party. Certainly there is no challenge to Wilson from the "left" of the party for the very simple reason that the "left" still regard Wilson as *their* leader and Mr. Michael Foot and his friends have stated many times in private that Harold Wilson is the most "left-wing" Prime Minister the country is ever likely to have. A challenge to Wilson could therefore well emerge from the "right" of the party, a challenge which could be backed by openly racist and anti-working class lumpen elements led by men such as Ray Gunter. In this situation the "left" would once again prepare to fight, fight and fight again to save their leader from the folk from whence he did not come! The next few by-elections will therefore be quite decisive for predicting developments inside the Labour Party. At the moment we would not even like to forecast whether or not Mr. Wilson will receive his traditional standing ovation at the next Labour Party Conference and whether Messrs. Scanlon, Jones and Daly will allow themselves to be photographed applauding enthusiastically.

It should however be clear, despite the 180 degree turnabouts which some of the Opinion pollsters are now making, that the main reason for the Labour defeat was the massive Labour abstentions—a result of the years of wage-freeze and the anti-working class policies followed by the Labour Government. Ironically enough it seems that if there had been a strong left or even fake-left opposition to these policies inside the Parliamentary Labour Party the number of abstentions might have been lower as many abstainers would have still seen some hope inside the party. The Labour leadership itself has begun to admit this quite openly. Questioned on television just after the Tories had won, Mr. Wilson explained his defeat: "Perhaps I was

wasn't enough difference between the two parties and it wasn't worthwhile voting." In weeks to come we are bound to see further analyses of the defeat from the pen of the new Editor of the *New Statesman*, the Rt. Hon. Richard Crossman.

The June '70 poll is the lowest since the Second World War and considering the influx of 3 million new voters owing to the reduction in voting age it is obvious that consensus politics is not attractive to large numbers of young people. It would be incorrect to argue that it is the backward workers who abstained and the advanced workers who voted Labour. Many of the workers who abstained did so in a very positive sense and displayed a healthy spontaneity. Of course they do not have a socialist consciousness. If they did they would be the vanguard of a revolutionary party and the question of voting Labour would not arise. On the other hand the workers who voted Labour undoubtedly represent the organised sections of the working class who vote out of a sense of traditional solidarity and at the same time display a certain conservatism in their attitudes. For a revolutionary youth organisation it is clear that the young workers who abstained from voting Labour and at the same time were attracted to neither the Tories nor the Liberals represent a force which could be crucial to its developments. These workers will be won over much more easily than those schooled in the parliamentarism of the Labour Party. Of course in the absence of concrete facts and figures it would be wrong to generalise the social and class backgrounds of the abstainers. They will undoubtedly vary from area to area and from constituency to constituency. From the experience of at least five London constituencies it is possible to say that it was the middle-class radicals who rallied to the Labour Party on liberal issues (Powellism, abortions, etc.) and worked extremely hard for its victory and the young workers who abstained.

WHAT THEN WILL THE TORIES DO?

Despite the demagogic appeals of the Tories in opposition, their actual policies, like those of Labour, will be determined very much by the situation of British capitalism. They will face similar pressures as did their predecessors except with one difference: the Tories know full well that they will not be able to expect any sympathy from the trade-union bureaucrats if they try and bring in wage restraints, leave alone the question of shackling the unions. Therefore unless a big strike polarises issues, the Tories will be cautious and careful in their dealings with the trade unions.

On foreign policy the Tories will continue to support American imperialism in Indo-China though it is possible that Alec Douglas-Home might make the effort of proposing a few inane "peace formulas", simply in order to humiliate Michael Stewart. In Southern Africa

practice and "resistance" in theory, the Tories will probably maintain the unity of theory and practice. As far as East of Suez is concerned, it is extremely doubtful whether the international bankers will permit the Tories to return there even if they are themselves seriously considering the prospect.

Reginald Maudling in the Home Office will be no different from James Callaghan and it is possible that on some issues he may be even slightly to the "left".

In practice then we will see little real change from the policies which Labour has followed: *Kill the Communists in Asia, Keep the Blacks out of Britain and Curb the Trade Unions.*

Despite the presence of Enoch Powell and his band of racials it is unlikely that the Conservatives will behave any differently from Labour now that they are in government. A defeated Conservative Party with a strong Powellite wing would have been more dangerous and would possibly have forced the "pragmatists" in the Parliamentary Labour Party into making further concessions to racialism. It is worth recalling that the Asian Kenyans were kept out by Wilson and Callaghan under pressure from Powell and that the only front-bencher to vote against this measure was the Tory Ian Macleod. Therefore in their attacks on the black population the Tory policy will be determined by the economic situation of the bosses.

COMRADES: WHERE IS YOUR PARLIAMENTARY ROAD?

One of the side shows of the General Election has been the complete decimation of the Communist vote which has dropped in virtually every constituency by half or more than half and reflects the crisis facing the British Communist Party. We are not concerned so much with the £8,700 which the King Street bureaucrats donate every five years to British capitalism, but with the wasted political energy of many sincere and dedicated militants inside the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. These comrades should think very carefully about the road on which their party is leading them; a road which is both extremely demoralising and never-ending. The main reason for the fall in C.P. votes is the fact that in its policies it is virtually indistinguishable from the "left" social-democrats and its election thrust of "Keep the Tories Out" must have led many of its traditional voters to accept the logic of this slogan and vote for the Labour Party. We would urge those in the C.P. who really believe in the possibility of a social revolution to think hard in the coming few months.

THE TASK FACING REVOLUTIONARIES IN THE PRESENT SITUATION

(i) On no account should we exaggerate the present situation and talk in terms of Bonapartism or creeping Fascism. This is what the left did after the Labour defeat of 1951 and the resulting effect was an increase in ideological confusion. As for

Tory "counter-revolution" they will have to explain to their followers in the weeks and months to come how this differs from the Labour "revolution". Nor should we be thrown into a panic some were after the dockers marched Powell in 1968 and proclaim the imminent danger of fascism and therefore unity before principles to fight this danger.

(ii) We should call for the establishment of Trade Union Defence Committees with an offensive programme to deal with all possible situations. These could play a vital role particularly if the trade union leaderships joined hands with the Government to try and halt unofficial strikes, though at the moment this seems unlikely.

(iii) The election of both Paisley and Bernadette Devlin in Northern Ireland reflects the increasing contradictions which will confront the Conservative Government. In this situation the Labour leadership could well play a demagogic role and the task of revolutionary socialists will be to expose and fight the reformists as well. The withdrawal of British troops therefore becomes even more than before the key demand for to pose in the present situation.

(iv) It is possible that in opposition "left" M.P.s might begin to remember that United States imperialism has unleashed a war against Cambodia which the Labour Government supported. A few resolutions on Vietnam can therefore be expected. All the more important why *all* the revolutionary groupings should get behind the Viet Solidarity Committee and defend the position of solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution and Victory to the Indo-Chinese guerrillas.

(v) On racism we must give unconditional support to the Black revolutionary organisations and help them as best we can to win larger numbers of black citizens to their side. The fear of Powell forced many black citizens to vote Labour and fostered illusions about the Labour Party despite the racist policies of the Labour Government. It is therefore vital to collaborate with Black militants to win this sector of the population to revolutionary consciousness.

* * *

In many areas the Red Circles will be campaigning effectively on these lines. In other areas the militants of the International Marxist Group and the Spartacus League are fighting for revolutionary socialism. Our policies and our politics during the election period were correct: we attacked both Labour Toryism and Conservative Toryism and did not allow liberal illusions to stand in our way. This was not a popular policy but we believe it was the correct one and are sure that it will not only be vindicated in the coming period but will help us to do the most important task which faces the revolutionary Left in Britain: the construction of a revolutionary party of the working class.

TRANSCEND STUDENTISM: BUILD THE SPARTACUS LEAGUE

1. WHERE WE'RE AT

Since the dramatic upsurge of the European student movement, culminating in the movement of May '68 in France, the last two years have witnessed the fragmentation of the movement in Britain and demoralisation in some quarters. RSSF, the organisation in which student militants all over the country two years ago placed their hopes, has now finally collapsed. But what is required is not a dismissal of the revolutionary potentials of students; instead we must develop new theory and new forms of organisation, which can only emerge on the basis of a thorough critique of our experience over the last two years. In this respect the present crisis of the student movement has a positive aspect: it helps to force us to become conscious of ourselves as a movement by re-examining fundamental assumptions about the possibilities of the student movement in relation to the revolutionary struggle as a whole and about the forms of organisation required to realise those possibilities.

May '68 taught us the function of education in relation to the social relations of production and the needs of the productive forces, it demonstrated the theory of the university as the weakest link, generating apparently spontaneous mass upsurges. But these general lessons don't provide us with a concrete guide to action. For that we must have an understanding of the division between different sections of the students, and an adequate conception of the relations between intellectuals and workers. By obscuring these problems the spontaneous theories have created a vacuum in the student movement, which can only be filled by a rigorous examination of the present situation in the light of Leninist forms of organisation.

2. THE FAILURE OF THE R.S.S.F.

RSSF was founded on the assumption that a spontaneous upsurge of students in Britain was immanent, following similar developments in France, Germany and Italy. It defined its role as that of providing the organisational superstructure for this occurrence. While aware of the general sociological factors making for such an upsurge, it had no awareness of the political role of the student movement in relation to the labour movement and to revolutionary strategy. The crucial task for the RSSF was to transcend the limitations of a student milieu, and situate the crisis in the university in relation to the general struggle for socialism. This would have required the elaborations of a strategic and programmatic perspective. Instead of transcending its milieu, the RSSF became a passive reflection of the weakness of that milieu. The failure of the RSSF is to be attributed to the assumption that out of the experience of a mass movement, could be crystallised the theoretical foundation and political experience necessary to the formation of a serious cadre organisation. The history of the RSSF reveals that the opposite is true: a mass student organisation must be founded upon the leadership of a cadre organisation which has assimilated the political experience of international revolutionary movements. In the event, both the I.S. Group and the New Left Review- the two tendencies that led the organisation- proved unable, for different reasons, to provide this leadership. The organisation of RSSF, a loose federation of discussion and action circles coordinated by a centre, prohibited the development of political clarity and organisational stability.

3. TRANSCENDING STUDENTISM

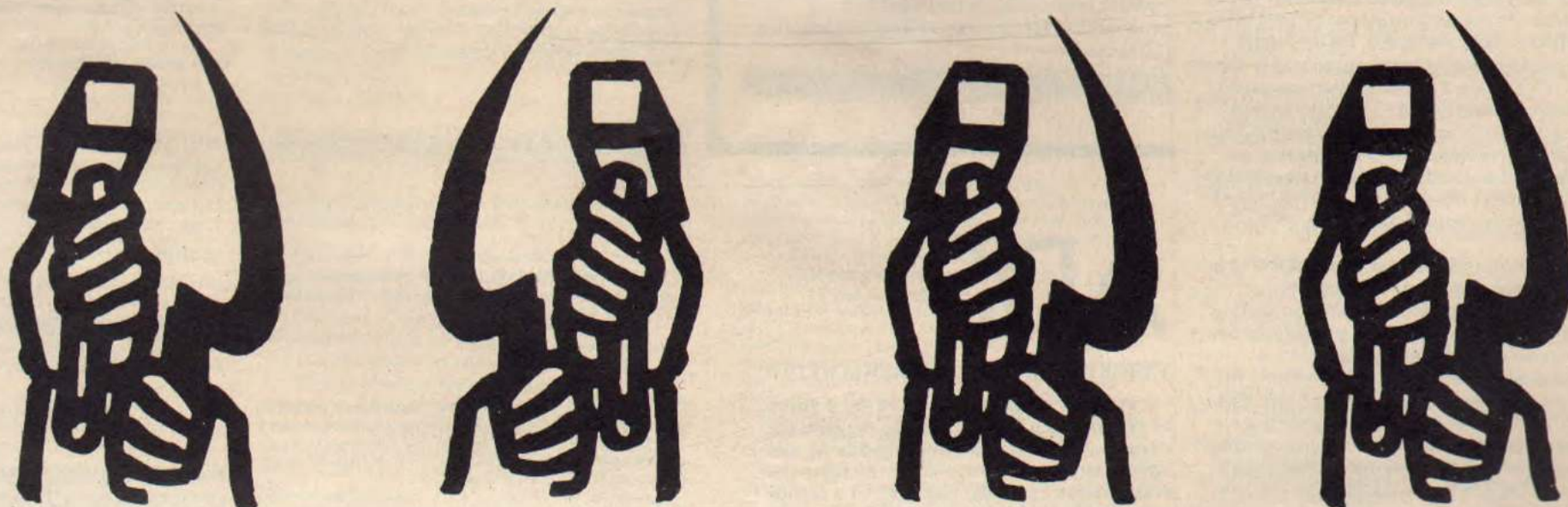
Unless the student movement becomes conscious of the contradictions within the society which has produced it, then it will become the victim of these contradictions. The student movement cannot solve these by itself; such attempts end in reformism and synthetic trades unionism, or capitulation to liberalism and a defence of 'academic freedom'. At the same time, the student movement finds itself in the vanguard of the class struggle due to the uneven development of consciousness and the weakness of the integrative ideologies of Stalinism and social-democracy in this milieu. While on the one hand it requires an insertion into the class-struggle in general, it cannot develop, out of its experience alone, the global strategic perspective to guide such intervention. In attempting to overcome this contradiction, the differences between the sectors are dissolved by "workerism". The distortion of the movement into propagandist activity towards the working class or spontaneist conceptions, both of which ignore the political immaturity of the student movement and the strength of social democracy and Stalinism in the workers movement. We consider that the road forward lies in returning to the heritage of a hundred years of working class struggle, and above all, confronting the problem of revolutionary organisation.

The workers movement developed its theory of revolutionary organisation, culminating in the ideas of the Bolsheviks, to solve precisely the problem faced by the student movement today; how to overcome fragmentation and fuse the struggles of different groups on various fronts along the most effective lines of attack. The student movement requires a democratically centralised organisation capable of relating both theoretically and practically the immediate, spontaneous outbreaks of revolt to the overall necessities of the class struggle.

4. BUILD THE SPARTACUS LEAGUE

Basing ourselves on these lessons, we are calling a conference in London on July 4th and 5th. We consider that the time has come for those who share our views to translate them into action. The next months and years will witness an intensification of the struggles in the factories, a more urgent search on the part of working class militants for a political strategy and solid allies in the bitter fight ahead against the bosses and their government. What part will students play? This is not a question to be resolved by speculation; it will be answered by the degree to which student militants practically confront the problem of organising themselves as a disciplined vanguard. Our answer is to build the SPARTACUS LEAGUE.

For more information or to attend the Conference, contact Peter Gowan or Dave Kendall, c/o The Red Mole, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1. (01-837 6954).



LETTERS

Frank Keane, an Irish socialist republican, is in Brixton jail awaiting extradition proceedings. He is charged with killing a policeman (named Fallon) during a bank robbery, said to be the work of militant republicans, which took place in Dublin six weeks ago.

Keane says it is a frame-up, organised by the notorious special political police arm of Dublin Castle, to "nail" a fighter against Irish capitalism and British imperialism.

There is much reason to believe Frank Keane. Look at the facts.

Within hours of the robbery the police issued the names and addresses of seven men from whom they wanted "help" with their enquiries. All seven are militant socialist republicans to the left of both sections of the now divided IRA. No warrants were issued, thereby showing that the police, to say the least, didn't have any clear evidence. Indeed they could hardly have had time to even begin the investigation.

However, they did have a list of names of people they wanted to "get". Amongst those named was Sean Morrissey, who had been an editor of the Irish Trotskyist magazine *Workers Republic*. Another was Joe Dillon, whose past experience of the Irish political police sheds a flood of light on the current case and normal methods of the Irish police.

Dillon Case

In 1966 Dillon was framed by the Special Detective Unit (political police) of Dublin Castle for robbery, and given a five-year sentence. A left-wing member of the IRA moving towards Marxism, he was a natural target for the special police. Before his arrest, he had been offered bribes by the Special Branch to inform on the IRA. When he refused, he was told that "the Branch" would "get him" and they did.

He was arrested for an attempted robbery that had taken place six months earlier. In an identification parade none of the witnesses identified Dillon. Nevertheless a year later he was tried and given five years. The judge in the case, a Mr. O'Caomh, came close to admitting it was a frame-up—but then, it has long been tacitly accepted that in Britain's southern stooge statelet, like in its northern one, political expediency is a big element in the "justice" dispensed by the courts. O'Caomh admitted in court that he was "probably in error when I impose a sentence of five years". And was "leaving myself open to criticism". And criticism there certainly was. An international campaign was organised to demand Dillon's release. Eventually the sentence was reduced to three years.

The same people who framed him then are attempting it again, now for murder—which in Ireland still carries the death penalty for killing a policeman.

In order to extradite Frank Keane, they will have to present a large part of their "evidence" to the Old Street Magistrates Court, where on Saturday May 23rd, very heavily guarded by armed British and Irish Special Branch men, Keane was remanded for a week. They are not above fabricating such "evidence". It is part of the everyday work of the Irish political police. The Dublin Green Tories operated a concentration camp for political prisoners until quite recently; and during World War II they organised drumhead courts martial and shot over 70 political prisoners out of hand.

With the present political crisis in the "Republic", the government desperately needs scapegoats—and they need to annihilate groups and individuals who want to combine a militant, non-sectarian social policy with aggressive anti-imperialism.

Not the First Time

Keane was victimised in the past. When he was "named" by the police, he wrote a letter to the *Irish Times*. He denied knowledge of the killing, but refused to help the police. He explained that he had been harried and persecuted in the past for his politics. The police had previously attempted to frame him on a robbery charge and for attempting to burn down a Fianna Fail headquarters. He was jailed and ill-treated on the robbery charge and finally just released. He made it plain that if he now offered his "help" he knew what to expect at the hands of the police.

In a letter from Brixton prison to a friend in England, Keane comments on his situation:

"The Free State police are intent on getting me back into their jurisdiction, and it looks as if they are even going to the extent of fabricating evidence to do so. Now I know for a fact that they couldn't possibly convict me for Fallon's death, simply because I wasn't there. However, they think they have a trump card by accusing me of murder—any other charge under the present circumstances could be fought off fairly confidently.

"My solicitor—Mr. Birmberg, 89 Borough High Street, London Bridge—says that if I am to have any chance of beating this extradition

that I am and have been active in political circles in Ireland...

"If you could do anything in this respect I would be grateful, because nothing would give me greater pleasure at present than to give Dublin Castle and Co. a good kick up the ass..."

Socialists in Britain have a duty to aid Frank Keane. Help keep Frank out of the hands of the brutal Irish police. We must let the Dublin government know that it has the labour movement to reckon with, not only in Ireland but here as well. Trade union, Labour Party, Young Socialist, Communist Party and YCL branches, and all revolutionary socialists and republicans, must send messages and resolutions in support of Keane, and the other political prisoners, to the Irish Embassy, Mount Street, London W.1. Pickets outside the Irish Embassy will be organised.

Contact: London 01-435 5492; Manchester 061-445 8864; Frank Keane Defence Committee.

DEFEND IRANIAN STUDENTS

Dear Friend,

While the military bureaucratic feudal regime of the Shah of Persia and its foreign patrons, the monopolist oil interests, like Standard Oil, Texaco, British Petroleum and Shell, etc., reap hundreds of millions of pounds from the labour and resources of Iran, 90% of the population are forced to a life of abject poverty, illiteracy, disease and degradation.

Every protest against oppression, every attempt of the people for democratic demands for the amelioration of their miserable lot is ruthlessly put down. The Shah's fascist regime has systematically suppressed the basic human liberties. Universities, press and "trade unions" are controlled by SAVAK, the secret police. Professional people, lawyers, doctors, university professors and students are arbitrarily arrested, tortured to obtain "confessions" and are secretly executed. Thousands of patriots languish in the Shah's jails. It is only through the relations and friends of the victims that the gruesome news leaks out.

The Shah spends millions of dollars on foreign press publicity to present a fraudulent liberal image of his oppressive regime. For example, according to the statement of account issued by the Swiss Union Bank, Geneva, dated 30th June 1962, the Shah's Pahlivi Foundation of Iran issued 500,000 U.S. dollars to Henry R. Luce, chief editor of the American magazines *Time* and *Life*.

Recently 200 people, some from the Tehran University, were arbitrarily arrested and imprisoned. SAVAK, the Shah's secret police, has refused to disclose their whereabouts. There is a serious concern and apprehension about their fate in view of the brutal torture employed by the Iranian authorities.

In order to raise public opinion for the defence of these 200 Iranian patriots, our Committee is organising an "IRANIAN WEEK—Defence of Political Prisoners", in London from July 6 to July 10, culminating in a demonstration to U.S. and Iranian Embassies on July 12.

Dear friends, we are sure you will appreciate the urgency of the situation. May we request you and your organisation to support the "Iranian Week".

We shall appreciate it if we could have your positive response by return mail and any proposal to extend concrete help towards this noble cause.

Thanking you, Yours sincerely, Ahmad Ghotbi, Secretary, 71 Ladbrooke Grove, London W.11.

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ADS

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VICTIMS OF BRITISH CAPITALISM

THE NEWSPAPER STRIKE

The newspaper strike had important political implications. It took place at a time when it was assumed to be likely to do some damage to the Labour Party's prospects in the election, and it showed that one of the most militant and advanced trade unions was more interested in the struggle for wages than it was in getting a Labour Government returned.

It is true that Briginshaw, joint general secretary of Sogat (Society of Graphical and Allied Trades) wrote in Tribune an appeal to Sogat members to vote Labour. ("Harold Wilson can provide the better government from the main choice... The Labour Party is a party of social reform... They do some excellent work... There WAS a balance of payments mess when it came in... I would have liked it to challenge the old order of things..." but "Wilson can win!"). It is also true that in a letter to Sogat members after the strike was over he said defensively (and with a veracity which has been questioned) that he had not known there was to be an election in June when the application was put in, and, living up to a reputation for back-slapping relations with Wilson, claimed "...but for the early initiatives by the Prime Minister and assistance of Mrs. Castle, the dispute would have drifted." But these were words; in action, the Sogat leadership put the trade union struggle before the parliamentary struggle. Again, one militant Labour Party supporter and trade unionist, when questioned on the subject of the strike's effect on the election, defended Sogat's action by saying that it would silence Tory propaganda; but he had to admit that the strike was likely to have some negative effect on the Labour Party's election chances, and that the decision to strike had been taken in spite of this—or rather, with little discussion on the question.

Such a strike would have been inconceivable in the past. In previous election periods, the trade unions have actively campaigned for a Labour Government; in 1945, for example, the mass of the workers really believed that socialism would be introduced through a Labour Party victory. To throw what appeared to them to be such an opportunity away for the sake of extracting a few extra £s from the employers would obviously have been senseless. In 1970 we are left with lame arguments from the Workers Press, actively "campaigning for a Labour victory", that the workers were right to strike for better living standards "regardless of the election" since the election was about living standards anyway. Few, if any, Sogat members have any illusions about the Labour Party.

The clearest positive connection between the strike and the election was simply a matter of effective trade union tactics. The print-workers struck at a time when the employers were weak, and when there was much pressure on them, the Government and the TUC to ensure that a settlement was reached quickly. Some of the same arguments could be applied to the World Cup: another event which the public would resent not hearing about. In addition it was clear that, after the election, whichever party was elected would be likely to be harder on wage claims and to go on to the offensive against the unions, even if it did not immediately introduce a wage-freeze. If the negotiations had been allowed to drag on until after the election, there is no doubt that the unions' position would have been weaker.

Of course the strike was not a political strike in any positive sense (and except in the sense that all strikes are political). It was obviously not an attempt, as the BMA's antics may possibly have been, to embarrass the Wilson Government. Even less was it a revolutionary act, anything to do with any idea of disrupting the elections. There were no militant pronouncements about striking regardless of the politicians' games. The strike probably indicated, as much as anything, that many workers are profoundly apathetic about the elections, even about politics in general. (But it should be remembered that the strike was actually called by the Sogat leadership, with little or no consultation with rank and file members, and the leadership is not politically apathetic). There was considerable bitterness over the strike among Sogat members. But this had nothing to do with the political implications of striking at that time; it had to do with the fact that the decision to strike was "sprung" on Sogat rank and file members, that many of them thought that they could have got what they got out of negotiations without sacrificing their wage-packets, that the strike, in comparison with other Sogat-led strikes, was very badly organised and prepared, and that some thought that once they were out they should have stayed out, and got more. Above all, the unions agreed to the employers' "rationalisation" plan, which will facilitate the process of running down employment in the industry which the printers' unions have so far failed to resist effectively; this in spite of the fact that Sogat Division A at its conference passed resolutions rejecting any form of productivity dealing by a large majority.

Even with the prospect of a Labour Government, workers and trade unionists showed that they had few illusions about the importance of parliamentary struggles. Now that we have a Tory Government, there is likely to be an increasing tendency for the most advanced and active trade unionists to concentrate on fighting their battles through the trade unions, rather than through Parliament, and to demonstrate final disillusionment with parliamentarism. Left wing trade union leaders will probably, as they did at the time of "In Place of Strife", again lead mass actions against the Government on particular issues. Revolutionaries should welcome these and support them. But they must try too to ensure that these mass actions are not diverted again into support of the Labour Party, and they will have to concentrate on the important task of building an alternative political leadership in industry.

Teresa Hayter

the factories where, to meet the present conjunctural economic crisis, there is the paramount need to discipline the labour movement—a task which the Wilson Government has already paved the way for.

The red-baiting of Rosemary Whippe is a prelude to this offensive. By victimising a worker today who has the nerve to stand up against "productivity deals" and advocate workers' control, they are preparing tomorrow to victimise any other militants who are prepared to fight against attacks on their living standards and working conditions. For this reason alone—and in our own self-interest—the defence of Rosemary Whippe against her unfair dismissal and the distortions, lies and insinuations in the bourgeois press must be a central issue for socialists and the trade union movement.

A very concrete way in which this "red-baiting" can be used against any workers in struggle was demonstrated only recently during the Pilkington strike where the upsurge by a super-exploited but traditionally "conservative" section of workers in the glass industry received the same blaring headlines of a "red plot".

The Pilkington strike was not merely important because it was the first strike the plants had seen, but because it brought out very clearly the role of the ossified trade union leadership—doubly ossified in the case of the GMWU. The dynamic of the struggle by the glassworkers for higher wages inevitably, in this present period, brought them into conflict with the official strata—provoking the militant majority to eventually "opt out" of the Union and decide to join the more militant T&GWU.

It is precisely this type of unofficial action—which we will undoubtedly be seeing more of in the coming years—which is the cause of the "red plot" campaigns by the bourgeois press who are distinctly worried by any action which breaks through the crust of bureaucrats in the labour movement.

It is at once both disgusting and inevitable in the present situation that the official trade union movement has not come out with a clear rebuff to the smear campaigns which have been instigated against the Pilkington workers—and Rosemary Whippe. "Inevitable" in the sense that, worried themselves about the fragility of their authority in the face of a growing militancy on the part of the rank and file, they are indeed forced to give credence to such attacks to maintain their own positions and control. It was only recently that Vic Feather himself was quoted in the *Financial Times* as admitting the presence of 50 red "agitators" stirring up trouble in Liverpool and Merseyside.

This sort of compromise is identical with the attitude the TUC adopted over *In Place of Strife* where they finally were prepared to take over the "policing" of the militants themselves—and whose latest proposals in *A Programme for Action* go a long way towards destroying any form of shop-floor democracy.

The "red scare" campaigns which are now quite clearly on the cards are a tactic of the ruling class to try to head off any move to the left by the rank and file, before whom political problems will come increasingly to the fore. In this sense, these smear campaigns serve the same function as the attempts to divide the class along racialist lines—a service provided by Powell who, although not serving as the main Tory thrust, has been kept carefully in the wings to try and accentuate racialist divisions in the class.

It is the duty of the labour movement to stand absolutely firm against this type of attack launched by the ruling class—and often given tacit support from their own leaders—whose long-term aim will only be to divert the labour movement from the major struggles it will soon be entering into.

Pat Brain (P.O.E.U.)

TONY SOARES TO BE RELEASED FROM JAIL ON JUNE 23rd.

Tony Soares, the original founder of the Universal Coloured People's Association, who was sent down for two years at the Old Bailey in February 1969, is to be released from Maidstone Prison on June 23rd, having served 16 months of his sentence.

He was charged with incitement to riotous assembly, inciting people to have offensive weapons and with distributing threatening writing with intent to provoke a breach of the peace—all these charges stemming from a duplicated leaflet. At his trial Tony denied having any of the leaflets in question or distributing them, and none were found on him or in his room. He stated that the leaflet had originally been an article to be submitted to

He was found guilty and sent down for a punitive sentence of two years, one of the longest sentences on record for this kind of charge. The charges were made in connection with the Vietnam demonstration of October 1968, at which time similar material was being widely circulated throughout all the protest movements, and the police could, had they so wished, have brought the same charges against many white people. The fact that they did not do so, and that Tony Soares was arrested and viciously sentenced, can only be because he is black and was organising black people in a militant way. He was at the time working as Secretary-Organiser of the U.C.P.A.

A campaign for his early release was launched unsuccessfully by the Working People's Party of England, and an appeal by Tony Soares was dismissed. With the result that Tony has been the longest-serving political prisoner outside of the Irish Movement to date in recent times.

Tony Soares came to Britain some eight months ago as a political exile from Lisbon where he had been involved with the liberation movements for the Portuguese Colonial Territories in Africa—Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea.

Tony Soares has just sacrificed 16 months of life and activity for the Black Movement and for Socialist Revolution. We should not forget that many other comrades from the Black Panther Movement are at this very moment facing jail sentences ranging from three months to an indefinite Borstal sentence imposed upon a young brother, and that it is incumbent upon white comrades to support the Movement and its Defence Fund in any way that they can.

Afro-American Solidarity Committee,
9 Huddleston Road, London N.7. 01-607 8395.

AEF EMPLOYEES STRIKE

AEF (the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers) does job evaluation on its CAWU (Clerical and Administrative Workers Union) employees. They threaten to strike for a £5 interim pay rise, during a long wait for the job evaluation results. CAWU refuses to back them, arranges to have talks with AEF. AEF claims if the pay rise was granted the CAWU clerks employed at AEF headquarters would get higher wages than the (presumably) CAWU clerks employed at CAWU headquarters. The CAWU clerks at the AEF headquarters strike nevertheless. The AEF refuses to talk to strikers while they are out. Pickets outside the AEF headquarters displayed placards which said: "AEF should practise what they preach."

MERSEYSIDE DOCKERS STRIKE

On June 22nd the Merseyside dockers had a one-day token strike. A mass meeting of about 2,000 members of the Transport and General Workers Union and the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers Union had voted to support the Merseyside port stewards' demands for full nationalisation of all ports and 100% workers control.

SPYING ON WORKERS

The Evening Standard (June 4th) reported: "...several companies are said to be using closed-circuit TV to watch workers in action. The checks are not for security, but to enable executives to watch how employees cope with their jobs and the customer. have also been told disturbing stories of phones being "bugged". At least one big financial institution is said to listen in to employees' phone conversations to make sure they are dealing with customers "in a proper manner". From several bank employees I hear that all incoming post is opened and checked, even the letters marked 'personal' or 'private'..."

OTTERMILL SWITCHGEAR STRIKE

At Ottermill Switchgear in Devon workers have been on strike since early May. This is the first strike in their factory, in a backward area of the country. The management is clearly antediluvian.

A company director, having accused the pickets of having "no guts", punched in the face a 60-year-old picket who disagreed, bruising and cutting him. Meanwhile the management, in an advertisement in the local newspaper, announced that it "emphatically denounced mob rule and violence", and advertised for new workers, while threatening the strikers with redundancy. (See Morning Star, June 12th).

By mid-June, the management had made no pay offer. Instead, it had offered "to reinstate strikers at existing pay rates in batches of about 50 a week: but "because of orders lost" about 30 would be declared redundant. The workers rejected this "offer", said to be "final". Accordingly the "final offer" was withdrawn and the management declared that about 200 workers "who had terminated their employment by breaking their contracts" were no longer employed. Since the workers had rejected the employers' "offer"

STOP PRESS—NATIONAL DOCK STRIKE ANNOUNCED

Just as we go to press we learn that the docks group of the Transport and General Workers Union at a delegate conference has decided to give notice of its termination of the contract of June 28th; this meaning a national docks' strike on July 14th.

The dockers are demanding an improved wage offer from the employers. Naturally, there is a strong likelihood that the employers and government will go through some measure to prevent the clash.

However, there will be a strong pressure for the employers and government "to stand up to the unions."

In the event of the strike taking place it would have a decisive nature: victory would have the employers on the run; defeat could mark the start of a Tory offensive. This being the case, it is up to the whole movement to pledge its support for the dockers and take steps immediately to set up committees of solidarity.

ALL OUT TO SUPPORT THE DOCKERS!

JUNE 30th: Frank Keane press conference (see elsewhere), 11 a.m., Conway Hall.

JULY 3rd: Spartacus League public meeting. Speakers from Ligue Communiste (France) on the theory of the student movement; JGS (Belgium) on students and the workers movement; Spartacus League preparatory committee on the British student movement. Conway Hall, 7.30 p.m.

JULY 4th—5th: Spartacus League Founding Conference. Ring Peter Gowan or Dave Kendall, 01-837 6954 for details.

JULY 4th: BCPV demonstration in solidarity with American anti-war movement, Grosvenor Square, 3—7 p.m. Contact BCPV, 6 Blenheim Close, SW20.

JULY 6th: North London Red Circle public meeting. Tariq Ali on "After the Elections". Sir George Robey pub, opp. Astoria, Finsbury Park. 8.00 p.m.

JULY 10th: Public Forum, "The Struggle in Ireland". Speakers from the Republican movement, ICRSC, IMG. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1. 7.30 p.m.

JULY 10th: South London Red Circle public meeting. Tariq Ali on "Black Power and the Struggle for Socialism". Ring Red Mole, 837 6954 for details.

If you live in or near any of the areas listed below, you can contact these people for any queries about The Red Mole and for information on distributing the paper and sending in local reports. In a number of these areas (asterisked), functioning Red Circles already exist. Others will be added to the list as they are formed. If there is no Red Circle in your area at present, write to us here at 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.

*BIRMINGHAM: Gerald Hitman, 28 Brighton Road, Balsall Heath, Birmingham 12.

*CARDIFF: Oliver New, 23 Black Oak Road, Cyncoed, Cardiff CF2 6Q7.

*COVENTRY: John Presland, Rootes Hall D16, University of Warwick, Coventry.

*DERBY: John Hewitt, c/o The Red Mole, 182 Pentonville Road, London N1

& Bruce Bebbington, 41 Leopold Street, Derby DE1 2HE.

*EDINBURGH: Robin Duncan, 13 Blackthorn Court, Barnton, Edinburgh.

*GLASGOW: Murray Smith, 61 Fergus Drive, Glasgow N.W.

*HAMILTON: Walter MacLellan, 37 Smyllum Road, Lanark, Scotland

HULL: John Bearpark, 88 Park Street, Springbank, Hull.

KEELE: Jason Hill, 6 Cherry Hill Lane, Knutton, Newcastle, Staffs.

*LANARK: Walter MacLellan, 37 Smyllum Road, Lanark, Scotland.

LEEDS: Gwyn Vorhaus, 89 Victoria Road, Leeds 6.

LEICESTER: Alan Lenton, 22 Berners Street, Leicester.

LINCOLN: Mike Smith, Flat 7, 27 Cross o'Cliff Hill, Lincoln.

*NORTH LONDON: Dave Kendall, 182 Pentonville Road, London N1.

*SOUTH LONDON: Jim Clough, 2 Almeric Road, London SW11.

*SOUTH LONDON: Tony Jones, Furzedown College of Education, Welham Road, SW17.

*WEST LONDON: Tom Mole, 23 Brackley Road, London W4.

LOUGHBOROUGH: Ann Black, 4 Russell Street, Loughborough.

NORWICH: Paul Franklin, Norfolk Terrace, University of East Anglia, University Plain, Norwich 88C.

*NOTTINGHAM: Nick Beeton, 25 Henry Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham.

*OXFORD: Bernard Reaney, Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

PLYMOUTH: Martin Durham, c/o 19 Clifton Street, Plymouth, Devon.

POTTERIES: [unclear]

The recent victimisation campaign against Rosemary Whippe should be a warning to the labour movement. It should be a warning in the sense that it indicates the methods and tactics the employers are preparing to use in the period ahead against any rank-and-file opposition to their intention to "discipline" the work force.

It is no accident that this scandal has been artificially whipped up just prior to an election

KOREA: WAR COULD BREAK OUT ANY MINUTE

INTRODUCTION

I have just returned from a visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, where I spent over two weeks as a guest of the Korean Association of Journalists. The division of Korea by United States imperialism and the refusal of the latter to withdraw its troops from the Southern part of the country have increased tensions still further and the possibility of a new war erupting in the area is fairly high.

In later issues of *The Red Mole*, we will write in detail about developments in the occupied section of Korea and the concrete measures to end this situation and re-unify the country which have been proposed by the Korean premier, Kim il Sung.

It was felt that it was extremely important to publish immediately the interview this correspondent had with the Korean Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister, Pak Sung Cheul. Comrade Cheul is also a leading member of the Politbureau and the Standing Committee of the Korean Workers Party.

Before answering the questions I put to him, Pak Sung Cheul explained that what irritated the imperialists the most was the fact that the Northern part of Korea had risen from the ashes of the 1950-53 war. That they had completely rebuilt the country, developed its industry (according to U.N. statistics the standard of living in North Korea is the highest in Asia excluding Japan) and completely wiped out rural poverty. I can confirm having travelled widely that however hard one looks it is impossible to find a single slum in Korea. The housing of the workers and the cooperative farmers in the countryside is extremely impressive. In fact one of the facts we will highlight in later articles is that the North Korean government has offered to give jobs to all the unemployed in South Korea; to provide free school and university education for all the children in South Korea who are not able to go to school and to relieve poverty by special shipments of rice. Needless to add the Pak Jeung Hi puppet clique has refused this aid, but it testifies to the economic successes achieved by the North. The United States fears this example



Red Mole correspondent with Korean Deputy Prime Minister

almost more than anything else.

In case the United States provoked a war with Korea the task of revolutionaries would be clear. To give unconditional support to the Korean government and the Korean people and to immediately extend the solidarity movement in the imperialist countries to embrace Korea. As imperialism in South Korea masquerades as a "United Nations force" a war in this region could also involve British troops. The duty of revolutionaries in this country would therefore be clearcut and simple.

Tariq Ali

Red Mole: Only a few days ago the Korean People's Army destroyed yet another spy-boat sent into Korean territorial waters by the United States. This seems to be simply another incident in the chain of increasing military provocations which the United States has unleashed against your country. What in your view is the significance of these provocations and do you seriously believe that the United States can afford another war in Asia at this particular moment, keeping in mind the resistance of the Indo-Chinese and the American peoples?

Pak Sung Cheul: It is well known to us that the United States imperialists are preparing a new war against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The military policy advanced by Comrade Kim il Sung is to turn the army into an army of cadres and to arm the whole people to fortify the country. We are prepared to deal blows against the enemy whenever it comes to attack us. Whether or not war breaks out depends entirely on the imperialists. On the Nixon administration. The government of our country has advanced a concrete solution to solve the Korean question. That is to leave the settlement of the Korean question to the Korean people themselves on a democratic basis and peacefully. But the United States has answered all these proposals with military provocations. They don't even bother to make counter-proposals. Even now their slogan is "Unify the country by victory over Communism."

At present, there are 60,000 U.S. troops in South Korea. There are 700,000 puppet troops, which means that the puppet army has doubled in size since the Armistice. There are more than 300,000 policemen in South Korea and the "Homeland Reserve Army" consists of 2 million people. So if you add this all it amounts to an enormous repressive force. In order to arm the Pak Jeung Hi puppets the United States are spending between 200 and 300 million dollars every year. Apart from this they have introduced nuclear weapons and guided missiles. And then they say in their propaganda that it is the North which is trying to provoke a war. They blame us for their own military provocations.

The *Pueblo* is an excellent example of this. This was a spy-ship which intruded

into our territorial waters. It was clear. But they say we captured the ship on the high seas. On the 5th June we sank a U.S. spy ship because it was in our territorial waters. But they say that our force crossed the military demarcation line and captured the ship from the south. There were 50mm guns on the ship, and how come a small group of North Koreans could take it back. When the ship intruded into our territorial waters our patrol boats asked them to stop, but they opened fire on us and tried to escape. There then followed a sea battle inside our territorial waters and we sank the ship. But the Americans say that we have captured the ship and urge us to release the crew. How can we? They are dead at the bottom of the sea. The U.S. should ask us for permission to recover the bodies from the sea bed.

The reason the United States are increasing their military provocations against us is for their future war propaganda. They want a pretext to attack us and their present their military provocations as defensive measures. To explain to their people that the new war is a defensive war. That is why they make provocations. So we say that the situation is fraught with danger of war breaking out in our country.

As you saw for yourself when you visited Panmunjom, we are in a state of armistice. The United States has put South Korea on a war footing. And we too are prepared if they attack us.

At the time of the *Pueblo* the U.S. said that there would be reprisals and they mobilised their Pacific Fleet. The situation was extremely tense. Can you say that the tension has been removed? We say no. If the United States makes reprisals then we will make reprisals as



Korean Peoples Army Soldiers c



**세계의 모든 지역에서
미제침략자들을 소멸하자!**

well.
On both sides of the demarcation lines there are troops. They're in a state of war footing. And the enemy makes surprise attacks against our side every day. Sometimes these last an entire day. And we must repulse them. We cannot sit back with folded arms. These incidents could well develop into a large battle involving divisions and battalions.

—And the internal dynamic of the class forces in South Korea: what effect could

they have?

As Comrade Kim il Sung has taught us: wherever there is oppression there is always revolution. The rule of the Pak Jeung Hi clique in South Korea is military-fascist rule. There is no democracy at all in South Korea. In these circumstances there have been many anti-puppet manifestations in South Korea. Revolutionary parties and revolutionary organisations exist in South Korea. Since 1960 when the people rose

and overthrew the Syngman Rhee puppet regime, there have been many manifestations of revolt. So fighting between the people and the puppets could break out at any time. When a people's uprising takes place in South Korea the United States will try and crush it. The South Korean people will ask us to help them. We are of the same nation. We have struggled together before. We will help them. It is our revolutionary duty as proletarian internationalists. And so the danger of war exists all the time.

In a word, as long as there are United States forces in Korea the danger of war exists. That is why if the United States were interested in peace it must withdraw its troops from South Korea. And if war breaks out it will not be the same as in Vietnam. Here we have the Korean people's Army which is a very strong regular army and if we need help we will ask both China and the Soviet Union with whom we have treaties of alliance.

Do you know what the imperialists say? They say that it is thanks to the stationing of U.N. forces that peace is maintained. Who are these U.N. forces? U.S. troops. They say that the puppet army in the South is very large and if the U.N. were not present it might attack the North. This is the logic of robbers and we know the realities. There can only be peace if the U.S. troops withdraw and allow the Korean people the right of self-determination.

We Koreans are not afraid of imperialism. We have some experience. We fought it for three hard years and defeated it and are prepared to do so again, but we don't want another war. That is why we ask our friends throughout the world to urge a U.S. withdrawal from South Korea and to put pressure on the imperialists.

—Many revolutionaries in the imperialist countries underestimate the new rise of militarism in Japan, yet in Asia it is seen as an extremely serious development as the recent Pyongyang meeting between Kim il Sung and Chou en Lai shows. What role do you think Japan will play in helping U.S. imperialism in Asia and do you think that Japanese troops could be used in Asia again?

Revolutionaries in Europe obviously don't understand the present situation in Asia clearly. You know that before

World War II Japan was one of the three great imperialist powers. Though it was defeated during the war the productive forces in Japan were not destroyed. It is twenty-five years since the last war ended and since then the Japanese economy and productive forces have developed phenomenally. Particularly at the time of the three-year war in Korea, Japan was enriched by supplying war materials and since the beginning of the war in Vietnam Japan has virtually become a supply base and a base of attack. In the capitalist world the productive capacity of Japan is second only to the United States. Japanese imperialism today is therefore busy seeking markets.

The Japanese imperialists say that they have no army. But what they have is a self-defence corps and that is an army...a modern equipped army. According to the Japanese its strength is 300,000, but its real strength is much greater. All its senior officers were commanders during the Second World War.

The Japanese have a treaty of alliance with South Korea. South Korea has a treaty with the United States and the United States has a treaty with Japan. It is a triangle of imperialism. Sato (Japanese Prime Minister) has declared publicly that the "38th parallel is our frontier". They have already prepared operation plans for Asia and particularly for our part of the world. The Japanese imperialists are once again dreaming of a "Greater Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere", etc. The United States on its part is interested in building up Japanese militarism as the new shock brigade for Asia. The Japanese Army has started learning Korean and we have information that they are undergoing extensive training in terrain similar to ours. We regard it as an extremely dangerous development, and of course the dog Pak Jeung Hi is pleased. He has served as a Japanese puppet before. When a war breaks out in Korea the Japanese Army will participate in it.

—Has your position on the Sino-Soviet dispute changed and what are your relations with Cuba and Vietnam at the moment?

No. There is no change in our position. We want to unite these countries in order to accelerate the process of world revolution. As for the Cubans and the Vietnamese peoples, we regard their struggle as our own and are in complete solidarity with them.



brate American defeat in 1953

INDO CHINA



Moscow Sides With Nixon Against Peking
Universally condemned by world public opinion for escalating the war in Indochina, the target of explosive opposition by the American people sick and weary of the killing and the whole dirty involvement of the U.S. in South-East Asia, Nixon in his worst hour of need

received unexpected consolation and succour from the Kremlin.

Under guise of a warning about the expanding influence of Peking in Indochina, and exposing Mao's "adventurist tactics", the Kremlin sank a knife in the back of the national liberation movement in South-East Asia.

The move was made through publication of an article in the June 5 issue of *New Times*, a Soviet government foreign affairs weekly. The author, "M. Ukrainsev" (thought to be the pseudonym of a high official in the Foreign Ministry), accused "Mao and his followers" of "undertaking practical steps for asserting Chinese domination in South and South-East Asia."

"To do so," the Kremlin spokesman asserted, "Peking tries to create an atmosphere of permanent internal conflict in the whole region."

What about the dirty colonial war conducted by U.S. imperialism for five years and more? What about the imperialist army of more than 400,000 troops? What about the mass slaughter conducted by the Pentagon? What about Nixon's new escalation of the war into Cambodia?

Peking, not Washington, is blamed for the overthrow of the Sihanouk government in Cambodia last March 18th and the imposition of the pro-American Lon Nol regime: "The meddling by the Chinese in Cambodian affairs is one of the factors that pushed the rightist forces of Cambodia to a governmental overthrow and closer relations with the American imperialists."

Even bourgeois newspapers in the U.S. are of the opinion that the overturn in Cambodia was a CIA operation.

The *New Times* article openly attacks the struggle against the American intervention as Peking inspired:

"The Peking leaders, pressing their adventurist tactics on some segments of the Communist and national-liberation movements in South-East Asia, are trying to use them as tools for asserting Chinese domination in Asian countries and to condemn them to defeat and destruction."

This is an invidious way of saying that the victims are to blame for the aggression. It was that way in Hitler's time, too. The victims always "provoked" the Nazis into doing what they did. And should Nixon decide to resort to "tactical" nuclear weapons, it will be because he was "provoked" into it.

If the Soviet leaders are worried over the possible growth of Maoist influence in South-East Asia, they have ample means to offset it. Stepping up Soviet military aid to the insurgents would be the best demonstration that the Kremlin matches revolutionary words with revolutionary deeds.

The accusation of "adventurism" is particularly misplaced in the face of Nixon's

escalation of the war into Cambodia when the masses have no choice but to resort to arms to defend themselves against the invading troops.

The Kremlin's statement concerning the struggle in Indochina amounts to a declaration that the war is Peking's affair. To say that the Indochinese are doomed to "defeat and destruction" is an invitation to Nixon to step up the war if he sees fit. Moscow will not lift a finger. Its case has been made—Mao is to blame, let China face the consequences.

Western imperialism took the statement of Moscow's attitude toward Nixon's escalation as confirmation that the Kremlin does indeed intend to abandon the struggle in Indochina in favour of further "rapprochement" with Washington. The *New York Times*, for example, commented on 6th June:

"The Western diplomats [in Moscow] noted that an intensified anti-American campaign begun early last month had dwindled sharply in recent days. It was widely noted in diplomatic circles that Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin, who questioned President Nixon's integrity not long ago, seemed to go out of his way Tuesday to tell the Apollo 11 astronaut Neil A. Armstrong and Ambassador Jacob D. Beam to send Mr. Nixon his greetings and 'heartfelt gratitude' for a piece of moon rock presented by Mr. Armstrong."

By attacking the struggle of "some segments of the Vietnamese and Cambodian people as 'adventurist'" and implying their own neutrality, the Soviet bureaucrats are only encouraging the Pentagon to plunge ever deeper into South-East Asia. And until Nixon is forced to withdraw, there is growing danger that he will expand the war until it bursts into a nuclear conflagration.

The Moscow bureaucrats have short memories. What was the central aim of German imperialist policy? It was to "roll back" the revolution in the Soviet Union. Stalin's kow-towing to Hitler and getting the German Fuehrer to sign a "peace pact" did not save the Soviet Union from invasion.

The aims of American imperialism do not differ in substance from those that led German imperialism to plunge humanity into two world wars.

From the standpoint of the elementary needs of the defence of the Soviet state, full support to the revolutionary struggle in Indochina is an absolute necessity. The new zigzag taken by the Soviet bureaucrats is a betrayal of the interests of the Soviet people as well as of the people of Indochina.

Intercontinental Press

CEYLON: The plotters thicken

The New Coalition

The landslide victory of the SLFP-led coalition and the crushing defeat of the UNP at the recent general elections in Ceylon has given rise to a certain amount of interest in Ceylon politics. Mrs. Bandaranaike, the new Prime Minister, had appointed three "Trotskyists" (the leaders of the reformist LSSP are referred to as "Trotskyists" by the bourgeois press. The LSSP was expelled from the Fourth International in 1964) and one Communist (Moscow wing) to her 21-member Cabinet.

In accordance with their election manifesto, the new Government had decided to (a) nationalise foreign banks and imports of essential commodities; (b) establish state agencies to guide tea and other plantation industries and to control the activities of British-owned agency houses; (c) appoint employees councils and People's committees; and (d) recognise North Vietnam, North Korea, East Germany and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

Confusion

The victory of the coalition and the announcement of the above measures has caused a great deal of confusion amongst many militants. Those who opposed all forms of parliamentarianism (even using the parliament as a platform for propaganda purposes) only yesterday, have begun to talk about conditional support for the coalition government. What should be the attitude of revolutionaries to the Bandaranaike government? Moscow and Peking have hailed the electoral triumph of the coalition, interpreting it as a victory of the people. Some even go further and predict a Cuban-type development initiated by Mrs. Bandaranaike. Therefore should we give critical or conditional support to the Bandaranaike government? Is it more progressive than the UNP?

Exploited Countries

In order to answer the above questions and to ascertain what our attitude should be, it is essential to examine the content, and not merely the image, of the coalition government. Of course, we should welcome the recognition of North Korea, North Vietnam, PRC, etc.

despite the fact that they would reinforce the illusion amongst a large mass of people that the coalition government is a genuine socialist government. However, we should recognise the fact that all these measures go no further than tidying up the coalition image. They are not designed to resolve the basic contradictions in a class society. The SLFP-led coalition is no less a capitalist government than the UNP. In order to understand the nature and content of the Bandaranaike government, it is necessary to examine the predicament of the national bourgeoisie in exploited (sometimes erroneously referred to as "under-developed") countries today. Ceylon is no exception to the general pattern of developments in this sector of the world.

The national bourgeoisie in all exploited countries are weak and impotent. They are incapable of providing even partial solutions to the basic problems facing these countries, e.g. unemployment, continually deteriorating standards of living, etc. They are sandwiched between imperialism on the one hand and the dissatisfied masses on the other. In these circumstances the policies of the national bourgeoisie takes a dual character.

Dual Role

On the one hand it plays the role of junior partner to imperialism. They protect the imperialist interest and cannot have an existence independent of imperialism. To this extent national bourgeoisie and imperialism are complementary. On the other hand they are also competitive forces. Imperialism tries to squeeze as much as possible from the national bourgeoisie, and the latter in turn seek to exact as many concessions as possible from the big brother. To this extent it tries to play one imperialist country against another, or imperialist countries against the Soviet block and China. To a limited extent the national bourgeoisie therefore comes into conflict with imperialism. But such conflicts, which are partial and temporary, always lead to a new accommodation with imperialism. Given the class interests of the national bourgeoisie it cannot be otherwise.

These partial clashes with imperialism in fact

it is forced to take measures which are designed to (a) contain the mass upsurge, and (b) strengthen its own bargaining position vis-a-vis imperialism.

Partial nationalisation of foreign enterprises in countries like Peru, India, Ceylon, Zambia, etc. are not designed to destroy the capitalist property relations in these countries.

When one examines the election manifesto of the coalition parties, the past record of the SLFP governments, the class composition of the SLFP and the relative weight of the reformists within the coalition, it becomes crystal clear that the coalition government is no more socialist than the UNP.

Not Anti-Capitalist

The coalition programme does not contemplate the abolition of the private property system. On the contrary they would assist, guide, and encourage the growth of the private sector in accordance with the long-term needs of capitalism. Nor will the coalition government hesitate to seek the assistance of Washington and London. Whether they will obtain such assistance on better terms than the UNP is, of course, another matter.

People's Committees

The people's committees proposed by the Bandaranaike government are in no way real organs of power. Mrs. Bandaranaike in a public statement made it crystal clear that they will in no way replace the existing state machinery by the proposed committees. These committees would at best serve in an advisory or consultative capacity.

Racist

The coalition programme promises to implement the notorious racist horse-deal transacted between Mrs. Bandaranaike and Shastri (late P.M. of India) over the heads of the plantation workers, to repatriate 300,000 estate workers of Indian origin, who have lived and worked in Ceylon for over three or four decades. Furthermore, it has no intention of granting the rest of the estate workers their democratic right of franchise, which was taken away by the UNP in 1948.

Past Record

In the past the successive SLFP governments have used repressive legislation and emergency regulations to suppress the working class; they have denied the rights of minorities and the living standards of the masses have continually eroded. Problems of unemployment, housing and rural indebtedness became more and more acute. Their record is therefore no better than that of the UNP.

Class Composition

The SLFP itself was an offshoot of the UNP. Today it is an assorted grouping mainly consisting of old landed aristocracy and a section of the new rich. There is no basic difference between the UNP and SLFP in their class composition.

Balance of Power

Today the SLFP can well afford to form a government without the LSSP or the C.P. because they gained 90 seats out of a total of 150. Mrs. Bandaranaike is, however, well aware of the role these reformist leaders could play in disorienting the working class. When the occasion arises they will serve the ruling class to divide and defeat the oppressed masses. The LSSP with 19 seats and the C.P. with six seats have no real power within the coalition.

Task of the Revolutionaries

When the pomp and pageantry is over, and the glamour has gone, the fundamental problems of the oppressed people will remain unresolved. None of these problems could be solved within the capitalist framework. A new upsurge in the class struggle will once again reveal the class nature of the Bandaranaike government and expose the reformists.

Therefore the job of the revolutionaries is not to give critical or conditional support to the coalition, but to prepare for the coming struggles. His task is two-fold. Firstly, to construct a revolutionary alternative to the reformist parties who would soon become discredited, and secondly, to advance a series of transitional demands designed to break the various sectors of oppressed people from their

FRANCE 1870 THE LATIN QUARTER



Revolutionaries have often cast their arguments about strategy and tactics in the form of historical debate. Just as revolutionaries today argue about Kronstadt, collectivisation, the Third Period in the Comintern, or, at a local level, about the failure of the S.D.F. or the defeat of the General Strike, so in the 1920s the great debates in the Russian Party were dominated by analogies taken from the great French Revolution—Thermidor, “Bonapartism”, Terror. In France itself the legacy of 1789 has dominated the political evolution of the subsequent years. In the passages reproduced below one can see something of the way in which the traditions of the French Revolution—especially the most radical elements within it—were being taken up by student revolutionaries on the eve of the Commune.

The passage below is taken from the work—now tragically unfinished—of Arielle Aberson, a young Ruskin student from Geneva, who was killed in a car crash three weeks ago. The impassioned exchange between Longuet and Rigault will recall to those who knew her, whether in Women’s Liberation or the student movement, something of the generosity and enthusiasm which she brought to everything she did, and the way in which her own socialism was inspired by profound identification with the Communards of 1871.

Raphael Samuels
Gareth Stedman-Jones

The Idea of the Revolution was born to a new life, in the Latin Quarter, through the rehabilitation and exaltation of the Paris Commune of 1793 and through the cult of revolutionary figures like Hebert, Cloutz, Chaumette, Marat, Saint-Just, etc., whom respectable historians had castigated as inhuman and blood-thirsty terrorists. One example may be seen in *Les Hebertistes*, a pamphlet of 1864. Its subtitle was “Appeal against a calumny of history” and its aim the rehabilitation of the “Damnes de l’histoire”, the revolutionaries of 1793. The actual pamphlet appeared in August but passages of it had already been published in a student newspaper: *Les Ecoles de France*. Its author, Gustave Tridon (also known as Raoul Morel), a young Blanquist of 24, had previously collaborated in a number of student newspapers which had been attacked and suppressed by the authorities. He was at the time on the staff of *Candide*, a Blanquist newspaper which was in the process of being sued, and in May 1862 had been sentenced to three months’ imprisonment and a fine of 200fr. for “outrage to public and religious morality”. One of the dreams of the militant students was to recreate Hebert’s famous newspaper *Le Pere Duchesne*, and this dream actually came to a short-lived realisation after the fall of the Empire with the publication

student and poet, Vermersch. Its first number was dated Floreal 79 and it ended with the crushing of the Commune.

A leading propagandist for Hebert’s cult was Raoul Rigault, the most flamboyant student leader of the Quartier Latin. He knew whole passages of the *Pere Duchesne* by heart and would declaim them in cafes. He would spend hours at the Bibliotheque Nationale, usually sitting on one of the first benches on the left, reading memoirs, newspapers, and public records of the 1790s; a passion for revolutionary research which he shared with a number of other enthusiasts. For Rigault, identification with Hebert and with the spirit of the Revolution went very far: Hebert was “substitut du procureur” of the 1793 Commune and Rigault prophesied everywhere that he would occupy the same post in the next Commune; he addressed everyone he met as “citoyen”, and to those whom he did not know would use such forms as “citoyen proletaire”, “citoyenne prostituee”, etc.; he had expunged the word “saint” from his vocabulary, even from familiar place-names which became “Boulevard Michel”, “la rue Jacques”, “la place Sulpice”, “Le Chateau Cloud”, etc.; he signed his letters with the traditional revolutionary greeting “Salut et Fraternelle”, or “Salut et Egalite”. To the “Marseillaise”, which he found too patriotic and too bourgeois, he preferred the “Ca ira”, and often, on his way back from a dance-hall, he would dance the “Carmagnole” in the streets in front of Marshal Ney’s statue. He even created a new choreography on revolutionary themes representing either “the Sectarian” (the “pas du cavalier seul”) or the “Great Joy of the Pere Duchesne in front of the guillotine” or his “Great Anger”, or the “People’s Justice”. One day he was said to have come into a brasserie, very cheerful, and to have announced a big discovery: he had contrived a plan for a new scientific version of the guillotine operated by an electric battery and which could do away with “five hundred reactionaries per minute.”

Here is a description of the way in which Rigault debated questions of revolutionary tactics with Longuet (Marx’s future son-in-law), when they met at the “Pere Glasser”, a brasserie on the rue Bergere which was a favourite meeting place for revolutionaries of the Quartier Latin:

Longuet: I am telling you that the “Girondins” were the first republicans and the great innovators of the Revolution: they were atheist with Guadet, socialist with Brissot, political with Vergniaud, they had the honour of declaring war on Europe, and of launching into the world the sun of the Revolutionary Idea!

provincial bourgeois, reactionaries, and are good for the guillotine. It was the revolutionary Commune which ensured the triumph of the Republic!

Longuet: Go to school, my dear, and read Proudhon!

Rigault: Proudhon is a bourgeois whom I would be pleased to have executed alongside all the federalists like you.

Longuet: You are mad and will never execute anyone, for you will be sent to a lunatic asylum.

Rigault: I shall be delegate to the general security and “procureur-syndic” of the Paris Commune.

And so he was...

The interpretation of the French Revolution in general and of the 1793 Commune in particular was a vital issue for the student revolutionaries; in long heated arguments they fought the old battles again, each arguing for the correctness of his particular hero’s position:

“One would feel alive in himself the soul of the Great Vergniaud, another one would uphold the tradition of Hebert and a third one would aspire at starting Fouquier-Tinville all over again.”

A further illustration of this can be given by the example of a law student who, asked about his political opinions by a non-initiated solicitor, replied:

— I am a “Pachist”, Sir.
— I beg your pardon?
— A “Pachist”. Don’t you know Pache, Sir?
— Hardly, Sir, as a matter of fact...
— But the Mayor of Paris! Haven’t you read... and what he meant of course was the Mayor of Paris in 1793...

More than a revival, this had become a direct projection into the present, and for many, a fully-lived anticipation of the Paris Commune of 1871.

In June 1868, the ban on public meetings was lifted and the Idea of the Commune left the confines of Latin Quarter cafes and brasseries to be spread at crowded meetings all over Paris. The agendas of these meetings ranged from subjects such as “On Social Education”, “On the Emancipation of Labour and Labourers”, “On the Equality of Social Conditions”, to the defence of “Free Cohabitation” and attacks on religious education. Debates on the Commune were prominent among them. On December 23rd 1869, a meeting took place at the “Salle des Martyrs”, 4 bd Clichy, at 8 p.m., on “The Organisation of the Social Commune”, and on January 22nd 1870, Salle du concert du Chalet des Postes, 54 rue Lhomond, a meeting was announced on “The Social Commune, ways and means of achievement”. And from December 1869 onward, the idea of the Commune was fully and regularly debated in the columns of the *Marseillaise*.

In the winter of 1870-71, after the downfall of the Empire, when Paris was besieged by Prussian forces, and when revolutionaries were gathering strength, the question of the Commune was transformed from a memory of ancient grandeur into an immediate political issue. Every night the Red Clubs held their meetings, in dance-halls and theatres, on university premises, on the street corners of the quarters, and every night more and more of them ended with the audience taking up the insurrectionary cry, “Vive La Commune!” First dreamt of in the darkness of student garrets and of prison cells, fostered by tiny groupuscules of dedicated revolutionaries, it had finally groped its way to the surface. In the spring of 1871 a Commune was declared once again, and on the proletarian heights of Menilmontant and Belleville it was to find a theatre of action more heroic than the most romantic of the revolutionaries had been able to imagine, more bloody in the vengeance it called down on the working men of Paris than the June days of 1848, and more profound in its repercussions than the revolutionary Commune of 1793.

Arielle Aberson

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FRANCE 1970

The 'new resistance'

Last May, the French Government banned the Maoist group, *La Gauche Proletarienne* (the Proletarian Left). The concrete results of this ban were that dozens of militants were jailed and are still in jail. In addition to this their paper, *La Cause du Peuple*, was submitted to censorship; sometimes it was banned before being printed; and the editors of the paper (Le Dantec and Le Bris) have been in jail for several months.

Although the ban on political groups is the most spectacular step so far, it is only a step in the escalation of repression undertaken since June 1968 by the bourgeoisie to restore "moral order" in every strata of society shaken during the May 1968 upsurge: in secondary schools, in the universities, in the factories, not to mention the small shopkeepers and peasants.

From De Gaulle/Marcellin to Pompidou/Marcellin

Basically the attitude of the bourgeoisie towards the working class has not changed with the new regime. With De Gaulle/Marcellin we had participation and "police parallele" (private police), that is, the CDR* and the SAC*; with Pompidou/Chaban-Delmas/Marcellin we have "La Nouvelle Societe" and "Contrat de Progres" on one hand...and the same police and jails on the other.

But in the referendum-plebiscite of 1969 de Gaulle was ousted by certain sections of the bourgeoisie as well as the working class. To achieve the necessary reforms of the capitalist structures the ruling class had to get rid of de Gaulle-Bonaparte and his so-called "third way" between socialism and capitalism" on the one hand, and the Great International Independent policy on the other.

In fact the political problems faced by the bourgeoisie are guided by the situation. French industry, to become competitive, has to be modernised as quickly as possible. In order to be able to invest as much as possible and to export as much as possible, it is necessary to allow only small increases in wages. Clearly, for the working class, this means accepting a reduction in the rate of expansion, creating redundancies, making working conditions worse, increasing the productivity of workers without increasing wages, trying to solve the problems of inflation through creating more unemployment.

But what the bourgeoisie can do is limited by the class struggle. The government plan brought in after devaluation is already condemned by the increase in wages obtained since autumn, and this in spite of the unions' policy of fragmentation. The bourgeoisie faces the following contradiction: to increase productivity sufficiently it must attack the workers by

increasing work speed, transfers, sackings, accompanied by very small increases in wages; but as profits increase the determination of employers to resist wage demands diminishes since the workers' combativity is still high, though not generalised.

"The Stick and Carrot"

In fact, for two years the ruling class has been balancing precariously between repression and integration. The revolutionary movement has not been crushed; on the contrary it is developing more and more in numbers and maturity. To use only repression would be risky, to use only integration would be ineffective. This is the dilemma confronting the French ruling class.

In the universities and schools the urgent task was to divide the masses from the revolutionaries. The Edgar Faure law on education, creating "student participation" in university councils and "autonomy" was supposed to fulfil this task but after May, the student milieu, which remained highly politicised, realised at once that the law was not a step towards a socialist university but merely an attempt to adapt the old Napoleonic system to the needs of a modern capitalist economy. The student response was a massive boycott of the elections to the councils; only an average of 10% voted. But at the same time, to complete this policy, the Gaullists tried to purge the "bad elements" in education: pupils, students, teachers, are regularly sacked and the CRS continues to make frequent raids on the campuses.

In the factories, it was above all important to restore the practice of peaceful negotiations through the unions, the five days' notice before striking, and in general to eliminate the practices of direct action learnt in May '68. The integration offensive was mainly carried out through "contrats de progres" (industrial agreements) which related wage increases to productivity increases, with the proviso of undertakings not to strike for two or three years! But at the same time, during a power strike the police were immediately sent in to restore "the freedom to work".

Adapting the economy to international competition also meant eliminating the mail trades and firms, and concentrating them in large monopolies. But the government had to do this carefully, since it had drawn its support in the elections from these very people. Its policy is the following: the government increases taxes, the shopkeepers protest and threaten to go onto the streets "like the students"; the government retreats somewhat, makes promises for the future, calls for the "representative organisations" of the small enterprises to engage in a dialogue, yet still pushes through the essential clauses of their legislation. When the resistance of this section

of the petit-bourgeoisie becomes too determined, they send in the CRS, "comme pour les étudiants", and arrest Gerard Nicoud, leader of a radical organisation of shopkeepers.

There was another section of society which was to be shaken, though belatedly, by the ideas of May '68—the army. The conscripted young workers and students who had fought in the streets in May '68 were not very willing to stomach the stupid rules and hierarchy of this institution, nor receptive to training in how to combat subversion. The government could not tolerate such deviation: soldiers were tried swiftly, sometimes secretly, for the mere possession of left-wing literature and the national campaign organised to press for their release was banned as an attempt to "demoralise the army".

The Need to Oppose Repression

Every political militant must understand that the ban on the *Gauche Proletarienne* represents a defeat of the class in the long run. It is a fact that the bourgeoisie always begin with the weakest and least organised elements; those who are on the periphery of the class itself. Then afterwards, when the time is ripe, they attack the workers' organisations. That is why it is a duty to defend to the militants of the *Gauche Proletarienne*, that is why it is criminal for the French C.P. to join in the chorus with the government to discredit "the leftists".

La Gauche Proletarienne and its "Partisans"

The G.P. was formed from the remnants of different Maoist groups disorganised and fragmented after May '68 through factional struggles. The elements which it attracted were those newly-radicalised by the General Strike but still at a low political level. Believing that a single spark is enough to arouse the masses, they sank into commando activities and putschism only to meet mass indifference and sometimes hostility. They are the bewildered children of May who glorify exemplary action without taking into consideration the present political period.

On 27th May, day of the trial of Le Bris and Le Dantec, former editors of *La Cause du Peuple*, the G.P. called for "The Great Day of Resistance". For them, France is occupied by the bosses as it was by the Nazis in 1940. Our pseudo-Maoists are therefore the new partisans charged with the liberation of their country. The looting of luxury stores, the sabotaging of factory machinery—these are the new Resistance. But putschism and reformism are often neighbours and our Mao-spontex friends are just as preoccupied with organising creches in Nanterre for immigrant children or handing out looted caviare in the shanty towns.

27th May—"The Great Day of Resistance"

They wished to be the self-proclaimed leader the choice offered to the other groups, "revisionists," on 27th May was either to follow them blindly or play no part. It is well known how badly organised and inefficient this group is and how wide open to provocateurs—no surprisingly, no one followed their direction. The incredible sectarianism of the G.P. prevented any united action. The two Great Days of Resistance were a lamentable parody of May '68. The masses did not rise up; the cycle, exemplary action—repression—solidarity was not renewed. It only served to reinforce government in their vociferous attacks against "smashers" and those of the C.P. against "tourists. As usual, hundreds of militants, victims of the characteristically low level of organisation for these various actions, were arrested and fined.

France is not on the eve of a revolutionary situation. It is precisely because the masses went through the experience of May '68 that they are not prepared, though their combativity is still high, to raise the question of power without political perspectives. The role of revolutionaries is to politically educate the newly radicalised sectors of the masses. This is not the time for armed insurrection: we have to win the masses to socialism before we can turn them to revolutionary violence.

Revolutionary Violence

We can disagree strongly with the political line of the G.P., but this does not mean that we do not see the necessity for political violence. A state cannot be destroyed little by little, but only by an armed insurrection prepared well in advance. We deny the right of the bourgeoisie to condemn violence when one can see everywhere the tortures in Brazil, in Greece, the massacres in Vietnam. To demand now the release of Le Dantec and Le Bris and the lifting of the ban on the G.P., the release of all political prisoners, is to defend tomorrow the whole workers movement—even the French *Andre Du Pont*

*Comite de defense de la Republique and *Comites d'Action Civique*—private groups which De Gaulle created on May 31st '68 to patrol the streets, to prevent the sticking up of posters, distribution of leaflets, in other words, to restore "moral order".

GERMANY

Germany has played an important ideological role in the mystification of the British working class over the last half-century. Firstly presented as an aggressive militaristic country, which must be resisted in the name of our "democratic freedoms"; then as an example of what progress Britain could make "if only the workers were more industrious." The Red Mole will be publishing a series of articles about Germany, which will attempt to provide a materialistic analysis of recent German history. The first part published in this issue deals briefly with the period to the end of World War II.

PART ONE: GERMANY TO 1945

Uneven Development

According to the capitalist press in this country, Germany has got the image of being either a cannibalistic monster or a "wonderland", depending on the immediate needs of the bourgeoisie. Both myths have an internal function: once the personified evil of the bellicose junkers and Krupps was meant to make the English masses defend "their" imperialism against a young competitor. Today it is the country of the "economic miracle" that demonstrates to the English working class how good they could have it, if they were as industrious and servile as their German colleagues. This propaganda is of great service to the bourgeoisie and, of course, only obscures and hinders a real understanding of the development of Germany.

To compare two imperialist countries one simply cannot apply useful standards derived

"miracles". In those days, England was decades ahead of her competitors. German capitalists started their thrust towards world power later and, therefore, they had to compete with the British for markets. This fact is the key to an understanding of the causes of the two world wars.

The German Left

The struggle against superior English competitors forced the German capitalists to pay their workers low wages, whereas in England the situation was different owing to the extra profits which were a result of the wide margins enjoyed by British capitalists: by means of minimum wage increases they succeeded in weakening the militancy of the proletarian movements. For this reason the German working class was less susceptible to bourgeois ideologies. The working class movement of the social democrats took over Marxist theories, even if it happened in a terribly gross and mechanistic manner. It didn't, however, prevent the organisation of the working class movement from bureaucratic degeneration. Approval of war credits in 1914 by leading officials of the working class movement reveals that fact unmistakably. In opposition to this opportunistic current a revolutionary Marxist wing arose. Its most prominent figure was Rosa Luxemburg. Inevitably she must have been hated by any middle-class or social democrat bourgeois, considering that she was a woman, a revolutionary socialist, an intellectual, of Polish and Jewish origin—all at the same time. To bring

Fascism & Ultra-Leftism

The time had come when German capitalism was not in a position to cope with the problems of the slump of 1930 within the constitutional framework of German bourgeois democracy.

After the breakdown of mild attempts to deal with the crisis, the capitalists reassured themselves of the support from the national socialists in order to bring the workers to their senses. The Communist Party of Germany (KPD), founded by R. Luxemburg, had already degenerated to a will-less appendix of the Kremlin bureaucracy and had become the party of the unemployed masses. It had just been directed on an ultra-left political course. This policy failed to notice that the "worst" formal democracy was still better for the working class than the "best" fascism. Instead of temporarily cooperating with the social democrats with the strategic aim of offering a clear alternative to reformism, reaction and fascism by an active militancy, the workers were disorientated prematurely with the slogan that the social fascism of the SPD was worse than Hitler's fascism. This lack of orientation of the masses eventually enabled the fascists to win a legal victory without fighting. The best cadres of the left then gathered in groups outside the traditional working-class parties.

The Repression

The failure of the bureaucratic organisation of the working-class movement became obvious promptly after the Nazis had come to power: the parliamentary SPD continued to sit peace-

together with their employers in the festivities on May 1st, the day of "national labour" in the name of the combined interests of capitalists and workers. In spite of that, on May 2nd, fascists occupied trade union centres and confiscated their funds. The KPD maintained its thesis on social fascism, which said that the social character of the state had not changed. Consequently the communists were urged to carry out the same activities as before, with the effect that they were exposed to the Nazi terror. The following years saw the national socialist rearmament boom. Inevitably this led to an imperialist war. The Nazis used any possible means to manipulate and terrorise the German proletariat in order to obliterate their class-consciousness. Nevertheless, there was a wide resistance by socialist groups, and to a large extent, did not cooperate with the party leaderships in exile. In 1937 there were 140,000 political prisoners, who, on the whole, were members of the socialist resistance. The Nazi terror worked so efficiently that until the German Left has not succeeded in compensating the loss in terms of quantity and quality.

The Bourgeoisie Distorts History

Bourgeois historians withhold these facts nowadays. Instead, some officers, civil servants and bosses who wanted to kill their Fuehrer after they realised that capitulation was inevitable are made heroes of the resistance. The due course they wanted to come to a "senior agreement with the western allies. For the gentlemen this meant working together

books

Europe versus America—Contradictions of Imperialism, by Ernest Mandel; 35/-, NLB.

The essence of the dialectical method is to see and analyse society and economy in all its aspects—seeing all the elements as a totality in their interrelation and interdependence. In the era of imperialism, to get a proper appreciation of developments in individual countries one has to see such developments in an international context. Ernest Mandel's *Europe versus America—Contradictions of Imperialism* is an analysis of developments in the world economy—in particular it is a study of the objective basis for the formation of the Common Market and deals with problems in the American economy and the international economy generally. Originally written in 1967, this work has now been published in English by New Left Books. Despite the fact that it was written three years ago, it is essential to an understanding of contemporary economic developments. As Mandel points out in his introduction to the English edition, "The most recent events have only confirmed the theses of the book."

The book is set within the context of the expansion of post-war capitalism on the peak of a long wave—the upswing of the so-called Krontatjeff cycle stimulated by accelerated technological change, massive arms expenditure and the massive pyramids of credit built up in the main imperialist countries. The United States emerged from the war the leading industrialised and military nation, yet it was forced for strategic and economic reasons to rebuild its enfeebled European and Japanese competitors. On the one hand there was a danger that European countries might have deserted the capitalist camp. On the other, Europe and Japan were an outlet for the surplus goods and capital in the American economy. The result of the economic miracles of Europe and Japan is that they are now beginning to challenge America itself.

However, in order for the European (and Japanese) corporations to compete with the American monopolies and trusts they must be able to match the Americans' advantage in economies of scale and advanced technology. This in turn entails, in the last analysis, the formation of gigantic companies on a European scale—the interpenetration of capital between the major countries of the EEC. Thus the increasingly fierce inter-imperialist competition generates its dialectical opposite—increased

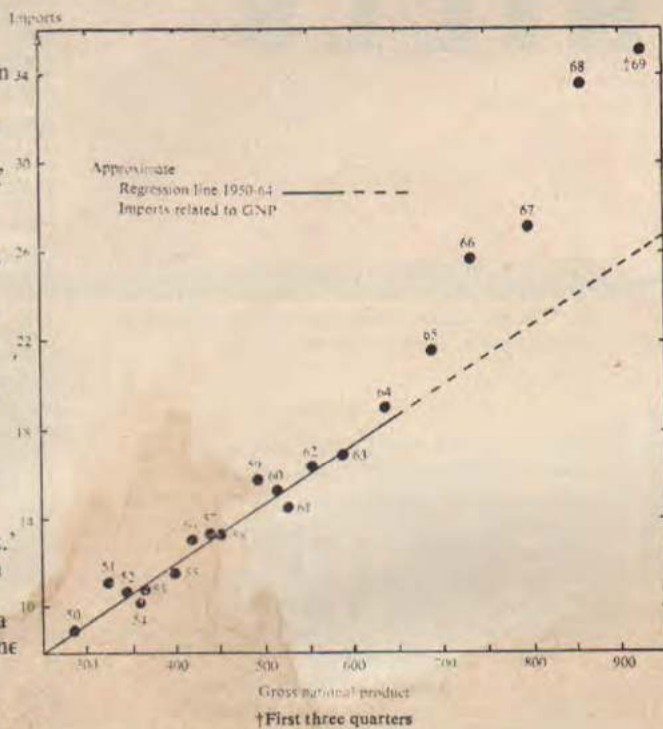
concentration of capital on an international scale. This in turn generates increasingly sharp conflicts between the large trusts.

Mandel analyses in depth the problems—the EEC and Europe—involved in the formation of the EEC as European big capital tries to protect itself from control from the other side of the Atlantic. The formation of European companies in a classic example of the forces of production breaking out of the boundaries of the nation state entailing all sorts of super-structural problems—such as the establishment of a common commercial law for Western Europe, common economic policies, common tax structures and so on. This entails resolving the contradictory interests between different sectors of the bourgeoisie and the overcoming of "the divided soul of the contemporary capitalist—on the one hand world citizen, on the other hardened nationalist and proponent of a Europe of nations—corresponding to the quite concrete contradiction between the objective tendencies of economic development." Nowhere was this contradiction clearer than in the ideology and interests of De Gaulle.

Whether the problems involved in the formation of "European state" can be overcome or not remains to be seen. It is the slowing down of postwar economic growth and the movement into a Krontatjeff downswing that will be the real testing ground for the EEC. If it finds itself in the grips of a general economic recession which threatens to become a serious economic crisis, the "European" companies will be forced to demand anti-recessionary policies on a European scale—i.e. they will demand that national governments hand over important powers to the supranational authorities of the European Community. The other possibility is that the capitalist circles who persist in defending national economic policies will triumph—in which case the EEC will tear itself apart and Europe will be open to the American companies.

As already mentioned, the tendency towards capital interpenetration in the Common Market is already proceeding apace, and the technological gap between the U.S. and Europe has already been closed to some extent. In addition, the rapid growth in Japan has also been accompanied by rapid capital concentration and by rapid advances in technology. These developments have eroded the ability of the giant American companies to compete on the world market. The giant American corporations have always been able to pay their workers two to three times the level of European wages because of enormous advantages in the productivity of labour. Their advantages are now being eroded. The effect on America's leading position is already noticeable. As the diagram below shows, the marginal propensity to import for America was about constant until 1964; thereafter it rose consistently more rapidly than National Income.

US Merchandise Imports and US Gross National Product



In fact, increasing money wages have made these problems more acute and have been met by the classic response of reconstituting the Reserve Army of Unemployed. From 1960 to 1964 the U.S. Export price index rose only 2%; but from 1964 to the third quarter of 1969 it rose by 15%. In contrast, export prices in industrialised Europe rose by less than 3% as

did export prices in Japan⁽¹⁾. The recent falls on Wall Street do not just reflect concern over Cambodia and Vietnam—they also reflect a pessimism about the long-term prospects of the American economy. At present, the U.S., alongside most other imperialist nations, are "suffering" periods of rapidly rising wage rates, at a time of high unemployment in many countries. To attempt to clamp down upon this development will, of course, further exacerbate class conflict and unrest in the States. Not to do so may eventually lead either to a squeezing of the rate of profit and/or the pricing of United States goods out of the world market, even allowing for wage inflation in the other imperialist countries.

The recent development in the international economy—the revaluation of the mark and the general crisis of the International Monetary System based upon the gold exchange system (but with a very narrow gold base)—are all understandable within the context of Mandel's general analysis.

Mandel devotes a chapter to the question of Britain's entry into the EEC. The argument is simple enough. Although capital concentration among British companies—and increasingly the

larger British companies—has been accelerating in the 1960s (with, one might add, generous help from the Labour Government via the Industrial Reorganisation Corporation that has thrown in financial help to promote mergers—sometimes even ones condemned by the Monopolies Commission e.g. Ross Group and Associated Fisheries)—despite this the British companies cannot hope to compete with the Americans on their own. As with the other European states, the choice is between being in a united Europe or American domination. Next to Canada, the U.K. claims a larger share of the foreign direct investments of the United States companies than any country in the world. At the end of 1967 there were more than 1,600 American subsidiaries and Anglo-American financed firms operating in Britain with a cumulative investment stake of \$6,101 million⁽²⁾. Of course, entry into the EEC involves a special loss of pride to the British bourgeoisie which once ruled an Empire on which the sun never set. But pride would be even more shattered by American control and the continued loss of world markets.

Of course, as far as socialists are concerned, the choice between America and an increasingly "Americanised" united capitalist Europe is no choice at all. Servar Schreiber's call for the European labour movements to drop their "out-dated" thoughts about socialism and opt for the true paradise predicted by Hermann Kahn in his *Paradise on the Year 2000* is in fact a call for increased exploitation and alienation of the worker and consumer. Socialists should not get pulled into commitments either for or against the Common Market. "The working class was never intended to prop up small scale capitalism or to prevent capitalist concentration... The historical role of the labour movement in late imperialism... can never be moving itself to be reduced to the status of auxiliary to one or other interest group of the bourgeoisie—either in support of the interpenetration of capital or to uphold the bourgeois forces clinging to the nation state." At the same time the workers' movement has to organise on an international level with great urgency if it is to avoid severe defeats. Already some international companies have switched operations to other countries in the face of strike action in one country. For socialists, however, "the alternative to the interpenetration of European capital must be a united socialist Europe."

Brian Davey

(1) "The U.S. Deficit—Who Cares?" Henry N. Goldstein—*National Westminster Bank Quarterly Review*, May 1970.

(2) *Survey of Cement Business*, September 1968—cited in "The Effects of United States Direct Investment in Britain on British Technology" by J. H. Dunning & Max Steuer in *Moorgate and Wallstreet*, Autumn 1969.

films

Cuba; Havana May 12th.

A leading Cuban film director, Julio Garcia Espinosa, who recently survived U.S. Artillery barrages while filming in North Vietnam, is making a documentary film to show "Third World revolutionaries" the practical lessons to be learned from the Vietnam War.

He recently spent 54 days filming in North Vietnam with a four-man camera team, and describes his 90-minute documentary—to be screened in July—as a "militant film, a denunciation, but also a weapon."

It will show not only the devastating effects of U.S. air-raids, napalm fire-bombing and machine-gunning, but also "how to shoot down a plane worth two or three million dollars with a rifle bullet worth 25 cents, how to capture a pilot..."

A 19-year-old North Vietnamese youth explains in the film how he took prisoner a U.S. Lieutenant-Colonel shot down on a bombing raid, and an 18-year-old girl describes her 50 days and nights crawling among bomb craters to put identification flags on unexploded bombs. She was working in a region so devastated that it is a "lunar countryside", Espinosa said. According to the North Vietnamese, some areas were so badly blasted that it has taken two years for some grass to grow again after the bombing stopped.

In an interview, in Havana, the Cuban director said his aim was to illustrate "the most fabulous event of this century—how a small and

defeating it."

Cuba it very strongly with the struggle of North Vietnam and the Viet Cong guerrillas against the U.S. military might.

The Cubans shot the film during a 2,500-mile tour of North Vietnam at the invitation of the "investigating commission on Yankee crimes in Vietnam", filming in regions which no foreign cameramen had previously entered.

Espinosa, who is Vice-President of the Cuban Cinema Institute and studied film-making in Rome during the early 1950s, says he filmed U.S. planes as they bombed North Vietnam, observed reconstruction work in the Northern uppermost provinces, and also shot an interview with two captured U.S. airmen.

The airmen, an unnamed U.S. Captain and a Major, were interviewed for 15 minutes and Espinosa said they were in "good health" and had a diet superior to that of any Vietnamese.

The film will be the fourth film Espinosa has made since the Cuban Revolution triumphed in 1959. The first experimental film he shot, about impoverished peasants in Cuba's Zapata swamplands, was confiscated in 1953 under former dictator Fulgencio Batista.

At present, Espinosa is editing the twelve miles of film he shot in North Vietnam. The film has no title as yet but will be given worldwide distribution with versions in Spanish, French, English and Vietnamese.

Espinosa and his crew nearly met disaster when their three jeeps were spotted by U.S. gunners near the border between North and South Vietnam. Describing the experience, the Cuban Director said, "In Vin Linh, next to the 17th parallel, the bombing and artillery barrages were incessant. We wanted to film the bridge over the the River Ben Hai. We advanced, and the firing quickly intensified. The officer said the American gunners had seen us, because they were firing more rapidly. Everything



MOLEHILLS

MASS MEDIA DISTORTIONS

Comrades will have noticed that at the time of the My Lai massacres the bourgeois press and television in this country very scrupulously referred to it as the "alleged massacre" till the military court/Pentagon/State Department confirmed the story. Of course when it comes to the United States Press Office in Saigon issuing reports about Vietcong atrocities, our fair-minded journalists aren't bothered at all. Everything is reported categorically like: "The Vietcong killed x number of people and wounded y others." This is the sort of crap the BBC TV News has been putting out through the mouth of their man in Saigon, a Michael Clayton. No evidence is provided and the tone of the commentator suggests that the NLF really enjoy "murdering civilians" and it is part of their "general strategy". Of course the propaganda value of this "news" is realised full well by the BBC mandarins who have to think up news stories to balance the very real atrocities committed by U.S. soldiers in places like Kent State and Cambodia.

A FEEBLE RESPONSE

A Red Mole correspondent who recently visited both Peking and Moscow tells us of an amusing story of the billboard competition between Peking and Moscow. At both Shanghai and Peking airports there are gigantic hoardings covered with Mao quotations relating to the death agonies of world imperialism and inciting the peoples of the world to continue the struggle till the end. Obviously perturbed by this, the Soviet bureaucracy instructed its propaganda departments to start thinking and come up with some replies at Irkutsk (on the border) and Moscow air ports. The bureaucrats must have thought very hard, but finally the inspiration came and there are now not-so-large hoardings which proclaim in English and Chinese: LONG LIVE THE PEACEFUL FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION. So peaceful that Moscow was one of the few capitals where there were no demonstrations against the American invasion of Cambodia... not even a bureaucratically manipulated demonstration.

Our correspondent who recently visited the Armistice Line in Panmunjom on the 38th Parallel in Korea reports that at a banquet which he attended, the representative of the Korean People's Army proposed a toast to the "Revolutionary newspaper, The Red Mole and all its readers."

Before 19-year-old Keith Franklin left for Vietnam four months ago, he left a letter with his mother to be opened if anything happened to him.

On Saturday May 16th, after being notified by the Army that he had been killed in Cambodia, the family opened the letter—and found that he told them he had died for nothing:

"The question is whether or not my death has been in vain. My answer is 'Yes'. This war that has taken my life, and many thousands of others before me, is immoral, unlawful, and an atrocity unlike any misfit of good sense and judgement known to man. I had no choice as to my fate. It was predetermined by the war-mongering hypocrites in Washington.

"So, as I lie dead, please grant my last request. Help me to inform the American people—the silent majority who have not yet voiced their opinions. Help me let them know that their silence is permitting this atrocity to go on and that my death will not be in vain. By prompting them to act I can, in some small way, help to bring an end to the war that brought an end to my life...

"President Nixon and President Johnson before him have told the American public time and time again that it was our obligation to the people of South Vietnam to save them from the surging wave of communism which has plotted to engulf the world.

"This is a lie, the magnitude of which is witnessed only by the hundreds and thousands of G.I.s in South Vietnam.

"The inhabitants of this bug-infested, backward, God-forsaken Hell-on-Earth want no part of the American war machine. But they have no choice."

—Unpublished Agency Report

ALCATRAZ A NATIONAL PARK
Alcatraz island, site of a former Federal prison

year, is to become a national park, the United States government said. The park's theme will be "the particular contributions the American Indians have made to our country."

THE LONDON FOREIGN LANGUAGE ASSISTANT COMMITTEE

urges all the assistants of Great Britain to join the ASTMS (Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staff).

After the completely unjustified sacking of a German assistant in October, solidarity committees were set up throughout the country to demand his reinstatement.

Since they wanted to go beyond mere protest against repression, the various committees have mainly worked to achieve the two following objectives:

- to obtain a contract defining the rights and duties of the foreign assistant in accordance with the basic rules for the other teachers;
- to be admitted into the teachers' trade union, the NUT.

In both cases there was no success. The union not only refused to defend the dismissed assistant, but also to allow us to be members (the union is only concerned with "qualified people").

In our isolation it was clear that our negotiations with our employer, the Central Bureau, could only be sterile.

But a new factor has appeared which offers some possibility of progress: the ASTMS has declared itself ready to undertake any action aimed at defending our interests and to accept us meanwhile allowing us to maintain our autonomy.

The Committee urges all assistants to make contact as soon as possible with the ASTMS, and write with enquiries to:

The London Foreign Language Assistant Committee, c/o 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.

COMPUTERS FOR APARTHEID

One of the surest indications—almost a badge—of a sophisticated growing modern economy is the need for computers to help rationalise and direct the economy. South Africa is in the market for computers.

According to the Senior Commercial Officer in the American Consulate General's Office in Johannesburg, South Africa, there are already 350 computer installations in the racist Republic worth approximately \$112 million. The computer market is expected to grow at 80% per year in the next five years. The familiar firms already "active in this fast growing field" are IBM, National Cash Register, Control Data Corporation, Honeywell, and G.E.

Most of the computers will be used for business, but...in a country where the black and coloured peoples are brutally oppressed, forced to live where the government tells them to, and where carrying a "passbook" is the way the government keeps track of its blacks, think of what a little computerisation will do! Already the new Bureau of State Security (BOSS) has begun using computers to facilitate more efficient repression. The Bureau has learned a lot from the FBI/CIA.

—Africa Research Group

GREETING BRAZILIAN REVOLUTIONARIES

ONCE AGAIN THE COMRADES IN LATIN AMERICA HAVE MADE EXCELLENT USE OF THE TACTIC OF KIDNAPPING IMPERIALIST AMBASSADORS. WE SOLIDARISE WITH THEIR ACTION AND GREET THE COMRADES WHO HAVE BEEN RELEASED FROM PRISON. VENCEREMOS.

In their search for COSVN, U.S. and South Vietnamese forces have managed to find arms caches and supply depots. Washington argues that the war material captured will set back the V-C and DRV forces by six months to a year. The question is though what is the true value of the supplies unearthed by the Americans? The issue is clouded by two factors:

1. no one knows how many supplies there were hidden altogether to start with, and
2. as yet the U.S. and S.V. forces have only managed to search 5% of the 7,000 square miles of borderlands.

And as a leading U.S. magazine points out in its latest issue, the figures given by the U.S. Armed Forces are misleading:

"The 11,805 rifles, pistols and sub-machine guns captured so far could equip 35 Communist battalions, as the military says. But the 126 battalions in the lower half of South Vietnam that rely on the caches are already fully equipped. Also, most of the rifles are dated SKS models that were replaced by the AK-47 two years ago.

"The 3,334 tons of captured rice could feed 90,000 tons for 50 days. But much more than that has been captured in each of the last three years with no apparent effect on the enemy.

"The 1,700 tons of captured ammunition is a huge haul. Yet two-thirds of it is .51-cal. ammunition used for anti-aircraft purposes; the small arms ammunition used by the average paddy-field variety Viet Cong totals only 75 tons.

"The first official intelligence estimate moreover was that the captured ammo amount amounted to a week's supply, based on a use rate of 17 tons per battalion per month. A few days later, as if by magic, the estimated use rate was said to be one ton of such ammunition per battalion per month. By such judicious juggling, intelligence and analysts overnight increased the value of the haul to an admirable 4½ months supply."

Source: TIME MAGAZINE, June 1, 1970.

NO COMMENT

"PROPERTY OR DEVELOPMENT financing is just about the happiest home for funds at the moment. So I am not surprised to hear that property men have been seen visiting the Moscow Narodny Bank lately.

The bank, that Russian financial outpost deep in the heart of the City, tells me that it has recently appointed a new man to look after its property interests.

The Moscow Narodny is regarded as a fairly efficient outfit. Whether or not it operates in property, its banking activities, particularly in the field of foreign exchange, have certainly earned it respect in the City and a healthy income. Its directors don't do too badly, either, six of them are in the £7,500 to £17,500 bracket, including the chairman, who gets £16,875."

—Evening Standard, 16th June 1970.

NOTES ON SOME CHARADES AT GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET & BOW STREET

Here are a few random examples of what has happened to some people who were unwise enough to demonstrate against U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and Trinidad on April 26th.

1. Great Marlborough Street (magistrate: Robie). Young man, not a sympathiser of the

Panthers, whom he considered "a bit wild", well-dressed, *filis de famille*, no previous convictions, black. Charged with obstruction. The officer he was supposed to have obstructed said in the witness box that he didn't actually obstruct him. Convicted; fined £10.

2. Great Marlborough Street (Robie). Trainee secretary in a government department, no previous convictions, black. Charged with possessing an offensive weapon. The "weapon" was a rather peculiar stick with a nail in the place where the police said he was holding it, which he had seen for the first time at the police station. He was arrested as he was about to leave the demonstration, at Speakers Corner, with two friends who had been with him throughout the demonstration, and who both appeared as witnesses. At the police station no one knew what to do about him, so a police officer came forward and said, "I'll take him, I like him"; and they produced the stick. Convicted; sentenced to one month inside.

3. Great Marlborough Street (Robie). Young man from Brixton, well known for mild and quiet disposition, black. Charged with obstruction, which he convincingly denied. Convicted; fined £13.

4. Bow Street (chief magistrate: ?). Young girl, two children, unmarried, several previous convictions, black. Her witnesses contradicted each other, one of them admitted she had a stick of the sort she was charged with having. Convicted; fined £15. Conclusion: arrested demonstrators should try to go to Bow Street (if the alternative is Great Marlborough Street).

5. Bow Street (chief magistrate: ditto). Writer, etc., very "respectable" background and history, no previous convictions, female, white. Charged with assault: taking hold of the collar of a policeman, dragging him to the ground, and hitting him repeatedly on the head with a yellow plastic bucket. The policeman said he was running at speed at the time, and that he was angry at not having caught the man he was chasing. Actually he gave up the chase, stopped, turned round, found her behind him, and arrested her instead. She didn't catch hold of him, didn't drag him to the ground, didn't hit him over the head with the plastic bucket. She had a witness, equally "respectable". Convicted; fined £15. Maybe Bow Street is not so good after all.

6. Great Marlborough Street (Robie). Writer, no previous convictions, male, black. Charged with having an offensive weapon. The "weapon" was a comb. It fell out of his pocket, and he was arrested trying to pick it up. Convicted; sentenced to one month inside.

These examples are random; they are the cases at which the writer happens to have been present. Other demonstrators have got worse sentences: for example one got two sentences of three months and one got three of three months (to run concurrently).

Some of the convictions and sentences would seem incomprehensibly stupid and wide of any particular target if they did not fit into a general pattern of intimidation, especially of black people who dare to raise their heads and enter political life. (Remember that demonstrations are, supposedly, legal). The magistrates and police apparently have total impunity in perpetrating their lies and false convictions; the cases are usually not reported in the press; it is hard to see where to begin to defend ourselves against their malicious attacks on demonstrators and their disregard of what are supposed to be British standards of "justice". The treatment of demonstrators is insignificant compared with what happens regularly to black people in their communities. We must take up the task, again, of exposing this.

Mole hanger-around of courts in the last few weeks.

