

# The Red Mole

**FOR**

# THE IRA

**AGAINST**



# BRITISH

# IMPERIALISM

**BRITAIN AND THE COMMON MARKET: Ernest Mandel**    **SPAIN/ITALIAN FASCISM/SUDAN**

**The War in Ireland: Bob Purdie**

**BENGAL: Release Bhashani!**

**The Labour Party**

**The Nixon-Mao Summit: Tariq Ali**

**Black Struggle in Manchester**



# LABOUR and the Common Market

The capitalist press is angry with Mr. Wilson: the headlines and editorials show that there is no such thing as gratitude in politics. It shouldn't be; Wilson is doing his best—he has the difficult task of trying to remain leader of the Labour Party, court electoral popularity and carry out policies devoted to the best interests of British capitalism—all at once. On top of this, he had a challenge from a wing of the Labour Party which—absurdity of absurdities—wants him to be consistent and "honest". Jenkins, Brown & Co., of course, have old scores to settle, but they also have an eye to the future. Yes, Wilson has problems—no wonder he has started talking about his "principles".

The Tribunites have, of course and as usual, come to his aid. The resolution which Labour's NEC is to propose to the conference in October has all the hallmarks of the semantic dexterity of Foot, Castle and Co. Foot certainly looks like getting the job at present held by Jenkins, deputy leader, in return, unless, of course, he allows himself to be persuaded by Wilson to desist on the grounds that it would hurt the interests of "party unity".

What is involved from a capitalist point of view? Firstly, Wilson has to appear to be in opposition to the Common Market. The alternative would be a cat and dog fight within the Labour Party. This could do more than possibly lose Wilson his post—it could very well take away one of the components of the stability of British political life: a peaceful Labour Party, led from right of centre. In the coming industrial and political struggles, British capitalism needs a relatively stable Labour Party.

Secondly, whilst appearing to be opposed to the Common Market the Labour Party will probably do nothing which will seriously hinder entry. There is a problem here: the capitalist class is split; a small sector is opposed to entry. This split has its reflection inside the Tory Party and on its Parliamentary benches. A combination of a solid bloc of Labour votes against and some Tory abstentions and even votes against could place Mr. Heath's majority in jeopardy.

The fiasco of the Labour Party conference at the Central Hall on July 17th showed that the political crisis provoked by the drive of British capital into the Common Market is still finding its greatest reflection in the Labour movement. Two weeks before, the Tory White Paper had appeared, and spelt out, in one of the most fraudulent political documents of all time, the central strategy for the reconstruction of British capitalism out of its present chronic difficulties. But the Labour Party conference was, needless to say, unable to take a clear and unequivocal stand against this strategy. The outcome, far from being a victory for the "anti-Common Market" forces, was a defeat for the working class. It was a betrayal of the workers who have held the line against the Tories' attacks on the wages front, and who have been looking for a political lead, particularly from the trade union leadership, on this key issue.

What did they get instead? Why was the resolution for a conference decision defeated by over half a million votes? The short answer is that the so-called "left" M.P.s and trade union leaders split, with half of them backing Wilson's manoeuvres in the party leadership battle. We can sympathise with the bitter feelings which Scanlon expressed, and particularly with the DATA delegates who walked out in disgust. They were stabbed in the back by the UPW and the NUM, and also by Jack Jones who refused to come to the platform and speak for a policy his union was committed to. Together with Ian Mikardo's decisive intervention, and "scrupulous fairness" in letting the right wing have equal speaking time, this paralysed the conference.

The breakdown of the anti-market alliance at the conference reflects an even deeper confusion of policy in that camp. We will leave aside the spectacle of Michael Foot wildly applauding Douglas Jay, one of the old Gaitskellite clique, who has always opposed entry on the most reactionary nationalist grounds. The multitude of views on the so-called "left" is in itself of special interest. What they all lacked was a scrap of socialist internationalism, or any policy for fighting against the Tories and European capitalists. Michael Foot restricted himself to attacking the burden on the balance of payments, Value Added Tax, the burden in

Thirdly, there must be no danger of Labour taking Britain out of the Common Market if returned to power. This prospect would introduce such elements of instability that the whole strategy based upon entry would be meaningless. Faced with these considerations, Wilson had to "come off the fence"—the leader writers should congratulate him for his rubber-spined performance. The NEC resolution meets the above requirements. It enables him to posture as the unifier of the Labour Party on the basis of opposition to the Common Market. It carefully qualifies opposition as being on the present terms. The resolution specifically avoids instructing the pro-Market leers to vote against entry. It merely invites them to take the resolution into account.

The resolution says nothing about the position of a future Labour Government after Britain has entered the EEC. Wilson, by taking the helm of apparent opposition to entry has won the right to keep his options open on that issue. Had he been "honest" *a la* Jenkins, he would have lost his ability to head that issue off.

As for the demand for a general election—apart from noting the fact that the Labour Party has been won over to the "revolutionary" demand of the SLL—it is only necessary to say that never will a Conservative government in power call an election which it is doomed to lose. The demand is, however, purely rhetorical.

All, however is not plain sailing. The deep disquiet in the Labour movement over the Common Market is part of a generalised anti-capitalist feeling which is deepening because of the Tory government's offensive against the working class. So far, at the base the Tribunites and the Communist Party have been able to channel this feeling along chauvinistic lines. But elemental class pressures will make this operation more and more difficult.

This squalid affair shows the bankruptcy of fighting a capitalist offensive with capitalist solutions. Just as the TUC now finds the Tory government has stolen its policy of a 4% growth rate, now the Tribunites and the C.P. find

financial and price terms of the EEC's agricultural policy, and the loss of British sovereignty. Tom Jackson's (UPW) contribution amounted to an argument about the terms—"We speak," he said, "for the people of Britain"; and Dan McGarvey played on old fears—and prejudices—by pointing to the possibility of a German finger on the nuclear trigger. Anthony Judge, from Surbiton Labour Party, and editor of the Police Federation journal, *Police News*, described the EEC as "an obscenity" (sic). It was left to Eric Heffer to give his camp some "theoretical" backbone of a rather familiar kind. "We have a responsibility to the British people," Heffer said, "and to the British working class above all. We believe that there is an alternative by at last getting down to the building of a socialist Britain." Heffer had earlier confessed that he had once mistakenly believed that "... we could get an international socialist Europe as a first step by joining the EEC." Having been disillusioned by that prospect, he now advocates the building of socialism in one country. From Jones and Scanlon came the old conference rhetoric—Wilson must make a stand, party decisions must be binding on the M.P.s, no free vote, there must be a campaign, etc. etc. As always, we hope that these fine words will materialise into acts, but we might be forgiven if we don't bank on it either.

There are two fundamental reasons that this opposition to the Common Market in the labour movement remains impotent in the face of the Tories' campaign and the equivocations of the Wilson leadership. Firstly the oppositionists turn their backs on fundamental class issues raised by British entry. The Tory government have made very clear the basic premises of their strategy in the White Paper. For them the security of British and even European capitalism can only be maintained by the construction of a West European super-power both to match the challenge of U.S. and Japanese imperialism on the one hand, and on the other to present a united capitalist front to the workers' states of Eastern Europe. That is what is demanded by the economic reality of the present stage in capital accumulation and concentration—multinational corporations and eventually a supranational European state. From the point of view of European capitalists British entry will bring strength to this project. For British big capital it seen as the only alternative to the further loss of its shrinking position in the capitalist world markets, and its long term absorption into the sphere of U.S. hegemony.

Seen from this point of view British entry into the EEC emerges as the centrepiece of Tory strategy. Many of the necessary conditions for achieving this step are familiar enough to the working class—unemployment, the trade union bill, the depression of wages, the attack on civil liberties and many other repressive measures. All these policies are being pursued to prepare the way for entry, by improving the profitability and competitiveness of



Wilson using their arguments about the effect of entry on the balance of payments, etc. There is one extremely positive outcome from all this: despite the phoney issues that are raised, a huge discussion on entry into the Common Market has been stimulated. Millions of workers are now discussing the many involved questions. Revolutionaries can insert into these discussions the two arguments: for working class unity against capitalist unity; and for the strategy of a red Europe against the capitalist EEC.

But propaganda is not enough—action is required. We need to create living links between workers' struggles in the countries of Western Europe. We need to link up the political struggle of the vanguard for socialist policies on an all-European scale. In achieving this, chauvinism is a vicious enemy which must be destroyed. Against the capitalist internationalism of Jenkins & Co. we must counterpose revolutionary internationalism, based upon the working class. This means building the international revolutionary vanguard.

**AGAINST THE COMMON MARKET OF THE CAPITALISTS!  
FOR A WORKERS' EUROPE, A RED EUROPE!**

[CHAUVINISM: insular nationalism, speaking of "British sovereignty", etc.—from a French soldier, Nicolas Chauvin, renowned for his devotion to Napoleon and France.]

industry, and by weakening the political resolve of the working class.

It is impossible to fashion a fighting policy out of Eric Heffer's "socialism in one country" and the bleatings about sovereignty from Michael Foot. They both add up to the same thing: petty bourgeois nationalism, one kind bequeathed by Stalin, and the other among the endemic qualities of British social democracy. To take up the struggle against the Common Market means above all to fight on an internationalist and socialist programme and against the flag-waving chauvinists who are waiting—not least in the Tory ranks—to raise the flag of nationalist isolationism. The logic of the struggle against the Tory government demands the extension and deepening of the struggle in common cause with the European workers against the Common Market.

The second reason for the impotence of this opposition is inextricably bound up with its lack of internationalism and a clear class perspective. Over many years these politics have led to opportunism and treachery at the crucial moments in a fight. And for many years these "lefts" have shrunk from the necessary fight with the right-wing leadership of the Labour Party. Today they can do nothing for the same reasons. Without the courage and political will to do battle to the bitter end with Wilson and the whole gang in the upper echelons of the Labour Party, they remain the servants of Wilson. The Common Market question has shown them to be just that.

Two months before the Labour Party conference, the *Red Mole* argued (Vol. 2 no. 10) that the role of Wilson was to deliver the labour movement at the appropriate moment to the bourgeoisie in support of whatever policy they decide on. We also pointed out that this was not so easy for him to do because the Common Market was opposed to both the immediate and long-term class interests of the labour movement. The means for achieving this deception of the working class are now becoming clearer. The Labour Party conference showed above all that Wilson's strategy is to immobilise the labour movement on this key question by doing everything possible to delay a clearcut commitment to any form of opposition, and by holding out the bogey of a party split to those who want to fight. The party unity that he speaks of is a unity between, on the one hand, a rotten gang of career labour aristocrats around Roy Jenkins, and the whole spectrum of career politicians in the Labour Party and trade unions, and on the other hand the mass of trade unionists who are pressing their leaders for action. That is a unity which holds no future for the working class, and one which must be rejected and fought against. Every action that raises the practical implications of this Tory strategy and the sell-out that Wilson is preparing on this question, that is, the implications for the socialist and internationalist interests of the working class, prepares the ground for breaking the hegemony of this leadership over the workers' movement.





# MANCHESTER: Solidarity with black militants struggling against oppression

## BLACK DEMO IN MANCHESTER

On July 3rd the Black Unity and Freedom Party (BUFP) organised a demonstration through Moss Side against racism in general and the Immigration Bill in particular. Moss Side is the Handsworth/Notting Hill of Manchester. The demonstration attracted—at its height—about 600 people. Politically it was a significant step forward for the Black Movement in Manchester. This can be seen in various ways.

1) The demo showed that black organisations are a reality. Contrary to the reports of various liberals and Uncle Toms, movements like the BUFP and the Black Panthers are gaining in viability. Coupled with this is the significant fact that papers such as *Black Voice* (the paper of the BUFP) and the *Black People's News Service* (the paper of the Panthers) are now being produced on a regular basis with sales in provincial, and not just London, black communities.

2) Moreover, such organisations have gone beyond the stage of "black nationalism" (although black nationalism is itself healthy compared with total passivity in face of attack). Instead the politics of movements like the BUFP are explicitly socialist. This can for instance be seen from the list of demands printed in *Black Voice*. Again, the class consciousness of the BUFP was seen in last Saturday's demonstration where there was a constant attempt made to show the links between the Immigration Bill and the Industrial Relations Bill. Again, the revolutionary, internationalist consciousness of the BUFP was pin-pointed by the singing of the "Internationale" at the end of the demonstration—the words of which were obviously unknown to a large part of the rest of the Manchester Left.

3) Indeed one of the significant, and optimistic, points of the demonstration was the presence in solidarity of most of the other Manchester Left groups (with one or two conspicuous exceptions). This presence is significant not just for its own sake but also because it shows the increasing potency of the black organisations themselves. The Left has recognised existence of racism precisely because rising black militancy has forced the Left to recognise it. It is no coincidence that the Left has only begun to move on this issue since the growth of black groups—even though racism is as old as imperialism.

4) Finally various points can be made about the actual conduct of the demonstration. Thus the fact that it was held in a working class community at all is worthy of comment. Most demonstrations in England are held in city centres. However, judging from the effect of this one there is a good case for holding more demos in working class areas. For instance people actually joined the demo en route—which is something quite rare here. Again for black militants in particular, demonstrations within the community must be of great significance in that it breaks down their feeling of isolation. Indeed, in this respect, one of the successes of the demo was that it actually kept the police off the streets of Moss Side for three hours—a real victory.

## THE BACKWARD ROLE OF THE BRITISH LEFT IN FIGHTING RACISM

It is worth emphasising again why there is a need for specific black organisations such as the BUFP and the Black Panthers. However, to understand this it is necessary to understand the backward role the British Left has played historically in fighting racism, and consequently in failing to see the need for independent black organisations. The participation of the Left in demonstrations such as the recent one here is obviously an improvement—nonetheless this is merely the beginning, for the Left as a whole is still very backward in this respect. This can be seen again in various ways.

1) Historically, the Left has more or less pretended racism does not exist—or at least it has never made any concerted attempt to fight it. This can be seen at Trade Union level with the total failure of the Unions to vigorously try and unionise black labour—especially Indian and Pakistani. One result of this can be seen in the terrible working conditions in the mill towns of Yorkshire. Again, at the level of the revolutionary groups, this backwardness has been shown by a failure to take racism seriously until compelled to do so by black militancy.

2) Although most of the Left is now forced to recognise at least the existence of racism, yet many Left groups still fail to recognise the need for blacks to have their own, independent organisations. Thus some Left tendencies argue that black organisations are "dividing" the working class—and that what black workers should do is to get together with white workers and fight the common enemy, capitalism. This argument comes out in various ways. It comes out at its most contemptible level in the sneering way the *Workers Press*<sup>1</sup> referred to the Black Panthers as "Black Power men"—and this in reporting a demonstration where black comrades were arrested. However, this argument—that black organisations are dividing the working class—is seen most clearly in the Communist Party's slogan—"Black and White Unite and Fight."<sup>2</sup>

The answer to all these liberal arguments is that the working class already is divided. Indeed the ruling class uses racism precisely in order to divide the working class. It uses racist ideology to con white workers into believing that it is not

it is black workers. The actual success of this tactic can be measured by the support Powell has.

## BLACK AND WHITE UNITE AND FIGHT?

Now as socialists we should not romanticise the working class. Instead we must see what capitalism has done to it—how it has perverted it. Thus when dockers march against Blacks, and skinheads go "Paki-bashing" they are being out and out racists. Certainly this is not because these workers are born racists but rather because the bourgeoisie has coned them into a false consciousness so as to act against their own class interest. However, for black militants under attack and needing to defend themselves, the distinction is of little immediate relevance. To say to them "Black & white unite & fight" is on the one hand at the worst telling them to unite with people who are actively attacking them, or at the best to unite with people who have never in the past made any positive fight against racism (i.e. the revolutionary Left as a whole). On the other hand, what this slogan is also saying is that blacks should hang around (and continue to be victimised) until enough white workers have caught up with them and seen the need to fight racism. Consequently it can be seen that the basic need at the moment for blacks to organise themselves is that the only organisations that blacks can rely on to fight racism are their own. This is because up to now no other force has emerged which is strong enough or reliable enough to wage this fight.

Anyhow the whole notion of "Black & white unite etc." is Uncle Tommish in that it is really whites saying to blacks, "Look, you unite with us and we'll help you solve your problem." This attitude was clearly represented in last Saturday's demonstration by those Left groups who put out propaganda aimed at recruiting blacks directly to their own organisation—implication being that these should be joined rather than an independent black organisation. Again this attitude is clearly seen in the recent pamphlet by Mike Caffoor, *The Fight against Racism*, where the chapter "How to Defeat Racism" makes no mention of the need for blacks to have their own organisations but instead ends with a cheap recruiting drive to Caffoor's own group.<sup>3</sup> It is this patronising assertion of superiority—i.e. we will help you—that is itself the hallmark of racism. In fact, independent black organisations, undertaken through independent black initiative, are precisely the way blacks can assert themselves in this racist society.



3) Incidentally, this same liberal argument is used in respect to Northern Ireland where the equivalent is "Catholic and Protestant unite & fight". Again, this is a liberal platitude because at the moment the only people who are fighting are Catholics—and they are often having to defend themselves against physical attack by Protestant workers.

4) Another variant of the "Black & white unite" theme is that the solution for black people in their fight against racism is to join trade unions and tenants associations and fight there alongside white workers for better conditions. Again this is, for instance, given emphasis in Caffoor's pamphlet.

Now certainly it would be useful to all workers if commitment to trades unions was generally increased. However, this applies to commitment from both black and white workers. Moreover, as a "solution" to racism, this trade union approach can be criticised on two counts. Firstly, it is necessary to fight racism not only against employers, but also against some trade unions as well. Thus many unions themselves behave in racist ways. One instance of this has already been given—namely the refusal of the unions themselves to positively try and recruit black labour and thereby fight to better their conditions. Another instance is the case—recently reported by the *Black People's News Service*—of AEP officials remaining silent at the racist sackings of 350 Asian workers at Coneygre Foundry, Tipton.

The second reason why a purely trade union approach offers no solution to blacks is that racism does not just affect blacks on the factory floor in the form of wages, bad conditions, etc. Instead racism affects blacks in every way—through bad housing, through bad schooling, through excessive unemployment, through pointed humiliation at Social Security offices, through police brutality, through every form of legal restriction in the latest Immigration Bill, through a distorted view of history (e.g. all blacks were savages until we "civilised" them), through sexual exploitation, through every day being described as "immigrants" (even if you're fourth-generation British, you're still an "immigrant" if you're black), etc., etc., etc. It is precisely because racism is such a multi-headed oppression that blacks need their own organisations to fight racism on every front—and not just on the one front.<sup>4</sup>

## THE NEED FOR INDEPENDENT BLACK ORGANISATIONS

Thus the need for independent black organisations is very clearly posed:

- 1) The basic reason is that the only organisations blacks can rely on to fight are their own.
- 2) The mere fact that blacks are taking the initiative is itself a blow against the racist ideology that blacks should "conform".
- 3) Given the fact that the working class is split by racism, then the paradox is that it is only through independent black organisations that unity of the class can be forged. This can be seen in two ways. Firstly, black organisations are themselves a way of politicising black people—i.e. of showing them that the cause of their oppression is capitalism. Secondly, they are a way of politicising white workers by forcing them into acknowledging their own racism and seeing its cause. That black militancy does have this effect is shown by the very fact that it has forced at least some sections of the revolutionary Left to engage in solidarity action with the black struggle.

This is the positive dialectic produced by black militancy—compared with which, "Black & white unite & fight" is empty sloganeering which does not explain how the class is to "unite".

## TASK OF "WHITE" REVOLUTIONARIES

At the moment the revolutionary socialist groupings (outside the specific black organisations) have to acknowledge various facts. Firstly they are almost overwhelmingly white. Secondly, they are treated with (healthy) suspicion by blacks—precisely because of their bad record in respect to racism. Thirdly, the yet-to-be-constructed Leninist Party would have obvious defects if black militants continue to remain hostile to it. Fourthly, many black militants will remain hostile to it and see it as "white" unless the British Left begins now to actively show it can be trusted. What then should the Left do?

1) Its basic revolutionary duty is to give unconditional support to all black people struggling against oppression—even when they are struggling against white workers who are acting in a racist way.<sup>5</sup> Solidarity action as occurred in Manchester last Saturday is a start.

2) However, the Left must not stop at solidarity action. Instead, it must prove itself capable of itself taking an independent initiative. Moreover, this initiative must be to fight racism amongst white workers—by ramming home to white workers where their real class interest lies.

This is the rationale behind the Black Defence Committees that *The Red Mole*, the International Marxist Group and the Spartacus League have tried to sponsor in various areas—and this is why it is all the more regrettable that other Left groups have failed to participate in such committees.

Steve Cohen

## NOTES

1. WORKERS PRESS, April 28th, 1970. The occasion was a joint VSC/Black Panthers demo.
2. It is relevant to note that the C.P.'s fraternal organisation in Australia actually supports the "White Australia" policy. Why doesn't the C.P. come out and condemn this?
3. The group is I.S. It is true that in the previous chapter Caffoor devotes THREE sentences to the need for black "defence groups" within localities whose function will be to protect the black community". However, the whole emphasis of the last chapter is that all black workers should immediately join I.S. Moreover, the two main existing black groups—the BUFP and the Black Panthers—do not consider themselves JUST as defence groups within the community. Instead they are trying to build (a) national (b) offensive (c) parties (d) with an expressly socialist programme.
4. In a more general sense this shows why Lenin is right in seeing that Trade Unions can never in themselves be a way of smashing capitalism—precisely because they never breach the well-rounded oppression that capitalism brings.
5. It is in respect to racism that Trotsky referred to white American workers as "beasts"—see Trotsky on Black Nationalism.





# LETTERS

# ADS..

## THE LITTLE RED SCHOOLBOOK

Dear Comrades,

I was very glad to see Brian Slocock's "critical review" of *The Little Red Schoolbook* (July 15), since it is the first serious attempt at a political analysis of the book to have appeared anywhere. I welcome it as such, because whatever its limitations, *TLRS* is a political book, and the recent trial, although ostensibly concerned with the book's 26 pages on sex, was clearly political.

I don't want to quibble too much over Brian's criticisms, partly because I agree with some of what he says and partly because they are precisely the sort of constructive criticisms and suggestions which we asked for in the introduction to the British edition. If Mary Whitehouse and her obscene Publications Squad hadn't delayed the process, a revised edition of the book would already be available, incorporating many of the improvements on the original which have been suggested.

But I would like to comment on some of Brian's points. He says that *TLRS* is "written from the standpoint of the liberal teacher."

...This approach totally overlooks problems of social structure that must be the starting point of any critique of the school system". The Danish authors of the original text are not "liberal teachers", and the book doesn't "totally overlook" the fundamental problems of our capitalist social structure which determine the organisation and content of our education system and are reflected by that system. The very first section of the book, "Education" (an addition to the original text), states: "The system is controlled by the people who have the money ... the aim of the education system in Britain is not to give you the best possible opportunity of developing your own talents ... schools have to teach you the things our economic system needs you to know ... This book can't teach you how to solve this basic problem. It does try to help you make the best of a bad system."

The authors' approach is that since we're living in a capitalist society, you've got to relate to the very ordinary, day-to-day problems faced by kids within our capitalist education system. Of course you can, and must, explain very clearly why the system operates as it does, but until a revolution in society produces a revolution in education you've got to face the fact that the vast majority of ordinary kids are going to have to "make the best of a bad system". Having said this, I would however agree that the problems of capitalist structures and class conflict which are mentioned in *TLRS* could be brought out more strongly in places. We're working on a revised edition at the moment, and this is one of the areas where we're trying to "tighten up" the text.

I agree with Brian's second point, that "within the schools as a structure teachers and pupils exist as distinct groups with genuine, independent sets of conflicting interests", but I don't agree with the way he relates this to *TLRS*, claiming that the book "dissolves this genuine structural conflict into a morass of pluralist and functionalist conflict patterns". Of course teachers and pupils have conflicting interests, in our present system, and kids are all too well aware of this. *TLRS* recognises this, but also tries to go deeper into the problem by analysing conflicts *within* both groups. While explaining the structural limitations and class assumptions which determine most teachers' behaviour, it goes beyond this to point out that if our schools were genuinely concerned with education, in the true sense of the word (i.e. if we were in a revolutionary society), there would be no structural conflict between teachers and pupils. Surely this is precisely the point of the parallels in *Letter to a Teacher* to which Brian refers.

Of course there is a fundamental limitation to *TLRS* (and here I agree with Brian) in that it was written by teachers rather than by kids themselves, and more precisely by the sort of kids who suffer most from the class dominance and exploitation of our capitalist system. It does indeed lack a detailed discussion of the content of bourgeois education and of the goals that new forms of education should strive towards. There are practical limits to the extent to which this small book can be rewritten or expanded to cover these points, but I hope that comrades will help to make it as useful as possible both by sending in detailed criticisms and suggestions for future editions and by using it in schools and elsewhere as a starting point for more detailed discussion of the social, educational and political points it raises. The first revised edition will be available at the end of August, but suggestions are welcome at any time.

Fraternally,  
Richard Handyside,  
21 Theobalds Road, London W.C.1.

## POLEMICS & THE I.S. GROUP

It is always good to see polemic in a newspaper. Nothing clarifies ideas so much as an exchange of opinion regarding important political questions. Certainly the question of internationalism is one of the most important, if not the most important, political questions of the twentieth century. However, unfortunately your correspondent J. R. Clynes, in reporting the international conference of the International Socialists, forgets that to be useful, polemic must (1) be carried on in such a way as to clarify political differences and not obscure them by slanders; (2) must be arguments carried on against the real positions of one's opponents and not imaginary ones. On both these counts Clynes' article failed rather badly.

Firstly, as regards an accurate presentation of positions, there are at least two major errors in his review.

(a) He describes *Lutte Ouvriere* as holding the position that Eastern Europe, apart from the USSR, is State Capitalist. This is completely incorrect. *Lutte Ouvriere* holds that these states are capitalist, and that no matter how defined, the theory that there can exist a social formation described as State Capitalism (except in the very restricted sense used by Lenin) is in fact Burnhamism and a serious deviation from Marxism.

(b) Clynes states that the theory of state capitalism leads one to the conclusion that there can be no transition period between capitalism and socialism. This is again totally incorrect. The particular view which he ascribes to I.S. is held by certain members of that organisation and has been expressed in print by Michael Kidron, but it does not represent the main stream of thinking of that organisation. The central work of I.S. on the USSR, T. Cliff's *Russia, a Marxist analysis*, in fact discusses at some length the nature of the transitional forms between capitalism and socialism. In particular, cde. Clynes should read pages 64/65, 87-98, 108-116, 132-146. It may well be that Clynes believes that I.S. cannot give a satisfactory and Marxist account of the nature of a workers' state, and I would completely agree, but that is something which has to be proved and not just asserted, and anyway is something completely different from Clynes' statement. It is particularly unfortunate that Clynes should have chosen to bring the debate down to this low level, as the IMG has produced at least two pamphlets on I.S. - *The Inconsistencies of State Capitalism* and *The Mystifications of State Capitalism* (both available from Red Books, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1) - which make a serious theoretical contribution to the debate on State Capitalism and which avoid the type of attack which, to put it bluntly, is more reminiscent of the *Workers Press* than anything else. In any case, J. R. Clynes' arguments rather rebound against him, as if the organisations which attended the I.S. conference were quite as bad as he makes out, then it is obviously totally unprincipled of the Fourth International to be carrying out discussions with a view to fusing with any of them.

What is strange about Clynes' attack is that he understands quite well the basic fault of the I.S. conference, namely, that I.S. believes you can build an International simply on the basis of joint work and does not understand that it can only be done on the basis of common theoretical positions. It was this that meant the I.S.-sponsored conference was relatively useless.

J. Marshall

## SPECIAL FROM RED BOOKS : TWO CLASSIC REPRINTS -

The Third International after Lenin: Leon Trotsky. Price: £1.25.

The Jewish Question: by Abram Leon (with an introduction by Ernest Germain and Nathan Weinstock). Price: £1.15.

182 Pentonville Road, London N.1. 01-837 9987.

THE NIGHTCLEANERS CAMPAIGN - A Socialist Woman Special, examining the contract cleaning industry (the contractors, the cleaners, the unions), the development of the campaign, its significance and future development. Interviews, photos. 18p postpaid (bulk orders - 10 or more - 12½p, cash with order) from London Socialist Woman Group, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.

## -SOCIALIST WOMAN-

Latest issue has articles on: Women's liberation, politics & revolution - the debate in the women's movement; Lancaster cleaners strike; The family in capitalist society; Part-time work; Whitehall Whitewash - the PIB report on contract cleaning; etc., etc. Send 8p for an individual copy (post paid) or 48p for a year's subscription (6 copies) to: Socialist Woman Subs, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.

## Red Mole T-shirts

Black on red, red on white: £1.05 each including postage from: The Red Mole, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1



## International

Bi-monthly theoretical journal of the International Marxist Group.

*International* is a 64-page journal which analyses in detail recent developments in Britain and other parts of the world. In Britain it represents the view of the Fourth International as well as its British section.

Subs. £1 per annum; £2 airmail to Africa, Asia, Latin America, North America.

Name .....

Address .....

Occupation .....

Send to INTERNATIONAL Subscriptions, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1. Single copy 15p + postage.

Please send me THE RED MOLE for the next 6/12 months. I enclose cheque/P.O./cash for £1/£2.

Name .....

Address .....

Occupation .....

THE RED MOLE, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1. 01-837 6954, 01-278 2616.

Foreign subs: Asia/Africa/Australia/N & S America: £5 per year (airmail); £3 per year (ordinary).

West Europe: £3 per year.

EDITORIAL BOARD: Tariq Ali, Robin Blackburn, Peter Gowan, Teresa Hayter, Alan Jones, Pat Jordan, Dave Kendall, Branka Magas, Neil Middleton, Bob Purdie.

DESIGN: Dave Edmunds

DISTRIBUTION: Debbie Dodge

Published by Redcrest for The Red Mole, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1. 01-837 6954, 01-278 2616.

Printed by The Printkipo Press Ltd. (T.U.), 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1. 01-837 9987

# EVENTS

MONDAYS: Birmingham Red Circle, 7.30, The Black Swan, Bromsgrove Street, Digbeth.

TUESDAYS: Portsmouth & Southsea Red Circle, 8 p.m., Rutland Hotel, Francis Ave., Southsea (going down Goldsmith Ave. from Fratton Bridge, Francis Ave. is the 2nd on the right).

WEDNESDAYS: Reading Red Circle, 7.30 p.m., Red Lion pub, Southampton Street.

THURSDAYS: Stafford Red Circle, Dog & Partridge, South Walls, 8 p.m.

THURSDAYS: Central London Socialist Women Group organisational meeting, 8 p.m., George IV pub, Pentonville Road, N.1 (Kings XI). (Ring Felicity Trodd, 01-837 6954 daytime, or Jackie Haymen 607 3553 evenings, for information about Sunday discussion meetings).

THURSDAY: Norwich Red Circle, Festival House pub (opp. St. Andrews Hall), 8 p.m.

THURSDAYS: Glasgow Red Circle, 7.30 p.m., Christian Institute, Bothwell Street.

FRIDAYS: Manchester Red Circle, 8 p.m., Wheatsheaf pub, High Street, Manchester 4.

FRIDAYS: Black Defence Committee, 8 p.m., George IV pub, Pentonville Road, London N.1 (Kings XI).

AUGUST 1st: GENOCIDE IN BANGLA DESH. Don't just watch it - help stop it. 2 p.m., Trafalgar Square. Eye witnesses, speakers, films and Bengali music.

AUGUST 1st: Palestine Solidarity Campaign demonstration against Hussein's massacre of the Palestinian people. Speakers Corner, 2 p.m.

AUGUST 1st: 8 p.m. - all night. VIGIL outside South Africa House (Trafalgar Sq.) in protest against trial of UNITY MOVEMENT militants.

AUGUST 2nd: 11 a.m. - 2 p.m. PICKET outside South Africa House (see above).

AUGUST 7th: WOMEN'S LIBERATION EVENING at The Rosebuck pub, Tottenham Court Road (Warren St. tube), 8 p.m. 20p. Everyone welcome. London Socialist Woman Group.

AUGUST 17th: FASCISM - what it is, how to fight it. 7.30 p.m., Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London W.C.1 (Holborn tube). International Marxist Group.

SEPTEMBER 11th-12th: WOMEN & INDUSTRY - national school for the women's liberation movement (WNCC). Contact London Socialist Women Group, (Industrial School), 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1, for details.

SEPTEMBER 17th: ERNEST MANDEL Public Meeting, 7.30 p.m., Conway Hall, Red Lion Square (Holborn tube). International Marxist Group.

NOTE: We will be producing only one issue in August. Normal fortnightly publication will be resumed in September. -Ed.



# Britain Enters the Common Market



The British bourgeoisie has finally decided to enter the Common Market, hoping in that way—if not to solve—at least to ameliorate the chronic crisis with which it has been faced for over a decade.

## The Decline of British Imperialism

The economic structure of Great Britain is the result of a long period of British domination of the world market. Imports of foodstuffs and raw materials were paid for by income from capital invested abroad and by the "invisible exports" produced by the merchant marine, insurance companies, and the British banks, which dominated their respective sectors.

The decline of British imperialism, which began with the first world war and was accelerated by the second, upset this traditional economic structure. The proportion of British exports in world commerce has been steadily shrinking, so that Britain today is in fourth position, trailing the United States, West Germany, and Japan.

The world position of Britain's merchant marine, banks and insurance companies has been considerably weakened. Income from capital invested abroad represents a far smaller share of British imports than before the second world war. All these factors have brought about the decline of the pound sterling and Great Britain's permanent balance-of-payments crisis.

The severe losses suffered by imperialism throughout the world in the past twenty-five years have substantially increased the importance of the imperialist countries themselves as markets for industrial products. Technological competition and technological superprofits today play a major role compared to the former "game preserves" in the colonies and colonial superprofits. In this connection, British capital is severely handicapped relative to its principal competitors—the United States, West Germany, Japan, Italy, France. Its industry is less modernized. Its rate of growth has been slower. Its technological lag threatens to become more pronounced.

For an entire period the British bourgeoisie thought it could hang on to its "Commonwealth" and its "special relations" with the United States to get itself out of the hole. Ten years later it had to recognize that it was mistaken. American imperialism has been buying out enterprises in Great Britain at an accelerating rate. It has increased its penetration of Canada, Australia, South Africa, India. The Common Market countries have contested British ascendancy in countries like Nigeria, Tanzania, and Kenya. The colonial "game preserves" have evaporated. All that British imperialism was left with was a more and more pronounced debilitation, not only in comparison with the United States and Japan, but even in comparison with the Six. The bankruptcy of Rolls Royce acquires real symbolic significance!

## The Turn Toward the Common Market and the Gaullist Veto

The British capitalists then applied

warfare: "If you can't lick 'em, join 'em." By entering the Common Market they hope to enjoy a greatly enlarged outlet, which would assure them a higher growth rate.

In several areas (electronics, aeronautic construction, synthetic fibers, the garment industry, the petroleum industry, the food industry), they are still ahead of their continental competitors, whether in technology, the size of their most powerful firms, or both. Among the 200 most powerful European firms, forty-nine are British (more than the German and French firms together).

Other industries (steel, electrical construction, probably automobiles, too) may not stand up well under the stepped-up competition. All in all, however, the British bourgeoisie hopes that as a result of entering the European Economic Community, its positions on the European market, and thence on the world market, will be stronger.

The following consideration is even more important. International competition leads to a more and more intense international concentration of capital. In face of the "multinational" American giants, with subsidiaries in practically every capitalist country, "multinational" companies controlled by European capital from several countries (such as Agfa-Gevaert, FIAT-Citroën, Dunlop-Pirelli, Hoesch-Hoogovens IJmuiden, Empain-Schnelder) are being established. This concentration in the industrial sphere is strongly reinforced by mutual cooperation agreements and interlocking between big European banks and financial groups.

As the example of the Dunlop-Pirelli merger demonstrates, British capital is constrained to participate in this merger movement, under penalty of being crushed between the American giants and the European giants. But if Great Britain remains outside the Common Market, British capitalists entering the "European" game will have no way to exert pressure on, and no avenue of direct political control over, the superstructure that is being erected little by little on this new economic base. By entering the Common Market, the British bourgeoisie is trying to develop its political instruments to meet the needs of its most powerful monopolies.

During the mid-Sixties, the decisive circles of the British bourgeoisie had already made a turn in this direction. If Great Britain was not able to join the Common Market at that time, it was due essentially to resistance on the part of the Gaullist wing of French big capital.

The reasons for this resistance were complex. Two factors, nevertheless, played the principal role. French industry, which had not as yet achieved equilibrium with West German industry, feared entering the lists with a second competitor, superior on every count. De Gaulle, desirous of building a European army and government independent of the United States, feared that the maritime and Atlantic orientation of British imperialism would upset that plan.

## The French Bourgeoisie Changes Its Orientation

Nevertheless, the French bourgeoisie had to realize, and very quickly, that in blocking Great Britain's entry into the Common Market, it was engaging in a profitless venture—one that benefited its major competitor. After May

uprising in France], after de Gaulle's removal, it was Bonn and not Paris that became the uncontested leader of the Europe of the Six. Enjoying industrial predominance, having the most stable and desirable currency—the deutsche mark—at its disposal, coddled by Washington as its privileged ally, West German capital alone profited from the imbalance of political and economic forces that Great Britain's exclusion had caused within the Common Market.

Pompidou's change in orientation—the reason for his victory in the last presidential elections—stems from that.

Today the head man of the moderate Gaullists is keeping the promises made in 1969 to the entire French bourgeoisie. The difficulties on the path to Britain's entry into the Common Market have been removed.

Thus the Europe of the Six becomes the Europe of the Ten (Ireland, Denmark, and Norway, economic satellites of Great Britain, are also joining the European Economic Community). Inside this Europe of the Ten, a Franco-British *entente cordiale*, discreetly supported by Italy, will be the counterweight to West Germany's too pronounced supremacy.

Pompidou's choice is all the more logical in that the British bourgeoisie, still attached to its independence in numerous areas, will support (inside the EEC) the reservations that French big capital has concerning new steps toward "supranational" integration (common European currency, common industrial policy, common public-works policy, etc.), to which the West German bourgeoisie, as well as the bourgeoisie of the Benelux countries, is more favorable.

## The Tories Want the Workers to Foot the Bill

There remains but one obstacle in the way of the Europe of the Ten: the trade-union militancy of the British working class.

In order to participate in the Common Market with a real opportunity for success, British big capital must, at any cost, reverse the tendency toward a falling rate of profit, which has been manifest in this country for almost a decade. To this end, it has to increase the rate of exploitation of the working class. It has to reduce working-class resistance to such an increase by reducing trade-union power and militancy at the work places.

The antistrike and antitrade-union law that the Conservative government pushed through the British Parliament represents one jaw of the pincers that is supposed to crack the militancy of the English workers (who, along with the Italian workers, are the most militant in Europe). The other jaw of the pincers is a deliberately prolonged recession that has produced 800,000 unemployed (the highest number since 1940) and unemployment rates of 8 to 10 percent of the unskilled workers in working-class bastions such as Glasgow and other cities of Scotland and Wales.

In this connection, the status of British capitalism on the eve of its entry into the Common Market is rather similar to that of French capitalism just before the Common Market was inaugurated in 1958. Both were suffering pronounced structural deficiencies. Both had to "render harmless" an overly turbulent working class, so that these deficiencies could be removed at the expense of the masses. Thanks to Gaullism, French big capital achieved its aim. Mr. Heath is trying to imitate Charles de Gaulle's exploits. But the political and social relationship of forces is much more unfavorable for British capitalism in 1971 than it was for French capitalism in 1958.

The conservative policies of the Tories, added to the effects of recession

might take the form of a landslide. Thus the Tories have to act fast, because they don't know if they have ten years ahead of them, as did de Gaulle. Their tactic of resorting to drastic remedies, which seems clumsy at a distance, derives from this necessity. It also takes into consideration the "moderating" role of the trade-union and Labour party bureaucracy.

## The Reformist Brake

It was the Wilson team that cleared the path for Great Britain's entry into the Common Market and for the "modernization" of British capitalism at the expense of the workers. It was the Wilson team that got all the reactionary measures of the Heath cabinet under way—from the anti-immigration legislation to the antitrade-union legislation, by way of the "incomes policy" and increased unemployment. Heath enlarged on what Wilson had started. Moreover, Heath could only have come to power because Wilson's profoundly antiworking-class policy had disgusted millions of Labour voters and had kept them away from the polls.

Today it is essential, for the relative stability (more and more relative, too!) of British capitalism, that Labour's return to power does not mean wiping out all the Tory "counter-reforms." With the help of the trade-union apparatus, Wilson is busily taking care of that.

He has succeeded in stifling the spontaneous tendency of the British workers to oppose the antiunion legislation by means of a political general strike. He is making no preparations for purely and simply deleting this legislation. He merely promises to eliminate its most "repugnant" aspects. Today he is maneuvering in the same way—to prevent the Labour party from declaring its opposition to the Common Market to the extent that it would take the country out of it if Labour were returned to power. Statements of principle are not too bothersome (they might even attract some votes in the elections, should the occasion arise). But above all must nothing be changed in what the Tories accomplished in these areas.

The most important factor, however, is dependent neither on legislation nor on international treaties. It depends on the dynamic of the class struggle. If the working class is victorious in resisting the two-pronged assault of unemployment and antistrike legislation, if it preserves its fighting potential intact, it will make every effort to compensate—through substantial wage raises—for every rise in prices (especially prices of food products) that would result from belonging to the Common Market. Joining the Common Market, far from reducing "economic" class struggles, would thus exacerbate them.

The naive confidence of this same working class in the efficacy of parliamentary reforms and the electoral process would receive a second healthy shock, on the heels of the shock inflicted on it by its experience with the Wilson governments. In this way, its political radicalization would be reinforced. Increased recourse to organizing strike committees and growing understanding of the necessity to struggle for workers' control and workers' councils would thus gradually emerge.

The social crisis would thus little by little evolve toward a revolutionary outcome. The efforts of big capital to make the British bourgeoisie participate in the construction of "its" capitalist Europe would in that case end with the intensified participation of the British working class in the struggle for "our" Europe—the red Europe of the workers, a socialist Europe. □



# THE WAR IN IR

## INTRODUCTION

Recent news reports have spoken of a "crack down" on the IRA. This followed a round-up, which at first looked as if it was the beginning of internment. The press has been talking about "documents" which can prove criminal charges against leaders of the Republican Movement.

Like most of the news coming out of the Six Counties, this is less concerned with truth than with the political strategy of the British Government. They are now carrying out a campaign which will give the impression that they are taking effective measures against the IRA; the aim of this propaganda is to bolster up their forces in Ireland, who are becoming more and more demoralised. This article exposes the reasons for both the demoralisation and the propaganda campaign; the remarkable military success of the IRA in recent months.

Never, for nearly fifty years, has imperialism in Ireland confronted an armed resistance so formidable as that which today defies the British Army on the streets of Belfast and Derry.

Despite the desperate attempts of the press to obscure the facts, the British Army is being pressed hard by the IRA, and is near the end of its tether. Since the build-up in preparation for the July 12th Parades, there are 19,000 British troops in the North of Ireland, nearly double the previous level of 10,000; their upper limit is probably in the region of 25,000.

## THE I.R.A. GETS INTO STRIDE

And yet the IRA has barely begun to get into its stride—until recent events fighting was being carried on mainly by the Provisional IRA, and was concentrated on Belfast. Now it seems that the Official IRA has stepped in; its previous policy had been to take military action on a defensive basis, but it has recently taken a number of offensive actions.

Both IRA's today are larger, better armed, and have a wider support amongst the nationalist population in the North than at any time in history, including the Black & Tan wars. But the most striking feature today is the amazing sophistication of their guerrilla tactics. The Provisionals have pulled off a succession of brilliant actions, like the bombing of the Springfield Road Police and Army barracks. Within one week they carried out three major feats. They walked into the Royal Victoria Hospital in Belfast, and snatched one of their wounded volunteers from under the noses of heavily armed guards (we understand that the rescued man is now safe and recovering in hospital elsewhere). They raided a military post in the centre of Belfast and got away with 30 Lee Enfield .303 rifles, two Bren guns and one Sterling sub-machine gun; despite claims by the Army that these were training weapons which cannot be fired, the fact is that they can be reconverted and used. Then they blew up the *Daily Mirror* plant on the outskirts of Belfast. This newspaper, which has been particularly scurrilous in its reportage of events in Ireland, had built one of the world's most advanced newspaper plants. The damage is estimated at over £2 million, and it will take many weeks before the newspaper plant is repaired.

The Officials have not recently scored such dramatic victories, but there can be no doubt that the force which held off 3,000 British troops with 150 men, in the battle of the Falls during July last year, is capable of giving a more than adequate account of itself. Not only are they active throughout the Six Counties (in contrast to the Provos, who are mainly concentrated in Belfast), they are committed to military action in the South as well. Cathal Goulding, Chief of Staff of the Official IRA, speaking at the funeral of Martin O'Leary in Cork, pledged that when the "forces of imperialism and exploitation" imposed "... strike-breaking, evictions, coercion, the prison cell, intimidation or the gallows, then our duty is to reply ... in the language that brings these vultures to their senses most effectively, the language of the bomb and the bullet."

## CONTRAST

All this is in striking contrast with the two previous IRA campaigns which followed the 1922 defeat of the anti-treaty forces, the 1938-45 and the 1956-62 offensives. In both there were a number of highly successful actions. On December 23rd 1939 they liberated 1,084,000 rounds of ammunition from the Magazine Fort in Phoenix Park, Dublin; this constituted the bulk of the Free State Army's reserve supply. (Alas, almost all of it was recaptured shortly afterwards). One of the most famous was the raid on Armagh Barracks in June 1954; by dint of infiltrating a volunteer (by the simple expedient of joining the British Army), they got intelligence which enabled them to relieve Her Majesty's Forces of 250 rifles, 37 Stens, nine Brens and 40 training rifles. This time the "equipment" was not recaptured. On

initiated the '56 campaign) paralysed Newry Canal by blowing up all the locks.

But these were exceptions; the classical IRA tactics consisted of the ambush, and the planted bomb. They had a standard technique for attacking barracks, police stations, prisons, etc., which would involve a volunteer making his way up to a door or wall, in darkness or under covering fire, to plant a mine in order to blow a hole big enough for the raiders to get through. To the incredible danger involved in such an operation was added the risk that the mine would not actually go off, a frustration which they suffered on many occasions. General Tom Barry, the greatest Irish guerrilla leader, found this tactic irksome during the Black & Tan Wars; it was still being used in the late '50s. The contrast between this and the Springfield Road action need not be stressed.

## SIGNIFICANCE

Today they have learnt a great deal from the experience of guerrilla struggles elsewhere, in particular from the tactics of EOKA in Cyprus. But the main significance of this new stage in the IRA's struggle lies in the new relationship between the IRA and the people. Mao's dictum about the fish and the water is absolutely correct: the glaring failure of the two IRA campaigns was their isolation from the people; their actions were those of men from the outside, taking action against the forces of imperialism in the name of abstract principles. This dictated columns dodging into the North, on short missions, a strict limitation on the depth to which forces of any size could penetrate over the Border, constant harassment, and grave difficulty in finding hide-outs. At one stage of the '56-62 campaign, volunteers were living in secret dug-outs in the most appalling conditions.

## INTERNMENT

The crushing of resistance was relatively easy for the Crown forces, and their mimics in the Free State. Thousands of men were rounded up by the RUC in the North, and hundreds interned on the flimsiest of evidence. It was enough to be young and active, to be associated with a specifically Irish organisation like a Gaelic Sports Club, or even the Legion of Mary; if there was the flimsiest evidence to connect you with the IRA, you were automatically a suspect and into Crumlin you went, often for years. The people accepted all of this passively; the struggle of the IRA was something external to them. They sympathised with it, they would not betray it to the RUC, they would turn out on funerals; but they themselves were not part of the resistance. They would accept the brutality of the RUC, admire the bravery of the IRA, and somehow get on with life.

## MASS MOVEMENT

Today the struggle has emerged from the oppressed minority, it is from them that the ranks of the IRA are being swelled. They are not cowed, they are capable of forcing armoured cars to withdraw from their areas, they smashed the Falls curfew of July 1970, inflicting such a humiliation on the military that they have never again tried this tactic.

The new situation arises precisely from the fact that the present crisis arose with the mass peaceful movement for Civil Rights. Having been mobilised, having seen their enemies being forced to make verbal concessions, having seen the hollowness of the "reforms", and experiencing



Republicans in training

the brutality of the British Army when they tried to express their frustration, they are no longer prepared to wait and hope that time will redress their grievances.

In the new situation the IRA is the armed vanguard of the oppressed minority, they are a part of the people, protected by them and able to melt back into the ghettos after taking action. It is this which enables them to be bold in their actions. They are no longer beating uselessly at the cage which imprisons their compatriots, but are forging a force which can break down the bars for ever.

## POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

While it is necessary to make clear the significance of the military success of this contemporary phase of the Republican struggle, we should be under no illusions that it can succeed in defeating imperialism on its own. The conditions for the maturing of this guerrilla struggle were laid by the period of intense political activity which gave the minority confidence to defy the might of the British Army. This underlines the fact that the battle cannot, and will not, be fought in purely military terms, *by either side*. British imperialism won a period of respite between August '69 and July '70, because the mass of the people were not politically prepared for the confrontation with the state power, which the barricades of Free Derry and Belfast posed. The Labour Government in Westminster was able to confuse the minority by promises of reforms, and by making it seem as if the troops had gone in to protect them from the Orange terror.

The British and Stormont governments desperately want to return to internment. But the militancy of the minority poses difficulties; British imperialism is long enough in the tooth, and has had sufficient experience of anti-insurgency work, to know that a large-scale round-up would enrage the people and would add fuel to the fire. They need some political preparation to counteract this.

It is this which is behind the work of the "Black Propaganda" unit in the North. This is why they have been deliberately trying to exacerbate the friction between the Officials and the Provisionals. The latest propaganda about "documents" linking the "terror" in Belfast to "the Republic" smells strongly of the Special Intelligence Service. Such a line could indicate a strategy which would approach internment in the North through getting the Free State Government to start the ball rolling. Without a political offensive to supplement the military offensive, the minority will not be able to meet this challenge.

## SEMI-DETACHED ASSEMBLY?

The decision of the Semi-Detached Labour Party to become totally detached from Stormont poses more questions than it answers. This basically sound idea, which was put forward at the height of the struggles in 1969 only has meaning if it leads in the direction of the setting up of an alternative state structure, which can sound the deathknell of both Stormont and the Free State Dail. But the SDLP is incapable of moving six inches along this road. The fact that they have posed this step just as Stormont is about to go into recess shows that they hope to give the Unionists and the British Government time to come across with concessions, which would take the heat off our sweating heroes.

An alternative assembly only has meaning if the leadership of the struggle is prepared for a confrontation with British imperialism, Stormont and the Free State government, and has laid the basis for this amongst the people. The Social and Democratic Labour Party will never do this. For the people of the Six Counties it must be Yes to an alternative Assembly, but No to the SDLP.

## CLIMAX

Whatever happens, the crisis in Ireland continues; there is no permanent solution to the problem for imperialism—in the long run they can only react with greater and greater brutal brutality. Ours is the task in Britain to constantly expose the truth about Ireland, trying to mobilise the maximum forces in solidarity with the struggle, trying to get through to the working class in Britain about the conspiracy against the Irish people which our ruling class has been involved in for centuries, and which is moving towards its final bloody climax.

—Bob Purdie



# IRELAND



Cathal Goulding, Chief of Staff, Official IRA



General Tom Barry.



Sean Mac Stiofain, Chief of Staff, Provisional IRA



A blast lights up a Belfast Street, oddly resembling a map of Ireland.

## THE RAIDS: What They Really Mean

The significance of the raids which took place in the North of Ireland on the night of July 22nd-23rd was totally distorted by a British press which has faithfully echoed British intelligence propaganda. Most of those who know anything about the realities of the situation were convinced that these raids were the start of internment; without such a motivation there was no basis for the size of the operation. If we are to judge from their claims they netted practically nothing from the entire operation.

### BRITISH ARMY CLAIMS

The talk about a planned operation, with raids on "specially selected houses", based on months of intelligence work, is laughable. Everyone knows who are the leaders of the Republican Movement are; dogs in the street are barking about it. As Tomas Mac Giolla (President of the Official Sinn Fein) said, "They are not in hiding. They can be arrested at any time, in their homes, or at their jobs, ... selling the *United Irishman* or holding public meetings and pickets."<sup>1</sup> That the arrests were not based on careful intelligence work is borne out by the fact that most of those arrested were Official Republicans; the Provisionals have been carrying out most of the armed action in recent months, but they do not operate in such an open political manner as the Officials, their people are harder to identify than leaders of the Officials who regularly speak at meetings and are quoted in the press.

The Army stated that they had seized "documents and electronic and radio equipment. All of these were proving of great assistance in the fight against the IRA."<sup>2</sup> Reports on BBC radio spoke of documents which linked the IRA with organisations in the Republic of Ireland. All of this is pure waffle. There has been a radio operating from time to time in the Lower Falls since August '69; it was used during the "Fleadh" in May this year. So the British Army has finally captured it, hip hip hurrah. Under the Special Powers Act, "documents" can consist of tickets to a Republican social; Joseph Edwards was recently sentenced in a Belfast court for possessing letterheads of the Cathal Brugha (Provisional) Sinn Fein Cumann, a recruiting circular for Cumann na mBan (the Republican women's organisation) and maps and photographs of Belfast. And there can be little difficulty about discovering that the IRA operates on an all-Ireland basis. The Army's claims are quite simply ludicrous.

### REPRESSION

Taken in conjunction with the shooting of Seamus Cusack and Desmond Beattie, and the hundreds of prisoners

incarcerated on the most insignificant of charges (another man has been imprisoned for crossing himself), these incidents underline the day-by-day deepening of the repression in the North of Ireland. They reflect a gradual drift of the policy of the British government from one of trying to contain the situation by massive police action, to one of trying to smash all independent organisations of the nationalist minority, in an attempt to appease the extreme Orange elements. A new note is being sounded by sections of the Conservative Party and by right-wing propagandists. These worms are stressing the need to maintain the "constitutional" position of Northern Ireland, which means, of necessity, a close alliance by the government with the right wing of the Unionist Party and a pitiless suppression of the minority. An article in a recent issue of *The Spectator*<sup>3</sup> by one T. E. Utley, which waxed indignant about the betrayal of "Ulster" is typical of this kind of political excreta.

### DEMORALISATION

Another element in the situation is the first hints of demoralisation in the British Army; bewildered at finding themselves in a shooting war in the "United Kingdom", at the attitude of the minority towards them, and the atrocious conditions under which they are billeted, cracks are beginning to show. There seems to be a trend towards issuing ordinary squaddies with Sterling sub-machine guns, in place of their SLR rifles. Frightened men, shooting wildly, are more likely to do unwanted damage with the long-range SLR than with the Sterling, which is more effective in close range fighting.

### SPIRIT

One incident has shown the spirit of the Northern Republicans, the trial of Mrs. Maire Drumm. Mrs. Drumm was arrested under the Special Powers Act for "promoting the objects of an unlawful association by encouraging people to join the IRA." Throughout the hearing she refused either to face the bench, or to answer questions. She was sentenced to be bound over for two years, on a surety of £500, and to report to a police station daily; the alternative was a six-month prison sentence. Her reply was to shout, "I will not accept bail, God save Ireland"<sup>4</sup>, and she was dragged off, unbowed and unrepentant, to prison.

—Robert Massgeil

### NOTES

1. IRISH TIMES, 24.7.71.
2. Ibid.
3. THE SPECTATOR, week ending July 25th.
4. IRISH TIMES, 24.7.71.

As the situation in the North of Ireland becomes sharper, the work of the Irish Solidarity Campaign (ISC) becomes more necessary. ISC today is the only organisation which is mobilising both Irish and British militants in action against British imperialism in Britain.

During the last months ISC has built up an incredible record of activity. Not only has the campaign participated in, and initiated, demonstrations, pickets, etc., it has recognised the very real need for education and propaganda to explain the political situation in Ireland. This is evidenced by the highly successful series of Forums organised in London; ISC is the only organisation which has offered a platform to both Provisional and Official Republicans to explain the policies of their movements. There have been two issues of its newspaper, *Irish Citizen*; the first print of the second issue sold out a few days after it came off the press. Both issues have contained striking and dramatic posters.

With the involvement of Scottish troops in the Six Counties, the work of Glasgow ISC has a special significance, and despite the ever present threat from local Orange extremists the branch has never let up in its activities. Its meetings at the "Barrows" (Glasgow's equivalent of Petticoat Lane) have regularly attracted crowds of up to 200, and have become a feature of political life in the city. When the British Army launched a recruiting drive to get more unemployed young Scotsmen for use against the Irish people, ISC countered with a leafletting campaign.

In October ISC plans demonstrations in both London and Glasgow. The Glasgow one will take place on October 16th, and the London one on the 24th. Speaking tours are being organised to publicise them, and working up to the demos, there will be a series of smaller demos, and pickets.

If you are interested in ISC and want more information, please fill in the form below and post to: ISC, 22 Duncan Terrace, London N.1.

Name .....

Address .....

Occupation .....



# Neo Fascism in Italy

## After the June 13 Election

By Livio Maitan

Rome

Although firmly rejecting the bugbear of a fascist or military coup d'état, raised to cover the opportunist line of the traditional workers' parties, we pointed some time ago to certain tendencies in the Italian situation that are not without danger. In recent months especially, fascist or neofascist activity has been assuming more and more important proportions, as well as a consistency and aggressiveness never before possible. All this indicates that not unimportant groups of industrialists and landowners have decided to give financial support to the fascists. It confirms, moreover, that the extreme right is being favored with increasingly extensive complicity in the state apparatus, the police, and the courts.

The tumultuous episodes in Reggio di Calabria, and to a lesser extent in L'Agulla, have, in certain respects, been still more alarming. For the first time since the end of the war, fascist groups have succeeded in dominating and exploiting movements of popular discontent arising even in areas where the left parties have electoral influence. Other incidents, although far less spectacular, have also revealed that a fascist backlash is developing among petty-bourgeois strata fed up with the protracted social and political instability.

The results of the June 13 elections, which come within this context, represent another alarm bell. Of course it was, after all, only a local election, limited for the most part to regions in the center and south of the country. The Genoa results were a small part of the whole and did not seem to follow the trend that shaped up in Sicily, Rome, or Foggia. But even taking all this into account, the signs are still clear, and the worst policy would be to pretend that nothing is happening.

In their comments, the bureaucrats of the PCI (Partito Comunista Italiano—Italian Communist party) put the blame for the neofascist success on the sterility of the center-left government and the turn to the right made in recent months by the DC (Democrazia Cristiana—Christian Democracy).

There is no doubt that the center-left's inability to achieve its original objectives has been one of the main factors in the present crisis. In the years 1962-68 the Italian bourgeoisie proved itself incapable of a preventive reformist operation, thereby creating favorable conditions for the explosion in the last three years. Time after time it has failed to apply remedies—despite powerful pressures from below.

Certain laws passed recently, such as the rural-development-funds bill and the housing bill (the latter has not yet been ratified by the Senate) are textbook examples of rotten compromises that produce exactly the opposite of the desired result. Because of their inconsistent and contradictory character, such measures cannot satisfy the strata that are supposed to benefit from them. Therefore, these strata do not mobilize in support of them. But, at the same time, such reforms alarm more reactionary strata, which fear being hurt by them and which resort to any and all means to mount a counterattack.

The projected reforms in education, especially in higher education, have had the same effect. They are totally incapable of meeting the most elementary demands of the students. Nonetheless they have aroused bitter resistance from the more retrograde in-

But we should note before going any further that the Communist party bureaucrats share the responsibility for this policy, inasmuch as they have provided important cover for the government (in the case of the housing law, it has been noted that the abstention of the Communist deputies was decisive in achieving passage).

Furthermore, the reform program that the PCI is advancing, primarily through the intermediary of the unions, would not in fact be free from difficulties similar to those associated with the reformism of the center-left. In the last analysis, there is no qualitative difference between the PCI and the government coalition in this area. The Communists' fundamental contradiction lies in projecting a reformist solution for the workers' movement at a time when the profound crisis of Italian society makes possible, in fact demands, a revolutionary perspective.

For precisely this reason, the PCI opportunists have also been unable to avoid a substantial sterility. They have given up revolutionary struggle against the system. At the same time they cannot implement their reformist policy. In the vacuum left by the lack of general political solutions, it was almost inevitable that retrogressive tendencies would set in.

The right turn of the DC was far from being an "error" or simply a tactical maneuver. It corresponded to a specific need of the ruling class in this phase. It was not by chance that only a few days apart the secretary of the DC, Forlani, and the chairman of the industrialists' association, Lombardi, expressed similar orientations.

The priority task for the bourgeoisie and the government is to bring about a return to "normalcy," first of all to reestablish the authority of the bosses in the plants, in order to permit a steadier pace of production. If this objective is not achieved in a relatively short time, the political and social crisis will worsen and disruptive tendencies will increase. Let us repeat: It was the vital need of the ruling class to avert this danger—and not simply or even primarily electoral opportunism—that determined the most recent positions of the Christian Democratic leadership.

The June 13 elections revealed—most of all in the cases of Sicily, Rome, and Foggia—that there are capitalist and landowning groups ready to use neofascism to achieve their objectives. At the same time, the vote showed that important strata of the petty bourgeoisie and urban middle-bourgeoisie, to say nothing of sectors of the popular masses in economically and socially disrupted areas, can now provide mass support for these maneuvers.

What are the prospects for the near future? The variant of the government enlarging its base by overtures to the PCI has become still less probable than before. On the other hand, the situation has changed with respect to the chances for a governmental bloc weighted more to the right. The fascist and neofascist organizations came out of the June elections strengthened. They will probably try to increase their role as an instrument of repression and reactionary violence operating outside of the "legal" state apparatus.

But the weight of the neofascists has also increased notably in the area of parliamentary politics. In the present context, the DC will be compelled to rely increasingly on support from the MSI (Movimento Sociale Italiano—Italian Social Movement, the neofascists) for its conservative projects and to counterbalance any balking by the

Socialists (with Communist support). It is significant that in the statements he made immediately after the elections, the fascist leader Almirante made an overture in this direction, calling on his followers to demonstrate a sense of responsibility and restrain themselves from expressions of joy that might provoke incidents. It need scarcely be added that tendencies in the state apparatus toward complicity with the neofascists will receive considerable encouragement from the increase in the MSI vote.

The conditions for a complete about-face by the DC and thus for a rightist bloc, to be sure, do not exist. Thus, the center-left still seems the only possible alternative. This is all the more true because the Christian Democratic losses were in part compensated for by the rather good showing of the Socialists, Social Democrats, and Republicans.

But in the aftermath of these elections, the center-left will be rent by still more acute conflicts. (We need only think of the fact that the Socialists will have to react to the increased strength of the extreme right in a way opposite to the direction in which the DC will inevitably seek to move.) Moreover, the center-left will now be strongly tipped to the right. The gains of the Republicans, and even more of the Social Democrats, represent a strengthening of the moderate wing.

It is not insignificant that in its comment on the elections, *La Stampa*, the mouthpiece of the FIAT company, although it has been in the forefront of the center-left and has flirted with reformism, called the Christian Democratic and Socialist left to order, declaring "all these rebellious speeches and gestures on the left gained no votes."

If, despite all these considerations, we must still avoid impressionistically drawing any pessimistic conclusions, it is essentially because the struggles in recent months and in these last weeks themselves—from FIAT to Zanussi—have proved that the workers' upsurge is far from running out of steam.

These battles have demonstrated that the workers in the strongest and most advanced categories are not ready to see the gains they made in 1969-70 wiped out by higher prices and a rationalization that results in increased exploitation. The workers have also shown that they are unwilling to return to "their place" and subject themselves once again to a rigidly hierarchical organization within the plants, or to yield to the threat of higher levels of unemployment. They are continuing to struggle for a system of organizing work that would be at least bearable and for consolidation of the relationship of forces established in the last three years.

Unless there are failures and setbacks in this struggle, the day of victory will never come for the conservatives, and the system will not overcome its crisis of disintegration. Demonstrations such as the one May 30

in Rome and the one June 12\* in Milan are additional indications that there are ample possibilities for successfully meeting the offensive of the conservatives and reactionaries.

In order to achieve this result, however, certain definite conditions are required. The first is that the struggles in progress or in prospect be led with an understanding of the overall situation and the relationship of forces. In other words, it is essential to make every effort to assure a successful outcome of such important struggles as those at FIAT and Zanussi. But it is no less essential to prevent the proliferation of conflicts and to avoid provoking explosions light-mindedly, without worrying too much about their chance of success.

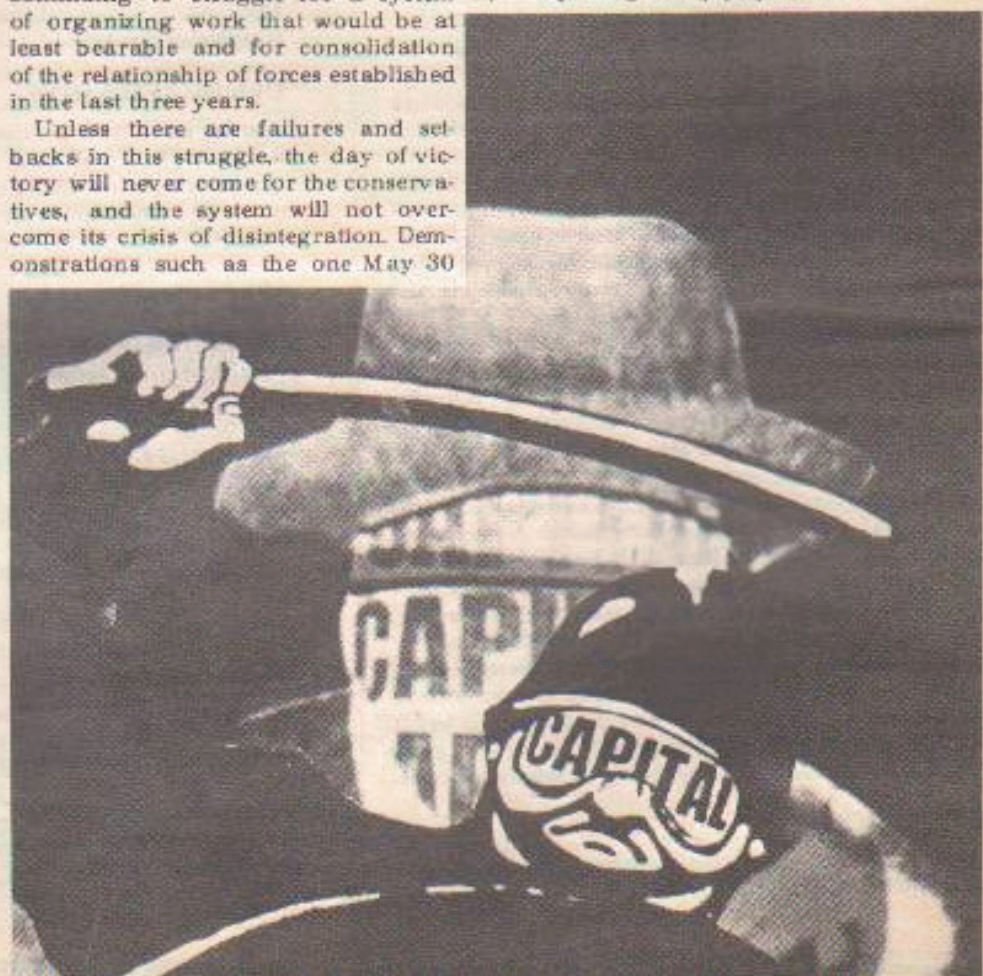
Similarly, we must be attentive to the fact that struggles that stretch out too long, or are started up again after too brief a respite, produce symptoms of attrition and fatigue. We need not waste many words on explaining how dangerous such phenomena are in the present context.

The need for a strategy based on transitional demands—demands with an anticapitalist dynamic—is still more urgent. The points we have raised several times in *Bandiera Rossa* (as well as in the editorial in the first issue in the new series of the magazine *IV Internazionale*) on workers' control, housing questions, the sliding scale of wages, prices, taxes, etc., remain on the agenda. It is more than ever important for the workers to defend the democratic bodies that arose in the great struggles—to defend them from all attacks by the bosses and from all bureaucratic distortions.

In the face of fascist and reactionary attacks, the left must free itself from all sectarian reflexes and must understand the need for a united-front policy. And if we want a united front, we obviously cannot leave out the unions—or the opportunist parties, either.

If the revolutionary left is able to move in this direction, it will not only help to prevent a dangerous evolution in which we would be the first victims. At the same time, we can begin to be seen by broad working-class strata as offering a real alternative solution, and we can start to take decisive steps along the road to building the Leninist revolutionary party. □

\* The far-left organizations, including the Italian section of the Fourth International, organized a demonstration of 30,000 persons in Milan in support of workers struggling for better housing and in protest against police attacks on homeless people squatting in empty apartments.





# labour Imperialism



When the 1945-51 Labour Governments took office, they were faced by a rising challenge from the colonial bourgeoisie and growing competition from American imperialism which was then masquerading as an anti-colonial power. The Americans had responded to Labour's victory by abruptly ending lend-lease, thus compelling Britain to apply for a massive dollar loan. The loan was granted on condition that sterling become freely convertible and that U.S. goods be allowed free access to the British market. This agreement closely defined the parameters of British economic independence for it resulted in the famous dollar gap which was to continually threaten sterling. In fact the pound was devalued within two years of restoring convertibility.

Now, the traditional source of foreign currency to balance British deficits had been colonial primary produce. India, for example, in the pre-First World War period, earned large surpluses on Continental and American trade, mainly through jute and cotton exports. This enabled the U.K. to run a deficit with Europe and the USA, thus permitting the British to enjoy a higher standard of living, at India's expense. This is the classic *modus operandi* of imperialist exploitation—of developing underdevelopment—in a process by which the economies of the satellites are distorted to meet the needs of the metropolis. Faced with the pressing need to bridge the dollar gap, the Labour Government accepted the above implications quite candidly. In reply to left-wing criticism, Bevin outlined the elementary rationale of Labour imperialism as follows: "... if the British Empire fell it would the standard of life of our constituents would fall considerably." But it was Strachey who outlined clearly what was required of the colonies. Rejecting colonial claims for industrial development, he bluntly announced that this was an "indulgence" which Britain's internal position would not allow and that by "hook or by crook the development of primary production of all sorts in the colonial territories must proceed ... it was a matter of life and death for the country." Strachey meant what he said. By 1950 the colonial surplus was raised to \$376 million compared with \$150m. p.a. during 1945-49. In 1951 this surplus had reached \$314 million within the first six months.

## MALAYA AND BRITISH IMPERIALISM

Malaya had now replaced India as the most important economic component of the Empire system, earning more dollars in 1951 than the whole of British exports. The strategic need to control Malayan rubber and tin sources dominated Labour's attitude to the Far East. Stability and security—a swift return to the old colonial pattern disrupted by Japanese occupation—became the order of the day. Within two months after Labour took office, British troops were landed in Java to suppress, with the help of Japanese prisoners of war, no less, the Republic declared by Indonesian nationalists. Rejecting U.N. intervention, Bevin handed the territory back to the reliable Dutch. Saigon too was occupied by British forces and handed over to the French early in 1946. In Malaya itself the old order had to be reconstructed. Large areas, especially tin and rubber producing zones, were in the hands of the Malay People's anti-Japanese Army. Comprised mainly of Chinese Communists (for most Malays had collaborated with the Japanese), it was therefore incompatible with British imperialism and was subsequently disarmed by a mixture of threats and bribery. An alliance was then formed between the most reactionary elements in Malaya—the Muslim Sultans and British imperialism—which greatly restricted political representation for the Chinese and Indian populations. This was followed by mounting attacks on the trade unions culminating in the anti-strike laws of 1948. The Communists then embarked on a guerrilla liberation struggle to which the British responded by using the now familiar techniques of pacification—fire free zones, forcible evictions of peasant populations, etc. The Labour Government was now committed to a virulent anti-Communist posture which culminated in Bevin's call for the reunification of Korea under the tyrant Syngman Rhee. In Vietnam, Java, Malaya and Korea the Labour Government demonstrated its readiness to forcibly prevent Communist partisans from

imperialism.

## U.S. IMPERIALISM AND BRITISH REPRESSION

Whilst American imperialism was in complete accord with British repression against colonial movements suspected of Communist orientation, elsewhere it sought to undermine British spheres of influence. The Middle East was a typical arena for Anglo-American imperialist competition. The Labour Government, dominated by two major concerns—the need for control over Arab oil and the Suez Canal—maintained traditional British policy there. Troops remained in Syria, Lebanon and Iraq despite appeals to the U.N., Jordan, with the Arab Legion commanded by a British officer, remained a client state, and the Egyptians were told by Morrison that Britain could not withdraw troops from the Canal zone. When the Egyptians eventually abrogated the 1936 Treaty, Bevin informed them in best gunboat style, "We are here, we have a right to be here, and we shall stand absolutely firm in exercising these undoubted rights." American imperialism exerted pressure on the British in two seemingly contradictory ways. On the one hand, domestic policies, heavily influenced by the 5-million-strong Jewish vote, demanded that Palestine be opened to European Jews, thereby alienating Arab opinion. However, this was in opposition to American oil interests which sought to ingratiate itself with the Arabs. In fact, despite this contradiction, both American aims were successful, mainly due to British complicity. Whilst 50,000 British troops occupied Palestine, hundreds of thousands of displaced Jews were permitted entry. When finally British troops were withdrawn in 1948 the Zionists were in sufficient strength to defeat the Arabs, who were made to pay for the European mistreatment of the Jews. The Palestine struggle had placed the Labour Government in another of the "agonising dilemmas" from which they sought to escape by finding a "balanced" solution. One should note, however, that the effective result of these solutions is to leave the colons in power. As in Israel in 1948, so also in Rhodesia and Ulster in the '60s.

## THE STATE OF ISRAEL

The Americans, thanks to uneasy British help, had achieved the first of their Middle East objectives—the setting up of the state of Israel. The second objective—the penetration into Arab oil sources—was also achieved with British help, albeit unintentional. The British owned 56% of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, from which the U.K. Government received more taxes from profits than did the Iranians. The company represented a grotesque example of uneven development—a vast modern oil complex in a feudal country with 90% illiteracy and an infant mortality rate of 50% of all live births. As for the oil, although annual exports were valued at \$360 million, Iran itself received less than 10% of this in royalties, had no control on the amount of oil leaving the country or on the price; the Admiralty for example received oil at cut-price rates. The Iranians, faced with the refusal of the Anglo-Iranian Co. to consider a more equitable arrangement, announced their intention of nationalising the company. The Labour Government, far from applauding the attempt of a poor country to capture the "commanding heights" of industry, was horrified. It was made clear to the Iranians that nationalisation would not be tolerated, but nevertheless the Company was nationalised in 1951. The Labour Administration responded by blocking Iran's sterling balances, suspending exports of vital items such as sugar and steel rails and moving the parachute brigade out to Cyprus. These measures were maintained when the Tories took office and reinforced by pressure from the Americans and the World Bank. However the Americans were playing their own game. They had devised a technique whereby their unpopularity with the Arab masses could be circumvented by the simple technique of CIA coups. Having induced a financial crisis, with the help of the British, they proceeded independently to plan and direct a successful coup d'état. As a result of this coup the British lost their oil monopoly and Iranian oil was turned over to a consortium of Western oil companies—the U.S. cut being 40%. The British



defending their own shabby imperial interests, they had been set up as front men by their more powerful rivals.

## THE "BLOODLESS REVOLUTION"

Labour politicians are fond of referring to the period 1945-51 as the "bloodless revolution". From the Third World's point of view it was part of a bloody counter-revolution which has not yet been defeated. In most of the colonies under Labour's control the same imperial structure was maintained—there was no revolutionary displacement of the ruling colons. In British Guiana, which was perhaps the most politically advanced colony in the Empire, Cheddi Jagan's multi-racial socialist party was continually denounced both by the TUC and the Labour Party for having communist sympathies. The same reactionary civil servants and Governors who worked hand-in-glove with the British sugar planters remained in office. Police officers were praised and decorated for shooting strikers, and friends of the Governor were nominated to the legislature despite being defeated at the polls. There was no attempt to solve the basic contradiction of the colony—between British planters and the landless peasants. The latter were being transformed into a wretched rural proletariat by the planters who bought up the best land and then let it lie idle. By this process they were able to force the landless peasants to work on their plantations. Under such conditions the growth of Jagan's party was hardly surprising, and in the early '50s he won an electoral victory. With the support of the National Executive of the Labour Party, who said Jagan's policies warranted military intervention, the Tories dispatched a gunboat and dismissed Jagan. In taking this action they merely continued the theme of hostility towards the socialist forces in the colony, a theme which the Labour Government had initiated in defence of its own imperialism and oil interests in Venezuela. The U.S., alarmed by the spectre of Marxism in its own back garden, had worked in harmony with British governments towards undermining Jagan. The CIA, using black agents, fermented a strike by elements of the black population against Jagan in 1953 and with the help of Westminster exaggerated the racial antagonisms which have paralysed the political development of Guiana to this day.

## AFRICA

In black Africa, too, the Labour Government left intact the apparatus of repression. It was under a Labour Government that Kenya approached the holocaust of the Mau Mau rebellion. Sir P. Mitchell, the Governor, in his retirement speech in 1951, described the colony as "cheerful and loyal". During the next four years, some 11,000 of these "cheerful loyal" citizens, mainly Kikuyu rural proletariat, were killed in a one-sided guerrilla struggle—less than 100 whites lost their lives. Though left-wing Labourites denounced the Tories over atrocities such as the Hola Camp, it is well to remember that these same men had presided over the essential contradiction of Kenya—the domination over 5 million Africans by 26,000 Europeans. In 1950 Kenyatta had asked for a modest

African members on the legislative council which was dominated by 27 Europeans. Griffith, the Labour Colonial Secretary, under pressure from the white settlers who were threatening to take matters into their own hands, offered Kenyatta one extra African, to be nominated by the Governor, and rejected the principle of popular election. This refusal to allow Africans meaningful representation in the government compounded the agrarian grievances and sporadic disturbances broke out throughout the last two years of Labour's rule.

Further south, Patrick Gordon Walker had taken the preliminary moves to establish the Central African Federation, despite the unanimous opposition of all African opinion. The effect of such a federation was to place the copper belt of Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and the reservoir of labour in Nyasaland (now Malawi) under the political control of the white settlers of Southern Rhodesia. The Labour Party found itself in opposition when the Federation was actually implemented and found it convenient to appear radical again by voting against the enacting legislation. When in power, however, Labour showed a remarkable sensitivity to white settler prejudices. The treatment of the African leaders in Bechuanaland provides sordid evidence of capitulation to racialism. When Tshakedi Khama struggled to oppose South African control over South West Africa (a former German colony), the Labour Government refused to allow him to go to the U.N. They were anxious to placate South Africa from whom they borrowed £80 million in gold. Later when South African opinion was enraged over the marriage of Seretse Khama to a white woman, the Labour Government offered him £1,000 p.a. to renounce his chieftainship and leave Africa.

During the period 1945-51 the Labour administration practised imperialism on a global scale. No doubt it came as a painful surprise to many Labour M.P.s to find their Government cynically manipulating the U.N., appeasing white racists, and opposing socialist movements throughout the underdeveloped world. But this was the response dictated by the objective needs of British capitalism as it struggled to recover from the war. Though Labour M.P.s often seek consolation in the speed with which the Indian sub-continent was granted independence, the Government was in fact bowing to the inevitable—it could not have reacted in any other way. But elsewhere it took full advantage of all the unequal relationships which British power was able to maintain.

The lessons for Marxists are quite clear. There can be no Socialist foreign policy without a revolutionary overthrow of the existing relations of production. Imperial foreign policy is but an external reflection of the internal contradiction of capitalist society. Those who practice it illuminate their role as defenders of capitalism at home and overseas. The last Labour Government by its abject support of American imperialism in Vietnam, by its capitulation to the Smith regime, by its military defence of the Ulster Unionist regime, continued the ignoble example of its predecessors.

—P. Kneafse



# BENGAL:

## Moulana Bhashani

"When I am freed from here I shall go back to my own people. I can hear their heartrending cries even from here. One who is born in water is not afraid of ocean. I do not believe you can go to heaven [obvious allusion to Bangla Desh's independence] by holding someone else's hand"—this is the last cryptic message to one of his followers from 92-year-old Moulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani, East Bengal's militant political leader, who is now held in India under what was reported to be "protective custody".

In Calcutta's Bangla Desh mission, a stronghold of the Awami League expatriates, enquiries about the Moulana's whereabouts are received with cold silence. To members of the Awami League High Command, who have converged on Calcutta since Yahya's army operations began in March and are now facing mounting criticism from the fighting units inside Bangla Desh for their inactive and incapable role in the present armed struggle, the name "Bhashani" is an anathema. It appeared to them that the Moulana constituted the real threat to their already discredited leadership.

Even to the Indian reactionary clique Bhashani is a potential danger. In the past Moulana Bhashani consistently took an anti-imperialist stand on all international issues. India's fear of this aged leader is also based on a more concrete fact, that Moulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani is the only political leader in the whole of the sub-continent who can genuinely claim large followings in both West Bengal and Bangla Desh.

### EARLY BACKGROUND

In the 1920s, for leading a peasant revolt in the Tangail area in his home province, Moulana Abdul Hamid Khan, not yet known as Bhashani, was expelled by the British from Bengal and went to Assam, a state now in India. In Assam, during the next 25 years till 1948, Moulana stayed and worked among the oppressed peasants. Time and time again Moulana Abdul Hamid led the peasants of Assam to resist the atrocities of the Assamese police, who used to be sent out by the Assam Government to evict the peasants. Gradually, the militant Moulana formed his peasant base areas surrounding Dhubri, Golakganj, Shilchar and Bhashanirchar, the last-named place after which the peasants used to call their leader "the Moulana of Bhashani" and the name stuck. The Moulana's prestige among these peasants is still undiminished 23 years after the partition of India. And this is exactly what the Indira Government is wary about.

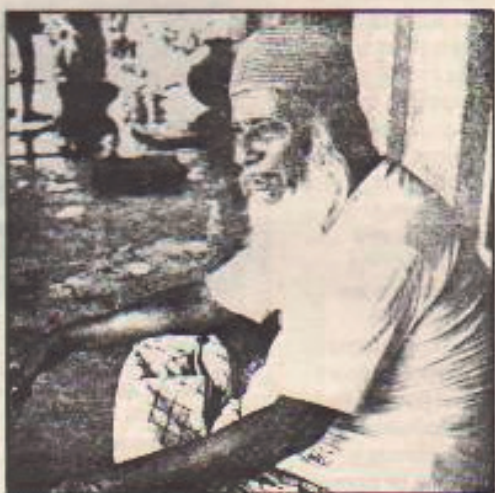
By the middle of last April when the Pakistani troops started fanning out into Bengal's countryside to continue their oppressive military operations, the Moulana, leaving his home in Tangail which subsequently was attacked, went across the border to Dhubri, his former base area in Assam, to organise a peasant army and launch resistance against Yahya's troops from the north. This plan was foiled initially by the Indian authorities.

Firstly, India does not want that arms should reach the peasants and workers in the fighting area; as a result the emergence of a peasant army on the Indian side with the Moulana as its leader has to be strongly resisted.

Secondly, India is committed to helping the Awami League elements only, as they compose the most allied class allies of the Indian comprador-bourgeois ruling clique. The true nature of Indian government motives was further revealed when the Border Security Forces of India seized Moulana Bhashani on his arrival at Dhubri. The old leader was physically disallowed to come in contact with his followers. Since then as each day passed the darkness of the cloak surrounding the Moulana increased. It was reported that Messrs. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed and Moinul Haq, the two Muslim members of the Indira Cabinet from Assam, were

Moulana's wounded feelings. Both the ministers, whose families reportedly owe certain attachments to the Moulana, cooed and cried over the old man's shoulder, shedding crocodile tears in sympathy, but their antics did not ensure his freedom. Subsequently, Moulana Bhashani was brought to West Bengal. He was last known to be staying in the custody of BSF in a house at Hedayetpur near Krishnagar, 60 miles north of Calcutta.

Moulana Bhashani has always been in the forefront of the democratic struggles in Pakistan. In the early fifties he led the Awami League to oppose the rule of the feudal landlord class and the bureaucrat-bourgeoisie of Pakistan, represented by the Muslim League, the party which came to power in



Pakistan when imperial India was divided into two semi-colonial states in 1947. In 1954, very largely due to his campaigning for joint action against the common enemy, a united front was able to rout the Muslim League in elections in Bengal. But very soon the Moulana realised that that path being trodden by the Awami League, the main component of the united front of 1954, was that of right-wing opportunism, inasmuch as that the League opposed any radical change in Bengali politics and acted in a manner upholding the rule of the privileged class. The final break with the Awami League came in 1957-58, when the Awami League Prime Minister at the Centre, Mr. Suhrawardy, joined the U.S.-sponsored Military Pacts—a move bitterly opposed by Moulana Bhashani.

### 1968 UPSURGE

In 1968-69, during the mass upheaval in Pakistan, Moulana Bhashani was again in the forefront of the peasants-workers-students' resistance. He personally led the "Gherao" (encircling) of the Governor's palace in Dacca in March 1969, engaging a large police force in pitched battles, despite his great old age. To many, this was Moulana's finest hour in his long and stormy political career. The wind of change was also blowing over West Pakistan. The following month, Field Marshal Ayub Khan's regime after a decade of autocratic rule collapsed under the pressure of people's revolt.

Within East Bengal, the Moulana built up a powerful Krishak Samity—Peasants' Association—with a membership totalling 100,000 militant cadres spread throughout the province. East Bengal's Communist Party extended its fullest support to Moulana Bhashani to bring the peasants together. Undoubtedly, Krishak Samity helped spread the spirit of militancy in the countryside, as the red-capped volunteers of the Samity shouting Lal Salam (Red Salute) to their leader were seen as a very threat to the existing power structure. At a time when the Awami League was trying to turn Bengali national aspirations into a petty-bourgeois chauvinism, Moulana Bhashani stood firmly for the liberation of the masses from the exploitation of big landlords and capitalists.

Moulana Bhashani has strong dislike for those middle-class politicians who, cut off from the mainstream of struggle waged by the peasants and workers, speak of parliamentary politics as the only means to realising democratic rights. In an underdeveloped country like Pakistan, institutions such as parliament, through policies of reform and adjustments, legalise the stranglehold of feudal-bourgeois rule over the population. By denying the existence of class antagonism and opposing class struggle as the means to resolve contradictions in a society, the bourgeois parliament advocates co-existence of classes with the proletariat remaining

The Moulana, having already had his bad experience of parliamentary politics in the united front of 1954, decided against participation in the last elections of 1970. He declared at a large peasant rally at Mahipur last year, "the holding of elections under the present system is a ruse adopted by the exploiters to keep themselves in power." It was reckoned that more than 42% of the total electorates in East Bengal did not cast their votes in the last elections held under the Legal Framework Order, a set of rules laid down by the military junta which gave wide power to Yahya Khan to disband the National Assembly or to refuse assent to a constitution agreed by the elected representatives if he chose to do so.

Moulana Bhashani was among the first to realise that only complete independence could start to solve the economic ills of East Bengal. This demand for independence was not to cater for the chauvinists or bourgeois opportunists, but it was seen as a necessary first step in the struggle for a socialist Bengal. Moulana Bhashani is certainly not a communist. But his political vision for his country is built upon the hope of a future free from all exploitation of man by man. He believes the East Bengali peasants and workers can never be free while their country is in subjection to the West. And the West Pakistani proletariat and peasantry could never achieve socialism within a country which is keeping another country in subjection.

Today, the followers of Moulana Bhashani joining the United National Liberation struggle are fighting the invading army of Yahya Khan in East Bengal, while their leader is held by the Indian authorities.

The last two months of incarceration has affected Moulana Bhashani's health. He has learnt to be suffering from serious eye trouble and asthmatic condition.

The immediate release of this great popular leader is believed to be absolutely essential by all who want to see the struggle in East Bengal for its liberation succeed.

—Khaled Yousuf, writing from Calcutta

### WEST PAKISTANI SECURITY MEN IN LONDON

According to reports received from some very reliable sources in West Pakistan, 25 special military intelligence men have been sent to London to make a detailed survey of the anti-Yahya movement with special concentration on West Pakistanis opposed to the massacres in Bengal. After making a survey the G-men will report back and suggest further measures. According to our information they have already singled out some leading members of the West Pakistanis in Solidarity with Bengal Committee. We also hear that the Pakistani security services have been in recent consultations with the Persian Gestapo SAVAK, with a view to studying their methods of harassment of Persian revolutionaries in Europe and North America. It is obvious that Scotland Yard is aware of the presence of these agents in Britain. What at the moment is not determined is whether it is collaborating with them or not. The hysterical campaign being waged in the Urdu press in Britain against M. K. Janjua and Tariq Ali because of their support for a free Bengal is another ominous sign of what could lie ahead.

### PEASANTS BATTLE AGAINST POLICE IN W. PAKISTAN

The situation in West Pakistan is without doubt beginning to change. The working class in all the major cities is extremely restive because of the economic crisis and eruptions can be expected any day. Meanwhile in Charsadda near Peshawar in the North West Frontier Province there has recently been a two-day running battle between 500 peasants protesting against eviction and the Frontier Constabulary. While we are still awaiting detailed reports, what is clear is that many peasants have been killed and hundreds arrested.

### BHUTTO'S CHANGING ROLE

Mr. Bhutto's "phony" campaign against the present regime will not cut much ice with militants, particularly considering his role in the repression of Bengal. What has caused this change? The answer is simple: Mr. Bhutto now appears as the most sophisticated spokesman of U.S. imperialism in West Pakistan. The State Department and the World Bank favour a political settlement with the remnants of the Awami League and with Sheikh Mujibur Rehman. Bhutto now acts as their spokesman against sections in the Army, though it is clear that even the top Army leadership is divided on immediate tactics.

### DACCA ATTACKED

The heart of Dacca, which today is the best-protected city in East Bengal and is a garrison town, is today no longer immune to attack. Twice over the last two months the NLF guerrillas have destroyed the electricity power stations and engulfed the city in darkness. Even today the supplies of electricity are very limited, but more important, the population is aware that the guerrillas are active and fighting



# molehills

AN ATTEMPT AT DISRUPTION

The London demonstration on July 25th against the Immigration Bill, organised by a united front committee, and initiated by the Black Unity and Freedom Party, indicates the kind of united action which is required if a serious opposition to racism is to be built. Unfortunately it also indicated the emergence of disruptive tactics on the part of one organisation which will cripple the movement if they are permitted to go any further.

Edward Davoren of the Irish National Liberation Solidarity Front, speaking at the rally which preceded the demonstration, launched a slanderous attack on the International Marxist Group and the Spartacus League. Declaring the need to expose "agents of the ruling class" present at the demo, he denounced the IMG/SL disagreement with the Maoist line that we are faced with "growing fascism" as "covering up for the ruling class"; falsely attributing to the IMG/SL the SLL's position of calling for another Labour Government, he declared that they were deliberately trying to create illusions in the Labour Party in order to assist capitalism, and he accused them of using the slogan of Workers' Control to oppose the concept of the workers taking state power.

## REFUSAL TO BE PROVOKED

This was a clear attempt to split the demo, but the IMG/SL who constituted the largest contingent present, refused to be provoked and marched off from Ladbroke Grove. During the course of the demo, IMG/SL representatives discussed with the stewards and requested that they be allowed to

make a reply, and that the committee dissociate from Davoren's speech. A meeting of the stewards in Shepherds Bush Green at the end of the demo granted three minutes for a reply. George Joseph, speaking for the BUFP, expressed dismay at the incident, saying that such events created doubts in the minds of many black people about working with white organisations, and made difficulties for those black leaders who understood the necessity for this.

## PRIVATE PROPERTY

When Bob Purdie mounted the step ladder, which served as a platform, to reply, three or four of Davoren's supporters leapt forward and started rocking the steps to and fro in an attempt to dislodge him, while someone else pulled the leads out of the loudspeaker equipment. A force of SL members intervened to protect Cde. Purdie and dissuaded the Davorenites. BUFP stewards cleared the area, and reconnected the equipment. Meanwhile it turned out that the step ladder belonged to the Davorenites, and they claimed their private property rights. Cde. Purdie continued with his speech on the ground, the leads were again pulled out, he resumed with a battery loudhailer. He pointed out that the IMG/SL had a different analysis of Fascism from other organisations present; they regarded this as a serious question of Marxist theory which had to be discussed, but this did not mean that they did not see the importance of fighting the growing reaction in Britain. He expressed the conviction that there was no reason why the IMG/SL could not continue to work in a united front with all of the organisations present.

## STALINISM

This incident is serious; it represents one of the first occasions in London when one left-wing organisation has tried to prevent free speech on a demonstration, and has tried to physically prevent another tendency from speaking. The IMG/SL will not permit such tactics to be extended, and will prevent the physical intimidation of their members, and any other militants who are prevented from speaking. All other genuine revolutionaries should support this stand.

But the question is more than one simply of workers' democracy. It is at root political. Mr. Davoren has been conducting a disgusting campaign against the "Trotskyites" in the columns of his newspaper for some months now, not shrinking from the most baseless calumnies, including extracts from a book called *The Great Conspiracy against Russia* which purports to show that Trotsky was acting as an agent of Hitler.

If in your press you constantly reiterate that "Trotskyites" are agents of the ruling class, it is only natural that sooner or later you will apply your theory to practice. Davoren's methods stem from his politics, from his acceptance of Stalinism. Those who have embraced Maoism are today in deep crisis, under the hammer blows of China's policy in regard to Bangla Desh, Ceylon and U.S. imperialism. Davoren himself has suffered a recent crippling split. The Stalinism of these Maoist groups is now being drawn out to its logical conclusion, their backs are to the wall and they are lashing out blindly. All genuine militants (including many Maoists) should take note of this and refuse to permit them to disrupt and split the unity that is needed at this time in order to combat the Immigration and Anti-T.U. Bills.

—Red Mole Reporters

## SUDAN: AN AFRICAN INDONESIA

As we go to press news comes of the executions and hangings of Communist leaders in the Sudan. The Sudanese C.P. leader, Abdul Majoub, has been hanged, and a witch-hunt of Indonesian proportions has been unleashed against the Sudanese communists. The Sudanese C.P.—a staunchly pro-Moscow formation—split several months ago on the question of collaboration with the regime. Majoub was opposed to further collaboration and was imprisoned by Numeiry. At that time the only organisation to call for the release of the Sudanese communists was the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. Both Moscow and Peking remained silent. Today they see for themselves where the policies of class-collaboration lead. The Sudanese C.P. was one of the more influential of the Arab C.P.s, but its collusion with the Numeiry regime and its refusal to mobilise the masses independently played into the hands of reaction.

As Majoub is hanged and other communists are butchered, the bureaucrats in the Kremlin can only fulminate against the terror. When it comes to killing communists, the Kremlin refuses to act, particularly where the regime committing the massacres is the "friend of a friend" (Sadat and Ghadafi). In the next issue of *The Red Mole*, we will carry an extensive report on the Sudan. Meanwhile the revolutionary militants must do all in their power to show their feelings against the butchers in the Sudan.

A little-noticed, but interesting arrival on the scene of white-collar unions is the proposed "Association of Professional Scientists", announced a few weeks back by a Mr. Leslie Williams. At first sight, one might be excused for wondering why a new union has to be formed when ASTMS and DATA are already negotiating on behalf of a substantial number of scientists and technologists. Mr. Williams asserts that his association will provide a means for "protecting the professional ethics of the scientist"—something ASTMS and DATA are presumed not to be too good at.

Mr. Williams himself has a head start in the field of ethics—for a considerable period he was deputy chairman of ICI. This in itself might be considered odd by those who have been more used to seeing trade union leaders sell out to become company directors than vice versa—but fear not, Mr. Williams is no class traitor. His union is determined to see that no such ungentlemanly tactics as strikes are indulged in by its membership—discreet pressure in the right quarters is the favoured tactic. Of course, this may mean that a scientist in Mr. Williams' Union is likely to remain, in the words of a Liverpool University sociologist, "mystified that his superior status is not recognised in terms of money". The ruling class is not unprepared to grant favours for such docility, however: in fact a special clause has been inserted into the Industrial Relations Bill which states that, in recognition disputes, "professional or other qualifications" must be taken into account. Which, in this case, means that the bosses' Union gets recognition and negotiating rights—in return for services rendered.

## A HUNDRED THOUSAND WELCOMES?

A word of advice for journalists: be very careful about attending press conferences addressed by Mr. Le Ngoc Chan, the "South Vietnamese" ambassador to Britain.

A recent press conference held by this dignitary in the Intercontinental Hotel, Dublin, ended amidst amazing scenes. The conference was for invited journalists, but a number of others turned up uninvited and were admitted. Amongst these was Michael O'Riordan, secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland, representing the *Irish Socialist*. Mick had been circulating and chatting for about ten minutes before the Special Branch realised the enormity of their error. They politely asked him to leave, and being a loyal disciple of peace and progress, he politely left. Outside the door, however, he was set upon by a bunch of thugs drawn from the

ranks of the Special Branch, the Garda Siochana (Irish fuzz), and the hotel security guards, and violently ejected from the premises. A picture in the Dublin magazine *This Week* shows him being manhandled out of the front door with jacket and shirt torn open. He was taken to Irishtown Garda station and charged with assault and disorderly behaviour.

The other journalists present, led by Prionas Mac Aonghusa, the well known left-wing Irish writer, demanded Mick's release, the "ambassador" disclaimed all responsibility for the affair and the Gardai were reluctant to part with O'Riordan, so all the journalists present walked out. Remember, citizen journalists, next time Mr. Chan invites you to a press conference, be sure to scoff the maximum amount of booze as quickly as possible, you may not have long.

## IMPORTANT WORKING CLASS VICTORY IN SPAIN

In mid-May the elections took place for the workers' delegates to sit on the fascist corporatist "Unions" which include both workers' and employers' representatives. These unions are tightly controlled by the Franco regime. Attempts made during the last ten years to agitate inside these Unions have met with heavy repression. Of course, oppositional groups were able to "exploit" the "legal possibilities" and even to meet up through the fascist union offices. But they were only able to do this under the discreet but constant watch of the fascist police, who after allowing the movement to be canalised into legal channels would arrest the oppositional worker militants at the most opportune moment and thus periodically break up a laboriously constructed network of workers' organisations. Making a balance sheet of this experience and profiting from the visibly changed relationship of forces between the vanguard groups and the reformist tendencies in the working class, most of the vanguard groups called this year for a boycott of the Francoist Union elections. The Spanish C.P. and the official Francoist propaganda have both tried to ensure the greatest possible participation in the elections (the C.P. to have oppositional delegates elected, the Francoists to support the official candidates).

The results received to date show a remarkable victory for the boycott which has become a defeat for Francoism and reflects the growing politicisation of the Spanish working class, which was already apparent at the time of the strikes in defence of the Basque political prisoners condemned at Burgos at the beginning of this year.

In the Basque country the Francoist press itself has been forced to acknowledge a "50% abstention". Reality is a bit different, however: in the main Basque industrial centre, Bilbao, the average abstention rate exceeded 70%, reaching in the most important factories: 80% at *Naval* (naval yards); 80% at *Altos Hornos* (iron manufacture); over 80% at *Firestone* and *General Electric*; more than 95% at *Edessa*, etc. In Madrid in the two main factories—*Pegaso* (cars), *Standard Electric* (electrical apparatus)—over half the workers boycotted the elections, despite the fact that these are both Communist Party strongholds and that Government pressure was exceptionally strong.

In Catalonia and especially in Barcelona and its industrial suburbs, the abstention rate exceeded 66% and sometimes reached 70% and over: *Harry Walker* (70%); *SEAT (FIAT) Factory No. 5*: 100%; *Telefonica* 100%; *Inde* 90%; *Faema* 80%; etc.

In many towns "boycott committees" have been formed in the factories, forming a united front of representatives of most of the extreme left groups. The comrades in the *Liga Comunista Revolucionaria* (Revolutionary Communist League, ex-Comunismo Group), an organisation sympathetic to the Fourth International, participated in these committees. They also put out an appeal to these same groups to organise street demonstrations during election week to call for a boycott and to encourage the workers by showing them that the fascists were no longer the masters of the streets.

Although several groups responded favourably, it was practically only the LCR comrades who went out onto the streets on the 18th May. Their success was all the more remarkable. They were able to organise a demonstration of 500 people in Madrid, 400 in Barcelona, 200 in Valencia and 100 in Bilbao—enthusiastic demonstrations behind red flags defended by self-defence groups who prevented any demonstrators being arrested. This is the first time since the victory of Francoism that the Trotskyists have succeeded in organising a demonstration on a national scale in Spain. To get over 1,000 people on the streets under clandestine conditions represents a remarkable achievement for our comrades of the LCR.





Red Mole

## NIXON -MAO SUMMIT MAKES DEFENCE OF THE INDO - CHINESE REVOLUTION AN IMPORTANT TASK



### PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

The recent diplomatic games between the Chinese government and U.S. imperialism formalise the recent right turn taken by the Chinese leadership and mark the end of the limited efforts made by China in the past to organise its followers on a world scale. Revolutionary politics are not in command. If the matter was simply restricted to establishing and normalising diplomatic relations on a state level, there could be no reason for protest. The People's Republic of China has a perfect right to trade and establish relations with any section of the capitalist world and only purists or moralists would raise an objection. Unfortunately the recent talks in Peking between Chou en Lai and Henry Kissinger represent something much more sinister and have therefore to be judged as part of a much wider discussion related to the spread of the Asian Revolution and China's unequivocal betrayal of the same: we refer in particular to Bengal and Ceylon.

The recent Chinese turn, therefore, represents a serious blow to the world revolution. Ever since the Sino-Soviet split which symbolised the dramatic disintegration of the Stalinist monolith, the Chinese had, with a few notable exceptions, followed a policy of aiding movements of national liberation throughout the Third World, but particularly in Asia. Their trenchant criticisms of Soviet peaceful coexistence had further aided in the political development of hundreds of thousands of militants and creation of an independent political vanguard. This is not the place to make a balance-sheet of the Chinese Revolution and its development, but we can say without doubt that the Vietnamese revolutionaries in particular have benefited greatly from the Sino-Soviet split and from the support they received from the Chinese to counterbalance Soviet pressure and to adopt a fairly independent political strategy. The spread of the struggle to Laos and Cambodia, the military defeats suffered by the U.S. armies, the complete demoralisation of the same army, the massive anti-war movement in the heartland itself and the possibilities of other revolutionary breakthroughs, decreased the isolation of China and made the balance of forces much more favourable. It would be ludicrous to argue that China is today in a similar position to that of the Soviet Union when, for instance, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact was signed. (There was much more "justification" for the latter than there is for the Kissinger-Chou talks which have recently taken place.)

### DEFEND THE INDO-CHINESE REVOLUTION

United States imperialism is in a terrible mess in Asia and is now looking towards some sort of a deal with the Chinese government in order to lessen the impact of the blows it has suffered, but it is *not* simply a question of the Chinese responding in order to help the Americans "save face". What is involved is Peking helping to defuse the revolutionary struggles in Asia and help preserve the stability of Asia via peaceful coexistence as well as preserve the internal stability of the Chinese bureaucracy, which has only recently begun to maintain its old pre-"cultural revolution" hegemony. An extension of the revolution changes the social balance of forces inside China as well and this objectively weakens the power of the bureaucracy. The recent editorial in the North Vietnamese party paper, *Nhan Dan*, without mentioning the Chinese, nevertheless has delivered a stinging rebuke to Peking-Washington diplomacy. The North Vietnamese have attacked the concept of a "Big-Power inflicted com-

promise" and have made it clear that they would fight alone if this was necessary. In that sense one can only welcome the cleavage which still exists between the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies because it allows the Vietnamese a considerable degree of autonomy. A joint Moscow-Peking-Washington pressure would be difficult for the Vietnamese to resist. The task of defending the Indo-Chinese revolution against the intrigues of imperialism and the bureaucracies thus comes to the fore again and demands the attention of the revolutionary vanguard in Europe and the United States. Solidarity actions—even though in Western Europe they will be small and limited—are therefore needed in the coming months as the pressure begins to mount on the Vietnamese militants.

### SOVIET "FASCISM"?

It is clear that China will not stop at a Mao-Nixon meeting and that its rightward evolution will continue. Even today this has given both the Soviet bureaucracy and its supporters all over the world the chance to try and outflank the Chinese from the "left" (cf. *Morning Star* editorial, 17th July 1971). The Bulgarians even talk about U.S.-Chinese collusion against the Soviet Union. While all talk of U.S.-Chinese collusion is pure fantasy at the present moment, we have to remember that the extremely dangerous characterisations which the Chinese have made of the class nature of the Soviet Union have an equally dangerous logic. The Chinese have labelled the Soviet state as "capitalist", "fascist", etc., run by "new czars" and the "new bourgeoisie". Much of this has been dismissed as demagoguery by Peking supporters in the West, but the new turn adopted by the Chinese forces one to discuss them seriously. Because if the USSR is a capitalist-fascist state, then given the ideological baggage of the Chinese, an alliance with the more "progressive" (i.e. bourgeois-democratic) wing of the world bourgeoisie against "fascism" is a concrete possibility. It is not necessary to speculate what the results of such an alliance would mean for the world revolution.

### FOR MAOISTS FARTHER AWAY FROM THE TEMPEST ZONES

Many of the supporters of Maoism in Europe and North America have not been similar to the Stalinists of the '30s and '40s. A large bulk of them have been revolutionary militants, confused certainly, but who have fought on the same side of the barricades as other revolutionaries in many parts of the world. Many of them are Marxists who have studied both Marx and Lenin, and it is their revolutionary duty to make clear where they stand. The only explanation of China's evolution lies in its internal regime which is totally bureaucratised. There is no inner-party democracy in the Chinese Communist Party, leave alone the factories and the farms and communes. The bureaucracy still exists and none of Mao's promises during the "cultural revolution" have been fulfilled. It is futile to argue against this on the grounds that Mao himself has remained silent (though even that can be disproved) and it is Chou en Lai who is the villain of the piece. What is needed is a vigorous Marxist-Leninist analysis and if one makes that one is forced to call for a political revolution against the Chinese bureaucracy. There are no two ways about it. Only the overthrow of the bureaucracy can revive the Chinese Revolution. Is it then sectarian to pose the question of the Fourth International? We think not and we believe that unless Maoist comrades study and evaluate the situation

as Marxists, they will fall prey to sentimentality and will finally abandon *revolutionary* politics. It is important from the vantage point of the international proletarian struggle that this does not happen. If the Maoist militants fail to understand what is going on in China and instead try and justify it, they will be taking the road to their own doom and we will be able to say, as the Chinese Central Committee wrote to the CPSU:

*"Flowers fall off, do what one may;  
Swallows return, no strangers they."*

—Tariq Ali

### TO REFRESH YOUR MEMORY

"World Peace can be won only through struggle by the people of all countries and not by begging the imperialists for it. Peace can be effectively safeguarded only by relying on the masses of the people and waging a tit-for-tat struggle against the imperialist policies of aggression and war. That is the correct policy."

—*Two Different Lines on the Question of War and Peace (Peking, 1963).*

"... And those who serve the United States in its political intrigues may also continue their activities. But, no matter what tricks the United States plays, it will not be able to deceive the Vietnamese people. The more it plays such tricks, the more clearly will the people of the world recognise the ugly features of U.S. imperialism and its collaborators and the more resolutely will they support the Vietnamese people in carrying through their just struggle against the U.S. aggressor to the end."

—*Support the People of Vietnam, Defeat U.S. Aggressors (Peking, 1965).*

### FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN EUROPE: CONTACT ADDRESSES

FRANCE: Ligue Communiste, 10 Impasse Guermenez, Paris 5.  
GERMANY: RKJA/GIM, 68 Mannheim, Rheinbrunnstr. 26.  
ITALY: Gruppi Communisti Rivoluzionari, Via Caudio 69, Roma.  
BELGIUM: Ligue Revolutionnaire des Travailleurs (LRT), 121 Rue d'Espagne, Brussels 1060.  
SWEDEN: RMP, B. Sandstrom, Hallandsgatan 22/3, Stockholm.  
SWITZERLAND: Ligue Marxiste Revolutionnaire, 11 rue de la Borde, CH 1000, Lausanne.  
LUXEMBOURG: LCR, 7 Ave. Victor Hugo, Luxembourg.  
AUSTRIA: Kommunistische Liga, A 1103 Vienna, Fach 124.  
DENMARK: SUP, Galdhøgevej 28, Copenhagen I.  
SPAIN: Liga Comunista Revolucionaria, c/o French Section.  
GREECE: International Communist Party, c/o Vangelis Sakkaros, 567 Opatadi, Am. Wiedenbusch 32 (Germany).  
TURKEY & EASTERN EUROPE: contact the French Section, Paris.

Journals of the groups available from Red Books, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.