

The Red Mole

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Free Speech For Racists?

In the various struggles against racist actions on the entry of Ugandan Asians the question of 'free speech' for fascists always comes up. People often claim it is an infringement of 'democracy' to break up even National Front meetings. This issue is so important that it is worth looking at in detail.

WHAT IS FREE SPEECH?

Under capitalism there is no free speech for the mass of the population. The various points of view of the capitalist class are put forward via mass circulation papers, radio and television. No such rights exist for the rest of the population. As someone once said, free speech is like the Ritz hotel — it is open to everybody.....provided you have the money.

However even if what is called 'free speech' is a fraud for most people, it is still in the interests of the working class to defend even this bourgeois right. It is far easier to struggle under conditions of such 'free speech' than under conditions of military, fascist, or strong state rule. For this reason, revolutionaries are always to the fore in the struggle to defend bourgeois democratic rights against right-wing attacks.

Tendencies such as fascism, however, do not aim to defend 'free speech'. On the contrary, their racist campaigns are a means to destroy the organisations of the working class which defend such bourgeois democratic rights. The goal of their meetings and demonstrations is the building of a mass movement which can destroy bourgeois democracy and the power of the working class.

ONLY ONE WAY

It is for this reason that the only way to deal with fascist type organisations like the National Front is to break up their activities before they grow to a size where they can begin to smash the activities of the working class. Trotsky made this clear thirty years ago: "Hitler explains his success in his book. *The Social Democracy was extremely powerful. To a meeting of the Social Democracy he sent a band with the Fascist leader Rudolf Hess. He says that at the end of the meeting his thirty boys evicted all the workers and they were incapable of opposition. Then he knew he would be victorious.*"

We are nowhere near a threatened Fascist coup yet, but the methods necessary for preventing such a threat must be explained and demonstrated in practice now. Actions against the organisations of the right are not just part of the struggle against racism. They are the first shots in a war that will grow in importance in the coming years in Britain. We must begin to adopt the right tactics right from the start.

NO PLATFORM FOR RACISTS!

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NO PLATFORM FOR RACISTS

by JOHN CLAYTON

Up and down the country, fascist activists are organising racist agitation on a scale not seen since the 1930s.

This is doubly dangerous at a time when all 'respectable' opinion, from Heath to Harold Wilson, is in essential agreement with the racist case.

The organisations of the extreme right fully anticipate a field-day. The latest internal bulletin of the National Front rejoices that: "A time of great opportunity has come upon our movement. We must exert every bit of energy at our disposal to seize the opportunities. The Government, Press and the Left wing is reeling with the shock of the reaction against the Asian Invasion which we to a large extent have organised. Large numbers of people are frightened and are looking to us for leadership. We must not let them down."

THE TRADE UNION RESPONSE

The trade union movement has so far failed to begin to organise effective counter action, or even to draw a clear dividing line between it and the racists. Vic Feather's statement at the TUC conference, ".....to make a recommendation to the trade union movement to cooperate" with the government, is obviously not the whole story. But even many militants have tended to ignore this question arguing the greater importance of the fight to defend the trade unions. This is understandable but is shortsighted. What is wrong is the inability to see that the defence of the Ugandan Asians is a necessary part of this fight.

PART OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

What will be the result if the trade unions don't fight against this? In the first place, the working class will be divided against itself. The responsibility for all the problems which the working class is facing will be placed at the door of those with a different coloured skin. This sort of division and confusion can only help the real enemy. And the ruling class will be strengthened in another way. They will be strengthened



Part of anti-fascist march in Reading last Saturday (see back page)

by winning to their side whole sections of the middle class and petty bourgeoisie. This will lay the basis for a much stronger attack on the working class. Defence of the Ugandan Asians is, then, part and parcel of the struggle between the classes.

ONLY A MEANS TO ANOTHER END

All this is true no matter whether the bourgeoisie has planned this outcome or not. But there are some elements who definitely wish to use this issue for more far-reaching ends. The Monday Club is committed to a much more ferocious assault by the state on the trade union; the fascist organisations like the National Front, look to the physical destruction of all working class organisations.

These organisations play on the problems and fears of the working class about jobs and housing in a quite deliberate and conscious way. But they are the mortal enemies of the working class, not their friends. It is they in particular who must be stopped in their tracks. Once they are allowed to grow they will spare no ferocity in their

hatred of the workers and their organisations.

HOW CAN WE REPLY?

Clearly, to deny that there is a problem will get us nowhere. There is a problem of unemployment and housing. But any solution must start by going to its real roots: the whole way in which capitalist society is organised.

On the other side the pernicious activity of the extreme right must be knocked on the head. The members of the Monday Club and National Front are not confused workers. They are not going to be convinced by rational argument — workers' democracy cannot be extended to these elements. The Monday Club is holding a rally in Central Hall, Westminster, this week-end, which must be the staging platform for a concerted counter-attack. The National Front's demonstration in Blackburn on 30 September must also see its counterpart, as too must all the other local activities which will only increase in intensity if we do not put a stop to them, now.

THE 'REVELATIONS' OF MARIA MAGUIRE

from ROSEMARY SULLIVAN

Behind the bizarre series of revelations, exposés, investigations in depth, etc., about internal relationships inside the Provos to which we have been treated by the bourgeois press in recent weeks lies the very seriously thought-out and planned campaign designed by British propaganda either to split the Provos or to remove Sean Mac Stiofain from the leadership.

It is in this light that one must view the continuing revelations of Maria Maguire in the *Observer*, and "Mac Stiofain's English Years" by Ivan Rowan in the

Sunday Telegraph on 10 September, and the forthcoming propaganda offensive expected any month now from "Colonel" Bruce Page's Insight Team in the *Sunday Times*.

As explained previously (*The Red Mole*, 29 July), the main priority of British imperialism in Ireland today is to root out and destroy "the military capability of the Provisional IRA".

DIVIDE AND RULE

As early as December last, British counter-insurgency experts began to realise that they were not going to succeed in wiping

out the IRA during their first confrontation policy. At a conference in Lisburn, the IRA worked out a policy of isolating the IRA from the Catholics by means of direct rule combined with reform. Brigadier Frankie Kitson, who was present at the conference, dissociated himself from this policy, declaring that in his opinion the situation had developed too far for there to be any serious possibility of isolating the IRA unless a split could simultaneously be engineered inside the IRA. Kitson then advocated a policy of selective arrests and

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RACISM

The Left off target

by BOB WILLIAMS

Socialists everywhere are now having to fight against racist agitation. Unfortunately, however, it has to be said that a number of the arguments used by the left are simply wrong. The purpose of this article is to take up some of these mistaken ideas as they have appeared in newspapers of the revolutionary left.

1. "Immigrants to any healthy society are an asset and a 'bonus'. They are fully grown, educated and capable of working."

This attempt to justify the entry of immigrants on the basis of their 'usefulness' misses the essential point about black immigration and plays into the hands of the Government's own immigration laws. For the Government replies by saying, 'we will only take adult, skilled male immigrants who are in a good state of health', preventing the families of immigrant workers from coming here. The real reason why Ugandans should be in solidarity with the Ugandan Asians and other black people trying to enter this country is that they are oppressed by the same basic enemy as the British working class.

This enemy, British imperialism, attacks the immigrant peoples through creating economic ruin in the West Indies, India and Pakistan; and by dividing the people in order to set them against each other and divert them from a fight against their real oppressor - as in the case of East Africa. It is the duty of the British labour movement to stand in solidarity with the Ugandan Asians and welcome them here, because only through such solidarity can the vital unity between the British working class and the peoples of the semi-colonial world be forged and strengthened. Without such unity, the struggle against international capitalism will be impossible. The fact that the idea of international working class solidarity is a difficult one to explain to workers in an imperialist country, must not lead to bogus talk about the 'usefulness' of immigrants to the British capitalist economy.

2. "As holders of British Passports the Ugandan Asians are entitled to come to Britain."

No socialist should base his case on bourgeois law, for it is a weapon against the working class here and abroad. The state could easily cook up some equally good 'legal' reason why Asian passport holders should not be allowed in, and at one point the Tories were thinking of doing just that. We counterpose the 'law' of working class solidarity with all oppressed people to the hypocritical legality of the bourgeoisie.

3. "The foundation of racialism is irrational prejudice. It spreads like a disease because nobody wants to know the facts."

It is true that racialism is irrational for the working class because it won't solve any of the problems which workers face. But it is not true that the source of racialism is prejudice, or stupid ideas. Such an analysis of the causes of racialism is a typically middle class way of looking at the problem. The practical conclusions to which it leads are either a pious attempt to make 'man' more 'civilised' or a despair at the foolishness of 'mankind'. The social basis of racialism is left untouched. In fact, the roots of racialism are not prejudices in people's heads, but the economic conditions in certain definite social classes.

Racialism has a different basis in different social groups. The bourgeoisie's racialism stems from its need to oppress and exploit the black peoples of the world, and racialism justifies such exploitation. The middle class turns to racialism because it is threatened by the double threat of working class power on one side and the power of monopoly capital on the other. Both powers threaten it with extinction and it turns to fantasy as a solution - racialism in its fascist variety. The appeal of racialism to the working class is different from both these views. The working class is faced with a continual struggle for adequate living conditions - jobs, housing, education, etc. And at first it appears that the enemies of a working class family in this struggle are the other exploited families searching for a job and

Below: Oliver MacDonald looks at what happened to

THE IMPERIALIST OLYMPIAD

By the time the Munich games had finished the Olympic myth of international unity and peaceful competition was in ruins. Most of the British athletes were even too scared to enter the arena for the closing ceremony!

The Olympic Committee had opened the games with the slogan "Keep politics out of sport". At best this phrase is utopian; at worst it is a deception. Four years ago in Mexico, they had got away with it: Brundage was able to hob-nob with the dictator Diaz at the very moment the latter was organising the cold-blooded massacre of students and workers in the Plaza del Tlatelolco a couple of miles from the Olympic stadium. In that context, 'politics out of sport' meant an Olympic halo for a bloody dictator.

CHALLENGE

What was new about the Munich games was the fact that the Olympic slogan was well and truly challenged. The first battle was over white supremacy in Zimbabwe. For the Olympic Committee, acceptance of the oppression and exploitation of the

black people of Zimbabwe was good for sport, while the move to exclude the Rhodesia team was 'blatant political blackmail'. The African states forced an ignominious defeat on Brundage, whose attempt to keep politics out of sport was exposed as nothing but support for imperialism in Southern Africa.

Later in the games some Irish cyclists sensibly decided to use the opportunity of this international jamboree, to leaflet the crowds watching the road race on the struggle for self-determination in Ireland.

Then finally, the Olympic Committee gave themselves away in a really grotesque fashion by banning the black American runners, Matthews and Collett, for refusing to bring the politics of nationalism and of support for imperialism into the sports arena: they were banned for disrespect towards the American flag and anthem during the medal presentation!

EFFECTIVE AGITATION

But on one question the Olympic Committee and the imperialist powers were able to make effective political agitation during the Olym-



Collett, Matthews - no respect for imperialism

pics. They tried to turn the games into a symbol of the struggle against international 'terrorism', using the action of the Palestinian commandos as a pretext. Once again the whole affair was riddled with hypocrisy. They appeal to the world in the name of humanity and peace against the brutalities of the class struggle, without mentioning the crimes committed over fifty years ago against the Palestinian masses by the imperialist powers in the Middle East. Where was the Palestinian flag at the Olympic games? Tens of thousands of Palestinians were butchered by Hussein of Jordan in 'Black September', 1970, in their fight for national self-determination. Even their so-called humanitarian concern for the Israeli hostages was hypocritical: if their main aim was really to save lives they would have accepted the just demands of the Palestinian commando group. By allowing the police shoot-out they said quite clearly: the lives of the Israelis are less important than the struggle to defeat the Palestinian resistance movement, and the other guerrilla movements throughout the world.

The action of the German police has been justified with the morality of the international struggle against liberation movements, though some sections of the bourgeoisie think the police attack was politically unwise. For socialists, the action of the Black September group must also be justified and defended from the point of view of the morality of the struggle against imperialism. This point must be remembered just as much when the tactics of the guerrilla group were not correct. In our view such methods of struggle do not contribute to the relaunching of the Palestinian resistance movement after its defeat at the hands of the Arab counter-revolution.



a decent place to live. The capitalist class appears as a well meaning individual employer-or landlord doing what he can to provide jobs, houses, etc. The arrival of a million black people into this country in a situation of rising unemployment and a growing housing crisis encourages workers who see their problems in this way to accept racist arguments: that the black people are to blame for the lack of housing.

The whole history of British imperialism has helped to educate workers into thinking of black people as inferior, making it easier for these racist ideas to gain an influence. Such workers simply cannot see the root of their problems because they have been denied the necessary information and knowledge to see that the well-meaning employer is part of a class which survives through exploiting the working class and through crushing its welfare under the hammer blows of the struggle for profit.

4. "A few facts soon neutralise Powell's position."

This implies the exact opposite of the last quotation: all the left has to do to defeat the appeal of racism for the mass of people is to dish out a few facts. The reality is that those who do not accept the necessity of fighting against the capitalist class, who do not see capitalism as being responsible for the economic problems of the working class will always be prey to racist ideas. Secondly, it is not possible to convince those who are out of work or without a decent home that capitalism is the enemy just by offering a few facts in a newspaper. They will only be convinced by their own experience in struggling to solve their social problems, and not by reading a newspaper article.

Thus, although it is absolutely necessary to present the true facts on immigration, this is not substitute for the job of taking up all the social problems of the working class and other oppressed sections of society. It will be through the entire work of socialists to organise the anti-capitalist fight that the poison of racism will be neutralised.

5. "Unemployment and bad housing existed before black immigrants came to Britain."

This is true, and a point that must be made, but it misses the point when it is used against the argument that the arrival of Ugandan Asians will make the job and housing situation worse. The only answer to such an opinion is to challenge the chauvinist assumption on which it is based: worse for whom? Why is it more important for British workers to escape the sufferings of bad housing and economic hardship than it is for Asian workers?

It is intolerable for any section of workers to put up with these ravages of capitalism when the economic resources of the world could be organised in such a way that such suffering could be wiped out. And it is just not true that British workers have any more right to the wealth that exists in Britain than workers from Africa and Asia. The wealth that the capitalist class has accumulated has come from exploiting workers in every part of the globe, and the workers of Britain will never be able to solve the problems of unemployment, housing, pay and conditions of work unless they are prepared to throw off the nationalist idea that they have more in common with British capitalists than with black workers.

POSSIBILITY

The possibility exists of drawing all the thousands of militant workers fighting against the Housing Finance Act, the Industrial Relations Act and all the other fronts of class struggle into the campaign against racist agitation. It is, for instance, very significant that building workers in different parts of the country have been playing such an active role against the National Front demonstrations. The issue is directly linked to the fight against the capitalist attack on the trade unions, and socialists must therefore ensure that every union branch, and rank and file committee, takes up the fight against racism and stands in solidarity with the Ugandan Asians. But for this work it is all the more important that the ideas of socialists are sound and clear.



Black September guerrilla

The overthrow of the Zionist state in the Middle East requires the violence of the Palestinian and Arab masses (with the support if possible of the Israeli masses) and the task of the vanguard in the present period is to prepare for this mass struggle through political work among the Arab masses. The military work of the vanguard must be subordinated to that goal.

RESPONSIBILITY

The Munich action expresses the political paralysis of the Palestinian organisations at this moment in the liberation struggle. But to criticise the tactics of the Black September group in this way is only possible for those who recognise the responsibility of imperialism for the bloody war in the Middle East which shattered the Olympic utopia in Munich.

LEFT TURN FOR T.U.C.?

British Leyland try new tactics at Thornycroft's

by PAUL HUNTER

It is now only a couple of weeks before the date when the British Leyland Motor Corporation are due to hand over Thornycroft's (their Basingstoke factory) to Eaton Corporation, an American gear-box manufacturers.

But for the last five weeks, workers at Thornycroft's have been resisting this sale — and the 550 redundancies which would result from the deal — by occupying the factory day and night seven days a week.

With only two weeks to go, it is clear that BLMC are beginning to get worried that they might just not have a factory to hand over on October 1st if the occupation is maintained longer.

The first response of management was to ignore the occupation in the hope that it would peter out within a few weeks. And for a while it looked as if this tactic was working as the numbers actually occupying began to dwindle quite considerably. But the "hard core" that is now left in the factory is a surprisingly large percentage of the work force — several hundreds strong — and very determined to hold out.

NEW TACTICS

As a result, BLMC is now forced to try other tactics to defeat the workers. One of these was put into operation two weeks ago. It consisted of management going round to individual strikers' homes offering a redundancy pay cheque — on the spot — if the workers would accept redundancy, and showing them a list of vacancies in the company which only those who accepted redundancy could apply for.

This is, of course, a crystal clear example of the old tactic of "divide and rule". Fearing the collective strength of the Thornycroft workers, the management is trying to get each individual worker on his own.

Another recent move by management was to turn off the electric power supply to the site for hours at a time. And rumours are rife that they are preparing to take legal action (on grounds of trespass) to end the occupation.

IMPORTANT LESSONS

These moves by BLMC against the Thornycroft workers underline a number of important lessons.

First they deal a death blow to all the old crap being churned out by the "Communist" Party (see *Morning Star*, 25 August) and the trade union bureaucracy about this "patriotic" struggle to prevent "a bit more of British industry going American". For British Leyland is a capitalist firm operating in a capitalist system, and its chairman Lord Stokes is only like every other capitalist in paying more attention to what boosts profits than to what's written in his passport. All such dangerous talk can do is to tie in with Heath's 'One Nation' philosophy — which means that workers should pay through the nose in the "national" (i.e. employers') interest.

The real issue is not about whether or not the boss was born in the same bit of the world as the workers. The real issue is that he is a boss, and represents a class whose interests are altogether opposed to those of the working class. It is only by understanding that the real nature of the struggle is class against class that it can be led to a successful conclusion by a leadership which acts upon that basis.

LEGAL RULES

This brings us to the second point. Since it is a class struggle and not a "patriotic" one, it is impossible to fight it out according to legal rules laid down by the enemy.

Most of the workers involved in the occupation instinctively grasp that they have effectively seized a piece of property — and intend to hold on to it. But their leaders (amongst whose number are no less than three Justices of the Peace) are continually trying to keep the struggle "within the law" — i.e. within the bourgeois law of pro-

by PAUL SMITH

Every bourgeois newspaper except one has proclaimed that the TUC turned left at Brighton. Eddie Marsden, the Communist Party's leading trade union official, told the Party's executive that "Congress decisions reflected the growing struggle....". The three reasons put forward for this interpretation are: first, the suspension of 32 registered unions from the TUC on day one. The second was a joint resolution from the AUEW and the T&GWU opposing any incomes policy, passed on Thursday. The third was the vote against the Common Market 'on principle' on Wednesday. Two lesser points were also picked up: the ban on Communists at the National Conference of Trades Councils was lifted, and Mr. Jack Peel, right wing General Secretary of the Dyers, Bleachers and Textile Workers was thrown off the General Council.

LABOUR TO POWER ON A SOCIALIST PROGRAMME

Anthony Wedgwood Benn added a few colourful phrases to the 'left turn' when he spoke as fraternal delegate to the Labour Party on day two of Congress. He hastened to dub Labour's past attack on the unions as "mistakes in our approach to industrial relations". The 'direct attack' on the unions today was presented as the 'whim' of the Tory government. Benn outlined an 8-point programme: "The trade union movement must seek its political objectives as an integral part of the organised, democratic Labour party, in Parliament, with a socialist programme". What was the meaning of this for trade unionists? "The movement must always exercise its power in the public interest!"

UTOPIAN ECONOMICS

Benn's empty generalities were given a fanciful content by Sir Sidney Greene when he outlined the General Council's economic policies on day four. Unemployment, industrial strife and inflation could, he declared, be ended "by a policy of economic growth and full employment". No trade unionist would oppose Sir Sidney's contention that unemployment will be cured by full employment. But the problem is how to achieve economic growth: it depends on increasing rates of investment which in turn require a higher rate of exploitation. To step up the exploitation of the working class means crushing the tremendous militancy which the General Council tries to present itself as leading.

THE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS ACT

Of course, the capitalist class is pursuing Sir Sidney's policy for economic growth very vigorously, but within a realistic perspective of class struggle rather than wishful thinking. They are therefore using the Industrial Relations Act against the working class. This fight is rightly seen as decisive by militants. And the task of the TUC was to give a decisive lead for mass action against the Industrial Relations Act. It was the acid test for the Congress. This year's resolution on the Act removed one ambiguity from the last year's opposition, by giving it a right wing interpretation: opposition to the Act should be confined to non-registration and should not include a boycott of the NIRC. Scanlon's resolution, which was defeated as the 'extreme' position, also dodged the issue of an open industrial struggle against the Act.

However, two ways of dealing with the Act did find favour with all the General Council. The first was through continuing negotiations with the Government. It was clear in the stalemate after the freeing of the five that the Government was manoeuvring to change the relationship of forces between the CBI, itself, and the TUC. The TUC jumped. It had no choice — the only alternative was to lead a fully fledged fight against the Act. As the whole position of

party — and keep claiming that "we are not trespassing".

This approach leaves the occupation open to eviction by a piece of paper called a "court order" or some such other legal nystification (c.f. the end of the occupation at Stanmore Engineering in London).

COMBINE FAILURE

Finally it is now clear that the Combine Shop Stewards Committee is shirking its responsibilities to the Thornycroft workers. Since the one day token stoppage on 28 August, they have quietly dropped

the trade union bureaucracy is based on conciliation between two classes — its existence depends on finding ways back to industrial peace. Even when there is no basis for social peace except defeat for one class or the other, it has to propose one. Economic utopias and more and more negotiations are the only strategy the TUC can put forward!

EQUAL PAY, LOW PAY.

The impression of a talk shop was reinforced by the debate on the resolution affirming support for the abolition of sex discrimination in employment and the TUC's commitment to industrial equality for women. Mrs Pat Turner from the G&MWU made a couple of basic trade union points. "While women remain confined to job areas at the lower end of the scale . . . victory in the equal pay field will be a hollow one". And again, "the real force for change is going to come from trade unionists", not from legislation. Given the employers' attitude, and given the Government's view of women in industry, what is to be done? "The trade unions must campaign", says Mrs Turner, "to get the issues across". Across to whom; how? In no sense were any plans laid for a fight on this issue — or on anything else. The TUC's role is to air the grievances of the working class; and only under great pressure to act on them.

THE LEFT COVER

If the decisions on the central issue of the Act were anything but a 'leftward shift', what about the Common Market and the question of incomes policy? On examination, the Common Market votes turns out to be inconclusive: the section of the General Council's report dealing with the Common Market was not reversed, leaving the TUC with two contradictory policies. As for incomes policy, the *Financial Times* put the essence of the matter when it pointed out that it would be quite easy for the General Council to agree on the substance of a voluntary wage freeze under a name which did not directly contradict the resolution.

Thus at first sight the TUC congress presents a contradictory picture: some left moves and some right turns. But a closer look presents a different view. The *Financial Times*, in an editorial on Monday, 4 September, provided an accurate picture of the real intentions of the General Council. It pointed out that the big class battles of the last months have produced "second thoughts about confrontation both among Ministers and among trade union leaders". Few trade union leaders, says the *Financial Times*, "would wish to see the period between the miners' strike and the jailing of the dockers repeated. Both sides have tried to move away from the collision course on which they were headed". In other words, when faced with a choice the TUC leadership would infinitely prefer a deal with the Tories to a fight. At the same time they must not lose credibility with the rank and file in this tense atmosphere. They therefore welcome left-sounding resolutions on one condition: that as the *Financial Times* editorial delicately remarked, "they (the resolutions) will be drawn up in sufficiently general terms to allow TUC leaders a reasonably free hand in translating them into action". In short, says the *Financial Times*, "the trend on both sides is towards a rapprochement".

There is just one point which the *Financial Times* omits to spell out: that the General Council is retreating when its supposedly mortal enemy is in a tactically weak position, and that when the General Council has given the Government the necessary breathing space to recover its strength for the counter-attack, no such gentlemanly retreat will be made by Mr. Heath.

As for the Scanlon left it refuses to raise demands which bring the working class

the issue. Their earlier statements (that they were going to stop the rot of BLMC's rationalisation policy by making Thornycroft's the place where it stopped) are now being shown up as merely so much hot air.

But Thornycroft's must not remain isolated. Not only do they urgently need support (both financial and in the form of sympathetic industrial action), but the issues raised by this dispute are so important that they must be placed before every worker. Only in this way can our understanding of this fight as a class fight be put into practice. Only in this way can the fight be won.



Workers need more than Scanlon's rhetoric

into struggle over basic issues like the Industrial Relations Act and thereby shows no basic difference with the right on the TUC General Council. Therefore the whole debate about a great battle between 'Left' and 'Right' at Brighton is nothing but a diversion for the rank and file. For bureaucrats who wish to avoid at all costs a sharpening of the class struggle, 'left' motions mean little more than a cover to confuse the rank and file as to the real direction in which the General Council is moving. The 'left' has no policy for the mobilisation of the strength of the trade union movement. Its role is to 'put pressure' on the rest of the bureaucracy and on the government as a substitute for mass activity.

NO CHANGE

So, despite the Communist Party's position on the Congress, it is clear that the pattern of previous Congresses has not in fact been disturbed. Shifts right or left within a pressure politics framework have a slight significance, but not much for the working class in struggle. The only 'shift left' that would mean something would be if the leaders of the working class took up the challenge that has been posed by Heath. The choice really is between "the rule of (bourgeois) law" and the "rule of labour". On a whole number of points, the 'shift left' turns out to mean the reverse.

First, there is no understanding of the reasons behind government policy on the trade unions. The only strategy offered is an economic policy for capitalism which is unworkable. Secondly, in conjunction with economic pie-in-the-sky, negotiations with the Government continue. Thirdly, the total reliance on the Labour Party to "deliver the goods" continues. No strategy was advanced to bring the working class into activity to defend themselves. Not one policy passed by Congress was seen to have any direct effects on what workers should do next.

RANK AND FILE COMMITTEES

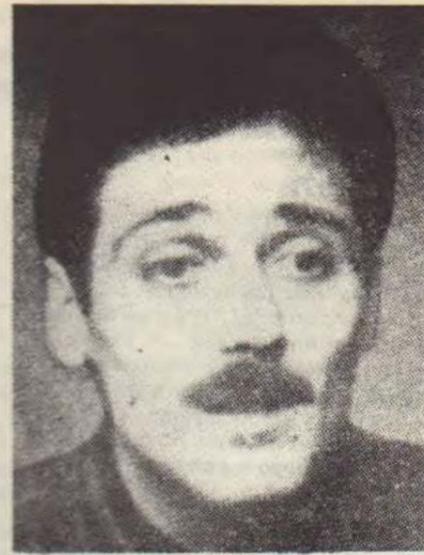
Perhaps one of the most significant features of the whole Congress was the complete fiasco of the LCDTU lobby on Tuesday. The Communist Party had made this 'Day of Action' the sole task of the LCDTU after its conference on June 5th and preparations were greatly helped by the struggle to free the five. Yet the only strikes were by small sections of workers in Scotland. There is every indication that the LCDTU lobby was sabotaged by the CP itself. The reason is quite simply that the Communist Party has exactly the same conception of the tasks of the rank and file as the trade union bureaucracy: to put pressure on the official leadership. When the CP leadership realised that it was going to be flattered and complimented at Brighton it had no more use for its ginger group lobby. But whatever happens to the LCDTU, the task of building rank and file Committees for the Defence of Trade Unions becomes even more important following the failure of the TUC to prepare a real struggle against the Act in Brighton this year.



Clarissa Rosa Lea Place (ERP)



Mario Emilio Delfino (ERP)



Humberto Segundo Suarez (ERP)



Anna Maria Villareal de Santucho (ERP)

THEY DIED FOR THE REVOL

A closer look at the circumstances in which sixteen Argentinian revolutionaries were massacred on 22 August. C

As a plane carrying ten of their comrades headed for Santiago in Chile on 15 August, nineteen escaped revolutionaries who had been in control of the Argentinian airport of Trelew surrendered without resistance to overwhelming government forces. "I am disappointed", an Argentinian marine officer was quoted as saying. "If they had dared fire one shot we would not have left one of them alive".

Just one week later, the officer was allowed to make up for his earlier disappointment. On 22 August, in what the government vainly attempted to pass off as "another escape bid", all nineteen were shot down by members of a special unit of the armed forces. Thirteen died instantaneously, another three died shortly afterwards from their wounds, and three are still alive, though seriously wounded, in hospital.

EXTENSIVE OPERATION

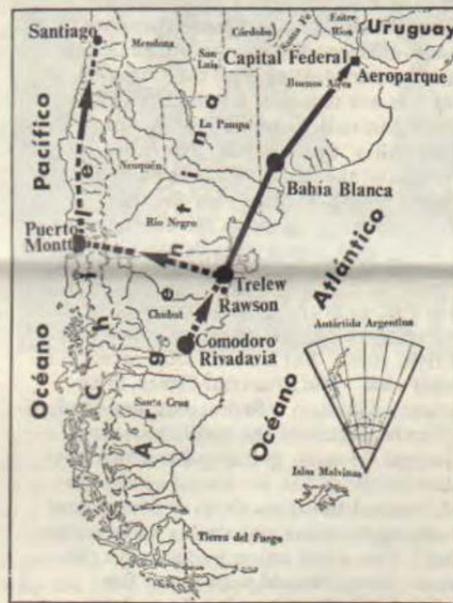
The massacre followed an extensive operation to free the political prisoners in Rawson penitentiary - a joint operation into which had gone five months of careful preparation by the ERP, the FAR, and the Montoneros. Without any trouble, and with the undoubted complicity of some of the prison guards, the prisoners were able to take over most of the prison using arms smuggled in from outside. They then rushed the guard post on the outside gate and after a brief exchange of fire captured it. Outside the gates a car was waiting for them.

This was the first slip-up in the operation. Several cars were needed, not one. So while six of the leaders of the operation headed off for Trelew airport in the first car, the other nineteen had to wait for the arrival of three cars ordered from the local taxi firm. At this point a second failure in the operation became apparent. No walkie-talkie equipment had been provided, and so the two groups of escaped prisoners lost contact. This was later to have disastrous consequences.

Meanwhile an Austral airliner had arrived at Trelew airport from Comodoro Rivadavia en route to Buenos Aires. As the six

guerrillas from Rawson took over the airport, the plane was seized by another four who boarded it in Rivadavia. The ten waited anxiously for the arrival of the rest of their comrades.

But the second group of nineteen had been seriously delayed by the lack of sufficient transport. Eventually three taxis arrived and they set off at high speed for the airport. But the timing of the operation was very tight, and the first group had no idea where the second group might be. Eventually they



decided to take off for Santiago, confident in the belief that the second group could easily take over an Aerolineas plane which was at that moment preparing to land. As the first plane took off, the others arrived and took over the airport. According to various press reports, they were from two to five minutes too late.

TRAPPED

Armed to the teeth, and with 60 hostages including an army colonel, the nineteen were in a good position to seize the incoming air-

craft. But as it circled the airport, the authorities at the naval base bordering the civilian terminal ordered the runways to be closed. Three minutes before it would have touched down, the plane started to regain height. As government forces surrounded the airport the guerrillas were trapped.

Negotiations then began. The comrades demanded that the press and local lawyers be allowed in, and gave several press and radio interviews in order to explain the purpose of their action and denounce the military dictatorship. Then they surrendered.

Meanwhile, resistance was still continuing at the prison in order to tie up as many of the repressive forces as possible. These last seem to have panicked completely - one army officer present was reported as saying that "for several hours the area was turned into another Vietnam" (!). This nervousness seems to have lasted well after the prison was brought under control. The next day panic-stricken prison guards opened fire on Associated Press journalists who were taking photos some distance away. One journalist, A. H. Finoli, was seriously wounded and had to be hospitalised.

PRE-MEDITATED

The massacre which followed a week later was without doubt pre-meditated. It was a calculated attempt to restore the government's position by liquidating a section of the leadership of the revolutionary movement which threatens it. The official account of an "escape bid" makes no sense even apart from the contradictions between various government statements. The guerrillas, who had already shown their discipline and tactical appreciation of the importance of the balance of forces, were hardly likely to take on an overwhelming number of armed guards with only one weapon between them, as the Lanusse regime tried to make out.

This is substantiated by a statement recently issued by six members of the Argentinian Bar Association, based on sworn statements by the three guerrillas who survived the shooting. The lawyers denounce the official version as "completely false" and go on to conclude

that the prisoners "were coldly, deliberately, and vilely massacred while absolutely defenceless". This despite the fact that immediately after the massacre the government attempted to suppress all such reports by issuing a decree imposing jail sentences of six months to three years for "publishing, spreading, or propagating communiques or materials coming from, attributed to, or attributable to, illegal associations or persons or groups notoriously dedicated to subversive activities or terrorism".

RESPONSE

The lawyers' statement is only the latest evidence that the government's attempt to hush up the truth and prevent any ensuing repercussions from the massacre has failed completely. As we reported in the last issue of *The Red Mole*, mass demonstrations against the regime took place in all the major centres, including a 24-hour general strike in Cordoba. Further protests were generated when army units in Buenos Aires seized three of the coffins containing bodies of the victims and forcibly buried them.

As the local Peronist groups and trade unions begin to move closer to the armed groups, even Peron himself has been forced to denounce those responsible for the massacre, though in terms so vague and general that he in fact commits himself to nothing. In an address to "the young people of the nation", written, as the paper which published it notes, at the urging of leaders of the Peronist youth movement, he simply expresses his sympathy with the idealistic youth who have fallen in the struggle against "ignominy". At the same time he comments that "it is unfortunate that the



After their surrender at Trelew airport, some of the com

ESCAPERS HOLD HAVANA PRESS CONFERENCE



Roberto Santucho

At a press conference held on their arrival in Havana on 26 August, the ten Argentinian revolutionaries declared that it was the *Chilean people* who had secured their freedom.

Marcos Osatinsky, a member of the FAR, explained that various accidents during the operation had prevented a larger number from reaching freedom. On their arrival in Santiago, he said, the Chilean people and certain political organisations on the left had at once declared their solidarity with them.

Fernando Vaca Narvaja, a member of the Montoneros, emphasised the united character of this action. He explained that despite ideological differences the common objective of organising a popular army and building socialism was enough to carry out a joint action like the escape from Rawson. There would be further such actions involving the revolutionary organisations in Argentina in the future.

Comrade Roberto Santucho, a leader of the PRT-ERP, made a brief analysis of the situation in Argentina, emphasising the political instability and the possibility of a military coup d'etat. He explained that the Trelew

massacre was a panic-stricken reaction which showed the weakness of the military dictatorship, faced with a developing revolutionary war. Santucho emphasised that the massacre was carefully prepared by the President, General Alejandro Lanusse, and his government, and added that a special force of officers and NCOs had been sent from Buenos Aires to carry out the crime.

The ERP leader also denounced the massive involvement of the CIA in Argentina, recalling that for more than three years the US Army had been training special units in techniques of counter-insurgency at camps in the north of the country. "The cold-blooded precision with which the massacre was carried out is very reminiscent of the style of the CIA, as seen for instance in the physical liquidation of our comrade Ernesto Che Guevara", commented another of those who had escaped.

The ten militants concluded by saying that the purpose of their escape was to rejoin their organisations as quickly as possible in order to pursue the struggle. They then thanked the Cuban government and people for their hospitality and solidarity.

KILLED

- CARLOS HERIBERTO ASTUDILLO (ERP)
- EDUARDO ADOLFO CAPELLO (ERP)
- SUSANA GRACIELA LESGART DE YOFRE (Montoneros)
- HUMBERTO ADRIAN TOSCHI (ERP)
- ALBERTO CARLOS DEL REY (ERP)
- MARIA ANGELICA SABELLI (FAR)
- RUBEN PEDRO BONET (ERP)
- MIGUEL ANGEL POLTI (ERP)
- CLARISSA ROSA LEA PLACE (ERP)
- MARIANO PUJADAS BADELL (Montoneros)

THE PRISONERS' REVOLT

Criminals or militants? asks Brian Slocock



Mariano Pujadas Badell (Montoneros)

UTION

iled by Martin Meteyard.

young people have begun to express this feeling with guns".

PERONIST ILLUSIONS

The nature of Peron's response to the Trelew massacre shows only too clearly that he has no perspective of an ongoing class struggle. When the rhetoric is stripped away his position has not changed since his denunciation earlier this year of a CGT-called general strike which, he said, "risks endangering our main objectives". His objective is still a peaceful return to power through a deal with a section of the ruling class, embroidered over with militant nationalist rhetoric. But the logic of the struggle in Argentina, as recent events have once again shown, is to break with the illusions of Peronism. We are confident that despite the grave losses which it has suffered the PRT-ERP will continue to prove more than capable of intervening in this process, and hastening it to a successful conclusion, as the prospect of civil war looms on the horizon.

COMRADES IN LONDON are invited to a Red Circle meeting on Tuesday, 19 September, at 8 p.m. where Judith White will introduce a discussion on the present situation in Argentina. The meeting will take place in the 'General Picton' pub, Caledonian Road, Kings Cross (5 minutes from tube) - all welcome.

Comrades are also reminded that the Other Cinema is currently showing *Hour of the Furnaces*, a film on Argentina by the revolutionary film-maker Fernando Solanas, in its season at the Collegiate Theatre, Gordon St., Euston Road, W.C.1. Phone 01-387 9629 or 01-734 8508 for times of showings.



o were to die a few days later

- MARIO EMILIO DELFINO (ERP)
- HUMBERTO SEGUNDO SUAREZ (ERP)
- ANNA MARIA VILLAREAL DE SANTUCHO (ERP) (wife of Roberto Santucho)
- JOSE RICARDO MENA (ERP)
- JORGE ALEJANDRO ULLA (ERP)
- ALFREDO ELIA KOHON (ERP)

WOUNDED

- ALBERTO MIGUEL CAMPOS (FAR)
- RICARDO RENE HAIDAR (Montoneros)
- MARIA ANTONIA BERGER (FAR)

The recent wave of protests and demonstrations in "Her Majesty's Prisons" have attracted very little attention from either the revolutionary left or the organized working-class movement as a whole. Yet this was a movement of really impressive strength and militancy that swept the prison system throughout the country. If this movement had taken place inside the factory instead of the prison - workers demonstrating and occupying to protest about their working conditions, slandered by an hysterical ruling class press, and then given viciously vindictive sentences by the courts on the orders of the government - then the entire British trade union movement would have been up in arms. There would have been mass solidarity strikes across the country, just as in the struggle around the jailing of the five dockers.

As it was, the prisoners fought out their battle in total isolation, receiving no support other than from fellow prisoners. As a result the movement - for the time being at least - has been forced back onto the defensive. Why then are prisoners - "criminals" - treated so differently from workers by trade unionists and revolutionaries? What after all are "criminals"?

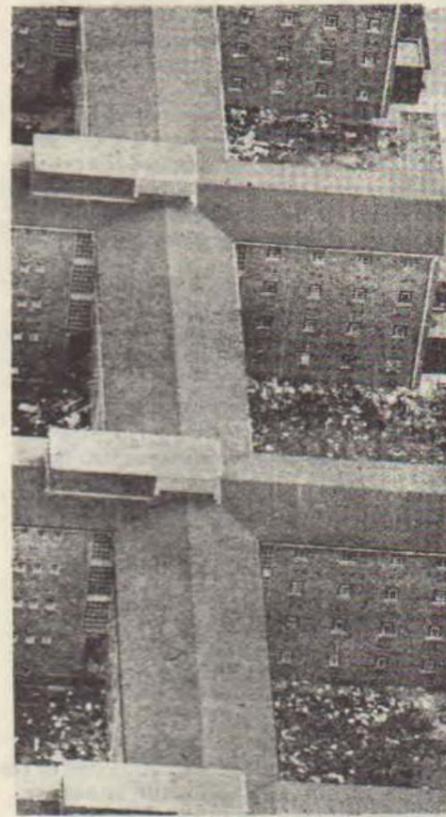
IMPORTANCE

This is a question of considerable importance for trade union militants. First of all, because trade unionists are often involved in the repression of revolts in the prisons. The most dramatic instance is the frequent use of the fire brigade to deal with demonstrations. But equally concerned are the many auxiliary workers necessary for the day-to-day operation of the prison system. Finally, of course, the prison officers (through the Prison Officers Association) are themselves part of the trade union movement. Secondly, the prospect of growing class struggle in Britain makes it likely that an increasing number of trade union militants will find themselves on the other side of the prison walls as a result of their trade union activity.

To repeat: what are "criminals"? There are those on the revolutionary left who assert that "all crimes are political" and that a criminal, because he refuses to respect the laws of private property, is therefore a revolutionary. This idea is exaggerated and prevents a real understanding of the position of the "criminal" and prisoner in capitalist society. There can be no doubt that the category of criminal would continue to exist after the working-class took power in a country such as Britain: individuals who could not adjust to the new social climate that permitted a collective solution to individual and social problems might continue to express themselves through individual attacks upon other members of society or upon socialized property (which should belong to the whole of society but which they would try and take for personal enjoyment). Such persons would indeed be anti-social in their outlook and activity, and would be subject to certain disciplinary and restrictive measures; although in a much less harsh and vindictive fashion than is now the case.

CAPITALIST SOCIETY

But clearly what holds true for a society ruled by the working-class does not apply to capitalist society. A crime is indeed "criminal"



Albany Jail - the yards littered with burned bedding and other debris - during the prisoners' revolt

in the first case because there are genuine opportunities for the members of the working-class to work together, make decisions about the running of their society, and then put them into action; in capitalist society this is impossible - the capitalist class controls and receives the economic benefits from the process of production, it exercises an absolute tyranny (in law if not in reality) over the running of the workplace, and it controls all the various levels of government through the political parties.

Of course, it is not true that there are no possibilities for collective actions under capitalism. Workers can form trade unions or other organizations to fight for their needs as a group. In fact the strength of capitalism is in part based upon various means of preventing workers from doing this - including repressive laws, the use of press attacks whenever workers do band together, and mechanisms like Parliamentary elections which split workers up into "individual" citizens casting separate votes rather than members of a single class. But of course capitalist society is not based upon this collective action of the working class - rather capitalist society and this collective action are always, to one degree or another, locked in mortal combat.

INDIVIDUAL RESISTANCE

We can see, then, what workers and "criminals" have in common, and what differences they have as well. Both are in opposition to capitalist society, and both are seen by that society as deadly enemies (after all, a "criminal" is technically anyone who has broken a capitalist law - so the capitalist class can make any of their enemies into "criminals" just by passing the right law: e.g. the Industrial Relat-

ions Act). However, the trade union militant has chosen to fight through collective action directed at the heart of the capitalist class; the "criminal" has taken the course of individual resistance, which often takes as its victim a fellow worker or, at best, an individual member of the capitalist class.

But one thing must be pointed out: the path of individual action is not just taken by the "criminal", it is the normal course for all backward sectors of the working class. The worker who refuses to join a union, who crosses a picket line, or agrees to handle goods that are being blacked by other workers is doing exactly the same thing. Yet no serious trade union militant would label them as "criminals" and leave them to their own resources: he would make every effort to draw them into the collective struggle of the working class against capitalist oppression and exploitation. And he would be dead right. In fact the action of a "criminal" may be more class-conscious than that of a militant worker. If a worker is out of work, needs money for himself and his family to live on, and chooses to rob a bank rather than take a job that involves scabbing on other workers, is he right? Perhaps not - perhaps he should have found some way of holding out, and got involved in the trade union or revolutionary movements. But clearly trade unionists are far better off in a society full of potential bank robbers than in a society full of potential scabs.

GROWING CLASS STRUGGLE

Backward sections of the working class - and this includes "criminals" - do not remain backward forever. Growing class struggle and vigorous resistance by the better organized sections of the class often break through the confusion of more backward groups and draw them into real collective struggles. When they do move they can be a tremendous force - because they will make up for their years of passive oppression by an heroic dedication to the struggle. Any trade unionist confronted by a formerly backward sector of workers moving into collective struggle who said, "I won't support them in their struggle because they scabbed on me last year" would have failed to understand the ABC's of the class struggle. And yet this is exactly what every trade unionist was doing who said to himself during the prison revolt, "They're just bloody criminals, they deserve what they get". The failure of trade unionists to actively solidarize with the prison movement was a tremendous victory for the capitalist class in its attempts to split the working class, and shows just how strong is the hold of ruling class ideas over even the best trade union militants.

There can be little doubt that the growing militancy of the British working class and its willingness to fight capitalist power was an important inspiration to the prison movement. Unfortunately the organized working class left them high-and-dry. It's a mistake that must not happen again. If, in the not-too-distant future, we should see a general strike against the government, let us hope that we will have the crucial advantage of a big section of the police and army being held down by a tremendous movement of solidarity inside "Her Majesty's Prisons" with the struggle of the organized working class outside.

THE ORGANISATIONS BEHIND THE ESCAPE BID

The Montoneros are an armed Peronist organisation. Together with the FAR, the FAP (Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas - Peronist Armed Forces) and the Descamisados (literally: "shirtless"), they form a front called the Peronist Armed Organisation, which politically and militarily co-ordinates the activity of these armed groups. This front recently went through a crisis, provoked by the problem of relations between these armed groups and the (Peronist) Justicialist Movement which has a perspective of participating in the Great National Agreement (the plan for a new constitutional government through elections in March, 1973). Since this crisis it seems that there has been an evolution in the Montoneros, especially among its cadres in prison, away from the official Peronist movement.

The Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias (Revolutionary Armed Forces), a Marxist tendency, emerged from the Castroist support groups which were set up in Argentina to assist the development on

a continental scale of Che's guerrilla offensive. After the set-back in Bolivia, the FAR moved at first towards Peronism and joined the Peronist Armed Organisation. However, in the last year it has moved away from the official Peronist movement and entered into a process of discussion with the ERP. The FAR first achieved prominence with the occupation of the town of Garin in the province of Buenos Aires. On 10 April, 1972, a mixed commando group of FAR and ERP militants executed the torturer General Sanchez on the doorstep of his headquarters in Rosario. The FAR is the most important of the Peronist organisations.

The Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers Party), Argentinian section of the Fourth International, decided at its congress in July 1969 to set up the ERP (Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo - People's Revolutionary Army). It was this organisation, one of the most renowned in Latin America, which kidnapped Silvester, the British consul and director of the Swift

meat company in Rosario; which robbed the Development Bank (the largest seizure of funds ever carried out in Argentina); and which kidnapped Oberdan Sallustro, director of the Fiat motor company in Cordoba. The ERP has always been considered by the Argentinian state forces to be the most powerful of the armed organisations, despite the recent arrests which have affected our comrades.

At the time of the escape from Rawson, a joint ERP-FAR communique explained that this action had been undertaken jointly in order to "reaffirm our desire to unite, and to work together with the other armed organisations in the struggle against the government and against imperialism"; Having stated the ideological differences which exist between the two organisations, the communique pledged that they would continue the process of discussion in order "to analyse our differences and to conduct a public debate on them so as to adopt the solution which is most correct and most meets the needs of the Argentinian revolution."

BOOKS

A Blueprint for Confusion

Review by CARL GARDNER

This book* was originally published as a long article in *The Ecologist* earlier this year but has now been published in an extended version as a paperback. The adulation with which it was originally greeted by the bourgeois press and the influence it will have as a 'radical' solution to the crisis of the environment (just one important element in the general crisis of world capitalism) make it necessary for Marxists to examine closely the ideological basis of the work and criticise its innumerable deficiencies ruthlessly.

Any Leninist group today must form a detailed and comprehensive analysis of this aspect of the crisis of capitalism. And a thorough critique of this liberal programme can serve to provide several pointers in this direction.

CONFUSED CONGLOMERATION

The book is in effect a confused and naive liberal conglomeration of measures and half-ideas, culled from federalism, libertarianism, populism, Marxism, utopian socialism and out-and-out Luddism (with a fair sprinkling of banality), almost all unacknowledged and presented throughout as original (and somehow consistent) thought.

Some of the ideas presented, as might be expected by mere chance, are useful and could well be incorporated in a socialist programme. But the majority, apart from being contradictory, are both unrealisable under capitalism and would be unacceptable under socialism.

For one thing, the authors never really tackle the question of the change from capitalist domination and the social and political conflict this will involve. They speak loosely about "getting governments committed to" various measures, of "starting a movement" and forming a party to contest the next general election, firmly believing that the parliament perfected by capitalism would be able or willing profoundly to challenge the basis of the capitalist social system. The authors operate with a conception of the state as neutral and see its failure to take adequate measures to date as being due merely to "ignorance of the facts", rather than being firmly rooted in its functional relation to the capitalist status quo, and its protective role for a particular outmoded economic system.

They see the debate as being primarily about the measures to be taken to avert disaster and see the question of who is going to carry them out as secondary — "Surely", they would say, "man is reasonable and logical and once faced with the facts will make haste to change things". Unfortunately capitalism is not logical or reasonable and will protect its illogicality (its profits) by force. The debate which is crucial to this whole issue is that about state power, who holds it, what it is, etc. Will it be wielded by the majority, those whose labour created the wealth which is being so abused, or the minority, the capitalist class whose insane economic system has produced the situation we are combatting?

LUDDITE CREED

The authors hardly mention capitalism — for them it is "industrialisation" in the abstract which has produced the crisis and they advocate what amounts to de-industrialisation, a kind of reactionary, though sophisticated version of the Luddite creed, with its retrogressive bed-fellows, artisan-worship and the intensification of labour-intensive methods of production.

Instead of wanting to use modern technology within the rational framework of a planned economy (with all the pollution-control, re-cycling and total view of the relation of man's production to nature which this would imply) so as to free man from labour, they glorify labour and want to eternally enchain man to a life of work. They don't see that technology, freed from the constraints and uncontrollable forces of "free" capitalism, is potentially man's greatest aid.

The economic concomitant of the removal of power from the hands of the capitalist class by the working class, is the destruction of exchange-value and the laws of the market — in other words a return to the realisation of use-values — production for need, not profit.

Armed Resistance in West Germany — the Red Army Fraction

Review by SYBILLE PLOGSTEDT

'The Tip of the German Iceberg' of police repression has already been documented in *The Red Mole* (50). The article showed that this encompassed every section of society, with the primary aim of suppressing all manifestations of the growing class struggle. The German bourgeoisie has used the urban guerilla actions of the Red Army Fraction (also called the Baader-Meinhof group) as a pretext for the testing of its military-police apparatus.

ESCALATION

The armed struggle, according to the editors of this pamphlet, signifies an escalation of the forms of struggle of the revolutionary left: "Their intervention has materially changed the situation in West Germany — the kind of resistance that the RAF has begun will continue".

This is the conclusion and perspective seen by the editors for the development of the Left in West Germany. Certainly it is true that armed struggle will not be confined to Latin America and South East Asia. The Irish revolution has already brought it nearer home — and if we are prepared to see this applied as a tactic of the revolutionary struggle in other countries of Western Europe then we must be concerned with the problems of the "armed revolutionaries of the first hour", as the authors put it, and above all understand the conditions under which this struggle was taken up.

"The RAF chose bombings as their weapons of attack, but bombings are a very limited tactic. They are valid if they are acts of sabotage and they then materially affect the capabilities of the enemy, if they develop directly from a specific struggle and open up new possibilities for that struggle to use and to relate directly to people's political experience". For the RAF, on the contrary, the method of struggle was to be more than an aim. They believed that the logic of the growing state repression was the banning of organisations of the revolutionary left; that this could not be prevented, and must be met by a conscious acceptance of illegality and the use of illegal methods. Through this line the RAF wanted to give an instant demonstration to the demoralised new left that a revolutionary experience was still possible.

EXEMPLARY ACTIONS

They took this line in contradiction to the arm-chair marxists who "are more tortured when one discovers them quoting a sentence of Marx incorrectly than when they are dis-

The authors vaguely realise the necessity of this, but propose a "power tax", an "amortization tax" and a "raw materials" tax (presumably on producers) as measures to be taken. They again fail to see that the solution to the problem will not be found within the framework of the private ownership of the means of production — such taxes would make no sense in a situation of collective ownership.

REACTIONARY

Some of the proposals are downright reactionary and nationalistic though the authors go to lengths to claim no such intention — for example they see as a logical adjunct to a commitment to a population policy (an aspect of the problem we have had no chance to cover here) the banning of all immigration.

Finally when detailed proposals are inadequate, they fall back on vacuous clichés — "open style of government inspiring the trust and co-operation of the general public", "sense of social responsibility", "stability", "community feeling" and "global awareness" as though these can be somehow dolloped out in handfuls — totally idealist conceptions, unrelated to the economic and social relations of capitalism, which they don't challenge.

Space does not permit a mention of the many other methodological and theoretical inadequacies in this book. Its only value is to demonstrate the total impotence of liberal solutions in the crisis facing us and thus (unintentionally) to provide a launching pad for an alternative and realistic understanding of the problem which could attract many people to the banner of the working class and away from the misguided diversions offered here.

*A Blueprint For Survival (Penguin Special, 30p)



Police display weapons, ammunition and tools found in a raid on Ulrike Meinhof's flat

covered lying in their practice". Their criticisms of these people are justified, but the RAF merely goes to the other extreme: only in practice, they say will all the instruments that will defeat the state machine be forged. And since, to destroy the state, you have to attack the state's means of repression, the RAF look on all transitional methods as reformist or economist. In the mass struggle or its preparation, they believe, the only task of the vanguard is to lead the proletariat by exemplary actions. The RAF were unable to develop any political movement which went beyond support activity for the armed actions. As the editors point out, this "can make it quite difficult to counter the 'anarchist, nihilist, devilish destruction' labels stuck on them by the reactionary press". While the RAF criticised the weakness of the other left groups, the knowledge of its own ideas was confined to the narrow circle of these same groups, thanks to systematic police seizure of their publications.

POSITIVE

It is very positive that the documents of the armed struggle in West Germany are now available to the British left. The pamphlet contains a comprehensive selection of the

RAF's most important writings and those of its sympathisers. It also contains a reliable history of the group, situated in the context of the development of the left in West Germany. Its activity and mistakes are criticised from a revolutionary standpoint which places the armed struggle as one tactic within the unfolding of the class struggle.

From the recent events in Germany, one impression remains exceptionally strong: the freeing of Baader from prison where he still had thirty-four months to serve started the armed actions of the group. This action has been defended by the members of the RAF only with moralistic arguments. In fact, the freeing of Baader was a completely artificial condition for the launching of armed struggle and the group's military actions were therefore not the product of the real development of the class struggle. For this reason, the armed revolutionaries of the 'first hour' remained in complete isolation till their 'last hour'.

*Armed Resistance in West Germany (Stoke Newington Eight Defence Committee)

RANK AND FILE TECHNICAL TEACHERS

Meeting: Tuesday, 19 September, at 6.30 p.m. at South Bank Poly Students Union, Rotary Street (near Elephant and Castle).

To discuss: the need for and election of officers of a Rank and File technical teachers' group; the 1973 ATTI conference; salaries; and staff-student ratios.

ANTI-INTERNMENT LEAGUE NOVEMBER DEMONSTRATION

Sunday, 12 November - assemble Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park, at 2.00 p.m.

For further details: John Gray, Basement Flat, 139 Holland Road, London W.14. (01-603 3085)

RED PAMPHLETS

SOCIAL SECURITY

A pamphlet on the Social Security system, incorporating the latest experiences of the working class in the Manchester sit-ins. This is a useful handbook for all militants needing practical advice on how to claim. PRICE 2p.

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This is much more than just a description of events. It places the strike firmly within the context of the heightened class tension of the last few years, and puts forward a programme around which militants in the pits can organise. PRICE 10p

IRELAND UNFREE by Bob Purdie

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A new pamphlet written with the aim of helping workers in the steel industry to work out a strategy for fighting against the thousands of redundancies which the British Steel Corporation is now carrying out. Includes the 'Confidential Report' on closures. PRICE 15p.

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A new pamphlet on the background to the present dispute and in particular the rise of the Building Workers Charter group and its politics. PRICE 2p.

All the above available from:

IMG Publications, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1. (please add for postage)

Sybille Plogstedt, one of the first group to be charged after the Russian invasion, looks at

THE TRIALS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

One month before the fourth anniversary of the invasion of Czechoslovakia, a wave of political trials began. They mark a new climax of repression. In Prague and Brno, proceedings have been carefully staged against 46 accused. The most prominent defendants have been Milan Hubl, former director of the Party college and member of the Central Committee (CC) of the Czechoslovak CP (CPC); Sabata, also a member of the CC; Litera, Secretary of the Prague City Committee of the CPC; the journalists and scientists Kyncl, Bartosak, Tesar, Battek Hajdanak, and the former student leader Muller. Arrested during the elections of November 1971, they were offered up as sacrifices on the altar of the fourth anniversary of the invasion 9 months later. The defendants were accused of anti-state and anti-socialist activity under article 98 of the Czech penal code. Their offence is supposed to have consisted in their links with emigres in the West, their authorship of leaflets, and their call to boycott the elections. All the offences were said to have begun after 1969. In this way, it would appear as a question of criminal and not political persecution.

TRUMPED-UP CHARGES

These trumped-up charges started in 1969 after the first arrests. Amongst many others arrested at this time were Skutina, T.V. Commentator, who was sentenced to 4½ years in jail; General Prchlik, head of the Army political administration, who was sentenced to 22 months; Peter Uhl, sentenced to 4 years as alleged founder of the 'Revolutionary Socialist Party' (together with 15 other alleged members of the group); and the journalist Lederer, sentenced to 2 years for collaboration with the Polish emigration.

The type of investigations and charges in the current wave of trials seems very similar to these first cases. The members of the 'Revolutionary Socialist Party' attributed their statements to pressure and blackmail exerted by the STB (political police) and to provocations in the cells; the 'anti-socialist' actions with which they were charged were traced back to direct provocations by police agents. In the same way the accused in the new trials characterised the proceedings against them as police repression. Milan Hubl described them as pure inventions, pre-fabricated down to the last detail.

On the other hand, *Rude Pravo*, the organ of the Communist Party CC, declares the accusations to be 'irrefutably proven since the defendants had given further evidence of their anti-socialist attitude before the court. Does this refer to the defendant's refusal to collaborate with the courts by making confessions? Does it refer to Jan Tesar entering the court with clenched fist, singing the Internationale? For *Rude Pravo* their guilt is further proved by the sentences, passed by independent judges, upholders of socialist justice. But what can be socialist about a legality where courts do not permit the holding of trials in public or the defendant's right to choose his own lawyer? What can be said about a trial where the accused is not allowed to submit evidence contrary to that of the prosecution, where the court considers refusal to testify and retraction of confessions as 'aggravating' circumstances? Even the 'independent' judges are liable to repression. According to a report of the Minister of Justice, 145 Czechoslovak judges (i.e. 13 per cent) left the service up to July 1970 in the course of 'normalisation'. Since then there have been further dismissals - 34 more in July 1972 alone. Under the 'new course' the judges are compelled to make their contributions to 'normalisation'.

FACADE

Legality in Czechoslovakia is a mere facade, even if it has not yet reached the stage of show trials à la Slansky. Charged with the task of political repression, the bureaucracy differentiates very cleverly between initiators and fellow-travellers, between consistent opposition and unprincipled accommodation. The latent, ever-present opposition must be kept back from political action and struggle. But will the trials be kept within these limits for much longer?

One lesson has obviously been learnt from 1956. Everything was done then to prevent the revival of the resistance by putting off the trials of former party leaders and thereby isolating the activist nucleus within the passive population. Two years were required for this in Hungary. Then came the executions. But during those two years Nagy was assured of his immunity. On 26 November, 1956, Kadar announced: "We said that we would not institute any proceedings against him, even if he admitted his own guilt. We have kept our promise". It was only in 1958 that the execution of Nagy was officially announced.

When we hear Husak's assurances today that there are no political trials in Czechoslovakia, this can be explained just as in 1956. How and whether the trials get worse depends on the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy.

CONSOLIDATION

The form of the repression still seems to correspond to the latter's specific interests. In 1968 Czechoslovakia was to become the model for a 'new course', and by 1969 it should have become a model of consolidation, for it was not only in Czechoslovakia that a latent potential of opposition existed. Its experience of resistance can, moreover, become an example for other countries. Thus, all those arrested on the third anniversary of the invasion and subsequently released were again interrogated on the fourth anniversary. The purpose was to examine the changes in opinion, to measure the success of the consolidation, and to spot early any signs of a fresh outburst of resistance. Thus the repression in Czechoslovakia is aimed above all at smashing up political organisation at its inception.

Is there a real danger that the present limited repression will, in the coming period, escalate into monster trials? The bureaucracy has still not ruled out this option. None of the accusations against Dubcek have been enforced yet, though they all refer to high treason, betrayal of the fatherland, aiding foreign powers and anti-socialist activities. Each of these charges carries the death penalty and investigations continue against all the political figures of the Dubcek period. But as long as the threat of action fulfills the function of securing calm, order, productivity and greater privileges for the bureaucracy, the show-trials familiar in the 30s and 50s can be forgone.

In the long term 'consolidation' has one drawback: it cannot overcome the passivity of the workers and employees. What growth in production has taken place is above all due to repression at the place of work. Increased targets, stiffer work-norms and repressive labour legislation are the basis of the expansion. Recently, *Rude Pravo* warned of a new campaign against the high rate of absenteeism, and even complained that there are workers who prevent their workmates from helping out at unmanned points in the productive process; it said some workers stop others from submitting



Sybille Plogstedt at picket last Sunday

proposals for innovation and improvement of production, or adopt hostile attitudes towards those promoted for their co-operative spirit. The basic crisis of the so-called socialist states - the political and moral disinterest on the part of the masses in the further development of the system - cannot be solved by repression.

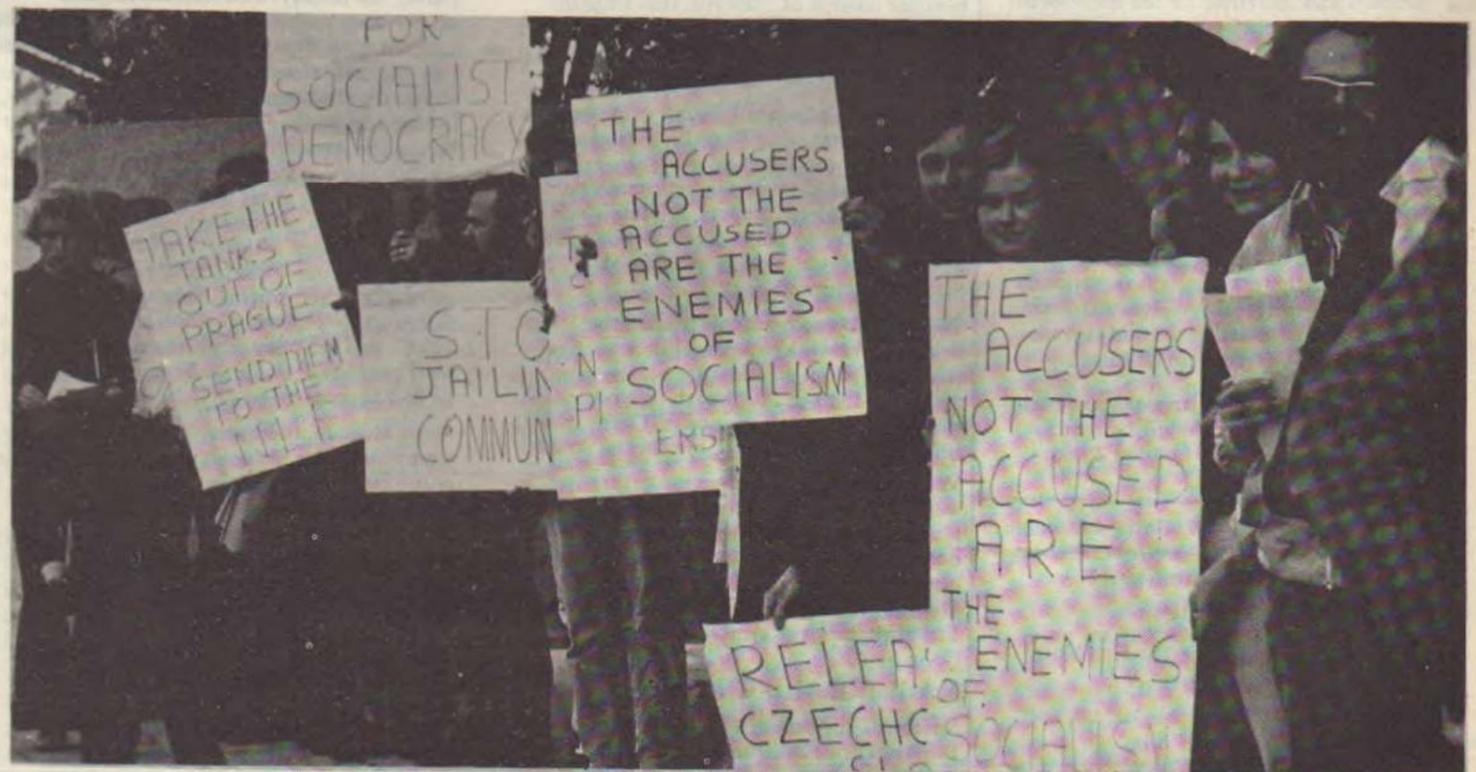
INTERNATIONAL ACTION

What action can we ourselves take against the persecution in Czechoslovakia? As the phoney trials grow in number, so does the wave of international protest against the repression. Now the Communist Parties in the West must react to them: the French CP and CGT protested against the use of police methods instead of political persuasion; the Communist Parties of Britain, Australia, Italy and Spain not only attacked the methods of the regime, but even supported the accused and declared that socialism must at all times show its historical superiority over all forms of capitalist democracy. By constantly bringing the issues out into the open we can assist the efforts to thwart further trials. After the recent international wave of protests, proceedings against ten of the accused were dropped. So far we have not learnt of further arrests. For us, every trial that does not take place is a victory, every early release, every reduction in sentence is a success. We must concentrate our work on these objectives and force the Communist Parties of the West to continually discuss the campaign.

Vietnam Solidarity I.M.G. STATEMENT

On October 28th and November 18th, the National Peace Action Coalition in the USA is calling for international days of protest against Nixon's brutal escalation of the war. To find the response it must in Britain (where the Vietnam movement, following on the Paris 'peace talks' and the gradual withdrawal of troops, virtually collapsed) will need the active involvement of all forces on the left. To build - or rather, rebuild - a movement on the question of Vietnam is to recognise in deeds as well as in words that internationalism is the touchstone of all genuine socialists: it is to recognise that what happens in Vietnam is not something peripheral but integral to the struggles developing within Britain and that the activity of revolutionaries can effectively influence the course of events in Vietnam. One of the interesting aspects of the Pentagon Papers is precisely its analysis of the impact the mass anti-war movement internationally had upon the tactics of the Johnson administration.

The IMG actively supports the call made by *Indochina* magazine in response to the request by the NPAC, to sponsor a Conference (followed by a demonstration) this coming Autumn. Such an action should be seen as the long-overdue attempt to make Vietnam once again a living reality in British politics. In order to correlate out activities with the call by the NPAC, we would call upon all other left forces, those who participated in the VSC and those who did not, to equally sponsor such a conference and demonstration and to help immediately to set up an ad-hoc committee to discuss their preparation.



Picket of Czechoslovak Embassy last Sunday, organised by the Committee to Defend Czechoslovak Socialists (contact at 32 Belitha Villas, London N.1.)

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CLIMAX IN BUILDING DISPUTE



Unlike most workers' organisations, the employers are capable of fighting on many fronts. After eleven weeks the press is finally joining battle. The building employers have picked up a tip from the Engineering Employers' Federation, and, on Laing's initiative, have started to produce a joint paper on 'intimidation' in the strike. In every press statement they have plugged the 'violent few' who force everybody to keep striking. And this has had its effect.

STRIKE BITING

All that other workers could get from the TV and newspapers about the strike is that many pickets are being arrested and some employers are finding new ways to get workers to work. The Basildon employer who flew his workers onto his site by helicopter was treated as a genius by the mass media. Nobody asked him how he got the money for such expensive travel. The real reason for such antics is actually the failure of the employers' tactic for breaking the strike. They had pinned their hopes on the hundreds of thousands of subcontractors to destroy the unity and militancy of the workers, and by the eleventh week this had failed. So they turned in new directions.

The employers have turned to the press — whom can the workers turn to? At the moment

the building strike is the most important dispute in the country. And at this time each big strike affects the whole of the working class's ability to fight the challenge of capitalists to the living standards and organisations of working people.

By PAUL SMITH

The winning of £30 for 35 hours would be a step forward for millions of workers. And the shortening of the working week would be one way of reducing unemployment, to the benefit of every worker. By campaigning for this demand in the rest of the labour movement, tremendous support could be won. Financial and other forms of solidarity could be gained if the issue were explained. This, surely, is the role of Charter. The politics of Charter were explained in the last issue of *The Red Mole*. And here is another example of the correct use of a rank and file newspaper: a special issue could be produced for sale to other workers. Campaigning meetings and actions up and down the country are required. Charter's non-activity on this and a whole series of other questions is little short of criminal.

NEW MOVES

The employers' desperation can be measured by the frenzied way in which they are hawk-

ing their latest offer around. Last Monday the union side agreed to consider the offer of a £26 basic rate, saying that it amounts to a 30 per cent increase. The official leadership are going to make every effort to get a settlement on this offer. But the key point on which building workers could show the way to the rest of the working class — reduction of the working week — is not even mentioned! As we go to press, news is coming in that the union officials in Birmingham have accepted the employers' offer. With Charter liquidating itself into the union bureaucracy, the danger is that the rank and file will have no means of expressing their wishes. This is the decisive hour for the success of the strike.

STOP PRESS

As we go to press, the deal between the unions and the employers federation has been announced. This is the picture: claim for £30 — deal gives £26; claim for 35 hours — deal gives nothing but a review next year; claim for one week's extra holiday — deal gives one day; claim for a one-year agreement — deal gives a 2½ agreement; a clause has been written in stopping cost of living increases unless prices rise by more than 8½%.

Anti-fascist demo in Reading

A fascist march in Reading last Saturday, ostensibly about the Ugandan Asians, met with a vigorous response from local socialists (see photo on front page).

The march, organised by a variety of right-wing groups including the National Front and the 'National Independent Party', was opposed right from the start by the united action of all the local socialist groups (except the SLL) under the banner of the Reading Anti-Fascist Co-ordinating Committee. In the week leading up to the march the Committee organised agitation and propaganda activity with leaflets, posters, etc., in all the working class areas of the town and many of the local factories.

Despite disagreements about tactics, for instance on whether or not to stop the march if possible, on the afternoon of the march the rival forces were almost equal. The anti-fascists, marching as one contingent, therefore made several determined attempts to block the path of the march and to generally disrupt it.

However, despite the undoubted success of its impact, the AFFC had seriously underestimated the role of the State. The attitude of the police rapidly changed from sarcasm and amusement to open hostility once they saw the numbers and militancy of the anti-fascists. At the first chance they tried to decimate the AFFC's ranks, and in the ensuing scuffles seven militants were arrested, mostly on obstruction charges. Only one fascist was arrested.

The counter-demo has abruptly changed the relationship of forces in Reading. The racists and fascists now know that they cannot come out onto the streets unchallenged. Their march, only 150 strong at its height, was meant to be part of a big campaign in Reading — something which is now seriously in doubt. While for local socialists the event has given a focus for anti-racist propaganda among all sections of the working class.

A Defence Fund for those arrested has been set up. All contributions should be sent to: AFFC Defence Fund, 245 London Road, Reading, Berks.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE: Tariq Ali, Robin Blackburn, Peter Gowan, Alan Jones, Martin Meteyard, John Weal, Judith White.

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MAGUIRE (From page 1)

releases, a phoney peace movement, and a slander campaign aimed at undermining the credibility of Mac Stiofain and at dividing the IRA on a North-South basis.

Kitson was overruled on this occasion, and only the parts of the plan calling for direct rule and reform, plus the phoney peace movement, were implemented. Only when it became clear that this policy too was doomed to failure did they begin to implement the full plan.

But the broad foundations for this had been laid long ago.

"BLOODY ENGLISHMAN"

As early as 7 April Gery Fitt, the Social Democratic leader, brought up on BBC Radio 4 for the first time the "Bloody Englishman" slander against MacStiofain. This had been preceded on 25 March in the *Irish Times* by a failed Fianna Fail candidate, John Healy, writing in his Backbencher column of "the risk that Englishman takes for Ireland". The Stormont-subsidised Women Together movement was used to purvey this slander.

But it was only in late July, after the ending of the bi-lateral cease fire, that this campaign was put into top gear. In the lobby briefing describing the meeting between Whitelaw and the Provisional leaders, Whitelaw went out of his way to praise David O'Connell as a reasonable man, and to describe Mac Stiofain as "intransigent".

Taking their cue from this source, the British press went to work. But what finally brought out all the stops on the campaign was the need for Heath to have something with which to pressurise Lynch into further arrests of Republicans in the South.

Very conveniently, a few days before Heath was due to meet Lynch in Munich, Miss Maguire, whose liberal views on sex were not exactly a secret, suddenly recoiled in horror when Sean Mac Stiofain "put his hand on mine", and fell, not for the first time, into the arms of a man called Colin Smith.

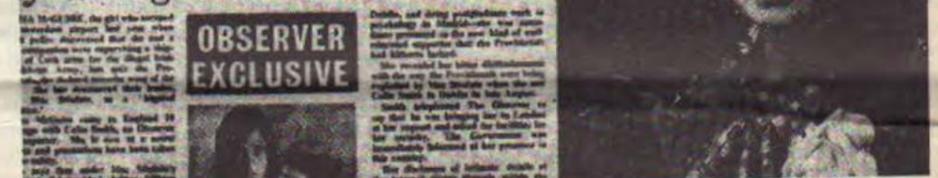
MAGUIRE AND GHOST

Smith is a special correspondent for the Foreign Office's favourite newspaper, the *Observer*, who came to Dublin twelve months ago, fresh from assignments in

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IRA gun girl flees to deno Provos' chief Killings in Ulster dictated by a 'bigoted murderer'



Africa. As the Dublin review *Hibernia* put it, "he displayed an impressive grasp of the Irish political situation, and though he had not met Miss Maguire at the time, reportedly was able to inform one of her relatives of her whereabouts and the reason for her trip to the Continent, two days before the Amsterdam affair broke in the English press". Surprisingly, then, the story broke not in his paper but in the rival *Telegraph*. During his long sojourn in Ireland he has written very little . . . for the *Observer*. When the *Observer* announced their forthcoming scoop, Mr Smith got prominent notice in all the blurb. But next day when the revelations were published, Colin Smith had vanished — he had become a ghost.

Maria Maguire, too, is not quite what she seems. As *Hibernia* pointed out, her "*crie de coeur*" might have sounded more convincing if her statement had appeared in an Irish paper, if it had concerned itself with policies rather than personalities, and if it had not followed her own personal demotion. And the abhorrence she expresses at the continuation of the bombing campaign might have rung more true if she had not in this paper last June supported that very campaign and praised the political achievement which it had wrought". It is significant that Maguire did not mention in the *Observer* that she had recently been disciplined by the Provos, ordered to stay away from their Kevin Street office, and in effect "relegated to being one of the rank-and-file members she so despised", as *Hibernia* puts it.

The first part of Maguire's "revelations" named what she claims to be the present membership of the Army Council of the Provisional IRA, just in time for Heath to demand their imprisonment when he met Lynch in Munich.

The following week, Ivan "I'm a Marxist myself" Rowan did his *Telegraph* piece for Queen and country, dredging, with a full research team and the usual expense account, through the tomes in Somerset House, digging back as far as the 1850s in order to "prove" that Mac Stiofain's

family was English at least back to that date. All this would be amusing if it did not serve an extremely serious purpose. That purpose is an attempt to split and isolate the IRA as a means towards "destroying the military capability of the IRA". At least in Miss Maguire's case the prompter pays well. The bosom of the *Observer* is a well padded one. Maguire has not so far replied to a challenge made by Gery Lawless at an Anti-Internment League meeting in Brighton which was reported extensively in the Irish papers on 6 September. He invited her to deny:

1. That she has received a four-figure sum from the *Observer* for her disclosures to date.
2. That her disclosures have been circulated throughout the world by the *Observer Foreign News Service*, the editor of which, Ronald Harker, admitted in a letter to the *Irish Press* on 30 November of last year that it receives a subsidy from the British Foreign Office.
3. That the firm handling the placement of her forthcoming book is headed by the former head of British Intelligence in North Africa, France and Spain, the man indeed who replaced Philby as head of British Intelligence in the Middle East.
4. That her agents are negotiating for her to receive a five-figure sum for the publication of a book.

NOT OVER

This campaign of vilification is not over yet. It is absolutely necessary that all supporters of the Irish struggle throughout the world refuse to take part in the British splitting game by retailing any of these slanders, and refute them by pointing out their source and purpose.

Another lesson to be learnt is that all British bourgeois newspapers, no matter how liberal, or how "left" the individual journalist claims to be, will at best defend their society when they see it threatened by the IRA, and at worst, the special correspondent is more and more the special agent of British imperialism.



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