

# The Red Mole

# STEEL

THE FIGHT AGAINST  
REDUNDANCIES IN BRITAIN,  
W GERMANY AND FRANCE



Also: Prescott ● India — Pakistan ● Ceylon ● Students

Television: Seize the network

# The Red Mole

Number 33 12th December 1971

## DOWN WITH COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY WAR

The division of the Indian sub-continent by British imperialism in 1947, which was the result of the native bourgeoisie's historical inability to carry through the unification of the country, has been the key manoeuvre of British and world imperialism in that part of the world. With the help of the opportunist policies of the Soviet bureaucracy and Indian Communist Party this manoeuvre has been partially successful for nearly a quarter of a century. Anti-Pak chauvinism in India and anti-Indian chauvinism in Pakistan have been used again and again as a means to divert discontent of the super-exploited toiling masses away from the revolutionary mass struggle against their own exploiters.

The famine in 1966-7; the revolutionary upsurge in Pakistan in 1969; the national uprising of Bangla Desh in 1971; all these have upset the relative equilibrium established on the sub-continent as a result of the abortion of the 1946-7 Indian revolution. The mass revolutionary upsurge in East Bengal has not been crushed by the ferocious repression of the Yahya Khan military dictatorship. The guerilla struggle which has emerged from that repression has led to a gradual radicalisation of the Bangla Desh freedom fighters; the bourgeois-nationalist Awami League leadership being subjectively challenged or objectively by-passed by broader and broader layers. Independent revolutionary groups are already active in the struggle.

It is under these conditions that the leading cliques of both states have launched a war, the criminal counter-revolutionary character of which should not escape any marxist.

Indira Gandhi, who has launched the war under the pretence of assisting the liberation of the Bengali people, wants to instal an Awami League Government in Dacca in order to keep the liberation struggle under control. She regards this control as essential, not only to stop the struggle growing over into a social revolution, but also to prevent it spreading to West Bengal, where a pro-revolutionary situation has been developing for several years, and eventually all over India.

Yahya Khan, in dread of the collapse of the artificial state of Pakistan, based solely on the link of religion, desperately wants to destroy the operational base of the Bangla Desh liberation struggle on Indian soil, before the mass upsurge breaks out in West Pakistan too.

The Soviet bureaucracy, afraid of the consequences of a second Vietnam in South Asia, supports the Indian bourgeoisie's manoeuvres in order to avoid a generalised revolutionary crisis on the sub-continent. American imperialism and the Chinese bureaucracy also want to defend the status quo, but by different means: by having the artificial state and the Yahya Khan clique's rule consolidated. But all these governments' manoeuvres are in clear opposition to the interests of the broad, toiling masses of India and Pakistan, which demand the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeois-landlord alliance ruling both India and Pakistan. All these manoeuvres will be in vain. Whatever the outcome of the military operations, the situation will become more and more explosive on the whole sub-continent.

The Fourth International calls upon the peoples of the Indian sub-continent not to be taken in by chauvinist propaganda of the ruling cliques of New Delhi and Islamabad. The duty of the revolutionaries in both countries is to stand for the defeat of their own bourgeoisie and for transforming the counter-revolutionary war into a socialist revolution. In Bengal, this means that the Bengali freedom fighters should continue their struggle for Bangla Desh.

Twenty-five years of bourgeois rule in both states has not solved a single key problem of the sub-continent. The ruling cliques have maintained the legacy of mass starvation stagnation, backwardness, national oppression and extreme inequality, inherited from centuries of colonial domination. These bankrupt classes have no right to and no possibility of taking upon themselves the solution of the problems of the Bengal people or of any other ethnic minority. The debt-ridden poor peasants, the rural unemployed and labourers, the super-exploited industrial workers, shall take their fate into their own hands and re-unite the sub-continent on a socialist basis.

**DOWN WITH THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY INDO-PAK WAR!**

**FORWARD TOWARDS A UNITED SOCIALIST BENGAL!**

**FORWARD, TOWARDS THE INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT REVOLUTION!**

5 December 1971

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International

## JAKE PRESCOTT: A Victim of British Class Justice

The effects of the growing instability which characterises British capitalism today are by no means restricted to the economy alone. Their repercussions on other spheres of the state machine should under no circumstances be underestimated. The judicial system in particular, which is responsible to the bourgeois State for safeguarding property and defending bourgeois legitimacy (i.e. the divine right of the capitalist class to govern indefinitely) feels the developing strains much sooner than other levels of the political superstructure and, as a result, responds to them more sharply. In certain circumstances the old liberal mask can be thrown away completely so that class justice is not only done but seen by the class to be done.



The sentence of 15 years inflicted on Jake Prescott is a more recent example of this process. A young revolutionary militant of working class origin is victimised for his political views. The verdict is meant not so much to teach Prescott a lesson, but also to warn thousands of other young workers coming into contact with revolutionary politics that the latter (even more so than ordinary "crime") does not pay. The record of Justice Melford-Stevenson remains unblemished in the eyes of the class which appoints him to his wretched position as an upholder of bourgeois law and morality. The evidence on which Jake was convicted is flimsy by any standards: the testimony of two informers planted in Jake's prison cell, plus, of course, the things he is alleged to have said to the 'hero of the hour'—Chief Superintendent Habershon. Apart from this there was no evidence against Jake except, as Melford Stevenson obligingly pointed out to the Jury, his political views. We are convinced that it is on the basis of these that Prescott was found guilty of 'conspiracy' (even the jury was forced to admit that Jake had nothing to do with the bombing of Carr's house). Our friendly Judge accordingly, inflicted the 15 year sentence. Stevenson is the same Judge who inflicted the vicious sentences on the Cambridge students who demonstrated against the Greek dictatorship a year and a half ago. A few more cases like the present and he could well be recommended for a Victoria Cross, for undaunted persistence in the pursuit of the class war!

The whole manner in which the Purdie/Prescott case was conducted points out to a serious failing on the part of the revolutionary movement in Britain. Because

there is no joint activity by the revolutionary groups on the elementary basis of defending all victims of the class struggle, individual militants are left to organise their own defence. This often lands them in the hands of politically hostile lawyers and leads to sloppiness (as in the defence of Jake) or a total unconcern for other victims as in the case of Purdie's lawyer, who in his summing-up stated boldly that meaningful evidence existed against Jake and the other Six, but not against Ian Purdie. The latter cannot, of course, be blamed for his lawyer (who did after all manage to get him acquitted), but the lack of any legal defence network on the part of the left as a whole is an extremely serious weakness which we have to remedy rapidly to prevent repetition.

Also it must be admitted that not a single revolutionary group initiated or participated actively in a political campaign even on a propaganda level, to demand the release of Prescott and Purdie (and here *The Red Mole*, as the journal of the International Marxist Group must share part of the blame), despite the fact that there were obvious political differences.\* This situation cannot be allowed to continue. Given the political situation in Britain today an increasing number of political militants will be arrested, tried and sentenced. Many of them will be blacks, many Irish and we are certain that some British militants will also be victimised as the judiciary gets more and more panicky. This necessitates a clear-cut defence strategy on the part of the revolutionary left. In future issues we will attempt to outline such a strategy.

\* Apart from the political views of Purdie/Prescott we will in a subsequent issue explain our differences with the political concepts of organisations such as the Angry Brigade.

# Leeds Police get off

By a Northern Correspondent.

Oluwale was drowned in the River Aire in 1967. In 1970 a police cadet had the nerve to talk about the possibility that Ellerker and Kitching put him there. In 1971 Ellerker and Kitching were put on trial for manslaughter. The judge told the jury to dismiss that charge. But the publicity had been such that the assault charges had to be allowed to stand; the jury convicted and the judge gave moderate prison sentences.

The case seems to be part of a pattern. When publicity or rumour become so rife that they can no longer be safely ignored, the police officers concerned are put on trial. But the trial is not allowed to run its course. In Nottingham last year, when police were charged with drug

planting, bribing with drugs and so on, the judge stopped the trial when only about half the prosecution witnesses had been heard; the police got off the lot. That case came to court because of very thorough muck-racking work by the News of the World, which gave the lurid facts full treatment. In Leeds the jury was permitted to give an opinion on some of the less serious charges; but on the manslaughter charge the judge simply instructed the jury that there was not enough evidence, apparently not confident of the jury's ability to reach that decision on its own. It is also possible to speculate whether the prosecution's evidence would not in fact have been more impressive if other than officers of the law had been involved. As in Nottingham, the police were forced into prosecuting by events outside the control of the hierarchy: the proliferation of rumour. Both in Nottingham and in Leeds, the victims of the police were black.

Even so, it is doubtful whether rumour would have even begun if it had not been for a coincidence. The fact that Ellerker was on trial for covering up for a fellow officer clearly, and on police evidence, gave some policemen the courage which they had previously lacked to start talking about Ellerker's and Kitching's behaviour towards Oluwale. And even then, it was a mere police cadet who was brave enough to take the drastic step of actually reporting the matter to the authorities. The evidence given by the police was full of statements like that they hadn't talked about it before because they were scared for their careers, or simply because they claimed they wouldn't have believed. And it now appears that there was some kind of a "mafia" operating in the Leeds police force which was capable of terro-

rising any policeman who might be so bold as to suggest that it was a bad idea to dump a man into a river, even if he was, as the prosecution delighted in reiterating, dirty and so on (and black, as nobody mentioned). (1)

Of course many other cases do not get to court. What about the girl in South London who was beaten up in the van on the way to the station, told to strip to prove she was a woman, told to spread her legs apart, and then threatened with a police truncheon which, its manipulator said, "is the right size and the right colour, isn't it?" What about the many other examples which are known to black communities, perhaps to black organisations which have tried to do something about it, perhaps to some white revolutionaries, who have generally failed to do anything about it at all? What about the many other cases which are known only to the victims and perhaps to a few friends? We should not assume that, just because the Oluwale case happens to have got some publicity and to have come to trial, it is in any way an isolated event. And the police are still at it in Chapeltown, Leeds's ghetto, apparently quite undaunted.

(1) The Yorkshire Post particularly excelled itself in reporting all this. On its front page, for example, it put a box-headline: "JUDGE SAYS" that Oluwale was a filthy dirty vagrant. Inside it turned out that the judge was not so bad after all: he was in fact admonishing the prosecution, telling them everybody knew that Oluwale was a filthy dirty vagrant, but it was irrelevant to the case. But the Yorkshire Post gleefully headlined him, out of context, showing clearly whose side it was on.

## Anti-immigration demo in Cardiff

750 people, including delegations from Newport and Bristol, marched through Cardiff City centre in a protest against the Immigration Bill. The march was organised by the Welsh Campaign against the 1971 Immigration Bill, a broad committee including trade union, Labour Party and C.P. representatives. However, the majority of marchers were mobilised by the Black Alliance, a militant black defence group based on the Cardiff docks area. The Alliance was formed a year ago in response to discrimination and police harassment of the black community. It is probably unique among such groups, in that it is a de facto position of leadership in the black community in Cardiff. This is one of the main reasons why Cardiff is the first city to hold a mass demonstration against the Immigration Bill.

As there were no pre-arranged slogans it was interesting to note those that were taken up by the march—"hands off black people" and slogans against racism, fascism and the Bill itself; "black and white unite and fight" although initiated was not taken up.

The march ended with a rally outside the City Hall addressed, in the absence of councillors and M.P.s who were "too busy" to speak, by two members of the Black Alliance. The speeches stressed the necessity of continuing and extending the struggle against the Bill, and in particular, of organising the labour movement to commit Trade Unions to taking industrial action and to stop just passing resolutions.

Talking to Mole reporters after the rally, a spokesman for the Alliance explained that al-

though their trade union membership was a small unorganised minority, they hoped to pressure T.U. leaderships into fully representing the interests of black workers and into taking action against the Bill similar to that against the I.R.B.—strikes, etc. The Alliance saw the Immigration Bill as one measure of the comprehensive Tory policy against the working class, tying in with the Industrial Relations Act, the Common Market etc. Asked about the slogan "Black and white unite and fight" he said it was obviously an over simplification—the basic need was to organise black people in their own militant organisations which could then participate in the generalised working class struggle. The Alliance will continue to fight.

Cyfiawnder i'r dyn du!

South Wales Moles



WORKERS PICKETING OUTSIDE BRANNAN'S IN CLEATON MOOR, LANCASHIRE

The strike of women workers at Brannan's Thermometer at Cleaton Moor in Lancashire has now been going on for three months. About five weeks ago Management agreed to open negotiations with the union (AUEW). This was an important breakthrough as previously Brannan had pretended to ignore the strikers; he had informed local Social Security offices that the strikers were sacked and had managed to keep the factory ticking over on the basis of scab labour. However, the militancy and consistency of the picketing, the effective blocking of goods and some success in building up public support against Brannan locally, have together forced the management into negotiations and into recognising the union. The strike is not yet over. The strikers are insisting on a 100% return to work and a guarantee that negotiations on the arbitrary upgrading of some employers to staff positions as a means of creating pay differentials—the original cause of the strike—will be opened immediately after a return to work.

## TUC Meeting in chaos

The anticipated steady applause greeted Victor Feather's speech to the TUC rally against unemployment on the evening of November 24th. But what happened next visibly shocked the assembled union bureaucrats. Some 2,000 trade unionists were gathered in the Central Hall, as TUC Chairman George Smith of the Woodworkers' union prepared to follow Feather's standard, heart-rending homilies on introducing a further dozen members of the General Council clearly intent on making the same speech. Whispers and murmurs became shouts and protests as one bureaucrat after another tried to deliver the routine mixture of moral condemnation of the Tories and crocodile tears for the unemployed. From one corner of the hall after another, angry hecklers demanded action from their leaders, not mere verbal and distant denunciations of the Government. A surprised Dick Briginshaw, leader of the printing union NATSOPA, taking his turn on the rostrum, pressed on with half-hearted and monotonous references to "the tragedy of the unemployment figures", "the failure of the Government policies", but offered no remedy outside of Harold Wilson's re-election to Downing Street. As the Chairman appealed for order and TUC stewards strode threateningly along the aisles, it became obvious to the most innocent observer that a solid half of the audience had turned hostile to the platform.

Within twenty minutes, the chants of 'General Strike!' and loud calls for overtime bans and against productivity deals presented each new speaker with a straight choice—either support the demands for action or be shouted down altogether. Percy Coldrick of the railway clerks' union TSSA rushed to advocate widespread nationalisation but his audience was not placated. 'Socialism!' cried voices from the back of the crowd. Now, an emotional Danny McGarvey of the Boilermakers rose to his feet. Evidently moved by the furious mood of the meeting, he nearly screamed. Yes, the time for verbal warfare was past, he said. The heckling and interruptions grew less frequent. Waving his arms, McGarvey recalled the massive TUC march against the Industrial Relations Bill on February 21st. The unions had 'marched their men to the top of the hill, only to march them down again'. Such demonstrations were not enough, he roared. The crowd in the hall quietened and then even began to cheer. Now was the time for action, cried McGarvey, to fight unemployment. Then—"we must all write to our M.P.s and demand that something be done!" In sheer uproar, the assembled workers hooted with derision and laughed McGarvey off the rostrum.

At this stage, Feather's deputy, Lionel Murray of the TUC, ran down from the platform and turned on a girl heckling from the front row of seats. Clearly unable to accept that a genuine trade unionist could behave in such a disruptive fashion, Murray demanded to see her union card. Smilingly, she waved it at him and he retreated fast. Meanwhile, the Chairman's calls for 'unity' in the meeting had some effect, but met with shouts of 'unity with who?' and 'unity for what?' The fiasco ended with people walking out of the hall as Jack Jones, on the platform, made an appeal for strike action against unemployment—but with the proviso that this would have to be the collective policy of TUC unions, i.e. his union would not be taking any such action. A group of print workers made for the exit doors. 'Waste of time' they said, and disappeared.

### IN THE NEXT ISSUE

- (1) A detailed analysis of the Engineering Industry by Dave Bailey.
- (2) The aftermath of war in the sub-continent by Tariq Ali.
- (3) The new rise in militancy in Spain by Judith White.

The next issue will appear after the New Year.

### ireland

#### COMING OUT SOON:

A 30,000 word pamphlet on Ireland by Bob Purdie, which analyses the roots of the present crisis and provides a Marxist account of present-day Republicanism. IMG Publications.

**THEORETICAL PRACTICE:** Special double issue 3/4: Marxism and the Sciences. Articles by Balibar/Brewster/Cutler/Fichant/Foucault/Hindess/Hussain/Lecourt/Pecheux. From bookshops or 13, Grosvenor Avenue, London N5. 128 pages, 75 p.

# students' liaison committee moves into action

## Policy Statement Agreed at First National Conference December 4th.

The moves to attack and destroy the Local and National Student Unions is not taking place in a vacuum, it can only be understood as a part of a general attack on these sections of society which stand in opposition to the interests of the ruling class in particular the Trade Union Movement. Therefore, this attack is a political attack and as such is one which must be fought by consistent political action.

Seen in this context—accepted at the National Union of Students Conference at Margate—the policy adapted by the N.U.S. is not sufficient to defeat the governments' plans.

The L.C.D.S.U. was initially formed at the N.U.S. Conference by a group of delegates dissatisfied with conference policy. It is a rank and file organisation of students. It seeks affiliation from Students Unions, Area Committees, Socialist Societies, and any other interested bodies in order to promote militant action to defeat the government attempts to destroy independent student politics and organisation, and all other autonomous democratic organisations. It will fight for the following:-

### 1. Total Political Independence

The government attack on Student Unions can only be understood as an attack on the potential of student unions to organise politically in opposition to the technocratic reorientation of higher education and in support of working class and anti-imperialist struggles. The present structure of Students Unions and the NUS were set up and financed as far as the State was concerned to face a different reality than this. The ruling class feels therefore a need to redress the situation whereby SU's can be utilised in pursuit of the aims of radical politics. Its main concern is not to smash the so called 'representative' function of NUS and local SU's nor to obliterate their social and welfare function—although a certain attack can be anticipated here—but to pave the way to wider attacks on the student body as a whole.

### 2. Rejection of Financial Accountability

The major weapon in the attempt at political emasculation is the threat of financial saction. Any concession in this area allows precisely that opening which the government, and college authorities need to veto any proposed action of students to which they are opposed.

### 3. Opposition to any Negotiations

The government is proposing to take away our limited political independence. This cannot under any circumstances be a subject for negotiation. The only discussion which could possibly take place is the form of the emasculation—something which college authorities will wish to negotiate on, but not us.

### 4. No Collaboration with College Authorities

We recognise that we shall be receiving support in opposition to the government proposals from College Authorities. It is clear that not only is their support being given on grounds of the impracticability of the proposals but also because they seek to diffuse the real opposition to the government proposals. The college authorities are, if anything, merely concerned about the government's choice of remedy. They have an equal interest in political emasculation. The vice-chancellors, in particular have had to bear the brunt of the student upsurge, and are offering the evidence on which the government proposals were formulated. They are consequently as much our enemy as the government.

### 5. Extension of Union Autonomy

Not one single SU in the country has full autonomy. Finance, buildings and constitutions are still under some form of control by college authorities. What we have enjoyed is a situation whereby it has been difficult for college authorities to exercise full control in all these areas. This political situation was created during the student upsurge in 1968/69. Those college authorities, typically in the teacher training colleges which preferred to support the idea of 'politically independent' SU's must be forced to hand over that autonomy which they are denying, by local specific confrontations and actions in each institu-

tion, for which the Liaison Committee will seek to mobilise concrete solidarity actions in other institutions.

### 6. Militant Action

Our strategic aim is the preservation and extension of the political independence of students, hence student union autonomy. WE HAVE NO ECONOMIC POWER as such, only the ability to take political actions. It is precisely the prevention of this militancy which is the aim of the government both in the present and in subsequent proposals. It has to be shown that the outcome will in fact be completely the reverse. Rather than guaranteeing a quiet life, it should be the signal for an upsurge in student militancy. Any tactic which is based on low level activity like petitions, lobbies of parliament, representation to the Committee of Vice Chancellors, etc. is not only certain to fail but will be counter-productive; it will be demoralising and will produce precisely that quiescence which is necessary in order to bring in the governments' changes. The tactics recommended must be the most militant right from the start. Strikes, demonstrations, nationally co-ordinated occupations are the only kind of actions which have any chance of being successful. After all it is because students have taken such actions in the past to show that they mean business that the government is now launching the counter-offensive. Only in this way will we mobilise students and then draw in wider layers.

### 7. Students-Workers Solidarity

The call to involve the labour movement is very healthy for it rejects the idea of 'student power' and recognises that student struggles only have any meaning in the wider context of the class struggle. But we must be clear what we mean by this. We emphatically do not mean meetings between NUS bureaucrats and TUC bureaucrats, nor empty calls for trade union support. Unless the question is approached extremely concretely it will go no further than wishful thinking. What is first of all necessary is a political campaign which explains that the proposals are not mainly about finance but are in essence an attempt to

smash the political organisation of students in support of the class struggle. In conjunction with this we must also attempt to involve in our actions those sections of the trade union movement which can be most closely involved in the struggle: the staff associations (AUT, ATTI, NUT, etc.) and those workers whose servicing function is of vital importance in the running of these institutions. The experiences of North Western Poly and Norwich (involvement of staff, however half-hearted) and Reading (UPW blacking of administration mail) show that the development of such concrete links is both necessary and possible in advancing student struggles. We must furthermore, approach local trades councils, union branches and shop stewards to gain concrete support and participation in our actions and politics.

It is only on the above basis that there is any chance of success although, of course, this cannot be guaranteed in advance. But precisely because the NUS failed to adapt such a program it is necessary for the Liaison Committee to co-ordinate militant action during the period leading to the possible implementation of the government's plans and to solidarise and organise concrete support for those colleges in the vanguard of the fight against the government plans.

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The Dec 4 Conference reiterated its decision taken at Margate initial meeting which called for militant strikes on Dec. 8, with occupations where possible. The LCDSU will initiate and co-ordinate in connection with local struggles, militant actions throughout the country both before and after Jan. 23.

The Conference elected a 12 person Steering Council to organise publicity, speakers, etc. to be re-elected at the next conference (Jan. 15 or earlier).

For speakers, full conference report, information, contact LCDSU, c/o North London Poly, Holloway Road, London, N. 7. Phone 01-607-6767.

## POLICE ATTACK

Outside the Old Bailey on Tuesday, 7 December 1971, the police force attacked and broke up a peaceful picket of people who had assembled to show their opposition to political trials in this country. They gave no proper reason, but made it evident by a series of provocations that they did not intend to allow this perfectly legal representation to proceed. At first the police threatened the people on the picket, then they illegally towed away the car containing the demonstrators' placards. The demonstrators replied with instant organisation by making new placards. Finally a swarm of police were sent in and violence was used to stop the picket. In this era of immigration bills and industrial relations bills, there are very few rights left to the people of Britain. This day's events are a step towards denying the people of this country their basic right to demonstrate a

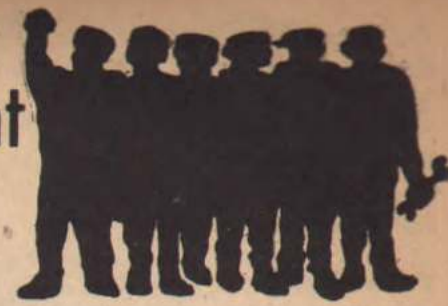
## PEACEFUL PICKET

grievance peacefully on the street. The seriousness of this assault cannot be stressed too strongly. After the Mangrove trial, the trial of Prescott and Purdie and the treatment they were given by the courts, after the murder of brother Oluwale by so called officers of the law, this vicious attack on concerned and demonstrating people can only mean that the state sanctions these extensions of police repression. It is an issue which concerns not only those who demonstrate their grievances, but every single citizen of these islands. The state is in the process of retracting one of the basic freedoms that the people have forced it to tolerate.

## Wilson in America

In his recent article on the Heath Government in the Red Mole Robin Blackburn pointed out that the Labour Party was now the champion of an anachronistic conception of the interests of British imperialism: in particular it is still attached to the notion of a 'special relationship' with the United States. This sentimental attachment to an obsolete formula of British capitalist politics is becoming the occasion for irony and derision from the more knowing bourgeois commentators. Thus *The Economist* allowed itself the following mocking item on Harold Wilson's trip to the United States: "Mr Harold Wilson is in danger of becoming as American as apple pie. This week he visited the United States partly to deliver three lectures at Tufts University, Boston, on the world economy and partly to publicise his memoirs. The content of the lectures was as convincing and well-argued a defence of American economic policy since the war as

could be heard anywhere. He expounded on the generosity of American aid, the wisdom of America's monetary policy and warmly approved President Nixon's recent package. In contrast, Mr. Wilson had nothing but harsh words to say about Europe. He savagely attacked French policy: its obsession with the dollar, its love of gold and its 'blackmail' in forcing 'Britain to turn its back on the open sea, and join the common market. . . All in all, it seemed that the old monetary orthodoxy still has Mr. Wilson in its grip. For connoisseurs there was some vintage Wilsonia: the '£800 million deficit the Tories left behind' was mentioned not one but four times. It was bad luck that he was so constantly heckled by pro-IRA demonstrators." (*The Economist*, December 4th 1971). Unlike many on the left the bourgeoisie knows full well that Labour's only real alternative to the EEC is pathetic attempts to exhumate the 'special relationship' and they are singularly unimpressed.



# THE CRISIS OF BRITISH STEEL

The steel industry is a perfect example of the general decline of British capitalism. In the period 1961-69 output in British Steel increased by only 15% compared to 39% in the United States, 44% in the whole of the Common Market, and 185% in Japan.<sup>1</sup> The situation in terms of exports is even worse. In the same period of nine years British steel exports went up only 22% compared to 190% in the Common Market, 330% in the United States, and 770% in Japan.<sup>2</sup>

Due to an exceptionally low level of investment by British steel owners during the period since 1945 the British steel industry is totally out of date. For example the most efficient size of steel plant is now one which would produce 10 million tons annually.<sup>3</sup> In relation to the British Steel industry this would mean that theoretically 3 plants could produce its entire output. In real terms the British Steel Corporation calculates that it can produce its entire output with only 9 plants. Yet at present it takes 39.<sup>4</sup> To get some idea of the difference between modern steel making plant and the outdated techniques of the British industry it is worth noting that it would take 8 hours to make under 300 tons of steel in an old open hearth furnace whereas on a new Basic Oxygen Steelmaking plant the same operation takes under half an hour.<sup>5</sup> One such furnace can do the work of 14 of the old type.<sup>6</sup> An entirely new plant of the new type has an

estimated output per man of 700 tons per annum compared to the present British average of 110 tons.<sup>7</sup> The cost of such new capital equipment is of course immense. To construct a new plant around an already existing plant as Scunthorpe costs approx. £187 million.<sup>8</sup> A completely new steel works built from scratch to an output of 12 million tons, and such plant is necessary to compete with Germany and Japan, would cost at least £1,000 million.<sup>9</sup> To bring the entire British steel industry up to Japanese standards is estimated to involve investment of £4,000 million by the end of the 1970s.<sup>10</sup> Yet without such investment its competitive position can only decline and the productivity of the British steel industry is already only half that of the Japanese.<sup>11</sup>

To see just what is involved the British industry can be compared to that of a single Japanese firm—Nippon Steel. This produces approx. 35 million tons per annum, or more than the entire British industry, and its rate of expansion in the 1960s was approx. 18%.<sup>12</sup> In terms of obsolescence of plant it now pays in Britain to close down steel plants only 10 years old.<sup>13</sup> It is virtually impossible for British capital, given its present productivity and profits to afford this type of investment. In 1964 the Labour government projected a very modest rise of investment of 5.5% in the steel industry. In fact the increase in investment only reached 2.5%.<sup>14</sup> Even where

investment in advanced plant is carried out it is hampered by the fact that the ancillary equipment that goes with it is skimmed upon. For example in the BOS plant at Port Talbot failures to install appropriate equipment in the rest of the plant meant that running in off equipment took nine months instead of the standard four.<sup>15</sup>

In these circumstances the industry was completely unprofitable at the time it was nationalised. The *Financial Times* stated that the shares of the industry would have been totally worthless in six months. Under these circumstances of a totally run down and capital starved industry it is ridiculous to believe that what is needed is better management, or 'greater efficiency'. Jobs cannot be safeguarded in that way. It is necessary to start from the basis that saving jobs is far more important than anything else. The unions must start from the basis that they are totally uninterested in any proposals other than those which safeguard jobs, pay and conditions. The green-book productivity agreement shows only too clearly what comes out of any other approach. A start can be made by demanding the immediate end to all compensation being paid to previous owners of the steel industry. The question is posed very simply. Is BSC going to be run for the purpose of profit or subsidising private

industry or is it to run in such a way as to protect the jobs and pay of those who work within it. Is the nationalisation of BSC to be in the benefit of the capitalist class or the working class. Given the economic state of the British steel industry, that is not a long term question, but one which affects the here and now. We believe a fighting policy to run BSC in the interests of the working class must include:

1. No reduction in jobs—a trade union veto on redundancy.
2. No productivity deals.
3. An immediate reduction of the working week with no loss of pay.

—J. Marshall

1 The threat to Steelworkers—IWC pamphlet.  
2 The threat to Steelworkers—IWC pamphlet.  
3 *Financial Times* 28.4.71. 4 *Sunday Times* 14.2.71.  
5 *Sunday Times* 14.2.71. 6 *Sunday Times* 14.2.71.  
7 *The Observer* 4.4.71. 8 *Sunday Times* 14.2.71.  
9 *The Times* 12.3.71. 10 *Morning Star* 30.4.71.  
11 *Sunday Times* 16.5.71. 12 *Sunday Times* 16.5.71.  
13 *Sunday Times* 14.2.71. 14 *The Threat to Steelworkers—IWC pamphlet*. 15 *Sunday Times* 14.2.71.

## The Productivity deal and the Union that paved the way for redundancies

The redundancies in Steel come after one of the worst productivity deals ever signed. This was the infamous Green Book. This gave the employers everything they wanted. In particular this had typical productivity deal agreements on 1) Controlling pay rises and fringe benefits (e.g., supposed 'guaranteed' five day week) in exchange for ending demarcation lines and shop stewards power. This included Morgan and Abbey Works, for example; making craftsmen and maintenance men work in groups the size of which would be decided upon by the management and would be responsible for the raising of their own scaffolding etc., complete mobility and interchangeability of craftsmen, the managements right to set up "mobile task forces" for both day and night work, craftsmen to work without assistance. The agreement stated quite simply that "All employees to be freely available to undertake any work within their existing or lower job grade and within a higher job grade subject to the limitations of their competence, i.e., disregarding all existing demarcations. The term 'freely available' means capable of being deployed with full mobility anywhere on or off the Division's premises."

2) As far as shift work was concerned it was simply stated in the same division that "All employees will work on days or shifts for short or long periods as required. . . . Any day em-

ployee asked to cover a shift vacancy or his normal working day hours."

3) In the event of disputes managements decisions are to be binding until such time as agreement can be reached. Where agreement has been reached over practice changes, but there is disagreement over payment, previous rates are to prevail until agreement is reached; 4) The only proposal which the union appears to have made is that job evaluation should be introduced immediately after work study.

The whole idea behind the Green Book was that it would increase the "efficiency" of the industry. The actual agreements show that the basic question of 'efficiency' for who was never asked by the union. BISA KTA and the other unions clearly believe that what is good for the firm is good for the men. The Green Book and its results show clearly that this is not the case. The firm gained but the men lost. What is more the whole idea of making the industry more efficient to benefit the men was shown to be a fraud. Despite all the concessions made by the unions the steel workers are still faced with tens of thousands of redundancies. Worse still this comes at a period of the highest unemployment for 30 years.

One of the reasons why such a deal was arrived

at, can be seen in the functioning of the main union in the industry—BISA KTA. In this union 1) Rule 4 allows the executive great powers over its members with wordings to rules including such phrases as "at the expediency of the council" etc.

2) Rule 19—Shop Dispute (Part 2) states "It shall not be permissible for any member or members to strike his or their employment without the authority and sanction of the Executive Council". Rules such as these are viciously enforced. For example, at Corby 13 members were expelled from the union for taking part in an "unofficial" strike.

3) There is no annual delegate conference and all area officials are appointed and not elected.

The E.C. members are 'elected' from each area and represent 'work sections'. However, as the links between E.C. and shop floor are so weak the names of the area representatives are virtually unknown. The importance of having an annual delegate conference can clearly be seen if the area set up is analysed. One area does not know what another area is doing, and there is very little exchange of information. Given the confuses wages structure of steel, such information is of vital importance. The creation of endless divisions reduces the impact of the union in the wages struggle. It also greatly

strengthens the position of the union bureaucracy. The union, because of this set up, can carry on national negotiations and policy with almost total disregard for the interests of the mass of the union membership. The Green Book is a good example of this. Another is that on the same day in January 1969 that the British Steel Corporation announced a plan for 40,000 loss of jobs BISA KTA met to decide whether to take strike action. But it was not a strike against redundancy discussed. It was over whether to take orders from staff and supervisors who would not join BISA KTA!!

The struggle for union democracy inside BISA KTA—the struggle for annual delegate conference, for regular election of all union officials, for rank and file control over negotiations, is going to be a hard and difficult one. But if sell outs such as that over the Green Book and over redundancy are going to be avoided in the future, such a fight is going to be vitally necessary. While the struggle inside the union goes on there is still a vital necessity for the creation in all areas of rank and file steel workers committees and papers which will not only fight within the unions but also will try to lead militant action against the steel bosses.

Robert Mossgeil

# REDUNDANCIES-B

The recent news that the River Don would be reprimed came as no surprise. Indeed the TORCH (the official paper of the Rotherham Steelworkers Committee) had predicted this as far back as late October. This was not due to any talents for clairvoyance; the facts spoke for themselves.

On June 28th, John Davies, Secretary for Trade and Industry, announced the transfer of profitable sections of the British Steel Corporation's (BSC) works at River Don, plus the forging order book and the goodwill, to the private steel works of Firth Brown, in exchange for Shepcote Lane Rolling Mills and Firth-Vickers flat products—both lame ducks. The unprofitable sections of River Don, including the heavy forge and casting department, were to be closed down with 4,500 redundancies. The impact on Sheffield was tremendous. Unemployment figures are already around the 12,000 mark.

## "VIABLE"—For who?

In response the Shop Stewards Cttee. at River Don which is dominated by the AUEW (which in turn is dominated by the Communist Party) brought out the proposals for 'Project Silver'. This project pointed out that with an investment of £3½ in the River Don melting shop, and the re-arrangement of the melting procedures, the heavy forge and casting department could be made economically viable. There were also statements referring to the fact that River Don is the only place in Britain where forgings of up to 200 tons plus can be produced, and that it was in the national interest etc. To show their faith in the project 'Silver'

## Interview with IMG militant in BSC Stocksbridge

- Q:** What are the redundancies going to mean to Stocksbridge?
- A:** Stocksbridge was built up around Samuel Fox's and Co. Ltd., the steel works now a part of BSC. 60% of the adult male population are employed there and so it is easy to understand the effect redundancies are having on such a small town as Stocksbridge.
- Q:** What are the rank and file workers doing about fighting redundancies?
- A:** At present militants here are trying to form some sort of steel workers cttee., because action through the official trade union is impossible. The union officials here have a completely negative attitude towards the fight against redundancies.
- Q:** What is the managements and the unions attitude in the face of rank and file action?
- A:** A rank and file steelworkers cttee. hasn't really got going here yet so little pressure has been brought to bear either on the management or the union officials. But there is no doubt that when this happens any rank and file action will be really threatened.

## REDUNDANCIES AT STOCKSBRIDGE

After the announcement of redundancies at Rotherham works, BSC's policy is beginning to take effect in Stocksbridge as well. Most depts. are hit. The staff are to be cut by 10%; the maintenance depts. by 5% now with a figure as high as 20% in the long term; and the production workers who have suffered the majority of the redundancies in the past through 'rationalisation' measures are to be affected by further cutbacks.

and also to resist redundancies, the Shop Stewards Cttee. proposed 'work-on' similar to that at UCS. This meant that workers who had been made redundant would be kept on by the Shop Stewards Cttee. to carry messages and do similar duties, with their wages being paid out of a hardship fund. By doing this an extremely important mistake had been made—the principle of redundancies had been accepted. The more the proposals for 'viability' were put forward, the more BSC were resolute in their determination. It is worth noting that whilst all this was happening, BSC announced that the proposed closing down of the Irlam Works in Manchester was to be withdrawn and that only half of the 4,353 proposed redundancies there would be likely to be implemented.

## B.S.C. Plan unfolds

Meanwhile back across the Pennines, more developments were taking place which were to provide further clues to the future intentions of BSC. At BSC Rotherham Works it was 'discovered' by members of the Rotherham Steel Workers Cttee. that the management were investigating the possibilities of producing and transporting 250 ton ingots (see Torch issue No. 1) I should point out at this stage that the Templeborough Melting Shop of Rotherham works is the largest electric steel melting plant in the world, and its 180 ton electric arc furnaces would be extremely suitable for making these ingots. River Don is the only plant in Britain to use ingots of this size.

It was also reported earlier in the week that the Govt. had given the go ahead to build a £100 million power station in Cheshire which would require 500 megawatt turbo generator units. Add to this the suggestions made by an old ESC director (ESC owned River Don works before nationalisation) that the heavy forge could be viable but with drastic reductions in the work force, and a change from Heavy Steel conditions to the Sheffield Shift Arrangement which would mean a wage cut and productivity deals, etc. and the jigsaw pieces begin to make a picture.

It is clear then that BSC's original announcement of the closure involving 4,500 redundancies was made so that when its real intentions were made known they would be greeted with sighs of relief. It is now expected that the redundancies will still be around 1,500 so the fight is still on. It will be even harder now because BSC are past masters at playing one off against the other—those whose jobs are threatened against those whose are not. (Orders from Irlam for instance which is threatened with huge redundancies, are being rolled at Rotherham works and Scunthorpe).

## ABANDON THE WORK-ON

So how do we fight the redundancies? The first thing we should do is abandon the 'work-on'.

It is not the task of shop-stewards to show management how efficient it should be (the findings could be embarrassing!) We must realise that the most precious possession of the BSC or any other employer, is its capital. Indeed it is considered sacred. This is where the management is vulnerable; an occupation which involves the stopping of machinery, or its removal, and the accompanying loss to the management, would soon produce changes of heart. It would be important however to back this up with actions of support (not just collections and flag waving) from other workers in neighbouring steelworks. Guerrilla strikes could be extremely effective, leading to sympathy sit-ins.

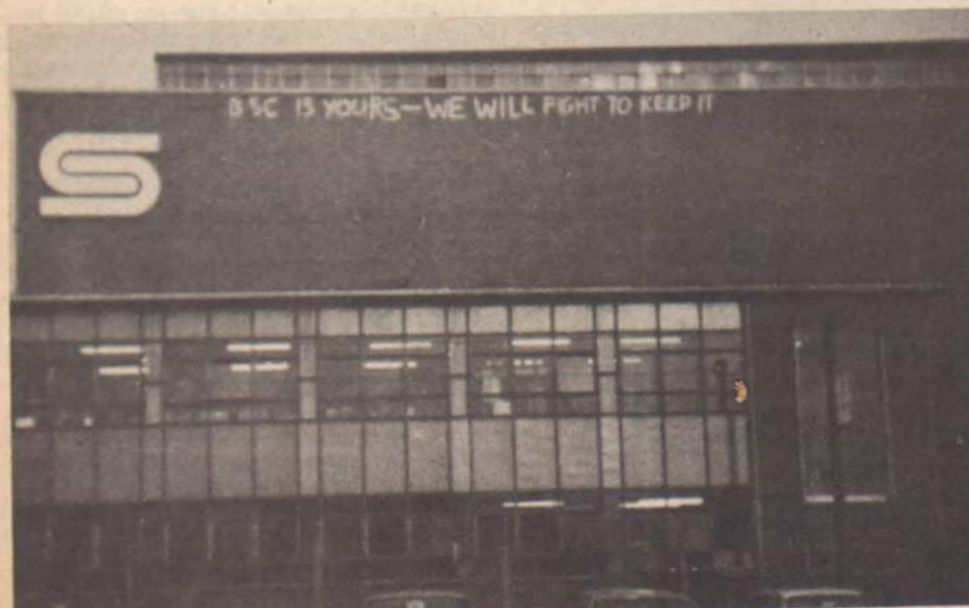
On the question of 'reorganisation'. It should be noted that while some technical alterations must take place in the steel industry, these should not on any account be accompanied by productivity deals and any worker concerned should receive a guaranteed five-day week employment or five days pay at his or her old rate until suitable alternative work can be found on the works (suitable to the worker that is).



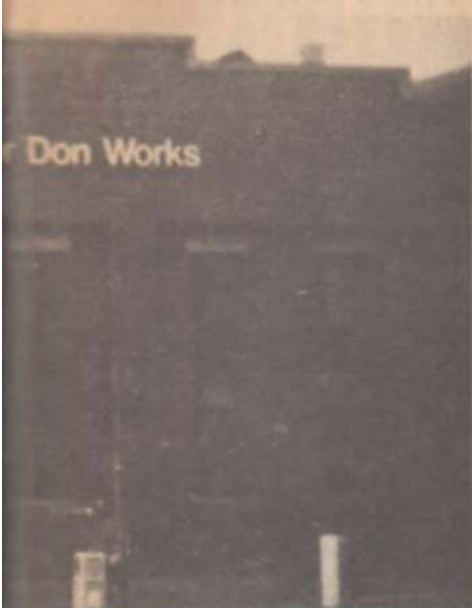
## The Struggle

## Interview with IMG militant in the private sector at Rotherham

- Q:** What will the affect of the latest redundancies be at Rotherham?
- A:** It will have quite a big affect because 50% of the male population of this town work at BSC Rotherham.
- Q:** What is the situation like in the private sector where you work?
- A:** Just as bad. My firm alone declared 70 redundant last week. What's really bad about this is that our firm is importing Japanese steel when men at BSC not more than half a mile away are being made redundant because of the serious 'trading position'. So much for the employers 'responsibility' to the community.
- Q:** How are the unions in the steel industry fighting redundancies?
- A:** They are not. In fact ISTC (BISAKTA) the main union in steel is working hand and glove with the management. It is not uncommon to find men working overtime alongside men who are working their redundancy notices.



# BSC-REDUNDANCIES



Develops...

**RANK & FILE ACTION**—the only answer  
There is however some glimmer of hope in the fact that there are now strong moves afoot in the various steel works around Sheffield and Rotherham to set up joint shop stewards ctees. This would, ISTC permitting, be a move in the right direction. The only fear is that these ctees. would be manipulated by the various union head offices. A guarantee against this would be the setting up of rank and file steel ctees like the steelworkers ctee. in Rotherham which has recently gained tremendous support in the Rotherham works with its paper the Torch.

Finally I would like to touch upon what I consider to be the biggest red-herring of the whole River Don affair—'nationalisation'. Everybody from Wedgwood Benn leftwards has been shouting this magical answer. What difference has it made to the steelworkers up to now? Is it not a fact that only nationalisation is capable of carrying through the redundancy programme laid out in the Benson Report? Nationalisation is a tactic of the employing class to do what private industry is incapable of. To shout for nationalisation is to lead workers down a blind alley. Nationalisation is a cover behind which certain trade union leaders hide their lack of idea about how to fight redundancies. Should we then as the International Socialists say in their Steel Bulletin No. 3 (Sheffield) call for 'REAL nationalisation'? This presumably means that the present nationalisation of steel is UNREAL and therefore the IS's call should be 'Nationalise BSC'—or should it? The present private steel firms would presumably have to bypass the UNREAL stage. With this sort of nonsense being peddled around the steelworks it is no wonder many of the steelworkers are confused.

What is needed at River Don is not flag-sellers, cosy chats with Govt. and BSC officials but immediate concerted action by the rank and file steel workers at River Don and other steelworks in the area, which will turn the present tide of redundancies and ensure that we are not left with a ghost town.

—Tom Mole (ASTMS, Sheffield)



## SO MUCH FOR THE OFFICIALS

All this needs the fullest cooperation between the unions involved. Unfortunately the main union in the steel industry—ISTC—is reactionary to say the least. In fact Bro. Alec Quintin Hogg, local ISTC District Officer fully supported Lord Melchet on the 4,500 redundancies at River Don and said that Melshit "had got the best deal he could possibly have got out of the Tory Govt....." (Sheffield Morning Telegraph 29.9.71). He is not the only admirer of the Lord. Mr. Dai Davies the general secretary of ISTC described as a 'calculated act of courage' the visit of Melshit to meet River Don workers. With these creatures in high office there is no wonder that morale on the shop floor is not what it ought to be. Up to now all attempts by ISTC stewards and members from other works in the area to contact River Don men have been blocked by District Office. Even the ISTC contributions to the River Don fighting fund have the proviso that they are given to ISTC members only. All this in a situation where the ISTC members at River Don, especially those in the melting shop, are the most likely to be chopped.



## Interview with IMG militant in BSC Rotherham

- Q:** How do the latest BSC redundancies affect Rotherham?
- A:** Well, Rotherham is a town with 8% unemployment already and the redundancies leave people with absolutely no prospect of getting another job, particularly since Rotherham's industry is basically steel and coal.
- Q:** What steps are the militants in Rotherham taking to fight redundancies?
- A:** Unfortunately very little. This is due to the union (BISAKTA) which allows no room for action on the shop floor, and means that rank and file action is absolutely necessary. A big step has been taken in this direction with the formation of the Rotherham steelworkers ctee. Parallel organisations have been set up at Tinsley Park and River Don, and attempts are being made to do the same at Stocksbridge and Scunthorpe.
- Q:** What is the reaction of the management and the unions to the activity of the militants?
- A:** BISAKTA has a McCarthy type hysterical attitude towards 'reds', and for instance only recently at Corby it suspended over a dozen militants. The management uses the union by calling in full time officials at the first sign of trouble.
- (BCS have said that they would have made 13 million pounds profit if it has not been for the recession)

## Interview with Stocksbridge steel worker just made redundant

- Q:** You're one of the latest to be made redundant through BSC's 'rationalisation' plans. What is your reaction to this?
- A:** I recognise that it is victimisation. The management and the union work hand in hand to isolate militants at BSC Stocksbridge.
- Q:** How do you see militants who are still employed organising to fight further redundancies?
- A:** A number of the militants at Stocksbridge see the need for rank and file action because of the position adopted by BISAKTA and their cooperation with management.
- Q:** Is there any prospect of finding another job here?
- A:** There is no chance. Stocksbridge is a one firm town, based on steel and it hasn't got any other basic industry. The prospects are bad.



# GERMANY

## the metal workers strike

On Monday 22 November, after a series of token strikes, 600,000 metal workers came out on strike in the northern Bade-Wurtenburg district.

On 12 November, 96.88% of the local membership of the metal workers' union took part in the referendum required by West German law in the case of 'legal' strikes. Of the 234,392 voters (the workers of 948 factories) almost 90% voted in favour of the strike.

### A DELIBERATE PROVOCATION BY THE BOSSES

As soon as the bosses rejected the official 'conciliators' proposal for a 7.5% wage increase over 7 months, strike action in this area became inevitable. The employers are aware that the atmosphere in the factories makes it impossible for the trade union leaders to make a straight sell-out. They appear to have deliberately provoked the strike.

When negotiations started they offered 4.5% over twelve months—less than the rise in the cost of living. The union demanded 9%.

Why did the employers take this attitude? Firstly, though the employers obviously paint an exaggeratedly dark picture of the situation in the steel industry, there is no doubt that an economic recession has begun. It is still an open question whether it will be more or less serious than that of 1966-67.

In these conditions, a delay in the completion of orders is not an agonising prospect for the bosses. A strike could in fact make it possible to reabsorb stocks and improve prices.

The effect of a strike would be particularly good in areas like the Ruhr, where the situation is particularly delicate, especially in steel. But the tactic of the trade unions has been to use the Stuttgart-Mannheim district, the stronghold of militant trade unionism, as the spearhead of industrial action. The district mainly includes firms which have fewer sales problems.

As for the bosses' response, there is talk of a lock-out in the very areas worst hit by recession. The employers are looking for a real trial of strength with the union (IG METAL) above and beyond any immediate secondary gains.

The long-term evolution of the West German economy explains this trial of strength. With the exception of 1966-7, there has been a long period of (twelve years) full employment. The share of wages in national income had fallen continually from 1949-1959, but now slowly began to rise. The capitalists' rate of profit started falling. It did recover extraordinarily well in 1968 and 1969, but this did not last and the fall in profits has increased. The German bourgeoisie therefore has to stop playing the game of social peace and 'liberalism' and go for rationalisation, cut-throat competition and radical economies in employment.

The two prongs of their tactics are to increase unemployment and exhaust the financial resources of the trade unions. The provocation of the strike and its extension into a lock-out are a part of these tactics.

### PLAYING THE SORCERER'S APPRENTICE

The West German bosses would of course rather have achieved its objectives without a strike. They were counting on the good offices of the social democratic ministers, led by Herr Schiller, to 'moderate' the trade union demands. These 'geese laying golden eggs' are once more too useful to be got rid of.

But the attempts of the SPD leaders to restrain Otto Brenner and other leaders of IG Metall have been in vain. Since the wild-cat strikes of September 1969 and the token strikes of autumn 1970, the officials of IG Metall have been afraid the rank and file will escape them.

At the Congress of the metal workers' union in September 1971, a fairly strong opposition demanded that the union should break from the 'economic co-operation' so

dear the Schiller. In general, there is a slow but deep-going process of radicalisation taking place among West German metal workers, especially among the younger groups.

In such conditions, Otto Brenner's team did not want to risk a new wave of unofficial strikes; which would have occurred had there been a mediocre compromise. They began by giving a free hand to the district led by the most militant of the regional officials of the IG Metall, Willy Bleicher.

The employers calculated that the financial effects of a long strike, reinforced by a lock-out, would bring the more moderate union leaders to their senses, while the social democratic ministers, seized with panic at the prospect of a serious recession, would bring all their weight to bear on their trade union 'comrades' to make them see reason. So the internal divisions of the union movement would reduce its readiness to struggle. This would be well worth the few million Deutschmarks which the big employers would lose in a strike.

But the bosses are running the same risk as the sorcerers' apprentice. A social conflict which looks like being the most serious Germany has known since the end of the second world war could well cause a rapid increase in the radicalisation of the workers in the metal industries. At the same time it could modify many factors in the political and social situation in Germany. It all depends on the reaction of the workers, and on a decisive, politically correct intervention by the vanguard of the working class.

If the strike develops according to the present strategies put forward by the union, on the one hand and the employers on the other, we shall be faced with some important questions of international trade union solidarity action against the multinational American and West German companies which will try to transfer West German orders to other Common Market countries, to minimise the economic effects of the strike. The Belgian trade union movement and those of other countries will have to follow events closely.

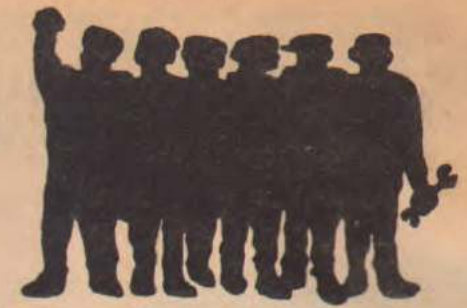
## FRANCE

The Wendel-Sidelor steel combine has told its workers there will be 12,000 redundancies by the end of 1973. Wendel-Sidelor is one of the biggest steel producers in France. It was formed from a fusion in 1968: a result of the 'Professional Plan' agreed earlier between steel producers and the State for the rationalisation of the steel industry in return for large government grants (about 3 million new francs).

### WENDEL OWNS ALL

Wendel-Sidelor has plants scattered throughout the Lorraine area of France. Most of these plants are old. In line with the other European capitalists the French steel bosses want to move their steel plants to the coast. A new super factory is projected for Fos, near Marseille—again helped along with substantial state aid. Wendel-Sidelor wants to keep the modern plants of Sollac and Sacilor open and liquidate the rest. The effect on the region of this policy would be disastrous for the steel combine dominates the area. Its closure would rapidly bring about the closure of subsidiary industries and sub contractors. In this area 'one is born in a Wendel clinic, works in a Wendel factory, lives and shops in Wendel-owned houses and co-operatives and dies, due to the conditions of work in Wendel's factories, in a Wendel hospital'.

The Company has guaranteed that every worker made redundant will be found another job at the same pay. This guarantee only lasts 6 months though after that the worker can be downgraded to a lower pay rate. Similarly, it assumes that workers are able to travel long distances to work every day after being transferred to another plant, or can move to Fos near Marseille (in any case they only want skilled workers to go there) at the drop of a hat. It does not of course include the many immigrant workers the company hires from sub-contractors who will be simply dispensed with at the end of their contracts nor does it include the wider effects of the closures in the region (other allied industries will close, creating more unemployment and depressing the level of economic activity further).



### FOCUS AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

This struggle had all the makings of a potential focus for the struggle against rising unemployment in France. The workers in Lorraine only needed adequate reassurance that solidarity action would be forthcoming to go into action. A militant demonstration took place at Longwy on November 6th, followed by a one day strike throughout the plants of the region on the 16th. This strike was a great success in that between 80 and 100% of the workers of the major plants came out, including Sacilor, which is one of the newer plants not threatened by closure (though in the long run their wage rates would be threatened by economic downturn in the region, of course). A one day strike in itself of course was not enough to break the employers. What was needed was an indefinite strike and occupation which the employers would have been very poorly placed to deal with. What the workers needed after the 16th was a perspective for further action. Unfortunately, for the workers who need to take co-ordinated action against redundancies now, the Gaullists were not the only ones who were concerned about the elections. The PCF (French Communist Party) has been reluctant to get embroiled in a showdown in Lorraine. They would prefer to channel the workers' discontent behind their campaign for a United Left candidate (with Mitterand) for the '73 elections and their militants in the CGT (Communist-controlled union federation) have acted accordingly. The CFDT (Social Democrat-led Trade Union Federation) has played a more militant part in organising the demonstrations and strikes but they have not been able to give a continuing perspective. The CGT has not been slow to take advantage of their failure to organise resistance to the redundancies. The result is that the militancy of the workers is in danger of being dissipated. Already there are signs that the employers are seizing their advantage and using it to press home further attacks. Our comrades of the Ligue Communiste are stressing the need for extra vigilance at this time to watch out for any sackings. The situation has certainly been made more difficult by the setback on the 16th, but the struggle must be continued to make sure that not one worker, whether temporary, immigrant or whatever, loses his job and to try to throw the whole Wendel-Sidelor plan back in the face of the bosses and the Government.

## in Belgium too.....

The great miners' strike at Limbourg unblocked the situation in the Belgian workers' movement. This situation had existed since the defeat of the Belgian general strike of Winter 1960-61. Since then combativity has been very high and the new methods of struggle used, very advanced.

The Occupation-Strike is not something which is merely talked about in pubs or meetings. It is a very common occurrence. The latest strike of this kind is in a big Steel factory called Cockerill's which is itself owned by the giant Belgian banking and finance house Societe Generale.

The problems facing these Liege workers are the same as for the workers in Lorraine or the River Don, the Ruhr or Yorkshire; these are the areas in Europe which provided the labour for large-scale heavy industry—the second industrial revolution. Now these areas are all threatened to be turned into deserts. Redundancy. New methods of production are being imposed.

Coming at this time this strike is an inspiration to steel workers in Lorraine and in Britain. Members of the Revolutionary Workers' League, the Belgian section of the Fourth International, are in the position of leadership in this occupation strike. The situation in the European steel industry cries out for international co-ordination and exchange of information between militants of all countries. Last week saw the link up between two large steel combines, one in Holland and the other in West Germany. The need for an all-European steel workers committee to fight against both capitalist governments and steel bosses is an urgent necessity.

(For more information write to The Red Mole, 182 Pentonville Road, London, N.1)



# Right-wing Pakistani weekly demands that Pakistan government confiscate Tariq Ali's passport



ابوعثمان

طارق علی کی شخصیت



— اسرائیل کی شہ پر —

پاکستان کنخرف لاطوفان اٹھانیوالا پاکستانی

One of the largest circulation Urdu weeklies, Zindagi (Life), in West Pakistan has recently published a four-page attack on Comrade Tariq Ali. The newspaper which is well-known for its support of the Jamaat-i-Islami (neo-fascist Muslim grouping) and American Imperialism entitled the article: "On the instructions of Israel: The 'Pakistani' who stirs a storm against Pakistan/A Profile of Tariq Ali." The attack is contained in the issue dated 24th October 1971 and has recently reached London.

The article is full of falsehoods, distortions, typified by the claim that the "Trotskyist Fourth International is a Zionist-Communist conspiracy to subvert the world." It is obvious that what has annoyed the financial backers of Zindagi is the fact that a group of West Pakistani Marxists in Europe and N. America have been carrying out solidarity actions with the struggle in Bangla Desh. The article contains a violent denunciation of Tariq Ali's book, Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power? and accuses him of spreading the "vile doctrine of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky."

While containing many distortions the article cites the numerous instances on which Ali has called for the overthrow of the military dictatorship in Pakistan, including the speech he made after a May Day Demonstration in Rawalpindi in 1970. The journal taunts the government for having tolerated these acts of treachery and ends its mud-slinging with a fairly coherent appeal to the Yahya regime:

"His (Tariq Ali's—Ed.) consistent activities against the Pakistani State has weakened our nation's prestige abroad. Despite this we wonder why our government refrains from instituting proceedings against him. Here we feel it necessary to relate a few incidents concerning this anti-nation element. On 3rd December 1969 the American State Department refused Tariq Ali permission to enter because he burnt

the U.S. flag outside their Embassy in London. On 28th of May 1969, the French government arrested and expelled him from France for supporting the activities of Trotsky's Fourth International and attacking France at a meeting organised to promote the Presidential campaign of Alain Krivine. The least our government can do is to follow in the footsteps of France and the U.S.A. and immediately confiscate this anti-nation element's passport on which he travels with impunity to North Korea, North Vietnam and Cuba to busy himself with their governments' in hatching conspiracies against Pakistan."

On 29th November 1971 Tariq Ali's parents home in Lahore, W. Pakistan was raided and searched... It remains to be seen how much further the military junta will go.

**CEYLON.**  
the rapists  
defend  
themselves

## Bengali left encouraged by Vietnamese support

The news of North Vietnamese support for Bangla Desh Liberation cause is considered politically most significant inasmuch as it indicates recognition of the anti-imperialist character of the present struggle in Bangla Desh against Yahya Khan's military junta, said a spokesman of the Bangla Desh Liberation Struggle Coordination Committee, an alliance of the largest number of revolutionary parties and organisations, including the East Bengal Communist Party, in a statement issued recently from a guerrilla base inside Bangla Desh.

The spokesman of the alliance in his statement was referring to the announcement made recently by the North Vietnam Consul General in India, Mr. Nguyen Anh Vu, at a press conference in New Delhi, in which he expressed his country's support for East Bengal.

Mr. Nguyen Anh Vu at New Delhi press conference said that Government and people of North

Vietnam had "understanding and sympathy" for the East Bengal people's struggle for national independence and a better standard of living. He was answering a question which compared the struggle of the people of Bangla Desh with that of the people of Vietnam.

Recognising the revolutionary content of the present struggle in Bangla Desh an article in the Vietnamese journal "Hoc Tap", reprinted in the English edition of Peking Review, No.37, made a reference stating that "the people... of Pakistan are waging heroic revolutionary struggle."

The peasant-guerrillas had been very encouraged to hear the support and sympathy of the Vietnamese people for the Bengali liberation struggle", said the guerrilla spokesman.

We are waging a relentless struggle in Bangla Desh against the common enemy, the international imperialism, and its internal allies, the

feudal landlords and comprador-bourgeoisie of Pakistan and Bangla Desh. The great achievements of the Vietnamese people are a source of constant inspiration of the peasants and workers of Bangla Desh," commented the spokesman.

The situation in Bangla Desh has taken a dangerous turn with the recent introduction of Indian troops into the present war. That this is New Delhi's ultimate design to frustrate the national liberation struggle of the Bengali People by foisting a puppet Awami League regime is widely felt by all revolutionary forces now engaged in fighting. In view of the recent Indian move, the Vietnamese support will undoubtedly go a long way to strengthen the revolutionary alliance.

—Khaled Yousuf,  
writing from Bangla Desh frontier.

The defence adopted by the two army men accused of raping and murdering 21 year old Prema Manamperi, has staggered even the liberals in Ceylon. The reports of the trial have been banned from the press, but news of the proceedings has spread throughout the island.

The defence of Lt. Wijesooro and Sgt. Ratnayaka is not so different from that of Lt. Calley who conducted the My Lai massacre. The two Ceylonese soldiers say that they were acting on instructions from their superiors, to "Take no prisoners—Bump them off—Liquidate them."

The Prosecution did not contest these allegations made by the accused and the latter succeeded in clearly establishing the following points:

- 1 That such orders were, in fact, given by higher authorities.
- 2 That such orders were carried out in pursuing these instructions.
- 3 That a large number of army personnel are ready and willing to come forward and testify to these facts.

Defence counsel stated to court that he is in possession of 26 affidavits from army personnel who were serving under Colonel Nugawela which prove conclusively that Nugawela gave the order to "bump off the prisoners." In view of these facts it has become quite clear that the decision to kill prisoners, was taken on the highest levels. Nugawela is a party to the ghastly murder of Prema, as is the entire Bandaranaike regime. That the masses will one day settle accounts with the Ceylonese Army is obvious, but at the moment there are 14,400 prisoners in Bandaranaike's concentration camps. Public pressure is needed to prevent them from being 'bumped off' either on the orders of this wretched regime or its Army.

## a public conference on Trotskyism in Belgrade

On November 22, 1971, upon the invitation of the Cultural Student Centre of Belgrade, Comrade Ernest Mandel gave a lecture on, "The role of Trotskyism in the contemporary worldwide liberation movement." This was the first public lecture on Trotskyism given by a leading Trotskyist in a workers state, since the end of the Second World War.

In the presence of two hundred people, Comrade Mandel spoke about Lenin's and Trotsky's concept of worldrevolution in the imperialist epoch. He analysed the present developments

of anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist and anti-bureaucratic struggles in the world and spoke about the role which the Fourth International was playing in these struggles. He stressed the revolutionary Marxist belief of organising workers power based on Soviets as the only durable basis for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

An extremely interesting discussion followed Comrade Mandel's talk. Among the many questions raised, some militants demanded the official rehabilitation of Trotsky in Yugoslavia.



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# Problems of African Liberation: (PART ONE) Mozambique Angola & Guinea

By Hilary Wainwright and Roy Bhaskar

## Two Forms of Domination: Racism and Neo-Colonialism

In the past decade there has been an entrenchment of both the neo-colonial system in most of the nominally independent states in Black Africa and the white settlers regimes of Southern Africa. Together they represent the two main political forms by means of which international capitalism has managed to retain and consolidate its hold on Sub-Saharan Africa. Neo-colonialism and racism have represented the two predominant responses to the problem posed for imperialism by the rise of African nationalism in the post-war period, and in particular the probability of its leading to the development of formations antagonistic to imperialism's interests. Which of these solutions has been historically realised has depended not only on the size of the settler minority and the level of development of African nationalism, but also on the degree of penetration of capitalist interests. For the neo-colonial alternative always contained within it the danger of the possibility of such antagonistic development (partially realised, for example, in the case of Tanzania) though the manner of the attainment of formal independence places a serious constraint on this possibility. Hence, even if it entailed building up a potential rival (in the form of a relatively independent South African national bourgeoisie) the area of the West's most vital economic interests was left firmly in racist hands. Given this secure base (South Africa) British imperialism has shown itself sufficiently flexible to be able to accommodate—and use—both responses, allowing the precise form of its solution to be determined by conjunctural factors. For example, in the absence of any movement comparable to say, that of the Mau Mau in Kenya during the time of (formal) decolonisation and with this moment now passed a settlement legitimizing the racist solution in Zimbabwe appears imminent.

## British Imperialism Dominant but Partially Displaced

The present situation in Central and Southern Africa is characterised by an increasing convergence of the two solutions (under the dominance of the second) as international capitalism seeks both to rationalise its control of Africa (partly through South Africa's diplomatic and economic offensive) and stabilise the general conditions of the realisation of capital (primarily through South Africa's military and political offensive). A racist solution in Zimbabwe meets both of these necessities for Rhodesia not only constitutes a part—though a peripheral part—of the centre of British imperialism in Southern Africa. British interests in a Rhodesian settlement are clear. British imperialism though still dominant in Southern Africa—accounting for £1600m. worth of investment, for 60% of total foreign investment in the southern African complex as a whole (i.e. including South Africa, Namibia, and the Portuguese colonies) with over seventy of Britain's 100 largest companies having branches in this area—has been partially displaced by U.S., Western European and Japanese capitalism (a displacement which itself is a more or less inevitable concomitant of political withdrawal) with the former in particular showing a rapid rate of growth. Secondly, it would end the embarrassing situation of having a nominally British territory effectively policed by the South African army. Given a settlement, British capitalism

can sit back, arm South Africa and its satellites to the teeth, resting assured in the knowledge that South Africa possesses one of the most efficient repressive apparatuses in the world, and, in the wake of the South African diplomatic offensive it can extend and deepen its imperialistic control.

## Neo-Colonialism Reinforces Imperialism

The form of this present convergence of these two solutions has been largely determined by the fact that the neo-colonial solution has left the classic pattern of extractive imperialism substantially unchanged. The newly independent territories are still heavily dependent on the production of a few primary commodities—still predominantly under conditions of foreign control—in exchange for manufactured goods (with some replacement of consumption by capital goods). In this way their socio-economic structure has remained essentially the same, being still orientated largely to the ex-colonial powers for capital, trade and economic advice, still more or less culturally subservient to them, still ideologically more or less in their camp (e.g. 'Zambian humanism').

In fact such economic changes as have occurred have in general served only to re-inforce this pattern of dependency and in particular their attractiveness as fields of private foreign investment. Thus governments can perform certain tasks, e.g. the building up of infrastructure, impossible for private firms and impolitic for colonial offices, nationalisation can ease labour problems by bringing both the prestige, and if that fails, the power of the state to bear on them, etc. Under these conditions of sustained economic and diplomatic offensive, launched from South Africa itself—which must now be increasingly viewed as an independent imperial power (being the only country in Africa to have generated a relatively independent national bourgeoisie) propelled northwards by rapid growth and a high savings ratio (itself a function of a racist distribution of income)—has had a magnetic effect on independent Black Africa. Thus no sooner has Banda left South Africa than he was followed there by the Prime Minister of the Ivory Coast, and Amin, military dictator of Uganda now plans a trip; the Times of Zambia complains, "you can't eat a principle" and talks of the good that Banda has done for his country... the latter, in triumph visits Mozambique on the anniversary of the start of their war. And everywhere (with the exception of Tanzania) Bandaism seems soon to be the order of the day.

## The Role of the Portuguese Territories

The Portuguese territories, like Rhodesia perform a dual function for Western Imperialism in Southern Africa, part safety net or buffer zone, but also increasingly an important component of the economic centre itself (i.e. South Africa). The situation is complicated by the peculiar nature of Portugal itself. It is an under-developed country, as such though it is a colonial power, it is not an imperial power. Indeed in a sense the case of Portuguese colonies combines aspects of both the neo-colonial and racist solutions for while on the one hand they are a white settlers racist regime, but on the other hand their ruling class is by no means an independent bourgeoisie in the sense that say, the South African bourgeoisie is, so that

functioning as a neo-colony of British and American imperialism—with political authority, without independent economic power—it also embodies aspects of the neo-colonialism situation.\* From this point of view far from regarding Mozambique and Angola, as the Portuguese claim, as part of metropolitan Portugal, we should regard Portugal, given the real pattern of dependency as one of the oldest neo-colonies in the world. Theoretically then the case of the Portuguese territories, combining features of both the other two, is a third distinct instrument of imperial domination and control with its own distinctive features.

## The Liberation Struggle

In this context, given the partial stabilisation achieved elsewhere in Africa, it is important to consider the significance of the liberation struggle in the Portuguese colonies.

\*It is interesting that it was Britain's 'oldest ally' that Ricardo in his rationalisation of the case for free trade contemptuously assigned to the role of production of wine in exchange for English manufactured goods; thus presaging a pattern reduplicated again and again in its imperialist relations with the Third World.

The war has been going on in Angola for the last ten years, Guinea, eight years, Mozambique seven years. In Angola, which is the most important economically, with large oil, iron and diamond resources and heavy investment by Western European and American capitalism, e.g. Gulf Oil, the West German Krupp empire, Diamang, etc. M.P.L.A. was founded in 1955 and had been doing a lot of clandestine urban preparatory work before armed struggle was launched with an attack on Luanda prison (Luanda is the capital). It began as an urban based organisation but since 1961 and the massive repressions of the Portuguese army, 3000 gunned down in Luanda, a further 5,000 in Baixa de Cassange, it has been engaged in armed struggle in the rural areas as well as clandestine work in the towns. In the case of the Mozambiquean movement, FRELIMO, many of those who first came together to form it, had had their first political experiences in the towns of the south, e.g. the mass arrests and shootings of strikers in Lourenco Marques in 1956 and 63 but FRELIMO itself was not actually first organised in the towns; its first engagements took place in 1964 in northern parts of Mozambique.

## Three Types of Activity

There are three broad types of political and military activity, depending on for example strategic location, proximity of friendly borders, type of terrain, level of colonial penetration, type of economic activity etc. going on within both countries although with differing intensity and relative importance.

Firstly, the areas of maximum control by the guerrillas. Here the Portuguese have been successfully driven back to their major garrisons and their counter-offensives reduced to bombing raids, including in the case of Angola, chemical warfare. All colonial institutions, administrative and economic, eg. Western owned sugar plantations in northern Mozambique have been destroyed. The guerrillas military offensives at this stage, are to eliminate those remaining garrisons.

When the Portuguese hemmed in and on the defensive in this way the revolutionary forms of social organisation, which includes co-operative forms of economic production and both technical and political education are relatively stable. These areas are key for the training of cadres, and for economic production that is intended to play an increasing role in supporting the struggle as well as laying the basis for the post-revolutionary society. In these areas people of all ages are being given primary education for the first time and receiving their first medical attention. In this sense the revolutionary movements are waging a double struggle against both traditional and colonial social structures and practices (the latter having exacerbated many of the worst features of the former, e.g. tribalism). In these areas some elements of the Portuguese petit bourgeoisie (e.g. small traders, bush store-keepers etc.) who are completely isolated from the main areas of Portuguese settlements co-operate with the guerrillas passing them information about enemy troop movements, casualties, etc.

This stage has been reached in Niassa, Cabo Delgado and Northern Tete provinces in Mozambique and in the Eastern region and certain parts of Cabinda province in Angola.

The second type is in rural areas further into the interior where guerrillas are in the process of mobilising, or have the political support of the people and are engaged in isolating the Portuguese and forcing them back to their garrison towns, cutting them off from the surrounding area by mining the roads, preparing ambushes, etc. and also training the peoples militia, deepening the politicisation of the people, helping with setting up of primary schools, dispensaries elementary economic production and in the case of Angola revolutionary instruction centres.



# TELEVISION: SEIZE THE NETWORK!

## BBC1



One of the myths encouraged by the BBC is that of the 'friendly bobby' typified by Dixon of Dock Green. In a further article we will expose the role of the BBC in fostering racism and whitewashing police brutality.

British television has acted out its role as the ideological arm of the State more efficiently than any other broadcasting system. Belief in its presumed 'independence' (of class war) and therefore 'objectivity,' has been effective since the invention of that 'independent' status by Lord Reith in the early days of television. The Left has analysed television and Lord Reith's amazing invention with a lack of resolution that has reduced explanation of the nature of television output to middle class prejudice on the part of programme controllers and programme makers. On the contrary, the functions of television in helping to maintain and impose the capitalist system of relations, economic and political, are *not explicable* in terms of the personalities of either programme makers or programme controllers. Suppression and repression have worked as efficiently *inside* the organisations as they have *outside*: up till now it has been possible for those working in television to uphold the definition of themselves handed on by the management, i.e., that they are free intermediaries, professionals, who interpose themselves benevolently between the audience and 'reality'. This definition is disintegrating, from the point of view of those working in television as well as from the point of view of the audience. 'Loyalty' has been used up and the real humiliation of the television professionals situation has begun to be exposed. The mythological nature of the 'independence' of television has begun to show.

The ideological projection of 'reality' expressed by television is losing its plausibility as a class reconciling influence; the 'balanced', supposedly 'objective' mode of 'reality' is becoming increasingly and obviously repressive when confronted with the real experience of economic slump and the necessity for censorship in Northern Ireland. The ruling class's ideological grasp, which has been so firm, is slipping, surely a situation that imposes an obligation on the Left to analyse what is happening and take advantage from it.

A recent example will give some idea of the hysterical hypersensitivity of television management in the face of the ominous sound of cracking ideologies.

### MANIPULATION BEGINS TO FAIL

Late Night Line Up recently decided to throw caution to the winds and, after a suggestion by Lord Hill the Chairman of the BBC Governors, set up a series of open ended debates about the so-called 'bias' of the BBC. The debates were set up at the BBC's regional centres and were transmitted late at night on BBC2. The second programme, about the BBC's apparent bias against the working class (!), came from Manchester and became, unfortunately, the model for all future BBC excursions in this field.

Immediately, obstructions gathered. The editor of News and the World At One tried to prevent the use of evidence that had been gathered by Philip Whitehead (M.P.) and Peter Fogges (producer). The list of 50 names of those who were to be invited to the studio had to be vetted by Huw Wheldon (the Director of Television) in order, it was explained, 'to make sure that no one in the programme was 'left of the Labour Party'! When the producer protested the Editor of Line Up withdrew support and told him he would have to fight the Controllers on his own. The producer fought but with little avail. In the front of the studio were the Labour Party members while hidden at the back could just be seen half a dozen Pilkington workers the sole representatives of the working class. Then as a final kick in the teeth the chairman was told just before the programme went out that those members of the audience who had been given £20 fees were to be given priority. It soon became clear just who had been paid fees. When the Pilkington men pointed out that they had not had time to put their case, the supposedly open ended programme came quickly to a close.

The third programme, from Birmingham, introduced by an uncomfortable Stuart Hall, was on the treatment that television applies to the black community. Once again in the front rows were the journalists and writers, BBC executives, two racist councillors and community workers. At the back were two black militants. One of them from the Indian Workers Association managed a suggestion in at the end that the only way to do a programme on this subject would be to

hand over the studio to the blacks in the audience and let them run it. Pat Beech, the Controller of English Regions, naturally ignored this suggestion and came out with a pathetically inadequate piece of BBC double talk about the BBC doing its best under difficult conditions. The programme then closed.

Further humiliation of BBC executives was avoided. The fourth programme, on Youth and the BBC, was cancelled and so was the rest of the series. Management interference had become so intolerable that the production staff had decided that they could not carry on.

This example is particularly instructive because it shows the way in which 'public' television is failing to work its ideological techniques. Television has to provide an *explanation* of current events and, of course, by providing this explanation it states what the event *is*. In order to remain plausible television's explanations have to include coverage of the 'events' that are public knowledge. Thus, Lord Hill's suggestion in the first place. Line Up's debates were an attempt by the BBC management to explain disaffection with the BBC. It failed.

### 'THE STATE IS AN ORGAN OF CLASS RULE' LENIN

Television's 'explanations' are made by *identifying* the participants in a particular way. The 'pillars of society' will mass at the front of the studio audience, the 'outcasts' at the back. In the debate on blacks and the BBC a couple of racists were invited for the very compelling reason that their talk of compulsory repatriation was *guaranteed* to drive militant blacks into fury. An angry man in a studio is uncontrollable, irresponsible, etc. etc. when compared with the 'sane' tones of BBC executives. This is known as 'good' television, i.e., when compelling identifications are being made. Equally the outline of television's connections with the 'power structure' made by Stuart Hall (who is an academic) can be sidestepped easily by talk of the 'practical problems' of broadcasting. Fortunately these well worn techniques are producing dwindling dividends. Despite every attempt at manipulation the Line Up debates only succeeded in emphasizing the inability of the BBC to explain or do anything about the class repressive nature of its identifications and explanations. This inability has nothing to do with the BBC 'not doing its job', rather it has to do with the BBC 'doing its job'. Television's vital connection with the State makes it inevitable that when the actual class repressive nature of the State is vividly exposed by the actions of a right wing government then television's 'phantom' position of 'independence' of class war is exposed. Class reconciling identifications (the masses deceived by trouble makers) are exposed as class repressive.

The maintenance of the class oppressive nature of the State depends on the illusion of class reconciliation. Thus, the identifications of television are made from a position which takes *class reconciliation* as its fundamental premise. This is the position from where the 'objectivity' and the 'balance' of news, current affairs, and documentaries derive. An irreconcilable class attitude cannot be expressed on television without a qualifying identification, i.e., terrorist. However, where the hegemony of the State is threatened, as in Northern Ireland, even the qualifying identifications are not enough. The State cannot afford to identify even the physical existence of the IRA. If members of the IRA vanish from television screens they can be identified in their absence as an abstractly demonic force which is being fought courageously by our Army in the cause of sanity, justice and honour. Censorship is the withdrawal of identification.

### WHAT IS CENSORSHIP?

It is vital at this point to see what television censorship means. It is the last desperate stage of the repressive process of ideological identification. It is *not* a qualitative break with a previously benign 'objective' television system A 'socialist' perspective which assumes the value of 'unbiased' reporting is barking up the wrong tree. 'Bias' assumes a correct path which has been diverged from. There is a 'correct' path, or the approximation to it, but that path is the pattern of identification imposed by the class reconciling (and therefore class oppressive) 'point of view' of the State.

As the managements of the television network attempt to keep intact television's special status of 'independence' (the last prop of its plausibility) television workers are beginning to discard their imputed roles as the lackeys of the State and to create solidarity amongst themselves in opposition. In the BBC a paper, known as 'Burial' (previously known as 'Urinal') has arisen in opposition to the BBC staff paper 'Ariel'. The editorial explains itself.

### WHY BURIAL?

This paper grows out of the collective anger of a growing number of people working for the BBC. We, seeing the BBC from the inside, do not find it liberal, beneficent, tolerant, and all-wise. We find it highly autocratic and subtly repressive organisation. The Corporation's paternalism is a mask which cannot hide the fact that we are working in a bureaucracy.

The BBC is a vast factory. There are workers. There are bosses. Though we may try to kid ourselves, we all at one time or another either give orders or take them. The process is disguised, but there is a long chain of authority from the top down which makes lackeys of us all. And nobody is more of a lackey than the person who doesn't realize it.

We have virtually no control over our lives, our careers, or even the area of work with which we are most concerned. And just as we have little say in the programmes we are involved in making, so the public have little say in what we produce in their name. At the top of the chain of command which we serve is not the public, but the Government, represented by the Board of Governors, their political servants.

There was no shortage of stories for *Burial*. There seems to be no department in the BBC that isn't becoming aware of the limitation of the assumptions handed down from above that shape the way we work. Cases of overt censorship and self-censorship; of failure to consult; of mis-spending on prestige programmes and equipment; of underspending on people.

You may disagree with this analysis, or have another. If so, enter the argument. It is not the blood-sucking bureaucrats or their necrophiliac henchmen who are the BBC, but you and me. We have been buried too long. Send contributions (in complete confidence) to:

Box No. 89/50  
'Time Out'  
374, Grays Inn Rd. W.C.1.

In an industry that has still rising unemployment, increasing intimidation and casualisation of directors and researchers, there is an undoubted change in the awareness and consciousness of television workers. Television is not a monolithic block in servitude to the State. The more ideological patterning of programming is attacked the more repressive management has to be. The more repressive management becomes the more will the internal opposition gain adherents and confidence. It is useless to protest outside the walls of the studios. Television's repressive functions can only be subverted from within.

Paul White.

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# MOLE HILLS



# PRIVATE EYE

## AND IRELAND

"...the quicker that Davis creature is removed from Society the better"  
—Bradford headmaster

In its attempt to railroad Angela Davis to jail the white American racist establishment has always been assured of plenty of support here in Britain. Outright fascist organisations such as the National Front, the Monday Club and defenders of the so-called white heritage like Enoch Powell are all in favour of crushing black militants. The racists must however, be particularly heartened by their latest supporter, one W.F.N. Carter, headmaster of the Bradford Usher Immigrant Centre. After all what could be more encouraging than to have the support of the headmaster of a school for immigrant children? And Mr. Carter leaves no one in doubt that he supports the attempt to legally murder or imprison Angela Davis.

Carter got upset when a letter appeared on his school desk explaining the facts concerning Angela Davis. In the best academic tradition he did not deign to write for further information or try to reach an objective judgement of the case. Instead he wrote the following letter to the local West Indian Afro Brotherhood who had despatched the material.

City of Bradford Education Department  
Usher Immigrant Centre  
Usher Street  
Bradford 4  
Head Teacher: Mr. W.N.F. Carter. 4.11.71

Dear Miss/Mrs? Frater,

I return the enclosed muck which you misguidedly addressed to my desk.

One presumes that this is yet another murky funnel down which students' union funds (my income tax) are being sluiced. No wonder Mrs. Thatcher is out to control them.

Please do not direct more of this pseudo-political trash my way, but keep it for the unbridled corridors in which half-baked student 'ideas' flourish.

For my part, and for the good of the world, the quicker that Davis creature is removed from society the better.

Your letter I shall forward to Mrs. Thatcher, with my comments.

(signed) Mr. Carter

P.S. I have in the end kept all the bumf to send to Mrs. Thatcher.

According to this man who is responsible for the education of black immigrant children 'the quicker that Davis creature is removed from Society the better.' One should note that description of Angela Davis as a creature. One thing that Carter's pupils will be taught, and that is to use simple, down-to-earth Anglo-saxon words, even if they do have racialist connotations, and not to get involved in euphemisms such as woman, black and person. After all if black people can be designated as savages, creatures, etc., their removal from society is of nothing like the same consequence than if they happen to be civilised white headmasters.

Copies of Carter's letter have been sent to the local press. The West Indian Afro Brotherhood and the International Marxist Group have produced a leaflet in English and Urdu which has been distributed to the pupils of the Usher Immigrant Centre and this calls on them and their parents to demand the resignation of Carter. Militants in the Yorkshire area willing to help in this campaign should contact either the WIAB, 44 Harehills Lane Leeds 8, or the IMG, Saville Place, Leeds 7.

## All in a night's work ...

It's not all man's work in the Irish Republican Army of today. The girls have their part to play in shaping the future of tomorrow's Ireland.

Take tonight, for instance.

We've just been out on what we call a "tar and feather" job.

We had a call that some silly girl had been seen walking out with a British Tommy.

She obviously had to be taught a lesson.

So B Company - that's our mob - went down to her house, pulled her out of bed, tied her to a lamppost, shaved her hair off, and covered her with a generous coating of tar and feathers.

After that, the girls all stood around in a circle shouting and screaming abuse.

Quite a strain on the lungs, I can tell you. Particularly since it was the third time this week.

But even then, our night's work wasn't finished.

It's back to HQ for a few hours paper work - getting together all the evidence for Sir Edward Compton.

Evidence of the shocking brutality of the barbarous British troops.

## JOIN THE PROVISIONALS



While the role of a majority—of the bourgeois press on the struggle in Ireland has been fairly well-documented, not least in the footnotes section of *Private Eye*, there has been a grave omission namely, the role of *Private Eye*. When a section of the journal publishes fairly accurate reports one week and another section of the same journal publishes Tory propaganda (disguised as humour, of course) then those who give the magazine a 'left' image have to question their own function.

The issue dated 19 Nov.'71 has a full page 'satirical' advertisement (see above) which contains a vicious attack on the Provisional IRA and a whitewash for the

British Army. Apart from the fact that the Provisionals specifically denied that they were responsible for feathering and tarring Irish girls going out with British soldiers and actively obstructed militant women from carrying this out, what is more disgraceful is that the Editor of *Private Eye*, who wrote the fake ad knew perfectly well that the Provos had issued this denial before the Eye went to press. The fact of the matter is that the nice gentlemen who run the Eye are a bit upset by violence and this makes the Provisionals "bigots" "fascists" etc., in their eyes. There have been other occasions on which the journal, in its colour section (sic) has carried anti-provo material and therefore this full-page lie is only the

culmination of an anti-Provo campaign. In that sense we can say that *Private Eye* has reinforced the slanders and distortions of the Fleet Street hacks. The fact that Paul Foot, a leading member of the *International Socialism* group, is also responsible for the production of the journal means that as an individual he acquiesces in the publishing of pro-imperialist lies. Foot should make his position clear. If his bourgeois employers refuse to let him publish a rebuttal in *Private Eye* he should use the facilities of the weekly newspaper produced by his organisation to make his own position clear. Or could it be that there is something more to it than meets the Eye . . . . .