

# The Black Dwarf

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# where is RSSF going and when?

The first RSSF Conference was held in June in an atmosphere of optimism and excitement following the May events in France. Not only did it seem that students could be activated and driven forward by revolutionary ideas, but it also appeared that this explosion in the educational superstructures of society could produce a similar revolutionary explosion among workers. RSSF was the response of the British student left to the foreign example, and precisely because it was to some extent an important form of political organisation it has suffered in subsequent months from the difficulty of taking root in British soil.

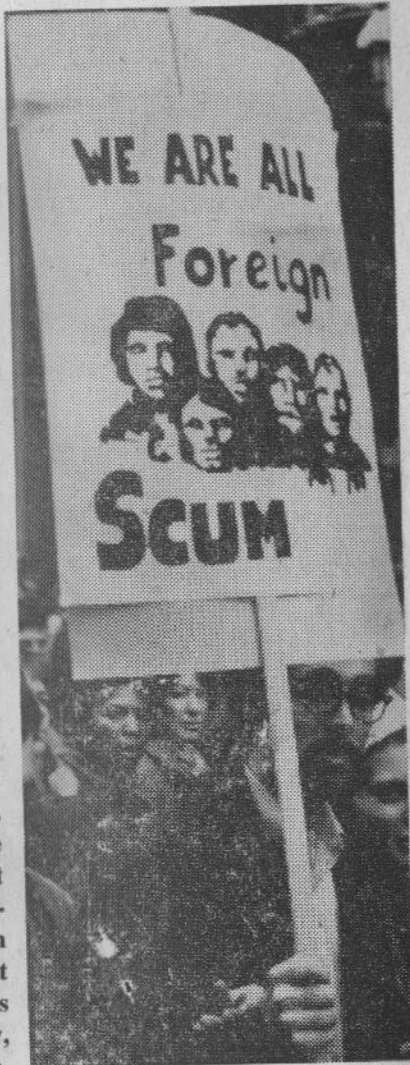
These difficulties came out very clearly at the First Plenary Conference held at the Round House on November 8-9. RSSF is made up from existing British groups, and one of its major problems is the mutual hostility of the different tendencies and the accompanying low level of political debate. The only way in which this obstacle can be overcome is for RSSF to acquire an autonomous identity and an autonomous ideology; then it can do without the sects and attract young people coming into politics for the first time away from the repetition of a few banalities. If RSSF doesn't the sects will continue to turn people away from left politics and the opportunity that now exists will be lost.

The Conference began on the

Friday morning with a report by the National Coordinating Committee on the problems it had encountered during the summer. The Maoist delegation claimed that there had been an IS plot to sabotage the RSSF; the IS denounced the RSL for failing to attend meetings. There was a long hassle about one sect withholding membership lists, of another refusing to distribute membership cards.

The Discussion on student problems in the afternoon was undermined by a persistent group of demagogues who claimed that since student problems could not be seen in isolation, a discussion of student problems had to include a discussion of imperialism and the working class struggle. The discussion was of an abysmal level: no debate, few original ideas, very little awareness of the relative specificity of the student struggle within the general context of a socialist offensive. In spite of the refusal of most speakers to deal with the issues in a relevant or original way, the Conference passed a statement of aims that did give a detailed programme of 'student action', within the university and in the struggle against academic authority.

The programme called for the setting up of Red Bases in the university, by putting all power in the university in the hands of a general assembly of students staff and administrative workers, by carrying out a course of



ideological course-critiques and by creating red majorities in the student bodies.

The discussion on Saturday morning of a manifesto ended in a massive victory for a manifesto including these theses on the academic struggle and emphasising the overall political orientation of the RSSF - solidarity with the workers and

with the fight against imperialism. The impact of this Manifesto was, however, severely blurred when the Conference decided that membership of RSSF was not conditional on the acceptance of this manifesto. Anyone can join, and the movement had lost any political definition it might have acquired.

The next conference is fixed for March. It will be a delegate conference with each delegate representing 3 RSSF members. Any member can attend, but only delegates can vote.

What is RSSF going to do?

It cannot become a nationwide movement overnight; what it must do is build strong local bases, and acquire a momentum of its own that is not dependent on the vitality of the local sects. Educational work among British students is a number one priority for the movement since a student body that is politically educated would be able to transcend the divisions now existing and would be able to generate an articulated opposition to the university as it now exists.

Only through an ideological transformation can the RSSF survive and attract a majority of the student body. Students are looking for an imaginative and intelligent political alternative to existing institutions and ideas. This is the potentiality that RSSF can grasp; provided it is able to rise above the traditional British milieu in which it is now established.

# wilson's barbarella—scourge of the unions

By PAT JORDAN

Barbara Castle, Labour's Minister of Employment and Productivity ("unemployment and wage-cutting" would be more appropriate), has been presented by the press virtually as Wilson's Barbarella.

Whilst her adventures may not be so exotic as those of the cartoon character, she is given Wilson's most difficult missions and, like Barbarella, her alleged charms are an important weapon in her armoury. Her charms, moreover, are supposed to appeal both to men (trade union officials) and women (Fords strike leaders).

Recently she was given the mission by Wilson to stop the building workers' penny an hour cost of living award on the grounds that this, together with another separately negotiated, transgressed the incomes policy (that is, upset British capital-

ism's creditors: the IMF chiefs and the Swiss bankers). Because of the huge opposition to her plan to use legislation to take back this penny (workers would have received it for two weeks and then it would have been stopped) the trade union officials refused to agree to a voluntary cut. But Wilson's Barbarella was not to be thwarted: she got the trade union bureaucrats to agree to accept the Prices and Incomes Board's ruling on this matter. Whilst it is not certain that they will rule against the Id., this represents a very dangerous development and it could be that Barbara will consider this her greatest victory.

If this goes by without a serious struggle it could mark an important step towards the corporate state. If workers accept a position where their freely negotiated trade union agreements

can be approved or disapproved by the PIB the whole function of unions is undermined. The next step would be towards a set-up where PIB's covering particular industries (and, to the delight of our Labour leaders, representing "both sides of industry") took over the functions of adjusting wages up or down. The dangerous logic of what the union leaders have agreed to do is something very similar to the "syndicates" of fascist countries. Even some Labour M.P.'s have recognised this fact.

Wilson's Barbarella is now trying to block increases for bank workers and bakers. She will, no doubt, try the same with other sections of the working class.

She failed at Blackpool to stop the Labour Party voting 5 to 1 against the wage freeze, despite her promise to freeze the price

of beer and her skilfully-dyed flaming red hair. But that defeat didn't mean much, as she explained the very same afternoon at a Fabian (yes, you guessed right) tea party.

Workers on building sites are now realising the danger of this situation. It is to be hoped that all organised workers will follow suit. There should be no truck with Barbara's seductive schemes. Massive trade union action must be the answer to her attempts to bring about wage cuts on the sly. The incomes policy is clearly designed to cut workers' standards of living. The TUC has voted against it. The Labour Party threw it out with the biggest vote of this kind for years. There is a mandate for struggle against the wage freeze and its "charming" agent.

# A Letter of Resignation

Comrades,

For some time now I have expressed grave misgivings about the editorial policy of the *Black Dwarf*, its statements, its slogans, the content of the paper, its political direction. These misgivings should be discussed, because I feel they are important to the movement, and they involve questions of principle. Since May when the *Dwarf* first appeared in print political events throughout the world have developed at an unprecedented pace. Questions of the revolutionary role of the working class in Metropolitan countries, questions of the Vietnamese revolution, questions of the counter-revolutionary role of Salinism, questions of the intervention of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia, questions of the struggle of the working class in this country as they face one of their biggest fights in history, questions that are not academic but have been sharply and concretely posed. Our task in a newspaper of this kind is to examine and analyse these questions, push forward theory and give a political lead on the basis of a Marxist analysis of the inter-

the students at the barricades, they occupied their factories. They were prepared to fight. Many tendencies in this country and in Europe and the United States based a theory on this concrete and special phenomenon and assigned to the students the role of detonator of revolutions. The *Dwarf* itself carried the front page, claiming students as "The New revolutionary vanguard". The political situation throughout the world is in a state of conflict; the students are restless, the young are restless, there is an impatience. But revolution is not based on short cuts. Events in France were peculiar to France. What is incorrect is to build a general theory out of this. To a Marxist, there is only one class that can overthrow capitalism, and that is the working class. If the working class do not respond to moral exhortations, it is because their daily struggles are of a different order, a struggle of survival, a struggle of warring classes, the capitalist against the working class, a process which is largely unconscious. Since Marx the task of all Marxists revolutionaries has been to make the unconscious process conscious. But it is based on

role of Stalinism and its parasitic bureaucracy. And if we did the lesson was rammed home only too tragically in Czechoslovakia.

In this necessary clarification the *Dwarf* has offered only confusion. And nowhere more clearly is this confusion found than in its association with the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, a campaign which has made more about turns than the Irish Guards in front of Buckingham Palace. In the name of a united front it has formed an alliance with precisely those Stalinists that betrayed the French revolution. Never once did this campaign call upon the support of the working class, never once did it connect the struggle in Vietnam with the pending struggles of the British working class against the Prices and Incomes Act. The question that must be asked is what is a more decisive blow against imperialism, a march or a massive strike? No Marxist can be in any doubt. Yet we heard no such discussion from the leadership of that march. Instead what did we have? And in spite of the adventurist calls from the leader of this paper to "Not Demand, Occupy," we wit-

editorial to form a non-sectarian extra-parliamentary opposition. What does this mean? It can mean only one thing - a centrist compromise, of which in the history of struggles of the working class are only too many treacherous examples. It is this that this paper has called for, an unprincipled alliance with Stalinists, State capitalist anarchists and let us not forget waiting in the wings once they have been deposed from office - Labour 'lefts'. That is what the extra-parliamentary opposition means. And where are the working class? This? Nowhere. Left to fight battles with the capitalist class, their side-kicks the Labour Government, left to face their struggle against the prices and incomes policy, against wage restriction, against the anti-Trade Union Law. But, the working class does need the "extra-parliamentary position" that ends up at Downing Street. This is not a defeated class, this is a class that is fighting, that is coming forward and more. This class needs a leadership, not an opportunistic bag of reformist theories. What the *Dwarf* should do is

# Hornsey-what next?

by KIM HOWELL

protest from the D.E.S. Militant staff have been sacked while the

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the workers to the "heights" of the bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeois



by KIM HOWELL

For a brief seven weeks we tasted a kind of freedom. For seven weeks we were spared the mind numbing shit poured out by the heroes of the bourgeois art magazines, we were spared the lies of the aesthetes, of the art historians and of the administration. We kicked our way out of the ivory tower which had been such an effective shield against the evil realities of life outside the make believe of pretty colours, pseudo-intellectual jargon and trendy variations on themes of high powered salesmanship that were the staple educational meals of the whiz-kids of Hornsey.

The progress of the sit-in matters only superficially. Our revolution went the way of many others, that is to say that the social democrats sold us out, with their facade of respectability, their Hampstead liberal clichés and their pleas for concessions and mild reforms. We were led into the trap of negotiating with petty, Conservative councillors, and with the important Department of Education and Science. We were told to talk through the traitorous N.U.S. who did all in their power to ensure that the new participatory democracy at the college would crumble and fall and be once again replaced by their archaic, elitist structure. We were of course smashed, our best militant spokesmen have been thrown out "for academic reasons", or have been placed on probation and told to keep their mouths shut. Courses have been cut without a squeak of

protest from the D.E.S. Militant staff have been sacked while the teachers union have all stood by silently like the sheep that they are. The college itself has been turned into a fortress. Steel doors have been erected across strategic corridors, searchlights hung on the outside walls, spikes placed on the drainpipes, iron bars on the windows and what was formerly the "subversive" General Studies department is now a converted flat for a permanent night watchman and his family.

These are however, measures typical of, and to be expected from, an ignorant set of neo-fascist bank managers and launderet owners of the kind that control education at Hornsey. It is impossible to negotiate or even communicate with such morons as these, the only alternatives left open to us now are near suicidal ones. For unless a miracle happens we are expected to return to college on the 4th of November to work within a system and under conditions which are a direct result of the conservative backlash. We will be without our comrades who have been victimised, and with the problem of educating about 270 new and worried students of the true nature of the situation. The reactionary staff will attempt to condition the new people into believing and accepting the situation as they would wish them to.

The courses of action left open to us are few. We have certain strengths and weaknesses. Since it isn't worth bothering listing our weaknesses I'll concentrate on what

we've got most of, and that's militant students. Great sections of formerly politically backward people were suddenly kicked in their predominantly sedate middle class arses and were subjected to the worst kind of hack borough politics. They very quickly learned that our democracy was more democratic than the election of the American president, that the press actually told lies, and that politicians were really not the concerned, aware, implicitly honest men of the people that they previously believed them to be. You revolutionary comrades reading this will, of course, have known these facts of life since birth but you must try and realise that until the sit-in most of the good people at Hornsey were concerned with the real issues of our existence . . . making useless art objects for the elitist bourgeoisie of our trendy, turned on society.

This is the fundamental lesson that we have learned. We have discovered the fallacy of the myth that surrounded the so-called work of art. Some of us have learned even to mistrust those people who would wish to impart their cultural expertise to the "masses". What are we painting? what are we learning, and who do we produce art for? Should we devote ourselves to "raising standards", or should we devote ourselves to "popularisation"? From what basis is art to be raised? From the basis of the bourgeoisie? From the basis of the petty bourgeois intellectuals? I say no. It must come from the basis of the masses of workers. Nor does this mean raising

the workers to the "heights" of the bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeois intellectuals; it means raising the level of art in the direction in which the proletariat is advancing. We must learn from the workers and aim to find the proper relationships between that aesthetic appreciation that we as so-called, "creative artists" possess (or are supposed to possess anyway) and its relevance to the struggles of the mass of the working class in this country. I and many others detest the elitist cultural systems that exist in England, and challenge anyone to defend their position as a lackey of that wealthy parasitic minority who make the most nauseating pretensions imaginable about their understanding of "great" art. All but a very few of the teachers that I have ever met are guilty to a lesser or greater degree of perpetuating this situation, those that are not are at this moment being hounded out of their positions by reactionary, authoritarian elements, or by the worried heroes of the bourgeoisie, the left over avant-gard. Most of these enlightened people are at Hornsey. They and the students need immediate support and solidarity. It is no longer merely a section of art students fighting for the right to paint and design what we want and where we want, we have something to contribute to the war against the rotten capitalist system. We want to communicate and take a hand in finally smashing it.

questions that are not academic but have been sharply and concretely posed. Our task in a newspaper of this kind is to examine and analyse these questions, push forward theory and give a political lead on the basis of a Marxist analysis of the international struggle of the world's proletariat.

In this respect I can only conclude that the **Black Dwarf** has been evasive of its task.

The **Black Dwarf** first appeared at the height of the revolutionary events in France. One lesson that was clear from this was that the proletariat of the metropolitan countries were not dormant as so many tendencies had claimed. The students fought against police oppression and the French working class found an echo in their own struggles, a working class that had been betrayed, bullied, cajoled in the name of capitalist expansion. They joined

struggle of survival, a struggle of warring classes, the capitalist against the working class, a process which is largely unconscious. Since Marx the task of all Marxists revolutionaries has been to make the unconscious process conscious. But it is based on one principle, that the working class are the decisive class and the **only** decisive class.

From France another thing became clear. A revolution was betrayed by the Stalinist Party. What was crucial was not that the French working class were not prepared to fight, but that they lacked revolutionary leadership to take the power. This was the lesson, a lesson that must be digested by the movements in Britain. The crucial question is the need for the building of a revolutionary working class party to take the power. We need no further evidence of the counter revolutionary

strike? No Marxist can be in any doubt. Yet we heard no such discussion from the leadership of that march. Instead what did we have? And in spite of the adventurist calls from the leader of this paper to "Not Demand, Occupy," we witnessed last Sunday the most craven example of reformism in the shape of a letter that was delivered to number 10 Downing Street, which began "Dear Harold" and ended "Fraternally." Apart from the flippant irresponsibility of this letter (was this why one hundred thousand marched to say "Dear Harold"?) what we have is the "extra-parliamentary opposition" leading this demonstration back to where every British radical movement has ended and been betrayed - to Parliament.

It is in this light that we must discuss the plea of the Dwarf

position that ends up in Downing Street. This is not a feated class, this is a class that fighting, that is coming forward and more. This class needs Marxist leadership, not an opportunist bag of reformist theories. What the Dwarf should be doing itself to, this is the struggle Dwarf should be giving clarification to. This should be its strategy, overthrow of this vile corrupt system which holds the masses of the world in brutal subservience, that is nothing but oppression and violence to further its own greedy interests. These are the questions to be posed. The building of a revolutionary leadership through and in the working class that can transform the world into the working class.

ROGER SMITH,

Hamilton Gdns., N

## A REPLY IN DEFENCE OF THE DWARF

FRED HALLIDAY.

Roger's letter brings up a number of vital questions on which we disagree and which I shall try to answer. But I can deal with some of what he says merely by showing what the "Dwarf" has actually published. Much of his critique is pointless since we do not hold, and have never expressed, the views he attributes to us.

This is especially true of our views on the students. Roger feels some need to emphasise that only the working class can make a revolution. We have never denied it. The theory of the students as the vanguard is not a theory of the students as the agents of revolution.

The article by Mandel in our second issue that he so attacks makes this point quite clear: "For without the proletarian socialist revolution there will be no overthrow of the capitalist system". This is hardly an evasion. Mandel repeats himself: ". . . we know very well that neither by virtue of their numbers nor by virtue of the place which they hold today in society can the students alone overthrow bourgeois society". Our editorial in issue number 5 repeats this point: "One thing is clear. Students cannot make the revolution by themselves", and again "France showed what the students can do - detonate a proletarian explosion; but it also showed that without a revolutionary organisation of the workers the explosion can be crushed".

If Roger were to re-read these texts and not misinterpret their headlines, he might gain a clearer idea of our position.

We are not trying to build a general model out of what happened in France, but the French events did show that under certain conditions and with definite limitations the students are able to play an auxiliary role in the revolutionary process. The events in France have not disproven Marxism; but Marxist theory, which is the self-consciousness of the revolutionary left at any moment of history, must develop with history and incorporate changes in bourgeois society into the theory of how to destroy that society. That is what we are beginning to do; and a discussion of the role of students is clearly central to the development of a revolutionary self-consciousness at the present time.

There are a number of other issues. Roger's list of the questions now facing us provokes two responses. First, we have discussed all these questions. He can hardly accuse us of "evading" the question of Stalinism when in issue number 5 we published an article by himself on that very subject. The accusation of evading Vietnam is ludicrous to anyone who has read the last issue. The "revolutionary role of the working class in the metropolitan countries" has also been constantly reiterated and various aspects of the working class struggle in capitalist society have been examined in these pages - the dockers' strike, the counter-revolutionary role of the British Communist Party, industrial illness and workers' control.

The second response that Roger's list evokes is that it is curiously limited. He does not include racialism, student power and the liberation struggles in Africa and Latin America as issues that we should be concerned with. This is very significant, since these are essential components of the revolutionary situation as we now face it. His simplistic adherence to one formula - that only the workers can make the revolution - prevents him from applying this formula to a concrete situation, and prevents him from understanding the diversity of contradictions we are now confronting.

His most substantial charges concern VSC and the extra-parliamentary

opposition. The slogan "Don't Demand, Occupy", far from being advanced received triumphant validation in the occupation of the LSE over the demonstration weekend, when precisely that discussion of political strategy that Roger wants took place. His comparison between a demonstration and a strike is highly abstract and unrealistic. Even if a strike is always a potent weapon than a demonstration, this doesn't mean socialists should go on demonstrations. Roger's comparison also ignores the difficulty of organising a working class strike on an issue not directly related to the interests of the strikers.

Moreover, his answer to the question is rather mechanical. A strike is often a more potent weapon than a demonstration; a strike hits the process of production itself. But a strike may well put forward corporate, economic demands that in no way challenge the system; while a demonstration that openly denounces capitalism and imperialism represents a far more advanced level of revolutionary consciousness.

He accuses the VSC of changing its policy. VSC has a clear position on which it has always stood: solidarity with the NLF of Vietnam. The NLF themselves have frequently stated their revolutionary gratitude for VSC's policies. If anyone is "evading" the issue of Vietnam it is Roger, and those like him, who refuse to march on demonstration in solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution. His charge of "about-turns" be made with far more accurate force against Roger Smith himself nine months ago was lyrical about the Cuban Revolution and six months ago was calling on us all to emulate the militants of Grosvenor Square.

He denounces the call for an extra-parliamentary opposition. Is support for the Vietnamese revolution and opposition to the invasion of Czechoslovakia "unprincipled"? The principles for which the "Dwarf" stands are clear to anyone who has read our articles and editorials: the building of a revolutionary student movement, the worker-student alliance, the anti-imperialist struggle and proletarian revolution. If these are the "bag of reformist theories" where are we?

We are well aware of the limitations of the British left, the problems of building a proletarian party and the concrete political tasks that we face. The "Black Dwarf" is also well aware of its own limitations, of which are a result of internal weakness, others of which are a result of the British left as a whole. In recent months Roger Smith has been a political associate of the Socialist Labour League and the views in his articles are similar to those of the SLL's bi-weekly "Newsletter". It is the "Dwarf" policy to engage polemics with other left-wing publications on the issues Roger has raised need clarifying and this has served to our political position.

The role that we now intend to play is a complex one, both revolutionary and critical, criticising and going beyond the left as it is now constituted. That is not the organ of a party is a limit on what we can do, but the concrete role and a real need for a left-wing paper that simultaneously adopts a stance on political issues and reflects a diversity of opinions. By revitalising the moribund intellectual and political climate of the left and by publishing views on a wide range of political and cultural issues the "Dwarf" can play a very important function in building the revolutionary left. Attacks that ignore what we have published and ignore the situation in which we now are, cannot serve us in any way.

"I have been enlisted for fifteen years in the socialist army, which is the only army worth fighting for. God damn all other armies!"  
- JOHN MacLEAN IN 1915.

John  
MacLean  
Lives

BOB PURDIE.

It is December - a day as bleak and raw as a lifetime spent in the sweatshops and dole queues of Clydeside. Over the bridges, spanning the Clyde, and from Gorbals and Govan, little knots of men make their way to Eglinton Toll. There they join the thousands of workers who have been gathering for hours. Forming into a long concourse they march off to follow to Eastwood Cemetery the remains of one of the greatest and most influential Marxists of western Europe, John MacLean.

There are few working class leaders who have been more totally devoted to the working class, there have been fewer still who have suffered more for their determination, and yet have doggedly kept fighting to the end, and there are few who have been more disgracefully ignored and forgotten by those who profess to follow the principles

of revolutionary Marxism. Let this November 30th, the 45th anniversary of his death, be marked by an increased interest in the one man who succeeded in mobilising a significant section of the British working class around the ideas of Marxism, and who more than anyone else was responsible for making Clydeside "red".

Born the son of a displaced crofter from Mull, John early in his life experienced the bitterness of life under capitalism, his father dying at the age of 43, from a lifetime of overwork and undernourishment. Thus when John succeeded in going to Glasgow University and becoming a schoolteacher, he resolved to use his knowledge in the service of his class.

MacLean was a brilliant agitator and propagandist, some of his classes in Marxist Economics had

attendances in the thousands. During his life he built up strong bonds of trust and affection between himself and the workers of Clydeside; on one occasion he was hauled from his classroom to lead a mass demonstration of shipyard workers.

But MacLean best deserves to be remembered for his activities during the First Imperialist War, like Connolly in Ireland, Luxembourg and Leibknecht in Germany and the Bolsheviks in Russia, he called on the workers to fight their own bourgeoisie.

MacLean suffered a great deal for this; he was given several prison terms for sedition, and carried out hunger strikes in protest. At his most famous trial in 1918 he made a brilliant speech, in which he turned the court's accusations against the bosses' Government.

In recognition of his courage the

John  
MacLean  
Lives

Bolsheviks made MacLean the first Soviet consul, (not recognised by the Government). This was no purely honorary position, he energetically took up work in aid of Russian exiles in Scotland, who were being persecuted by a vindictive Government.

His last years were spent attempting to build up a Party which stood for a "Scottish Workers Republic", and in the present political situation in Scotland this has led to renewed interest in his ideas. There can be no doubt however that he would have little time for some of the Scottish National Party opportunists who are now climbing on the bandwagon, and praising his example.

Socialists should remember MacLean, re-examine his ideas, and take up his fight, - the fight for the socialist revolution.



# LETTERS

## YOU SWINE

To the Editor,

As the father of a young policeman of 22 and myself an ex-serviceman who fought in the last war and wounded and still suffering, I think it a disgrace that a filthy swine like you can be allowed in our beautiful country. A man who doesn't even come from Britain and never fought for it. As regards your Communist party the whole lot of you should be packed off to Russia and Siberia to rot with your friends. Since when did you have a demonstration against the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Russians? I think you will have a short life as someone will get you. Why don't the Russians stop supplying Vietnam with arms? Why don't you go out there and fight for them? **You swine.**

G. R. LEWIS.

Wrexham, N. Wales.

## OCTOBER 27 — I

Dear Comrade,

I, like many other people, arrived at Charing Cross on the 27th ready to demonstrate both solidarity with the NLF and opposition to capitalistic-imperialist states everywhere.

The Ad-Hoc Committee had asked that all follow the official route and not break off to Grosvenor Square which, as all will agree, is a killing ground.

The majority of marchers complied with this request on the understanding that confrontation would come with the occupation and holding of Whitehall for one hour. This was believed to be the main tactical objective of the march, a clear demonstration, not necessarily violent, of the determination and power of those assembled. It was not expected that the state should

fall while the presence was maintained. Neither was it expected that the march should pass right through Whitehall without one halting.

But this is what happened and the assembled comrades continued their way to Hyde Park and the final rally. To be informed by the speakers how big the demo was — we already knew. That the United States was committing genocide in Vietnam — we already knew. That capitalism stinks — we knew that too. We were informed that this — the demo — was just the beginning but where were the proposals for the coming campaign?

And all this while but a few hundred yards away comrades were continuing the demonstration in a practical way.

It is not that a mass punch-up with the police is necessarily wanted. That in itself achieves nothing.

However, neither do we wish to see a movement so potentially strong as ours follow CND into oblivion for want of decisive action.

Therefore, next time let us not stand around patting ourselves on the backs and accepting Callaghan's pat on the hand for our 'British good sense'. If we must go to the 'killing-ground' of Grosvenor Square to make ourselves felt then let us go. The Vietnamese people have been living and dying on one huge killing-ground for years.

Either that or let everyone stay at home and campaign on his local doorstep.

Hopefully yours,

P. J. CULLIS

2 Delamare Crescent, Croydon, Surrey.

## UNITY

Sir,

I wish you would remind some of the wilder contributors who seem intent on promoting left-wing disunity with Anti-CP Anti-Mao or Anti-anybody tirades that this sort of thing merely plays into the hands of the establishment. Self-criticism — Yes! But let's spend most of our effort in finding points of unity and concurrence when discussing other groups. Christ! We need each other's help badly enough.

October 15th issue editorial excellent! Fawthrop v. good!

I notice you've got artists on the books — D. Mercey, AGIT-PROP, etc. — which covers the visuals. But does anybody have any ideas about the promotion of revolutionary ideas through prose fiction. Has anybody thought of a publishing co-operative?

ROY JOHNSON

19 Grange Avenue, Heaton Chapel, Stockport.

## REVOLUTIONARY PURITY

Comrades:

I have noticed a very regrettable tendency in the last few issues of Black Dwarf to regard the dilettante dissatisfaction of purveyors of the pop sub-culture and of those who make up the 'International Times' brigade as being an essentially anti-capitalist and left-wing dissatisfaction. This tendency reached a ridiculous culmination in an open letter to John Lennon by one John Hoyland (who graciously speaks for "we on the left") in which he as much as said that taking LSD ("acid" sic.) was a left-wing protest. Also, the Rolling Stones apparently are blooded revolutionaries because they have been arrested by the police for drug-taking. Putting aside all ethical and medical considerations about drug-taking, it must be said that it is no more left-wing than eating a bar of chocolate. Furthermore, the 'hippy', 'drop-out' trend among young people cannot but contribute to the continued existence of capitalism since it directs into ineffective and passive opposition a great deal of political dissatisfaction and youthful reformism which could be harnessed in the service of socialism. Pop-culture is the new opium of the people.

As for making revolutionary martyrs of the Rolling Stones, who now it seems have decided to ride the commercial tiger of protest, any distributor would have a cast iron argument, on aesthetic reasons alone, for refusing to accept their record, which was banal and adolescent rubbish. And would, incidentally,

have disgusted most working-class leftists.

Where, one may wonder, would the profits of this record have gone? Would the 'dissatisfaction' of the Rolling Stones and their ilk disappear if we had a genuinely socialist society tomorrow? The answers, to me at least, are obvious; while the hippies and adherents of the pop movement are obviously not class enemies and are in fact part of the human wreckage of the capitalist system, their lack of any ideology, apart from a reverence of "self" makes their support an encumbrance and an embarrassment.

A large section of the American left have now, it seems, gone 'hippy', discarding ideology and theoretical polemics for the all-purpose 'mother-fucker' (presumably a political analysis), and generally discrediting the already weak but genuinely left-wing movements in America. It would be a great tragedy if any section of the British left were to dabble with the hippies; to do anything, in fact, which would detract from its seriousness as a political movement. I write this incidentally after arguing for about an hour with a trade-unionist, trying to persuade him that the relatively new leftward trend in British student politics is not a wholly transient and hippy trend. I hope he will never be able to prove me wrong.

Yours faithfully,  
ANTHONY K. HICKLEY  
6 Randolph Gardens, Maida Vale, NW6.

## ROLAND MULDOON REPLIES

I think that in this stage of development, it is essential for all people who consider themselves "involved" in the political struggle for a workers' democracy to explain not only their theory, but also their motivation. Although to most this would seem obvious and unnecessary, it must be pointed out that a lot of the casual buyers of Black Dwarf are only "interested" in the movement and not in any way convinced that they should become involved themselves. Why? Because they cannot relate their human pre-

explanation of one's motives. Although to a Socialist, by the very nature of his collective beliefs, this sounds like an unnecessary waste of time. If you're on the receiving end it might not be. Obviously I'm going to be criticised for saying this, but for those who understand my concern, I would like to say this: Black Dwarf should have an open page which allows its readers, whatever their denomination or stage of development, to express their ideas. Ideas that is, that will help to explain how and why and

## POP POLITICS — I

Comrade,

I have been a Socialist all my life since the age of fourteen. I know a little at first hand about revolution and I lost an eye fighting Fascism.

Socialism to me means a society where people are no longer crippled and morally by the pressures of capitalism, and where for the first time human relationships will be honest, open and moral in the real sense of that word.

In your Vietnam issue you devote space to some doggerel by Mick Jagger, an unfortunate nothing whom the world could do well without, and more disgusting still, you couple his name on your front page, alongside Marx and Engels; something which will surely make any sincere Socialist want to vomit.

Almost as bad as this, you waste valuable space on a letter of condolence to John Lennon as if this poor confused drug experimenter

## POP POLITICS — II

Sir,

I am surprised and dismayed that you publish articles by Roland Muldoon which seem to take certain pop groups seriously. Surely it is realised that the pop industry is the most advanced form of planned obsolescence in our sick society. The only reason that records expressing revolt are released is that the capitalist realises that the mass of youth is so gullible that it will continue to buy

was of any importance in the fight for Socialism.

The private standards of individuals are most certainly their own affairs but do not debase another cause by enlisting the 'help' of amoral bums, looking for a cheap band-wagon. The great revolutionaries of history, men like Conolly, Lenin and Trotsky, and the humble people too, such as the Spanish anarchists were shining examples of integrity and honesty in their personal lives which were indeed more another another aspect of the political beliefs. That is what Socialism means in practice.

May I say finally that the layout of the typography and much of the context of the Vietnam issue was a very high standard indeed.

Sincerely,

PAT McVEIGH

Gosford Cottage, Aberlady, East Lothian, Scotland.

them and so perpetuate the system. The records mentioned in the article are released because they are ineffective. I urge you to advocate a boycott of these capitalist products. Youth make an effort to free from its self-willed slavery to the pop industry.

Yours

MICK LAUNCHBURY

Sorby Hall, Endcliffe Vale Road, Sheffield.

## OCTOBER 27 — II

Dear Dwarfs,

What a naive performance! (I refer to the speeches made at the Hyde Park rally.) If this is the stuff designed to swell the progressive movement, I don't think you are going to make much advance. The point is as Roland Muldoon said in the October 27 issue of Black Dwarf, that you must speak to the traditionalists in their own language in order to sway them; only the content of speeches should be different.

Constant use of terms like 'capitalism', 'imperialism', 'fascism', 'comrades' and so on will only antagonise the traditionalists and lead them to assume that those concerned are all communists of an extreme type and not in any way concerned with practical, rational progressivism.

If you want to express the concept behind the word 'capitalism' why not call it 'materialism' or 'selfish material gain' which sound less like Marxist dogma and appeal more to the sense of reason? Why not change 'imperialism' to 'arrogant colonialism', 'fascism' to 'blind dictatorship',

'comrade' to 'friend' and similarly translate any other more dogmatic terms. Progressivism must be a living thing, continually taking up new, more vivid and more embracing phraseology and not bogged down by stale cliches. Such cliches only help to make the movement sound conservative.

So much for dogma. The second point is that you must give traditionalists situations they can personally and deeply identify with before they become convinced progressives. It is no good pouring out emotional statements like "We must smash the fascist capitalists" without saying exactly why they must be smashed.

You must explain in detail what harm is being done to the Vietnamese way of life, because land is being destroyed by American chemicals, innocent people are suffering and so on, and why the Americans don't need to be there at all, because the 'communism' the Americans are afraid of is not just communism but also religious and nationalistic feeling

and because in any case communism takes different forms and the Vietnamese form need not threaten world stability. There were too many people on Sunday's non-violent march who seemed to have no serious idea of what practical, mass appeal progressivism must consist of, and efforts must be made rapidly to educate them, or the movement will stagnate.

Because these two points were not noted, I believe there will probably not be any significant rise in the number of progressive movement adherents at the next major demonstration or progressive event in London, and if this proves to be so I suggest you give some serious thought to changing tactics in the way I described.

These points apply of course not just to this Vietnam demonstration but to any kind of outdoor progressive activity, as much the same defects have been apparent in other such activities in the past.

Yours fraternally, NICK ROGERS  
57 Cecil Park, Pinner, Middx.

## MORE ABOUT KING'S COLLEGE

## OCTOBER 27 — III

To the Editor of The Black Dwarf:

As a participant in the October

is extended, why not stone taxi drivers because they transport capi-



## OCTOBER 27 — III

To the Editor of The Black Dwarf:

As a participant in the October 27th demonstration, I left Grosvenor Square when some members of the crowd began provoking the police. In addition to disagreeing with their tactics, it seems to me that these provocations are self-defeating.

At the beginning of the march a fellow standing by me offered an invitation to the bobbies within ear-shot to join the demonstration 'for higher wages'. This started me thinking: these demonstrators are making an appeal to the 'workers'; this is apparent in many of the signs and chants. And what, pray tell, is the cop? An aristocrat? And with whom do all the workers viewing the demonstration empathize? One wrongly glorifies the cop when treating him as a political enemy. If this

is extended, why not stone taxi drivers because they transport capitalists to their places of business where they exploit workers? True, the cop represents the establishment and its laws. But, as a worker. As a result of his maltreatment, he and many other workers are being alienated. The policeman is being made a primary enemy of the 'movement', with verbal and physical abuse as the weapons in combating him. Police 'over-reaction' is of course intolerable. But why shit on a cop without reason? It is as much the cop's law he is enforcing as yours. He's a worker just doing his goddam job.

**WILLIAM M. GURVITCH.**

P.S. I am an American whose trip here coincided unintentionally with the demonstration.

## OCTOBER 27 — IV

Dear Comrade,

Congratulations on your truly massive part in the demonstration. That control of the streets does not necessarily require offensive (as opposed to defensive) violent action was wonderfully proven. The growing unity between the various parties and groups of the left is of such great importance that I wonder if any of us at all realise just HOW significant it is in this country? In this country, the state machine rules by manipulation of the mass media much more than in any other country. Take their monopoly of the BBC, ITV, press, etc. away from them even to the extent of—say—10% and they are on the slippery slope down.

The press went out on a limb, and despite their cant and howls they can't disguise the fact that it was **sawn off — precisely because what they'd wanted to happen — didn't.** (Doubt if they can be relied upon to make the same mistake next time).

If the struggle for unity reaches a certain stage then the establishment will not be able to refuse across-the-board TV panels and so on — or not

refuse it without losing almost as much by the refusal as by the 'granting'. Should we not see to **POSE THIS QUESTION OF ACCESS TO THE MASS MEDIA ALL THE TIME?** The CP, the sane non-CP left groups, and even the INSANE ones, for that matter, we must **GET ACROSS TO PEOPLE, HAVE THE RIGHT TO BE HEARD.** (Many people just don't realise that we are being kept, as far as possible off the BBC and out of the press — except under adverse, 'in the dock', slanged-at conditions.

If we can sap away at the mental condition among our people which can be summarised: WE are a 'democracy' then the main plank of the ruling class mystique is shot — the dyke is open . . . what 'they' are pleased to call (and get a response) 'senseless violence' only strengthens that mystique. What our enemies welcome we don't.

Anyway,  
all the best mate . . .

**KEN GEERING**

Editor, *Breakthru International Poetry Magazine*, 38 Penn Crescent, Haywards Heath, Sussex.

## XMAS IN VORSTERLAND

Sir,  
May we invite your readers to Christmas or New Year greet-ings to some of the many South Africans who have husbands, sons, daughters in prison, or who are in prison, or who are in prison because of their opposition to apartheid.

of some of these South Africans is available from our office. We also have a short list of some of the large number of Rhodesians who are in political detention without trial.

Yours faithfully,  
**S. ABDUL**

*Anti-Apartheid Movement,*  
89 Charlotte Street, W1.

## MORE ABOUT KING'S COLLEGE

Dear Comrade Editor,

Following your Diary note about our Principal, you may be interested to hear of his first military action, on October 27th.

Having had calls from Adams since Friday pleading for support in the press, it occurred to Sir John Hackett, that his own militant students might do an 'LSE' on him. He therefore immediately ordered full pass checking over the week-end, and invited the Union executive to join him in defending 'our' college. Thus on Sunday, members of the executive could be seen in the upper windows, and Sir Hackett ascended, with binoculars

and golfing cap, to the room. Neighbouring sections of the march were surprised when the King's contingent changed from 'Victory to the NLF' to 'NATO out of King's' and from 'Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh' to 'Prince-Out' (Prince is Commissar for External Affairs and well-known Establishment lackey in the Union). Sir Hackett unfortunately did not see any action on Sunday, but we hope he will be able to withstand the deprivation.

Fraternal Greetings,  
**DWARVES OF KING'S**  
(now renamed *People's College*).  
*King's College Catacombe,*  
*The Strand*

## VARIATION ON A THEME

Dear Black Dwarf,

Your latest issue makes the important emphases. Our task today is not revolution but the development of ideological awareness and critique of bourgeois mystification, the radicalisation of students and workers, political organisation and mobilisation.

The point about 'revolution' directed against key symbols of authority and centres of power carried out by a minority (though interesting as a revelation of the lengths people will go to preserve private property) is not merely that under modern conditions they will certainly be ineffective and through the use of violence enable the mass media to drive a wedge between students and radical intellectuals at the very moment when we want to build bridges between them, but that they are irrelevant and contrary to the spirit of Marxism.

Marxism emphasises that in a modern industrial society these superstructural institutions, political, financial or whatever have no autonomous life of their own, they are dependent on the productive forces in society and therefore to imagine that they are indeed central is to fall precisely into the trap of bourgeois thought.

Virtually all socialists, whatever their differences, accept that revolutionary change in society can only come about with the participation of the working class and much has been made of apathy there. The problem is particularly real since students who have been creamed off through the educational process into the middle class have to recognise that at present any attempt on their part to radicalise workers would meet with resentment and suspicion. But just because students and

workers can't present a united front now this doesn't mean this can never be done. Moreover, in reality and in the spirit of Marcuse, the prospects for revolutionary change have never been brighter. Nothing more is needed than a change in mental attitude, a psychological breakthrough — the self-confidence and determination to challenge capitalism shown by workers in France. Such a liberation totally transforms the situation. Once workers realise that to take part in wage and productivity bargaining with a management which, supported by government and mass media, holds most of the cards and all of the information is itself a form of deference and that occupation is not merely a more effective form of industrial action but a less expensive one, then the world changes. But occupation will only work when the majority of workers are behind it; otherwise the government of the day will be able to divide the labour movement and feel justified in using force.

Given the appropriate situation, with widespread worker take-overs, the use of force by the government, whatever you rightly say about our 'non-violent traditions', is not only unthinkable but certain to fail. Still, as socialists we must insist that the Labour Government take steps to democratise and civilianise the Army, so that it is clearly understood that this force is to be used only against an external aggressor, and never, under any circumstances against our own people in defence of capitalism. The responsibility for the use of violence will be there.

Yours etc.,  
**DAVID MORSE**

*University of Sussex, Falmer,*  
*Brighton,*

Black Dwarf should have an open page which allows its readers, whatever their denomination or stage of development, to express their ideas. Ideas that is, that will help to explain how and why and what led, or, is leading them to take on the battle against their alienation. This can be done by any way which is possible to print

## MORE ABOUT DERRY

Dear Comrades,

The six north-eastern counties of Ireland (Derry, Tyrone, Down, Antrim, Fermanagh, Armagh), have a long history of political repression. Since 1924 the Unionist Government there have given the police wide powers to "Maintain order". To give some idea of these powers the Royal Ulster Constabulary have, we will just mention some of the more important of them. They have the right to arrest anyone without a warrant. Hold them without charging them. Imprison them indefinitely without any recourse to the courts, let alone a trial. Suppress any newspaper, periodical, film, record etc., they consider "subversive". prohibit inquests on prisoners' deaths; even arrest anyone acting in a way "prejudicial to the preservation of peace or maintenance of order in Northern Ireland and not specifically provided for in the regulations.

How far this Act has been successful in the maintenance of law and order can be seen in the record of political disturbance in the Six Counties which far exceeds anything in Britain (though the Act is so comprehensive that it is virtually impossible not to commit an offence under it, at "police discretion" of course). Now the police have used the Act to ban Irish Republican Clubs. They have already banned (The United Irishman) the official republican paper even though it is sold legally in the rest of Ireland and in England. The Republican Clubs have ignored the ban and now a battle has been joined between the police and republicans. Police search republican homes (they don't need a warrant) they seize minute books of meetings, they ban meetings. Republicans defy bans on meetings, sell the "United Irishman", and go to prison.

The Republican Clubs in the Six Counties are fighting for survival. If they are beaten the movement will be driven underground and the forces of "order" will have won. The Republican movement in

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Ireland will then be forced to resort to illegal agitation and violence.

This is exactly what the government want; a chance to see their political police reserves, and British troops if necessary, to destroy the Republican movement before it can rebuild its popular support to hit back at them. Republicans appeal to all people who value their democratic rights to help them fight a machine built and succoured on forty years of repression, violence, vested business and religious intolerance. If people are prepared to fight for Vietnamese freedom here why have they not raised a voice against a government within their own state longer in power than Salazar or Franco or the Greek military dictators which needs the Special Powers Act, an armed police force and British troops to "maintain" order.

Republicans need time to organise, build support, fight back and beat this machine. You can give it to them.

- ACTIVATE YOUR OWN ORGANISATIONS ON THE BAN.
- MAKE SURE IT IS TAKEN TO THE HIGHEST EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY OF YOUR ORGANISATION.
- CONTACT LOCAL REPUBLICANS SO THAT WE CAN JOINTLY PLAN A CAMPAIGN AGAINST IT.
- FIGHT POLICE REPRESSION: DENIAL OF POLITICAL FREEDOM IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.
- YOUR ACTION CAN AND WILL AFFECT BRITISH POLICY IN THE SIX COUNTIES.

Anyone prepared to give support this campaign contact:—

**S. COLLINS.**  
48 Haughton Rd.,  
Handsworth,  
B'ham.

Black Dwarf should have an open page which allows its readers, whatever their denomination or stage of development, to express their ideas. Ideas that is, that will help to explain how and why and what led, or, is leading them to take on the battle against their alienation. This can be done by any way which is possible to print

## ISAAC DEUTSCHER MEMORIAL PRIZE

Isaac Deutscher was a great socialist historian and teacher who provided a unique link between a rich Marxist tradition and new generations of socialists in many countries. As a way of furthering the task to which he was dedicated, the signatories of this letter have agreed to institute an Isaac Deutscher Memorial Prize to be awarded each year to a work which contributes to the development of Marxist thought.

The Prize, to the value of £100, will be awarded by a jury drawn from among the sponsors. The jury will consider works published or submitted in typescript. It is also proposed to connect the award, whenever possible, with a lecture by the recipient of the Prize. Typescripts should be submitted by 1 May; the award will be made in the

Black Dwarf should have an open page which allows its readers, whatever their denomination or stage of development, to express their ideas. Ideas that is, that will help to explain how and why and what led, or, is leading them to take on the battle against their alienation. This can be done by any way which is possible to print

latter part of September of the same year. The first Isaac Deutscher Memorial Prize will be attributed in September 1969.

In order to ensure the continuity of the Prize, we are inviting contributions to a permanent Fund either by donation or by Bankers' Order to be addressed to The Isaac Deutscher Memorial Prize, Lloyd's Bank, 68 Warwick Square, London S.W.1.

**WOLFGANG ABENDROTH**  
**PERRY ANDERSON**  
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## BLACK PANTHER FILM SHOW

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Tickets 10/- each available from The Black Dwarf, 7, Carlisle Street LONDON, W.1. Proceeds will be sent to the Eldridge Cleaver Defence Committee.

## TWO FILMS ON THE SAN FRANCISCO PANTHERS AND THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST THE RACIST CALIFORNIAN POLICE

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The image of a black para-military organisation, disciplined, trained, heavily armed, highly motivated, completely dedicated to the destruction of the status quo, is a prominent feature of the contemporary American nightmare, and aided by a less than precise media, many white Americans have nothing but wild dreams and misapprehensions to draw on when forming their opinions of who and what the Black Panther Party is. Not that they are entirely in error, but that such an organisation does not exist (at least in embryonic form) or that it is not a real threat to the established order. Of course it is. But whatever actual threat the Black Panther Party possess does not come from their force of arms but from the potential power they are acquiring and from the actual political influence they currently are applying in pursuit of their announced intention to force a revolution in America.

# THE BLACK PANTHERS

John Schneck

In 1965, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, two young residents of West Oakland's black ghetto (a suburb of San Francisco) got together with their friends and neighbours and formed an organisation to police the ghetto. Taking their name from the Black Panther Party, a group in the South to protect civil rights dignitaries, the Black Panthers followed patrol cars through the streets. When police stopped blacks in the street for questioning, the Panthers would stop behind them to observe the conduct of the police toward the black citizen. When police arrested a black, the Panthers would take it upon themselves to advise the suspect of his rights and offer whatever assistance they could towards obtaining bail or obtaining counsel. Huey Newton, the Panther leader, had in addition to a prison record, a law school, and was careful not to interfere or impede legitimate police activity, but he and his brothers were not at all hesitant about displaying their less than friendly attitude toward the police. In Oakland at least, have not attempted to deceive the public regarding their likes and dislikes of this group or that minor-

ciation or a group of hunters opposing government control of the citizen's right to bear arms, it is doubtful whether there would have been such a fuss. But these were black men with guns and the impact of their arrival in Sacramento was absolutely stunning.

From every corner and cubbyhole of the building, reporters and cameramen came running. Photographers preceded the Panthers, taking pictures of them as they walked down the unfamiliar corridors of their State's capitol. The Panthers, not knowing their way around, thought they were following the photographers in front of them. Naturally, the photographers under the impression that the Panthers knew where they were going kept backing up, eventually leading the Panthers onto the floor of the Assembly. It took them only a few seconds to realize their error (they'd been looking for the public gallery, upstairs) and when they did, they immediately withdrew. It all happened so quickly that most of the legislators never noticed them, and those who did were under the impression that cameramen had disrupted the Assembly which, in a way, was really the truth.

However, the truth is not our primary concern; what actually happened is more pertinent. This is what happened. After withdrawing from the assembly floor the Panthers, feeling that they had made

Authority probably is not entirely incorrect. Cleaver is a threat to present authority. The threat, however, does not come from the gun the Cleaver doesn't carry, it comes from a mind that in many ways resembles the mind of another black, ex-convict, Malcolm X. More and more, Cleaver is becoming the foremost strategist of America's black liberation movement. His comprehension of the subtle forms of political power constitute a very serious threat to those who claim exclusive power, and it is no great surprise that police officials and prison authorities want him out of circulation: to what extremes they have gone to get him back behind bars will be detailed further on. Suffice to say, at this point, that it is largely due to Cleaver's efforts that the influence of the Black Panther Party has spread beyond the Oakland ghetto, not only into other ghettos, but into the more radical and even to the liberal elements of the white community.

After the great armed invasion of the State capital, Newton ordered the Panthers to stop carrying their guns in public. "Ninety per cent. of the reason we carried guns in the first place," Newton told a reporter, "was for educational purposes. We set an example."

Said Bobby Seale, whose part in the Sacramento affair cost him six months in prison, "It was never the intention of the Panthers to police the streets of West Oakland by our

described as a minor vehicle code violation, the reason given for Frey's stopping the Volkswagen that Newton was driving.

According to the testimony of Officer Hubert Heanes, the back-up man, before an Alameda Grand Jury investigating the case last November, he arrived at the scene in time to hear gunfire. Frey was dead, lying in the street; Heanes himself was slightly wounded, but he managed to fire a few bullets before he lost consciousness, and a short while later, according to other witnesses, Huey Newton turned up at Kaiser Hospital with four bullets in his abdomen and one in his thigh. He received all the comforts usually accorded suspected cop-killers; in fact, one witness at the investigation, Miss Corrine Lenord, a real angel of mercy, indicates that Newton received this treatment even before anyone knew that an officer had been shot and killed.

## ACUTE DISTRESS

Miss Lenord was at the Kaiser Hospital emergency desk when Newton arrived, apparently alone. She testified that she, "heard a moaning and a groaning, and I went over and it was . . . this Negro fellow was there. He had been shot in the stomach . . . I asked him if he belonged to Kaiser, and he said, "Yes, yes. Get a doctor. Can't you see I'm bleeding?"

could get a fair trial anywhere in America.

A motion by the Defence claiming that the juries are made up mainly of middle class, middle aged moderately successful white citizens who cannot be expected to render an unbiased verdict, has been denied by trial Judge.

In Oakland, the leaders of the main Panther Party were singled out for very special attention. The Panthers were growing in number and in influence. Not only were they making contact with other angry black citizens, and establishing alliances with other militant black organisations, but they had formed a coalition between themselves and the predominantly white Peace and Freedom Party, a newly formed independent political organisation which is on the California ballot this year. Panther Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, was largely responsible for bringing his Panthers into white America's political arena. This alliance marked the first association between the grass roots of the black community, the brothers on the block, and the white radicals who haven't quite given up yet on the electoral system. Not a serious threat in terms of numerical power at the voting polls, the alliance between militant blacks and dissident whites could in time, conceivably create a dangerous block of considerable strength. Such a block could be construed as a menace to

Darnell and Jensen got out of their car to investigate and were caught in a whitering cross fire. Officer Jensen was superficially wounded. Darnell radioed for help.

Miraculously or providentially, help appeared almost instantly. Dozens of battle ready policemen suddenly materialized, not only from Oakland Police Force but from the community next door to West Oakland, Emeryville.

One of the many odd details relating to the April 6th shoot-out, was the Emeryville cops taking part in the battle. It is almost always necessary to make special arrangements before calling in men from other municipalities to assist local police. In this instance, however, the speedy assistance offered by Emeryville officers seems to suggest that arrangements had already been made.

However, it happened, it unquestionably did happen. Something happened. Someone was shooting. Someone started it. And in a matter of two or three minutes some fifty officers were on the scene all ready to finish it. A two block area was cordoned off, and officers commenced firing at a two storey frame house at 1218 - 18th Street. It was reported that some Panthers had taken refuge inside. The cops riddled the shabby wooden structure. They poured a couple of thousand rounds into the house during the 90 minute siege. It was not known how many bullets the Pan-

Frey was lying dead in the street  
 Panthers do shoot back  
 Members were photographed  
 It took them a few moments to realize  
 Armed invasion of state capitol  
 Making contact  
 I'd a been a dead cat

first he tore off the rest of his clothes.

"We go out buck naked," he told young Hutton. "And then the pigs can't claim they shot us because they thought we had a gun."

But Hutton was too inexperienced, too shy, he was only 17, and took off his shirt but couldn't bring himself to take off his pants too. There was no time for Cleaver to convince him, they had to get out right away.

Cleaver yelled that they wanted to surrender, and the order came back for them to throw their guns out first.

According to Cleaver's affidavit, "I was unarmed but I wished I did have a gun . . ." Hutton had a rifle, Cleaver took it from him and tossed it through the window at the rear of the burning basement. Then limping and leaning heavily on Hutton's arm, Cleaver and Bobby came out. Cleaver had shotgun pellets in his leg that prevented him from moving very fast.

The back of the basement let out onto a short alleyway. There were police in the window of the house next door, and more police on the sidewalk, less than 15 yards away. On this point, both police and Panther testimony concur. Everyone agrees that Cleaver and Hutton were completely surrounded.

## BOBBY AND THE PIGS

Cleaver later asked and then answered, "It was murder in the coldest blood. It was murder, murder, murder."

Very slowly the truth is trickling out, and not only the Panthers are saying, Murder? Murder? Yes, murder!

The Autopsy surgeon reported to the Alameda County Grand Jury that one bullet hit Hutton's left arm, another traversed the back from the side and passed through the abdominal sector; two bullets hit him in both legs below the buttocks, and one struck his head in the left temple area.

## MOON MAN

A Police Officer testifying before that same Grand Jury, said that some twelve to fifteen shots were fired at Hutton after someone (not further identified) shouted, "Watch out, he's got a gun!" The Officer said that he fired twice himself at Hutton from a distance of approximately four feet.

Similar testimony, including some that seemed to indicate some suspicion that the Black Panthers had attempted to ambush the Oakland police and had laid a trap on 28th street which the two officers, Darnell and Jensen, had fallen into.

Apparently no one on the Grand Jury, at this point, exclaimed, "Fantastic!" But many informed persons not on the Grand Jury feel that something less than "the meaningful inquiry that is needed



displaying their less than attitude toward the police, Oakland at least, have attempted to deceive the regarding their likes and of this group or that mino-

## ONE RANGER

This affection was reciprocity the Panthers, who not as witnesses for sus- properly arrested, but who their opposition to tactics in the ghetto by carrying weapons, in accor- with California laws, but in defiance to police practices. the Panther's guns were show. The willingness of thers to use their guns was y the major factor in the able drop in police harass- during the period when the patrols were operating in Oakland.

response by the Oakland Department lends weight to nther position. Rather than hing or opening an avenue in which black Americans seek redress for grievances the police, the departments d a campaign to destroy the r Party. Members were raphed. Descriptions and numbers of Panther cars noted and posted in station around the San Francisco rea. Panthers were regularly d and almost always cited nor or imaginary violations vehicle code. Warrants were ously issued, and Panthers continually being picked up spicion, held for the maximum of time, then released for of further evidence, or let out ail which co-operative judges high as possible. The police broke into the home of Pan- usually late at night, on es that were less than believ- Things like a car improperly d, or a traffic ticket that had een paid, served as the pre- or kicking in doors and tering the families of Panther ers.

this, the early stage of the k Panther Party's development, roblem was a local one, or so emed, and probably it would remained local, eventually to controlled by local police, had ot been for the remarkable p of sophisticated public rela- s techniques demonstrated by y P. Newton, early in 1967, n he despatched two carloads armed Black Panthers to the e Legislature in Sacramento. stensibly, the Panthers had e to lobby against the Mulford ill, a proposed legislation ould prohibit a citizen from ying a loaded weapon within limits. The Bill had been p- ed by arch conservative Don ulford (R.), at the instigation of Oakland's mayor, and its police ef and aimed at the Black

did, they immediately withdrew. It all happened so quickly that most of the legislators never noticed them, and those who did were under the impression that cameramen had disrupted the Assembly which, in a way, was really the truth.

However, the truth is not our primary concern; what actually happened is more pertinent. This is what happened. After withdrawing from the assembly floor the Panthers, feeling that they had made their point, left Sacramento and headed back to Oakland. One of the cars broke down and a Highway Patrolman spotted them sitting in a gas station; he radioed for assistance and the carload of Panthers were arrested, not because they'd broken the law but because a car full of armed black men must be illegal, reasoned the Highway Patrol.

They held the eight Panthers for a week while they searched for a statute to fit the situation. Finally, one legal eagle-eye spotted an 1874 ruling on which the State built a case charging the eight with conspiracy to disrupt the assembly proceedings. The fact that the disruption was entirely inadvertent and they left as soon as they realised their mistake was not considered mitigating circumstances. Neither was it considered news-worthy.

Though their appearance in Sacramento was front page next day all over the country, no paper printed a word about the simple little mistake that brought the Panthers onto the sacrosanct floor of the Assembly for a few momentous seconds. Instead the papers followed the lead of the San Francisco Chronicle which gave the story a banner headline:

## ARMED INVASION OF STATE CAPITAL!

Nowhere was there evidence that the Panthers threatened anyone or pointed their weapons at anyone, or brandished them in a dangerous manner. But mere possession of guns by blacks constitutes an **armed threat** to many if not the majority of white Americans, the majority of whom would deny that they were racists.

At any event, the Panthers had crashed through the reality barrier and entered into the province of myth. Their image was set in the public's mind.

Among those eight arrested and held in Sacramento was Eldridge Cleaver, an officer of the Panthers, on parole. Cleaver was not carrying any weapons, he was armed only with his press card. He'd come to Sacramento accompanying the Panthers as an accredited reporter on an assignment from **Ramparts** magazine. But the California Adult Authority, the State's parole board, revoked Cleaver's parole just the same. As far as they were concerned he was and always had been a

After the great armed invasion of the State capital, Newton ordered the Panthers to stop carrying their guns in public. "Ninety per cent. of the reason we carried guns in the first place," Newton told a reporter, "Was for educational purposes. We set an example."

Said Bobby Seale, whose part in the Sacramento affair cost him six months in prison, "It was never the intention of the Panthers to police the streets of West Oakland by our own force of arms. We just wanted to let the brothers on the block find out what was happening. We are saying that we want every black brother to put a shot gun in his house. We are saying that's necessary. We are saying we need to protect ourselves from police protection. That's all."

## "We made people aware that they have the right to carry guns"

said Newton with some pride. As a matter of fact, the media must get some of the credit for spreading the fame of the Panthers throughout the country, making black people aware of a number of things. Previous to Sacramento, the membership of the Black Panther Party For Self Defence was rather excessively estimated at 50, including wives and girl friends. In the months following, their membership increased to at least three hundred. Three hundred **visible** members, that is. No one can guess how many invisible Black Panthers are lurking under how many black skins.

Like everyone else, revolutionaries play the numbers game. Ask a Black Panther how many Panthers are in the Party and he'll answer with the phrase nicely turned by Malcolm. "Those who know, don't say and those who say, don't know."

"Huey P. Newton is a political prisoner in Oakland, California."

Police pressure on the Black Panther party built rapidly after the Sacramento publicity. Panthers charge they were subjected to unlawful arrests illegal searches and seizures of their property (mainly their guns) and forced entries into their homes. Panthers say that police on many occasions man-handled them, threatened them, with guns drawn to lend emphasis and credibility to these threats. The situation reached the predictable crisis, but not the conclusion, on the night of October 28th, 1967.

Oakland Patrolman John Frey radioed to Headquarters that he, "had a Panther car," a backup

## ACUTE DISTRESS

Miss Lenord was at the Kaiser Hospital emergency desk when Newton arrived, apparently alone. She testified that she, "heard a moaning and a groaning, and I went over and it was . . . this Negro fellow was there. He had been shot in the stomach . . . I asked him if he belonged to Kaiser, and he said, "Yes, yes. Get a doctor. Can't you see I'm bleeding? I've been shot. Now get a doctor out here." And I asked him if he had his Kaiser card, and he got quite upset at this and said, "Come on, get a doctor out here. I've been shot," and I said, I see this, but you are not in any acute distress . . ."

A doctor did eventually appear, but he refused to treat Newton until police arrived to strap and manacle the Panther leader to an operating table. A press photographer managed to get a picture of Newton on the table. The photo was published and it provoked this response from an Oakland surgeon, writing a letter to the editors of this local paper. Dr. Mary Jane Aguilar wrote:

"I can remember nothing in my medical training which suggested that in the care of an acute abdominal injury severe pain and haemorrhaging are best treated by manacling the patient to the examining table **in such a way that the back is arched and the belly tensed.** Yet this is precisely the picture of current emergency room procedure which appeared on the front page of a local newspaper." (my emphasis).

In spite of the unorthodox medical treatment, Newton survived. In November, 1967, the Alameda County Grand Jury listened to some extremely conflicting evidence from Officer Heanes and other witnesses for the Prosecution took all of twenty-seven minutes to deliberate (actually most of the 27 minutes was occupied by the comings and goings of the jury, the prosecutor, the Court, reporter, and the reading of the three count indictment that the Grand Jury had brought in against Newton charging him with murder, kidnapping, and assault with a deadly weapon on a police officer. Included in the twenty-seven minutes was also an enquiry from the court excusing the Grand Jury. Since these proceedings alone would normally take more than 27 minutes, the inference is that the Grand Jury devoted no time at all to judicious review of the extremely tenuous evidence placed before it. They merely left the room and then returned with their **considered** verdict: in other words there was no consideration, but only a rubber stamp Grand Jury going through the formalities.

Such an unavoidable conclusion lends weight to the arguments of Newton and his attorney, Charles Garry, who maintain that it is impossible for a black man accused of killing a police officer to receive fifty officers were on the scene already to finish it. A two block area was cordoned off, and officers commenced firing at a two storey frame house at 1218 - 18th Street. It was reported that some Panthers tad taken refuge inside. The cops riddled the shabby wooden structure. They poured a couple of thousand rounds into the house during the 90 minute siege. It was not known how many bullets the Panthers fired back, but it has been established that they **did** return police fire. There seems to be no doubt about the fact, the **Panthers do shoot back.** ("The nature of the Panther," Seale had previously told many crowds, "Is not to go hunting for trouble. But if you back a panther into a corner and don't give him a choice except fight or be killed, he'll claw you to pieces. He won't quit till he rips out your heart, even if it kills him." This somewhat exaggerated description of the noble panther had overtones of pathos when juxtaposed with the statement made by a Black Panther who was among those trapped, pushed into the narrowest of corners, actually given no choice at all, once the hail of police bullets cut loose.

## GOLD STAR

It probably isn't realistic to give the Panthers all the credit for keeping the peace in a time of hysteria, but surely they deserved at least a gold star. Instead they got something I don't think they were expecting. Or put it another way, say they blundered into a reception that was there, waiting for them.

All the facts are not yet available, but enough bits and pieces are beginning to float up to the surface, and a general picture is forming itself.

We know that at around 9:30 on the evening of April 6th, Officers Nolan R. Darnell and Richard Jensen were in a squad car, driving through the West Oakland streets, when they spotted a man apparently hiding behind a parked

Police in the window of the next-door, and more police on the sidewalk, less than 15 yards away. On this point, both police and Panther testimony concur. Everyone agrees that Cleaver and Hutton were completely surrounded.

## BOBBY AND THE PIGS

They were ordered to sit down on the pavement with their hands on their heads. They followed the order and then according to Cleaver's affidavit, " . . . an army of pigs ran up from the street and started kicking and cursing us, but were were beyond feeling any pain. The pigs told us to stand up and Little Bobby helped me to my feet. Then the Pigs pointed to a squad-car in the middle of the street and told us to run for it. I couldn't run because of my foot, but they snatched Little Bobby away from me and shoved him forward, telling him to run for the car. It was sickening . . . Little Bobby coughing and choking from the tear gas . . . stumbled forward, best he could, and when he had travelled about ten yards from me, the pigs cut loose on him with their guns. And then they turned back to me . . ."

Cleaver swears that the only reason he is alive today is because too many people were watching the scene. They'd seen Hutton gunned down and when the police turned to Cleaver the crowd started yelling and cursing them.

A week later, in a letter smuggled out of Vacerville Prison, Eldridge Cleaver considered another possible explanation. The note, addressed to a well known San Francisco newsman, claimed that he'd survived because he'd decided to come out naked.

"This decision was based on long and continuous observation of the pigs while imprisoned. Conclusion: all pigs are homosexuals . . . When confronted with a naked male body, totally by surprise, the homosexuals basic impulse is to caress it. Instead of shooting me, the Oakland pigs kicked and stomped my naked body. In those circumstances, a kick or a stomp can be interpreted as a caress when contrasted with shooting. There were about fifty frantic pigs around me with their guns in their hands. Had just one of them been 'straight', I'd be a dead black cat."

"Best regards, Eldridge."

It is difficult to say with much certainty how much of that is true and how much is Cleaver, using his literary talents to insult his mortal enemies. Nevertheless, it is a fact that just as Cleaver had predicted the police claimed they thought Hutton was armed and that's why they shot him, Cleaver, naked except for his socks, couldn't be accused of concealing a weapon so Hutton is dead and Cleaver's alive. Was it latent homosexuality in the police force or too many witnesses that saved his life?

tion betw. the grass roots of the black community, the brothers on the block, and the white radicals who haven't quite given up yet on the electoral system. Not a serious threat in terms of numerical power at the voting polls, the alliance between militant blacks and dissident whites could in time, conceivably create a dangerous block of considerable strength. Such a block could be construed as a menace to the rules by which this Nation is run (for whose benefit?) and those in power pressed even harder: effects to discredit and destroy the Panthers were intensified.

On April 6th this year, two days after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, this country was raging, literally burning. Federal troops occupied twenty-one cities, including Washington, D.C. In some seventy-two cities, police worked overtime quelling "disturbances", containing the rebellious ghettos, keeping the violence from spilling over and crossing into the white part of town.

"**Throwing rocks and bottles is very irrelevant to the revolution,**" counselled Seale and his Panther officers. "**Don't let the cops set you up to get killed. Don't start no trouble. Go home. When it comes to revolution, spontaneity is not where it's all!**"

One excellent measure of the Black Panther's worth is the influence they exert over the ghetto youth. These youngsters, in their teens, are the ones who play the largest, most destructive role in the black rebellions. They rarely take advice from anyone outside their peer group, but the Black Panthers are an exception to the rule. Most ghetto kids regard the Panthers with adolescent hero-worship. When the word went around that the Panthers were telling everyone to be cool, the kids paid attention and did what the Panthers advised them to. They went home and there was no riot in this Bay area. The police were so well prepared to handle the riot that didn't take place.

## "It was like all the cowboy and indian movies I've ever seen. And I was the Indian"

Police brought in floodlights, illuminating the target and the surrounding area, lighting up the little house like a movie set, while a crowd of about two hundred residents from inside the cordoned off area stood around like a crowd of extras.

The cops were firing tear gas canisters and explosion grenades to get at the Panthers believed to be hiding in the house.

The police were quite right, at least two Panthers were taking refuge at 1218 - 18th street.

In the basement Eldridge Cleaver and Bobby Hutton were trying to flatten themselves out on the cement floor, holding their breath while police bullets whistled through a beaverboard partition less than a foot above their heads.

A tear gas canister scored a direct hit on Cleaver and his shirt caught on fire. With Hutton's help he stripped his shirt off to determine whether any part of him was smouldering. The tear gas grew thicker in the basement death chamber. Then the police started using tracer bullets, setting the house on fire, and Cleaver knew

some that seemed to indicate some suspicion that the Black Panthers had attempted to ambush the Oakland police and had laid a trap on 28th street which the two officers, Darnell and Jensen, had fallen into.

Apparently no one on the Grand Jury, at this point, exclaimed, "**Fantastic!**" But many informed persons not on the Grand Jury feel that something less than "the meaningful inquiry that is needed to allay public mistrust," was conducted by this Grand Jury, who called no witnesses to the slaying other than police officers, and no one was permitted to cross examine them.

Despite the one sided nature of the testimony, the Grand Jury had no trouble reaching an unanimous decision. They found, "Police conduct in the death of Robert Hutton was lawful".

Eight Panthers were indicted, each on two counts of attempted murder, except for Eldridge Cleaver, who was given an extra count on both charges, and was returned to prison as a parole violator. No hearing was held to determine whether in fact he was a violator. The Oakland police had failed to kill him, but the Adult Authority did the next best thing, they just threw him back in jail without troubling to make any case for their contention that Cleaver had failed to meet the conditions of his parole. It would seem that certain authoritative elements really had it in for Eldridge Cleaver. They got him any way they could, but, as we shall see, **holding** was something else entirely.

## ACT OF 1870

The Panthers claim that they were preparing for a picnic that was scheduled for the next day, an affair to raise more money for Newton's continually depleted defence fund. The Oakland police were well aware of this, not only had they been following Cleaver's car for two whole days, but they had refused a request for a permit that was needed to hold such a picnic. Their contention that the Panthers were ambushing them is actually pretty funny, except for the fact that it is really pretty revolting.

So many aspects of the Hutton killing and subsequent investigation are unsavoury; literally stinking. The order was so bad that the U.S. Justice Department finally had to act on a demand from 10 professors of law who charged that the Grand Jury had been grossly derelict in failing to conduct a more extensive inquiry. The Justice Department had no choice but to turn the investigation over to the FBI, under the authority of the Civil Rights Act of 1870, which made it a Federal crime for public officers to conspire or to intentionally violate the civil rights of a citizen.

Soon we may discover whether the FBI thinks the Oakland Police violated Hutton's civil rights by



useless to interpret an entire speech by Nixon. Most of the time he is saying nothing, partly because his brain winces away when it senses a fight approaching, partly because he has a great deal of trouble with his face and is forced to concentrate on his Hammer Films smile. When there is meaning it is concealed in the the Law and Order language of Eichman. The following sayings of Nixon have been taken from recent speeches and passed through the Black Dwarf Translation Computer supervised by Adrian Mitchell.

# TRANSLATING TRICKY DICKY

Nixonese	English	Nixonese	English
<i>I think it is vital that Britain be a part of Europe.</i>	<b>WHITE CAPITALISTS SHOULD STICK TOGETHER.</b>	<i>Let us always respect, as I do, our courts and those who serve on them, but let us all recognise that some of our courts have gone too far in weakening the peace forces as against the criminal forces of this country.</i>	<b>I HAVE A DREAM. IT IS ABOUT ELECTRIC CATTLE PRODS CS GAS NIGHT-STICKS LONG-HAIRED AND KINKY-HAIRED SKULLS CRUSHED ON CONCRETE FLOORS AND POLICEMEN MARCHING TWENTY FEET TALL.</b>
<i>I say the time has come for other nations in the free world to bear their fair share of the burden of defending peace and freedom around the world.</i>	<b>WE'RE GOING TO HAVE TO PUT A GUARD ON EVERY ESSO PETROL PUMP IN THE WHOLE WIDE WORLD. HELP OR ELSE.</b>	<i>There is no mystery about what causes inflation. It springs from the desire of politicians to bestow upon the people more favours than the people are prepared immediately to pay for.</i>	<b>THE POOR HAVE PERMISSION TO ROT. IF THIS IS NOT ENOUGH, WE WILL CONCEDE THEM THE RIGHT TO BE KILLED.</b>
<i>What we've got to do is walk softly and carry a big stick and we can have peace in this world.</i>	<b>IF YOU'RE THINKING OF OPENING YOUR MOUTH, OPEN IT WIDE, BECAUSE WE'RE GOING TO DROP A BOMB IN IT.</b>	<i>Rather than more millions on welfare rolls, let's get more millions on payrolls in the United States. I will initiate programmes in which the Federal government will provide tax credits and other incentives to train the unemployed.</i>	<b>IN ORDER TO HELP THE POOR, I WILL GIVE MONEY TO THE RICH.</b>
<i>You can't run away from the commitment, tell the enemy you want to, then negotiate a surrender that will bring home these 21-year-old boys . . . and before long they'll be out fighting someplace else, and I'm not going to have that happen.</i>	<b>LET'S MURDER ALL THE VIETNAMESE. I AM THE FATHER OF TWO DAUGHTERS.</b>	<i>I eat proteins: I eat a lot of cheese. I eat cottage cheese until it runs out of my ears, and one thing I do that makes it not too bad is I put ketchup on it. I learned it from my grandmother.</i>	<b>COTTAGE CHEESE IS WHITE LIKE ME. KETCHUP IS RED LIKE MY BLOOD. I AM A RED-BLOODED WHITE MAN.</b>
<i>Unless Israel maintains the balance of power, Israel's neighbours who are bent on driving Israel into the sea will embark on a war of revenge.</i>	<b>WHITE CAPITALISTS SHOULD STICK TOGETHER.</b>	<i>What has to be done, has to be done by President and people together, or it won't be done at all.</i>	<b>I AM A LIAR.</b>
<i>I would withhold aid from any country which directly or indirectly was providing aid and assistance to any enemy of the United States.</i>	<b>WE DON'T NEED TO CONQUER THE WORLD. LET'S BUY IT.</b>	<i>The reason there are going to be some Texans in my Administration . . . is because there are a lot of brains in this state. And I am not saying this because I am on a Texas radio programme.</i>	<b>I'M A HYPOCRITE AND PROUD OF IT.</b>
<i>Let those who have the responsibility to enforce our laws, and our judges who have the responsibility to interpret them, be dedicated to the great principles of civil rights. But let them also recognise that the first civil right of every American is to be free from domestic violence. And that right must be guaranteed in this country.</i>	<b>THE BLACKS ARE HUMAN BEINGS. THIS ENTITLES THEM TO THE RIGHT TO BE OPPRESSED.</b>	<i>In spite of what has happened in central Europe, peace in the world must ultimately depend upon an understanding with the Soviet Union.</i>	<b>BETTER BOMB CHINA BEFORE IT'S TOO LATE. WILL SOMEBODY PLEASE LOOK UP CHINA ON THE MAP?</b>
<i>And to those who say that law and order is the code word for racism, here is our reply: "Our goal is justice, justice for every American. If we are to have respect for law in America, we must have laws that deserve respect."</i>	<b>AND TO THOSE WHO SAY THAT BASH THE BLACKS MEANS BASH THE BLACKS, HERE IS OUR REPLY: "BASH THE BLACKS".</b>		

**JUST LIKE A MAN!**



The skull of the robot, and indeed the whole of its frame and computer-control centre, were meticulously fashioned by engineers at Aerojet-General Corporation's Van Karman Centre in Azusa, California. U.S. Office of Education donated \$100,000 to the project.

California's grapes of wrath

The chair of Sociology

John Spitzer



# California's grapes of wrath

Elinson

"va la Huelga!" is the cry symbolises the struggle of ca's one million migrant labourers to free them- from the economic and slavery they have endured before the days of John Beck's **Grapes of Wrath**, ntly centered in California, part of the nation's agricul- industry, the United Farm ers Organising Committee (UOC), under the leadership r. Cesar Chavez, himself a nt farm worker, and with support of the AFLCIO (equivalent to the English TUC), tempting to end the dis- natory practices which excluded farm workers all pieces of major labour ation (including minimum and child labour laws) and ing the owners of the huge ussinesses to the bargaining , where they will agree to with a union which repre- agricultural workers. The struggle is a difficult one: ngle most important reason at the National Labour Re- ns Act, (NLRA) which is rded as a bill of rights for strial workers, specifically dded agricultural workers its provisions. This means employers are under no gation to bargain collectively their employees, even if yone of them has signed a n authorisation card. Efforts e been made over the past years to amend the NLRA, ed over thirty years ago, to ude farm workers: they have with widespread support. bill, sponsored by such ators as Kennedy, McCarthy McGovern, seems to hold majority in Congress. How- r, it has been blocked since introduction in the Rules mmittee by the filibuster niques of Senator George rphy, movie star of Cali- nia and Paul Fannin, land- ner of Arizona. The inclusion under federal is, therefore, a long and

dubious process, and the farm workers have sought other methods to gain union recognition. At every move, they have been countered by California's six-billion-dollar-a-year agricul- tural industry and the reaction- ary practices of California's state government. After refusal of the growers to hold union representation elections, even after eighty per cent of their workers had signed union authorisation cards, the first tactic of the UFWOC was a strike against specific growers. The effects of the strike were soon negated as the growers filled the fields with scab labour, imported unknowingly from Mexico for the specific purpose of breaking the strike. Under a federal immigration act, alien immigrants cannot enter the United States for employment where there is a certified labour dispute. However, the reaction- ary judges of California's legal system have ruled that there are no labour disputes at the struck farms, and thus labour flows in freely. When at times this proves difficult, the growers have employed inmates in the state prisons to work the fields, the first time in the history of the California penal system that convicts have been allowed to participate in a commercial enterprise. Finally, the farm workers have recently had many of their strikes decertified by the State Department of Employment, apparently through the direct intervention of Governor Reagan. This has opened the way for the Department of Employ- ment to refer strikebreakers for employment to these ranches. These actions, coupled with in- junctions drastically limiting the right to picket, has left the workers with no recourse but to seek public support for a con- sumer boycott.

The first national boycott was organised against the wine grape industry. The union put out publicity asking stores and con- sumers not to buy California

wine and farm workers travelled from California to picket stores that sold the wine. In the sum- mer of 1966, the fruit of the boycott was reaped: ten major wine grape growers signed con- tracts with the unions. While four of these companies were struck, and signed only after a long and bitter economic struggle, six of the contracts were negotiated on the basis of proof that the union represented the workers, without work stop- page or picketing.

The union then turned to California's largest agribusiness, the table grape industry, whose combined farms employ over sixty-five thousand workers at peak season. The first boycott was of grapes of the Giumarra Corporation. This twelve thous- and acre ranch, with over 12 million dollars gross profit a year, (who received in 1967 a 250,000 dollar government sub- sidy for not planting and "con- serving soil"), has been particu- larly infamous for economically exploiting their thousands of workers. As the boycott received nationwide support, Giumarra sales dipped sharply. Rather than recognise the union, how- ever, the Corporation chose to use illegal means to retaliate. Four months after the boycott began, Giumarra began shipping his grapes out under one hun- dred other labels, lent to him by fellow grape growers. The Federal Food and Drug Ad- ministration has confirmed and criticised this practice, but did not stop it. As a result, the Union extended its boycott to include all California table grapes.

The nationwide boycott goes on. The growers continue to fill the fields with scab labour and counter the effects of the boycott by employing insidious tech- niques. The latest of these for example, is the injection of food colouring and artificial flavour- ing into seedless grapes and passing them off as maraschino cherries!) Still, the union has not

been without success: US grape consumption has been cut by twenty per cent in the last year. Major cities such as Boston and New York are almost clear of California grapes, and many large chain stores now refuse to handle them.

The growers, it seems, have one last recourse in their efforts to smash the Union: the foreign market. In 1967 over one-third of the grapes were exported; the quantity will surely increase this year. (Within the last three years, South Vietnam has risen from the 17th largest importer of fresh grapes to the 3rd largest). Efforts are therefore being made to internationalise the boycott. England, as the largest importer of US grapes in Europe, is a prime target. Hopefully, there will be enough support from labour unions to black at least one major shipment of US grapes, if not the entire export cargo. If this can be effected, the California growers will be forced to acknowledge that the Union has international recognition and support - this acknowledgement will hopefully be serious enough to bring them to the bargaining table.

That will be the beginning of the end to the last fight for union recognition in the United States. Farm workers will at last be free from the exploitation of huge corporations which keep their children hungry and out of school, their lives degraded by the filth of migrant labour camps, and their opportunities absorbed by their below minimum poverty level income. The farm workers are not asking merely for an hourly raise, they are asking that their dignity as working men be recognised and honoured. As stated in this week's issue of **El Malcriado**, the official Union organ, "Our mission is to work the land until we are tired and collect its fruit as a reward. We firmly believe in that mission . . . and we want a just price for doing that . . . we also want what is ours. . ."

# The chair of Sociology

John Spitzer

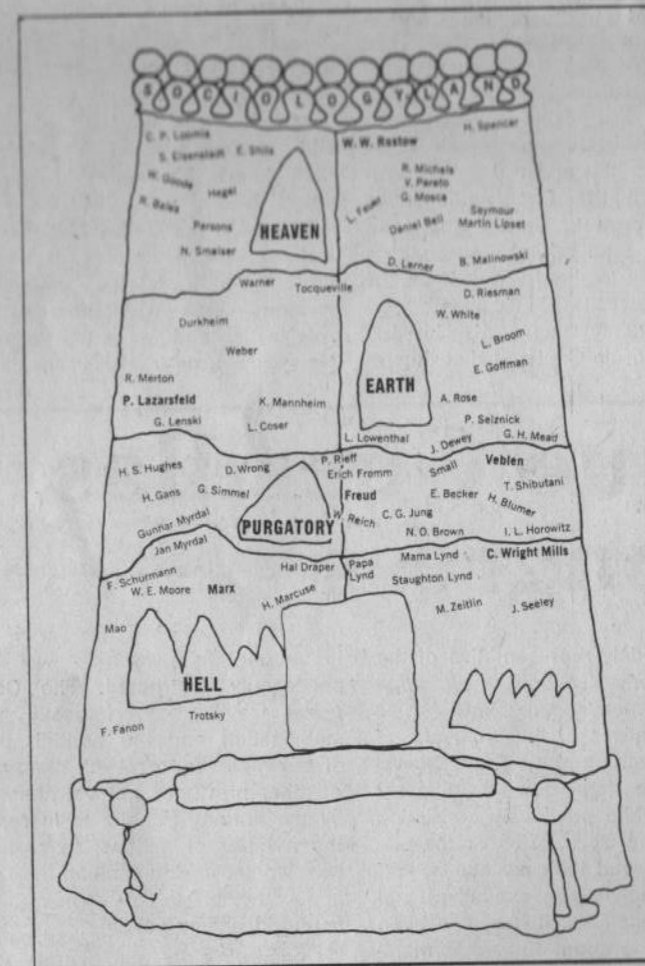
## Maintaining the cool

You can't write essays about David Wise's art; you have to sit in it and talk about it.

"What's that, man?" demands a sharply dressed, bereted black kid. "That's art, brother," his friend hisses. "Don't you know art when you see it?" "Man, I don't know anything about art, but that's far out."

"That" is The Chair of Sociology, 14 feet of bronze, filagreed with a blowtorch, in- laid with stained glass, and strewn with an assortment of 85 rough human forms, each one bearing a name. Presently on exhibit in the lobby of the Student Union at the University of California at Berkeley, it is soon to be shipped for display at Brandeis University in Wal- tham, Massachusetts. The Chair is the biggest effort yet by sculptor David Wise, second- year graduate student at UC and a teaching assistant in sociology. Originally sculpted as an un- solicited, surprise contribution to the 1967 convention of the American Sociology Associa- tion, The Chair caused instant controversy at its first appear- ance.

"What's this heaven, earth, purgatory, hell business?" socio- logists asked one another. "Look," came a reply, "it's a map of the sociological uni- verse.. Some sociologists are in heaven, flying around as angels, and others are in hell depicted as devils. See, there's Seymour Martin Lipset up top and there's Herbert Marcuse down there in hell." "But why am I up there?"



asked Robert Merton, a profes- sor of sociology at Columbia. No one could discover an ex- planation for David's placement of individual sociologists, but professors climbed all over The Chair looking for their own names and trying to discover the principle of order in David's sociological universe.

The Chair of Sociology elicits pleasantly bewildered responses in its present resting place at UC. "Ooo," once little red- headed hippie girl bubbles, "that's the most beautiful thing I've ever seen. It looks like something medieval. Can I sit in it? But what are all these names all over it?"

"Well, you see, these are all sociologists," David Wise ex- plains to her. David is twenty- three years old, voluble and not at all ashamed to explain his work. "It is kind of medieval. Medie-

val artists used to arrange their altarpieces in a sort of hier- archy, with the angels in heaven, the saints and humans on earth and the demons down below. Everyone had his place in the cosmos. Just the same way every sociologist has his place in the sociological cosmos."

"But what's C. Wright Mills doing in hell?" asks the redhead. "I thought he was a pretty good guy. And Frantz Fanon and Marcuse, they're great."

"Listen," says David, who is as patient as he is talented, "the sociological cosmography isn't any more rational than the theological one was back in the Middle Ages. In sociology, res- pectability is a much more important criterion than sociolo- gists ever admit. The sociolo- gists up in heaven take the present order as given, and seem content to leave it that way. So

## The hot and cold seat

they're the most respectable. See, up top there. I've got Walt Whitman Rostow (formerly of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, now in the State Department) dropping bombs on the Vietnamese. Durkheim and Weber are up there as the king and queen of sociology. They were the ones at the beginning of the century who put sociology on a really res- pectable footing. But down there in hell, there's Karl Marx; he's the biggest devil of all. He said the task of sociology wasn't just to interpret the world, it was supposed to change it too. And Mao and Trotsky, way down there in the corner - they're the worst, because they actually did change it.

"And you see there in the middle, that's Freud in purga- tory. He said some pretty un- respectable things about human nature, but on the other hand he justified a lot of kinds of repres- sion as necessary for the preser- vation of society. So he's atoning for his sins. Wilhelm Reich and Norman O. Brown are below Freud because everyone thinks they're so way-out and freaky. But Erich Fromm is above him because Fromm acts as Freud's public relations man."

"But the whole thing's upside down!" someone cries out. By now a whole crowd has gathered around The Chair.

"Upside down?" asks David. "Yeah, the bad guys are in heaven and the good guys are in hell."

"Well," says David, "it's The Chair of Sociology."



# Westmorland Preaches Counterinsurgency in Rio

By Alfredo Hopkins

Rio de Janeiro

Gen. William Westmoreland, the U.S. armed forces commander who couldn't bring off a victory in Vietnam, extended Washington's worldwide counter-revolutionary warfare to Latin America last month when he told fellow generals here that the Guevara revolutionary thesis "represents a real danger for the security and stability of all free people".

He thus gave notice that the tactics being used in Vietnam would be used in Latin America to prevent the outbreak of "other Vietnams" on the periphery of the United States. He backed that up with a threat to send the U.S. Army to intervene on the side of "fraternal American armies should they be faced with aggression".

But while he was bringing generals from 15 Latin American countries up to date on the latest counter-insurgency warfare tactics and applauding the "democratic spirit" of fraternal American armies, several thousand youthful demonstrators outside shouted "Down with imperialism!" and made it known that they didn't feel that Latin American armies are "democratic."

They dodged in between more than 1,500 well-armed soldiers and policemen (sidetracked assault tanks and secret agents, turned over a few police cars, handed out pamphlets to the public, and escaped without injury.

Among other things, the pamphlets pointed out that "General Westmoreland, General Meira Matos (Brazil) and all the generals that are meeting here this week are the generals of the armies of the exploiters and oppressors throughout the world. But a people's army could defeat them. . . . Only the victory of the oppressed is capable of bringing about a free and just society."

The scene was the eighth Conference of American Armies, which last year unsuccessfully tried to create an "Interamerican Peace Force" to justify invasions such as that in the Dominican Republic.

## Lessons from Vietnam

Westmoreland was the featured speaker. His theme was his experiences in Vietnam and their application to Latin America. Nevertheless, at least some militants didn't think the U.S. general had the "authority to speak about a technique that he failed at," according to Brazilian Deputy Helio Navarro, who also launched the sensational charge that one of Westmoreland's missions in Brazil was to "assure the absolute tranquillity of the rearguard of North American territory" through establishment of nuclear bases in Rio Grande do Norte.

Few people were surprised that the government denied the charge, which originated from information given Navarro by Marshall Floriano de Lima Brayner, but a certain amount of suspicion was created by the fact that some of the meetings were so top-secret that only selected military officials had access to them. Furthermore such bases would be convenient because the U.S. Union Carbide Corporation, with a monopoly on tungsten mining, has extensive operations in Rio Grande.

Another direct U.S. concern is for the security of a telecommunications system now being set up in the adjacent Amazon river area with the co-

operation of the Brazilian army. The project would ostensibly dot the area with a communications system and open it to economic development, but it also gives Uncle Sam a pivotal point for observation and control of subversive activities in the centre of the Latin American continent.

Since the 1964 military coup, which was aided and encouraged by the U.S., Washington has made no secret of its intention to use Brazil as a centre of imperialism in Latin America. Reactionary Brazilian militarists have gladly accepted that role. Any doubt about that can be cleared up by consulting General Golbery do Couto Silva's analytic book on geopolitics, Minister of information in the Castelo Branco dictatorship and considered a leading theoretician of the army group now in power, Couto Silva claims Brazil is destined to be an appendage of the U.S. and should accept that status because "there isn't any other alternative for us but to accept it and to accept it consciously."

## U.S. gets what it wants

Under such conditions the U.S. can get and is getting practically everything it believes it needs for the "strategic" defence of the continent, although in view of the nature of

revolutionary struggle in Latin America it is difficult to see the advantage of nuclear installations.

In any event, Westmoreland pointed out that among the lessons he learned in Vietnam was the necessity to "hide our operations as far as possible from the enemy and the need to construct "what is called a 'strong nation.'" Translated, means government of most of the continent by "democratic" militarists (witness the "elections" of Costa Silva, Stroessner, Barrientos, Somoza, etc.) that favour foreign imperialism and dedicate themselves to "structural changes" and "revolution" while free market wages, suppressing "extremism on the left and the right," and assuring economic and political stability.

Westmoreland talked about psychological and military tactics apparently won a lot of ground in the implementation of counterinsurgency strategy in Latin America. The generals concluded that Latin American armies have a found democratic consciousness a complete dedication to the development of their people." He also promised to increase indoctrination and training of troops in rural and urban counterinsurgency tactics.

## Nixon's brave new men

# ROBERT MURPHY

Doug Gill

One of the most repellent sights of the Kennedy years was that of the scores of intellectuals and liberals who hurried to Washington and lined up for jobs, who gravitated towards power wherever it was. They talked tough about power, about strategies and winning and losing, and to them "taking out" Hanoi, Paris, or anywhere else was merely a factor to be weighed in the balance.

They brought with them not only calculations of how imperialism might most effectively spread, they brought weapons harder to blunt. Europe was placated by Kennedy's youth and Jacqueline's charm, the well-meaning and liberal were seduced by Stevenson's words, and the poor negroes were assuaged by the expectation of change.

The Kennedy years saw the high point of American power, when US

were swept under by the violence they helped to create; and the schemers and dreamers of power, the Rostows and Goldbergs, have been borne down by LBJ's ill-repute. The negroes, the peace movement have shown what American society is really about; the Vietnamese have revealed the limitations of military power. Dien Bien Phu has now taken place: in Chicago this year.

The new Nixon brings only the

"the head of a handful of Jews and Communists".

Murphy can be relied on to defend American interests, but in a manner which, in the short term quite shrewd, will nonetheless be easier to combat by those on the left. The Cuban adventures of the Kennedy years could be defended by pointing to the President's inexperience and youth, by blaming the armed forces on the CIA, by stressing the role as

Middle Eastern opinion that, despite the abstention at Suez, the United States was no better than Britain and France. He cherishes the manoeuvres which in Guatemala ousted from power the leftwing Arbenz regime - a move which politicised Che, many other South Americans too. There will be fewer grand and finely phrased schemes - Alliance for Progress, New Frontiers - which bemused the European left,

## The trial of Owen Williams : Welsh Patriot

Fiona Armour Brown

The Judge held up his hand for silence; 'Just a minute. Who IS Gwynfor Evans?'

The whole Court gasped. Everyone, from the lawyers to the Commander-in-Chief of the Free Wales Army; from the policemen filling the aisles, to the little old lady in the public gallery - all drew in their breath with an angry hiss of incredulity. You could almost hear them muttering to themselves 'Sham - what right has THAT man to sit here in judgment on a Welshman, knowing nothing?'

Many of us might try and counter this blatant Nationalism by saying, 'But what right has ANY man to sit in judgment on ANY OTHER man, knowing nothing - of his heart?'

It is no good us utopian socialist idealists ignoring the grass roots of disaffection wherever they appear, just because they don't happen to fit into our system of ideas. For the Welsh will fight for 'the nominal freedom of their nation state' whether the central government in London be Capitalist or Communist or what you will. We should try to understand the feeling of nationalists, because only together with them can we achieve the greater personal freedom for every individual everywhere, which is what

telly . . . only an ache in his heart for better things. And the first better thing he knows is the integrity of his own Land. The cheque was torn up, under the nose of the Law.

I know some of these men and they are neither thugs nor criminals. They are men of great heart, compassion, and a sense of urgency who are moved to tears by the sights of Biafra.

They are also extremely shrewd in looking after their own skins. They need to be. They appear to the Authorities as stupid, ignorant, easily confused and easily beaten. But now is the time when these under-dogs are getting up and showing their strong under-hands. During one of the adjournments of this trial, in a nearby café, I overheard one press man say to another . . . 'so-and-so, he made a pretty poor showing' little knowing that this apparently meek and hesitant man had laid the whole plot of how he and his mate would conduct themselves in court, so that together they would defeat the connivances and contrivances and masses of evidence collected by the prosecution against this man Owen Williams.

What happened was, that in January, 1968, a certain 'Country Club' was blown up. The Police thought they knew who did it: The

one day in January, '68, protesting, for they were not permitted to explain to their families what was happening; Robyn had a son ill in bed and, in fact, no one was sent to tell his wife what had become of him.

Robyn was charged with having a piece of wire in his pocket, they called it 'fuse wire' (useful for setting off explosions)! and Ned had a Colt revolver sold to him by John. It was hanging over his mantle piece, for all the world to see, not as a real saboteur would have had it, hidden away somewhere. Anyway it did not work (that was why he believed that John was a police plant).

When they got to the Police Station they asked for a solicitor. 'Have you got family solicitors?' 'What would two working men do with family solicitors? No, of course we haven't.' 'Well, that's it, then,' they were told, 'You have to answer these questions.' And the interrogation began: In the dark, under a bright lamp which burnt the skin off their faces and blinded their eyes.

'When this happens,' Robyn told me, 'the best thing to do is concentrate on a woman; strip her and go to bed with her, then you can ignore the questions.' Ned said, 'I think of my wife and kids.'

Every hour or so the policeman

said. The Prosecution made a go-to-do about this; 'guilty of possessing explosives,' he claimed. 'No, morally guilty of jumping the Defence.'

Another issue was made of statement he made at Caernarfon Police Station . . . 'I've come to what's coming . . . ' said the Defence. 'I've come to take what's coming,' said the Prosecution. And upon translation of one ambiguous Welsh word the Prosecution would have had him convicted.

The Committal trial of Owen Williams was heard on September 13th. Arfon Jones, who'd sold gelly to Ned; John, the Anglesey Robyn and Ned were all called witnesses for the Prosecution. At first, the Prosecuting lawyer gave brief resumé of his case; what the man was expected to say and so . . . and Robyn Jones and Wilkin will testify that they passed a packet of gelnite from one to the other and then to John Jones who gave it to Williams, etc., etc.

But when it came to the turn of Robyn and Ned they said nothing. So the defence picked up scent and made a wreck of the Prosecution's case when it came to the assizes on November 5th.

The trial turned out to be days long and there was



... Kennedy's charm, the liberal charm, the charm of Stevenson's words, and the poor negroes were assuaged by the expectation of change. The Kennedy years saw the high point of American power, when US imperialism was hardest to fight. Difficult to talk of racism when the negroes were in turmoil only in the typical South; difficult to talk of NLF victory when all was obscured by pacification and rural reform; impossible to talk of social decay when all believed in the Administration's goodwill. Five years have seen great changes in both substance and style. The style is now rancid, the substance is slowly melting away. Hubert Humphrey is a joke; the Kennedys

The negroes, the peace movement have shown what American society is really about; the Vietnamese have revealed the limitations of military power. Dien Bien Phu has now taken place: in Chicago this year. The new Nixon brings only the stench of the past. The first foreign policy appointment he makes, to advise him until the moment he is firmly in power, is Robert Murphy, a name lost sight of since John Foster Dulles. Some rough edges adhere to this man: the story, for instance, that the first time de Gaulle met Roosevelt, during the war, Murphy stood behind drapes with a gun, ready to shoot down de Gaulle if he attacked the President's person. Certainly true; as also his description of de Gaulle at that time as

the short term quite shrewd, will nonetheless be easier to combat by those on the left. The Cuban adventures of the Kennedy years could be defended by pointing to the President's inexperience and youth, by blaming the armed forces on the CIA, by stressing the role as a conscience which Adlai Stevenson played; but Nixon and Murphy have less goodwill in the bank than had even Johnson and Rusk. Murphy will be less concerned with cutting a great international dash than in intervening in strength where it can safely be done. No soft soap at the United Nations, for instance, which he regards as no more than a talking shop. His memoirs speak with pride of his role in the landings in the Lebanon ten years ago - which convinced

the central government in London to be Capitalist or Communist or what you will. We should try to understand the feeling of nationalists, because only together with them can we achieve the greater personal freedom for every individual everywhere, which is what we are all after. Threaten men's homes, and their way of life, make them collectively aware of their frustrated hopes, and this, their desire for personal freedom will come to the surface as Nationalism; and then they will fight. This is what is happening in Wales. The days of Foster Dulles, with whom Murphy for long closely worked, will be with us again; and for those who prefer a cop in uniform to one in plain clothes, the change will be one for the better.

the central government in London to be Capitalist or Communist or what you will. We should try to understand the feeling of nationalists, because only together with them can we achieve the greater personal freedom for every individual everywhere, which is what we are all after. Threaten men's homes, and their way of life, make them collectively aware of their frustrated hopes, and this, their desire for personal freedom will come to the surface as Nationalism; and then they will fight. This is what is happening in Wales. The days of Foster Dulles, with whom Murphy for long closely worked, will be with us again; and for those who prefer a cop in uniform to one in plain clothes, the change will be one for the better.

What happened was, that in January, 1968, a certain 'Country Club' was blown up. The Police thought they knew who did it: The F.W.A. So they ferreted about until they gathered a bunch of men who had had meetings together throughout the Autumn months. Two of them were known to be members of the F.W.A. and Owain Williams who was Vice-President of the National Patriotic Front, and there was one lad of 19, who had apparently wanted to join the F.W.A. to 'strike a blow for Wales'. God knows who that boy really was . . . a police plant? (he had a brother in the force, and he certainly behaved like one, but would the police really use one so young and gawmless? I have my doubts). Or was he considerably unbalanced? (he is rumoured to have spent time in a mental home, and his fantastical boasts would give credence to that theory). Or was he a bona-fide innocent who had wanted to do something for Wales, but was frightened when confronted with reality and told all, and more than all, to the Police because they bullied him, or because his mother was ill and he wanted to get out of it all in the easiest way possible? (which is his story). Whatever the truth of the matter, the jury decided that his word was not to be trusted, and they found Owain Williams 'Not Guilty' of being in unlawful possession of explosive substances.

When this happens, Robyn told me, 'the best thing to do is concentrate on a woman; strip her and go to bed with her, then you can ignore the questions.' Ned said, 'I think of my wife and kids.' Every hour or so the policeman would change for a different one, the techniques of interrogation changed too. Apparently this went on for three days and nights. During this time Robyn was told his son was dying, that he'd never see him again, that he would be sent to Walton Gaol for 9 years unless he confessed. 'The words don't matter,' he was told. 'We'll make them up for you, you'll get off scot-free, right now, if you sign here'. But he thought of his brother's grave in Arnhem, he told me, 'He didn't die for me to do this to him.'

But when it came to the turn of Robyn and Ned they said no such thing. So the defence picked up the scent and made a wreck of the Prosecution's case when it came to the assizes on November 5th. The trial turned out to be four days long and there was masses of extraneous detail: a forensic expert claimed to have found minute traces of nitro-glycerine on Now's car, which he'd left at Rhyll when he went to London; the police who searched his home found a stack of newspaper cuttings, poems, and letters, all about blown dams, Irish Freedom Heroes and Welsh nationalist policies. . . . All this they claimed was proof of illegal purpose. . . . 'Ah' said the Defence 'if you have the Morning Star in your home does that make you a Communist? . . .'

# Mozambique Guerillas Second Congress

By A Dwarf Correspondent.

From 20 to 25 July, 1968, the Second Congress of FRELIMO was held in Mozambique, in a liberated area of Niassa Province. There were approximately 170 delegates and observers. The delegates came from all parts of Mozambique - from Lourenço Marques to Cabo Delgado - and represented all strata of the Mozambican people - workers, peasants, intellectuals and political chiefs. Observers were also present, including British writer and journalist Basil Davidson. The importance of this Congress lies on the fact that it is the first congress held in liberated Mozambique, and the first Congress truly representative of the Mozambican people. The participants at the first congress, which was held in Dar es Salaam in September 1962, were mostly emigrants who had lived outside Mozambique for several years. Now, in 1968, nearly all the delegates came directly from their regions in Mozambique, and all of them are actively engaged in the revolution. The Congress was held in an atmosphere of wide cordiality, frankness and democracy, with a revolutionary spirit. The delegates presented the problems of their regions - problems concerning the political organisation, the armed struggle, and national reconstruction. These problems were thoroughly discussed; on the basis of the discussions directives for their solution were drawn up. Among the most important decisions of the Congress are those which have changed some structures of the organisation. Thus, the Congress continues to be the supreme organ of FRELIMO; but it

is now widely representative of the mass organisations - workers, youth, women and students - plus representatives of the political and military structures. The Central Committee has now a different nature. While previously consisting only of the Secretaries of the Departments and their assistants, and having legislative, executive and judicial functions, it has now been expanded to about 40 elected members and representatives of mass organisations, and its function has become strictly legislative. The executive function belongs to a new organ - the Executive Committee - comprising the President and the Vice-President of FRELIMO, and the Secretaries of the Departments. A Political and Military Committee was also created, to solve urgent political and military problems in between the ordinary meetings of the Central Committee, consisting of the President and Vice-President, Secretaries of the relevant Departments (Defence, Political, Security, Internal Organisation), and the Provincial Secretaries. The President and Vice-President of FRELIMO are elected by the Congress upon proposal by the Central Committee. At provincial level there is a Provincial Council and a Provincial Committee. Decision of the people The Congress took important decisions. It reaffirmed that in the present circumstances the armed struggle is still the only way to liberate Mozambique, and that considering the conditions in which it

is fought, this struggle will be necessarily protracted. The Congress decided to intensify the mobilisation and the politicisation of the masses; to recruit elements of other provinces not yet affected by the armed struggle; to increase the number of militias; to amplify two women's detachment; and to apply the policy of clemency to captured enemy soldiers. Concerning the administration of the liberated zones, it was decided to consolidate the establishment of the political and administrative power in those regions; to increase production; to re-populate the liberated areas by persuading the people who sought refuge in the exterior to return to their lands; to uplift the cultural level of the Mozambicans by creating more schools and training more teachers; to better the services of social assistance; to improve medical assistance. Regarding external policy, the Congress condemned the American Imperialist aggression against Vietnam, and reaffirmed the total solidarity and support of FRELIMO to the FLN of South Vietnam and to the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; condemned the imperialist alliance of NATO; condemned the imperialist policy of Israel against the Arab people; hailed the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of Angola, Guinea and the peoples of Angola, Guinea, and Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe and reaffirmed the unitary nature of the struggle of all peoples under Portuguese colonialism. The Congress hailed and expressed its support to the revolutionary

struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and South-West Africa, led by the ANC, ZAPU and SWAPO. It hailed the struggle of the Afro-Americans in the United States, against racial discrimination and economic exploitation. It hailed the struggle of the Portuguese people against Salazar's fascism. The Congress declared its solidarity with the peoples and governments of the socialist countries, and entrusted the Central Committee to intensify the relations between FRELIMO and the socialist countries. At the end of the Congress elections took place. Members of the Central Committee were elected. Comrades EDUARDO MONDLANE and URIA SIMANGO were re-elected for the posts, respectively, of President and Vice-President of FRELIMO. The Congress sent a message to His Excellency Julius K. Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, thanking him, his government and the people of Tanzania for the support they have always given to the struggle of the Mozambican people. This Congress reinforced the unity of the Mozambican people. It proved that all Mozambicans are united in the same will to be free, and to work together to regain their freedom. This Second Congress was a decisive step towards final victory. N.B. Contributions to the Mozambique liberation struggle can be sent, and more information obtained, through The Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, 1 Antrim Road, London NW3. Tel: 01-722 9030.

Cofia Dryweryn! Do you remember Tryweryn? Back in 1962 an English city, Liverpool or Birmingham, needed more water. All the valleys on the English side of the mountains were labelled 'beauty-spots' (relative to the Black Country middens) but Tryweryn was just another Welsh valley relative to all the scenic beauties of Snowdonia. So, despite the protests and petitions from the local population, the government in London ordered that an entire village, which had dwelt, farmed, worshipped, sung its language, and buried its dead for centuries in that valley, be evacuated. The snug cottages were razed to the ground, the chapel destroyed and the whole valley made desolate with flood waters. Now Liverpool has all the water it needs, and all for free; they pay nothing for it, while not four miles from the pipeline there are still Welsh villages who cannot afford to be put onto the 'mains'. The Free Wales Army was formed then, of men whose limit of anger had been reached. And so Tryweryn was blown up. Not very effectively, it is true; for it is hard to collect together enough explosive material from the sources available; but enough of a BANG was made to make the whole of Britain sit up and wonder - 'What's all this about? The Welsh? The ratting Welsh? Who have been our sycophants for centuries! What do those miserable down and outs, who can hardly speak straight English, what do they mean by this cheek? . . . Of course it is nothing . . . just a few alienated individuals, a few thugs and criminals who must be stamped out.' So the Home Office sent orders to the Welsh Constabulary to do everything in their power (short of making any martyrs) to catch the culprits, punish them and bribe the population to become informants. They even authorised that £10,000 be offered to certain F.W.A. members if they would only stop their activities. That is a lot of money, and an easy way out for a man on the 'dole', who remembers fighting in the last war for Justice Freedom and Peace, etc., and comes home to find everything remaining as it was in the depression times . . . no work, no house, no purpose to be alive but drink and song and the

Robyn and Ned were picked up

At their own trial then, they got 2 year suspended sentences. Immediately after they were discharged by the Court, the police took them away up a back passage and made them sign new statements. Ones which conflicted with those they had been forced to make while in the cells. Robyn and Ned knew that the police would not have a leg to stand on if this little matter were brought to public notice, and besides they wanted to get home badly by then so after a few hours of haggling they signed these statements. Meanwhile, Now had gone to London. By the time he returned Ned and Robyn were already free men, but he was arrested. He was made to understand that all the cards were stacked against him; everyone had turned traitor and told all manner of things about him to save their own skins. The press knew nothing, so that even the cause of Welsh Nationalism would not gain from his conviction. He had no time to prepare his defence, and the solicitor of his choice was not available. So he flew to Ireland, where he remained until August 27th this year. When he did return he was immediately apprehended at Birmingham Airport. 'I'm not morally guilty,' he

'Alright', said the Judge. 'It is clear that if this man had explosives it would NOT have been for a lawful purpose . . . but is it established that he had any at all? There is only the word of this one lad.' Robyn and Ned for their part, refused to take the oath. When asked to explain, they told the court about how the police had handled them when they were arrested. How they had not been allowed a lawyer. How the statements they had been forced to make, under 'duress', were null and void. 'I made the same complaint at the last hearing,' Robyn said. 'The court promised to give me an explanation. They have not done so. Why not?' And Ned said 'Men have died in two world wars, believing they fought for Justice. Did we have Justice? Tell me!' And the Judge made conciliatory noises, and then told them to take the oath and get on with the matter in hand. When it came to the crucial question of the parcel, Robyn admitted he had had it off Ned. . . . 'But not gelly, no, it was a gun. A gun which John had tried to sell me; I showed it to Ned and he sent it back to me.' Ned corroborated this statement. About the gelly he'd had from Afron . . . 'it was no good, it was soft, wet, flabby - it goes like that when it's stored for long. I used it for poaching salmon. It doesn't even kill them, only stuns them. No, I never gave no gelignite to noone!' So the case for the Prosecution rested solely on the evidence of John, the documents, a few ambiguous words from Now himself, and the forensic expert. The Defence made short work of these. The hardest nut to crack being to prove that John was lying. However, when the Judge pointed out that in British law it was considered dangerous to believe the evidence of an 'accomplice', without firm corroborative evidence from outside, then really the Jury had little option but to find Williams "not guilty".



# One dimensional Peter Sedgewick? A critique of his interpretation of Marcuse

1966 Ronn.ng

In Black Dwarf No. 6 Peter Sedgwick makes an attempt to analyse Herbert Marcuse's ideas and tries to show how these ideas have been of minimal influence on the radical student movement. I would tend to agree with him that the importance of Marcuse's writings to the student rebellion has been grossly exaggerated. His importance is, like that of Rudi Dutschke and Cohn Bendit, largely the creation of the bourgeois press. In order to find easy explanations to social problems the establishment personifies politics. The press will pick anyone who is easily identifiable and project an image of him to the consumers of the mass media; hence Marcuse has been made the father of the student rebellions, a role he himself has rejected all the time.

I think there is only one country where Marcuse's ideas really have been influential in the formation of a revolutionary student movement and that is in Germany, and this for very special reasons. Marcuse is in many ways a part of a German philosophical tradition called "Die Frankfurter Schule," and together with other thinkers of this school Marcuse has been prominent in discussing the structures of what the German students would call the authoritarian society. Other important philosophers of this tradition are Max Horkheimer, Theodor W. Adorno and Jürgen Habermass.

There are two texts which I believe really established Marcuse's position in Germany. The first is his critique of Max Weber, the other is his essay *Repressive Tolerance*, which Peter Sedgwick seems to think is a call for censorship. (I'll return to that point later). Outside Germany however, I do not think Marcuse has played the influential role that the mass media give him. (The last and most ridiculous example of this exaggeration is Marcuse's alleged secret meeting with the British student leaders where he, according to *The Observer*, urged them to serve as detonators for the revolution). One can regret the fact that Marcuse's thoughts have not played the part they are supposed to have. I think so myself. When I see the anti-

article.

1. Peter Sedgwick divides Marcuse's writings into three periods. I think this a dangerous way of treating the work of a political thinker who in contrast with many others has been remarkably consistent in his theories since he started writing. There are two trends which I think are especially prominent in Marcuse's philosophy and which I think should be underlined. He has always stressed the importance of critical (negative) thinking (i.e. the dialectical process). An early elaboration of this theory is printed in *Negations*. He sees Marxian philosophy as a fulfilment of this theory. Marcuse analyses the evolution of critical thinking in *Reason and Revolution* which to a certain degree is based on his doctoral thesis, *Hegels Ontologie und die Grundlegung einer Theorie der Geschichtlichkeit*. In the 1955 edition (with the postscript) he shows how, while Hegel's philosophy was based on an ontological process where metaphysics served as the moving force in history, Marx liberated dialectical thought from ontology. His dialectics are based on social conditions.

The second trend is Marcuse's insistence on making a clear distinction between rational and irrational authority. This distinction is of utmost importance in understanding *Repressive Tolerance*.

2. Peter Sedgwick seems to make the same mistake as many of Marcuse's other critics. He believes that Marcuse actually states that the basic contradiction in the society between the proletariat and capital does not exist any longer. This is not so; what Marcuse says is that a veil has been drawn over the contradictions, the working-class seems to have been integrated and the workers are made to believe so themselves. But as the events in France show and as Marcuse himself has stated after the May revolution, this is nothing but a superficial interpretation.

It might be unpleasant for a lot of people that the working class in western societies do not seem to be willing to revolt against society unless their revolutionary fervour is ignited by a fringe group like the



Western Europe, the crisis ridden fishermen in Northern Norway. It is not a new theory that the revolutionary spirit has to be carried by an avant-garde. It is on the contrary an old element of Marxian thought.

3. Peter Sedgwick thinks that Marcuse means that all cultural activities serve the repressive structure of capitalism. On the contrary both in *Eros and Civilization* and in *One Dimensional Man*, Marcuse states that precisely in art and in literature one can find the most advanced forms of the critical spirit. But he also stresses the fact that a lot of what is presented today as artistic criticism of society only serves the present structures. Partly because it is only seen as a proof of liberalism in a truly repressive society. An example of "critical" art that does not succeed in "going beyond" (*aufheben*) the limits of the present society would be so-called daring erotic art.

4. Peter Sedgwick claims to describe Marcuse's thoughts when he writes: "Science is counter-revolutionary because it seeks to control nature, and hence human nature."

This is a serious misunderstanding of Marcuse's intentions. Science cannot be separated from the context of the society in which the science functions. Hence in an op-

"the abolition of labour" science must be used to serve the critical impetus instead of the oppressive forces. But that can only happen in a revolutionary society.

5. Peter Sedgwick seems to believe that Marcuse is against the development of sexual freedom. But neither in *Eros and Civilization* nor in *One Dimensional Man* does Marcuse pass value judgments on the role that sexual permissiveness plays in society. He makes an analysis of the development of what he calls the performance principle. The reality principle, which is a necessity in any society, has in our society developed into a performance principle which is a function of competitive capitalist society and of authoritarian socialism (in Eastern Europe it is called "socialistic competition"). When the performance principle cannot be satisfied, it leads to aggression and this aggression must be released. If not, the members of the society will turn against the society. In the West this energy is released through the development of greater sexual permissiveness.

This is what Marcuse calls "repressive de-sublimation." He writes in the preface to the Vintage edition of *Eros and Civilization*:

"I propose in this book the no-

modes and forms which reduce and weaken erotic energy. In this process too, sexuality spreads into formerly tabooed dimensions and relations. However, instead of recreating these dimensions and relations in the images of the Pleasure Principle, the opposite tendency assert itself: the Reality Principle extends its hold over Eros. The most telling illustration is provided by the methodical introduction of sexiness into business, politics, propaganda, etc. To the degree which sexuality obtains a definite sales value or becomes a token of prestige and of playing according to the rules of the game, it is itself transformed into an instrument of social cohesion. Emphasis of this familiar trend may illuminate the depth of the gap which separates even the possibilities of liberation from the established state of affairs."

6. Peter Sedgwick's severest criticism of Marcuse is centred around his essay *Repressive Tolerance*, which certainly is a disturbing text, but not for the reasons that Sedgwick gives. He has been misled by what he thinks is a call for censorship. But it is impossible to analyse this part of the essay separately from the rest of the argument in it. Marcuse makes a critique of the so-

locked up in small magazines.

Then Marcuse goes on to argue that it would not be a violation of the principle of tolerance to withdraw the right of speech to groups advocating racism and the destruction of the world through bacteriological and nuclear warfare. This means that it would be necessary to be intolerant to research which creates bacteriological and chemical weapons.

I do think that most revolutionary socialists would be very reluctant to let racists have their say, and to let mad scientists carry out their insane experiments. When Marcuse was asked by Robert McKenzie in an interview on "24 Hours" what he meant by the paragraph that Peter Sedgwick quotes, he answered: "I believe that if the Nazi movement in Germany had not been allowed to make full use of the civil and political rights granted to them by the democracy, if Hitler's 'Mein Kampf' had not been allowed to be published, we might have been spared the Second World War. The withdrawal of tolerance which I had in mind refers only to movements whose aggressive character is beyond any doubt. I have never advocated any kind of censorship for example, in art and literature."

At last I would like to refer any-

## Cohn-Bendit



### Obsolete Communism The Left-Wing Alternative

What really happened in May and June 1968?

This tightly-argued and lucid commentary is without doubt the most constructive and authentic document to emerge from the events of those two months.

Covering the strategy and nature of the revolutionary movement, the strategy of the state, Stalinist bureaucracy and the class struggle in France, and the strategy and nature of Bolshevism, it makes a powerful impact and demands attention.

25s

Andre Deutsch

## Dialectics of Liberation International Conference

The Dialectics of Liberation Congress was sponsored by the Institute of Phenomenological Studies, London, and was a unique gathering to demystify human violence in all its forms, the social systems from which it emanates and to explore new forms of action.

The majority portion of the proceedings are now available in a series of 2 long playing records from the Black Dwarf:—



...urged them to serve as detonators for the revolution). One can regret the fact that Marcuse's thoughts have not played the part they are supposed to have. I think to myself. When I see the anti-intellectual, spontaneistic, and over-optimistic romantic trends that at present are so prominent among many left wing students, I wonder whether the student movement might not need some of Marcuse's intellectual analyses and his realistic "pessimism."

I will try to elaborate on a few of the interpretations and ideas Peter Sedgwick puts forward in his

interview. It might be unpleasant for a lot of people that the working class in western societies do not seem to be willing to revolt against society unless their revolutionary fervour is ignited by a fringe group like the students. This does not, however, mean that Marcuse believes that a revolution can be successful without support from the working class. What he states is that the critical tradition in our societies is being carried forward by groups that have not reached the stage of apparent integration, for example the black masses in America, the students in

theory because it seeks to control nature, and hence human nature." This is a serious misunderstanding of Marcuse's intentions. Science cannot be separated from the context of the society in which the science functions. Hence in an oppressive society science will serve oppressive ends. The very notion that there is something called pure science, is one of the most dangerous parts of bourgeois ideology, and it is just this tendency to make a distinction between science and social structures that Marcuse attacks. He believes that in order to reach the state that Marx called

development of greater sexual permissiveness. This is what Marcuse calls "repressive de-sublimation." He writes in the preface to the Vintage edition of *Eros and Civilization*: "I propose in this book the notion of a 'non-repressive sublimation': the sexual impulses without losing their erotic energy, transcend their immediate object and eroticize normally non- and anti-erotic relationships between the individuals, and between them and their environment. Conversely one can speak of 'repressive de-sublimation': release of sexuality in

not for the reasons that Sedgwick gives. He has been misled by what he thinks is a call for censorship. But it is impossible to analyse this part of the essay separately from the rest of the argument in it. Marcuse makes a critique of the so-called liberalism of a pluralistic capitalist society, and shows that freedom of speech has in reality already been taken away from radical groups, because they are being denied the right to use the mass-media the same way as the conservative forces. In our society oppositional elements are not being locked up in jails they are being

withdrawal of tolerance which I had in mind refers only to movements whose aggressive character is beyond any doubt. I have never advocated any kind of censorship for example, in art and literature." At last I would like to refer anyone interested in a critique of Marcuse's thoughts to a book edited by Jurgen Habermass, called *Antworten auf Herbert Marcuse* (edition Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1968). There it is possible to find a critique of this important philosopher based on an understanding of philosophy and of what Marcuse has set out to do.

The *Dialectics of Liberation* Congress was sponsored by the Institute of Phenomenological Studies, London, and was a unique gathering to demystify human violence in all its forms, the social systems from which it emanates and to explore new forms of action. The majority portion of the proceedings are now available in a series of 23 long playing records from the Black Dwarf:—

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- DL 6 Stokely Carmichael *Black Power—Address to Congress*
- DL 7 Stokely Carmichael *Black Power—Address to Black Community*
- DL 8 John Gerassi *Imperialism & Revolution in America*
- DL 9 Gerassi (8) & Marcuse (11) *(continued)*
- DL10 Jules Henry *Special & Psychological Preparation for War*
- DL11 Herbert Marcuse *Liberation from the Affluent Society*
- DL12 Paul Sweeney *The Future of Capitalism*
- DL 13 & 14 *A two record set of the open discussion which included Cooper, Ginsberg, Carmichael & Laing.*
- DL15 Julian Beck *Money, Sex & The Theatre*
- DL16 Allen Ginsberg *Consciousness & Practical Action*
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- DL18 Igor Hajek *Art & Literature in Czechoslovakia*
- Gayo Petrovic *Praxis*
- DL19 Simon Vinkenoog *A Revolution in Consciousness*
- Beck (15) & Goodman (17) *continued*

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The records cost 28/11 each including post & package, or special set price: DL1-5 "Anti-Psychiatry", 6 gns. DL6-12 "State & Revolution", 8 gns. DL13-14 Open Discussion, £2.9.6. DL15-20 "Individual & The State", 7 gns. from

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# GRAYS INN- WHITES ONLY

JOHN WEAL

There has been so much crap in the press about the Inns of Court which has completely ignored the reasons behind the student protest.

To study for and to take the Bar Exam, one must join one of the four Inns of Court, three of them very rich. Not that they teach the student anything. They charge £170 a year plus £100 the first year as a deposit which the student gets back when and if he passes the Bar Finals (the failure rate is 70%). It is invested during the interval. They also provide "Dinners" at 14/- a throw, 12 of which are obligatory before taking finals. From the £170, they generously pass £50 to the Council of Legal Education and £15 for Tutorials. These are only once monthly for those who can get them. A class of 15 is defined as a tutorial, and even then the student must pay £18 extra.

Ruling over this quaint system is a Council of Elders as it were, chaired by Lord Justice Russell and composed of a few "Benchers" from the Inns. After last May's Exams, when half the papers were lost, an innocuous Dean was created, and consultative Link Committees of two students from each Inn were formed. Their composition was overwhelmingly British — a minority in the Inns — moreover, a minority nominated by the Bench and not elected by students.

The complaints which finally erupted in the sit-in by the 600 mainly Commonwealth students centred on Rule 23. All parts of the Bar Final must be passed in the

same sitting for the candidate to pass the Exam. Before '64 a student could sit as often as he wished for the Exam. Then came Rule 23 which announced, "Four times mayest thou sit, but after that, y're out mate". And this rule was applied retrospectively without exempting those who had arrived before its existence.

Yet, given exams, four attempts, even on an all-parts-passed-or-nothing basis would seem to be enough. But that conclusion neglects the crucial issue — the education. Rule 23 strips Legal education bare; no other education system would feel obliged to have more than two attempts. Worse than that, the doddering Council is only now improving slightly on the education offered before Rule 23 — and then it was a much easier exam. It must be like being a work-camp inmate, who is expected to fulfil quotas meant for tractors when all that is provided is a spade which he can barely lift anyway.

Squashed lectures are the ONLY student-teacher contact for many undergraduates. Discrimination exists against coloured students for a tutorial place though naturally the white Rhodesian I met had a tutorial. Of course this wasn't discrimination! "On merit, old boy, on merit."

Lastly of the education grievances, students are allowed to use the libraries for TWO HOURS a week, period. As libraries are used for the rest of the time by practising barristers, students are in effect subsidising a profession which could

eminently afford to subsidise them.

What institutions do they have through which they can fight? In 1966 there was a Union but that ended when "Mr. Adams did not want the meeting to go on". Instead one union in each Inn was permitted: Divide and rule at work. No existing institution even recognises their student status, let alone gives them minimal rights that that status deserves, e.g. N.U.S. membership — far too subversive.

Five months ago, the Reform Committee's grievances were submitted to Russell and were arrogantly rejected. Consequently both the sit-in and its results, however inadequately, are a landmark in an institution as traditional and hierarchical as the Inns of Court. The students themselves were inexperienced and must be forgiven for letting Russell listen to them in his own office. The so-called "results" of that meeting are that Russell "will recommend the abolition of Rule 23 to Council". He will ask them to "consider" the formation of a general student body. He will meet students for negotiations and will discuss the exam system. Lastly, the only concrete result — they can meet in the MacGeagh Hall at any time.

Although the authorities are obviously prejudiced against coloured students (though the Inns lap them up because of the money they bring, quite disregarding the strain on the Educational facilities), to accuse all the British students of the same thing is to be too simplistic. One girl had been photographed and given her name; she was scared.

Many others were frightened that any manifestation of solidarity with their fellows could well effect their chances of getting into chambers (unlike them most demonstrators would not be practising in Britain). It might even prevent them "passing" the exam. The marks are not published and it seems evident that someone can pass the exam but fail to be called to the Bar because his elders and betters do not consider him suitable. And so he is forced to conform to and eventually lapse into a code of conduct nothing short of mediaeval — the barristers themselves proudly insist their traditions go back 600 years!

The very backwardness and atrophy of the administration of the Inns and the weakness of student institutions seems to offer the chance of a radical breakthrough in their reorganisation; a complete bypassing of the Bourgeois institutions, epitomised by affiliation to the N.U.S., and the setting up of a united student council with direct control over their education. Except for one thing, the Students. A few do relate their situation with the society 'outside', and others are eager to learn — for they learn nothing in their course but strict Gradgrind Facts. But the majority are there because they want the money, social position and often power which the profession brings both in Britain and abroad. Any significant change in society would smash their dreams. Perhaps I am wrong. Perhaps the whole mass of prospective barristers will rise in indignation at this last paragraph. I wish they would.

## London Tenants enter new phase of struggle

by Valerie Deacon and Keith Veness

The fight against the rent-rises on Council houses in London has now entered a new, and perhaps decisive, stage of struggle. In the GLC the figure for tenants withholding the increases has varied between 33,000 (the Council's figure) and 98,000 (our most optimistic one).

When one considers that there are 220,000 GLC tenants and that those on rebates or social security (nearly 40%) have been advised not to withhold it by the Tenants' Association, then these figures must be considered excellent. During these struggles many interesting events have occurred. On the Warwick Estates at Maida Vale a possessor of housewives follow the rent-collector to make sure that he doesn't intimidate tenants and to ensure 100% support. Mrs. Kay McNicholas, the Association's Chairman, had a brush with the police, who accused her of "threatening" the rent collector. (Odd of the fuzzi to protect a large, well fed rent collector from a group of housewives while letting him threaten tenants with eviction!) Now tenants have taken to paying him in sixpences, halfpennies and other small coins so he has to carry a load of small change on his rounds.

In Hackney the rent collectors have quite rightly refused to be scapegoats for the council and have threatened to strike if they don't get an immediate pay rise. The giant Trowbridge Estate is the best in London for withholding the increases, with a figure of 98%.

In Tower Hamlets the local council (57 Labour and 3 Communists on it) have agreed to rehouse any GLC tenant evicted and obviously this has aided the struggle tremendously. Tower Hamlets is now the leading borough in tenants solidarity. One of its rent-offices was daubed with red paint, the slogan being "NOT A PENNY ON OUR RENTS — DON'T PAY THE INCREASES". The Council haven't bothered to clean it off yet — probably it would be put on again

immediately anyway.

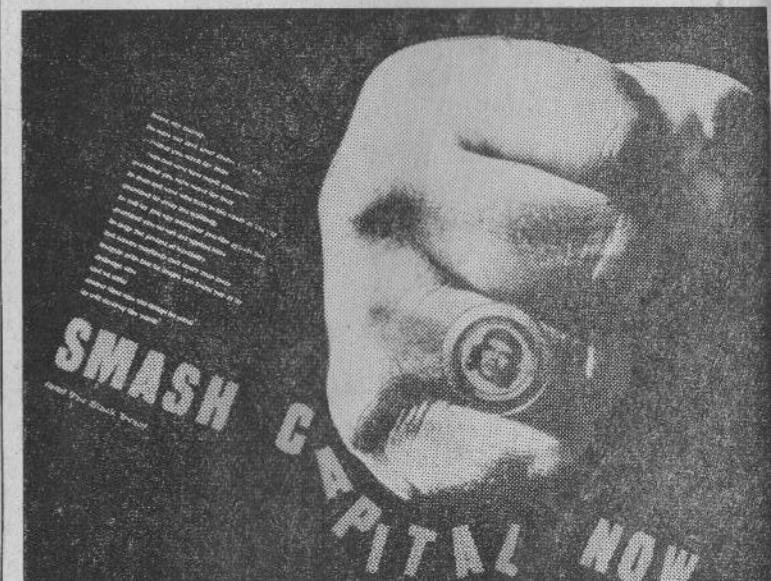
In Brent, certain estates such as Kingshaven, Explorers and Alpha-Gorefield have had a seventy-five per cent. response to withholding the increase and a writ has been served on the council restraining them from raising the rent. The court case will probably be heard next month. A mass demonstration at the Town Hall in October attracted over 1,000 tenants and the council are well aware that they are sitting on a colvano.

In Ealing, a policy of withholding the increases has started on estates such as Elm-trees, Yeading Green and Ravenor Park and more struggles can be expected here.

However we heard the best news of all was on 19th November when the Smithfield Meat Porters stopped work and marched to County Hall in protest against the rises. The march started at 4-00 p.m. from Smithfield and was joined by the Royal Group of Dockers, representatives of the Central London Bus Committee, and shopstewards and union members from many factories and building sites. At seven in the evening the tenants joined them at County Hall to return increase forms and eviction notes. The total participants were well over the 10,000 who marched on the last tenants march of September 22nd. All Dwarf readers should remember the slogans—

- "WE WON'T PAY"
- "TELL CUTLER TO GO TO HELL"
- "NOT A PENNY ON THE RENTS"

You'll hear a lot more of them before the London tenants are through!



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## THE UNFREE PRESS

1. *The News of the World*

All the muck that's fit to print

A printer working on the *News of the World* remarked to *The Black Dwarf*: "Let's face it, we all know why people buy the sheet. Because it's dirty. They buy it for the dirt. So why is it full of Tory propaganda? Who wants to read about politics in a dirt sheet?" This printer's theory was that it all stemmed from the joint managing director, Mark Chapman Walker, who lives at 4 Cliveden Place, SW1 (SLO 2808). The printer believes that Chapman Walker has close links with Conservative Central Office. But maybe this is mere gossip and rumour.

He is unfair, though, to the British public in thinking that we buy the paper only for its lip-licking, yet prudish, tales of sexual diversity. It also has a good outdoor sports coverage. Here we may detect the influence of Sir William Carr (who controls the paper through his own and his family shareholdings). He is keen on golf, athletics, boxing, cricket, rowing and dog-tracks. He lives at 26 Cliveden Place, SW1 (SLO 2403 and 6248). He also has a little place at Bentley Wood, Halland, Sussex. A typical public-school and Cambridge man, he produces a paper which his own class treats with contempt — but which they are glad

to sell to the uneducated working class.

Does the *News of the World* corrupt and deprave? These are the words which lawyers use when they ban serious novels and plays about sexual behaviour. Both these words mean 'make bad'. If pornography make people bad, so does the *News of the World*. All they mean, really, is that sex-books encourage people to masturbate. Plenty of people will swear in court, if necessary, that they masturbated over the *News of the World* in their childhood. An action could be taken against this seedy paper — but it would be hypocritical, since the law on obscenity is idiotic, and sex stimulation is not always evil. The *News of the World* is horrible not because it is sexy, but because it is anti-sex — always eager to punish sex-offenders, while getting the thrill of their 'crimes'.

This relates to the paper's politics. It likes scapegoats. It likes punishment. It wants to make its readers feel NORMAL and pleased with themselves. So it persecutes the odd man out. It has steadily fomented feeling against coloured people. It demands severe penalties for sex-crimes. It longs to hang people. These are Tory feelings. If you can only get the working class to forget their own troubles by making them hate someone else — criminals, perverts, Negroes, Jews — you have won

a battle of capitalism. Tory policy swings under the sign of the hanging Negro. Ask Ian Smith and Duncan Sandys.

One of the few pubs in Brixton which has ever been boycotted for banning coloured people is The George in Railton Road. Now the landlord has a new craze. His saloon bar flaunts a poster calling for the restoration of capital punishment. Alongside it is a letter from Duncan Sandys and a letter from the Licensed Victuallers Central Protection Society of London, both asking for a hanging. (Think of death while you drink. Last time the publicans demonstrated it was against the breathalyser. They want to keep Death On The Roads.)

Can you smell the *News of the World*? Like other Sunday papers they maintain a punishment correspondent, Graham Stanford. Like ancient John Gordon and poor, sick Robert Pitman of the *Express* newspapers, he writes as a plain, bluff family-man, attacking, accusing and exposing. Who do they expose? Big business? Bristol Siddeley? Dow Chemicals? Ferrari? Not on your life. Local councils, nationalised industries, trade unions — these are the targets. With a sprinkling of petty crooks who send holy water through the post.

Graham Stanford may be seen drinking around Fleet Street, often in the company of colleagues, Peter Earle and Noyes Thomas. These two worked together on the Christine Keeler story: they swanned around with her before her public disgrace and afterwards they wrote a vicious piece attacking and insulting her. She was down. That's good enough for the *News of the World*.

Earle and Thomas took particular interest in Christine's coloured friends. After this assignment, they split up. Noyes Thomas went round the world reporting on the gallant service of British tommies against bad coloured men — strange ignorant savages, he suggested, in places like Borneo and Arabia. Peter Earle went round Britain studying coloured immigrants. He came back with a stack of anecdotes of the kind

favoured by Enoch Powell. This was all handy in the Smethwick period of Tory racialism. Some readers felt that the *News of the World* sex-crime reports were concentrating unduly on coloured criminals. Since then we have had further *News of the World* surveys on coloured immigrants, very like Peter Earle's. One was by John Deane Potter, the well-known normal-family-man immortalised in John Osborne's play 'The World of Paul Slickey'. The most recent was by Graham Stanford — and it culminated in the *News of the World*'s ballot-slip, asking readers to vote whether they wanted restriction on coloured immigrants.

A few weeks before, the paper printed voting-slips asking readers whether they wanted to hang people. Punishment and restrictions are the main interests of the *News of the World*. They get the votes they want. Keen punishers, and those readers who have been brainwashed by the paper's weekly drip, write in support. Most of us are too lazy to oppose.

Noyes Thomas became the 'political correspondent'. His first big stories were about George Brown drinking and about Harold Wilson's secretary, Marcia Williams. That's his kind of politics. The sad thing is that this paper has such a big circulation that few people are willing to refuse to write for it. Journalists who want to attack Harold Wilson from the Left take advantage of its columns. Clive Jenkins, the ASSET union leader, is one. Paul Johnson, editor of the *New Statesman*, is another. They don't seem to realise that knocking Labour in the *News of the World* is merely helping the most vicious kind of punitive, racist Toryism. Of course the *News of the World* doesn't really want these lefties and liberals: it's using them. It wants real backwoods Tories like Duncan Sandys and Desmond Donnelly — that keen normal-family-man who is currently combining attacks on his former colleagues with rant against immigrants.

A recent 'coup' by the *News of the World* has been to publish an innuendo-ridden story by Simon Regan ('the man who worked as our

spy inside the students'). The story is a typical case of downright lies and bogus bullshit. Unfortunately for Regan, October 27th passed off without incident, but readers of the rag had been infected with a good 'healthy' dose of anti-student hysteria so what the hell.

Why did they pick on Jagger? 'Youth' is one of their scapegoats. They like looking for youthful orgies, it gets the readers excited — and then Graham Stanford can recommend a good spanking, more thrilling still. Their favourite photograph is that Grosvenor Square one (17 March) showing a uniformed policeman 'spanking' a girl demonstrator with plenty of leg. They reprinted it twice, by public demand.

Who edits this rag? Stafford Somerfield, a Barnstaple man who joined in 1945, a dog-breeder who has written a life of the murderer, Haigh. He married for a second time in 1951 — one Elizabeth Montgomery. Mrs. Elizabeth Somerfield lives at 2 Cliveden House, Cliveden Place (730 7032) — very near Carr and Chapman Walker. Somerfield's address is given as 26 Chelwood House, Gloucester Square, W2 (PAD 2194). Does he know how filthy his paper is? Does he like it that way?

The *News of the World* keeps up a steady six million circulation. It started building itself up in the 19th century and during the first World War, by breaking the Sunday observance laws and by publishing lists of war casualties. Now it has interests in transport, paper (Townsend Hook) print (Eric Bemrose), advertising journals (City magazines), local newspapers (the Berrows Organisations) — and also of Reuters.

It's a monster. It has too much power — and all exercised to appeal to the worst in human nature. Simply because six million people buy it for the cheap porn and the sports results, this rag acquires the power to dirty men's minds. Even the most right-wing Socialist or liberal should recognise that this is one of the 'commanding heights' of the communications industry, that it is 'failing the nation' — and that it ought to be brought under public, democratic control.

DWARF  
DIARY

## TITO'S TROUBLES

Soon after the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia there was a worried exchange of notes between Yugoslavia and the United States. The Yugoslavs feared Russian intervention and wondered whether they could sign a defence pact with the United States (a secret one, of course!). The State Department was interested but not interested enough to shatter the status-quo. So what they suggested was that Yugoslavia sign a mutual assistance pact with Greece as this would be a fairly convenient cover. But at this even Tito balked. Sign a deal with the fascist colonels. Never! Result: a boring stalemate with the colonels extremely upset that they have not been able to please the United States and understandably upset because if the C.I.A. liberals seriously want a foothold in Yugoslavia they will have to do 'something' about the colonels. After all this is Europe and not some nigger continent like Africa.

BRITAIN'S  
NON-VIOLENT  
TRADITIONS

An excellent book was published two years ago on the subject of police, demos, civil liberties, etc. (POLICE AND CIVIL LIBERTIES; by Stuart Bowes, Lawrence & Wishart, 45s.). We quote an extract for the benefit of Dwarf readers and hope that it encourages them to read this book:

"On December 11, 1931, police aggression against demonstrations of unemployed occurred in

regime in power. The main student demand is for political liberty and for socialism. Of course the mass media in this country has ignored the butchery being perpetrated by the Ayub regime. He is after all very nearly one of them. How different it was in the days of Nkruma and Sukarno. We still remember the stern editorials in *The Times* or the faked torture photographs in *The Daily Express*. On the arrest of Mr. Bhutto the leading Oppositionist on the liberal Left *The Times* remarks that perhaps it is 'beneficial'. Of course it is but to whom. While we do not agree with most of Mr. Bhutto's views we are in complete solidarity with him in his opposition to the Ayub dictatorship. The struggle in Pakistan is only in its infancy. It will inevitably develop till the four families who rule Pakistan are overthrown and the reign of terror is over.

THE GAULLIST  
SCHOOL OF  
FALSIFICATION

The May events in France have resulted in tens of books analysing aspects of the revolutionary struggle. The neo-fascist Gaullist regime, in an attempt to obliterate the traces of the May revolution have carried out a number of purges of education and government-controlled television and radio. Only recently they prohibited all municipal libraries in the Paris area from issuing any of the books on the May events in their stocks. Needless to say this does not worry the French Stalinists too much. After all if the books are not read by large numbers the

BOOBY-TRAPS  
FOR SALE

We bring to the attention Dwarf readers the firms, G. Garland and Co. Ltd. and M rovar Ltd. They occupy premises on 100-101 Nibthwaite Road, Harrow. Dwarf correspondents who visited the area tell us that it is a small family concern (non-union) and employs workers part time (because of the low rate) and three full time men. Though the official purpose of the firm's existence is to manufacture television components yet our reporters have discovered that this is merely front for the manufacturing anti-personnel devices among which is a propelling pencil that blows your hand off when turned. These devices are referred to euphemistically 'switches.' They are packed in the premises in British ex-ammunition boxes and taken away in small loads in the back of a large pantechonicon.

They are then sold to various African states not well-known as being well-disposed towards revolutionary socialists such as Kenya.

There are rumours that the firm has government approval and a government contract. We would like to see the Board of Trade deny this charge.

BENT PLANES AT  
BENTWATER

Near Woodbridge in Suffolk there is a United States Air Force Base known as BENTWATER. This is the first target in a nuclear war as it maintains a large stockpile of nuclear 'devices.' It has a

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MAN  
CAREFULLY IN  
THE FUTURE  
He's the man from  
The Special Branch  
with a Special



# He's the man from The Special Branch with a Special Assignment



Whenever there's a left-wing demonstration he's there! The moment he hears a demonstrator shout a particularly apposite slogan he photographs him. When Dwarfs asked him who he represented on October 27 he refused to comment.

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the benefit of Dwarf readers and hope that it encourages them to read this book:

"On December 11, 1931, police aggression against demonstrations of unemployed occurred in Liverpool and Wallsend; on the 15th in London, Leeds, Glasgow and Kirkcaldy; on the 16th in Wigan; on the 18th in Stoke-on-Trent. Such actions continued in 1932 and on January 12th occurred in Keighley and Glasgow; on the 15th in Rochdale; on February 23rd in London and Bristol.

"Throughout the summer of 1932 intimidatory violence and arrests were frequent all over the country, but reached an extraordinary pitch in Birkenhead where, on September 13, 15 and 16, hundreds of unemployed were arrested and several hundred injured as they fought off unprovoked attacks.

"On the latter date, large numbers of police were drafted into the town and, together with the local force, began during the night what can only be described as a reign of terror. Working-class areas were raided; homes entered without warrants; arrests made indiscriminately and without cause; and men, women and children beaten up. Repeated on the next two nights the terrorism caused over a hundred civilians to be taken to hospital with such severe injuries as a broken pelvis, fractured ribs, broken arms and legs."

Comrades will not be surprised to learn that very few of these incidents were reported in the national press.

## PANIC IN PAKISTAN

Dwarf readers may not have gathered this from the unfree press, but latest reports from Pakistan indicate that 30 students have been killed by the Ayub dictatorship and hundreds arrested. All the universities and schools in W. Pakistan have been shut by the regime in an effort to prevent the students from assembling and having political discussions. What is important to realise, however, is that the students have in many places been joined by other sectors of the population who are equally fed-up with the

issuing any of the books on the May events in their stocks. Needless to say this does not worry the French Stalinists too much. After all if the books are not read by large numbers the counter-revolutionary role of the French C.P. will escape further exposure. And if Stalin could re-write history, why not de Gaulle.

## OF 'FRIENDS' AND 'FRIENDSHIP'

British Imperialism has been betraying the interests of the Arab peoples for well over a century, but despite this a certain aberrant section of the imperialist apparatus has always proclaimed its 'friendship' to the Arabs. The latest hypocritical manifestation of this 'friendship' is CAAEU - the so-called Council for Arab British understanding.

These people, without doubt, are friends of the Arabs but of which Arabs. Feisal of Saudi Arabia and others of his ilk. The exploiters and traitors whom the British have always used. At the last public meeting of CAABU on the anniversary of the Balfour Declaration a couple of odious Tory M.P.'s proclaimed their 'friendship' for the Arab peoples and argued that Britain ought to back their Arab 'friends' in order to keep communism out of the area. So much for CAABU. British Imperialism has always tried to use local stooges to undermine the Arab revolution. There is a definite need for a movement of solidarity with the Arab revolution, but CAABU with its bag of discredited former cabinet ministers (Mayhew and Nutting, both paternalistic imperialists) has no part to play in that movement. The only Arab-British understanding worthy of that name is a militant revolutionary solidarity against American, British and Zionist imperialism conducted on a principled socialist basis and not as a loose coalition of social-democrats, liberals and right-wing Tories with a streak of anti-semitism. If the British people are to support the Arabs, the only way to do so is to arm the Palestinian guerrillas.

there is a United States Air Force Base known as BENI-WATER. This is the fifth target in a nuclear war as it maintains a large stockpile of nuclear 'devices.' It has a two-minute warning system. However these are not the most important facts about BENI-WATER.

It is at the present moment being used as a repair-base for planes damaged in Vietnam and especially the F 111 which are flown in by Douglas Goble-master. There is an excellent case for organising localised demonstrations outside bases such as BENI-WATER to puncture the myth that Britain is not involved in this war.

## CAPTAIN PAUL JOHNSON

Undoubtedly the most sea sick galley slaves in the drifting wreck of British social democracy must be the crew of the **New Statesman**.

Week after week their skipper Paul ("gentlemen don't wear brown suits") Johnson urges them into further acts of double-talk, evasion, and servile prostration to the renegade Wilson clique. Week after week Great Turnstile echoes to the snores of those assessing 'Labour's record' (Much to be said on both sides), and the world outside echoes to the snores of those trying to 'read' what they say. Skipper Johnson snoozes in his editorial offices, dreaming of promotion to, diplomatic eminence and an end to the cares of journalism, the thrustful staff lightly intrigue and discuss the morality of the public schools; the cost-conscious manager, Prosperous Potter, doodles on a spare luncheon voucher before chasing up a few more advertisements.

A sordid scene, and not one really to bore the Dwarf readers with. But from time to time it is worth reminding comrades that the end of journalistic social democracy is the emaciated cadaver of the **New Statesman** and the stench ridden drips who run it. **LONG LIVE REVOLUTIONARY JOURNALISM. LONG LIVE THE BLACK DWARF. STORMY APPLAUSE. ALL RISE.**

# DWARF UP AGAINST THE WALL?

Black Dwarf Reporters

Following up the unsuccessful raid on **The Black Dwarf** offices in September, and the subsequent harassment of Dwarf street sellers, the police have finally succeeded in getting us into their courts.

On 5th October Joe Farthing was arrested by two constables and charged with "offering for sale in Oxford Street an obscene newspaper to the annoyance of the passengers".

Our first thought was that this ludicrous charge must be the brain child of some precocious desk sergeant after two coppers took fright at the awesome sight of Joe Farthing and nicked him.

But we found out since it was no accident. Those two coppers came looking for a street seller. The seized issue was No. 6.

On the cover were the words: **DON'T DEMAND, OCCUPY.**

Could this be what the

police found obscene?

Somebody up top is out to get us. Although Joe Farthing is broke, legal aid has been refused. We will have to bear the costs of this attack ourselves. The case will be heard on Monday, December 9th, at Marlborough Street Court. We desperately need your support. Please come to the court at 2 p.m. on that Monday and let's show the police and the repressive authorities of this "free" country that we are not going to be fucked about.

**STOP POLICE REPRESSION OF THE DWARF NOW.**

See you in court.

## Films

**IN THE YEAR OF THE PIG.** A new feature-length documentary about Vietnam, by Emile de Antonio, who made *Rush to Judgement*. Perhaps the most comprehensive film yet made about recent history and politics of South East Asia. Every Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday at ICA, Nash House, The Mall, S.W.1. 6:00 and 8:30 p.m.

**END OF A REVOLUTION?** The social and political climate in Bolivia following the death of Che Guevara. It traces the events leading to Che's death and the trial of Regis Debray. Angry Arts Film Society. The Unity Theatre, 1, Goldington Street, N.W.1.

**PILOTS IN PYJAMAS.** An East German investigation of captured American pilots shot down over North Vietnam. It consists of four films and lasts in total about five and a half hours. The New Cinema Club, 122 Wardour Street, London, W.1. 734-5888 for details.

**OPEN FILM FESTIVAL.** Free films are being shown for the duration of the London Film Festival at Friends Hall, Barnet Grove, East London; The Oval House, Kennington; Pepys Estate, Greenwich and Notting Hill Gate. Ring 240 1864 for details.

## DIARY OF EVENTS

### SUNDAY, DEC. 1st

Black Youth Conference. Speakers include James Baldwin and Tariq Ali. Birmingham Town Hall, 5:30 p.m. To celebrate NLF birthday.

### TUESDAY, DEC. 3rd

Discussions on Israel. Conway Hall, 6.45.

"Support South Vietnam" Rally. Kensington Town Hall, 7.30. A counter rally is being organised. Phone VSC (480 6789) or the Black Dwarf for details.

### THURSDAY, DEC. 5th

CND Torchlight March - "Americans out of Vietnam". Assemble 6 p.m., Manchester Square (behind Selfridges).

### SUNDAY, DEC. 8th

Human Rights Lecture. Conway Hall, 11 a.m.

### MONDAY, DEC. 9th

Arts & Censorship. A gala evening concerning depravity and corruption, in aid of NCCL and Defence of Literature and The Arts Society. Royal Festival Hall, 8.00.

(non-event - Dwarf Obscenity Case - Marlborough St. Magistrates Court, 2.00 p.m. we think).

### TUESDAY, DEC. 10th

Black Revolutionary Poetry and Music, ICA, Nash House, S.W.1, 8 p.m. Members 5/-, non-members 7/6.

### MONDAY, DEC. 20th

VSC Public Meeting. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.2, 7.30.

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