

# Black Dwarf

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FORTNIGHTLY 2s

**WE SHALL FIGHT  
WE WILL WIN**

**PARIS  
LONDON  
ROME  
BERLIN**

SLOGAN HEARD OUTSIDE FRENCH EMBASSY, LONDON, SUNDAY, 25th MAY



'Listen, I'm 43, and at that age a worker is too old to learn a new job. My children have got education, and they look down on me. But I can remember when I was your age. We wanted to change the world, too. Go on, you lads.' FRENCH SHIPYARD WORKER TO DANIEL COHN-BENDIT

# Respectable Man

The international crises of the past ten years may come to seem relatively mild compared with the rifts and dissensions which now threaten many countries internally. France is on the edge of a civil war. We have seen American cities burning, and Negroes expressing through their violence that desperation and anger which is the consequence of the United States' total failure to come to terms with their predicament. In West Germany students have been on the streets and confronted Herr Springer and the Bundestag with their rejection and contempt of a social system which is politically moribund and only precariously democratic. This too resulted in violence, as did the Vietnam demonstration in Grosvenor Square.

Everywhere 'respectable' citizens are bewildered, anxious, frightened or angry — or perhaps more commonly a combination of all four. The word respectable requires quotes in this context, since the character and identity of those who believe or acquiesce in the economic and power structure of modern capitalism, are under serious challenge. It is the decent solid citizens who call for harsh authoritarian measures against students; whose hate mythology is one of 'long-haired pinkoes'; who in England find sanction in Enoch Powell's inflammatory racism for their own bigotry and prejudice against coloured people.

The trouble is not confined to the capitalist world. In the Soviet Union and Central and Eastern Europe, comfortably placed men and women doing well enough out of the system are experiencing criticism, attack, and demands for change from the young. There (with the recent and hopeful exception of Czechoslovakia), dissent is put down in the name of Socialist discipline and party authority. Here, dissent is acknowledged as a social-democratic right — but if it strays from impotent, ordered demonstration into an actual clash with the authorities as represented by the police, then there are howls of outrage from all sides.

We then have the curious paradox of communist and capitalist authorities alike making similar sorts of horrified noises, and exerting their respective forms of violence against rebellious elements so as to preserve their respective kinds of 'order'.

It seems in a period when several major strands of history are drawing together. The Soviet revolution has failed genuinely to revolutionise human relationships, and whereas it has created a materially socialised basis for living, the humane objectives which should justify its very existence seem as remote as ever. Post-war capitalism on the other hand has produced a society which must appear morally revolting to many people whether they understand its mechanisms or not — this at the expense of large underprivileged sections of each country, and more so at the expense of what is now known as the Third or Underdeveloped World.

The conclusions drawn by the young go far beyond the (as some would have it) tedious symptoms of the peren-

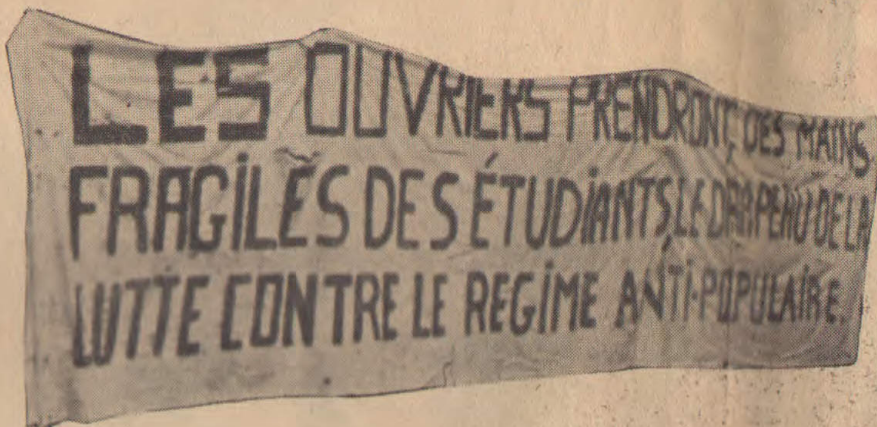
nial generation-conflict. Far from being ideological hooligans, the minority who have placed themselves at the point of physical struggle with the apparatus of power are dramatising contradictions which the authorities would prefer to remain concealed. When it has been pointed out that violence is immoral and intolerable, nothing has really been said, since each side can and must apply the proposition in terms of its own assumptions about what constitutes a just society. If students could in principle refrain from attacking policemen — policemen could also in principle refrain from attacking students. When they are face to face, the issue is academic since society cannot of course give way and neither can the students yield, when they have already seen that the traditional 'democratic processes' result only in the perpetuation of a system they reject politically, morally and socially. If a minority in these conditions must inevitably lose out, this does not mean that what they stand for and believe is wrong. The question is whether society will choose to understand it, and this is doubtful, for to do so would be to concede the signs of its own disintegration.

None the less it is time the 'respectable citizen' began to understand the real standards by which he lives, as opposed to the cherished delusions he believes to be standards.

This far from mythical creature lives rooted in his smug individual interests. He lives relatively unmolested and in comfort whilst most of the world lives in oppression and misery. He votes for his system because his system gives him what he wants, yet it withholds from him the means of understanding that what he is getting is trivial even when it is not plainly squalid. When things go wrong, he reaches for the nearest scapegoat — and there is usually a coloured man, or a Jew, a pinko or even simply an underling to take the brunt of his rage and frustration. He makes money out of everything and everyone, given the chance — not stopping short at the most barbarous means of destruction. He produces and consumes at random, and wastefully. He builds ugly cities and makes the air stink and throb from the pursuit of his wretched palliatives: loot, territory, petty power. Many of him believe in God and deny Man. Most of him believe in social-democracy and freedom, and live unthinkingly and unknowingly in a disastrous prison of acquisition and greed. Above all, it is an economic (and therefore political) fact that as he goes his ugly way and makes his despicable little money, he must exclude from this paradise the hungry despairing millions. At worst, should they rebel, they will be bombed into submission. At best, the creeping financial and industrial network whose blood money protects him from most of the facts of life, will exploit those whose needs he ignores.

That is Respectable Man. Maybe he will have to go. And maybe there are increasing numbers of people who will not regret his passing, or shirk the means necessary to push him off the stage — into the wings of history.

DAVID MERCER



THE WORKERS WILL TAKE FROM THE STUDENTS' FRAGILE HANDS THE BANNER OF STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ANTI-POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

## Letter from a Respectable Man

Dear Dwarf,

Thank you for sending me the 'Pre-Issue May Day 1968' with your ill-informed story on my employer, Axel Springer. I doubt whether you have ever read a Springer journal, if you have you should have found that it is nowhere near as malicious as your own pamphlet. It does not preach anything at all. I suggest that you read Springer newspapers before you attack them, then you will find that, compared with the *Daily Express*, for instance, they are very moderate and liberal. So why don't you sweep before your own door first?

So far it has not been established whether the assassin of Rudi Dutschke has ever read a Springer newspaper — it might as well have been *Der Spiegel*, *Der Stern*, radio or television. In any case he is a crank, and to blame Springer for his actions is plain libel.

You mention Jack Dash. What better

treatment than he received from the *Daily Mirror* has a man deserved who has embarked on ruining his country? What does Mr. Tariq Ali deserve for his stirring up of hatred and wishing to destroy everything that mankind has built up in many centuries? What these people are doing is criminal and should be punished if that did not mean too much honour. I consider it much easier to ignore them and let them remain what they are: dwarfs. I was outside the *Daily Mirror* building on 15th April, and spoke to a man who might well have been the BLACK DWARF in person. He was coloured and rather small, but had a very big mouth. He said he was glad to see the house on fire and did not care about who would build it up again. Well, how idiotic can you get?

I am very proud to work for a man who wants to save the house and has therefore called the fire brigade. For there is no one in sight who could build better houses than we have got.

Dwarfs may prefer to live in caves, grown-up people do not. The only blame I attach to my employer's newspapers is that they have taken the childish behaviour of a tiny minority too serious and helped to build up dwarfs to giants.

Incidentally, in my home country there is a detergent called 'The White Giant'. It cleans. I suppose THE BLACK DWARF is therefore an apt name for a person spreading dirt. Some of your followers seem to hate soap and detergents as much as society. The smell of the crowd outside the *Daily Mirror* was almost unbearable. They were a literally stinking lot! And, of course, not one in a hundred of them had ever read a Springer newspaper. I did not meet one who was able to explain exactly what he was protesting against. If these people are what you call 'intellectuals' they have not started trying to make use of their intellect.

It does not seem very intelligent to

me either to suggest that the 'Un-Free Press' be taken into public ownership. Can't you see that, wherever you have a publicly-owned press, it is the gagged press of a dictatorship? Try and suggest a free press as we have it in Britain and Germany to the Kremlin!

By suggesting Communist rule, as you seem to be doing, surely you are cutting off the very branch on which you are sitting. You must have noticed that there is no place for dissidents in Communist countries. You would be sent to prison or mental homes if you did what you are doing in Russia or China.

If you fail to see that, I suggest you change your name and call yourself 'The Blind Dwarf'.

K. H. KUKOWSKI  
18 Walmer Gardens, London, W13

4 May



# THE NIGHT OF MAY 10

## 1am 2am

1 AM: Literally thousands help build barricades (Europe no. 1 Radio reported that more than 60 barricades were built in different streets), women, workers, bystanders, people in pyjamas, human chains to carry rocks, wood, iron. A tremendous movement is started. Our group (most have never even seen the others before, we are composed of 6 students, 10 workers, some Italians, bystanders and 4 artists who joined later; we never even knew each other's names) organises the barricade at angle of Rue Gay Lussac and St Jacques. One hundred people help carry the stuff and pile it across the street. From

2 AM: It is now obvious that police are preparing a powerful attack. Radio announces we are surrounded and that government has ordered police to attack. (The Chief of Police insisted on the order in writing.) Some bystanders leave. We continue building up barricades organising supply of rocks and medical centres every 100 yards. I try to coordinate runners between different barricades near ours but we lack time and are caught by attacks before we can get together. Practically no news from other points of our territory. Someone finds a French flag, we tear off blue and white part—red flag now floats

neling them towards exit down Gay Lussac where police are fewer). But then police attack at three points simultaneously: at two extremities of Gay Lussac, at our barricade and at Rue d'Ulm. Casualties are heavy on our side, mostly people knocked unconscious by gas, some temporarily blinded. Thousands of voices shout together: 'De Gaulle assassin', 'Liberez nos camarades', 'Revolution', 'A bas l'Universite bourgeoise'. Some make molotov-cocktails. I try to dissuade them for fear of police massacre not so much of us but of thousands of onlookers, just standing there, fascinated. The general feeling is of a trance. We feel liberated. Suddenly we have turned into human beings and we are shouting 'WE EXIST, WE ARE an incredibly heroic gesture, grabs a red flag and leads us towards the cops through the gas and grenades.

## 6am

6 AM: Still fighting outside. We all vote to call Red Cross anyway because one of us is bleeding badly.

We are scared of Red Cross because they sometimes turn us in to the police, but other times protect us, you never know. It is a fact that many Red Cross that tried to help wounded or faint students were also beaten by police (see *Le Monde* for details of this kind, of police armament, gas, etc...). The police are searching house by house, room by room. Anybody with black hands and gas spots on clothes (gas attacks leather) or wounds is beaten and arrested. (More than 500 arrested in all.) We 60 decide to leave together in case we have to fight our way down the street: Helmets are given to girls. The sun is up.

We run into the open in a body: fantastic: what a sight! Smoking barricades everywhere, overturned cars, street unpaved, for half a mile. Painted words on walls: Vive la Commune du 8 Mai, A BAS L'ETAT POLICIER... I can't help it, I run over to see our barricade. It still stands, deserted; some onlookers, stunned, the unbelievable sight of the empty battlefield. This Rue Gay Lussac was ours all night till about 4.30 am. OURS. I ask a student for a piece of his dirty red shirt, we tie it to a stick, put it back on our barricade and run, police are charging on other side of street. I can hardly walk from pain. We circle round to Rue d'Ulm, there to police arresting everybody including those in medical centre. Barricades and cars smoking in every street and every corner. Passers-by warn us where police are; many people in cars and taxis volunteer to take us out of police zone. Everywhere we see enormous police buses full of our people tired, beaten, bloody prisoners.

The revolution has begun. If you want to help us there is one way.

DO THE SAME THING.

JEAN-JACQUES LEBEL



## 6pm

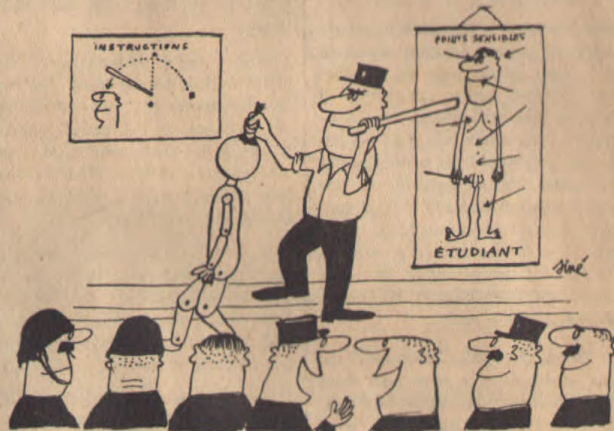
6.30 PM at Place Denfert-Rochereau demonstration called by UNEF and 22 MARCH GROUP collects 30,000 people blocking traffic for two miles. The crowd is asked by Cohn-Bendit and other leaders where it wants to go. They decide upon the Prison de la Sante, the Ministry of Justice then the ORTF (the French BBC) which has been insulting and disgustingly untruthful in its reporting. While marching at least 5 or 6,000 more join in. We circle the Sante Prison which is defended by thousands of armed police then turn towards the right bank and the ORTF. By clever stationing of police, we are forced to turn up the Boulevard St Michel instead of down St Germain. This was our big mistake, not to push through there and then. We realised then we were falling into a trap. The enormous demonstration was halted in Boulevard St Michel by gigantic forces—we were encircled.

## 12.0

22ND MARCH: Militants begin to dig up cobblestones. Some UNEF people and bystanders try to stop us. Dean of University asks to see representatives, of professors and students. Cohn-Bendit and four

others go to see him. They come out an hour later saying, 'nothing happened'. Decision is taken to occupy the Latin Quarter peacefully, not to provoke police but to defend ourselves if attacked. This was followed to the very end; barricades were defences and all participants merely defended themselves from police attacks. We just wanted to hold the Latin Quarter to show police who had been occupying the Sorbonne for five days that they must leave. 'We will occupy the Latin Quarter without bothering the police, until the police are gone' said Cohn-Bendit. This statement was sup-

ported by most of the university staff. It must be clear that what happened on this historical night was totally improvised: no direction, no preparation, very little co-ordination. It was a spontaneous explosion.



we're students too!

given from inhabitants of nearby houses who offer water, sugar and cloth as protection against gasses and warn us of police movements.

It is their support which keeps our enthusiasm from flagging in the seemingly endless time of waiting for the inevitable police attack.

then on I was so busy coordinating work at our barricade that I don't know what happened elsewhere. Witnesses say it all happened at the same time and more or less in the same way all over the Latin Quarter. Our barricade is double: one three foot high row of cobble stones, an empty space of about 20 yards, then a nine foot high pile of wood, cars, metal posts, dustbins. Our weapons are stones, metal, etc, found in street. Of course the majority of people simply look on. We organise a cordon to keep photographers and bystanders away from us.

A great deal of spontaneous help is

over our barricade. I am told many red and black flags flew on other barricades. In front of us we turn over cars to prevent police from charging with their buses and tanks (Radio said tanks were coming but we never saw any) it also said 15,000 workers were on the way to help us from St Denis but were surrounded by the army. (They never materialised either, although a great many workers were already helping us to construct barricades.) I must insist again that the general mood was defensive not offensive, we just wanted to hold the place like an entrenched sit-down strike and if we had not been savagely attacked there would not have been any violence at all. After days of occupation of the Sorbonne and surrounding area by heavily armed police it was the least we could do to hold our ground—the Latin Quarter. Police attack on Place de Luxembourg. Their tactics are simple: at 100 yards distance they launch gas grenades by rifle which blind, suffocate and knock us out. This gas is MACE (Vietnam and Detroit mace). Also small explosive grenades one student near us picked one up to throw it back, it tore his whole hand off (reported in *Le Monde*), tear gas and phosphorus grenades which set fire to the cars. We defend as best we can and later we find out that practically every barricade withstood police at least an hour, sometimes four hours, regardless of blinding and suffocating gases. The police are slowly advancing up Gay Lussac (crowds are running away, we have a hard time calming them down and chan-

## We will not be the watch-dogs of capital

TRANSLATION OF RONEOD LEAFLET

1,000 wounded. Three Dead. Gassed in Action.

WHY?

Because students refuse to become accomplices and beneficiaries of the exploitation of the workers.

Because they reject so-called 'negotiations' which merely affect decisions already taken from above.

When this refusal passes from words to action (the occupation of lecture-rooms, the showing of censored political films, boycotting exams, etc...)

When for the workers this challenge has only one expression, VIOLENCE

The bourgeois state has only one reply:

REPRESSION

Blackmail with scholarships  
Threats of expulsion  
Blacklists  
Police intervention  
Massive arrests  
Imprisonment.

WE DENOUNCE

the reopening of the colleges for the sole end of passing examinations, the attempts of the bureaucracies to turn a movement for total change in society into a simple reformist movement, enshrining the stagnation of the bourgeois university.

WE REFUSE

the normal functioning of the university until the liberation of the foreign students and the workers. From now on the students will occupy the local universities until we have won our political rights and the immediate removal of the sanctions against all those who are still menaced by the penal and administrative machine.

WE WILL NOT SURRENDER TO BLACKMAIL

We must not be divided. We must set our determination against mounting repression.

We must organise to continue the struggle in our neighbourhoods and places of work.

WE WILL DEMONSTRATE ON FRIDAY, 10 MAY, 18.30 HOURS, PLACE DEFERT ROCHEREAU.

Movement of 22 March Nanterre. Comité d'Action Lycéen.

# on the barricades a new movement PARIS CITY

Since last summer a new Gaullist offensive has been witnessed in France in order to make French capital competitive in the international arena, drastic austerity measures were taken at home which led to growing unemployment in the name of 'efficiency and streamlining', a steep rise in prices and an increase in police oppression. This has always fallen on the shoulders of the French working class; a situation exists here similar to the one now developing in Britain with the Prices and Incomes Bill.

The 'official' organisations of the French working class proved themselves incapable of dealing with the situation. Rooted as they are in a respect for electoralism and legality they left the battle to Parliament, and a Gaullist government with its majority in the Assembly could not clearly be brought down. The interest of the masses were subordinated to Parliamentary procedure. The official unions maintained the position that it was good that workers expressed their discontent but they must not alienate their petty bourgeois allies: it was good that strikes go on but in no way must they challenge private property.

Inevitably such forms of struggle were not only ineffective but succeeded in demobilising the workers rather than *openly challenging the system*. The trade unions, being so rooted in the social system that they were incapable of imagining any alternative.

What the students did at the barricades not only showed a determination to win, it also demystified the system. It was not all powerful. The police were not invincible. Government decisions were not sacred. The order was not unchangeable. The students' victory showed to millions of workers another way, a new kind of hope. So the workers joined the students on

At a liberated depot of the SNCF I talked to train drivers. The depot is barricaded, the red flag flies, the slogan reads 'WE ARE OUR OWN BOSS'. The young are the most militant and revolutionary but even old are aware of something new of a stirring of passion.

'I've been a union man now for 20 years', said a driver, 'When the Union said strike, I went on strike but this is different. Frankly we've been asleep and the students woke us up. We went on strike here because we the workers of the depot decided to do so. Our decision had nothing to do with the Union. You see a lot of people think we're cunts and can't run anything but WE DON'T NEED BOSSES, WE'VE PROVED THAT WE CAN RUN IT OURSELVES.'

This is the spirit everywhere. There are nine million workers on strike in France now occupying their own factories.

The debate on the motion of censure of the government at the Assembly which was broadcast on the radio was a comedy of irrelevance, an exercise in rhetoric and opportunism, of old careerist politicians talking of morality, for justifying the lack of it. By the rules of electoralism and the assured majority

ment. If ever there was an indictment of the redundancy of the social democratic system this surely is it. Outside in the streets and factories nine million workers are giving another answer.

On Wednesday the government refused the re-entry of Daniel Cohn-Bendit, the student leader, into the country. On the left and the right banks there were spontaneous student demonstrations. All the bridges were occupied by heavily armed police. The Communist Party and the CGC, the French TUC denounced the demonstration.

At the same time the CGT agreed to negotiate with the government, revealing yet again where its real interests lie. The atmosphere at the Sorbonne was supercharged with bitter outrage at the treachery of the CGT. One worker best summed up the situation when he spoke to the crowded amphitheatre: 'The CGT does not represent the workers, this is a movement from the bottom, the workers themselves are the movement. Workers and students must unite to form their own party. Fuck the CGT.'

He got a standing ovation, and embarrassed and rather overwhelmed by the response, shuffled awkwardly but smiling off the stage. The applause continued. He returned, held up his hand to silence the crowd and began to sing the International. The whole assembly rose and joined him.

The revolution has its macabre and funny side. On Wednesday the undertakers went on strike. Now is not the time to die.

It is amazing how contagious liberation is. Even the radio stations once rigidly controlled by the Gaullist government and forced into being propagandist for the regime demanded freedom of expression. Now the news is full and comprehensive. Reports come in from all over France of the situation. Personal messages are relayed by the station, advice, argument. The radio really reflects the drama of the struggle. At the moment it is the only reliable means of mass communication.

From France the lesson is clear; the so called spokesmen of working class interest: the union leadership and the Communist Party are sclerosed in their own bureaucracy: they have lost all touch with the masses: their aims are not revolution but peace: their function is to co-exist with the bourgeois state. They are discredited and exposed in their true nature.

The students and workers uprising in France was and is a spontaneous one against the directive of the union leadership. The workers themselves rose up, the rank and file occupied their factories in a demand for workers control, for a true representation of the people. The union leadership is trying now to sell out on this heroic mass movement. In France at this moment the real enemy of the people is the orthodox Communist Party and the union leadership.



theory  
turned  
sideways

What has happened in France is marvellous and enchanting, except of course to the *Times* which naturally regards a strike at the Bank of France as conclusive evidence of the breakdown of civilisation. For us old members of the fan-club, it proves that Paris still has star quality. It is more than a place with three-star Michelin restaurants, traffic jams, cleaned buildings and the kind of dress shops which the Duchess of Windsor goes to. It can still put up the barricades, often on the very same spots where they went up in 1848, in 1871 and in 1944. It is a great moment for sentimental Francophiles. But even the most sentimental among them must wonder whether the whole business is merely a gallic freak. Does it show the way to the rest of the world? It would not be the first time that Paris has done so. I think it may do so now.

The events in France are totally unexpected and totally unprecedented. That is the first thing to grasp about them. Practically all serious observers of politics have long taken it for granted that classical revolutions will no longer happen in the advanced western countries, either because there is unlikely to be no massive revolutionary discontent, or because such discontent is likely to be confined to marginal minorities such as students and blacks, isolated from the rest of the people. Exceptions were conceivable, but none of them seemed to have much bearing on the present situation. Least of all on France, which until three weeks ago seemed at peace, rather successful in its international affairs, with a stable government, solid finances, and prosperity, which means that the poor were at any rate not notably worse off than they usually expect to be. A revolution has never yet broken out under such circumstances. Yet in Paris it did. Or

## the Sorbonne Soviet

Two of the main centres of insurrectionary activity in Paris are the Sorbonne (Paris University) and the Odeon (French National Theatre). They have both been taken over by students and are in permanent 24 hour a day session. Anyone can enter, anyone can speak. They are the powerhouse of thought and the command centres of activity in this revolution. The atmosphere is intense and extraordinary.

The Sorbonne is packed with people, red flags, slogans. In every classroom and often spilling onto the landings and corridors Action Committees sit debating their next moves. These committees cover every aspect of revolutionary activity — from guerrilla groups for contacting the workers to the organisation of food and medical supplies. Some, I was assured, are beginning to go underground in preparation for the long struggle ahead. In almost every faculty building in Paris it is the same scene.

In the middle of the Sorbonne is the vast amphitheatre. It must hold about five thousand people. All day and night the debate on the future of the revolution goes on. The speeches were calls for greater unity amongst the factions, demands for the students to declare their objectives, assurances from militant workers that whatever the Union leadership might say they were behind the students.

The Odeon was taken over by three thousand young students and workers and has remained 'occupied' ever since. It will not be easily given up. Backstage in the dressing rooms and

corridors hundreds of young people work talk plan. It looks chaotic but things get done. There seems to be no leadership.

In the auditorium the debate goes on. The audience is less academic and more bourgeois than the Sorbonne and the discussions are often rowdier and jollier. But the atmosphere is the same; De Gaulle's stable regime has blown its lid. For the first time everyone feels they have something to say and a place to say it.

This is a young revolution and most of the work is done at night. The best speech I heard was at two in the morning delivered to the packed amphitheatre. It was given by a typical young *revolutionnaire*; pullover, black trousers, long untidy hair, eyes gleaming with fatigue and lack of food.

'This revolution', he said, referring to the flags behind him, 'is for the red flag of Socialism and the Workers' State and for the black flag of Anarchy and the individual'. There was a joyous shout of approval.

I spoke to him afterwards but he could hardly talk for exhaustion and the hacking cough that betrays all those who were brave enough to stand up to the MACE fumes of the night of 10 May.

These young revolutionaries may not win this time but they have struck another blow against Western Society and for their belief that this society is rotten, that it has been rotting for years and that the time has come to change it before it changes them.

CLIVE GOODWIN



PATRICK PROCKTOR

10 May at the barricades. A new unity was forged between students and the masses.

Among vanguard workers there is a new sense of liberation.

Revolution replaces protest.

Militancy instead of resignation.

Workers united with students to decide together what must be done and the authorities tremble and promise concessions.

The question is whether the masses will triumph and bring down the wall that the students have breached. It is here where the crisis of the revolution in France now resides.

A revolution is gathering momentum among the rotting garbage piles around the abandoned cars. You feel it in the air, the tension, the exuberance, the sense of history. What was only dreamt of is becoming possible, here in this once consumer ridden city. This bastion of Gaullist prestige, Paris. France will never be the same again. Europe will never be the same again. The French students and the French workers have challenged the monolith of capitalism and have brought it to its knees like a sagging old woman who for years has been masquerading as a spritely young girl.

They have found that the power is with the people, that the students are more important than Parliament, that solidarity, a united purpose, a sense of dignity and identity are worth more than all the washing machines from New York to Moscow, that the conspiracy of capitalism to divide man, fragment him, force him each into his private world, can be transformed into brotherhood and unity. Here the student and worker are one.

The bourgeois press may pretend to be mystified at what is going on but here they are working for, and let there be no mistake, nothing short of a profound and fundamental revolution of their society, a total challenge to an overthrow of the structure of capitalism.

of the Gaullist regime the motion was defeated which proved what? — That France has confidence in its govern-

ROGER SMITH



What is interesting about your action is that it puts imagination in the seats of power. You have a limited imagination like everyone else, but you have a great many more ideas than your elders. We have been made in such a way that we have a precise idea of what is possible and of what is not. A professor will say: 'Do away with the exams? Never. One can rearrange them but one cannot do away with them!' Why? Because he has taken exams for half his life.

The working class has often imagined new means of struggle, but always as a function of the precise situation in which it found itself. In 1936, it invented the takeover of factories because that was the only weapon which it had to consolidate and to exploit an electoral victory. You have an imagination which is much more rich, and the slogans chalked up on the walls of the Sorbonne proves it. Something has emerged from you which surprises, which astonishes and which denies everything which has made our society what it is today. That is what I would call the extension of the field of possibility. Do not give up.

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE ON DANIEL COHN-BENDIT

# Government is born OF HOPE



- UNEF — *Union Nationale des Etudiants Français*. The French equivalent of NUS, though more politically active. The only French organisation to support the Algerian Revolution, 1954-62. Has since adopted a less militant line.
- UEC — *Union des Etudiants Communistes*. Official student organisation of the French Communist Party. Has been frequently in conflict with official Party leadership because relatively more militant on political issues.
- JCR — *Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire*. Militant Trotskyist group, broke away from UEC in 1966. Closely allied to the SDS.
- SDS — *Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund*. Originally the student organisation of the German Socialist Party, broke away 1960. Organised the recent demonstrations in Germany. Dutschke was the leader of the Berlin section.
- CGT — *Confédération Generale de Travail*. Communist-led trade union federation. The strongest of the three major trade union federations in France.
- ORTF — *Organisation de Radio et Television Française*. The French BBC, but not even formally 'independent'. Has been an organ of Gaullist propaganda since de Gaulle's takeover in 1958. Important weapon in his election strategies.
- Mouvement du 22 mars* — militant coalition of students formed on 22 March at Nanterre, the college on the edge of Paris where the student revolt began. Led by Cohn-Bendit.

## 'Revolution not betrayal'

On Thursday, 23rd May, Andre Barjonet, Secretary of the *Centre for Economic and Social Studies* at the CGT who has led many important negotiations between government, employers and workers for more than 20 years, resigned from the CGT.

In an interview with *Combat*, he says:

'I have resigned from my duties at the CGT, duties which I have carried out for almost 22 years and you will therefore very easily understand that for me it was a crisis of conscience. I did it for two main reasons. The first is that I have not only the conviction but the certainty that the leadership of the CGT has no intention of leading this formidable movement in a direction which is likely to bring about political changes in the society.'

'But in the fact of a movement which brings together the working class and the student world, which has stirred people from all walks of life, it is unforgivable not to have acted. For years the CGT has never missed an opportunity for saying to the workers that one must get rid of Gaullism and move towards Socialism. For years we have never hidden the fact that our aim in the CGT was not only defence of your interests but also, and above all, to get rid of the power of monopoly of the Gaullist regime. Then when the time was ripe . . . Georges Seguy gets up and makes a speech declaring

that the CGT does not intend to go beyond day-to-day Union demands.

The second reason, less fundamental than the first but certainly not unimportant, concerns the scornful attitude of the Secretary General, Georges Seguy towards the student movement. I do not necessarily approve of methods the students have used or indeed of Daniel Cohn Bendit. But Seguy's attitude seems to me to be wrong. For many years the CGT has held a political position which while being correct at the beginning has become an empty formula with little relevance to the present.

The activities of the CGT over the last few years have been important and useful. I will not deny the untiring work which is put daily by the Union Militants on the shop floor. But this movement has exploded with a force which had not been foreseen by any organisation. The movement has created an irreversible situation. The Unions can never be the same again. I think we have come near to the Socialist Revolution. If one had put the question in France barely two months ago as to whether our country was ripe for Socialism one would have laughed or sighed. We thought only in terms of Parliamentary change. From now on the question of Revolution is on the order paper. As Karl Marx wrote, 'When an idea takes hold of the masses it becomes a material force'.

**I am ready to go into battle! You claim that liberty has been stifled by the Government of General De Gaulle — he who has repeatedly preserved the liberties of the French, sometimes with your aid but always for your salvation!**

Premier Georges Pompidou at the climax of the debate last month in the Chamber of Deputies over the introduction, opposed by the Left, of commercial advertising into television.

## France's Labour Party?

Events are moving so fast in France that every news broadcast seems to rule out previous analyses and prophecies. But one thing seems certain — the events of May 1968 will put a few old myths quietly to sleep once and for all. The myth that the working class in the Western countries is securely integrated into the social consensus and has lost all revolutionary potential — and the corollary that all displays of political militancy are the work of some subversive international conspiracy.

Tory MP Eldon Griffiths seems to have got the message. He writes in the *Evening News* of 21 May: 'Any Government as unpopular as Mr Wilson's ought not to kid itself that what is happening in Paris is unthinkable here.'

The most obvious thing about the French events is their complete spontaneity. This is both the strength and the weakness of the French working class movement. What has surprised even the professional revolutionaries is the speed with which the fever of militancy spread.

Most people remain politically dormant, not because they like their situation, but because they don't believe their own actions can affect things in any meaningful way. As soon as they see that it is possible to change the world, they too are willing to take action. This is what happened in 1917, when soviets were set up in the British and French armies within a few months of their first appearance in Russia. In the modern world of radio and television, militancy moves even quicker.

The French students learnt (from the American negro movement among others) that rioting is a much better form of reformism than the ballot box. Militant action led almost immediately to concessions. Workers — industrial, agricultural and white-collar — rapidly followed suit.

But if spontaneity is enough to begin a revolution, it is not enough to carry it through. For this reason, it seems unlikely that the French strikes will

lead to revolution (if this prophecy is falsified by the time it appears in print, I shall be delighted). The traditional organisations of the working class — trade unions and political parties — are all clearly trying to ride out the situation. The Communist Party has taken time out from attacking the Gaullist Government in order to warn against the dangers of 'adventurism', and the Communist-dominated CGT refused to issue a call for a general strike, leaving the decision to local initiative (a superb piece of pseudo-democratic issue-dodging).

The role of the French Communist Party is illustrated by its attitude to the student disturbances which began the present struggle. On the 5 May, *L'Humanité* proclaimed: 'Already the great mass of students, including, we are sure, some of those who have let themselves be misled, can judge the grave consequences to which political adventurism inevitably leads.' On the 6 it attributed the militancy to 'leftist, anarchist and Trotskyist groups and others, objectively playing the Government's game'. The Communist controlled local authority of Nanterre declared that 'the closure of the school, a few weeks from the examinations, is harming the interests of the students, especially the poorer ones, as well as those of the teachers. Certain tiny groups (anarchists, Trotskyists, Maoists, etc) mainly consisting of the children of the upper bourgeoisie, and led by the German anarchist Cohn-Bendit, are making the Government's failures an excuse for engaging in actions aimed at preventing the normal functioning of the faculty'.

When the French trade unions were formed, around the turn of the century, Parliamentary democracy in France was much less plausible than in England. As a result, syndicalist ideas were much stronger. Hence the tradition of factory occupation, which reached its peak at the time of the Popular Front in June 1936, and at the time of the Liberation in 1944-45. Most middle-aged workers have memories of this form of action.

Secondly, the tripartite division of the French trade union movement into Communist, Catholic and Socialist unions is not purely a negative feature. Union leaders are in constant compe-

dition for membership, and must beware of being outflanked on the left. In recent years the CFTD (no longer formally Catholic, and gaining ground in the technological industries) has taken a more militant line over strikes than the Communist CGT.

Union splits mean that many workers do not bother with union membership. Only about three million are actually unionised (as against seven million in 1945). More than twice as many workers are participating in the present strikes as normally pay union dues. As a result bureaucratic sell-outs are less easy than in England.

The French Communist Party's solid electoral support (between a fifth and a quarter of the electorate ever since 1945, except in 1958) shows its deep roots in the French working class based on its Resistance record. The Party lost relatively little support over Hungary — not because French workers supported Russian intervention, but because it did not seem an adequate reason for breaking up the only mass working-class organisation that existed. The CP has always been ready to pull French capitalism's chestnuts out of the fire in time of crisis. During the strike wave of 1936, the CP carefully damped down militancy and called on workers to trust the socialist-radical coalition. In 1945 the Communist Party joined de Gaulle's Government; Maurice Thorez, its leader, toured the country, calling for increased productivity and an end to strikes.

In the fifties, the CP fell into dogmatic isolation. It opposed birth control as a matter of Marxist principle, and insisted, in an age of relative prosperity, that French workers lived in conditions worse than those of the Middle Ages. It was reluctant to accept Krushchev's anti-Stalin report, and had its own 'personality cult'; some recruiting leaflets referred only to 'the Party of Maurice Thorez', without naming the Communist Party.

The advent of de Gaulle led to complications. The CP had been in de Gaulle's Government in 1945; in the early fifties it had commended his stand on German rearmament. In 1958 it totally falsely classified him as a 'fascist', but failed to mobilise any opposition to his taking of power.

Since then, the Party's policy has been the search for respectability. It has developed its alliances with the other 'left' parties — with their long record of strike-breaking and colonial repression. In the 1967 elections the CP showed great altruism by standing down in favour of socialist candidates on the second ballot, even where it could have won seats, and gained representation far less than its vote entitled it to.

At the same time, it has been bemused by the 'progressive' features of de Gaulle's foreign policy — his attempt to strengthen French capitalism in relation to American capitalism, and his closer links with Russia and China (and soon, maybe, Cuba). When Kossygin in 1966 replied to de Gaulle's toast in Paris with the words: 'we see in a strong and independent France . . . the most important factor of international security and, primarily, European security', he might have been giving the CP a direct hint to shut up shop.

The outcome, in the short or long term, may be the entry of the CP into a left-centre coalition government. This might not be displeasing to French big business. Already the Fifth Republic has gone a long way towards integrating the Communist unions into the consultative machinery of the economic plan, from which they hitherto stood aloof.

In all this one must distinguish between the CP leadership and the rank-and-file militants, who are the backbone



of the present strike movement. This gap would grow much wider if the CP participate in a new Government. British Communists often look enviously at the French Party, with its mass membership and respectable image. In its present strategy they may see the same logic that prompts their own leadership's rejection of rent strikes and demonstrations of solidarity with the Vietnamese. If the French Party enters a coalition, they may see the futility of a similar perspective here.

IAN H. BIRCHALL

anyway something happened which might quite well have turned into a revolution.

More precisely, two things which are remarkable enough, though the second is more amazing than the first: the students rebelled and forced the government to retreat, and the workers followed their example.

Student rebellion is fairly common these days. The novelty of the Paris situation lies in a, the extent of the mass mobilisation of the students (not to mention their teachers and parents) and b, the extent of public support for them, which eventually forced the unions and the Communist Party, reluctantly, to line up behind them. In this situation there was not much the government could have done, short of starting to shoot; and it is an increasingly well-recognised fact of politics



that massing students is much trickier than massing blacks or even white workers. Nevertheless, nobody expected that the workers would imitate the students. But they did, once again in spite of the feet-dragging of their unions and party. It was the young workers who began the occupations of factories which has since snowballed into a general strike. And though the unions have taken it over, it was and still is essentially a spontaneous, grass-roots movement.

Could it have happened anywhere else except in France? In its specific details, no. No other country has revolution as





Roland Muldoon is a member of the Cartoon Archetypal Slogan Theatre — a high-grade troupe of Socialists who act with first-rate receipts. They are not seeking publicity, merely trying to help. THE BLACK DWARF feels that clubs, halls, pubs and even theatres should welcome their help.

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## Lock up Enoch

TWENTY-FIVE INDIVIDUALS and organisations wrote to Sir Elwyn Jones, the Attorney-General, urging him to institute criminal proceedings against Enoch Powell for incitement to racial hatred, or at least to give them his consent to take legal action themselves. He won't do it.

The 1965 Race Relations Act lays down, among other things, criminal penalties for uttering, publishing or distributing in public, words or any written matter which is 'threatening, abusive or insulting' and which is 'likely to stir up hatred against any section of the public distinguished by race, colour, etc.

The proviso in section 6 of the Act which requires the Attorney-General's consent to be sought before proceedings can be commenced, was designed to prevent frivolous actions like the one brought last year by a Dr. Carl-Theo Thorne who wanted the Court to grant an injunction against the BBC to restrain it from televising the *Rat Patrol* series because he thought it was derisive and abusive of Germany and people of German origin!

In present circumstances the proviso is, to say the least, anomalous. Had the Conservatives been in power with the usual Party man appointed as Attorney-General, it would be impossible to conceive him allowing criminal proceedings to be taken against a member of the Cabinet!

And if Sir Elwyn Jones had given his consent, the racists and the Monday Club mob would have alleged that his action was party-political. Some feel that it would have done more harm than good if Sir Elwyn had given the go-ahead, but it would have been interesting to see the court's gymnastics in deciding to acquit Powell of all charges even after Ted Heath had dubbed the Wolverhampton speech as 'racist'. Enoch Powell, the man called a 'racist monster' by those who were waiting for him in Canada, may only have been articulating (or exploiting) the words and feelings of others, like Sir Oswald Mosley. But then it has never been a defence to a criminal charge to plead that there are other, untraced potential criminals at large.

The proviso in the 1965 Act ought to be scrapped, or the power to institute proceedings should be left in the hands of an impartial body. Effectively, the Government may bear in mind the words of a former Labour Lord Chancellor, Lord Jowitt, who said in 1955 that 'it would be undesirable if it became a practice to pass a law in wide terms and rely on the Attorney-General to enforce that law only in what he thought were appropriate circumstances' (*Lords*, Vol. 192, col. 525, April, 1955.)

If Powell or any of his flock should make a similar speech in the future we may have to revert to section 5 of the Public Order Act 1936 which penalises the making of speeches which are likely to cause a breach of the peace, irrespective of the speakers' intentions.

A LAWYER

## The amazing adventures of Che Guevara

The real Che Guevara emerges in Vietnam / U.S. forces retreat across the Pacific

Eisenstein / loaded camera in hand / leads ten thousand extras in the storming of the Winter Palace

Bertrand Russell stages mass sit-down of seven million old-age pensioners

American Eighth Fleet captures mysterious yellow submarine off the North Korean coast

Woody Guthrie goes down Columbia / 900 miles to the pastures of plenty / singing 'This land was made for you and me'

Che Guevara disappears again / reported killed leading guerilla force in South Africa

The real Che Guevara emerges in Rhodesia / Ian Smith flees to South Africa

Bertolt Brecht and John Heartfield made joint chancellors of the new reunified Germany / now-redundant police force win prize as best-dressed milkmen in Europe

Bonnie and Clyde finally abolish the entire American banking system at gunpoint

Leadbelly made governor of southern prison farm . . .

'Burn, baby, burn' heard all over the cities of America / Uncle Tom's Cabin finally demolished in the new Stokeley Carmichael slum clearance drive

Che Guevara disappears again / reported killed leading guerilla force in the Philippines

The real Che Guevara emerges in Snowdonia / Free Wales Army purged of reactionary elements / remaining member flees to Methodist colony in Patagonia

Unofficial General Strike / all the workers of the world come out / Union officials plead 'This is not in the democratic tradition of our great movement'

American space programme put under the joint supervision of Theodore Sturgeon, Ray Bradbury and Isaac Asimov

Bob Dylan, Chief Crazy Horse and the Mighty Quinn / join the International Brigade / making sure it's General Franco's last stand

Che Guevara disappears again / reported killed leading guerilla force in northern Spain

The real Che Guevara emerges in Paris / de Gaulle flees to St Helena / as Voltaire, Cocteau and Andre Breton establish the new Paris Commune

Liverpool Cathedral renamed the Mike Hart SHELTER for the homeless

The real Charlie Parker emerges in Washington DC / gunsling ornithology / shooting eagles and hawks as they flutter limply from the White House

Poets and musicians raid the offices of the International Times

The British Bulldog / original guide dog for the blind / at last put out of its misery.

Che Guevara disappears again / reported killed leading guerilla force in Greece

MIKE EVANS.

# CHE

KEN COATES

CHE GUEVARA was one of the great men of this century. His stature will continue to grow for many years to come, as the battles which he began, and lost, transform themselves into the wars which will be fought, and won, by the men who take inspiration from his example.

He was killed in the heart of the Andean wilderness, in a country so inhospitable and frightening that it provides a stark natural symbol for the grotesque and inhuman social environment which he dedicated his life to change. Within days of his death, his picture was being carried in vast demonstrations in the streets of Berlin, London, Paris, Rome, Tokyo and New York.

He was mourned in Vietnam, under the bombs which daily carry Western civilisation to the peasants of that country. From Conakry, Guinea, Stokely Carmichael spoke of the American Negroes' response to Che's last written message:

Our fight is to be waged in the streets of Detroit, New York, Chicago, Washington and Philadelphia; our struggle is taking shape inside the United States, where we are exploited and oppressed. With the death of Ernesto Che Guevara, it is our duty to create Vietnams inside the United States. Che explained clearly that there is no need to talk more, that the contradictions in the world are clear, and that the time has come for each to take his place in the fight. This is exactly what Malcolm X said: the time for words has passed. Now it is the time to fight.

Che Guevara was remarkable not only of his ideas, but also of his actions. Born in Argentina, he died in Bolivia, having played an extraordinarily courageous part in political struggles not only in Cuba, but also in Guatemala and the Congo. He



As a boy he toured the Andes on an old motor-cycle, took a job as a guard at a Chilean mine, and worked for a time in a Peruvian leper colony. Living with these pathetic exiles decided him that he must give his life to their cause: while any man was outcast by leprosy, he too was a leper. He returned to Argentina to qualify as a doctor. He appears never to have recognised anything in a frontier but a challenge: and if he had to abandon medicine for revolution, this was clearly because, throughout the Third World, it is impossible to mobilise and train the doctors who are needed to do their Herculean work, until there has been a complete social transformation.

Before there was a vaccine, it was thought 'natural' for babies to die, regularly, and in large numbers, of smallpox. Today, there is a vaccine, but the deaths still rage across whole continents. This is anything but 'natural': it is a crime against nature and humanity, an evidence of the beastly values of a civilisation which can devote millions of pounds to bacteriological research, in every advanced nation, in which governments seek to find ever more horrible means of killing whole populations, while millions die every year from complaints which are easily curable with the most modest medical facilities and the most rudimentary training.

The web of this inhumanity is truly international. Porton is in Wiltshire,

and the bacilli it breeds are likely to be loosed upon brown or yellow people many thousands of miles away. The Dow Chemical Company operates across the Western world, learning, in a dozen civilised, urbanely conducted laboratories, more efficient ways of burning men: the men who are to be burned live in the jungles of South-East Asia or in the Venezuelan mountains. Meanwhile, the diseases of mal-

nutrition flourish through the exploited tropics, and the temperate, exploiting and man-burning nations cope with the complex medical problems of over-eating!

Just as disease ranges across national boundaries; just as poverty mounts its remorseless onslaught on human morale around the world; just as ignorance and superstition are cultivated for profit in every corner of each continent; just as greed and arrogance set their imperial armies upon the hungry peoples wherever they begin to stir towards new ways of life; just as the modern, impersonal market is universal in its effect upon the impoverishment of three continents: so Che Guevara took up his position as a revolutionary against a world-wide system of injustice, of oppression, of exploitation.

Just as he was willing to fight, and to risk his life everyday, in Cuba, in the Congo, and in Bolivia; so he would, had the call come, have died in Greece or in Spain, in Italy or in England. For him there was only one legitimate boundary in the universe: there were human beings, and there were those powers which thwarted human beings, and prevented their free growth and development. Between these two forces, he drew a line of fire and hatred. No other frontier had meaning for him.

At every street-corner in Cuba, one sees scrawled the slogan: 'The duty of every revolutionary is to make revolution'. For almost two generations, after the initial impact of the Soviet upheaval, this simple truth had disappeared in most of the countries of the earth, until the advent of the Cuban Revolution. Largely through the initiative of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, this axiom is today re-established.

In Latin America it is being implemented in Guatemala, in Nicaragua, in Venezuela, in Colombia and in Bolivia, and it is widely current in the only two more-or-less 'democratic' countries left on the continent, Chile and Uruguay. Of course, in his manual on *Guerrilla Warfare*, Che himself insists that it is impossible to 'make



revolution' in any country until any democratic potential which may appear to remain in existence has been exhausted: and indeed, Fidel Castro himself had, as a Parliamentary candidate in the rigged Cuban elections, established himself as a national political leader, before he encountered flagrantly unconstitutional discrimina-

tion, and subsequently initiated the first attack on the barracks at Moncada, on 26 July, 1953.

But throughout the Third World there are dozens of territories in which any 'democratic' possibilities which might once have seemed plausible have long since evaporated. In Africa: Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, South Africa. In Asia: Thailand, Indonesia, South Korea. In Europe, on the metropolitan margins of the same Third World, Spain, Portugal, Greece. The upsurge of these peoples may be delayed here or there by a year or two.

But following the example given by Che Guevara, reinforced every day by the extraordinary struggles of the Vietnamese National Liberation Front, who can doubt that before long, here, or there, new groups of freedom-fighters will put down roots, new fronts will be opened?

And although the theory of guerrilla warfare is developing in the Third World, we should not assume that it will always remain there. Stokely Carmichael calls for urban guerrillas in the North American ghettos, long deprived of elementary social rights. In some of the advanced European countries, it may be that traditional forms of political action will produce the total social renewal necessary for meeting the new industrial revolution with appropriate human, democratic, controls. Failure to do so will make life literally intolerable.

But the evidence, so far, is not encouraging. Across the board, the traditional labour, Socialist and radical movements of the advanced countries seem far more likely to lose than to win their tug-of-war with the power élites and financial oligarchies which dominate them. Too often, as in Britain, the traditional movements 'win' what appear to be significant political battles, only to find that their leadership is quickly assimilated by the dominant social power; far from extending democratic controls over wealth, and increasing direct social accountability, they become involved in attempts to demobilise the forces which brought them to office, and to curtail the freedoms of the very people they once purported to represent.

If the established Socialist and trade union movements of advanced Europe continue to fall in their objects to extend democracy into the heartlands of the power structures which they confront, then those power structures will be emboldened by such failure: and at the same time, since the continued crises of these élites show no signs of abating, they will seek more and more direct forms of rule. Greece may too quickly prove to be a model for further authoritarian coups in what have hitherto been 'stable' parliamentary regimes. Who can predict with any confidence that Europe will survive the 20th century without calling into being a new maquis, a new resistance? It is optimistic, but not necessarily wise, to assume that Che Guevara's teaching on guerrilla warfare is only relevant for the colonial victims of the great metropolitan states.

But guerrilla warfare is about the instrumentality of power. Men who are only concerned with instrumentalities are not only not to be trusted, they are positive menaces. The third example of Che Guevara lies in this: that he showed in his life, what can easily be shown in words, that power is unhealthy, boring and dispiriting in itself. It is extremely simple to say

that power is only of value if the objects for which it is sought are of value: but it is quite extraordinarily difficult to show this in one's own life. After the victory of the Cuban Revolution, Che was established, across the whole world, as a considerable hero. He had survived as one of the 12 who struggled through from the yacht GRANMA to the encampment on the Sierra Maestra, 12 young people apparently all alone against a whole army; he had won through to command the rebel column which swept down to Las Villas, and which, with the companion column headed by

Camillo Cienfuegos, finally administered the death-blow to the Batista regime; he swept into Havana, and was immediately entrusted with the governance of the vital La Cabana fortress.

After that, he became, successively, chief of the political department of the rebel army; President of the National Bank, whose banknotes he signed with the single inscription 'Che'; Minister of Industries; and spokesman for his



country at the United Nations. He was a capable, generous and insightful administrator. He had established, beyond any dispute, not only his claim upon, but also his usefulness to, a Government beleaguered by a million problems and at the same time undertaking a gargantuan programme of tasks. From nothing, a vast network of schools and hospitals was extended across the whole island of Cuba. Tremendous schemes for industrial and agricultural development were unwound. Any man could find a score of overbearing reasons for remaining in the seats of power, with so much to do, and so few people even remotely approaching his calibre to do it.

No one can think that Che Guevara could not have been whatever he had wanted to be in Revolutionary Cuba. But this man, a national legend, revered on all sides, put all these tasks, and all these excuses, on one side, and went back to war, as a combatant in a field in which one fed on insects and little birds if one was lucky, and in whose privations were marked out a new extreme in human endurance. Had volunteers for service in Bolivia, been called for, there were thousands of Cuban youths who were, and are, willing to step forward. But Che, who had already experienced all the bitter struggles of the Cuban guerrilla, and who knew better than anyone what burdens fell on those who became involved in such a war, went himself. 'All power corrupts', it is said. Not Che Guevara.

Power corrupts the corruptible, and men of Che's vision are beyond corruption. An example of this stature is crucial, because it will be understood wherever it becomes known. A whole generation of British Socialists has been demobilised, in the post-war years, by the fear (expressed in George Orwell's *1984*, and in *Animal Farm*) that the last stage of Revolution might be worse than the first grievances which brought it forth. Maybe we would always find ourselves confronted by the doctrine 'all animals

are equal, but some are more equal than others'.

The Hungarian Revolution persuaded many of us that these fears were groundless. The Cuban Revolution has reinforced that negative lesson by the positive testimony. And perhaps the most positive of all the contributions of its rich experience is that of Che's testimony.

QUESTION: What motives are there, that can create such a person? What was it that Che believed, that made his actions so pure?

ANSWER: Socialism began as a movement for freedom, which means, first,

the unlimited development of individual personality, for the infinite extension of the capacity for self-realisation. If poverty and squalor appalled Socialists, they were not merely interested in feeding the poor, and sweeping out the slums, vital though they have always seen these tasks to be. The real problem was to liberate the enormous, but stifled, ability and feeling of the poor, to enable them to choose to become what they had it in themselves to be.

This appreciation went underground in the years of repression in the Soviet Union. Freedom became a recognition of the necessities of production. Booming pig-iron statistics replaced the ideals of the romantic Socialist forebears as the justification for acts of public policy. Compassion was mangled in the pursuit of productivity. There were serious reasons for this development; the result was gruesome.

Lenin wrote 'Freedom equals subjectivity'. These words were translated into a harsh mockery. The goal 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his need' was officially devalued to become 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work'.

In the first formula, each is his own arbiter of ability and need: subjectivity is the criterion. But in the second, 'work' is something which is measured objectively, by men with clocks and weighing machines; and 'ability' in such a context will also be carefully assessed, by a variety of 'objective' tests and screens. One word has turned this classic statement of the Socialist goal into its opposite. We are speaking here of a goal: no one thinks that the equality of man, which implies the abolition of money and the overcoming of the division of labour itself, can be established in a day. But by establishing fixed 'stages' of development to freedom, in which the first phase includes at its heart decidedly unfree institutions, the Russian pioneers fell into a deadly trap. True, there were voices in Russia which spoke against this at the time. But the plain truth is that you can not educate men for freedom by exposing them to the control of unlimited authority: that you cannot create, as Fidel Castro has expressed it, 'a new moral man' at the end of a long process of payment by results.

This truth was explicitly recovered by Che Guevara, in the famous debate on the Cuban economy, in which abundant advice had been offered by Soviet and other planning experts, that in order to plan, the Cubans must initiate a whole plethora of material incentives, a hierarchy of ranks of workers paid 'according to their work'. Che resisted this. Whilst not denying the need for certain material incentives, he insisted on the primacy of moral incentives, on the need to avoid, at all costs, the growth

of a commercially motivated 'Socialism' in which the market began to exert more and more distorting influences on economic decisions, displacing the human priorities which the Revolution had laboured to assert. In an underdeveloped country, the capacity for such distortion is far greater than it is in an advanced one: and our own permanent housing crisis, to say nothing of the starvation of our health service and the constant erosion of our public welfare, should convince us that the market is quite incapable of meeting human needs unless they have their own monetary

underpinning. Private affluence and public squalor are infinitely more affluent and squalid respectively in the third world than they are in the metropolises.

To avoid the growth of the power of this market, as well as to prevent the undermining of the solidarity of the working people in a rat-race for premiums, Che Guevara insisted that the Cubans should establish their own models for planning, in which moral commitment formed the firm core of the incentive system.

As Fidel Castro expresses it, today, 'We are building socialism and communism at the same time'. And if he is accused of heresy, he then replies, 'Very well, then, we are heretics'. This heresy, which Che expresses so perfectly, is the beautiful heresy of humanism. It extends from denying the sovereignty of balance-sheets, out through all the most crucial areas of social policy. Because his socialism is about freedom, Che Guevara can write, as he does in his coruscating essay *Socialism and Man*, about the unfettered development of the creative arts in (not 'along-side', still less 'against') the revolution. And what Che says in this essay is what is practised in Cuba today. The avant-garde and the revolution, divorced since the nineteen-twenties, have embraced one another again in the Cuban Revolution.

I find myself slipping into the present tense: 'Che expresses', 'Che can write', 'Che says'. And, of course, it is true, for these writings do live today and, further, they take on deeper meaning every day. Yet Che is dead, and no amount of brave talk can palliate the immensity of the loss. As a leader of the coming Socialist Latin



America, his giant capacity would have been a vital resource: but true though this is, the grief of his death comes as a personal one to everyone who has been touched by his message, and who knows the rare beauty of his vision.

For all that, not only his example, but his voice, lives on. It is profound: it is the clear voice of revolution, sharp to cut through all the lies and complacencies which keep men from doing what they should. It is also the voice of humanism, at once of the poor people of the earth and the great poems of their unlimited potential: of the torments of hunger, cold, and lack of compassion, and of the incredible, joyous people men have it in themselves to be. If anything human can live forever, this voice will never die.

# Tories threaten strike right

There was only one real vote against Barbara Castle's iniquitous Prices and Incomes Bill. That was the vote of Mr Peter Jackson, left-wing Labour MP for High Peak, who voted against the government. The Labour MP's who merely abstained may have eased their own little consciences—but they helped no-one else—except perhaps Mr Harold Wilson.

What about the Conservative Party which voted against the Bill? Is anyone deceived by its new posture as the defender of trade-unionism? The Conservative Party's statement on industrial policy, satirically entitled, 'A Fair Deal at Work' represents a vicious attack on the working-class. Basically the pamphlet proposes that British trade unions be hamstrung by a comprehensive legal system of industrial relations. The chief new feature is that there would be financial penalties against unions and workers who break collective agreements—in addition, it would be possible for workers to be sent to prison for contempt of court if they defy the ruling of the proposed Industrial Court.

## Civil conspiracy

The two foundation stones of this legal structure would be a new system of industrial courts, which would be a branch of the High Court, and a new Registrar of trade unions and employers' associations. A union not meeting the requirements for recognition by this new Registrar could be taken to court for 'civil conspiracy' if it indulged in industrial struggle.

Another proposal, obviously designed to weaken the right to strike, is that the Minister of Labour (or equivalent) could apply to the Industrial Court for an injunction to delay or stop a strike. He could do this if, in his opinion, the strike 'seriously endangered the national interest'. One has only to consider how the Government treated the seamen's and dockers' strikes to see that every major strike would be so defined. During this period of injunction, the Minister could order a secret ballot for the men to decide whether or not to accept the employers' last offer. Obviously, such a set-up would give plenty of scope for intimidation of the would-be strikers by the employers, the press and the Government. If, after all this, the men went ahead with a strike, the Government could then declare a State of Emergency.

## The Registrar's powers

The Registrar would have wide-ranging powers. He could refuse to grant registration on grounds that:

- the union had not had 'substantial' membership over a reasonable period; or
  - if, in his opinion, the constitution and rules were not 'fair, reasonable and in the public interest'.
- Further powers available to the Registrar would include
- power to instruct trade unions to make available documents, copies of agreements, etc;
  - power to investigate and conduct a preliminary inquiry into unions if he considered that they had contravened their rules. He could then take action against the union or its officials in the Industrial Court;
  - power to strike them from the Registrar or to impose other penalties.

## Repeal of section four

From a trade union point of view, the most serious thing to be suggested in the pamphlet is the repealing of Section 4 of the Trade Union Act of 1871. This would put collective agreements on a par with other types of contract. This could mean:

- that trade unions could be sued for breaking any agreement they have made with employers;
- that trade unions would become liable for torts (civil wrongs) committed by themselves or by their members—except in the case of what the pamphlet call sa 'lawful trade dispute'.
- that trade unions or their member could be sued for negligence, assault, trespass, deceit, threats of injury, libel and slander;
- that trade unions could be sued in their own name, thus meaning that their funds would be at risk;



The Day somebody said "I'm not a Racialist, but.....!"

—that unions could sue their own members in respect of any damages they had suffered as a result of those members' 'unauthorised action'.

## Unlawful trade dispute

The pamphlet proposes that many types of strike action would NOT be 'lawful trade disputes', thus making it possible for employers to take legal action against individuals and unions. These include:

- 'sympathetic' strikes and the practice of blacking goods or services;
  - inter-union disputes;
  - strikes or other actions to impose a closed shop;
  - strikes to prevent employers from employing 'qualified' workers.
- This would mean that any workers taking part in these type of actions could be sued for breach of contract. In addition, any employee dismissed as the result of a closed shop strike could sue the union, its officials and his former employers.

Although it would be possible for unions to sign agreements that would not be enforceable in law, they would be unlikely to do so because these agreements would have nothing like the strength of legally-binding ones.

## Why the Tories are so bold

This vicious programme of anti-trade unionism is served up as a 'Fair Deal at Work'—what cheek! But why is it that the Tories, who have always been basically anti-trade union, feel confident enough to come out with such a bold and comprehensive programme just now? The answer is very easy to work out: they have been encouraged to come out into the open by the behaviour of the Wilson Government. If the leadership of the party which was established to defend trade-unions on the political frontsets about attacking them, why should the Tories hold back? Thus the continued evolution of the Wilson Government to the extreme right pulls along the whole fabric of British Politics with it.

Now we know what the Tories have in store for the trade-union movement if they are returned at the next election. Just now it appears that Labour will go down to a crushing defeat at that election so, therefore, we may expect the programme of this pamphlet to be put into action. What is the best way to fight against this eventuality?

Let no-one tell us: by being loyal to Mr Wilson. On the contrary the best way is by fighting the present Government's anti-trade union policies, and, in the process, creating a united front mass opposition. That, indeed, is the best way of struggling against the return of the Tories because the present decline of Labour's fortunes is bound to continue until the workers see an alternative to Mr Wilson and his entire Cabinet within the Labour Movement.

# Autumn offensive

Over 400 delegates and members of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign attended its annual conference held in London on 18-19 May. The Conference was attended by militants from all over the country and included delegations from the universities as well as rank and file trade-unionists.

The enthusiasm and unity of purpose made this one of the few left-wing gatherings free from sterile, sectarian wranglings so common to the Left in Britain. Telegrams of solidarity were sent to the French revolutionaries, the Essex students and Bertrand Russell (on his 96th birthday). The conference undoubtedly represented an important step forward for the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign. Its declared aim of structuring and consolidating the Campaign was achieved and successive speakers declared amidst cheers that the Campaign would wind up its activities only when the last US marine had vacated the shores of Southern Vietnam.

But undoubtedly the most enthusiastic moment of the conference came when the Chairman called for demonstrations all over Britain should the racist Labour government make any attempt to deport Tariq Ali. There were loud and prolonged cheers when he stated that if Tariq Ali were deported, 'This bloody Government would wonder what had hit it...'

The most crucial decision taken by the Conference was to organise a mass mobilisation on the streets of London

in October. The paper entitled 'vsc's

Autumn Offensive' was followed by a far-reaching discussion on the form of the next demonstration—a discussion which was flavoured perceptibly by the events of Paris. vsc groups all over the country have already begun their preparations. The objective is to get out at least 100,000 militants for the autumn offensive. This demonstration will without doubt be the most significant in Britain since the anti-fascist gatherings in the Thirties. Some delegates maintained that the demonstration might develop into an insurrection; certainly the possibility exists.

The next demonstration will represent an explosion of anger against the monstrousness of Imperialism as seen in Vietnam, but it will at the same time represent something much more: complete and total disgust with social-democracy's pathetic efforts to bolster capitalism in this country. If the British Government tries to ignore this feeling or attempts to ban this demonstration it will only have itself to blame for the consequences. Harold Wilson should ponder the problems facing de Gaulle at this very moment and they should remember that the Long March has not yet begun. When it does, in Tariq Ali's words, 'It will begin at the Acropolis and end at the Pentagon'.

PAT JORDAN

The South Wales Area National Union of Mineworkers has invited vsc to send a contingent to take part in its annual demonstration and gala in Wales. All those interested in attending this or simply joining vsc please write to: vsc, 8 Toynbee Street, London, E1.

# violence in Wilts.

THE GAS USED by French police against students and workers in the Paris insurrection was discovered and developed at Britain's Chemical Warfare Centre, Porton, Wiltshire.

It is manufactured by the US on licence from Porton for use in Vietnam and for putting down Negro rebellions. Orthochlorobenzol-Malononitrile known in the trade as CS is a white powder which vaporises into gas immediately on contact with the air. It is the main constituent of MACE. Government statements on the degree of danger from CS have been thoroughly misleading. The British patent merely states that 'in a concentration of between 1 part in 10 million and 1 part in 1 million it is enough to drive all but the most determined person out of its reach within seconds'.

In the low concentrations used CS causes violent vomiting and coughing and such serious skin irritation and abdominal pains that soldiers acting

as guinea pigs in trials of the chemical tried to kill themselves to avoid the pain. In higher concentrations the gas can be fatal.

In Vietnam last year the US government admitted that CS gas can be fatal. An Australian, Corporal Bowtell died after breathing CS in a house two hours after it had been pumped full of the chemical. The gas mask he was wearing was not sufficient protection.

South Vietnam hospital staff have revealed that of the CS casualties arriving at the hospitals the infant mortality rate is 90% and the adult 50%. The North Vietnamese have documented well over 300 deaths from this 'non-lethal' weapon.

The Chief of Police in Paris has admitted that CS is being used against the demonstrators. Where do they buy it? From America? Or, is it being manufactured in this country? THE BLACK DWARF wants to know.

# RED PAINT

There should be reminders everywhere, reminders of the War, reminders of the alliances to which Britain is chained, reminders of Britain's contribution to World War Three—nerve gas, plague viruses, bombs of all kinds. Reminders of the bombers which fly constantly not only over Vietnam, but over almost every country in the world, including Britain. How do we remind people? Painting up the one word VIETNAM is a useful way. But try instead a simple symbol which has an even wider and more basic meaning.

In many recent demonstrations RED PAINT has been used. Because RED PAINT is a symbol of blood and fire. Because RED PAINT illustrates destruction but does not destroy.

It is important to show exactly who in this country is contributing most to the American war effort. I don't just mean the US Embassy, the Australian and New Zealand Embassies or the US bases which pock this country. I also mean the offices of US and British firms which contribute to the war effort. I also mean British military bases, installations and deep shelters. I also mean British germ warfare stations like the one at Porton, Wilts., and British firms producing weapons of any sort, including riot control weapons for use on us. I also mean the offices of newspapers which support the US murder of Vietnam. I also mean the offices of political parties and government offices most directly connected with the conduct of the war and the alliance which makes the war possible.

I suggest that the contribution of all these powers to the Vietnam war should be publicly recognised. That these buildings and camps and offices should be decorated, free of charge, with splashes of RED PAINT. That RED PAINT should be dropped along the roads to nuclear bases. That RED PAINT should mark the prisons where the bravest members of the Peace movement are locked away for attempting to cause a breach of the war. That RED PAINT should splatter the election posters and headquarters of all MPs who do not vote against the defence estimates and the posters of all candidates who talk compromise and bloody consensus. No need for huge RED PAINT demonstrations. Two or three people working together is the ideal size for a team. The job is to spread RED PAINT, not to get arrested. The idea is to identify publicly every working part of the murder machine. This will make machine-breaking that much easier.

It will take time to spread, but that can't remove the dramatic impact of more and more RED PAINT patches appearing. We can underline the meanings of the symbols with home-made posters which bear stencilled slogans on a background of RED PAINT.

Because the paint is red, they'll say we're communists. They'll say that anyway. Tell them the paint is red because human blood is red. When? Begin now. Then let the RED PAINT spread.